

# Rapin's History of England



**Book 18**

**Volume 2**

**The Reign of James I - Containing the  
space of two and twenty years, and three  
days.**

**The History  
of  
England  
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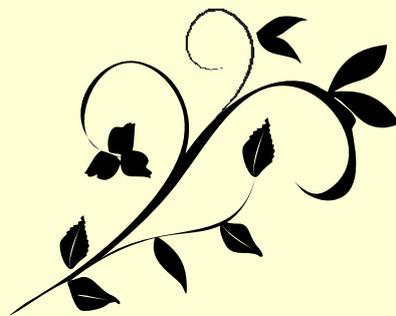
# Book Eighteen

## King James I



### The Gunpowder Plot

**Whilst Elizabeth was King,  
The English were of Spain the terror,  
but now, governed by Queen Jaquet,  
They only talk and prattle.**



*London, Engraved for Harsieus Edition of Rapin.*

*JAMES I. KING of GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE & IRELAND  
Defender of the Faith, &c.*



*The Original Painting in the Palace of Hampton Court.*

*Engraved on the 21<sup>st</sup> March 1707.*

## King James I



**Guy Fawkes**

**Born 13 April 1570**

**Died 31 January 1606 (aged 35)**



**Robert Carr, 1st Earl of Somerset KG (c. 1587 – 17 July 1645), was a politician, and favourite of King James VI and I**



**His Grace**  
**George Villiers, The Duke of Buckingham**  
**KG b 1625**  
**Master of the Horse**  
**In office 1616–1628**



**THE  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,  
BOOK XVIII**

**Chapter I  
The Reign of James I ;**

**Containing the Space of two and twenty Years,  
and three Days**

**1603**

**The Council Proclaim James I - March 24<sup>th</sup>**



**LIZABETH HAD NO SOONER BREATHED HER LAST**, but the Council met to consult about the measures that were to be taken in the present juncture. The Queen, who had delayed to name her successor till the end of her days, at last declared, the King of Scotland was to ascend the throne of England after her, and it was not doubted but her will agreed with this declaration.

So, the Council deemed it necessary, before all things, to be assured of it, by perusing the will, which was immediately opened, and found to confirm what the Queen had declared by word of mouth. The King of Scotland had therefore in his person a threefold right, which rendered his title indisputable.

The first was what is called in England, a Parliamentary right, which derived its validity from the act of Parliament, securing the Crown to Henry VII. and his heirs. The second was hereditary right, for this Prince was the nearest relation, and natural heir to Elizabeth. These two rights were farther strengthened by the Queen's will, which made the third.

**James Receives The News of His Succession to  
The Crown of England**

So, the Council readily judged, he ought to be acknowledged for King of England. This resolution being imparted to the Lord-Mayor of London, the new King was proclaimed by the name of James I, six hours after the Queen's death. Though the Council had been careful to send the King

the first news of his accession to the Crown of England, Sir Robert Carey, the Lord Hunsdon's youngest son, found means to be before them[1]. James, who impatiently expected the news, received it however without altering his countenance, the Queen's illness having been long enough to afford him time to be composed, when the news should arrive. Nevertheless, he could not forbear lifting up his eyes to heaven, probably to thank God for the favour he had long expected, not without great anxiety.

Elizabeth would never positively declare, she intended to name him for her successor. She contented herself with keeping him in hopes, but in such a manner, that she seemed to reserve the power of depriving him of the succession, if his conduct displeased her.

James's correspondence with the Earl of Essex, which, though connived at, was not unknown to the Court of England, might give him some apprehensions. Besides, Elizabeth never loved him; whether because he was son to her mortal enemy, or had shown too much impatience to possess the Crown of England; or in fine, by reason of his inclination to the Catholics.

All three reasons made this Prince very uneasy, in the expectation of a Crown which his birth entitled him to, but which, however, he might have lost, had Elizabeth been pleased to take measures to deprive him of it.

The news of the Queen's death could not then but be agreeable to him, since, by his correspondence with one of the chief Ministers, he was assured she had done nothing to his prejudice. Presently after Carey's arrival, came Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, who, by order of the Council of England, notified to him the Queen's death, and the Council's diligence in proclaiming him[2].

These were quickly followed by Sir Thomas Lake, who was sent by the Council to inform him of the state and condition of the Realm[3].

## **Reflection on The English**

Whilst the news of his accession to the Crown was carrying to the King, the English were reflecting on the alterations which the Queen's death was likely to produce.

The People in general lamented the loss of their Queen. They had been happy under her, and were not sure their happiness would continue in the new reign. A King of Scotland on the Throne of England, was to most no pleasing object. Besides, since James was of age, he had given no very advantageous idea of himself.

His unsteadiness, his weakness for his favourites, his inclination to the Catholics, of which, on several occasions, he had given visible mark, were not qualities apt to preprocess the English in his favour. It was hoped, however, he would tread in the steps of the illustrious Queen, his immediate predecessor, because it was thought he could not follow a better course, and what is desired is easily believed.

As for the deceased Queen's Ministers and courtiers, the good and welfare of the realm was what least affected them. Every one was wholly intent upon gaining the favour of the successor.

## **Sir Robert Cecil Devoted to King James Before Elizabeth's Decease**

Towards the end of the late reign, there were two factions at court, the one consisting of Essex's friends, and the other of his enemies. The first was entirely humbled by the death of their head; and the other had so far the ascendant, that they absolutely ruled in the Council. Sir Robert Cecil,

Secretary of State, and second son of the late Lord Treasurer Burleigh, was at the head of this party. But this politic courtier, foreseeing, that after the Queen's death his party could not fail of sinking, since King James considered the Earl of Essex as his martyr, had taken timely measures for his support.

Before the Queen's decease, he had devoted himself to the King of Scotland, and held a private correspondence with him, to inform him of what passed at Court. By this means, he had secured that Prince's favour, though it was not without danger of losing the Queen's, had she known his secret practices[4]. He was the only man of his party that had gained the new King's favour, which he so artfully cultivated, that in the end he became his Prime Minister.

## **The Hopes and Fears of The English With Regard to Religion**

There was also another thing which engaged the attention of the English, namely, the affair of religion. The King's conduct in Scotland gave occasion for sundry reflections, which kept people in uncertainty, none knowing positively what was to be hoped or feared. James was born of Roman Catholic parents, but being taken from his mother in his infancy, had been educated in the Protestant religion, and always professed it.

On the other hand, the religion he had been brought up in, though Protestant, differed a little from the Religion established in England, if not in doctrine, at least in discipline, and some other points of external worship, which were considered by the two churches as very important. In a word, it was the Presbyterian or Puritanical religion. In fine, this Prince had shown on numberless occasions, that he was far from being an enemy to the Romish religion.

All this formed a certain contrast, which bred an universal suspense. The Catholic hoped to meet, under his government, with gentler treatment, and more indulgence than under Elizabeth, nay, they carried their expectations much farther. The Presbyterians flattered themselves, that James, who had been educated in their religion, would promote the reforming of the Church of England upon the plan of that of Scotland, and hoped shortly to see the downfall of the Ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Finally, the Church-of-England-Men thought to have reason to expect, that the new King would conform to their religion, since it was established by Law. But after all, the hopes of the three parties could not but be mixed with fears, since the King had not yet declared. Such were the sentiments of the English, concerning their new King, whom as yet they knew only by report.

## **James Sets Out For England**

As soon as James was informed by the persons sent from the Council of England that he was proclaimed, he dispatched Aston to acquaint the Privy Counsellors, that he was preparing for his journey, and accordingly he left Scotland the 5th of April, eleven days after Elizabeth's death.

## **James Received With Joy**

The principal Scotch Lords, by whom he was attended into England, were the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume, and the Lord Kinloss, with several others of less distinction, but who afterwards were promoted to English honours and dignities. He spent above a month in his journey from Edinburgh to London[5], where he arrived the 7<sup>th</sup> of May. He had no sooner entered England, but the people strove to demonstrate their respect by magnificent entertainments in all the towns he passed through.

Such were their acclamations, their wishes for his prosperity, their praises and joy for his arrival, that an honest plain Scotchman could not forbear saying, This people will spoil a good King.

## **Proclamation to Hinder People Flocking to Him**

Meanwhile, the multitudes which flocked from all parts to see their new Sovereign, grew at last so troublesome to him, that he was forced to set bounds to their curiosity by a proclamation. This was very surprising to the people, who did not understand that a little inconveniency should hinder the King from receiving the respects of his new subjects. But perhaps this was owing to the King's fear, that among the crowd some assassin might lurk, and attempt upon his life. It may be too, he had a mind to accustom his subjects not to be too familiar with their sovereign. Be this as it will, it did not hinder the people from paying him every where the respect due to him, and expressing great satisfaction to see him pass, in order to be seated on the throne.

## **The English Lords Meet Him at York & Cecil is Well Received**

At York, most of the English Lords came and paid him their homage. Among these was secretary Cecil, who was now considered as out of favour, because he had been Essex's sworn enemy. But great was the surprise, when the King received him with extraordinary marks of esteem. This gave occasion to suspect, he had taken care beforehand to gain his favour, and the King's behaviour to him afterwards confirmed the suspicion.

Some accuse this Lord of inspiring the King with the design of setting himself above the laws, and not suffering the Parliament to share the supreme authority with him. At least, it is certain, James's chief care, after his accession, was to maintain the prerogative Royal in its utmost extent, nay, to carry it higher than any of his predecessors.

He must, at the time I am now speaking of, have conceived a larger notion than had been hitherto formed, of the power of an English King, since when he came to Newark he ordered a cut-purse to be hanged by his sole warrant, and without trial. It cannot be denied that this was beyond the lawful power of a King of England, and directly contrary to the privileges of the English nation.

Probably, care was taken to warn him of the ill effects such illegal acts might produce among the people, since he refrained from them ever after.

## **James Comes to Theobald's**

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May he came to Theobald's, Secretary Cecil's house[6], where he stayed some days. Here the Theobald's Council came to pay their respects to him, and here passed what was most remarkable in his journey till his arrival at London. When he was about to leave Scotland, he sent Carey to tell the Privy-Counsellors, that his intention was to continue every man in his post.

However, at his coming to Theobald's, he increases their number with several others, most of whom were Scots, his design being, as he more plainly showed afterwards, to make but one Kingdom of England and Scotland. The new Scotch counsellors were the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume[7], and Sir James Elphinston, his Secretary.

## **James Adds Some Scots and English to be His Privy-Counsellors**

He nominated also two English noblemen, the Lords Zouch, and Burleigh, Secretary Cecil's eldest brother. I find likewise that at the same time or presently after, he admitted into his Council the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland[8], the Lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the one son, the other brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, of whom the first was a suspected, the last a known Papist, but upon the King's arrival he had embraced the Protestant religion.

## **He Caresses The Howard Family**

The King's gratitude to the Howard family, who, for the sake of the Queen his Mother, were in disgrace in the late reign, did not stop there. The Lord Thomas was made Earl of Suffolk, and then Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Henry was created some years after the Earl of Northampton. Moreover, Philip Earl of Arundel, the late Duke of Norfolk's eldest son, having lost his title by his condemnation, though Elizabeth gave him his life, the King created his son Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey[9].

## **Cecil Refuses to go into Mourning for Elizabeth**

Thus the King's regard for the Duke of Norfolk's family, plainly showed what he thought of Elizabeth's treatment of that Duke and his House. It was not in this alone that he expressed his resentment against the late Queen. Upon all occasions he affected to show, it was only out of policy that he had whilst she lived, concealed his aversion for her. The most notable mark he gave of it, was, that he neither went into mourning himself nor would admit any person to his presence in a mourning habit.

## **King James is Lavish of Honours and Dignities**

From the King's arrival in England to his departure from Theobald's, he made about two hundred Knights, and some days after his coming to London, he made many more. As Elizabeth had been sparing in the distribution of honours, with which sovereigns are wont to reward the merit and services of their subjects, her successor on the contrary, bestowed them with a liberal, or rather profuse, hand.

Never had the like number of Knights, Barons, and Earls been made in any former reign. This occasioned a satirical libel, entitled, *A Help For Weak Memories To Retain The Names of The Nobility*[10].

The truth is, James made so many Knights and Peers, particularly in the first years of his reign, that such a help was very necessary. Indeed it is pretended, the current of honour was so stopped in Elizabeth's reign, that scarce a county had Knights enough to make a jury[11].

Besides the three Howards, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and High Treasurer, was made Earl of Dorset; Sir Robert Cecil was at first created Baron of Essingdon, then Viscount Cranburne, and afterwards Earl of Salisbury; and Philip Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke's brother, was made Earl of Montgomery. I confine myself to these, because their names most frequently occur in the beginning of this Reign[12], I must also add, that the Earl of Southampton who had been condemned to die, and the Earl of Essex's son, were restored to their estates and honours before the King reached London.

## **James Coldly Receives The Earl of Essex's Enemies**

But the Lords Grey, Cobham, Carew[13], and Sir Walter Raleigh who had been enemies to the Earl of Essex, were very coldly received by the King. These four courtiers of Elizabeth had not a little contributed to the Earl of Essex's death, as well as secretary Cecil; but this last, as I observed, had wisely gained the King's favour.

Nothing could more plainly show that the King considered the Earl of Essex as his martyr, as he himself called him, than his gracious reception of the Earl of Southampton when that Lord came to wait on him. This was publicly owning that he approved of these two Lords conspiracy, the intent of which to set him on the throne before the Queen's death,

This gained him no credit with the disinterested. But from that very time he began to listen to the flatteries of his Courtiers, who extolled all his actions to the skies, and that continued but too much throughout his whole reign.

### **James Has A Great Idea of The Power of Kings**

King James, with good natural parts, had a great share of learning. He was able to form the plan of a good government, the general maxims whereof he perfectly knew. But his aversion to war, his weakness for his favourites, certain prejudices he had imbibed, wherein all that approached him helped to confirm him, ever hindered him from putting his theory in practice.

He was persuaded, that the authority of Sovereigns over their subjects was unlimited, and that all monarchical government ought to be absolute, not considering that these maxims could not be applied to the government of England, without destroying the constitution.

### **James is Very Much Flattered on That Account**

Moreover he was strongly prepossessed in favour of his own merit and capacity. As soon as his courtiers discovered his genius and character, they failed not to attack him in the most sensible part. That is, they took all occasions to applaud his wisdom, learning, parts, and to talk in the highest strain of the regal power. As this pleased him infinitely, so it was the best way to gain his favour.

### **James Was A Great Asserter of Hereditary Rights**

Hence arose several expressions little known in the former reigns, but which were common in this. The King was called the Solomon of the age, and stiled his sacred Majesty, and these flattering titles, which he greedily received, confirmed him more in his prejudices. He had one amongst the rest which greatly influenced his whole administration. And that was, he verily believed he was come to the crown of England by hereditary right, and could not bear, it should be thought he was obliged to Queen Elizabeth, or that his title proceeded from any act of Parliament.

If this had been only a speculative notion, it would not have much disturbed the English. But he drew from this principle terrible consequences, tending to no less than arbitrary power, and of course to the subversion of the English constitution. From his being King by hereditary right he inferred, that his will, ought to be the sole rule of the government, and considered as undeniable truths, all the wild assertions of certain writers concerning the regal power.

This pretended hereditary right, with its consequences, were the fountain, of the divisions which began in this reign, between the King and Parliament, and which continued during the three following Reigns.

This also gave birth to the Tory and Whig factions, who worry one another to this very day. It is requisite therefore, for the reader's information, to observe, before we proceed, that this hereditary right by which James I pretended to reign, was not so indisputable as he then did, and as many still do, imagine it.

### **Remarks on The Succession to The Crown of England**

**In the first place**, no law can be produced on which he may be founded the hereditary succession of the crown of England.

**Secondly**, there are many precedents in the English history which show that the Parliament assumed a power to dispose of the throne, and settle the succession without any regard to the next heir.

**In the third place**, more Kings, since the conquest, have mounted the throne by virtue of acts of Parliament, or some other means, than by hereditary right. The four first: especially, namely, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, and Steven who most certainly came not to the crown by this right. When was it then that the Crown became hereditary? It is their business who maintain this opinion, to point out the time.

**In the fourth place**, of all the Kings from William the Conqueror to James I. there was not one who had less right to the Crown than Henry VII, before he was confirmed by the Parliament[14]. It was therefore from the Parliament's confirmation, rather than from Henry the seventh's hereditary right that James I, could derive his own title.

**Lastly**, if some instances may be produced of Kings succeeding from father to son, and if from thence it be inferred, it was by hereditary right, it will also be easy to show that this right vanishes when traced to the source.

For example, if it be supposed that Elizabeth, Mary, Edward VI, and Henry VIII came to the crown by hereditary right, though there would be much to be said concerning the two Queens, the fountain of this right springs from Henry VII, who was heir neither of the house of York, nor the house of Lancaster. Henry VI, and Henry V, succeeded from father to son, to Henry IV, who was not the next heir of Richard II, Edward III, could not succeed Edward II his father, who was yet alive, by hereditary right.

Edward II, Edward I, and Henry III, form the longest hereditary succession from father to son that occurs in the English history; but they derived their right from John Lackland, who certainly was not Richard I's next heir.

I pass over in silence the former Kings, because the thing is too evident to need any farther explanation. Thus of from the Conquest to James I, above one half at least did not ascend the throne by hereditary right. As for those who succeeded from father to son, and may be supposed to have reigned by hereditary right, they could support their right of succession only by acts of parliament, adjudging the crown to some one of their ancestors, contrary to hereditary right.

How then can the Hereditary succession of the crown of England be indisputably established? It follows from what has been said, that nothing is more uncertain than the right by which the Kings of England reigned from the Conquest, to the time of James I, since it is not possible to lay down any undoubted principle upon this head. It is much easier to combat all the different opinions concerning the succession, than to establish any one by solid and undeniable reasons.

I shall add here in confirmation of what I have said, that the Kings who were reckoned the wisest and most able, took care to have their titles confirmed by the Parliament, when they believed them liable to any objections. So James I, in resolving to establish this pretended hereditary right, was the first cause of the troubles which assailed England, and which are not yet ceased.

### **The Kings Minister Flatter Him Greatly**

This Prince's choice of the ministers who were to manage the public affairs, greatly conducted to cherish his high conceit of his personal qualities, and of the regal authority.

The first was Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. This Lord, who had been Essex's sworn enemy, knowing how much the King was concerned in that Earl's disgrace, found no better way to keep in his favour than by flattering him continually, and making his court to him,

by talking of kingly government according to his notions. He was accused at least, of inspiring him with sentiments very disadvantageous to the people and Parliament. He was in other respects a man of a great genius, consummate prudence, vast capacity, and perfectly acquainted with the state and interest of the nation.

The Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, the one Lord-Chamberlain, the other Lord-Keeper, were much inferior to the Earl of Salisbury in parts and ability. But it is pretended they were Papists in their hearts, and as the Catholic religion could be restored in England but by an arbitrary power, they earnestly laboured to indulge the King in his notions concerning the regal authority.

To these three Lords the King chiefly committed the management of his affairs. All the rest of the courtiers followed the same method, and emulously strove to gain the King's favour, by a blind submission to his will.

## **He Sends For The Queen and Her Children**

Shortly after the King's arrival at London, he sent a numerous train of Lords and Ladies[15] into Scotland to attend the Queen and his children, who were ready to come to him. He had three children, namely, Henry nine years old, Elizabeth, and Charles[16]. This last, being indisposed, was left in Scotland till September the next year.

## **He Gets Thomas Hanged**

Whilst the Queen was on her journey, the King remembered, he had complained to Elizabeth of Valentine Thomas, who had slandered her, and was now in prison. It is not known wherein this slander consisted, but whatever it was, about a month after the King's arrival, Thomas was ordered to be brought upon his trial, and received sentence of death for conspiring against Elizabeth, and some of her council[17].

## **The Marquise of Rosny Embassy**

About the same time, and before the Queen's arrival, the Marquis of Rosny came from the King of France, to congratulate the King upon his accession to the Crown of England. He had express orders from the King his master to appear in mourning with all his train, at his first audience; But he was told, he would disoblige the King, who would doubtless look upon this affectation as a reproach for not going himself into mourning for the Queen.

The Marquis says in his memoirs, that the King being at table, boasted publicly, that for several years before Elizabeth's death, it was he properly that governed England, and that no resolution was taken in the Council but by his direction. He would perhaps have been nearer the truth, had he said, Elizabeth governed Scotland and himself too, without her perceiving it.

The French King's design was not only to congratulate the King. His chief aim in sending the Marquis of Rosny his favourite, was, to hinder James from being gained by the Spaniards, and to renew his defensive alliance with Elizabeth, in which the ambassador succeeded to his wish.

## **Embassy From The Archduke**

Count Aremberg, ambassador from the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella, Sovereigns of the Low Countries, was come to London some time before; but was sick, or feigned to be so, all the while the Marquis of Rosny staid in England. It was not till after the Marquis' departure, that he desired the King to send one of his Privy-Council to hear the occasion of his embassy.

Cecil, whom the King chose, was strangely surprised to hear nothing from him but compliments. Probably, this ambassador was sent into England, only to observe what passed there, and to found the new King's intention concerning a peace between England and Spain.

James had now shewn by his proceedings, that he was inclined to peace, since, without any solicitation, he had revoked the Letters of mark granted by Elizabeth, to several private persons[18]. Some and time after, taxis came also to London from the King of Spain, and having congratulated the King upon his accession to the Crown, desired commissioners might be appointed to treat with him of a Peace. This negotiation, which was then only begun, ended at length in a Treaty of Peace, concluded the next year[19].

## **The Plague - The King Retires to Wilton**

The Plague, which began to break out in December, increasing at London during the hot weather, the King retired for some time to Wilton, the Earl of Pembroke's seat, near Salisbury.

## **Plot Discovered in Favour of Arabella**

Whilst the court was at Wilton, a conspiracy, or rather the project of a conspiracy was discovered, the authors whereof were, Thomas, Lord Grey, of Wilton, Henry Brooke Lord, Cobham. Sir Walter Raleigh, George Brook, two priests, Watson and Clark, and some others[20].

The design was to place on the Throne Arabella Stewart, the King's cousin German. To this end, the Lord Cobham was to treat with the Archduke at Brussels, and try to obtain six hundred thousand crowns, of which Raleigh was to have seventy thousand. Cobham was also to carry Arabella's letters to the Archduke, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, wherein she should promise to marry the person they should name, and to grant a full toleration to the Catholics.

## **Raleigh is Condemned**

It was farther agreed, that the Lord Grey[21] should ask the King's leave to raise two thousand men for the service of Holland, and with these troops should seize his person. But this was only a project, unexecuted in every point, except that some of the conspirators had conferred with Count Aremberg. It is thought, the count occasioned this plot to destroy Raleigh, who, of all England, was the man most dreaded by the Spaniards, and that afterwards he himself informed the King of it[22].

However this be, the conspirators being apprehended, were tried at Winchester in November following, and condemned to die. Raleigh was found guilty upon the written evidence of one single witness, namely, the Lord Cobham, even without being confronted, contrary to the express law of the Land[23].

Only George Brook however, the Lord Cobham's brother, and the two priests were executed, the King having ordered the rest to be sent back to prison, but without giving them a pardon.

The Lord Grey died soon after, and the Lord Cobham obtained his liberty at last[24]. But Sir Walter Raleigh remained twelve years in the Tower, where he wrote a *History of the World*, much esteemed in England. I shall have farther occasion to speak of him in the course of this reign.

## **The King and Queen Crowned**

Not long after the discovery of this plot, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, on the 25th of July, St. James's day[25]. Immediately after the coronation,

the King issued out a proclamation, expressly forbidding all persons, who had any business at Court, to repair thither till winter, by reason of the plague which raged then exceedingly, and swept away above thirty thousand[26] in London only.

## **Proclamations Very Frequent**

Proclamations were much more frequent in this reign than in the former ones. In the eight or nine first months, there was no less than twelve.

I just mentioned the hopes of the papists and puritans to experience some happy change in this new reign. The Papists could not believe, that a Prince, who had never expressed any hatred of them, should suddenly alter his mind, and chouse to tread in the steps of Elizabeth. The Puritans imagined, that James having been educated in their religion, and professed it all his life, till his arrival in England, would be propitious to them.

## **Catholics Present A Petition to The King**

They expected he would at least reform good part of the faults they found in the Church of England. Both were deceived, but the last much more than the first of the Catholics, James hated only the Jesuits, and such as were too servilely attached to the Court of Rome, and the prerogatives of the Pope. But on the other hand, he saw it would not be in his power to grant a full toleration to the other Catholics, though he should be inclined to it.

## **The King's Answer**

For this reason, he believed it advisable not to discover too openly his thoughts of them. Thus the Catholics, who had expected at least a full toleration of their religion, were very much surprised, when, upon presenting a petition to the King on this occasion, they received for answer, that he though himself obliged to support what he found established in the Kingdom.

## **The Petition of The Puritans**

The Puritans believing to have more reason to hope than the Catholics, presented also their Petition[27], not only for a toleration, but moreover to pray the King that sundry articles of the Church of England, with which they could not comply, might be reformed. The bishops failed not strenuously to oppose this petition, and to entreat the King to leave religion as he found it at his accession to the Crown, without any innovation.

## **The King's Design**

This was what the King fully intended. When he first came into the Kingdom, he not only went over to the Church of England, but even meant to force the Puritans to conform, and to be revenged on them for what the Presbyterian Synods had made him suffer in Scotland.

Besides the government of the Church by Presbyters too much resembled a Commonwealth, to be agreeable to a prince so strongly preprocessed in favour of monarchy. The government of the Church of England was much more conformable to his principles[28].

## **He Appoints a Conference Between The Episcopalians and The Puritans**

Meanwhile, not to appear at first too partial, and to make believe, he would not be determined without hearing the arguments of both sides, he appointed a conference between the two parties,

wherein he would be moderator himself. In the meantime, he published a Proclamation, commanding both sides to be quiet, till matters were regulated as he should judge proper.

## Conference at Hampton Court

**1604 AD]** The conference between some Bishops and Presbyterian Ministers was held at Hampton-Court, the 14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1604[29]. The King let the Ministers see immediately what they were to expect. He declared:—

"That following the example of all Christian Princes, who usually began their reigns with the establishment of the Church, he had now, at his entering upon the Throne, assembled them for settling an uniform order in the same, for planting unity, removing dissensions, and reforming abuses, which were naturally incident to all politick bodies.

And that he might not be misapprehended, and his designs in assembling them misconstrued, he farther declared, that his meaning was not to make any innovation of the government established in the Church, which he knew was approved of God, but to hear and examine the complaints that were made, and remove the occasion of them; therefore he desired the petitioners to begin, and to shew what were their grievances."

Doctor Reynolds being the spokesman, reduced what he had to say to two heads, the first whereof related to the doctrine, and the second to the discipline of the Church. As to the doctrine, he said, the articles of the Church of England were in some places obscure, and in others, defective.

Then he mentioned the articles he spoke of, and desired the King they might be so explained as to leave no ambiguity, and that what was defective might be supplied. Whereupon a dispute was begun, wherein the King always replied, answering the Ministers arguments himself, one while with reasons, another while with authority and threats.

The Ministers seeing the King become their adversary, which they did not expect, chose to be silent, and feigned to be satisfied. Then the King upbraided their presumption, saying, they ought not to have importuned him for such trifles.

Indeed, this was not their great grievance. The government, and external worship of the Church, was what troubled them most. The points they insisted upon, were:—

1. That sufficient care was not taken to plant good and learned pastors in the Churches, to the great prejudice of the people,
2. That subscription was required to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, wherein they saw several things which their conscience would not suffer them to receive.
3. That the Clergy, were liable to the censures of lay-men, by means of the high-commission[30].
4. They objected against the Cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice, with some other things which they looked upon as superstitious.

## The King is Highly Flattered

There were warm disputes upon all these points, wherein the King took care to reply to the ministers himself, without giving the bishops time to speak. The King's conduct was so agreeable

to the bishops and their friends, that the Lord Chancellor, Egerton, unwilling to miss so fair an opportunity to flatter the King, said aloud:—

He had often heard that the priesthood and Royalty were united, hut never saw it verified till now.

Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, carried his flattery still farther, and said:—

He verily believed the King spoke by the spirit of God.

After this, the King dismissed the assembly, and ordered the bishops and ministers to meet again in three days at the same place.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, the day appointed by the King, the bishops were called first into his presence, and delivered to him an explanation of the liturgy. Then the King questioned them about excommunication, the high-commission, the oath ex-officio, the subscription to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and approving their answers, ordered the ministers to be called in, and the writing presented by the bishops to be read before them.

### **The King's Threats to Presbyterian Ministers**

The ministers believing it was in vain to make any reply, kept silence. Nay, it is pretended that some of them declared, their doubts were sufficiently clear. However, the King supposing they had nothing to object, and had reason to be satisfied with the condescension that was shown them, exhorted the bishops to treat with lenity such as were of a contrary opinion, and commanded the ministers to preserve the unity of the Church, and beware of obstinacy and disobedience:—

“Obedience and humility,” added he, “are the marks of good and honest men, such I believe you to be; but it feareth me, that many of your sort are humorous, and too busy in the perverting of others.

The exceptions taken against the Communion-Book, as I perceive, are matters of mere weakness, and they who are discreet will be gained with time and by gentle persuasions; or if they be indiscreet, better it is to remove them, than to have the Church troubled with their contentions.

For the bishops, I will answer, that it is not their purpose presently and out of hand, to enforce obedience, but by fatherly admonitions and conferences, to induce such as are disaffected. But if any be of an opposite and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to a conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing of a surplice, or using the Cross in baptism, will diminish the credit of ministers that have formerly disallowed the same; for that is just the Scottish argument, when any thing was concluded, that suited not with their humour, the only reason why they could not obey was:

That it stood not with their credit to yield, having been long of a contrary opinion. I will none of that, but that a time be limited by the bishops of every diocese to such, and they that will not yield, whatsoever they are, let them be removed; for we must not prefer the credit of a few private men to the general peace of the Church.”

In this manner passed the pretended conference, whose sole end was to make the public believe, the ministers were convinced and fully instructed; that therefore it was put of pure obstinacy that they still separated from the Church. Hence it was natural to infer, that to conquer their obstinacy, it was requisite to use some severity. And this was what the King plainly intimated, when he said:—

"he would answer for the Bishops, that it was not their design immediately to enforce obedience,"

—and when he afterwards. added more clearly,

"that after such a time they should be dealt with in another manner".

But the conference wrought not the conviction of the Puritans, and all the fruit the King reaped by it, was, to shew them how much they were mistaken in depending upon his protection.

## **Whitgift Dies**

Whitgift was a mild and peaceable man, who would have been very glad to reclaim the Puritans by gentle methods, agreeable to the Gospel, but he died quickly after, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of February. He was succeeded by Richard Bancroft, a Prelate of a very different character, who, instead of dealing gently with the Puritans, never ceased incensing the King against them, and doing them all the mischief he could.

## **The King Persecutes The Puritans**

Herein he was but too closely imitated by the rest of the Bishops, who found a double advantage in destroying the Puritans. In the first place they made their Court to the King, who hated them mortally. Secondly, they preserved the hierarchy, which the Puritans were desirous to overthrow.

The persecution, which these suffered whilst Bancroft was at the head of the clergy, induced many families to withdraw out of the Kingdom, to enjoy elsewhere liberty of conscience, denied them at home[31]. Bancroft is also accused of having been one of the most zealous to instil into the King the maxims of arbitrary power.

## **The Jesuits are Banished**

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of February the King published a proclamation, commanding; all Jesuits and other priests having orders from any foreign power, to depart the Kingdom[32]. This proclamation was so worded, that the King was extremely careful to shew, he did not banish the Jesuits in hatred to the Catholic religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the doctrine of the Pope's unlimited power over crowned heads.

This is what the King very diligently observed throughout his whole reign. He constantly affected to consider the Romish religion, so far only as it might be contrary to civil government, that is to say, with respect to the Pope's unlimited power. As for the other doctrines, he was very willing to allow the Catholics to believe what they pleased, provided they renounced the belief of the Pope's superiority over Kings.

He was persuaded this equity would procure him a peaceable reign: but he had too much reason afterwards to be convinced, that he was taking wrong measures, and yet would never alter his conduct. Most of the Catholics were not satisfied with so limited a toleration, and the zealous Protestants represented the King as a Papist.

It is certain, he gave occasion to think he was inclined to the Catholic religion, by his constant care to shew, he was displeas'd only with the Pope's absolute power, and valued not the other doctrines, which distinguished the two religions. This obliged him to take, in favour of the moderate Catholics, some steps which rendered him very suspicious to many Protestants[33], whilst others considered his zeal against the Presbyterians as an undeniable evidence of his attachment to the Protestants' religion.

## **Proclamation Against The Jesuits**

The proclamation against the Jesuits was soon followed by another, enjoining the Puritans to conform to the worship of the established Church[34]. There was not seen here the same care to justify the King's conduct with respect to this sort of persecution. The King intimated in the first, that he would have regard to the tender consciences of such Catholics as could not comply with the received doctrines of the Church of England.

But in this, there was not the least indulgence for the tender consciences of the Puritans. These were all a set of obstinate people who deserved to have no favour shewn them!

## **Sundry Abuses Suppressed**

As the Parliament was to meet on the 19<sup>th</sup> March, the King thought it necessary to gain the affection of his subjects, by suppressing some abuses introduced about the end of the late reign, tending to the oppression of the people. This he did by several proclamations against certain monopolies; against protections frequently hindering the course of justice; against salt-petre men, who dug up people's houses, unless they were well feed; against the King's purveyors, who seized any man's horses and cart, under colour of employing them for the King, and then excused them for money.

## **Parliament Against Hunting**

Among these proclamations, there was one not so acceptable to the people, namely, that against hunting, on very severe penalties to the offender. This reign was a reign of proclamations. The King and his ministers would have been glad to have had them regarded as laws; but neither the judges nor people were yet accustomed to it.

## **Another to Make 5<sup>th</sup> of August a Holy-Day**

Shortly after, another appeared, appointing the 5<sup>th</sup> of August to be kept as a Holy-day. It was ordered, that, every year on that day public thanks should be returned to God in all the churches, for the King's miraculous deliverance in the year 1600, from the conspiracy of the Gouries, who made an attempt upon his Life[35].

This new Holy-day was not universally liked. Besides that the occasion of it happened to the King before his accession to the Crown of England, there were people as well in Scotland as England who had the malice to affirm it was only a fiction to cover a real conspiracy of the King against the two Ruthvens or Gouries who were killed on this occasion, I don't relate this with intent to blemish King James's reputation, or to question the deliverance for which he was pleased to thank God, but only to shew that from the beginning of his reign in England, there were some who had no great opinion of him[36].

## **The King and Queen's Entry into London**

As the time of the Parliament's meeting approached, the King and Queen made their entry into London four days before, not having been able to do it sooner by reason of. the plague. The King had need that day of all his patience, nothing being more disagreeable to him than the solemnities which drew a crowd of people about him[37]. Herein he differed from Queen Elizabeth, who took a pleasure in seeing her people press to behold her, and in hearing their acclamations.

## **James I is Possessed of a Notion of The Extent of The Prerogative Royal**

James the First's notion of the English constitution was, as I observed, very different from what had been hitherto current. If any of his predecessors had been of his opinion, they had, at least, taken care to conceal it, or to shew it but on extraordinary occasions.

For his part, he did not think fit to follow their example, since he omitted no opportunity to discover his thoughts. He was persuaded, the privileges of the nation and parliament were so many usurpations, or at best, but revocable concessions of the Crown, and gave frequent occasion to believe, he had formed a design to free both himself and successors from the restraint which the laws, customs, and privileges of the English nation had laid on his predecessors.

However this be, from one end of his Reign to the other, he embraced all opportunities to improve his prerogative Royal, of which he set no bounds but his will. The first public step which discovered his sentiments, was the calling of his first Parliament, of which I am now going to speak.

Both in the writs and the proclamation, he takes upon him to describe what sort of representatives should be elected, not by way of exhortation, as the former Kings had done, but by way of command, and as conditions without which they should not be admitted into the House. This was directly striking at the Commons, whose privilege of deciding the validity of elections had never been questioned.

*Wee notifie by theis Presentes, that all Retornes and Certificates of Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, ought and are to be brought to the Chauncery, and there to be fyled of Record; and if any shall be founde to be made contrarie to this Proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and inefficient, and the Citie or Borough to be fyned for the same; and if it hefounde that they have commytted any grasse or wilful default and contempt in their election, retorne or certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Lawe, are to be seizcd into our handes as forfeited; and if any person take upon him the place of a Knight, Citizen or Burgesse not beinge duely elected retorned and sworne acaording to the Lawes and Statutes in that behalfe provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this ours Proclamation, then every person, soe offending, to be fyned and imprifoned for the same.*

Thus the King affirmed a power not only to enjoin penalties on such as should offend against the statutes concerning elections, but also to enjoin them by a bare Proclamation, the authority whereof he rendered equal to that of the laws. We shall see presently this was not done without design.

At the opening of the Parliament, the King being seated on his throne, sent for the Commons as usual: But as the crowd was great, it happened that several of the members could not enter. Sir Herbert Crofts, one of the representatives, striving to get in, was rudely thrust back by one of the King's guards, who knowing him to be what he was, said to him in a jeer, good man burgess, you come not here.

This affair made some noise afterwards; but the House thought proper to take no notice of it. The Commons being entered, the King made a speech to both Houses, which, though very long, deserves to be inserted at length, that from some certain passages may be discovered the genius, character and designs of this Prince.

## **The King's Speech to The Parliament**

“IT did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent the violence of his devouring angel, against the poor people of this City, but as soon did I resolve to call this Parliament, and that for three chief and principal reasons. The first whereof

is, (and which of their, although there were no more, is not only a sufficient, but a most full and necessary ground and reason for convening of this assembly); this first reason, I say, is, that you, who are here presently assembled to represent the body of this whole Kingdom, and of all sorts of people within the same, may with your own ears hear, and that I out of mine own mouth may deliver unto you, the assurance of my due thankfulness for your so joyful and general applause, to the declaring and receiving of me in this seat, (which God by my birthright and lineal decent, had in the fullness of time provided for me) and that immediately after it, pleased God to call your late Sovereign, of famous memory, full of days, but fuller of immortal trophies of honour, out of this transitory life.

Not that I am able to express by words, or utter by eloquence, the vivid image of mine inward thankfulness, but only that out of mine own mouth you may rest assured to expect that measure of thankfulness at my hands, which according to the infiniteness of your deserts, and to my inclination and ability for requital of the same.

Shall I ever? Nay, can I ever be able, or rather so unable in memory, as to forget your unexpected readiness and alacrity, your ever memorable resolution, and your most wonderful conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawful King and Government?

Or shall it ever be blotted out of my mind, how at my first entry into this Kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran; nay, rather flew to meet me? Their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection; their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members in their gestures, discovering passionate longing, and earnestness to meet and embrace their new Sovereign. *Quid ergo retribuam?*

Shall I allow in myself that which I could never bear within another. No I must plainly and freely confess here, in all your audiences, that I did ever naturally so far mislike a tongue too smooth, and diligent in paying their creditors with lip-payment and verbal, thanks, as I ever suspected that sort of people meant not to pay their debtors in more substantial sort of coin.

And therefore for expressing my thankfulness, I must resort unto the other two reasons of my convening of this Parliament, by them in action to utter my thankfulness: Both the said reasons having but one ground, which is the deeds, whereby all the days of my life I am by God's grace to express my said thankfulness towards you, but divided in this, that in the first of these two minor actions of thanks are so inseparably conjoined with my person, as they are in a manner become individually annexed to the same.

In the other reason, mine actions are such, as I may either do them, or leave them undone, although by God's grace I hope never to be weary of the doing of them.

As to the first, it is the blessings which God hath in my person bestowed upon you all, wherein I protest, I do more glory at the same for your weale, than for any particular respect of mine own reputation, or advantage therein.

The first then of these blessings, which God hath jointly with my person sent unto you, is, outward peace; that is, peace abroad with all foreign neighbours: For I thank God, I may justly say, that never since I was a King, I either received wrong of any other Christian Prince or state, or did wrong to any. I have ever, I praise God, yet kept peace and amity with all, which hath been so far tied to my person, as at my

coming here, you are witnesses, I found the state embarked in a great and tedious war; and only by mine arrival here, and by the peace in my person, is now amity kept, where war was before, which is no small blessing to a Christian Commonwealth.

For by peace abroad with their neighbours, the towns flourish, the merchants become rich, the trade doth increase, and the people of all sorts in the land enjoy free liberty to exercise themselves in their several vocations, without peril or disturbance.

Not that I think this outward peace so inseparably tied to my person, as I dare assuredly promise to myself, and to you, the certain continuance thereof: But thus far I can very well assure you, and in the word of a King's promise unto you, That shall never give the first occasion of the breach thereof; neither shall I ever be moved for any particular or private passion of mind, to interrupt your public peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the honour of the Kingdom, or else by necessity for the weak and preservation of the same. In which case, a secure and honourable war, must be preferred to an insecure and dishonourable peace.

Yet do I hope, by my experience of the by-past blessings of peace, which God hath so long, ever since my birth, bestowed upon me, that he will not be weary to continue the same, nor repent him of his grace towards me; transferring that sentence of King David's, upon his by-past victories of war, to mine of peace;

That that God who preserved me from the devouring jaws of the bear, and of the lion, and delivered them into my hands, shall also now grant me victory over that uncircumcised Philistine. But although outward peace be a great blessing, yet it is as far inferior to peace within, as civil wars are more cruel and unnatural than wars abroad.

And therefore the second great blessing that God hath within my person sent unto you, is peace within, and that in a double form: first, by my decent lineally out of the loins of Henry the seventh, is re-united and confirmed in me the union of the two princely roses of the two houses of Lancaster and York, whereof that King of happy memory was the first uniter, as he was also the full ground-layer of the other peace, (the lamentable and miserable events, by the civil and bloody dissension betwixt these two houses, was so great, and so late, as it need not be renewed unto your memories) which as it was first settled and united in him, so is it now re-united and confirmed in me; being justly and lineally descended, not only of that happy conjunction, but of both the branches thereof in any times before. But the union of these two princely houses is nothing comparable to the union of these two ancient and famous kingdoms, which is the other inward peace annexed to my person.

And here I must crave your patience for a little space, to give me leave to discourse more particularly of the benefits that do arise of that union which is made in my blood, being a matter that most properly belongeth to me to speak of, as the head wherein that great body is united.

And first, if we were to look no higher than to natural and physical reasons, we may easily be persuaded of the great benefits that by that union do redound to the whole island: for if twenty thousand men be a strong army, is not the double thereof, forty thousand, a double the stronger army?

If a Baron enricheth himself with double as many lands as he had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teaches us, that mountains are made of motes; and that

at the first, kingdoms being divided, and every particular town, or little country, as tyrants or usurpers could obtain the possession, a signiory part.

Many of these little kingdoms are now, in process of time, by the ordinance of God, joined into great monarchies, whereby they are become powerful within themselves, to defend themselves from all outward invasions, and their head and governor thereby enabled to redeem them from foreign assaults, and punish private transgressions within.

Do we not yet remember that this kingdom was divided into seven little kingdoms, besides Wales? And is it not now the stronger by their union? And hath not the union of Wales to England? added a greater strength thereto? Which, though it was a great principality, was nothing comparable in greatness and power, to the ancient and famous kingdom of Scotland.

But what should we stick upon any natural appearance, when it is manifest that God by his almighty providence hath pre-ordained it so to be? Hath not God first united these two kingdoms, both in language, religion, and similitude of manners?

Yea, hath he not made us all in one island, compassed with one sea, and of itself by nature so indivisible, as almost those that were borderers themselves on the late borders, cannot, distinguish, nor know, or discern their own limits: these two countries being separated neither by sea, nor great river, mountain, nor other strength of nature, but only by little small brooks, or demolished little walls, so as rather they were divided in apprehension than in effect; and now in the end and fullness of time united, the right and title of both in my person, alike lineally descended of both the crowns, whereby it is now become like a little world within itself, being intrenched and fortified round about with a natural, and yet admirable strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former fears of this nation are now quite cut off.

The other part of the island being ever before now, not only the place of landing to all strangers that were to make invasion here, but likewise moved by the enemies of this state, by untimely incursions to make enforced diversion from their conquests, for defending themselves at home, and keeping sure their back-door, as then it was called, which was the greatest hindrance and lett that ever my predecessors of this nation gat, in disturbing them from their many famous and glorious conquests abroad. What God hath conjoined then, let no man separate. I am the husband, and all the whole island is my lawful wife; I am the head, and it is my body; I am the shepherd, and it is my flock.

I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to think, that I, that am a Christian King, under the gospel, should be a polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the head, should have a divided and monstrous body; or that being the shepherd to so fair a flock, (whose fold hath no wall to hedge it but the four seas) should have my flock parted in two.

But as I am assured that no honest subject, of whatsoever degree, within my whole dominions, is less glad of this joyful union than I am; so may the frivolous objection of any that would be hinderers of this work (which God hath in my person already established) be easily answered; which can be none, except such as are either blinded with ignorance, or else transported with malice, being unable to live in a well governed commonwealth, and only delighting to fish in troubled waters: for if they would stand upon their reputation and privileges of any of the kingdoms; I pray you, were not both the kingdoms monarchies from the beginning? And consequently,

could ever the body be counted without the head, which was ever inseparably joined thereunto?

So that as the honour and privileges of any of the kingdoms could not be divided from their Sovereign; so are they now confounded and joined in my person, who am equal and alike kindly head to you both. When this kingdom of England was divided into so many little kingdoms, as I told you before, one of them behoved to eat up another, till they were all united in one.

And yet can Wiltshire or Devonshire, which were of the West-Saxons, although their kingdom was of longest durance, and did by conquest overcome divers of the rest of the little kingdoms, make claim to priority of place or honour before Sussex, Essex, or other Shires, which were conquered by them?

And have we not the like experience in the kingdom of France, being composed of divers Duchies, and one after another conquered by the sword? For even as little brooks lose their names by their running and falling into great rivers, and the very name and memory of the great rivers swallowed up in the ocean; so by the conjunction of divers little kingdoms in one, are all these private differences and questions swallowed up.

And, since the success was happy of the Saxon kingdoms, being conquered by the spear of Bellona, how much greater reason have we to expect a happy issue of this greater union, which is only fattened and bound up by the wedding ring of Astrea?

And as God hath made Scotland (the one half of this isle) to enjoy my birth, and the first and most imperfect half of my life; and you here to enjoy the perfect and last half thereof; so cannot I think that any would be so injurious to me, no, not in their thoughts and wishes, as to cut asunder the one half of me from the other. But in this matter I have far enough insisted, resting assured, that in your hearts and minds you all applaud this my discourse.

Now although these blessings, before rehearsed, of inward and outward peace be great: Yet seeing that in all good things, a great part of their goodness and estimation is lost, if they have not appearance of perpetuity or long continuance; so hath it pleased Almighty God to accompany my person also with that favour, having healthful and hopeful issue of my body, whereof some are here present, for continuance and propagation of that undoubted right which is in my person; under whom I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for many years this union, and all other blessings of inward and outward peace, which I have brought with me.

But neither peace outward, nor peace inward, nor any other blessing that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuity thereof, by propagation in the posterity, is but a weak pillar, and a rotten reed to lean unto, if God do not strengthen, and by the staff of his blessing make them durable; for in vain doth the watchman watch the city, if the Lord be not the principal defence thereof; in vain doth the builder build the house, if God give not the success; and in vain, as Paul faith, doth Paul plant, and Apollo water, if God give not the increase: for all worldly blessings are but like swift passing shadows, shading flowers, or chaff blown before the wind, if by the profession of true religion, and works according thereunto, God be not moved to maintain and settle the thrones of Princes.

And although that since mine entry into this kingdom, I have both by meeting with divers of the Ecclesiastical State, and likewise by divers proclamations, clearly

declared my mind in points of religion, yet do I not think it amiss in this so solemn an audience, I should now take occasion to discover somewhat of the secrets of my heart in that matter.

For I shall never, with God's grace, be ashamed to make public profession thereof at all occasions, lest God should be ashamed to profess and allow me, before men and angels; especially, lest that at this time men might presume farther upon the misknowledge of my meaning, to trouble this parliament of ours than were convenient.

At my first coming, although I found but one religion, and that which by myself is professed, publicly allowed, and by the law maintained; yet found I another sort of religion, besides a private sort, lurking within the bowels of this nation.

The first is the true religion, which by me is professed, and by the law is established: the second is, the falsely called Catholics, but truly Papists: the third, which I call a self, rather than a religion, is the puritans and novelists, who do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and purity, being ever discontented with the present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which makes their sect unable to be suffered, in any well governed common-wealth. But as for my course towards them, I remit it to my proclamations made upon that subject.

And now for the Papists, I must put a difference betwixt my own private profession of mine own salvation, and my politick government of the realm, for the weal and quietness thereof. As for mine own profession, you have me your head now amongst you, of the same religion that the body is of.

As I am no stranger to you in blood, no more am I a stranger to you in faith, or in the matters concerning the house of God. And although this my profession be according to mine education, wherein, I thank God, I sucked the milk of God's truth, with the milk of my nurse; yet do I here protest unto you, that I would never, for such a conceit of constancy, or other prejudicate opinion, have so firmly kept my first profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all reason, and to the rule of my conscience. But I was never violent, nor unreasonable in my profession.

I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our mother church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were, when they crucified Christ. And as I am none enemy to the life of a sick man, because I would have his body purged of ill humours; no more am I enemy to their Church, because I would have them reform their errors, not wishing the down throwing of the temple, but that it might be purged, and cleansed from corruption; otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first clean?

But as I would be loathe to dispense in the least point of mine own conscience, for any worldly respect, than the foolishness of them all; so would I be as sorry to strait the politick government of the bodies and minds of all my subjects to my private opinions.

Nay, my mind was ever so free from persecution, or thralling of my subjects in matters of conscience, as I hope those of that profession within this kingdom, have a proof since my coming, that I was so far from increasing their burthens with Rehoboam, as I have do much, as either time, occasion, or law could permit, to enlighten them.

And even now at this time, have I been careful to revise and consider deeply upon the laws made against them, that some overture might be proposed to the present Parliament, for clearing these laws by reason, (which is the soul of the law,) in case they have been in times past further, or more rigorously extended by judges, than the meaning of the law was, or might tend to the hurt as well of the innocent, as of guilty persons.

And as to the persons of my subjects which are of that profession, I must divide them into two ranks, clerics and laicks; for the part of the laicks, certainly I ever thought them far more excusable than the other sort, because that sort of religion contained such an ignorant, doubtful, and implicit kind of faith in the laicks, grounded upon their church, as except they do generally believe whatsoever their teachers please to affirm, they cannot be thought guilty of these particular points of heresies and corruptions, which their teachers do so wilfully profess.

And again, I must subdivide the same laicks into two ranks, that is, either quiet and well-minded men, peaceable subjects, who either being old, have retained their first drunken in liquor, upon a certain shamefacedness to be thought curious, or changeable, or being young men, through evil educations, have never been nursed or brought up but upon such venom, instead of wholesome nutriment.

And that fort of people, I would be sorry to punish their bodies for the error of their minds, the reformation whereof must only come of God, and the true Spirit. But the other rank of laicks, who either through curiosity, affectation of novelties, or discontentment in their private humours, have changed their coats, only to be factious stirrers of sedition, and perturbors of the Commonwealth.

Their backwardness in their religion giveth a ground to me, (their magistrate to take the better heed to their proceedings, and to correct their obstinacy. But for the part of the clerics, I must directly say and affirm, that as long as they maintain one special point of their doctrine, and another point of their practice, they are no way sufferable to remain in this Kingdom.

Their point of doctrine is, that arrogant and ambitious supremacy of their head the Pope, whereby he not only claims to be spiritual head of all Christians, but also to have an imperial civil power over all Kings and Emperors, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all kingdoms and empires at his appetite.

The other point which they observe in continual practise is, the assassinations and murders of Kings; thinking it no sin, but rather a matter of salvation, to do all actions of rebellion and hostility against their natural Sovereign Lord, if he be once cursed, his subjects discharged of their fidelity, and his kingdom given a prey, by that three crowned monarch, or rather monster, their head.

And in this point I have no occasion to speak further here, saving, That I could wish from my heart, that it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general Christian union in religion, as laying wilfulness aside on both hands, we might meet in the midst, which is the centre and perfection of all things. For if they would leave, and be ashamed of such new and gross corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation.

I would for my own part be content to meet them in the mid-way, so that all novelties might be renounced on other sides. For as my faith is the true, ancient, catholic and

apostolic faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and express word of God; so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity, in the points of ecclesiastical policy.

And by that means shall I ever, with God's grace, keep myself from either being an heretic in faith, or schismatic in matters of policy.

But of one thing would I have the Papists of this land to be admonished, that they presume not so much upon my lenity, (because I would be loath to be thought a persecutor) as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their number and strength in this Kingdom, whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my posterity, they might be in hope to erect their religion again.

No, let them assure themselves, that as I am a friend to their persons, if they be good subjects; so I am a vowed enemy, and do denounce mortal war to their errors. And that as I would be sorry to be driven by their ill behaviour, from the protection and conservation of their bodies and lives; so will I never cease, as far as I can, to tread down their errors and wrong opinions. For I could not permit the increase and growing of their religion, without first betraying of myself and mine own conscience.

Secondly, this whole isle, as well the part I am come from, as the part I remain in, betraying their liberties, and reducing them to the former slavish yoke, which both had casten off before I came amongst them, and thirdly, the liberty of the crown in my posterity, which I should leave again under a new slavery, having found it left free to me by my predecessors. And therefore would I wish all my good subjects that are deceived with that corruption, first, if they find any beginning of instinction in themselves of knowledge, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worked within them.

And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned men, and to use all such means as may further their resolution; assuring themselves, that as long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they cannot be but half my subjects, be able to do but half service, and I to want the best half of them, which is their souls.

And here I take occasion to speak to you my Lords the Bishops; for as you my Lord of Durham said very learnedly to day in your sermon, correction without instruction is but a tyranny: So ought you, and all the clergy under you, to be more careful, vigilant, and diligent, than you have been to win souls to God, as well by your exemplary life as doctrine.

And since you see how careful they are, sparing neither labour, pains, nor extreme peril of their persons, to pervert, (the Devil is so busy a Bishop), ye should be the more careful and wakeful in your charges. Follow the rule prescribed to you by St. Paul: Be ye careful to exhort and instruct in season, and out of season.

And where you have been any way sluggish before, now waken yourselves up again with a new diligence in this point, remitting the success to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth hour, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they be to me his lieutenant here.

The third reason of my convening you at this time, which containeth such actions of my thankfulness towards you, as I may either do, or leave undone, yet shall, with God's grace, ever press to perform all the days of my life, it consists in these two points, in making of laws at certain times, which is only at such times as this, in Parliament; or in the careful execution thereof at all other times.

As for the making of them, I will thus far faithfully promise unto you, that I will ever prefer the weal of the body, and of the whole Commonwealth, in making of good laws and Constitutions, to any particular or private ends of mine, thinking ever the wealth and weal of the Commonwealth to be my greatest weal, and worldly felicity: A point wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from a tyrant.

But at this time I am only thus far to forewarn you in that point, that you beware to seek the making of too many Laws, for two especial reasons:

First, because in *corruptissimâ Republicâ plurimæ leges*: And the execution of good Laws is far more profitable in a Commonwealth, than to burden men's memories with the making of too many of them.

And next, because the making of too many laws in one Parliament will bring in confusion, for lack of leisure wisely to deliberate before you conclude: For the Bishop said well to day, that to deliberation would a large time be given, but to execution a greater promptness was required, as for me execution of good laws, it hath been very wisely and honourably foreseen, and ordered by my predecessors in this Kingdom, in planting such a number of judges, and all sorts of magistrates, in convenient places, for the execution of the same.

And therefore must I now turn me to you that are judges, and magistrates under me, as mine eyes and ears in this case: I can say none otherwise to you, than as Exekios the good King of Judah said to his judges, remember that the thrones you sit on are God's, and neither yours nor mine.

And that as you must be answerable to me, so must both you and I be answerable to God, for the due execution of our offices. That place is no place for you to utter your affections in; you must not there hate your foe, nor love your friends, fear the offence of the greater party, or pity the misery of the meaner; ye must be blind, and not see distinctions of persons; handless, not receive bribes, but keep that just temper and mid-course in all your proceedings, that like a just balance, ye may neither sway to the right nor left-hand.

Three principal qualities are required in you, knowledge, courage, and sincerity; that you may discern with knowledge, execute with courage, and do both in upright sincerity. And as for my part, I do vow and protest here in the presence of God, and of this honourable audience, I never shall be weary, nor omit no occasion wherein I may shew my carefulness of the execution of good laws.

And as I wish you that are judges, not to be weary in your office, in doing of it, so shall I never be weary, with God's grace, to take account of you, which is properly my calling.

And thus having told you the three causes of my convening of this Parliament, all three tending only to utter my thankfulness, but in divers forms, the first by word, the other two by action. I do confess, that when I have done, and performed all that in this speech I have promised, *inutilis servus sum. Inutile*, because the meaning of the word *Inutile*, in that place of Scripture, is understood, that in doing all that service which we can to God, it is but our due, and we do nothing to God, but that which we are bound to do: and in like manner, when I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that, which I am bound to do, and am accountable to God upon the contrary.

For I do .acknowledge that the special and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightful King, and a usurping tyrant, is in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just King doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and prosperity of his people, and that his greatest and principal worldly felicity must consist in their propensity. If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and I protest that your welfare shall ever be my greatest care and contentment.

And that I am a servant is most true; that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, who are my natural vassals and subjects, considering them in numbers and distinct ranks; so if we will take the whole people as one body and mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous King know himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him for although King and people be *relata*, yet can he be no King if he want people and subjects: But there be many people in the world that lack a head; wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour, to be the great servant of the Common-Wealth; and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity, as I have already said.

But as it was the whole body of this Kingdom, (with an uniform assent and harmony) as I told you in the beginning of my speech, which did so far oblige me, in goodwill and thankfulness of requital by their alacrity and readiness in declaring and receiving me to that place which God had provided for me, and not any particular persons, (for then it had not been the body) so is my thankfulness due to the whole state.

For even as in matters of faults, *Quod à multis peccatur impunè peccatur*; even so in the matters of virtuous and good deeds, what is done by the willing consent and harmony of the whole body, no particular person can justly claim thanks, as proper to him for the same: And therefore I must here make a little apology for myself, in that I could not satisfy the particular humours of every person that looked for some advancement or reward at my hand, since my entry into this Kingdom.

Three kinds of things were craved of me, advancement to honour, preferment to place of credit about my person, and reward in matters of land or profit. If I had bestowed honour upon all, no man could have been advanced to honour; for the degrees of honour do consist in preferring some above their fellows. If every man had the like access to my privy or bed-chamber, then no man could have it, because it cannot contain all.

And if I had bestowed lands and rewards upon every man, the fountain of my liberality would have been so exhausted and dried, as I would lack means to be liberal to any man.

And yet was I not so sparing, but I may without vaunting affirm, that I have enlarged my favour in all the three degrees, towards as many, and more than ever King of England did, in so short a space. No, I rather crave your pardon, that I have been so bountiful.

For, if the means of the Crown be wasted. I behoved then to have recourse to you my subjects, and be burthen some to you; which I would be loathed to be of any King alive. For as it is true, that as I have already said, it was a whole body which did deserve so well at my hand, and not every particular person of the people: yet were there some who by reason of their office, credit with the people, or otherwise,

took occasion both before, and at the same time of my coming amongst you, to give proof of their love and affection towards me.

Not that I am any way in doubt, that if other of my subjects, had been in their places, and had had the like occasion, but they would have uttered the like good effects, (so general and so great were the love and affection of you all towards me): But yet this having been performed by some special persons, I could not without un-thankfulness but requite them accordingly.

And therefore had I just occasion to advance some in honour, some to places of service about me, and by rewarding to enable some who had deserved well of me, and were not otherwise able to maintain the ranks I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deserved before, yet I found them capable and worthy of place of preferment and credit, and not able to sustain those places for which I thought them fit, without my help.

Two especial causes moved me to be so open-handed, whereof the one was reasonable and honourable, but the other (I will not be ashamed to confess unto you) proceeded of mine own infirmity. That which was just and honourable, was, that being so far beholden to the body of the whole state, I thought I could not refuse to let run some small brooks out of the fountain of my thankfulness to the whole, for refreshing of particular persons that were members of that multitude.

The other, which proceeded out of mine own infirmity, was, the multitude and importunity of suitors. But although reason come by infusion in a manner, yet experience groweth with time and labour: And therefore do I not doubt, but experience in time coming will both teach the particular subjects of this Kingdom, not to be so importune and indiscreet in craving; and me not to be so easily and lightly moved in granting, that which may be harmful to my estate, and consequently to the whole Kingdom.

And thus having at length declared unto you my mind, in all the points for the which I called this Parliament, my conclusion shall only now be, to excuse myself, in case you have not found such eloquence in my speech, as peradventure you might have looked for at my hands. I might, if I list, allege the great weight of my affairs, and my continual business and distraction, that I could never have leisured to think upon what I was to speak, before I came to the place where I was to speak.

And I might also allege, that my first sight of this so famous and honourable an assembly, might likewise breed some impediment: But leaving these excuses, I will plainly and freely in my manner, tell you the true cause of it; which is, that it becometh a King, in my opinion, to use no other eloquence than plainness and sincerity. By plainness I mean, that his speeches should be so clear, and void of all ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent asunder in contrary senses, like the old oracles of the pagan gods.

And by sincerity I understand, that uprightness and honesty which ought to be in a King's whole speeches and actions; that, as far as a King is in honour erected above any of his subjects, so far should he strive in sincerity to be above them all, and that his tongue should be ever the true messenger of his heart. And this sort of eloquence may you ever assuredly look for at my hands.



## Several Remarks Upon The King's Speech

This speech was not received with the applause expected by the King. Besides the excessive length, several things were remarked which gave occasion for censure: In the first place, no body could tell what to make of his actions of thanks inseparably conjoined in his person, and containing two blessings, the first whereof was confined to these two points:—

1. That having never had war with any of his neighbours, he inferred from thence that he brought peace with him every where. But it was no great wonder, he had not been hitherto in war with his neighbours, since Scotland has properly no neighbours but the English.

2. That without being solicited he had revoked the letters of Mark against Spain. The other blessing of his actions of thanks consisted in the union in his person of the titles of the two Houses of Lancaster and York. Hence he would have insinuated, that by his accession to the throne of England, he freed the English from the dread of seeing a renewal of the civil wars occasioned by the titles of the two Houses: But this pretended dread was only a chimera of his own forming.

Since Henry VIII, who much more justly united in his person the rights of the two contending Houses, the dread of a civil war had so disappeared, that it was entirely forgot. As for his efforts to show the great advantages which would accrue to England from the union of the two kingdoms, they were entirely vain, as will hereafter appear.

Besides, his inferences from the arbitrary companions, of a head with a divided body, a husband with two wives, a shepherd with two flocks, seemed so little solid, that they were turned to ridicule. What he said about religion was displeasing to all. The Catholics were not satisfied with his definitions. The Puritans were extremely offended, that he should positively say of them:—

“They were ever discontented with the present government, and impatient of any superiority, which made their sect insufferable in a well-governed Common-wealth.”

The Protestants in general remarked in his speech too great condescension for the Papists, and even contradiction in what he said about them. On the one hand, he affirmed, he was of the Church of England, and his faith grounded upon the Holy Scriptures.

On the other hand, he was ready to lay aside all prejudice, and meet the Catholics half way. He declared himself a mortal enemy to their errors, but took care to intimate, that he confined, as I may say, these errors to the doctrine of the Pope's exorbitant power. Upon the other sort of actions of thanks, confiding in the making and executing of laws, it was said, that a King of England might extol his condescension concerning some particular law, made to his own detriment, and the nation's benefit: But no King before him ever pretended to lay an obligation upon his people, for giving his assent to such laws as were for his own and the kingdom's good.

It was also observed, that he admonished the Parliament not to enact too many laws, as if he feared to be obliged to carry his pretended thankfulness too far. That as for the few good laws he was willing to admit, all the effects of his thankfulness confided in giving the judges a very common and trivial charge, finally, it was remarked, that this thankfulness upon which his whole speech turned, was as imaginary as the cause which produced it.

In thanking the people of England for reaching and embracing him as their undoubted and lawful King and governor, he did not mean to declare that the people had made him so, but only that being undoubted King by his birthright, they had received and owned him as such. This was lessening the obligation, and consequently the thankfulness too. Wherefore it was thought by many, that the King's aim, in this long harangue, was not so much to express his thankfulness

to the English to insinuate to them, that all he was obliged to them for, was, their not opposing his undoubted right: that his chief intention was, to obtain of the Parliament the union of the two kingdoms; to prevent any new laws against the Papists, and to have the execution of those already in force left to him.

What was only conjectured at first, became certain afterwards, as the King's intentions were discovered. In this very Parliament therefore, a suspicion and jealousy of the King began to be entertained by the people. This also put the House of Commons upon their guard, and made them carefully weigh the King's words and actions, who notwithstanding the maxims laid down in the conclusion of his speech, was a great matter in the art of chousing ambiguous expressions. This must always be remembered, in order to understand the events of this reign.

### **Act to Confirm The King's Title**

The first thing the Parliament did, was to prepare an act for acknowledging the King's title to the crown of England. James had not required it. On the contrary, in all appearance, by repeating several times in his speech, that he was undoubted King by birthright, he designed to intimate, he did not want the Parliament's confirmation. But if this was his intent, the two Houses did not, or seemed not to understand it, whether they resolved to preserve a privilege hitherto enjoyed, or feared such an omission might occasion troubles and rebellions. The King on his part thought it not prudent to refuse the act.

### **Commissioners to Examine The Union of The Two Kingdoms**

After the Parliament had considered of some other affairs, they appointed commissioners to examine the King's proposal concerning the union of the two kingdoms. But the King had already obstructed it, by lavishing honours and riches upon his Scotch courtiers.

This convinced the English, they could not but lose by a union, whose end, as they believed, was to render the Scots partakers of the riches of England, whereas the English had nothing to expert in Scotland[38].

Hence the King's speech was censured, where he spoke of Scotland as the one half of the island, though the English were persuaded, there was a great inequality between England and Scotland. The eager pursuit of the Scots after places, pensions, and rich matches, raised the jealousy of the English, and rendered them very averse to the union projected by the King. with these dispositions the commissioners met to examine the advantages and inconveniences, in order to make their report to the two houses[39].

### **The People's Discontent With Respect to Religion**

Whilst this affair was in hand, most people could not forbear showing discontent with regard to religion. The Catholics expected greater favours from a Prince, whom they imagined in their interest. His distinctions between the clerics and laicks, between those who ascribed to the Pope an unlimited power, and such as received not that doctrine, made them fear, the advantages they had promised themselves in this new reign would be very inconsiderable.

The Presbyterians were enraged to see the King so openly prefer the Papists before them. All the Protestants in general heard with grief, the advances made by the King to the Papists. Especially, the offer of meeting them half way, and the affectation of condemning only a single tenet, gave occasion to fear, he had indeed the sentiments he was suspected of in Scotland.

What means, said they, his offer to the Papists of meeting them half way, upon their renouncing the doctrines repugnant to the regal authority? Where is this half way to be? Does it relate to the

hierarchy? But if the Pope's authority is not received, there will be no difference between the English and Catholic Church.

Does he reckon the Catholics will have come half way, when they have renounced the Pope's exorbitant power? If so, we must in order to go the other half yield them the rest of the articles, which were the cause of our separation. In a word, it was not known how far this offer was to extend, or where to stop, so obscure and doubtful was this expression, though he had declared, he would use no other eloquence than plainness and sincerity.

Most of the bishops, and the zealous Church of England men, were alone pleased, because the King seemed bent not to suffer the puritans, who were no less odious to them than the bigoted Papists.

It is certain, their zeal for the Church of England was carried a little too far, and the King, by declaring himself so plainly a sworn enemy to the Puritans, bred a mutual enmity between the two parties, which was but too much cherished, and which, at another time, proved fatal to the established Church.

The Puritans were so offended at this uncharitableness for them, and the great condescension for the Papists, that they did not scruple to charge the King, the Bishops, and the zealous Episcopalians, with being so many popish agents. Amidst these divisions, the Romish emissaries had but too many opportunities to foment the animosity of the two parties, and carry it to the utmost height, knowing they could not better execute their designs, than when the Kingdom was involved in troubles.

### **The Artifice of The Jesuits to Cause Division Discovered**

It is pretended, at this time many Jesuits, with their superiors permission, were received, some as Presbyterian ministers, others as Church of England priests, and that under these disguises, they so stretched the principles of the two parties, whether in their writings or in their sermons, that the breach was rendered irreparable.

### **The King Loves Flattery**

At the same time, those who approached the King's person, both English and Scots, thought only of making their court, in order to obtain his good-graces and favours. The jealousy between the two nations helped to strain the flattery used by the whole Court to the King. Everyone strove to keep in his esteem by whatever was most grateful to him, and nothing was more so, than to be extolled for his learning and parts, and to hear the royal authority talked of according to his principles.

It was some time, before the people had a clear knowledge of this Prince's genius and character; but when he was once well known, the esteem at first entertained of him, very sensibly diminished, to which the King himself greatly contributed by his strange conduct, as will hereafter appear.

### **He Assumes The Title of King of Great Britain**

The principal affair for which the King had summoned the Parliament was, the union of the two Kingdoms, though he pretended, his sole motive was to express his thankfulness to the English. He had so good an opinion of his eloquence, that he did not question the success of this affair, and the nomination of the commissioners for that purpose confirmed his belief. So, whether through impatience, or to engage the Parliament the sooner to unite the two Kingdoms, he ordered himself to be proclaimed King of Great Britain, without staying for the Parliament's

determination. From thenceforward he would hear no more of the determination of the two Kingdoms. St. Andrew's Cross was quartered with St. George's in the flags, and by proclamation the Scottish coins were made current in England.

This showed, the King did not doubt, the affair of the union would succeed to his wishes. But he did not yet know the genius and character of the English. Such as had no share in his bounties, loudly murmured to see his Scotch attendants grown so rich in a very short space, that the English could not imitate their magnificence without ruining their estates[40].

Several Pasque were duly made upon this occasion, not much to the advantage of the Scots, nor consequently to the design of the union of the two Kingdoms.

## **Difference Between The King and The House of Commons**

There was also another thing which did not render the people favourable to the King. This was an occasion of discontent given to the House of Commons, and which it will be necessary to mention, in order to show this Prince's idea of the English constitution, and the just cause he gave the Commons to fear, he designed to invade their privileges.

Immediately after the opening of the Parliament, the Commons examining, according to custom, the contested elections, there was a debate in the House about the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir John Fortescue, for Knight of the Shire for the County of Bucks, and upon a full hearing, Sir Francis was declared duly elected.

Three days after, the Lords sent a message to the Commons, that there might be a conference about Goodwin's election. The Commons surprised at so extraordinary a message, answered, They did not think themselves obliged to give an account of their proceedings, and therefore could not grant the conference required.

The Lords replied, the King having been acquainted with what had passed in Goodwin's case, thought himself engaged in honour to have the affair debated again, and had ordered them to confer with the Commons upon it. Whereupon, the Commons, by their Speaker, gave their reasons to the King, why they could not admit of this innovation. But all they could obtain was, that instead of a conference with the Lords, the King commanded them to confer with the judges.

This pleased them no more than the other. They set down their reasons in writing, and delivered them at the Council Chamber, to desire their Lordships to intercede for them to the King, not to violate their privileges. The answer was, the King absolutely commanded them to have a conference with the Judges. The Commons were extremely surprised at so absolute an order.

Meanwhile, fearing to be accused of too easily engaging in a quarrel with the King, they thought it more proper to yield, than stand out, fully bent however to adhere to what had been determined in the case of the contested election. certainly the King had engaged in a very nice affair, and probably, would not have come off with honour, had he not been disengaged by Goodwin's moderation.

Sir Francis chousing to forfeit his right rather than occasion a quarrel between the King and the Commons, desired the House to order the County of Bucks to elect another Knight in his stead. The King and Commons equally accepted of this expedient, which prevented them from coming to extremities; but the King found from hence, that no great account was made of the Proclamation upon calling the Parliament, whereby he meant to be master of the elections.

## **The Commons Addresses The King**

The Commons perceived by this affair, that the King's intention was to sound them, and that hereafter such incidents might frequently be revived. For which reason, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, addressing the King concerning certain grievances, they took occasion to represent their privileges, of which they supposed him not yet fully informed.

### **The Parliament is Prorogued**

This address so displeased the King, that on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July he prorogued the Parliament to the 7<sup>th</sup> of February, to have time to think of means to humble the Commons[41].

It is certain, most of those who approached the King, laboured to inspire him with the design of rendering himself absolute, or rather to confirm him in this resolution, by which they perfectly made their court.

### **The Clergy Countenance The King's Principles Touching Arbitrary Power**

Besides, arbitrary power is as advantageous to Ministers and Courtiers, as it is prejudicial to the rest of the nation. Several authors accuse the bishops of having been of the number of the flatterers. Perhaps matters have been a little aggravated. However, many things give occasion to believe, that the clergy of the Church of England were inclined to ascribe to the King, more power than his predecessors had hitherto enjoyed.

At least, it is certain that from the reign of James I. to this present time; many of the clergy have endeavoured to persuade the people, that they ought to acknowledge in the Sovereign an unlimited authority[42], and have extended passive obedience in England as far as in the most arbitrary Monarchies.

### **The Archbishop's Attempt in Favour of The King**

Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, a most zealous asserter of the Prerogative-Royal, was one of the first who attempted to go beyond the usual bounds, by causing things to depend on the King's will, which were undeniably within the Parliament's jurisdiction.

He exhibited to the King and Council twenty-five grievances of the Clergy[43], which were desired to be reformed in granting prohibitions, that the King's Courts might not have cognizance of what concerned these articles.

It is said, his intention was to shew others the way to apply directly to the King, without regarding the Parliament or Convocation. But the King was told, in case he granted the Archbishop's request, he would be engaged in inextricable difficulties, because the redressing of grievances had ever belonged to the Parliament.

Whereupon, the King consulted the Judges who answered unanimously, he ought to refrain from deciding anything concerning the Archbishop's request.

### **A Treaty of Peace with Spain**

The conclusion of the peace with Spain soon followed the prorogation of the Parliament. Taxis having informed the King of Spain how the Court of England stood affected, the Constable of Castile was sent into the Low-Countries, with orders to pass into England and conclude the peace.

But the Constable being detained by some affairs in the Netherlands, conveyed his power to Taxis and Richardot. These two deputies being come to London[44], agreed upon a treaty, which

was not however signed till the 18<sup>th</sup> of August, after the arrival of the Constable of Castile. Some say, this ambassador purchased the peace with large sums of money, distributed among the King's Ministers. But this can only be said by conjecture, those who are entrusted with such sort of intrigues, not being used to discover them [45]. However this be, the Treaty with the King of Spain was double, there being one relating entirely to commerce.

**By the IVth Article** of the first Treaty it was agreed;

**That** neither the Kings of England nor Spain, should directly or indirectly, give aid to the enemies or rebels of either part, of what nature or condition soever they were.

**By the Vth;**

**They** renounced all former Leagues, Confederacies, Capitulations and Intelligence contrary to that Treaty.

**In the VIth,**

**King James** excuses the delivery of the cautionary towns to the King of Spain; and promises to enter into a treaty with the States, wherein he will assign a competent time to them, to accept and receive terms for a pacification with the Archduke; which if they refused, he would from thenceforth think himself freed from the former conventions with them.

These doubtless, are the articles which have given occasion to say, the Spaniards bought the peace. It does not however appear, that after this treaty James withdrew his troops from the services of the States, as he should have done by virtue of the IVth Article, nor that he fixed a time for the States to make a peace, pursuant to the VIth. On the contrary, it will be seen, that he delivered to them the cautionary towns for a much less sum than was agreed on with Elizabeth.

Moreover, Andrew du Chesne, in his *History of England*, speaking of this treaty, relates only four articles, whereof the fourth is directly contrary to the aforementioned fourth article. according to that historian the article ran:—

**THAT** as to the States of Holland and Zealand, things should remain as they were, as well with respect to the cautionary towns, as to the other articles of the treaties between Elizabeth and the said States, without the King of England being obliged to recall his troops from the Low-Countries; or to forbid his subjects to serve the said States.

**MOREOVER**, that the commerce, trade, and navigation between the English and the said States, should continue upon the same foot as in Elizabeth's lifetime.

This contrariety makes me think, that James, to please the Spaniard and the Archduke, was persuaded to agree, that the fourth Article should be inserted in the treaty in the manner first mentioned, in order to induce the States to hasten a peace, and that this same article, as related by Du Chesne, was a restriction of the first, or a secret article, which was alone to take place. This is so common a thing in treaties, that this conjecture cannot be considered as groundless, especially as it is confirmed by the event.

## **A Company was Erected for The Trade with Italy and Spain**

The peace with Spain being concluded, the King was persuaded to grant a monopoly of the trade with Spain and Italy to a company of merchants, and to forbid all companies, to traffic in those

countries,. But in the next session of the Parliament, the Commons taking into consideration how destructive to trade such a monopoly was, represented so plainly to the King the ill-consequences thereof, that the company's patent was revoked, and the trade with Spain and Italy declared free as before.

### **The King Lives Very Quietly**

During the rest of the year 1604, nothing remarkable passed in England. The King led a peaceable life amid the flatteries of his court, and very lavishly bestowed his favours on his minions. But this liberality bred a great discontent in those who had no share in it, and thought themselves however no less worthy than the others.

### **He is Lavish of Honours**

Queen Elizabeth took a very different method, but James did not think he to be her imitator. Never were Honours bestowed with less discretion and more profusion than in this reign. Accordingly, they were no longer considered as the reward of merit, but only of adulation[46].

### **The Taking of Ostend**

The town of Ostend besieged now three years by the Spaniards, was at last forced to capitulate the 20th of September. By the taking of this place the conquerors gained only heaps of ruins, which had cost them immense sums, and the loss of numberless officers and soldiers[47].

Before James concluded the Peace with Spain, he seemed willing to concern himself in the preservation of Ostend: but when the peace was made, he thought only of strengthening his new friendship with the King of Spain and the Archduke by sending them ambassadors.

### **The Lord Admiral's Embassy to Spain**

**1605 AD]** The King made choice of his High-Admiral the Earl of Nottingham for ambassador extraordinary to Spain. The Earl departed in March 1605, with a very numerous retinue, consisting, according to some, of no less than six hundred and fifty persons[48].

### **The Earl of Hertford's Embassy to Brussels**

At the same time, the Earl of Hertford was sent in embassy to Brussels. Whilst he was at sea, a Dutch man-of-war sailed by, and refusing to strike, the English Captain, Sir William Monson, prepared to compel him, but the ambassador would not give him leave. This was the first indignity of that nature received by England from the Dutch, whose Sovereignty was not yet so much as acknowledged by any potentate in Europe.

### **Affront to The English Colours by a Dutch Man of War**

If James had demanded reparation, doubtless, he might easily have obtained it, considering the then circumstances of the United Provinces. But very likely, he did not think it worth his while to make a noise about an affair of so little importance.

The English however murmured at it, and many took occasion to compare the King's indolence with Elizabeth's spirit, who, doubtless, would not have been so easy under such an affront. James gave himself no trouble about it, believing, that to avoid all occasion of rupture with his neighbours was a more effectual way to procure his own and the nation's welfare, than to engage in a war for such a trifle.

The jealousy the English began to conceive of the Hollanders, was nothing in comparison of that caused by the King's prodigal favours to the Scots[49]. Most historians accuse the Catholics of cherishing this jealousy between the two nations, to make an advantage of their divisions. But without being forced to recur to so remote a cause, the old enmity between the two Kingdoms, and the King's inclination for the Scots, were in my opinion much more natural causes of it.

### **Douglas a Scot Counterfeits The Privy-Seal and is Hanged**

The King was no stranger to this jealousy, and used some endeavours to allay it. He ordered this year in England, Thomas Douglas, a Scotchman, to be hanged, for counterfeiting the King's Privy-Seal to several Princes of Germany. This man falling into the hands of the Elector Palatine, who discovered the fraud, was sent into England, where he met with his desert.

### **The King's Happy State**

Hitherto the King was undisturbed and surrounded with plenty: whereas he had spent in Scotland, the first years of his life in troubles and want. Since his accession to the throne of England, he had not been obliged to ask money of his Parliament, because when he came to the crown, he found the deceased Queen had not yet touched the subsidy granted her by the Parliament, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds Sterling, which he had entirely received.

This, with his usual revenues, enabled him to be liberal to his Favourites of both nations, who quickly grew very rich. On the other hand, he took a pleasure in raising to honours and dignities several persons, who would not have aspired to them in Elizabeth's reign.

In short, he saw himself incessantly flattered by his courtiers, who omitted no opportunities to shew how much they admired his wisdom and all his other virtues. This was a necessary method, to acquire his favour. To say all in a word, he led a very soft and peaceable life, in the midst of plenty and pleasures, to which some pretend he was a little too much addicted[50].

But this Prince has had the misfortune to have for historians such as loved him not, as on the other side, he has had the good fortune to have some who have endeavoured to praise all his actions. So, there is danger of being greatly mistaken, if an idea of his character is formed upon the commendations or invectives of his historians. It is better to keep solely to the examination of his actions themselves.

### **Occasion of The Gunpowder Plot**

Whilst everything seemed to procure King James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil, envying the happiness of the English, inspired some of his agents with one of the most horrible plots that ever was heard of. I mean the Gunpowder-Treason-Plot, which has made so much noise in the world, and of which I shall relate the particulars, without any aggravation.

Whatever might be the ground of the hopes entertained by the Catholics, when they saw King James ascend the throne of England, it is certain they expected great things from him, and at least a full toleration, with liberty of publicly exercising their religion. Upon this toleration they built their hopes of restoring by degrees their religion in England.

But the King's speech to the Parliament discovered two things. The first, that this toleration, which till then had been hardly doubted, was not yet ready to come.

The second, that though they should obtain it of the King, it would not be for such as acknowledged the Pope's authority in its utmost extent. These were the men however that were most active and eager to reestablish their religion in the Kingdom. They despised a bare liberty of conscience for the moderate Catholics, to which the King seemed to confine his favours.

They believed it to be the King's intention to divide the Catholics, and make two sects, whereof one, renouncing the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, should be tolerated in the Kingdom, and the other expelled.

This division appeared to them so destructive to the Catholic religion, that they imagined, the King by this artful and politick conduct, intended to reconcile to the Church of England, such as should imprudently reject the papal authority, as it happened in the reign of Henry VIII.

## **Account of The Gunpowder Treason**

To prevent the execution of this pretended design, which might be very prejudicial to the Church of Rome, some of these zealots consulted together, and formed a horrible plot, which was afterwards approved by the rest. The chief of these wretches was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, descended from the Catesbies mentioned in the reign of Edward V.

This man having lined Thomas Percy the Earl of Northumberland's cousin, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter[51], Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes, chose five of them to consult how to restore the Romish religion in it.

To this Catesby replied:—

“Though the King was dead, their cause would not be advanced, since he would leave sons, who perhaps would not be more favourable to the Catholics. Nay, supposing the King and his children were removed, there would remain so many of the nobles and gentry, that probably it would be very difficult to accomplish their design.

He added, he had thought of a way to destroy in an instant, almost all the principal enemies of the Catholic religion, and to throw the Kingdom into such a consternation, that not a man would be able to take proper measures to oppose the execution of their designs.”

## **Proceedings Against Garnet &c**

This way was to blow up the Parliament House[52], whilst the King should be speaking his speech from the throne to the Lords and Commons. Then he shewed them in what manner the project might be executed, and was applauded by all.

However, as so detestable a plot could not but breed ideas frightful and naturally shocking to conscience, some moved to have the lawfulness of the project examined by their divines. It is said, that Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, and John Gerrard being consulted, approved of the plot as just and lawful, since it was against excommunicated heretics.

I cannot warrant this, because I never saw their trials. But thus much is certain, they suffered death for not discovering the conspiracy of which they were informed; and the King in an apology published some time after, affirmed, that Garnet was legally convicted, and had confessed his crime[53].

Be this as it will, the thing being determined, they took an oath of secrecy, administered as it is said by Father Garnet[54]. Then Percy being one of the gentlemen pensioners, was appointed to hire a house, adjoining to the Upper House of Parliament. This passed in November or December 1604, and the King was to make his speech to the Parliament on the 7th of February. Percy having hired the house, the conspirators began with no small labour to dig in the cellar through the wall

of partition, which was very thick[55]. But as the "Parliament was prorogued to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October they had as much time as was necessary to finish their work.

In the beginning of February 1605, they had almost digged through the wall, when on a sudden they heard a noise on the other side. This threw them into a great fright, being apprehensive of a discovery, but their courage reviving, Guy Fawkes, who passed for Percy's footman, was sent to see what had occasioned their fear.

Presently after he returned and said, the place from whence the noise came, was a large cellar under the Upper-House of Parliament, full of sea-coals, which were now under sale, and the cellar offered to be let. As nothing could be more favourable to their design, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals.

Then he sent for thirty six barrels of powder from Holland, and lodging them at Lambeth, caused them to be conveyed in the night into the cellar, and covered with coals and faggots[56].

The plot being thus in a fair way, it was considered what was to be done, when the King, Prince Henry his eldest son, the Lords and Commons, should be buried in the ruins of the Parliament-House. The Duke of York the King's second son, being yet very young was not to be present at the Parliament, and the Princess Elizabeth his sister was educated at a house belonging to the Lord Harrington in Warwickshire.

It was resolved therefore, that Percy who had free admittance into the King's Palace, should undertake to kill the Duke of York[57], and that others, under colour of a hunting match should meet on the same day, near the Lord Harrington's house, and secure the Princess Elizabeth, As all this could not be effected without money,

Tresham offered two thousand pounds Sterling, Digby fifteen hundred, and Percy promised to supply four thousand. Some moved for foreign aid beforehand: but the motion was rejected. It was resolved only to demand assistance of France, Spain, and the Archduke, when the plot should be executed.

Then, after some consultation, they agreed to save the Princess Elizabeth, and proclaim her Queen. To this end, they drew up a proclamation, taking care to insert nothing concerning religion, for fear of alarming the people, till they were sufficiently strong to execute all their designs.

Finally, they resolved to spread a report after the blow should be given, that the Puritans were the authors of it.

The Parliament being farther prorogued to the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, the conspirators expected the day with the utmost impatience, not one being touched with remorse of the crime they were going to commit. But God abhorring so detestable a plot, inspired one of the conspirators with a desire to save William Parker, Lord Monteagle's son of the Lord Morley.

### **Letter to William Parker - Mouteagle**

This Lord going home about seven in the evening, a letter was given him by his servant who received it from an unknown person, with a charge to deliver it into his master's own hand. The letter was without name, or date[58],and expressed in these words:—

#### **MY LORD**

Out of the love I bear to some of your friends I have a care of your preservation. I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your

attendance at the Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. Far though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This council is not to be contemned because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is pass so soon as you burn this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose Holy protection I commend you.

This letter was delivered to the Lord Monteagle ten days before the meeting of the Parliament. though it was unintelligible to him, nay, though he imagined it only an artifice to frighten him, he carried it that very evening to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State. The Earl shewed it to some Privy Counsellors, who understood the meaning of it no more than he[59]. However they resolved to do nothing till the King's return, who was then at Royston.

### **Discourse of The Treason**

The King returning to London the last day of October, the Earl of Salisbury read the Letter to him, on the morrow, and concluded that it was written by some fool or madman. To convince the King he repeated this sentence, the danger is past so soon as you burnt this Letter.

For, said he, if the danger be passed when the letter is burnt, what signifies this warning? But the King ordering the letter to be read again, explained the words otherwise, and said, so soon as you burn the letter, was to be interpreted, in as short a space as you shall take to burn the letter.

Then comparing this sentence with the foregoing, that they should receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them, he concluded that some sudden blow was preparing by means of Gunpowder[60].

This interpretation being deemed very plausible, it was resolved, that all the rooms and cellars adjoining to the Parliament House should be searched, to see whether there was any powder concealed. This search was however deferred till the day before the meeting of the Parliament, in a belief, that the nearer the execution was, the more things would be found.

The Earl of Suffolk Lord Chamberlain, went himself to search, without noise or hurry[61]. When he came to the cellar where the powder was, and saw the coals and faggots with which it was covered, he asked Whyneard, the keeper of the wardrobe, who attended him, to what use he had put the cellar?

Whyneard answered, Mr. Percy had hired it, and very probably the coals and wood were the gentleman's fuel for winter. At the same time the Lord Chamberlain perceiving a man standing in a corner, asked who he was, and being told he was Mr. Percy's servant, did not seem to take any farther notice[62].

This affected negligence made the conspirators think there would be no farther search, since nothing was found in the cellar to create any suspicion, and they prepared to execute their plot the next day.

### **Gun Powder is Found Under The House of Lords**

The Earl of Suffolk having made his report to the council, it was thought if there was any powder concealed, it was in the large cellar under the faggots and coals. But as the Parliament was to meet on the morrow, it was resolved not to search under the wood till midnight, in hopes to find in or about the cellar some persons from whom information might be had.

Pursuant to this resolution, Sir Thomas Knevet, gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and Justice of Peace for Westminster going to the cellar about midnight, found at the door a man in a cloak and boots, whom he immediately apprehended[63]. This was Guy Fawkes who passed for Percy's servant[64].

Then causing the wood and coals to be removed, they found underneath, thirty six barrels of powder. After this discovery, Fawkes being searched, there was found upon him a dark lantern, a tinder-box, and three matches[65] (3). The villain, instead of being dismayed, boldly told them, if he had been taken within the cellar, he would have blown up himself and them together.

The King being acquainted with the discovery[66], ordered the prisoner to be examined concerning the circumstances of the plot. He confessed the design was to blow up the King and Parliament, and expressed great sorrow that it was not done, saying, it was the devil and not God that was the discoverer. He obstinately refused all that day to name any of his complices; but on the morrow being shewed the rack confessed all he knew.

### **Discourse of Treason**

The opening of the Parliament, which was to be the same day, being deferred, and the news of the conspiracy beginning to spread in London, Catesby, Percy, Winter, and the two Wrights, fled by several ways to their companions, who were to secure the Princess Elizabeth.

These last were ready to execute their design the moment they should hear of the success of the nine at Westminster. As they did not question it would succeed to their wish, and believed they had nothing more to manage, they had the night before broke open a stable, and carried away twelve horses[67].

This action had alarmed Sir Richard Verney, Sheriff of the county, who had drawn the people together to seize the robbers. Presently after came the conspirators that fled from London, and told their companions, the plot had miscarried. Whereupon they resolved to keep together, to endeavour to make the Catholics rise, and put themselves at their head. But all their efforts ended only in raising about a hundred horse[68].

### **Some are Taken Others Slain**

Meanwhile, the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties[69] having sent notice to one another, called the people to arms, and pursued the conspirators from place to place, till at length the villains were forced to take harbour at Holbeach[70] where the Sheriff summoned them to surrender. They answered, he had not a sufficient force to compel them, and prepared to defend themselves, or fight their way through.

But in opening a barrel of powder to charge their muskets, it took fire and blew up part of the house[71]. This accident constrained them to open the gate, and try to escape. Some were killed immediately by the people who surrounded them. Catesby, Percy, and Winter standing back to back, fought desperately, till the two first were killed with one shot, and the other taken alive, after receiving several wounds.

Digby, Rookwood, Grants and Bates, yielded, or were taken in trying to escape. Tresham, who staid at London with Robert Winter, Brother of Thomas Winter, and Littleton, was discovered and apprehended with his two companions.

All the prisoners were sent to the Tower, and strictly examined. Thomas Winter confessed himself guilty, and writ his confession with his own hand. Digby extenuated his crime, because having expected the King would grant a free toleration to the Catholics, and not seeing any likelihood

of their obtaining it, he was driven by despair to engage in the plot. Tresham said at first, that Father Garnet the Jesuit was privy to the conspiracy, but afterwards denied it, by his wife's instigation, as it is pretended, affirming, he had not seen him for sixteen years. But Garnet, who was apprehended after Tresham's death, confessed, he had frequently conferred with him within six months. The Earl of Northumberland was sent to the Tower, on suspicion of being concerned in the plot.

This suspicion was grounded upon his being captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, and admitting into it his cousin Percy, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, though he knew his religion. This affair being afterwards brought into the star-chamber, the Earl was fined in thirty thousand pounds sterling, deprived of all his posts, and imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

## **The King's Speech in The Parliament to Excuse The Catholics**

The session of the Parliament began not till the 9th of November, though it was fixed to the 5th. The King made a long speech, representing the heinousness and consequences of this horrible plot, and magnifying the mercy of God in the miraculous discovery. But withal, he took great care to clear the Catholic religion, and to observe, that this abominable plot, was to be ascribed to such only as were truly Papists, and imbued with the detestable principles mentioned in his first speech to the Parliament.

He affirmed, there were not many of these, and it would be extremely injurious to accuse the Catholics in general of following such extravagant maxims:—

“For, added he, although it cannot be denied, that it was only the blind superstition of their errors in religion, that led them to this desperate device; yet doth it not follow, that all professing the Romish religion were guilty of the same.

For as it is true, that no other sect of heretics, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no, not even those of Calicute, who adore the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious, (as the Roman Catholics call it) to murder Princes or people for quarrel of religion; yet it is true on the other side, that many honest men, blinded, peradventure, with some opinions of popery, as if they be not found in the questions of the real presence, or in the number of their sacraments, and some such school question; yet do either not know, or at least not believe, all the true grounds of popery, which is indeed the mystery of iniquity.

And therefore do we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits, at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist.”

And then concluding that part of his discourse, he declared:—

“As upon the one part many honest men reduced with some error of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects; so upon the other part none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds of popery, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful subjects.”

This Speech was much applauded by the courtiers, who admired its wisdom, justice, and equity, and remarked the King's greatness of soul, who at the very time he had so much reason to complain of the Catholics, took care to, justify their religion, and hinder the innocent from being confounded with the guilty. But the rest of the people were not of the same opinion. They considered with grief and astonishment, the tender regard the King expressed for the Catholics

in general, under pretence of a distinction, which was thought imaginary, or at least very useless, by reason of the difficulty of discerning those who held the maxims condemned by the King, from those who were willing to renounce them.

They observed also the difference, the King put between the Romish religion and that of the Puritans. The first hindered not its Professors from being faithful subjects, but the last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed commonwealth, as he expressed himself in his former speech.

Here, to turn the hatred of the good Protestants upon the Puritans, he is not content with detesting an opinion indifferent in itself, and which had no relation to the state, but even thinks it worthy of fire, either temporal or spiritual, for he does not say which, whilst he calls the doctrine of transubstantiation a mere school question.

It was also said, that if upon this same opinion, he had been pleased to distinguish the Puritans who did not, from such as did, damn all the Catholics, this distinction would have been as well-grounded as that between the Catholics and Papists.

In short, it was observed, that he affected to ascribe to the Puritans alone this opinion worthy of fire, which he might much more justly have imputed to the Roman Catholics, as all the world knew. It cannot be denied, that throughout the whole course of his reign, this Prince shewed an extreme tenderness for the Roman Catholics. This will still more plainly appear in the sequel, since what I have hitherto related may be deemed doubtful marks of his sentiments, and capable of admitting a favourable construction.

### **Parliament is Prorogued**

As soon as he had ended his Speech, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 21<sup>st</sup> of January: So that it evidently appeared he had caused them to meet for one single day, on purpose to shew his thoughts of the conspiracy, and the manner he would have it examined in, that is, with respect to such only as were concerned in it.

### **The Lords Mordant and Sturton are Fined**

The Lords Mordant and Sturton, suspected of being privy to the plot, were fined, the first ten thousand marks, the other six thousand, though there was no other proof against them, but their not coming to the Parliament. They were sentenced by the Star-Chamber, which was then the terror of the great men, and which for the least offence, condemned the parties accused in exorbitant fines to the King's use[72].

The discovery of the Powder-Plot was universally ascribed to the King's penetration, who alone discovered the meaning of the letter to the Lord Monteagle[73]. Nay, some of his flatterers did not scruple to say, he could never have found out the mystery, without the immediate assistance of the Holy Ghost[74].

### **Affected Joy of The Archdukes Spanish Ambassadors**

The King of Spain's and the Archduke's ambassadors testified their joy for this deliverance, by bonfires before their doors, and fountains of wine to the mob. This was not perhaps a very proper way to remove the suspicions of the English, who were apt to believe the Spaniards were concerned in this horrible plot[75].

It was remembered that when the Constable of Castile was in England, he said publicly, in case the King refused to tolerate the Catholics, there would be found persons capable of any attempt.

Nay, after the plot was discovered, the Archduke refused to deliver some of the complices who had escaped into the Netherlands[76], and sent the chief of them to Spain, where he was very well received. It is certain however, these ambassadors were not accused by the depositions of the criminals.

Nay, the King publicly declared, he was sure no foreign Prince was privy to the plot. Indeed, all the Princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, expressed their abhorrence of so damnable a design, and congratulated him upon his deliverance.

## **Eight Conspirators are Executed**

The Parliament meeting the twenty first of January, the King appointed commissioners to try the conspirators. He had till now delayed to give the people the satisfaction to see these villains punished. But perceiving if he did not do it of himself, the Parliament would not fail to petition him, he resolved to give them over to justice.

## **Execution of Oldcorn and Garnet**

There were but eight executed the 31<sup>st</sup> of January[77], though the number of the guilty was much greater. Some time after, Oldcorn, a Jesuit, saying openly, that the ill success of the conspiracy did not render it the less just, was sent to prison, condemned and executed. Henry Garnet (Provincial of the English Jesuits] having also being arrested, was sentenced to die as a traitor, upon the depositions of those that were already executed.

Some say, he only confessed, he had heard of a conspiracy to restore the Catholic religion in England, but was ignorant of the circumstances. Others pretend, the plot was revealed to him only in confession, and he was not obliged to reveal it. The King, as I said, publicly declared afterwards Garnet was legally convicted[78].

The Jesuits have been pleased to honour these men with the title of Martyrs, as if they had suffered only in hatred to their religion. But King James's humour and character will not permit it to be thought, that he put men to death only because they were Catholics.

## **Rumour of The King's Death**

Whilst the Parliament was considering the powder-plot, it was suddenly rumoured that the King was stabbed at Ocking with, a poisoned] knife. This rumour instantly threw the people into the utmost consternation, imagining it was the effect of some fresh conspiracy. But the alarm was soon over.

Two hours after came certain advice that the King was alive, and he even returned to London that very day, and published a Proclamation to quiet the people. The Spanish ambassador distinguished his affection for the King, by presenting Sir Lewis Lewkenor with a gold chain[79], for bringing him the news of his safety.

## **The Parliament Enjoins an Oath Which Every Subject is Obligated to Take**

Meanwhile, the Parliament seriously applied themselves to prevent the designs of the Popish recusants, that is, of such as refused to acknowledge the King's independent authority. For the more easy discovery of such persons, the two Houses agreed to draw up an oath, which all subjects, without exception, should be obliged to take.

This oath was called the oath of allegiance, that is, of submission and obedience to the King, as sovereign independent of any other power upon earth. It differed from the oath of supremacy, as it concerned only the King's temporal Sovereignty, and his independence of the Pope, whereas the other, enacted in the reign of Henry VIII, obliged the subjects to acknowledge the King for supreme head of the Church of England. So, every Catholic could safely take this new oath, unless he was one of those who thought, that to be a true Catholic, it was necessary to believe, the Pope had power to depose Kings, and give away their dominions.

Nay, the King was extremely careful not to have any clause inserted in the oath that might give just offence to the Catholics. The Commons having put in the rough draught of the oath, That the Pope has not power to excommunicate the King: He said these words might offend his good Catholic subjects, and it sufficed to assert, the Pope's excommunication could not authorize subjects to rise against their sovereign.

## The Oath of Allegiance

**1606 AD]** Here follows the oath which has been, and still is spoken of by many, without well knowing what it is;—

I. **A. B.** do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my conscience before God and the world. That our Sovereign Lord King James, is lawful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's Kingdoms, or Dominions, or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state, or Government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's Dominions.

Also I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their Crown and dignity, by reason of colour of any such sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will do this my endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor detest and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in confidence am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and undemanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

**SO HELP ME GOD.**

**REMARKS ON THIS OATH**

It is easy to see, this oath contained nothing repugnant to the effectual articles of the Romish faith, and concerned only the unlimited power, which by some is ascribed, and by others denied, to the Pope. Accordingly, most of the English Catholics, with the arch-priest Blackwel their superior, made no scruple to comply with it.

Nay, when Urban VIII sent them a brief, dated October 31, 1606[80], forbidding them to take this Oath, they thought the brief was forged by their enemies, to draw them into a non-compliance. But the Pope spoke more fully the next year, and by a second brief plainly told them, if they took the oath, they forfeited all hopes of salvation.

At the same time, Cardinal Bellarmine under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote a book against this oath, and a letter to the arch-priest Blackwel, to admonish him to repent, as if in taking the oath he had committed the most heinous offence. This occasioned King James's apology for himself, published some time after, with a Preamble, addressed to all Christian Princes, wherein he cleared himself from the false imputation of being a persecutor of the Catholics.

He began the apology with justifying Queen Elizabeth's conduct to the Romanists, and then added these words:—

**The King's Apology With Respect to The Catholics**

But now having sacrificed (if I may so say) to the names of my late predecessor, I may next with St. Paul justify and vindicate mine own fame, from those innumerable calumnies spread against me, in testifying the truth of my behaviour toward the Papists: wherein I may truly affirm, that whatsoever was her just and merciful government over the Papists in her name, my government ever then since hath so far exceeded hers, in mercy and clemency, as not only the Papists themselves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildness, as they did directly expect and assuredly promise to themselves liberty of conscience, and equality with other of my subjects. in all things; but even a number of the best and faithfulest of my said subjects were cast in great fear and amazement of my course and proceedings, ever prognosticating and justly suspecting that source fruit to come of it, which shewed itself clearly in the powder treason.

How many did I honour with knighthood, of known and open recusants? How indifferently did I give audience and access to both sides, bestowing equally all favours and honours on both professions? How free and continual access had all ranks and degrees of Papists in my court and company?

And above all, how frankly and freely did I free recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides, it is evident, what strait order was given out of my own mouth to the judges to spare the execution of all priests, (notwithstanding their conviction) joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all priests that were at liberty, and not taken, might go out of the country by such a day: my general pardon having been extended to all convicted priests in prison; whereupon they were set at liberty as good subjects.

And all priests that were taken after, sent over and set at liberty there. But time and paper will fail me to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I bestowed in general and particular upon Papists: In recounting whereof, every scrape of my

pen would serve but for a blot of the Pope's ingratitude and injustice, in meeting me with so hard a measure for the same.

### **Remark on This Apology**

All the King said in this part of his apology was very true. But it is surprising, that since he thought proper to make a long apology to clear himself to foreign Princes, from the aspersion of being an enemy to the Papists, he should never think of excusing to his own subjects his too great condescension to these same Papists, and his extreme care to hinder the execution of the laws enacted against them.

### **Fifth of November Appointed a Holy Day**

There is another very extraordinary particular in this apology. The King evidently shows, that Cardinal Bellarmine confounds in his book the oath of allegiance with that of supremacy, whereby it was manifest, he did not understand the point in dispute[81]. But I have said; enough of this subject. I shall only add, to conclude what relates to the powder-plot, that the Parliament appointed the fifth of November to be a public thanksgiving day for so great a deliverance, which day has been constantly solemnized to this present time.

### **The Parliament Grants a Large Subsidy**

The common danger which threatened the whole Kingdom, stifled for a time the disputes between the King and Commons, which arose in the first session of the Parliament. The Commons were so far from intending to revive them, that, on the contrary, to gain the King's good-will, they granted him one of the large subsidies that had ever been given to his predecessors in the most urgent occasions of the State, though he was then in profound peace, and wanted money only to enrich his favourites.

### **A Great Tranquility in England**

This aid consisted of three whole subsidies and six fifteens, and tenths, besides four subsidies of four shillings in the pound granted at the same time by the clergy[82]. But the affair of the union of the two Kingdoms was deferred to the next session. So the King having no farther occasion for the Parliament, prorogued it from the 27<sup>th</sup> of May to the 18<sup>th</sup> of November[83].

The confirmation caused by the powder-plot in the court and the whole Kingdom, was at length turned into a pleasant tranquillity. The King and people were equally pleased with being delivered from so great a danger; and the King had the more reason to be so, as he had brought the Parliament to be of his moderate sentiments with respect to the Roman Catholics, of whom ten only had been left to the rigour of the Law.

Their yoke was not aggravated, unless the obligation of bearing allegiance to their King, or departing the realm, was to be deemed an aggravation. On the other hand, the King was able to gratify his favourites, by means of the money granted by Parliament, and the whole Court rejoiced, every one expecting to partake of the King's bounties.

### **James Receives a Visit From The King of Denmark**

This money came very seasonably to the King, to give a splendid reception to his brother-in-law the King of Denmark, who arrived shortly after, on purpose to visit the Queen his sister, and the King[84]. No cost was spared on this occasion, to demonstrate the King's and Queen's affections for this Prince, and to shew him the riches of the Kingdom they had acquired.

During his stay in England, there was one continued, though various, scene of diversions, as plays, sights, entertainments[85], balls, masquerades, hunting, in a word, every thing that was thought proper to divert him.

## **And From The Prince of Vaudemont**

Some time after, the Prince of Vaudemont, the Duke of Loraine's third son, made the King another such visit, attended by seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen, and six-score domestics. He stayed a fortnight with the King, by whom he was, with his whole train, royally entertained. These two visits confirmed good part of the money lately granted by Parliament[86].

## **The Union of The Two Kingdoms is Debated in Parliament**

The session of the Parliament, which began the 18<sup>th</sup> of November, was chiefly employed in the affair of the Union, which the King strongly solicited. Sir Francis Bacon, the, King's solicitor, was ordered to move and support it with the best arguments he could devise.

But though he was learned and eloquent, he met in the House of Commons, with persons able to withstand him, and to allege as strong reasons against, as he did for, the Union. The chief objections were, the inequality between the state and riches of the two Kingdoms, the difference of the laws and customs, and Scotland's perpetual alliance with France. But the most prevailing argument, though it was not publicly insisted upon, was the jealousy of the English, which baffled all Bacon's rhetoric[87].

**1607 AD]** The King hearing the affair was not likely to succeed in the Parliament, sent for both Houses to Whitehall, and endeavoured in a long Speech to shew the necessity of the Union, and the common advantage it would procure. He answered the objections alleged in the two Houses, speaking one while with great mildness, another while with a menacing tone, turning himself every way to attain his ends.

He said, it was not reasonable, the English and Scots should consider one another as enemies, whilst subjects of the same King, and consequently it was necessary all hostile laws should cease, meaning the laws made from time to time upon the frequent invasions of the Scots on the borders of England.

He added, it was no less reasonable, there should be between the two nations community of Commerce, since he was no Stranger, but descended from the ancient Kings of England and could not be natural Liege-Lord to both, whilst they were strangers to one another. Finally, it was against nature, for people who lived under the same dominion, to be no more united than Frenchmen and Spaniards.

## **He Speaks of His Proclamation in Favour of The Papists**

He then proceeded to a nice point, as he had himself determined a thing which properly belonged to the cognizance of the Parliament. He said, he was informed by the Judges, there was a difference between the *Ante-nati*, and *Post-nati* of each Kingdom, that is, between such as were born before, and such as were born after, his accession to the Crown of England. That therefore he had published a proclamation, declaring all those to be naturalized in both Kingdoms who were born since his accession.

That indeed, he confessed the judges might err; but admonished both Houses, to beware to disgrace, either his proclamations or the judges, for so they might disgrace both their King and the laws, who have power, when the Parliament is done, to try both their lands and lives.

In answering the objection taken from the perpetual alliance between France and Scotland, he affirmed, the alliance was not between the two nations, but only between their Kings. I do not know whether this was really fact.

He concluded his speech with saying:—

What is now desired hath oft before been fought, and not obtained; to refuse it now then were double iniquity. And for their security in such reasonable points of restriction, which he shall agree to, they need not doubt his inclination: For, added he, I will not say anything which I will not promise, nor promise anything which I will not be weary what I swear, I will sign, and what I sign shall with God's grace ever perform.

### **The Union is Rejected**

The earnestness which the King expressed for the Union of the two Kingdoms, was not capable of prevailing with the Parliament, so inconvenient was it thought. All he could obtain, was the repealing of the hostile laws. So the Union was rejected, without any mention however of the proclamation concerning the *Post-nati*.

But by not approving it, the Parliament did in effect reject it, since a proclamation in England is not considered as a law. Nevertheless, two years after, the King caused the same thing to be determined by the Judges of the realm, though this determination was of no more force than the proclamation[88].

### **The Rejection Troubles The King**

The ill success of this affair extremely troubled the King. In his first speech to the Parliament, he called such as were against the union of the two Kingdoms, blind, ignorant, restless, and disaffected, and affirmed, no honest subject whatever was less glad of this Union than himself. But he now found the Lords and Commons against it, and this cast a sort of ridicule upon his too hasty judgment.

From thenceforward he always appeared very averse to Parliaments, as on the other hand, the people began to dislike him. They could not see without grief, so many proclamations, which seemed to suppose the King's will to be the sole rule of the government.

The King's needless expenses were another cause of complaint, because they were compared with Queen Elizabeth's frugality and good management. It was considered, the three hundred thousand pounds received by the King at his coming, with what was lately granted by the Parliament and Clergy, served only to enrich his favourites and Ministers.

All this began to form a cloud, which perhaps would have been followed by a storm, had not the King, on the fourth of July, prorogued the Parliament to the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, and afterwards to the 9<sup>th</sup> of February[89].

### **Insurrection in Northamptonshire**

Before the Parliament was prorogued, there were some commotions in Northamptonshire[90] where the Country people rose in arms, under the conduct of one, John Reynolds, who stiled himself Captain Pouch[91], but these troubles were short lived. The Sheriff of the county found means to disperse the rebels, without the assistance of any regular troops.

## **The Earl of Tir-oen Flies From Ireland on Pretence of Religion**

The Earl of Tir-oen, the famous Irish rebel, pardoned by Queen Elizabeth, was brought to London the beginning of this reign, by the Lord Montjoy, and presented to the King, who received him very graciously. Shortly after, he returned to his native country, where he could not live in peace. He not only attempted once more to raise a rebellion in Ireland, but also applied to foreign Princes for assistance. His secret practices not succeeding to his expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and chose to leave Ireland, taking with him the Earl of Tirconnel, whom he had drawn into his plots[92].

When he was come to a place of safety, he gave out, that the outrages committed in Ireland upon the Catholics had constrained him to forsake his estate and country. But the King briskly repelled this aspersion by a sort of apology published on this occasion, not enduring that the world should think him a persecutor of the Catholics.

## **Negotiations for Peace in The Low Countries**

In the beginning of this year, the Archduke and the Infanta his spouse, sent into Holland Father Ney, Provincial of the order of St. Francis, to propose a peace with the States of the United-Provinces. Ney lying concealed for a time at Ryswick, was at last admitted to audience by Prince Maurice, who told him plainly, there was no hopes of a peace, unless the United-Provinces were owned for a free and independent State.

This declaration obliged the Father to return to Brussels, from whence he came some time after, with a writing signed by the Archduke and the Infanta, with which the States were satisfied, provided it was ratified by the King of Spain, which ratification Ney undertook to procure. Henry IV, hearing what was transacting at the Hague, dispatched President Jeannin to offer his mediation to the States, which was accepted.

But as they feared to create jealousy in King James, if France alone was concerned in the affair, they wrote to him for his advice and assistance, and shortly after, sent an ambassador to inform him more particularly of the situation of their affairs.

Meanwhile, the King of Spain's ratification being come, the States found it full of equivocal and captious expressions, which gave them occasion to require explanations. This prolonged the negotiation, the success whereof shall be related hereafter[93]

## **A Jesuit and Priest Executed**

**April 11, 1608]** George Gervis, a seminary priest of Rheims, was hanged at Tyburn, and the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, Thomas Garnet a Jesuit had the same fate. Garnet was; offered a pardon, provided he would take the oath of allegiance, which he resolutely refused.

## **Death of The Lord Treasurer**

Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and Lord Treasurer, dying suddenly as he was sitting at the council-table, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, succeeded him in his post. He was a Lord of a great genius, and though crooked before and behind, nature supplied that defect with noble endowments of mind.

## **The King Spends an Abundance of Money**

The chief concern of the Ministers was to see that the King did not want money. He had occasion for great sums, being extremely liberal, or rather prodigal[94], and it may well be thought, that

in procuring money for the King, the ministers did not forget themselves. But this is so customary a thing with favourites and ministers, that it would be wrong to upbraid these with it in particular. As to foreign affairs, they were little regarded throughout this whole reign.

## **Monopoly of Cloth**

One of the properest means devised to procure the King money, was the monopoly of the sale of cloths, at the solicitation of a certain Merchant, who, in all appearance, dearly purchased his patent. At this time, the English were not skilled in the art of dressing and dying English woollen manufactures. They sent them into Holland white, and the Hollanders, after they had dyed them, sent them back, and sold them in England.

The Merchant I just mentioned, intimating to the King and Ministry, that a great profit would accrue to England, if the cloths were dressed at home, obtained a patent to dress and dye them, exclusive of all others.

Then the King published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to send any white cloths abroad. Whereupon the Hollanders prohibited the importation of dyed cloths from England. So the merchant who obtained the patent, not being able to sell his dyed cloths anywhere but in England, was forced to dress and dye only a small quantity.

This raised such clamours amongst the cloth weavers, that the King was obliged to permit the exportation of a certain quantity of white cloths. At length, the court by degrees connived at the offenders, and the woollen-trade continued upon the same foot as before[95].

The same year, the King engrossed to himself the selling of alum, which had been lately found out in England, and prohibited the importation of foreign alum, by proclamation[96].

## **Dispute Between The King and Hollanders**

Whether the King intended to be revenged of the Hollanders for breaking his measures with respect to the woollen manufactures, or only to draw money from them, a proclamation was published, prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the coasts of Great Britain. This occasioned the next year a treaty, whereby the Hollanders engaged to pay an annual sum for leave to fish.

The King would have afterwards broke the treaty, and taken from them the licence he had granted them; but they maintained their privilege against his consent, by guarding their fishing boats with men of war, James being a pacific Prince, did not think this a sufficient motive to quarrel with them.

## **Bancroft Persecutes The Puritans**

Archbishop Bancroft never ceased to plague the Puritans, to oblige them to conform to the Church of England, For this reason, great numbers of these people resolved to go and settle in Virginia, discovered in the late reign by Sir Walter Raleigh. Accordingly, some departed for that country; but the Archbishop seeing many more ready to take the same voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the King's express licence.

The court was apprehensive this sect would become in the end too numerous and powerful in America. This very year the Archbishop made a fresh attempt concerning the twenty-one articles formerly mentioned: but the opposition of the judges was so strong, that the King, however desirous he was to please the prelate, durst not proceed.

## **Continuation of The Treaty with The Low-Countries**

The Treaty at the Hague concerning a peace between the Archduke and the States, was an important affair, in which it seemed, the King should have had a great share, and yet he appeared not to be much concerned. However, he made two treaties with the States, the first whereof was concerning the payment of what was due to him. The other contained an alliance, which was not to take, place till after they had concluded a peace with Spain[97].

Then he sent Sir Robert Spencer to the Hague to assist at the negotiations of peace, jointly with Sir Ralph Winwood his ambassador in ordinary. Numberless difficulties occurred in this affair, the chief whereof was, that the King of Spain refused to speak plainly with respect to the liberty of the States.

He had ratified the Archduke's declaration, but it was on condition the peace should be made, and the States would treat only upon the foot of Free States, besides, in the King of Spain's ratification were certain ambiguous expressions, which the States were not pleased with. They knew also, that whilst they were negotiating at the Hague, the Spanish Court was endeavouring to gain the King of England, and, for that purpose, had sent to him Don Fernando de Gironne, a Lord of great distinction, as ambassador extraordinary.

### **James Openly Blames The States**

This made the States extremely uneasy, and the more, as James affected on all occasions to intimate, that he looked upon them as rebels. He applied to their case the general maxims of sovereignty, and firmly believed, what he would have had universally thought, that subjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their Prince upon any account whatsoever. Hence may be judged what effect his mediation could have.

Accordingly his ambassadors made a very little figure throughout the whole negotiation. Jeannin managed everything, the English ambassadors acting but faintly, and shewing little or no desire that the treaty should succeed.

What endeavours soever Jeannin might use, It was not possible for him to cause the parties to consent to a peace, And therefore he proposed at last a twelve or fifteen years truce, during which both Parties should remain in possession of what they held without prejudice to their rights. but the States rejected it, unless their liberty was plainly established.

Whereupon the ambassadors of Spain and the Archduke withdrew, as seeing no likelihood of peace or truce. However, Jeannin continued his instances to persuade the states to accept of the ratification as it was, and consent to some other articles, on which there had been great debates. At length, by his many representations he obtained of the United Provinces, Zealand excepted, which stood out till the next year, what he desired to accomplish for the conclusion of the truce.

### **Testimony of President Jeannin**

King James did not gain much credit by this negotiation. Besides his leaving every thing to the King of France, he acted not with sincerity, if we may believe, President Jeannin, who in a letter to the King his master; on this occasion, speaking of King James, says, he pretends a willingness to procure a peace, and yet obstructs it, by publicly saying, he cannot forbear condemning the States for rebelling against the King of Spain their Sovereign.

Indeed, Richardot did not scruple to own in a letter to Jeannin, that the King of Spain's firmness was entirely owing to the King of England's promise, that the liberty of the States should not be mentioned in the treaty of truce[98]. Henry IV had no great opinion of James, as appears from

his writing to Jeannin, that he knew what that—was capable of but however it did not break his rest[99].

**1609 AD]** The Province of Zealand, resolving to follow the sentiment of the other provinces, the conferences were renewed at Antwerp, where a twelve years truce was signed, April the 9th, 1609. By this Truce, the States obtained that the King of Spain and Archduke owned them as free and independent, and even avoided renouncing the navigation and trade to the *Indies*, which had been a principal obstacle to the negotiation.

## **James Discovers More and More The Principals of Regal Power**

James discovered no satisfaction at the advantages obtained by the States, because he considered it as a precedent very dangerous and prejudicial to the sovereign authority of Kings, with which he was ever extremely preprocessed. This evidently appeared at present, by his licensing two books, which maintained the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power.

The first writ by Cowel Debtor of Civil Law[100], laid down these three Principles:—

- 1) **That** the King was not bound by the laws, or his Coronation Oath.
- 2) **That** the King was not obliged to call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it alone by his absolute power.
- 3) **That** it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subjects in giving subsidies.

The other Book was composed by Dr. Blackwood a clergyman, who laid down this principle, that the English were all slaves by reason of the Norman conquest.

## **He Disappoints The Justice of Parliament Upon The Authors of These Books**

The Parliament which met the next year, took this affair to heart, and would have severely punished the authors of these books; but the King interposed, and frustrated the Parliament's design, by publishing a proclamation, to forbid the reading of these books, and to order the copies to be delivered to the Magistrates. But such Proclamations are usually ill obeyed, especially when it is not the King's interest to see them strictly executed[101].

## **The People are Indifferent**

**1610 AD]** The King's Proceedings increased the discontent of most of the English. The proclamations which were every day published, and whereof several were upon subjects not used to be decided by the former Kings without the concurrence of the Parliament, and the indiscreet speeches of the courtiers, who rallied the people's privileges, bred suspicions and jealousies, which the King was not sufficiently careful to stifle in their birth.

On the other hand, his condescension for the Roman Catholics, whose cause he espoused on all occasions, their access and credit at court, even to their being admitted to the most important offices, and into the ministry itself, created fears in the people, and caused them to suspect some plot was formed against the Protestant religion.

The ministers knowing these dispositions, were justly apprehensive of meeting great difficulties in the Parliament, which was to sit the 9th of February. The King intended to procure money, of which he was in great want, though he had no war upon his hands, nor any affair which seemed to require an extraordinary aid.

It was therefore necessary at least to give the Parliament good words, and try to palliate his immense expenses, since his accession to the Crown. But James believing it to be derogatory to the dignity of a Sovereign, to make an apology himself to his subjects, ordered the Earls of Suffolk and Salisbury to do it for him.

The Earl of Salisbury who was the spokesman, declared to both Houses:—

### **Speaks to The Parliament from The King's Wisdom**

That they were met, first, to supply his Majesty's wants; secondly, to redress the people's grievances. Then he told them, that the King, willing to show them a singular mark of his favour, had resolved to create his eldest son Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, during the session of the Parliament, though he was free to do it at any other time, as by many precedents was evident. Having thus endeavoured to gain the King the goodwill of both Houses, by so strong an argument of his Majesty's regard for them, he demonstrated, it was not without just reasons that the King demanded money, since what he had received had been laid out in very necessary expenses.

**First**, as for the three hundred and fifty thousand pounds due in the late Queen's time, he no sooner received the money with one hand, but he paid it away with the other, **in redeeming the crown lands she had mortgaged to the City of London** [102].

**Secondly**, he was forced to keep on foot for some time, an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland, not deeming it proper to make peace with Spain without the sword in his hand.

**Thirdly**, he was obliged to bury Queen Elizabeth, whose obsequies were very expensive[103].

**Fourthly**, his own journey from Edinburgh to London could not be performed without money; for it would not have been decent for a King to come the first time to his Kingdom like a private person, and without a numerous train.

**Fifthly**, neither was it fit that his Royal comfort, with his children, the Kingdom's future hopes, should be exposed to robbers, without a guard and retinue, and consequently their journey must have been very chargeable.

**Sixthly**, The King of Denmark's visit was so honourable to his Majesty, that he could not dispense with giving him a suitable and magnificent reception.

**Seventhly**, the ambassadors who, came from all parts to congratulate him upon his accession to the Crown of England, could not be sent back without presents, for the honour of the English nation, besides the charge to entertain them during their stay [104].

**Eighthly**, the King was obliged to send ambassadors to the Princes by whom he was congratulated, and to return their civilities[105].

These were the causes, according to the orator, of the King's wants, and not, as some affected to give out, his indiscreet bounty to his servants.

But, added he, how could a bounty so worthy of a King be blamed? If he did not give to his servants, they would be miserable in a country abounding with riches.

As for the Scots, it must be remembered, that though they were not born in the Kingdom, his Majesty was born among them; and not to have them taste of the blessing he had attained, were to have him change his virtue with his fortune.

Upon all these accounts, his Majesty desires the Commons to supply his wants, which mark of esteem could not be denied to a King, who is not only the wisest of Kings, but the very image of an angel, that has brought good tidings to the English, and secured them in the enjoyment of perfect happiness; to a King, who by his vast knowledge and noble endowments, deserves the **Title of Defender of the Faith**; to a King who has shut the backdoor by which England was liable to invasions, and who only seeks that every man may live happy under his own olive.

That none will wonder or startle at the King's desiring a supply, but such as study to serve their own turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the stories of their own ignorance. Among whom are to be reckoned those, who hearing of an order to bind up the printed proclamations in a book, that the better notice may be taken of the things contained in them, have spread a report, that the King intended this Parliament to make proclamations equal to the laws, which never entered into his thoughts.

That so far is he from governing by will and pleasure, that he is ready to hearken to any motion from the two Houses, provided they keep a just proportion, and observe what is due to a great and gracious King."

## **Complaints Against The King in The House of Commons**

This speech produced not the effect hoped by the King and his Ministers. Some of the Commons loudly complained of the King's prodigality, and excessive bounty to the Scots[106]. They said, the whole wealth of England would not serve to satisfy their avidity, that since the King's accession gold and Silver were as common in Edinburgh as stones in the streets, and that all the riches of England flowed thither, where they were swallowed up as in a gulph, and never returned.

Others said, it was visible, the King was gradually undermining the nation's privileges by continual encroachments. That he designed to establish the **Civil Law, in the room of the Common Law**, and had dropped some expressions to that purpose at his own table. Finally, he had approved of a book lately written, the design whereof was to render the Common Law contemptible

But what made most noise in the Lower-House was the high commission, which exercised in the Kingdom a kind of inquisition for matters of religion and State. For the better understanding of this cause of complaint, it must be remembered, that when Henry VIII was declared supreme head of the Church of England, he appointed Cromwell for his Vicegerent in religious affairs, with power to exercise the supremacy in his name.

After the tragical end of this first and only vicegerent, this office was executed by commissioners. And this is what was called the High-Commission, which continued during the lives of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and ceasing in Mary's reign, was revived by Elizabeth. In her Reign the High-Commissions exercised its authority with great moderation.

But the case was otherwise under James I. This Prince as I have frequently observed, mortally hated the Puritans, and after his proclamation for uniformity, it was the High-Commission's business to see his injunctions executed. It may easily be guessed that the Commissioners who were all named by the King, were not favourable to the Puritans.

Accordingly, they very rigorously exercised their power. Had they stopped there, this severity upon a set of obstinate people, as they were reckoned, and whose number was small in comparison of the Episcopalians, would not have excited the complaints of the Lower House. But they went much farther. I have observed, that because the Puritans were against the hierarchy, the King inferred they were also against monarchy, and there were but too many who labored to confirm him in this notion.

For this reason, all who were not very submissive to the King's orders, or great assertors of the privileges of the people, were affectedly called Puritans[107]. Under this pretence the High Commission proceeded against them, and wanted not means to molest them.

Thus to be really a Protestant and member of the Church of England, the communicating in that Church, and complying with the external worship were not sufficient, the King's authority was also to be acknowledged as extensive as his flatterers were pleased to make it. They who ventured to censure his conduct, and question his unlimited power, were deemed infected with Puritanism, and to reason upon puritanical principles.

So, there were then two sorts of Puritans, Church-Puritans, and State-Puritans. But the High-Commission affected to confound them one with another, in order to exercise authority upon both. This was the occasion of the complaints in the House of Commons.

## **The Kings Speech**

The King being informed of what was talked in the Parliament, sent for both Houses to Whitehall, and endeavoured to show, he was unjustly complained of. But withal, he intimated by some expressions which plainly discovered his sentiments, that if he did not rule with an absolute sway, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his equity.

He told them:—

“Though the Kings heart be in the hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before the eyes of the People; assuring them, That he never meant to govern by any law, but the law of the land; though it be disputed among them, as if he had an intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute power of a King.

He knew, he said, the power of Kings, resembling it to the power divine: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his pleasure, so Kings can give life and death, judge all, and be judged of none. They can exalt low things, and abase high things, making the subjects like men at chess, a pawn to take a bishop[108].

And when he had raised the King's power to the height, with, ye are Gods, he brings them down again with, they shall die like men: And that all Kings, who are not tyrants or perjured, will bind themselves within the limits of their Laws; and they that persuade them the contrary, are vipers and pests both against them and the Commonwealth.

Yet as it is blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power. And as he will not have his subjects discourse of what he may, so he will do nothing but what shall be consonant to law and reason. Then he strives to mitigate the sharpness of. the words dropped from him at his table, to the disparagement of the Common Law, on which he bestows very high encomiums; but recalling himself, he points out some corruptions in it”[109].

After which, he addresses himself to the House of Commons, and not only thanks them for the bonfire they made of certain papers, which were presented as grievances from some discontented murmuring spirits; instructing them how to receive grievances hereafter: In which he would have them careful to avoid three things.

**The first: That** they meddle not with the main points of Government, that is his craft. To meddle with that were to lessen him, who hath been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years here in England.

**Secondly,** He would not have such antient rights as he hath received from his predecessors accounted grievances; that were to judge him unworthy to enjoy what they left him.

**And Lastly, That** they would be careful not to present that for a grievance, which is established by a Law, for it is very undutiful in subjects to press their King wherein they are sure to be denied. Complaints may be made unto them of the High-Commissioners, let the abuse appear then, and spare not; there may be errors among them; but to take away the commission, is to derogate from him; and it is now in his thoughts to rectify it in a good proportion.

Then he shews the emergent cause of his great expenses, since his coming to the Crown, which makes him desire a supply from them. And if they refuse to grant it him, his reputation will suffer at home and abroad, for the world will think it want of love in them, or merit in him, that both lessened their hearts and tied up their hands towards him.

## **The Commons Hide Their Resentment**

There was need of no great penetration to perceive in the King's speech, the maxims on which he pretended to have a right to govern the English nation, and his idea of monarchy in all countries without distinction.

He spoke so plainly, that it would have been difficult not to understand him. If it was sedition in subjects to dispute about the extent of the regal power, it necessarily followed, the King might do anything; and if he ruled not like a tyrant, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his justice and clemency.

In short, if the whole speech be examined, there is scarce a word but what tends either plainly, or ambiguously, to establish in the King an absolute and despotic power. The English had not been used to hear their Kings speak in this manner. Henry VIII. the most arbitrary of all, managed the Parliament, in order to procure acts in favour of the sovereign, but never pretended to establish his authority upon such principles.

So, the Commons evidently perceiving what the King had in his thoughts, resolved strenuously to oppose his designs. But it was not yet a proper season to begin. Such great bodies require time to form and execute their projects. They feigned therefore to take no notice of the maxims the King would have established, and granted a subsidy, though a much smaller than he expected[110].

## **Henry Created Prince of Wales**

This done, the Parliament having sat till July 23, was prorogued to the 6th of October[111], Before the end of the session, the King created his eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales[112], and settled his Household, so that the young Prince kept his Court at St. James's, whilst the Queen kept hers at Somerset House, to which she gave the name of Denmark House, but it was called

so only during her life, and among her own people. Thus the King had three Courts to maintain, which was very expensive.

All the historians affirm, the Prince of Wales was of a very different Character from that of the King his father. Though he was but sixteen years old, there appeared in him principles of equity, justice, moderation, magnanimity, which so gained him the love and esteem of the English, that the King could not forbear being jealous. His court was well regulated, no extravagancies or indecencies were seen there, except perhaps the too frequent masquerades, which were then much in vogue, because the Queen was passionately fond of them.

As for the King, it is said, he did not spend much of his time in State-affairs, but entirely trusted to his Ministers. It may be, this is a little exaggerated, though it is not very unlikely, that a Prince who was in peace with all the world, and a great lover of books, and hunting, should leave common affairs to his ministers.

Whilst James lived in profound tranquillity, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Henry IV's grand project to humble the House of Austria. This House daily grew so formidable, that it might very justly raise the jealousy of the other States. What had lately happened on account of the succession of John-William Duke of Cleves, was a clear evidence how attentive the House of Austria was to aggrandize itself on all sides.

The Duke of Cleves dying the 25th of March 1609, his four sisters, or their heirs, claimed his inheritance, containing the duchies of Cleves, and Juliers and the Earldoms of la Marck, Bergh, Ravensbergh and Ravestein. The chief competitors were, Wolfgang-William, son to the Duke of Newburgh John Duke of Deuxponts, both of the Palatin family, John Sigismond, Elector of Brandenburg, Christian II Elector of Saxony, and Charles of Austria, Marquis of Burgaw.

Whilst these Princes contended about the succession, the Emperor Rodolphus II, pretended it was to be committed to his trust, till the affair was decided. To that purpose, he sent his orders to Leopold of Austria, Bishop of Strasbourg, who entering the Duchy of Juliers at the head of an army, took the capital city, and left a garrison in it.

This proceeding convincing the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Newburg. that whilst they were contending about the Duke of Cleves's succession, they both ran the risk of losing it, they joined in a league, and taking possession of the rest of the deceased Duke's dominions, implored the assistance of France and Holland to support them.

### **Henry IV is Stabbed May 3**

Henry IV. who had now made great preparations against the House of Austria, promised to assist them in person. At the same time, he ordered the troops he had in Holland, to be ready to join him in the Duchy of Cleves, and desired the States to send thither also Prince Maurice, with part of their own forces. But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, he was murdered by Ravaillac, a Friar, in his own coach, in the midst of Paris[113].

The murderer's confession[113], discovered, that this regicide was committed in consequence of that doctrine of the Romish Church, which was so disagreeable to King James, and the Jesuits were universally believed to be concerned in it.

### **Proclamation to Banish Jesuits**

Wherefore James finding how much it behoved him to remove from his person, men who held so detestable a doctrine, issued out a fresh proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, and Priests, to

depart the Kingdom, and all recusants, not to come within ten miles of the Court. Then he caused all his subjects to take the oath of allegiance, which the Parliament, then sitting, had first taken.

The court of Spain was generally suspected of contriving the King of France's murder, because, that Prince was known to be making great preparations against the House of Austria, and that House was not seen to prepare to oppose his designs.

## **James Has a Mind to Have Prince Henry Married in Spain**

Meanwhile, whether James did not believe it, or thought it advisable to gain the friendship of a House so formidable to the Protestants, he sent to Sir Charles Cornwallis[115] his ambassador to negotiate a Marriage between the Prince of Wales and the King of Spain's eldest daughter[116].

Richard Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and grand adversary of the Puritans died about this time. He had procured the King's patent to found a college at Chelsea, for the maintenance of a certain number of able controverlists, who were to combat with their sermons and writings, the adversaries of the Church of England, as well Puritans as Papists, but his death put an end to the project[117].

George Abbot, who, succeeded him, was of a very different character. He was even suspected and accused of being a Puritan, because he would not, like his predecessor, persecute that sect, nor blindly follow the maxims of the court with respect to Government.

## **The Parliament is Dissolved**

The Parliament meeting the 16<sup>th</sup> of October, the Commons were in a humour which pleased not the King. And therefore he determined to dissolve the Parliament by proclamation the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, having first prorogued it[118].

The ministers finding by the motions made in the Lower-House, that a resolution was taken to use the most effectual methods to redress the grievances, thought it against the King's and their own interest, to suffer the Commons to execute this project. The pretences for dissolving the Parliament set forth in the proclamation, were:—

**That** the King had proposed many things far differing and surpassing the graces and favours of former times, both in nature and value, in expectation of a good conclusion of some weighty cause, which had been there in deliberation, not only for the supply of the necessities of his Majesty's estate, but for the ease and freedom of his subjects:

**But** these beings the two last sessions, little taken notice of; and that the members, by reason of the length of the Parliament, were debarred from the hospitality they kept in the country, and that divers shires, cities, and boroughs, had been burdened with expense of maintaining their members; for these reasons he dissolved them.

This Parliament, being; the first of this reign, had sat seven years. From its dissolution to the year 1614, it was the Ministry's business to devise ways and means to supply the King's wants.

## **The Taking of Juliers**

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of September Prince Maurice became master of Juliers, with the aid brought by the Marshal de la Chatre from France, and the English forces that were in the service of the States, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury's brother[119].

## The Court Diversions

**1611 AD]** The King being freed from the encumbrance of the Parliament, and resolving never to call another, the courtiers greatly applauded his design. An absolute government was much more for their advantage, than a government bounded by the Laws, where the King in some measure depends on the people.

The whole court was overjoyed at the King's shaking off the troublesome yoke of the Parliaments. The three courts were a continued scene of mirth and diversions, and especially the Queen's where scarce anything else was regarded.

She had her favourites, as the King had his, that is, persons whose avidity was to be satisfied[120]. The King however had not yet a favourite, according to the usual sense of the word, though, whilst he reigned in Scotland, he had plainly showed he could hardly be without one. Perhaps, the ill offices, the English and Scots did one another, had, till now, prevented the King from fixing.

Besides, this Prince's taste was very different from that of most others. Neither virtue, nor merit, nor eminent qualities, had any charms for him. He was to be captivated only by something external and dazzling, as youth, gracefulness of person, fine cloths and the like. Never was Prince so much taken with such sort of outward accomplishments.

I speak upon the testimony of the Lord Clarendon[121], and several others, and upon the characters of this Prince's favourites as well in England as Scotland, in whom no other merit was ever acknowledged. Be this as it will, among the English and Scots who approached the King, there was not yet found any one possessed of the qualities requisite to become his favourite.

He wanted an inexperienced youth, whom he might mould as he pleased. The English and Scots accounting it a sort of miracle that he could live so long without abandoning himself to some person, strove with emulation to give him a favourite, without his perceiving it, by causing all the youths of their nation, whom they thought most capable of gaining his heart, to appear in his sight. But hitherto neither had been able to compass their ends. It was not till 1611 that the Scots found means at last to gain the advantage of their rivals, by giving the King a favourite of their nation.

### Robert Carr Becomes The King's Favourite

Robert Carr, a young Scotch gentleman, about twenty years of age, just come from learning his exercises in France, going to court to wait on the Lord Hay, his countryman, to whom he was recommended, that Lord had no sooner cast his eyes on him, but he imagined him a fit person to fix the King's affection.

With this view, he resolved to show him at court, and surprise the King, by presenting to him, as by chance, this new object. One day at a tilting, he chose Carr to present his shield and device to the King, according to custom. The King being on horseback, and Carr advancing to perform his office, his horse by some accident happened to start, throw him down and break his Leg.

The King sorry for this misfortune, asked who the young man was, and hearing his name was Carr, remembered he had a page of that name in Scotland, which proved to be the same, This made him still more concerned for his fall, and was the cause of this ordering him to be lodged in the palace, and all possible care to be taken of him.

The tilting was no sooner over, but he visited Carr in his room. Next day he came again. In short, as long as Carr kept his bed, not a day passed but the King spent an hour or two with him. He

found in this young Scot no great depth of learning, or experience, yet such a calm outside, as made him think there might be a fit harbour for his most retired thoughts.

Wherefore he resolved to fix his inclination upon this object, hoping to render him, by his instructions, as great a man as any of his ministers. As soon as Carr was recovered, the King made him a Knight, and gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and took the pains himself to teach him Latin. In a word, Carr became a perfect favourite. All suits, all petitions were addressed to him, and no favours granted but by his means.

Happily for him, George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, a Scotchman, who was very much esteemed by the King, died about this time. So Carr enjoyed the King's favour without a rival, and was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer of Scotland, vacant by the death of Dunbar.

## **James Sides Against Arminians**

The King's new inclination hindered him not from interposing in the disputes caused in Holland by the diversity of opinion upon certain religious points, between the Gomarists and the Arminians or remonstrants. These disputes are so well known, that it would be lost time to explain them. It will suffice to relate the occasion of the King's interposing without being applied to, and even with an extraordinary zeal, for the preservation of orthodoxy in this church, though foreign and Presbyterian.

Franciscus Gomarus and Jacobus Arminias, both divinity professors in the University of Leyden, had some years since discovered a difference in opinion, concerning absolute predestination, inadmissibility of grace, and some other theological points. They begun their dispute at the end of the last century; but the war at that time not permitting people to attend to their controversy, it was confined to their schools till the Year 1608. Gomarus followed the opinion of the first Reformers, and Arminias took a contrary course.

At last, the States of Holland perceiving a schism was forming in their Church, endeavoured to prevent it by means of a conference, which served only to inflame it. The disputes continued; each strengthened his party; and the States, being then employed in the important affair of the truce, could not attend to this, and prevent its consequences.

Arminias dying in 1608, his disciples and followers continued the dispute. At length they presented to the States a petition, containing the articles of their faith; and as, instead of the term petitioners, they used that of remonstrants, they were so called, and gloried in the name. The Gomarists presented likewise their petition, styling themselves contra-remonstrants.

For sometime the two parties were known by no other names. But afterwards, that of contra-remonstrants was scarce heard of, whilst Arminius's followers are still called remonstrants or Arminians.

Arminius's professorship was filled with Conrade Vorstins, divinity professor at Steinfort, in the county of Bentheim. This divine had published a treatise concerning God, which had so exerted the Gomarists against him, that he was obliged to clear himself in a printed apology from their imputations. But notwithstanding, before he came to Leyden, he was represented as a real Socinian. In 1611, he was attacked by some divines, who offered to show damnable errors both in his treatise concerning God and his apology.

These two books being sent into England the King read them, and presently after sent to Sir Ralph Winwood, his ambassador at the Hague, a list of these errors he had remarked, ordering him withal to declare to the States, that he was resolved to publish in print, how much he detested such abominable errors, and the allowers and tolerators of them.

This was directly falling upon the States, who had acquitted Vorstius. The ambassador presented therefore on this occasion a memorial, to which the States returned a model answer, though they had reason to complain of the haughtiness, the King treated them with. Before the King received the answer, he had ordered some of Vorstin's books to be publicly burnt at London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Notwithstanding all this, Vorstius was received at Leyden, and the King wrote against[122] him to the States with so much vehemence, that, in his opinion, burning was too good for him. Nay he threatened, that in case they continued to tolerate this professor, he would cause the Churches of England and Scotland to withdraw from the communion of that of Holland, and exhort all other reformed Churches to follow their example. Winwood when he delivered this letter, made a speech to the States, wherein he perfectly seconded his master's intentions.

Though the States of Holland thought it very strange to be thus checked, they believed however it was proper to show a regard to the King of England, though without complying with what he required. To this end, they answered the ambassador, that they had provisionally ordered, that Vorstius should forbear the functions of his office till the next assembly upon this affair, and in the mean time remain at Leyden only as an inhabitant.

Winwood took this answer for a denial, and complained in very haughty terms, of their little respect for the King his master. Not long after, the King published a declaration against Vorstius, wherein he uses the States of Holland very roughly. Then the States, who were unwilling to quarrel with him, ordered Vorstius to remove from Leyden to Gouda, where he had another settlement provided for him.

### **Remarks on This Subject**

It is difficult to guess the true cause of the King's great zeal on this occasion. It seems, on the contrary, that he ought not, upon many accounts, to have interposed in a theological dispute, about which the States had not asked his advice, and which concerned a Church, over which he could not challenge the least jurisdiction. How could he, who in his speech to both Houses of Parliament, called the questions about transubstantiation, and the number of the sacraments, mere school questions, how could he, I say, account the questions concerning grace in Holland, to be of so much greater moment?

Moreover, he who thought the papists might be tolerated in England, provided they behaved like good subjects, could not bear that Vorstius should be tolerated in Holland, or even so much as suffered to live[123]. These are contradictions which I can only venture to explain by three conjectures.

**First**, as he pretended to be very learned in divinity, he imagined, that having declared for one of the opinions, he was bound in honour to support it.

**Secondly**, looking upon himself still as protector of the States, he had a mind to exert his authority on this occasion, and oblige them to do as he required.

**Thirdly**, he was willing to favour Prince Maurice, who had declared for the Gomarists, against the Arminians, who had Pensionary Barnevelt at their head. I return to the affairs of England[124].

### **Carr is Made Viscount Rochester**

**1612 AD]** The King's fondness for his new favourite continually and swiftly increased. The favours the King loaded him with, seemed to exceed all bounds. Having made him Knight,

Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Lord-Treasurer: of Scotland, he created him the 25th of March 1612, Baron of Branspeth, and Viscount Rochester.

A month after, he made him Privy-Counsellor, and then Knight of the Garter. Everything at court passed through his hands, and whoever desired any favour of the King, was first to make the Viscount Rochester his friend. So many favours heaped on this favourite, convinced the ministers and courtiers, it would be in vain to endeavour to ruin him; and even to attempt it, would be very dangerous.

So every one resolved to pay his adoration's to the person the King was pleased to honour. The Earl of Salisbury however, was not pleased, to be surpassed by this newcomer, and continually obliged to use all his art to find money, in order to see it showered on a man whose services were yet so inconsiderable.

All the historians agree, the King was liberal beyond measure, in his presents to his young favourite, as if he had been possessed of an inexhaustible fountain of treasure, though he was ever in want.

### **The Treasurer's Artifice to Limit The Kings Bounty**

One day, as the story goes, the King having given him an order under his own hand, to receive twenty thousand pounds at the exchequer, the Lord Treasurer Salisbury surprised at the immenseness of the present, considering, how little money there was then in the Treasury, successfully used a stratagem, to demonstrate to .the King, the excess of his bounty.

He ordered the money, all in silver, to be laid on four tables in a room of his house, and inviting the King to an entertainment, caused him to pass through the room as by accident. The King failed not, as the Lord Treasurer foresaw, to ask, for what all that money was designed; to which Salisbury carelessly answered, It was for the Viscount Rochester, according to his Majesty's command. Whether the King understood his meaning, or had not considered the greatness of the present, he said, it was too much for one man, and bid the Treasurer give him but five thousand pounds[125].

### **Prudent Behaviour of The Favourite**

It is agreed by all the historians, that Carr behaved at first very wisely, as favourite. He was neither greedy nor insolent; he did every one what service he could, and especially the English, whose friendship he preferred before that of his countrymen. He had but one Scotch servant, and one friend of that nation, a cousin-German. This conduct rendered him agreeable to the English.

The Prince of Wales alone, affected sometimes to mortify him, because they were both, enamoured of the Countess of Essex, who gave the preference to the favourite. This was sufficient to gain him the Prince's enmity, who nevertheless, would not be revenged of him. He chose rather to turn into contempt, his love for the lady, who, as we shall see presently, was not worthy of such a lover.

Except this amour, which proved his ruin, the favourite carried himself very prudently, being guided by the counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of parts and great wisdom, who took care to keep him clear of those rocks, on which favourites seldom fail to run.

But though the Viscount Rochester, carefully avoided being troublesome, his modesty served only to inflame the. King's desire, to render him instantly rich and powerful. This, added to the many bounties he bestowed on his courtiers, both English and Scotch, and to the maintenance of three several courts, threw him perpetually into straits.

## **The Ministers are Put to it to Find Money**

His ministers were incessantly devising means to raise money without a Parliament, of which he would not hear the least mention. It may be easily conceived, these means were not all legal, but that many of them occasioned murmurs among the people, as monopolies, benevolences, and loans. A King of England can very hardly increase his revenues by such methods, without giving his subjects cause to believe, he intends to encroach upon their privileges, and James was now but too much suspected of such a design.

## **The Death of The Earl of Salisbury**

The King, to his great misfortune, lost in May the next year 1613, the Earl of Salisbury, who was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the state, and genius of the English. He was a check to the rest of the ministers, and hindered them from running upon precipices, the danger whereof they did not know so well as he.

## **Suffolk is Made Lord Treasurer**

Moreover, he had a wonderful art of diverting the King himself from hurtful resolutions, though he did not always succeed[126]. The Earl of Suffolk was made Lord Treasurer: but he was very different from the person he succeeded, both for parts and uprightness. Besides, he had a wife who was very greedy of money, and made no scruple to take bribes with both hands.

During the great tranquillity enjoyed by the King, he caused the body of the Queen his mother to be removed to Henry VIII's chapel at Westminster, from Peterborough, where it was interred at first, and had lain ever since.

About the middle of the year, Robert Chreighton, Lord Sanquir, a Scotch nobleman, was condemned to be hanged, for hiring two of his countrymen to murder a fencing master[127]. The Archbishop of Canterbury and several great men interceded for him in vain. Nothing could prevail with the King to pardon him, who thought this example necessary to curb the insolence of the Scots, who had already committed several outrages in England.

His clemency to some had produced such ill effects, that he did not think proper to continue the same course, for fear, in the end, of a general quarrel between the two nations, which must have been to the disadvantage of the Scots[128].

## **Sir Robert Sherley Arrives as Ambassador from The King of Persia**

Shortly after, arrived in England a very extraordinary embassy. Sir Robert Sherley an Englishman, who had served the King of Persia many years in his army, desiring to see his native country, obtained of that monarch the character of his ambassador, and a letter of credit to the King. His instructions were only to pay his compliments to the King, with the offer of a free trade to the English throughout the Persian dominions.

This ambassador had passed through the plague, where he demanded audience of the states, to propose to them a treaty with the King of Persia. But because he came from Spain, where he had made some stay, the States suspecting, he had some other design, asked to see his instructions, and upon his scrupling to shew them, he was desired to withdraw. As he had been also at other courts, it was believed, he had put the King of Persia in hopes of engaging all the Christian Princes in a war with the Turks, who were preparing to invade him.

He had married a Persian wife, who was delivered of a son in England, to whom the Queen stood Godmother, and Prince Henry Godfather. After a year's stay in England, he returned into Persia [129].

## **Death of The Prince of Wales**

The arrival of this Ambassador did not make so much noise as that of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who came in October to marry the Princess Elizabeth, the King's daughter. He was received with all the respect imaginable; and for some time nothing was seen at court but entertainments and diversions on his account. But amidst the universal joy for this marriage, the Prince of Wales was seized with a distemper, which at first was not thought dangerous.

### **His Encomium**

It begun on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, a few days before the Elector Palatine's arrival : but he himself believed it of so little consequence, that he accompanied the Elector every where for some days. He was not forced to keep his bed till the 25<sup>th</sup> of the same month, and died the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, at the age of eighteen years[130].

He was one of the most accomplished Princes that ever was, I will not say in England, but in all Europe, if we may believe what historians relate of him. He was sober, chaste, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity. He was never heard to swear, though the example of his father and the whole court, was but too apt to corrupt him in that respect[131].

He took great delight in the convention of men of honour; and those who were not reckoned as such, were looked upon with a very ill eye at his court. He had naturally a greatness of mind, noble and generous thoughts ; and was as much displeased with trifles, as his father was fond of them. He frequently said, if ever he mounted the throne, his first care should be to try to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England. As this could not be done without concessions on each side, and as such a condescension was directly contrary to the temper of the Court and Clergy, he was suspected to countenance Puritanism.

He was naturally gentle and affable: but however, in his carriage had a noble stateliness without affectation, which commanded esteem and respect. He shewed a warlike genius, in his passionate fondness for all martial exercises.

A French ambassador coming to take his leave of him, found him tossing the pike, and asking him, what service he would command him to his master? The Prince bid him tell him, what he was doing. In short, to say all in a word, though he was eighteen years old when he died, no historian has taxed him with any vice.

### **Suspicious Against The King**

The King his father is said to have been jealous of him, and to ask one day, If his son would bury him alive[132]? I pass over in silence many things said upon this occasion, particularly what some authors would insinuate, that the King caused him to be poisoned.

In such a case, the proofs ought to be as clear as the sun, and I find in the most inveterate historians against King James, only bare suspicions and naked conjectures, which probably were but fruits of the blacked malice. Others are contented with accusing the Viscount Rochester of this crime, but without any manner of proof.

Some slight presumptions, which I shall have occasion to speak of elsewhere, may have helped to breed this suspicion, which indeed was spread immediately after the Prince's death. Wherefore

his head and body were ordered to be laid open in the presence of many physicians and surgeons, who gave their opinion upon oath, that no marks of poison appeared[133].

But what reflected most upon the King, was his commanding that no person should appear at court in mourning; whether he was willing to remove all melancholy objects from his sight, that might constantly renew his concern, or did not think proper to interrupt the diversions prepared for his daughter's marriage. Decency obliged him, however, to defer the nuptials a few weeks, as the Prince's funeral could not be performed till the 7th of December.

## **The Elector and Prince Maurice are Made Knights of The Garter**

Presently after, the King held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, wherein the Elector Palatine and Prince Maurice Studtholder of Holland, were made Knights. They were installed in February following, both on the same day, the one at Windsor, the other at the Hague[134]

## **Marriage of The Elector and Princess**

**1613 AD]** The beginning of the year 1613, was wholly spent in preparations for the Prince's wedding, which was formalized the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, the Elector having been installed Knight of the Garter, on the 7<sup>th</sup>. Nothing was spared to render the entertainments on these occasions as magnificent as possible.

To this end the King demanded Aid-money of his subjects, according to the antient custom, observed when the Kings married their eldest daughter. Though it was now a hundred years since this custom had been used, there having been no occasion since the reign of Henry VII, yet few or none durst refuse to give what the King demanded.

Great sums were raised by this means, which were all expended in the marriage[135]. The Elector and the Princess stayed in England till April, during which time there was nothing but entertainments, balls, masquerades, and other diversions.

**The City of London made the new married couple a splendid feast; after which, the Lord Mayor (2nd Aldermen) presented the bride with a chain of oriental pearl, worthy the greatness and riches of that Metropolis[136].**

By the departure of the Elector and Electoress[137], the Court became a little more quiet, as to public rejoicings, which had held several months without ceasing. But at the same time, a private scene was acting, the plots whereof began to open this year, but were not quite unravelled till two years after. I mean, the annulling of the Earl of Essex's marriage; his Countess's second marriage with the Viscount Rochester; and the violent death of Sir Thomas Overbury.

As these three incidents did not happen all at once, and by accident, but were gradually brought in, by diabolical practices, it will be necessary to relate some things already passed, and which were deferred, that the thread of the story might not be interrupted.

## **Account of Dissolving The Earl of Essex's Marriage**

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was, as I observed, a mortal enemy to the late Earl of Essex, and one of the chief instruments of his ruin. This Earl left a son, who being but nine years old, did not give Cecil much uneasiness, though the King, at his coming to England, restored him to his estate and honours.

Meanwhile, as this able Minister could not be ignorant of the King's affection for the father, he was apprehensive, that, one time or other, he should be made to pay for all his artifices to ruin

that Lord. It was chiefly upon this account, that, in order to preserve the King's favour, he judged it proper to unite closely with the Howard Family, by his son's marriage with the Earl of Suffolk's, eldest daughter[138].

After which, perceiving the Earl of Essex to grow up, and fearing he might one day prove a thorn in his side, he believed it for his interest to be reconciled to him, and to confirm the reconciliation with the marriage of this young Lord to the Earl of Suffolk's second daughter, younger sister of his daughter-in-law.

Besides his own advantage by this alliance, he gave the King the pleasure to see in strict union three families, for which he had the greatest affection; namely, those of Howard, Devreux, and Cecil.

This marriage was accomplished in 1606, the Earl of Essex being then in his fifteenth, and Frances Howard his bride in her thirteenth year. As the married couple were yet very young, their relations thought fit the Earl should travel into France and Germany, till they were both a little more advanced in years. During his absence, his Countess became a perfect beauty and eclipsed all the court ladies.

The Earl of Essex returned to England in the year 1610. He found his countess in the prime of her age and beauty: but withal, extremely proud of her own merit, by reason of the praises bestowed on her by all. He was himself charmed with her, but met not with that return he expected.

She daily coined fresh excuses to delay the consummation of the marriage, and shewed as much reluctance as he did eagerness. He bore it patiently for some time, being unwilling to use compulsion, for fear of giving his bride an aversion to him. Shortly after, he fell so dangerously ill of the smallpox[139], that his life was despaired of: but the strength of his constitution overcame his distemper, though it was long before she was quite recovered.

In this interval it was that Robert Carr became the King's favourite. When he gained his master's heart, he made a conquest almost at the same time of the countess of Essex's, who suffered herself to be taken with the charms of this young Scot, and entirely gave herself over to this new passion, without daring however to reveal it to the person that caused it.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Essex finding himself perfectly recovered, pressed his spouse to consent to the consummation of their marriage: but he found her reluctance the greater, as she was enamoured of another. In short, after trying all sorts of ways to prevail with her, without being able to succeed, he had recourse to the Earl of Suffolk his father-in-law, and entreated him to use his endeavours to vanquish his daughter's obstinacy.

The Earl of Suffolk, surprised at what his son-in-law told him, sharply reprimanded his daughter, and positively told her, she must resolve to consummate the marriage. Then the countess, not daring to disobey her father directly, desired only a little longer delay. She believed, in case she could avoid consummating her marriage with the Earl of Essex, it would not be impracticable to procure a divorce, and then marry the Viscount Rochester.

Indeed, the Viscount knew nothing yet of her passion: but she had too good an opinion of her charms, not to hope an easy conquest, as soon as she should have occasion to discover it. On the other hand, the great credit of Rochester and the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, did not suffer her to question, that if the favourite undertook to marry her, he would easily accomplish it. But she wanted some time to lay her measures, wherein however she met with great opposition both from her husband and father.

In this extremity, not knowing how to proceed, she opened her mind to one Mrs. Turner a Physician's widow, a woman of a dissolute life, and capable of the barest actions. As this woman had no good advice to give her, she persuades her to apply to one Dr. Foreman, who passed for a conjurer.

He had perhaps some secrets of nature, but was not sorry to be thought skirted in the magic-art, because many women came to consult him, and paid him well for it[140]. To this man the countess of Essex told her secret, and desired two things of him: First, to manage it so, that the Earl of Essex should be incapable to consummate his marriage.

Secondly, to make the Viscount Rochester in love with her. Foreman very confidently promised both, and gave her certain powders for her husband to take, and to be put amongst his linen, with instructions how she should behave to him. As for Rochester, he himself undertook to perform upon him. the necessary operations.

Meanwhile, the countess could no longer disobey her father's command, so was forced at last to cohabit with her husband. But though they lay together, the marriage was not consummated, whether it was owing to Foreman's powders, or to some other more effectual means used by the countess to frustrate her husband's efforts.

However this be, the Earl of Essex imagined, that his living in London and at court might contribute to his misfortune, and therefore resolved to carry his lady to, Chartley in Staffordshire, a country seat, about a hundred miles from London. The Countess could not be excused from going with her Lord: but all the while she was there, shut herself up in a room, and would not so much as suffer the light of the sun to enter, giving herself over to an excessive melancholy, whether out of vexation or policy, the better to deny her husband.

## Truth Discovered

After this manner she lived some time with her husband in the country, who did not understand the meaning of this strange behaviour. In the meanwhile, she wrote several letters to Mrs. Turner and Foreman, telling them, she was afraid Foreman's powders were not strong enough: her husband was as lusty as ever: it would be very difficult for her to hold out for ever, and if she should chance to yield, she should become the most. unfortunate woman in the world: She entreated them to free her from her misery, and they should have what money they desired.

Theses letters were found in Foreman's study, and read in open court, upon an occasion which I shall mention presently[141].

At last, the Earl of Essex seeing himself in so uneasy a situation, resolved to carry his lady back to London, and give her full leave to live as she pleased. He began to perceive there was something extraordinary in her carriage, which he chose rather to be ignorant of than endeavour to discover.

The Countess being returned to court, and mistress of herself, no longer delayed to let Rochester know what she endured for his sake. There was no occasion to use magic to produce the desired effect. He was young, and she the finest lady in the Kingdom.

So any advances from the Countess, were more than sufficient to kindle a flame in the favourite's breast. As soon as they begun to understand one another, assignations became frequent. They were at first very private: but in time, the two lovers used so little caution, that not a courtier was a stranger to their amours.

The King very probably was informed of it, since nothing delighted him more than to hear of the love intrigues of his courtiers. The Earl of Essex, who had also notice of it, chose to shut his eyes, and form an object so unworthy of his love.

## **The Countess of Essex's Designs to Get Her Marriage Annulled**

The Countess of Essex having succeeded in her intended conquest, and finding herself fare of her lover's heart, would not allow his passion time to cool. Everything seemed to favour the execution of her designs, that is, her divorce from the Earl of Essex and marriage with the Viscount Rochester. Essex saw her no more, and seemed to concern himself very little about her, and Rochester was so beloved by the King, that, in all appearance, nothing would be impracticable. So she let her lover know her desires, and without much difficulty brought him to second her projects.

But as he was wont to impart his more serious affairs to Overbury, he believed he ought not to conceal this from him, and the more, as he expected from him some good advice to accomplish it. But so far was Overbury from approving such a project, that he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it.

He represented to him the injustice and indignity of the thing, his danger of being ruined by such an action; and lately, the little value he ought to have for a woman, who, though married, scrupled not to throw herself into the arms of another man: That she had already lost her reputation in the world, and when she should be his wife, all the dishonour would reflect upon him[142].

Rochester who did not expect so great opposition from his friend, could not forbear shewing some resentment. He had the address however to contain himself so far, as not to give him room to think he would proceed notwithstanding his advice, and continued, as usual, to communicate to him his other affairs.

## **Rochester's Artifice to Ruin Overbury**

The countess was in a violent passion when she heard Overbury's advice, and from that moment ceased not to excite her lover to revenge. She was the more incensed against Overbury, as she feared, that being acquainted with the design, he would labour to render it abortive.

In short, Rochester was so complaisant and blind, as to promise her to sacrifice his friend. She might easily have dismissed him: but it would have been too dangerous not to ruin him entirely, after trusting him with the secret.

It is pretended, that to strike the more surely, he consulted the Earl of Northampton, uncle to the Countess of Essex, and by his advice used this artifice to ruin him. She extolled to the King Overbury's abilities: but intimated withal, that he took too much upon him, and was grown intolerably insolent; and therefore he should be very glad to have him removed, by some honourable employment, praying his Majesty to send him ambassador to Russia[143].

The King liking the proposal, appoints instantly Overbury for the embassy. Rochester having proceeded thus far, acquaints Overbury with the King's intention, and pretending he could not live without him, entreats him to refuse the employment, promising to procure him a better at Court.

He added, that indeed he believed it would not be in his power to hinder the King from being angry at first, who, probably would resent his refusal, but he did not question to appease him in a few days. Overbury fell into the snare, and when the King sent for him to acquaint him with

the employment designed for him, he most humbly besought his Majesty to make choice of some other person.

## **Overbury is Sent to The Tower**

As soon as he was retired, Rochester aggravated his pride and insolence, in daring thus to refuse his master's gracious offer, adding, it was requisite to chastise him: That he was himself affected by it, for he should be infallibly blamed for using his interest for him. In short, by Rochester's instances, the King commanded Overbury to be sent to the tower[144].

Some days before, the favourite had caused Sir Gervase Elways, his creature, to be made lieutenant of the Tower[155]. Overbury was closely confined in a room, and not suffered to keep one of his servants, or receive any visits from his relations and friends, a rigour not used even towards the greatest offenders. He was now where the Viscount Rochester and the Countess of Essex wished him, in order to dispatch him more easily.

However, there were still some difficulties. It could not be done by stabbing, because the Lieutenant of the Tower, who is to answer for the prisoners, would not have suffered it, and besides, a murder openly committed in one of the King's prisons, would have made too much noise in the world.

## **The Design of Taking Away His Life is Formed**

It was resolved therefore to make use of poison. To that end Mrs. Turner provided a trusty person, one Weston[146], who had been a servant to her husband, and Sir Thomas Monson recommended this man to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to wait on the prisoner as footman. But even this was not sufficient.

Whatever was brought to Overbury to eat being dressed in the Lieutenant's kitchen, it was almost necessary to engage him in the plot. Some say, the Earl of Northampton spoke to him of it, hinting that every thing was done with the King's privity.

Others affirm, the Lieutenant refusing to be concerned in the crime, and not daring however to discover it, by reason of the quality of the parties, took care to seize the victuals sent from time to time by the Viscount Rochester to the prisoner, and threw them into the house of office[147]; and this is most likely, since, otherwise, Overbury would have been soon dispatched.

He could not however hinder Weston from giving him a certain jelly sent by Sir Thomas Monson, which almost killed him. Whereupon the Lieutenant of the Tower was still more careful, that Overbury should be seen but by Weston alone.

This was a check upon Weston, because he perceived none could be accused but himself: wherefore he durst not make such haste as Overbury's enemies desired. There arose however an inconvenience from this delay, which was that every one was surprised, to see the King use so great rigor upon a friend of the Viscount Rochester for so slight an offence, if the refusing to go in embassy to Russia could be deemed any crime at all. It could not be conceived, and it was vainly endeavoured to discover the cause of the extreme severity with which Overbury was treated.

## **The Earl of Essex's Marriage Annulled**

Whilst the unfortunate prisoner languished in his confinement, the Viscount Rochester and the Countess of Essex were thinking of executing their project, that is of annulling the Countess of Essex's marriage, that she might afterwards espouse the Viscount.

To credit this, without Rochester's appearing to be concerned, the Earl of Northampton, who was in the two lovers secrets, undertook to speak to the King. Some say the Viscount Rochester had already acquainted the King with the Countess's design to be divorced, and prayed his Majesty to procure him the lady when the marriage should be dissolved: but I do not know if this be well attested.

However, the Earl of Northampton preferred to the King the Countess of Essex's petition to this effect[148]. That the Earl her Husband being incapable of consummating their marriage, she besought his Majesty to let her complaint be examined, and if found well grounded, to have liberty to marry another.

Upon this petition, the King commissioned the Archbishop, several other bishops, and some laymen, to hear and determine the affair. This court proceeded very gravely to the trial of the cause, and entered into such particular and secret examinations, as did not very well become clergymen.

The Earl of Essex being examined, briefly answered, he had never consummated his marriage, neither did he think he should ever be able to consummate it: but did not feel the same inability with regard to other women. Though this confession greatly favoured the Countess's cause, the Court deemed it proper to be certain of the truth by another method, and ordered the Countess to be inspected by a jury of matrons, assisted by some midwives.

This inspection being made, the matrons declared she was a Virgin. But it is pretended the Countess, under colour of saving her modesty, was permitted to appear in a veil before the matrons, and that Mrs. Fines a young gentlewoman of her age and stature, was introduced in her place[149].

I omit numberless circumstances of this trial, which are to be found in several authors, and which it is indecent to relate. It suffices to say in a word, that by the sentence, the marriage was dissolved, contrary to the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who even published his reasons against it. But the King himself took the pains to answer the Archbishop's arguments, and to maintain the justice of the sentence, upbraiding the prelate with founding his opinion on Puritan principles. Dr. Bilson Bishop of Winchester. one of the Judges, having spoken very strenuously to prove the nullity of the marriage, his son was soon after knighted.

But the public was so malicious as to call him Sir Nullity Bilson. This affair made great noise, and brought little honour to the judges, most of whom could not be ignorant of the Countess of Essex's ill character[150].

## **Rochester Marries The Countess of Essex**

If after her divorce, the Countess had married any other than the Viscount Rochester, his conduct might have been easily justified. This was not the first marriage annulled upon the like account. But the sentence was hardly published, when the Viscount openly made his addressees to the lady, and their marriage was quickly concluded.

## **He is Made Earl of Somerset**

The King not only gave his favourite leave to marry the Countess, but also made him Earl of Somerset on the 4th of November, that the second husband might be of equal rank with the first.

The Nuptials were solemnized a month after, with such extraordinary rejoicings, that had the King's own son been married, there could not have been greater. **The City of London signalised**

**itself on this occasion, by a splendid entertainment which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen gave the new-married couple, and to which the King, Queen, and whole court were invited.**

For some time nothing was talked of but banquets, balls, masquerades, and other diversions, in honour of the new Earl of Somerset's nuptials.

These things gave occasion to the disaffected to talk freely of the King. They reported, that in Scotland the Earl of Arran, formerly the King's favourite, married the Earl of Athol's daughter, having procured, by the like means, and on the same account, a dissolution of that lady's marriage with the Earl of March. It was thereby insinuated, that the King had taught his favourite the way to attain his mistress. But these insinuations reached not the King's ear, those about him not being so ill courtiers as to carry him such reports.

## **Violent Death of Overbury**

Whilst the Countess of Essex's marriage was annulling, the unfortunate Overbury was closely confined, without having the comfort of seeing any of his friends[151], as if he had been guilty of the most heinous of crimes. He had been extremely sick with the poison that was given him, without knowing the cause of his illness.

But when he heard what was transacting, he no longer doubted concerning the author of his misery. In this lamentable state, he saw no other remedy but to write to the favourite, entreating him to deliver him out of his wretched condition[152].

Rochester answered, that the King being still highly incensed, he had not yet been able to speak in his behalf, but hoped to do it within a few days. Nay, it is said, he sent a certain powder in this letter, as a sure remedy to cure his distemper. But Overbury was so wise as not to take it[153].

In short, the two lovers being impatient to see a man live so long, who might one day be their ruin, caused an poisoned clyster to be administered by one Franklin an apothecary's prentice, which ended his miseries with his life.

Some say, that Weston and Franklin seeing the extraordinary effects of the clyster, and fearing if they suffered the poison to operate any longer, it would leave marks on the body, which would rise in judgment against them, smothered him with the bed cloths.

When he was dead, he was speedily buried without any ceremony, and a report spread, that dying of the pox, he was so rotten, he could not be kept any longer. This was the Earl of Northampton's account in his letter to the favourite, to acquaint him with Overbury's death, admiring withal, the justice of God upon such wicked instruments[154].

The Earl of Somerset thought it a great advantage to have dispatched Overbury. But on the other hand, he found himself much more embarrassed in the management of affairs, since he was no longer assisted by that faithful counsellor. As his small experience rendered everything difficult, he was forced to chouse another friend, and it was the Earl of Northampton that supplied Overbury's place.

But there was a great deal of difference between these two counsellors. Overbury's sole view was to procure his friend honour and glory, and the Earl of Northampton's chief aim was to make use of his credit to countenance the Catholics. Ever since his being in favour, he had always protected them to the utmost of his power, as was obvious to all the world.

But when he came to rule the favourite, he acted without any reserve. As he was warden of the Cinque-Ports, the Jesuits and Romish priests could safely land there without being examined at

their arrival. By this means their number so increased in a very short space, that the people loudly murmured at it, and cast the blame on the Earl of Northampton.

Wherefore, to silence those who talked too freely, he took out a writ of *Scandalum Magnatum* against some of them. He believed, it was not possible to convict him of a thing founded only upon common report, and that, such evidence not being valid in law, he should silence his enemies by the punishment of some of the most forward to speak against him.

## Death of Northampton

But the Archbishop of Canterbury broke his measures, by producing a letter under the Earl's own hand to Cardinal Bellarmine, wherein he said, That however the situation of the affairs of England, and the instances of the King compelled him to be a Protestant in shew, nevertheless his heart stood firm with the Catholics, and he would be ever ready to countenance them to the utmost of his power. Upon this letter the parties accused were discharged. Nay the King so reprimanded the Earl, that he retired to his country house, where he died soon after[155].

He declared in his last will and testament, that he had always been a Catholic, and would die in that religion. Thus several historians speak of him. But the anonymous author of the *Annals of James I. and Charles I.* who endeavours to vindicate these Princes, their ministers and government, in every thing without exception, forgets not to justify also the Earl of Northampton.

He says among other things, that the charge of being concerned in Overbury's murder was only a rumour spread after his death, as if that were a certain proof of his innocence. As to the Earl's religion, the same author says, He died suspected more Catholic than some will think reasonable, though in the form of a Church Papist[156].

## The Puritans are Mortified

**1614 AD]** The court was not so well affected to the Puritans as to the Papists. The Puritans were considered as enemies to the King and to monarchy, but the Papists as hearty wishers that the King might meet with no opposition to his will.

This was sufficient to induce the court to countenance the latter, and cause the former to endure continual mortifications. In the spring this year, some Presbyterian families resolved to go and settle in New-England, to enjoy there that peace which they could not find at home.

The author, I just mentioned concerning the Earl of Northampton, says, these people were notorious schematics of several sects, known by the general name of Puritans, which term included good and bad in their distinct kinds, truly and ingeniously distinguished into the Puritan knave, and the knave Puritan.

As it was not impossible, by the increase of Presbyterian families, the English plantations might become nurseries for non-conformists, the Court gave orders not to let them, depart. But afterwards, such as desired to remove beyond sea, being examined, some were allowed to pursue their voyage, and others were detained as sureties for these that went away.

It was now four years since the King had called a Parliament. It was a great comfort to him, to have no disputes with a House of Commons, ever ready to complain of grievances, and take occasion to examine the conduct of the Sovereign or his Ministers. He liked it much better to command absolutely and without control. But this was attended with great inconvenience.

He was forced continually to invent new methods to raise money, and these methods, grounded upon absolute authority, chafed loud murmurs among the people. Neither did these methods

bring in sufficient sums for the King's occasions, who loved magnificence, and was always ready to give.

Hence sprung his wants, which incessantly increased, his revenues, as well ordinary as extraordinary, not sufficing for his expenses. He seemed, however, to have an inexhaustible fund, so profuse was he, without considering how he should recover what was unnecessarily given.

## **The King's Generosity**

The following instance of his bounty may serve to show his character. Being one day in the gallery at Whitehall, and none with him but Sir Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, and James Maxwell, one of his bed chamber, some porters passed by with three thousand pounds, going to the Privy-purse.

Rich seeing the money, turned to Maxwell, and whispered him. The King perceiving it, asked what he said? Maxwell told him, Rich should think himself very happy if he had such a sum. Whereupon the King calling to the porters, ordered them to carry the money to Rich's lodgings, saying, at the same time, You think now you have a great purchase, but I am more delighted in giving you the money, than you can be in receiving it.

If the King had been thus lavish out of his abundance or out of his savings, his generosity must have been laudable. But unhappily, in order to be thus profuse to a few private persons, he gained the ill-will of all the rest of the nation, and was forced to use, to raise money, several extraordinary methods, which were looked upon as so many grievances, and loudly complained of.

Moreover, he was obliged, either not to call a Parliament, or to quarrel with the House of Commons. James was however the Solomon of the age, the wisest, most prudent, and most just of Kings. These at least are the epithets generally given him, and which are even to be found in several histories penned since the restoration of Charles II.

## **The Creation of Barons**

The King's excessive liberality reducing him continually to straits, he had at last recourse to a project, formed by the late Earl of Salisbury; namely, to create Knights Baronets, a sort of middle nobility, between Barons and Knights Bachelors. Their number was not to exceed two hundred; but the King, at the first promotion, made only a hundred[157].

To purchase this honour, which was to be hereditary, every Baronet was obliged to pay to the King a thousand pounds, But in order to give some colour to this new institution, every Baronet was obliged by his patent, to maintain thirty foot soldiers in Ireland for three years, at eight-pence a day each soldier[158].

Afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the King, and pay the whole sum at once, part should be abated, and the King would maintain his troops in Ireland himself. 2nd there was not one but what accepted this offer. The author of the annals before mentioned, affirms, that the King received only about a hundred thousand pounds of the Baronets, and that the maintenance of the troops in Ireland cost him much more. So, according to him, this new order was instituted merely to ease the subjects.

Besides this method, the King made use of others to fill his empty coffers, without being obliged to have recourse to the Parliament. I shall only mention them, without pretending to determine whether the King exceeded his prerogative or not:—

- 1) The King, by his letters patents: granted monopolies to private persons, exclusive of all others, and raised great sums by these sorts of favours.
- 2) He issued out commissions for reviving obsolete laws, for making men who could expend forty pounds a year, to compound for not being knighted. Formerly, an estate of forty pounds a year in land was considerable: and therefore the owners of such an estate were deemed proper to be made knights, and as such, to serve the King in his wars, or find soldiers. But in King James I's times such a revenue was inconsiderable: these were infinite numbers who had more, but not desiring to be knights chose rather to give the King money, than be obliged to receive an honour, which rendered them very dependent.
- 3) The King made a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia[159], each of which paid him such a sum.
- 4) The dignities of Baron, Viscount, and Earl, had a fixed price set upon them. The King received for making a Baron ten thousand pounds, for a Viscount fifteen thousand, and twenty thousand for an Earl. Thus, whoever had money, might be made a peer of the realm.
- 5) The same honours were rated likewise in Scotland and Ireland, though at lower prices[160].
- 6) Those who had defective titles, were obliged to compound with the King for rectifying them, otherwise they were declared null and void[161].
- 7) The Star Chamber condemned in excessive fines, to the King's use, such as were cited thither. I have already related some instances, and shall have occasion to take notice of some others hereafter.
- 8) To all this, may be added the sums levied by the King upon his subjects, when the Prince his son was knighted, and his daughter married.

He would have had also a good means of raising money, if he had demanded of the United Provinces the sums that were due to him. But if we believe certain historians, he durst not claim his debt, for fear of engaging in a war in case of refusal.

A more probable reason might be given, by saying, the places he held in Holland and Zealand kept the States in a sort of subjection, if he had not shown, two years after, that this was not the true reason, by receiving his money when offered him by the States.

### **The King Resolves to Call a Parliament**

In fine, the King's revenue not answering his expenses, recourse was to be had to a Parliament. The Earl of Somerset, having with him neither Overbury nor the Earl of Northampton, was at a loss how to find the King money, and the Lord Treasurer his Father-in-law was no less embarrassed.

All extraordinary means seeming to be exhausted, they proposed to the King the calling of a Parliament. To induce him to it, they put him in hopes, that by their interest and management, the majority of the Commons should be at his devotion. The King was very loath to consent: but at length was persuaded, and a Parliament was summoned to meet the 1<sup>st</sup> of April[162].

### **The Parliament Meets**

This Parliament consisted not of such members as the King was made to expect. The people, who were discontented, instead of being gained by the court, chose representatives of a quite different character from what the ministers desired.

The very first day, the King demanded an aid of money for the marriage of his daughter, and told the Commons, after dispatching that affair, he would give them leave to examine the grievances of the nation. But the Commons thought proper to invert the method prescribed them, and begin with the grievances. Instead therefore of granting the money first, as the King expected, they examined to what uses the revenues of the Crown had been put.

### **Grievance 1 - The King's Revenues put to Ill Uses**

The result was, that the King had bestowed on the Scots excessive grants both in land and money, and that the Scots having sold these lands to the English, had conveyed the money into Scotland, to the great detriment of England. If what the King had given to the English had been as carefully examined, it would have been found ten-times more, by the confession of the historians themselves[163]: but herein was not seen the same inconvenience.

### **Grievance 2 - Increase of Papists**

Then, the House inquired into the causes of the increase of Popish recusants; since it should rather seem, that the laws enacted after the Gun Powder plot, should have very much incensed their number.

The first cause appeared to be the King's admitting into his council Popish Lords, publicly known for such. A second was, the negotiations abroad for the marriage of the late Prince Henry and Prince Charles with Popish Princesses.

### **Grievance 3 - Monopolies**

After this, the Commons took into consideration the monopolies authorized and licensed by the King's letters-patents, to the great prejudice of trade; and the extraordinary levies of money, without the consent of the Parliament. Upon all these grievances, it was resolved to represent to them in a petition to his Majesty, and to pray him to redress them, and especially to hinder the future settlement of the Scots in England.

### **The Parliament is Dissolved**

The carriage of the Commons was so different from that of the courtiers, who never spoke of the King but with admiration, that his Majesty had not patience to bear it. So, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June he dissolved the Parliament, after a session of about two months, wherein not one Statute was enabled. The Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the King committed to prison several members of the House of Commons, who had spoken the most freely, without admitting them to bail[164].

The Parliament not answering the King's expectation, and his exchequer being empty, there was a necessity of recurring to new expedients to fill it. But before we speak of these expedients, it will not be amiss to show one of the chief causes of the King's being reduced to straits.

I mean the Electress his daughter's marriage, which had cost him very near a hundred thousand pounds, according to the following account, inferred in his book by the anonymous author of the Annals above-mentioned. ( See Account on next page )

## The King Levies a Benevolence

The King resolving to call no more parliaments, extraordinary means were to be devised to supply his expenses, his ordinary revenues being far from sufficient. To that end, certain persons diligently searched into history, to discover what had been done by former Kings in the like cases, or when there was not time to call a Parliament.

Among all these methods, the court chose the way of benevolence, invented by Edward IV, abolished by Richard III, and once revived, if I am not mistaken, by the Parliament itself in the reign of Henry VIII.

Nevertheless, the author of the *Annals* pretends, that James only followed the constant example of all his predecessors, and upon these pretended examples, and the custom in France and Spain, undertakes to vindicate him. But there would be too many things to be said upon this head, if it should be insisted on.

### An Account of The Expenses For The Electress's Wedding

For the Pallgrave's diet at his standing house	6000
For his diet at his instalment of the garter	4000
For diet at his marriage	2000
For lodging for his Servants	830
To the Wardrobe for apparel for the Princess Elizabeth	6252
For furnishing her chamber	3023
Apparel and necessaries for her to my Lord Harrington	1829
Jewels and apparels for her Servants	3914
To divers merchants for silk, &c.	995
The Lords mask at her marriage	400
For the naval fight of fire-works on the Thames, at her marriage	4800
More fire-works on the Thames at her marriage	2280
To Sir Edward Cecil as Treasurer, for her journey from hence to Heidelberg and for her purse	2000
For settling her jointure, and charges to some of the Gentry to go thither and to take the assurance	800
The charges of her Journey	8000
Her transport to Flushing	5555
Paid over to the Pallgrave's agent for her maintenance for her portion	40000
<b>TOTAL</b> [165]	<b>93278</b>

The resolution being taken not only to demand but extort a benevolence, all the sheriffs were ordered by the council, to ask of all private persons within their district a free gift, in proportion to the King's wants. At the same time, they were expressly commanded to return to the council the names of such as should refuse to contribute, or not give according to their abilities.

This shows the King did not mean, the benevolence should be entirely voluntary. This method however was not so successful as the King had expected. The more eager the sheriffs and court party were to excite the people's liberality, the more industrious were others to dissuade them from it, by setting before them the consequences.

So, if we may believe the author of the *Annals*, the benevolence procured the King but £52,909 which yet (continues he) madded, the ill-minded men (pillars, so some called them, to the Kingdom's Liberties) always plotters to the Kingdom's miseries, who being ashamed to be out-done in honesty and honour, they justly drew upon themselves a mark of malignity.—And yet they would be meddling, devising poor arguments, to pretend it was against the subjects liberties, though accustomed evermore by examples of all former Sovereigns.

Others speak of it very differently, and represent this way of raising money upon the people, as a real extortion and encroachment on the nation's liberties. Thus do King James's historians contradict one another, not in facts but in principles, some deeming illegal, what others maintain to be the undoubted prerogative of the crown.

The money arising to the King from the benevolence, though no great sum, came however very seasonably for the King of Denmark's reception, who made him a second visit, with a train of forty persons only. During the fortnight he stayed in England[166], entertainments and diversions never ceased.

### **The Russian Embassy**

Shortly after, the King received with great pomp the Russian ambassador sent by the Czar, to desire him to be mediator between him and the King of Sweden, on account of their differences.

### **Project Against The Favourite**

Hitherto, the Earl of Somerset possessed the King's heart so entirely, that the Queen herself grew jealous. Some say, she inwardly grieved for the death of Prince Henry, and suspected him to be the author. Others say only, that his greatness had so blinded the favourite, that he was wanting in his respect to the Queen[167].

However this be, she had conceived a very violent hatred of him, and to ruin him the more easily, she thought proper to gain Sir Ralph Winwood, who was still Secretary of State[168], but without exercising the office, at least in important affairs, because the Earl of Somerset had seized the management of every thing. Winwood readily joined with the Queen to ruin this lord, who left him only the title of Secretary. This was a preparative to the revolution which happened the next year.

### **Water Conveyed to All Parts of London**

Before I end this year, I must not forget to mention the memorable undertaking of Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldsmith of London, who having an act of Parliament, for his warrant, found means to bring water from Hertfordshire to the principal parts of the city, for the convenience of the inhabitants[169].

### **The Kings Progress in Cambridge**

**1615 AD]** The King was wont twice a year to take a journey into same part of the Kingdom. These journeys were called progresses, one whereof was made in winter, the other in summer. In his winter progress, in the year 1615, he passed through Cambridge, where the scholars entertained him with a comedy called ignoramus, which ridiculed the Common-Law.

Nothing could be more diverting to the King. The Civil-Law, or the laws made by the supreme authority of the Roman Emperors, appeared to him of much greater value than the Common or Statute Law, and he could not forbear now and then to speak of these last with contempt. Wherefore he was so delighted with this play, that he caused it to be acted twice in his presence. during his short stay at Cambridge.

## George Villiers

At this play it was that the King was struck with a new object, which made the same impression upon his mind as Robert Carr did the first time he saw him[170].

This was George Villiers, a young gentleman who appeared before him with all the advantages of a good mien, a fine shape, and a handsome and well made suit of cloths. Every one perceived he looked upon this young man with pleasure, and from that moment it was thought Villiers might supplant the Earl of Somerset. And indeed with this view it was that certain Lords had brought him before the King, and placed him at the play just opposite to him.

George Villiers was of a good and antient family in Leicestershire, son of Sir George Villiers[171], of Brokesby, by a second wife, who bore him three sons, of whom this George was the second[172].

After the death of Sir George, his widow married Sir Thomas Compton, brother of the Lord Compton[173]. As George Villiers was but a younger son of a second bed, his fortune could be but small; nevertheless, his mother took great care of his education. After he had finished his studies, she sent him into France, where he made himself perfect master of the French tongue, with all the exercises proper for a gentleman, and especially dancing, wherein he excelled.

When he returned from his travels, his mother sent him to Court to make himself known, and endeavour to procure himself friends and a place[174]. He no sooner appeared there, but the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Bedford, and some other Lords, enemies to the favourite, and who sought his destruction, fancied this young man might be subservient to their design.

They knew the King sufficiently, to hope he would be taken with the outward accomplishments of this newcomer. To this end, they liberally supplied him wherewith to deck himself and attract the King's eyes. Their project succeeded to their expectation.

The King being at the play, looked with admiration on George Villiers, and could not help showing some signs of his growing inclination. He took care however to conceal it as much as possible, not to alarm the Earl of Somerset: nevertheless he resolved from that instant to have Villiers near his person, imagining he might easily keep both. So, to have time to manage this affair, he privately caused Villiers to purchase a cup bearer's place and to be instructed how to behave.

### Villiers is Made Cup Bearer to The King

What care soever the King might take to conceal his new inclination, the courtiers did not fail to discover it. Somerset, as most concerned, was harder to be deceived than the rest. His office of Lord Chamberlain giving him a great authority over the King's servants, he did not want opportunities to vex and mortify Villiers, who bore all with patience; and the King feigned not to perceive it.

But at last, an accident happened which suffered not the King to dissemble any longer. It was customary for the cup bearer whose turn it was to be in waiting, to have the first place at the table where the cup bearers dined.

Villiers having begun his month, sat at the upper end during the whole time of his service, without any opposition. But offering to sit in the same place after his month was expired, the person, whose turn it was to wait, ruddy thrust him from thence, which greatly confounded him.

### Adventures That Befell Villiers

Some days after, the same cup bearer carrying a glass of wine to the King, let it fall accidentally or designedly on Villiers, who gave him a box on the ear. It is a law of a long standing at court, that whoever strikes another in the King's palace, is to lose his right-hand, with many formalities.

It is the Lord Chamberlain's business to see crimes of this nature punished, and the Earl of Somerset failed not to do all that lay in his power to have the law executed to the utmost rigour. but the King granted Villiers a pardon, without enjoining any satisfaction to the party offended. This was the first public mark of his affection for Villiers.

From thenceforward, the Earl of Somerset's enemies laboured incessantly to ruin him in the King's favour, in which they could not better succeed, than by cherishing the King's new inclination by immoderate commendations of Villiers.

The truth is, that even before he had seen Villiers, the King began to be weary of Somerset, who was not so agreeable as when he was first taken into favour. Since his marriage with the Countess of Essex, he was grown very melancholy, of which probably Overbury's death was the cause, and become more careless of his person and dress.

He had lost that vivacity which rendered him so agreeable to the King, and his temper, now gloomy and sullen, induced him harshly to oppose some wanton tricks which were now and then played in the King's anti-chamber, and wherein his Majesty took a singular delight.

Nay, he was become so interested, that he did nothing for any one without money. His enemies did not forget to inform the King, or hint the same to him, knowing how much it might conduce to make him forfeit his favour, since there was no vice more contrary to the King's humour than avarice.

The Queen for her part missed no opportunity to do him ill offices: So that, in all appearance the project of making Villiers the King's favourite was formed upon the visible signs of the Earl of Somerset's decline.

### **The Queen is Persuaded to Speak for Villiers**

The whole court perceived the alteration in the King since he had Villiers about him, and every one strove to thrust the old favourite down the precipice. The best way to that end, was to oblige the King to declare for Villiers: but there was a great obstacle to be removed.

The King, by a very gross artifice, would have no favourite but of the Queen's recommending, that in case she complained of him afterwards, he might say, he had received him at her hands. This was the King's turn, who fancied by such a device, to impose upon the Queen and the whole court.

The business therefore was to prevail with the Queen, to recommend Villiers to the King. But she was already prejudiced again if this young man, and not seeing with the King's eyes, perceived nothing in him worthy of so great an advancement. Perhaps too, she had cast her eyes on some other, to procure him this preferment.

Somerset's enemies knowing how the Queen stood affected to Villiers, thought the Archbishop of Canterbury alone able to persuade her to what they desired. The Archbishop, who neither loved nor valued the Earl of Somerset, readily undertook to speak to the Queen: but his first attempt was in vain.

The Queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the King's temper, told the prelate, that neither he, nor they who let him on, knew what they did; adding, I know the King better than you all, for if this young man be once brought in, the first persons he will plague, must be you that labour

for him; yea, I shall have my part also. The King will teach him to despise and hardly entreat us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but himself.

For this time the Archbishop could not prevail with the Queen; but afterwards he so pressed her, that at length she desired the King to receive Villiers as a favourite. The King, who only waited for this, sent immediately for Villiers, knighted him with the Prince of Wales's sword, and ordered him to be sworn Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber.

Somerset, hearing of it, came immediately, and entreated the King to make Villiers only a groom; but the Archbishop and other Lords besought the Queen to complete the work; and at last Villiers was admitted to the post ordered him by the King[175].

As soon as he was out of the King's presence, he waited upon the Archbishop, and acknowledging himself indebted to him for his good fortune, desired his instructions how to behave. The Prelate told him, he had three lessons to give him: First, to pray without ceasing for the King's prosperity, and for grace to serve his master faithfully. Secondly, to labour continually to preserve a good union between the King, Queen, and Prince. Thirdly, to tell the King nothing but truth. Then he caused him to repeat these three lessons before him, to see if he retained them.

The King hearing this, was extremely well pleased with it, and said, these lessons were truly worthy of a Bishop. The Queen's prediction proved but too true with regard to the Archbishop, who was one of the first to whom Villiers became ungrateful.

## **The King Gives Villiers One Thousand Pounds**

Meanwhile, Villiers being come to court without a great stock of money, the King easily guessed he wanted a supply. Had it been in his power to follow his inclination, this supply would have been very considerable: but he was himself so destitute of money, that a present of a thousand pounds was all he could spare at that time.

## **Two Parties are Formed at Court**

After Villiers was made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, several Courtiers adhered to him, in hopes he would soon have the advantage of his rival. Others continued firm to the Earl of Somerset, whether out of gratitude, or for fear of ruining their fortune by false conjectures.

Two parties therefore were formed at Court, who mutually clashed upon all occasions. If the King had at once dismissed Somerset, all would have been quiet: but he intended to keep both, not so much out of love to Somerset, of whom he was tired, as to avoid the imputation of inconstancy.

Thus the King still affecting to show, he loved his old favourite as well as ever, the courtiers were greatly embarrassed. But Villiers daily stole the hearts of the courtiers and petitioners from his rival by his noble and generous way of promoting their suits.

## **The Earl of Somerset Procures a Pardon**

Meanwhile, the Earl of Somerset perceiving, he daily declined in favour, before all things thought of securing himself from the danger to which he might be exposed by Overbury's murder. Though he knew the King had not the same affection for him as formerly, he hoped, however, as it was not entirely extinguished, to obtain what at least would free him from uneasiness.

So, spying a favourable opportunity, he cast himself at the King's feet, and represented to him, that having served him some years in a very dangerous post, it was difficult not to fall into some

miscarriages, and therefore besought him to grant him a general pardon, which might secure him from the malice of his enemies.

The King very readily complied with his request, and ordered as ample a pardon as possible to be drawn. This was accordingly done; but, whether through the ignorance or malice of the person who drew the instrument, the King was made to say in it, that he pardoned not only all manner of treasons, murders, felonies and outrages whatever, already committed, but also those which should be hereafter committed by the Earl of Somerset[176].

### **The Chancellor Refuses to Pass The Pardon**

The King signed this pardon without any scruple, and perhaps without reading it. But the Lord Chancellor Egerton refused to put the seal to it[177]. saying as there had never been an instance of such a pardon, he should incur a Præmunire if he passed it; and when he told the King the reason of his refusal, he easily satisfied him, he could not answer setting the seal to the pardon. Nothing was more easy than to draw another pardon, without the clause disliked by the chancellor: but whether the Queen was against it, as some affirm, or Somerset did not care to discover too plainly the occasion he had for a pardon, or the King was now informed of the circumstances of Overbury's death, nothing more was said of it.

Indeed, it is likely the King had now some knowledge of Overbury's treatment, but perhaps not sufficient to satisfy him of the Earl's guilt. However this be, he began his summer progress before this affair became public.

### **Uncertainty of The Courtiers with Respect to The Favourites**

The King's dissimulation with respect to his two favourites, held the Court in continual suspense. Many were afraid of adhering to Villiers, least his credit was not yet firmly established. Others declared openly against Somerset, in order to make a merit of it with the new favourite.

Winwood was one of these, and affected, upon all occasions, to oppose the Earl of Somerset, who had it not in his power to be revenged. During the whole progress, there were many disputes and quarrels between the two parties to the King's great disgust. At length, the fatal blow was given, at the Court's return to Royston.

### **The King Informed of Overbury being Poisoned**

Franklin, who administered the poisoned clyster to Overbury, made use, to compose it, of one Reeve an apothecary's boy, who was afterwards sent into Flanders, or perhaps run away from his master. This Reeve being at Flushing, where some business had brought Sir William Trumbull his Majesty's envoy at Brussels, got acquainted with some of his servants, and whether unadvisedly or with design, informed them of what he knew concerning Overbury's death[178].

The servants telling their master what they had heard, he examined Reeve himself, and drawing from him what he desired, found means to detain him at his house. Then, he writ to Winwood, desiring him to obtain the King's leave for him to come to England, because he had some things to reveal, which he could not trust to paper.

Leave being granted, he acquainted Winwood with what he had learned[179], and Winwood told it the King, who commanded them both to keep it private till further orders.

### **The King Tries in Vain to Make His Two Favourites Friends**

Sometime after, the King being returned to London, wanted to reconcile his two favourites, to be freed from the continual importunities occasioned by their contests, and those of their adherents. He thought he had found a notable expedient, by obliging Villiers to make the first advances, and desire the Earl of Somerset's favour and protection.

To that purpose, he ordered Sir Humphrey May, Somerset's creature, but who showed great respect for Villiers, to tell the Earl, as of himself, that he was credibly informed, Villiers would come and desire his friendship and protection, and advised him to receive him civilly, and that by giving the King this token of his compliance, he would still be very much in favour, though he was not to flatter himself with reigning alone in the King's affection.

Sir Humphrey May having discharged his commission, and perceiving the Earl of Somerset unwilling to follow his advice, was at length forced to tell him in plain terms, that what he had said was by the King's order, and warned him to consider seriously the consequences of a refusal.

About half an hour after, Villiers came to the Earl's, and used these very words: My Lord, I desire to be your servant and creature, and to take my court preferment under your Lordship's favour, and your Lordship shall find me as faithful a servant as ever did serve you. To this so submissive a compliment, the Earl returned this short and quick answer:—

I will have none of your service, and you shall have none of my favour. I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident.

These words very much exasperated the King, who from that instant resolved to be rid of the Earl of Somerset.

It is hard to guess whether, supposing the Earl of Somerset had behaved with more condescension to the King, and been reconciled to Villiers. Overbury's, death would have been buried in eternal oblivion.

This seems at least to be the course the King had resolved to take, if the Earl had been inclined to do what he desired. Be this as it will, the King being come to Royston, to begin his winter progress, expressed no displeasure against Somerset, but lived with him as he was wont, without the least sign of any alteration in his friendship.

## **Somerset Arrested with The Rest of The Accomplices of Overbury's Death**

But some days after, he sent in the night a messenger to Lord Chief Justice Coke, with a letter, ordering him to make a warrant to apprehend the Earl of Somerset at Royston, and his Countess at London, with Franklin, Weston, Mrs .Turner, and Sir Gervase Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower,

The messenger was sent back to Royston at four a-clock in the morning, with an officer of justice to execute the warrant. At his arrival, the officer found the King with his arms about Somerset's neck, who was just going to London, and affectionately saying to him, when shall I see thee again Somerset[180]?

At that very instant the Officer arrested the Earl by Sir Edward's warrant, who exclaimed, that such an affront was never offered to a Peer of the realm in the King's presence. The King feigning ignorance, and asking what was the matter, said jestingly, Nay, man, there is no remedy, for if Coke sends for me I must go.

Then accompanying him to the steps before the door, he desired him, as he was going down, to return speedily, saying, he could not live without him. As soon as Somerset was in his coach,

the King said, in the hearing of some persons, who told it again afterwards, Now the deed go with thee, I will never see thy face mere. If this he true, it must be owned, it was a needless and very strange dissimulation: hut King James took delight in things of this nature.

## **The King Instructs Chief Justice Coke**

At his coming to London, the Earl of Somerset was sent to the Tower[181], his Countess, and the rest of the complices, having been arrested and committed, whilst he was on the road. The same day, Chief Justice Coke going to Royston, the King told him all he had heard from Trumbull, and enjoined him, with all possible scrutiny, to search into the affair, without partiality or respect of persons.

## **The Guilty Accomplices are Executed**

He concluded with saying, God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them: And God's curse be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them.

Coke receiving such strict orders, was very active in the affair. Nay, some pretend, he was too active, and that finding in the Earl of Somerset's papers, indications of his being concerned in the death of Prince Henry, he had not the prudence to conceal them. However this be, most of the parties accused were tried in October and November, and being found guilty, were condemned and executed[182].

Sir Thomas Monson, who was also arrested, appeared twice before the Judges, and at the second one Coke received a note from the King, which obliged him to send back the prisoner to the Tower, with these words, Take him away, we have other matters against him of a higher nature.

It is affirmed, Coke said aloud one day, as he was sitting on the bench, God knows what became of that sweet babe Prince Henry, but I know somewhat, and then stopped short. This gave occasion to think, he had made some discovery concerning the Prince's death[183].

Simon Manson servant to Monson, who had been employed to carry a poisoned tart to Overbury, being likewise brought before the court, the Judge said to him, Simon, thou hast a hand in this poisoning business. No, my good Lord, (answered Simon) I had but one finger in it, which cost me all my hair and nails.

He had, it seems, out of liquorishness, as he was carrying the tart, tatted with his finger a little of the syrup. This ingenuous answer caused him to be acquitted: for it was thought he would not have tasted the syrup, had he known it to be poisoned.

The trial of the Earl of Somerset and his Countess was deferred to May the next year 1616[184], but not to be obliged to return to this affair, I shall relate here the circumstances of the trial. If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, author of a little book entitled, The Court and Character of King James, which is properly but a satire, the King had assured the Earl of Somerset he should not be brought to a trial.

For this reason, when George More, Lieutenant of the Tower came and told him, he must: prepare for his trial on the morrow, he answered, that positively he would not appear, unless he was carried by force in his bed.

## **Somerset is Condemned to Die**

The same author adds, the King being informed of it, sent him word, he could not hinder his appearing before the Judges, but would prevent the passing any sentence upon him[185]. By this

artifice, says Weldon, the Earl was prevailed with to appear in court, where he pleaded in his defence from eight in the morning, till seven in the evening, when, contrary to his expectation, sentence of death was passed upon him, as guilty of Overbury's murder.

The same Author says, the King was terribly uneasy all that day, neither was he at rest till the news came of his condemnation. This author's aim, in relating these and many other circumstances, was to insinuate, that the King was afraid the Earl of Somerset, to save his life, would reveal some secrets he had a mind to conceal.

### **The Countess also Condemned**

But these secrets are not explained, and probably are only Chimera's. If the King had feared any thing from the Earl of Somerset, he would never have brought him to a trial, or commanded the judge to examine him strictly. Nevertheless, though Weldon be satirical, and there is no depending upon his testimony, some truth however appears in what he relates, since the King's conduct, after the Earl of Somerset's condemnation, shews there was in this affair some circumstance by which he was embarrassed.

The Countess of Somerset being brought before the court, pleaded only with a shower of tears, which raised some compassion in her judges, but however, hindered her not from being condemned to die as well as her Lord. The King granted them a reprieve, which was often renewed till the year 1621, when they had liberty to go and live at a Countryseat, without however being released from their sentence.

### **They are Reprieved**

At last, in 1624, about four months and before the King's death, a pardon was granted them. After the Earl of Somerset was condemned, the King gave him four thousand pounds a year in land, which he took in his servants names.

### **Occasion of The King Being Suspected to be Concerned in Prince Henry's Death**

This noble present, the pardon granted the Earl, notwithstanding the curse denounced by the King against himself and posterity, if ever he pardoned the guilty, his restlessness during the trial, the note sent to the chief justice whilst he was trying Sir Thomas Monson, Coke's imprudent words concerning Prince Henry and his disgrace which soon followed, all these things, I say, have given occasion to King James's enemies to insinuate, he was conscious of some guilt, and they have been pleased to apply the whole to Prince Henry's death.

But, besides that all these circumstances could at most only form a bare preemption, who can affirm them to be all precisely true? Amidst the perpetual contrarieties in the authors who write of King James I, it is hard to know definitely the truth. Some pass over in silence particulars which are chiefly instilled upon by others, or absolutely deny facts, which the others advance as incontestable.

Some there are whose aim was to give a very ill idea of the manners and qualities of this Prince, whilst others represent him as a very wise, just and religious King. Some penned his reign while the Civil Wars raged in England, or when the monarchy was changed into a Commonwealth. These thought to do their country service, in demonstrating that the project of enslaving England was begun in the reign of James I. and pursued in that of Charles I.

Others wrote after the restoration of Charles II. when the civil wars were stiled an unnatural rebellion, and when the fear of falling under an arbitrary government was termed chimerical. Hence arises the difficulty of making a choice amidst all the contrarieties between the historians.

Unhappily the same parties still subsist with the same prejudices. So there is little hopes of seeing an impartial history of England, from the beginning of King James the first's reign, to our time. Let a historian turn which way soever he pleases, he will be looked upon as partial, by one or other of the two factions. This is a remark absolutely necessary as well for the fact I have just mentioned, as for the whole Reign of James I. and still more for the following.

To finish what relates to the Earl and Countess of Somerset, I shall briefly add, that their love which had engaged them to commit such abominable deeds, turned at last to hatred. They lived together many years in one house, as grangers to each other, and at last the Countess died of an uncommon disease[186].

The Earl lived long enough[187] to see his daughter married to the Duke of Bedford, who had by her the Lord Russell, beheaded in the Reign of Charles II.

Arabella Stuart, first cousin to the King, died in the Tower the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1615, a little before the trial of the accomplices of Overbury's murder. Many seeing that on occasion of these trials, Prince Henry's death, began to be talked of afresh imagined this kinswoman of his Majesty might also be poisoned.

This is what some historians, enemies to King James have advanced, or at least insinuated, without any other foundation than this malicious report, grounded upon the chimerical project in the beginning of the present reign, of setting Arabella on the throne.

She was daughter of Charles Stewart younger brother to Henry his Majesty's father. consequently, she could have but very remote pretensions to the crowns of England and Scotland, which James enjoyed not by the title of the Stewart family, of which he was by the father's side, but by his mother Queen Mary's right, to whom Arabella was only a very distant relation.

The King therefore must have carried his suspicions beyond all imagination, to resolve to poison this relation at a time when there was no commotion either in England or Scotland, and when she was actually in prison.

The cause of her disgrace was, her privately espousing without the King's consent, Sir William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, for which the King sent them both to the Tower, from whence some time after, they made their escape with intent to fly into France. Seymour had the good fortune to escape, but Arabella was taken and shut up in the Tower, where she died [188].

## Villiers Rules at Court

The Earl of Somerset's affair ending the dispute between the two favourites, the court was restored to its former tranquillity, under the management of Villiers, who engrossed the King's affection without a rival[189].

The new favourite behaved in much the same manner as his predecessor. He suffered himself at first to be guided by such as he thought wiser and more experienced than himself: But in time he thought himself the most able person in the Kingdom. His first care was to dismiss by degrees the Earl of Somerset's creatures, and confer the places on his own relations and friends.

**1616 AD]** Nothing more material was transacted at court for some years, except the two usual affairs of this reign, wherein the promotion of the new favourite made no alteration. I mean the

advancement of the Prerogative Royal, and the methods of raising money without the Parliament. The first of these two points produced in the year 1616, between the King and the judges a sharp contest, the occasion whereof was this.

The King designing to give in commendam a vacant Church[190], it was disputed in the court of Common Pleas, not only whether the King might give a commendam to a Bishop, either before or after his consecration, but also whether commendams were to be granted without necessity.

## **Dispute Between The King and Judges Concerning The Royal Prerogative**

The chief justice of the Common Pleas finding the case difficult to be decided, desired to have it farther argued by all the judges, as is usually done in most points. The King, who was at Royston, being informed of it, commanded his Attorney-General, Bacon, to signify by letters to all the judges, that they should defer the determination of the affair till his return.

Notwithstanding this order, the judges met and argued the case. After which, they unanimously signed a writing, declaring they could not obey the King's order, because they were sworn to have no regard to the King's orders or letters, in matters concerning private persons[191].

The King, exasperated at their proceedings, writ them, that it was not his intent to stop the course of justices, but however he would not endure, that under colour of determining cases between private persons, they should attack the Prerogative Royal, or that any person should be allowed to dispute or argue on that head.

That the argument drawn from their oath was impertinent, since the oath was enjoined by the Kings his predecessors, only to prevent the importunities of suitors, to the Prince, and not to give the Judges authority to determine in points of prerogative. He concluded with a peremptory command, not to proceed till they had consulted him.

It must be observed, that in this letter, the King supposed two or three Principles, which neither the judges, nor the generality of the nation did admit. The first, that no person had a right to argue concerning the extent of his prerogative, since the judges of the realm, being considered as middle persons between the King and people, were alone to decide, and commonly did decide the questions on this head.

The second principle was, that the oath taken by the judges at their admittance into their office, was enjoined by the Kings his predecessors, to avoid the solicitations of suitors, whereas it was the common opinion that the power ascribed to the judges to disobey the King's letters, was given them by the whole nation represented in Parliament[192].

The third principle was, that nothing ought to be decided[193] without consulting him, that is to say, their determination was to be founded upon what he should himself enjoin. People for the most part affirmed, the King would thereby establish a new Prerogative unheard of in England.

## **The Council Decides in Favour of The King**

The King being returned to London, sent for all the judges to the counsel table, and reprimanded them severely. He told them among other things, that since his accession to the Crown of England, he had observed that the counsellors at the Bar[194], took the liberty to argue the extent of the Prerogative-Royal, which on that pretence, was trampled upon, and it was the judges business to bridle this insolence in their respective courts.

Then speaking of the order he had sent them, he imperiously told them, there was no reason that could excuse their non-compliance[195].

The-King's manner of expressing himself terrified the judges, who chose rather to give way than resist him to his face. Coke alone constantly maintained, that the King's order being contrary to Law, they were not to blame for refusing to obey it. Whereupon the King said with some emotion, whether they had done well or ill, he would not suffer his Prerogative to be contested. In fine, the judges being withdrawn, the council unanimously determined the case in favour of the King [196].

### **The People's Murmurs**

This affair made great noise among the people. They who were already prejudiced against the King, said, it was evident he intended to reign with an absolute power. That not only he contemned the determinations of the judges, but would not so much as endure that his Prerogative should be argued, and pretended to be sole judge of the extent of his own authority. But others admired his courage in maintaining the Prerogatives of the Crown.

It was not long before Coke felt the effects of the King's wrath. The Chief Justice having brought a complaint in the Star-Chamber against the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, concerning an order issued out of the Court of Chancery, and having lost his cause[197], wherein he was accused:—

### **Coke is Turned Out**

1. Of having wrongfully attacked the Lord Chancellor[198]
2. Of having, when Attorney-General, concealed a statute of twelve thousand pounds due to the King from the late Lord-Chancellor Hatton.
3. Of having said-in open Court, that his Majesty was labouring to overthrow the Common-Law of England.
4. Of having behaved very insolently to the King, in the case of commendams. The Lord Treasurer upbraided him likewise before the council, for suffering his coachman to drive him bareheaded, a privilege not granted even to the Lord Chancellor himself.

As the King was displeased with him, this was sufficient to turn him out of his place, which was given to Sir Henry Montague. Coke was extremely well versed in the Common Laws of England, of which he wrote a Book highly esteemed, and which is daily cited in the Courts of Justice, and the High-Court of Parliament[199]. But as he was one of those who suspected the King of aspiring to arbitrary power, and thought it his duty to copping it, he could not be agreeable to the court.

### **The Lord Chancellor Delivers up The Great Seal**

Presently after, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere being taken so ill, as to despair of being able to continue the functions of his office, desired the King to confer it on another[200]. but the King, without granting his request, sent for the seal, telling him, he would himself be his deputy. And indeed, he kept the Great Seal till Ellesmere's death, which was not till March the next year.

### **Bacon is Made Lord Keeper**

After that, Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General, was made Lord Keeper, and then Chancellor. He was a man of great abilities, as appears in his works, but a servile flatterer, cringing to those who were in favour, and very haughty to such as he believed he should not want [201].

## **Prince Charles Created Prince of Wales**

Prince Charles the King's only son, was created this year[202] Prince of Wales, with the usual solemnities. The King thought of marrying him, but it was not easy to find a Princess fit for him. There was never a Protestant Princess of royal extraction in Europe, and his father could not resolve to marry him to any but a King's daughter.

### **The King Thinks of Marrying The Prince of Wales to A Spanish or French Princess**

Several of his predecessors had not been so difficult; but for his part, he was extremely nice on this occasion. He would have thought it a disparagement to the Prince his son to marry the daughter of any German Prince. He chose rather, contrary to all the rules of good policy, to seek him a wife in a house sworn enemy to the Protestant religion, than to marry him to one of his own religion, who was not royally descended.

This infatuation, if I may be allowed the expression, is to be considered as the source of the rest of the occurrences of this reign, and of all the vexations James had to endure, as well from foreigners as his own subjects. It may be farther added, that this made him better known than before, and in a manner not to his advantage. He would have married his eldest son Prince Henry, to Anne of Austria, who afterwards espoused Lewis XIII. King of France: but having at last discovered, that the Court of Spain carried on the negotiation only to amuse him, he gave over his design.

The French King's marriage being solemnised this year 1616, James sent ambassadors to France and Spain to congratulate the two Kings. The Lord Hay a Scotchman was chosen for the French embassy[203], and the Lord Ross for the Spanish.

They had both orders to found the two courts concerning the Prince of Wales's marriage, with the Princess eldest Sister of Lewis XIII. or with the Infanta Maria, Daughter of Philip III. The Lord Hay quickly found, his negotiation would be fruitless, since the Princess of France was already promised to the Prince of Piedmont, son to the Duke of Savoy.

### **King James Resolves for The Spanish Match**

Whilst these things were in agitation, and before the Lord Ross's arrival in Spain, Sir John Digby, his Majesty's ambassador to Philip III. writ to the King, that the Duke of Lerma had made an overture of a Marriage between the Infanta Maria and the Prince of Wales, and desired private instructions on that head.

He advised him however not to break off the negotiation with France, for fear the Duke of Lerma's offer should be an artifice to render him suspected to the Protestants. James could the less doubt of Digby's suspicion being well grounded, as Sir Dudley Carleton his ambassador at the Hague had told him, that to weaken the good intelligence between him and the Sates-General, a report was spread, that the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta of Spain was on foot, and now far advanced.

But he took no notice of this intelligence. On the contrary, he sent orders to Sir John Digby to begin the negotiation with Spain. At the same time, Den Diego di Sarmientos, Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, received a commission to treat with the King concerning the marriage.

### **James Amused by The Court of Spain**

After James had taken this resolution, he could not conceal his extreme desire to accomplish this marriage. Hence he gave occasion to the Spaniard, who had then no design, to treat seriously of this affair, to feign that he passionately wished to conclude it to his satisfaction, and to draw from his readiness, considerable advantages for the House of Austria and the Catholic religion.

By means of this same desire it was, that Count Gondemar, a man of great abilities, so insinuated himself into the King's favour, that for many years he caused him to do almost whatever he pleased, by putting him in fear that the marriage would miscarry, if the Spanish Court was not managed.

## **The King's Strange Conduct**

We may judge of the policy of that Court, by the length of this negotiation, which was made to last seven years. At first, the Spaniard intended only to hinder King James from concerning himself in the war of Cleves, and affixing the Protestant Princes. But afterwards, a more important affair made it his interest more than ever to amuse the King of England, and to keep him at a bay.

Certainly James's conduit, who in some men's opinion passes for the Solomon of his age, was very extraordinary. Under colour of being at peace with all the world, he meddled not with any foreign affairs. He beheld, without concern, France openly labouring the destruction of the Huguenots, and the House of Austria forming projects to enslave all Europe, and daily increasing in power, to the just dread of the rest of the States, and especially the Protestant.

Moreover, he expressed a strong desire to be allied to that House, by a marriage which could not but be prejudicial to the established religion of England. In short, if his management at home be examined, the capacity, the great wisdom he thought himself blessed with will no where appear.

Without any war upon his hands, he had consumed immense sums, and alienated almost the crown lands, to enrich a dozen of English and Scotch favourites, who had never done him any considerable service. The Earl of Somerset had, before his disgrace, amassed two hundred thousand pounds in money, plate and jewels, besides nineteen thousand pounds a year in land, though he had been but five years in favour[204].

The Earl of Salisbury, younger son to the Lord Burleigh, who had no estate but what he derived from the crown, had left his son as rich as any Peer in the Kingdom. The Earl of Northampton, younger brother of the late Duke of Norfolk, had built a stately palace in London[205] (3), since called Northumberland House and left a vast inheritance to his nephew the Earl of Arundel, though he had little or nothing from his family.

The Earl of Suffolk, youngest son of the Duke of Norfolk, had built a country seat, which cost above two hundred thousand pounds, and he did not, as may be judged, expend his whole substance on this structure[206].

The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Dunbar, the Lord Hay, had remitted great sums into Scotland, and Sir Henry Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, though a younger son, had found means to raise an immense estate.

Amidst all these favourites so rich and powerful, the King was in extreme want, continually giving more than he could afford, and running into needless expenses, without ever regulating his treasury. To all this was added a new favourite, who being no less greedy than the rest, was also to be enriched, and had a numerous kindred, whom he did not mean to leave in want[207].

Another effect of the King's great wisdom was, to quarrel with his Parliament, in support of a prerogative which he would have carried higher than any of his predecessors, and thereby put himself under a necessity of using means to raise money, which could not but alienate from him the love of his people.

Lastly, let us add his weakness, in suffering himself always to be so governed by his favourites, that he could not, or would not, see but with their eyes. At the time I am now speaking of, his cabinet-council consisted solely of the new favourite, a young man without experience, through whose hands never any affair of moment had passed, and who, notwithstanding, thought himself the most able man in the Kingdom[208].

The Earl of Suffolk was more versed in affairs, though he was never counted a great genius: but he was now upon the decline of his favour, Villiers being far from supporting the Earl of Somerset's father-in-law, Bacon, Lord-Keeper, was well versed in the laws of the land, and capable of giving good advice: but he made it his whole study to adapt himself to the King's humour, and make his court to the favourite.

### **The King Gives up The Cautionary Towns for The Third Part Which is Due to Him**

The only affair which then employed the King and his ministers, was to find money, and in plenty too, otherwise the King would have led a sad life. But all means, seemed to have been exhausted, and a Parliament could not safely be called, the wound of the imprisoned members being still too fresh to hope it was yet closed. Meanwhile, the treaty of the Prince of Wales' marriage with the Infanta, procured the King an unexpected supply.

Queen Elizabeth had settled, with the States of the United Provinces, the arrears they owed her, amounting to eight millions of Florins. This sum was due to James, as Elizabeth's successor. The States would have paid the debt long since, had they not found their account in remaining debtors to England, because they thereby engaged that Kingdom to support them.

But after the twelve years Truce was concluded, the face of affairs was altered. The States no longer wanted the King's protection, and besides, he held in their Provinces, places which gave him opportunity to treat them with haughtiness, as he had done in the affair of Vorstius.

It was therefore time for them to recover these places, since they had not the same interest now to leave them in the King's hands, when their dread of Spain was very much lessened by the truce. But the sum they were to pay was so considerable, that they waited a favourable opportunity to procure them some abatement.

This opportunity offering not till the present year 1616, they embraced it more eagerly, as they were under an urgent necessity to withdraw these towns from the English. The King treating of his son's marriage with the Infanta, it was to be feared, the restitution of these towns, to which the Spaniards laid claim, would be one of the articles of the marriage treaty, especially as a clause in the Treaty of 1604, between England and Spain, gave them just cause to fear.

On the other hand, the present juncture was favourable to them, because the King's coffers were quite empty, and there was no likelihood of his venturing to call a Parliament, by reason of the people's discontent. All the difficulty therefore was to order it so, that the after of restoring the towns should come from the King himself, because, in that case, the States might pretend inability to pay so large a sum, and that would naturally lead to a negotiation for an abatement of the debt.

So, to bring the King to this point, they ceased for a time to pay the garrisons of the places in possession of the English though, till then, they had punctually executed the treaty which obliged them to pay them.

The garrisons complained, and the States, without however refusing payment, found several pretences to defer it. This delay constrained the English forces, who were without money, to apply to the King, who was not in condition to satisfy them. He complained to the States, who

answered with great moderation, infixing upon the ill-state of their affairs, by reason of their vast expense during the war.

In a word, this affair did not end, and the English garrisons still remained without pay. At last, Caron the Dutch envoy in England, intimated as of himself, to some one of the ministers, that he believed, if the King would offer to restore the towns in his possession, the states would do their utmost to discharge the whole debt, by borrowing money at a high interest.

This intimation produced the desired effect. The King having no money, and seeing a near prospect of drawing from the States a large sum, which the courtiers had already devoured in their thoughts, readily determined to surrender the cautionary towns.

Pursuant to this resolution, he writ to the States, that he knew them to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy[209], therefore he apprehended not the least fear of difference between them: In contemplation whereof if they would have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them.

Upon this letter, they sent pensionary Barnevelt to the King, who so artfully managed this affair, that they were discharged for two millions seven hundred twenty eight thousand florins, in lieu of eight millions, which they had promised to pay to Elizabeth, besides eighteen years interest. By this agreement, the cautionary towns were delivered to the States the 14th of June 1616[210].

### **Reflections to The King's Disadvantage**

They who were not pleased with the Court, greatly censured this treaty, which robbed the Crown of England of the advantage of holding the United Provinces in a sort of subjection[211].

It was said, that indeed Elizabethans bound to resign these places, upon payment of the sums she had advanced: but there was no necessity to restore them for much less: that there was the less occasion to hasten this restitution, as the garrisons were not maintained by the Crown; and if the States neglected to perform their agreement with the Queen, the King should have made them sensible they had not done it with impunity.

These things were not for the King's honour, and his proceedings on this occasion could at most but confirm to him the title of Pacific[212], which he affected above all others. But it was much worse, when it was seen in a very short space, that the money paid by the States was vanished, without a possibility to guess what was become of it.

The King had paid none of his debts: the Navy was suffered to decay, for want of money to repair it; and nothing had been sent to his army in Ireland, which had not received one penny for several years, and whose wants had served for pretence to treat with the States.

### **The Lord Treasurer is Accused of Mismanagement**

At length it was discovered, that the Lord Treasurer Suffolk had converted to his own use good part of the money received from the cautionary towns. The favourite missed not this opportunity to ruin a man, whom he could not consider as his friend, since he was father-in-law to the Earl of Somerset.

The Lord Treasurer was therefore accused in the Star-Chamber, of sundry misdemeanour in the exercise of his office, and especially of having kept for himself a great part of the money received of the Hollanders. Sir Edward Coke, who was restored to his place, or had another[213], was his accuser.

He aggravated his misdemeanours, his extortions, his mismanagement of the King's treasures, his boldness to apply them to his own use, the corruptions of his countess, who took bribes with both hands, the artifices of his deputy Bingley[214], to ensnare such as had business with his master. After that, he cited many precedents of treasurers, who in former reigns had been punished for slighter crimes than those of the Earl of Suffolk, and shewed the dangerous consequences resulting, from the ill administration of the Treasurership, when it was not managed by uncorrupt persons.

### **He is Fined £30,000**

If the Lord Treasurer had cast himself upon the King's mercy, he would have been easily acquitted. But he strove to justify himself, and not doing it to the satisfaction of his judges, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, and Bingley was fined two thousand pounds.

Till the King should make choice of a Treasurer, that office was executed by commissioners, the first of whom was Sir Henry Montague, the favourite's creature.

### **Changes at Court**

The Earl of Suffolk was not the only sacrifice to Villiers's policy, who by degrees removed Somerset's creatures. Sir John Bennet, judge of the Prerogative Court, was turned out, and fined twenty thousand pounds. Sir Henry Yelverton the King's Attorney also lost his place, as well as several others whom it is needless to mention. Secretary Winwood dying about this time[215], Sir Robert Naunton a Protestant, and Sir George Calvert a Papist, were made secretaries.

### **The King is Ever Full of His Prerogatives**

The tranquillity enjoyed by the King, might have been deemed perfect, if the fear of his prerogative's being attacked, had not continually disturbed his repose. In vain did he preach and advance his principles upon all occasions he had the misfortune to be regarded by none but his courtiers and immediate dependants.

For this reason he durst not call a Parliament, knowing the Commons did not allow of his maxims. He seems to have thought it pure ignorance in the English, and that by a frequent repetition of the Sovereign's Prerogatives, he should at length succeed in convincing them of the truth of his principles.

### **The King's Speech in The Star Chamber**

This he took occasion to do in June this year, in a solemn assembly held in the Star-Chamber, on pretence of making known his design to correct certain abuses crept into the courts of justice. He made a very long speech, full of divisions and subdivisions, according to his custom, and took for his text these words of Psalm LXXII: 1, Give thy judgments to the King, O God, and thy righteousness to the King's son[216],

He begins with saying:—

The literal sense of these words runs upon David and Solomon, godly and wise; the mystical upon God and Christ, just and righteous; and from this imitation all Governments, especially Monarchies, have been established.

Kings sit in the throne of God, and thence all judgment is derived, from the King to the Magistrates, not *privativé* but cumulative. So by the counsel of Jethro to Moses, the judges were deputed for easier questions, the more profound left to Moses and in this manner all Christian Kings govern, whereby appears the near conjunction between God and the King upward, and the King and the Judges downward; the a King to settle the Law of God, and his Judges to interpret the Law of the King.

Then he teaches the judges their duty in administering justice; and after dwelling upon many common places, he proceeds to the limits prescribed them:—

Encroach not upon the prerogative; deal not in difficult questions, before you consult with the King and Council, for fear of wounding the King through the sides of a private person.

Whereupon he takes occasion to commend some of the Judges for rebuking the popular humour of certain pleaders at the bar, who meddled with such matters.

That which concerns (says he) the mystery of the King's power, is not lawful to be disputed, for that is to wade into the weakness of Princes, and to take away the mystical reverence that belongs to those who sit in the throne of God[217].

After having run through, and given his opinion concerning the several Courts of Judicature, he goes on:—

It is the duty of Judges to punish such as seek to deprave the King's Courts, and therefore it was an odious and inept speech in Westminster Hall, to say, that a Præminure lay against the Court of Chancery. I mean not that the Chancery should exceed its limits, but the King only is to correct it, and none else and therefore I was greatly abused in that attempt: and for that reason command that no man hereafter presume to sue a Præminure against that court.

He speaks afterwards of the Star-Chamber, and says:—

As a star is a glorious creature, next in place to the angels; so this Court is the most glorious of all courts, consisting of Privy Counsellors, Judges, Peers of the Realm, and Bishops, and consequently the learning of both divine and human Law, the experience and practice of government, are conjoined together in the proceedings of this court.....

He added,

I have laboured to gather articles, like an *index expurgatorius* of novelties crept into the law; look to Plowden's cases, and if you find it not there, away with it.

Then he addresses himself to the Auditory, and gives them advice with respect to the lawsuits that were carrying on in the several Courts. He chiefly advises them in their pleas, not to presume to meddle with things against the King's prerogative or honour: If they do, the judges will punish them; and in case the Judges do not, he must punish both them and the judges. Plead not, continues he, upon new puritanical strains, that make all things popular, but keep you within the antient limits of pleas.

In speaking recusants, that is, those who refused to be of the Church of England, he says:—

There are three sorts: The first are they, who enforced by Law, come now and then to Church; these are formal to the Law, but false to God[218]. The second sort are they that have their conscience misled, and therefore refuse to come to Church, but

otherwise live as peaceable subjects[219]. The third sort are practising recusants, who force their servants and tenants to be of their opinion, these are men of pride and presumption[220].

He adds,

I can love the person of a papist: so born and bred, but an apostate papist I hate; such deserve severe punishment[221]. I confess I am loath to hang a priest only for his religion, and saying Mass; but if they refuse the oath of allegiance, I leave them to the law.

### **Remarks on This Speech**

It is easy to observe, as well in this as in the King's other speeches in public, and on sundry occasions, three principal designs which he had ever in view. The first was, to establish the Prerogative Royal according to his own principles.

The second, to intimate, that the papists were not to be molested, provided they lived peaceably, and took the oath of allegiance. The third was, to express his hatred of the Puritans, and to create the same aversion for them in the people. But it would be a great mistake, to ascribe this hatred to their refusing to allow of the surplice, the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Communion. These were not the things that rendered them odious in his sight.

He fancied their principles with respect to Church-Government, led them to be enemies to Monarchy. For this reason, all arguments again fit the extent of the Royal Prerogative seemed to him to be founded on Puritanical principles.

### **Villiers is Earl of Buckingham**

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of August the King created Sir George Villiers, Baron of Whaddon and Viscount Villiers[222], and on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January following, he was made Earl of Buckingham.

### **Account of Archbishop Spalato**

**1617 AD]** In the beginning of the year 1617, arrived in England Marco Antonio de Dominis[223], Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, who was come to profess the Protestant religion in the communion of the Church of England. As he was a man advanced in years, and very corpulent, it was readily believed, no other motive but that of religion and conscience could have induced him to under take so long a voyage, and quit his Archbishopric.

He preached and writ again the Romish religion, and-at length was preferred to the mastership of the Savoy, and the deanery of Windsor. After some years stay in England he suffered himself to be gained by Count Gondemar the Spanish ambassador, with the hopes of a cardinal's cap, if he would go to Rome, and publicly abjure the Protestant religion.

This man, upon the brink of the grave, being seduced by Gondemar's promise, went to Rome, and abjured the religion he had embraced in England, after which, instead of being a Cardinal, he was thrown into a dungeon in the inquisition, where he died, and notwithstanding his abjuration, his body was publicly burnt[224].

## **The King is Resolved to Compel The Scots to Conform to The Church of England**

I have several times mentioned the King's aversion to the Puritans, whose government, which came very near the Republican, was directly contrary to the principles he was labouring to establish. Ever since his coming to England, he had kept the Puritans so low, that it was not in their power to give him any disturbance.

But the Church of Scotland was still Presbyterian, to his great mortification. Indeed Episcopacy was not entirely suppressed in that Kingdom; but it was in such a state, that the Bishops had no manner of jurisdiction. The several Presbyteries and the General Assembly of the clergy, had engrossed the whole Ecclesiastical authority, and left the bishops only an empty name without power.

There were also many other points wherein the Scottish Church differed from the English, so that Puritanism triumphed in Scotland, at the time it was looked upon in England as a sort of rebellion. James had therefore resolved to put the Church of Scotland upon the same foot with that of England; but perceiving, that to compel the sects all at once to a perfect conformity with the English Church, would be too difficult an undertaking, he meant to lead them to it by degrees. Pursuant to this project, he had now sent to the General Assembly of the Kirk certain articles, which he desired might be inserted into the canons of the Church.

These articles were:—

1. For the future, the Holy Communion should be received kneeling.
2. The Eucharist should not be denied to the sick, with three or four persons to communicate with them.
3. Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day and Whit Sunday, should be kept as Holy Days, and the preachers should make choice of texts suitable to the occasion.
4. Confirmation should be practised after this manner; when the children were eight years old, the Ministers should catechise them, and then the Bishops in their visitations should bless them with prayer for God's grace, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost[225].

As to this last article, the King did not desire that confirmation should be received in Scotland, as practised in the Church of England, because he was not fully convinced of its usefulness. But as the business concerned one of the Episcopal functions, he would that the Bishops should have something at least to do in it.

## **The King Meets with Opposition**

The King's design being to compass his ends by degrees, he had selected these four articles as least liable to give offence to the Ministers, in order to leave them without excuse in case they rejected them. The general assembly of the Scottish church, perceiving the King's aim, declared, if the Churches of England and Scotland differed only in these four Articles, they might be received for peace sake; but as they were innovations incapable of producing a perfect union, there was no necessity of inserting them among the Canons.

The King offended with this refusal, resolved to compel the Scots, not only to receive these four articles, but also many more which he had not thought fit to meddle with at first, being persuaded he had a right, by virtue of his royal authority, to impose upon his people of Scotland, the religion which to him seemed the best.

To this purpose, he resolved to go in person to Scotland, under colour of visiting his native country, where he had not been these fourteen years.

Before his departure, he ordered a proclamation to be published in Scotland, wherein he said, he was going to visit his old Kingdom, Not to alter tbs civil and ecclesiastical state, but to reform certain abuses in the Church and Commonwealth. At the same time, he sent beforehand some officers of his household, all English, with orders to adorn his chapel at Edinburgh in the same manner as that at Whitehall; and these men forgot not to carry with them some pictures and even statues of the apostles[226].

As soon as they began to adorn the chapel, the people of Edinburgh exclaimed at the sight, saying, images were begun to be introduced, and the Mass would quickly follow.

## **The King Treats The Scots with Bountifulness**

The King being come to Berwick, prorogued the Parliament of Scotland[227], to open it himself, as he did indeed with a long speech, according to custom. To conceal his real design, he proposed several things, among which he did not forget the article concerning religion, the only point he was seriously labouring.

He contented himself at first with requiring, that a certain number of commissioners should be appointed to examine and settle the affairs of religion. The Parliament consenting to his demand, the King paid not for the Parliament's nominating the commissioners, but chose them himself, and appointed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Clerk of the Rolls, who were all three his creatures.

But as the Parliament scrupled to hand to this nomination, he fell into a violent passion, thinking it very strange they should pretend to name others, after he had made known his pleasure. In short, as they durst not resist him to his face, he obtained whatever he pleased.

## **He Gets An Article Passed Which Gives Him Full Power**

These commissioners immediately settled an article, after which there was nothing more to be examined. The article was, That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law.

The King himself had dilated this article, Not (said he) that I am against the advice of the grave and learned ministers, but to be overruled, as in your former general assemblies, I will never agree; the Bishop must rule the ministers, and the King govern both in matters not repugnant to God's Law. Thus the King plainly shewed, that since his accession to England, he claimed in Scotland a greater authority than before.

## **Protestation Against This Article**

Meanwhile, the ministers in and about Edinburgh, perceiving that by the prevarication of the commissioners, their Church was going to be overthrown, since the King was empowered to make what alterations he pleased, met together to consult how to prevent it.

They found no other remedy than a protestation against the article passed by the commissioners, and when they had drawn it, they committed it to one Hewet, to present it to the King. Hewet being come into his Majesty's anti-chamber, in order to execute his commission, the Archbishop of St. Andrews civilly accosted him, desiring to see the protestation; which the Minister readily shewed him.

As soon as he had it in his hands, he would have put it in his pocket, but Hewet seized the paper, which could not be done without making some noise. Upon which the King coming out and hearing the occasion of the bustle, spoke so roughly to the minister, that the poor man, all in a fright, fell on his knees and begged pardon, protesting never more to meddle in the affair[228].

## **He Summons The Ministers and Makes A Harsh Speech to Them**

But though the King had obtained what he wanted of the commissioners, he found however he should never attain his ends without the consent of the ministers, especially as their protestation was public, and many copies, which continually increased, were already dispersed. He addressed therefore to the Bishops, an order to summon the ministers to meet on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, at St. Andrews, where he would come and speak to them in person.

The Ministers obeying the summons, the King called them all to witness his great care of the Church of Scotland as well before as since his accession to the crown, adding, he expected however no thanks for his zeal for the true worship of God, and for maintaining good order in the Church.

Then he told them, that before he departed for Scotland, he had sent them four Articles to be inserted in their Canons, which were rejected, and yet he was silent; that having lately desired, it might be declared, that by virtue of his prerogative, he had power to make ecclesiastical laws, they mutinied and protested against him:

However, he was very willing to pass by all these, with many other, affronts, received at their hands. But now, continued he, the errand for which I have called you, is to know your reasons, why this same power ought not to be admitted. I mean not to do anything against reason; and on the other part my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused, or resisted.

He spoke these last words knitting his brows, and looking at them, says the author of the Annuals, with a majestic and stern eye, which made them all fall down on their knees. Then continuing his speech, he said, it is a power innate, and a special prerogative which we that are Christian Kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the policy of the church, as we by advice of our bishops all find most fitting, and, Sirs, for your approving or disapproving, deceive not yourselves, I will never regard it, unless you bring me a reason which I cannot answer.

## **They Demand a General Assembly**

The ministers seeing how peremptory the King was, desired leave to confer among themselves. Their request being granted, they returned in a few hours, with a petition for a General Assembly, that what his Majesty proposed might be received with common consent. Ay, says the King, but what assurance have I of their consenting?

Whereupon some of them said, they saw no reason to the contrary. But, says the King, if the General Assembly be of another mind, and your reason now be none of theirs then, and the articles are rejected, my difficulty will be the greater, for when I shall hereafter use my own authority in establishing them, I shall be pulpited a tyrant, and persecutor. Ye were wont to do so.

## **The King Refuses it**

Then all cried out, that none durst be so mad. Yet experience tells, (says the King) that it hath been so: therefore unless I be made sure, I will not give way to an assembly.

## He Grants it Afterwards

It was, however, easy to perceive, that without an assembly, the King could not possibly compass his ends. Though he should have extorted the consent of the ministers then present, it would have been to no purpose, since they were not authorized. And if the King had caused these articles to be passed by an order flowing from his absolute power, he should have been first secure of the obedience of his subjects, or at least of a sufficient power to compel them, both which were equally difficult, not to say impracticable.

## The King is Not Satisfied

So the King having considered the thing more maturely, agreed at length, that a General Assembly should be held at St. Andrews in November. In this interval, Symson the Minister, who drew up and signed the protestation, was committed to Edinburgh Castle, and Catherwood, who carried letters to other ministers to encourage them to adhere to it, was banished. After this the King returns to England.

The General Assembly, held at St. Andrews in November, resolved to defer the reception of the four articles, till all the churches of the Kingdom were informed of this affair; and then separated. The King was extremely incensed, and looking upon this delay as a contempt of his authority, ordered the payment of the ministers stipends to be stopped for a year[229]. But finding this only exasperated people, and retarded his design, he gave leave at length that another General Assembly should be held at Perth, on August the 25th the next year.

And thereby fair or foul means, he obtained the Churches consent to the four articles. But withal, he sowed in Scotland the seeds of those troubles, which distracted the Kingdom in the following reign, and deprived the King his son and successor both of crown and life.

Thus, his zeal against the Puritans caused him to forsake the principles of equity and moderation, which he thought so reasonable in the case of, the Catholics. He would not force the conscience of these, provided they lived like good subjects; but the Presbyterians were to submit, though ever so unwilling, to what he should think proper.

What has been said upon this subject, is taken almost word for word out of the Annals, the author whereof cannot be suspected of representing things to the King's disadvantage.

Before he left Scotland, the King made the Earl of Buckingham Privy Counsellor of that Kingdom, as he had been, so for some time in England.

## A Petition is Presented to The King Concerning Recreations on The Sabbath

Whilst the King was returning to London, he received a petition from some servants, labourers, mechanics, and other vulgar persons, complaining, that they were debarred from dancing, playing, Church ales, in a word; from all recreations on Sundays after divine service.

Whereupon it was suggested to the King, that the Puritans meant to persuade the people, such diversions were contrary to the regard due to the Lord's day. **That these men went upon erroneous principles, namely, that Christians were obliged to keep the day of rest with the same strictness the Jews, and therefore affected to call Sunday the Sabbath.**

## A Book was Published in His Name on The Subject

This was a sufficient inducement to the King to condemn this puritanical scruple, and the rather, as he was not himself very scrupulous in this point. A book therefore was published in his name, wherein he maintained by several arguments, that pastimes on Sunday, after evening service, were allowable, and withal, commanded that none should be hindered or discouraged from any lawful recreations.

### **The Book Makes A Great Noise**

This book[230] made a great noise, neither was it exclaimed against by the Presbyterians alone[231]. Many churchmen disapproved of it, and particularly **the Lord-Mayor of London**, who, notwithstanding the prohibition, commanded the King's own carriages to be stopped, as they were passing through the City on a Sunday[232].

### **The King Orders The Book to be Read in Churches**

But the King himself, regardless of these murmurs, and willing to support what he had done, enjoined all ministers to read his book publicly in their churches; and those that refused were severely punished by the High Commission. Some pretend, this order was a snare to surprise certain ministers, who though Puritans, scrupled not to be of the Church of England, and preach their doctrines there[233].

### **The Earl of Buckingham's Absolute Rule**

These were the most material affairs then in England. The King, as I said, never concerning himself in any foreign matters, left the government of the Kingdom to the care of his ministers. The Earl of Buckingham was the head manager. He ruled with an absolute sway both in church and State, disposing of all places and preferments.

If we may believe certain authors, he bellowed nothing without money or a yearly pension[234]. As the King was always in want, the favourite was obliged to find means to maintain, and even enrich his numerous kindred, who flocked to Court to partake of his greatness.

Not to return to these matters, I shall say here at once, that the favourite's elder brother was made Viscount Purbeck; his younger brother, Earl of Anglesey; his mother, though a Papist, was created Countess of Buckingham, without her husband enjoying the same honour. In a word, all his female relations were married into the richest and most noble; families of the Kingdom.

This favourite's mother being a Papist, and ruling her son, who was properly of no religion, with the same ease as he himself governed the King, it was not very strange, the Papists conceived great hopes, and swarmed in the Kingdom.

The King gave himself little trouble about it. Provided a man took the oath of allegiance, and was not Puritan, every thing else was indifferent to him. He was almost wholly employed in his diversions, and as he very frequently hunted, his admirers pretended he took those times to consider of the affairs of the Government[235].

### **Account of Sir Walter Raleigh's Death**

I shall close the events of the year 1617, with the sad catastrophe of Sir Walter Raleigh. He had been a prisoner twelve years[236], ever since his condemnation, during which time, he had employed himself in compiling his *History of The World*. At last, he obtained his liberty, though without the King's pardon[237].

As his estate was all forfeited, and given to the Earl of Somerset, he was very much embarrassed when he came out of prison. The Court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a strange country to him.

For this reason, he formed the project of seeking his fortune in distant climates. He had formerly traversed the seas of America, and knew all the coasts, particularly that of Guiana. Nay, it is said, he set up marks to direct him again to a certain place, where was a gold mine, and that Keymis his old attendant[238], brought him from thence a piece of ore, which made him think the mine very rich.

However this be, as he knew not where to lay his head, he found means to acquaint the King, that he knew of a very rich mine in America, from whence he hoped to bring mountains of Gold, If his Majesty would be pica fed to grant him a private commission.

The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniard, it could not be seized without breaking the peace with Spain. Nevertheless, the King, tempted no doubt with the golden hopes inspired by Raleigh, granted him a commission, directed to our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, Knight, &c.[239]. It was said afterwards, the King granted the commission with this limitation, that he should not injure the subjects of Spain. But how was it possible to bring away gold from a mine belonging to the Spaniards. without doing them damage?

However, Raleigh, by virtue of his commission, engaged several persons in this project[240]. He was supplied with money to fit out twelve sail[241], and departed in August 1617[242], in search of the mine. At his arrival upon the coast of Guiana, he found not the marks he had left there, neither could he know again the place he thought to have so well observed.

He detached however his son, and Captain Keymis, with five ships[243, to sail up the river Orinoco as high as possible, in order to discover the mountain where the supposed mine lay. The mountain not appearing, the English landed; and putting the Spaniards to flight who opposed their, descent, pursued them to the town of. St. Thomas, which they took and plundered.

Sir Walter Raleigh's son was killed in the assault. Then leaving a garrison in the place, they advanced farther into the country, without being able to find the so much desired mine. At last, weary with searching, they returned to Sir Walter Raleigh, who finding himself disappointed of his hopes, threatened Keymis with the King's indignation, and some days after, Keymis was found dead in his cabin[244].

The sailors, vexed at this ill success, loudly complained of their being drawn into a chimerical project, and compelled Sir Walter to sail back for England. When they arrived at Kingsale in Ireland, he would have persuaded them to go with him into France; but instead of listening to his proposal, they carried him against his will to Plymouth, where he was arrested by the King's orders, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

During his absence, Don Diego de Sarmiento, Count of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador in England, making great complaints about Sir Walter's commission, which was become public[245], the King found no better way to appease him, than by disowning it, or at least by assuring, that Raleigh had express orders not to act against the Spaniards[246].

Raleigh returning without gold, his cable was so much the worse. Besides, the ambassador openly insisted upon his being punished, and told the King, there was no other way to continue the treaty of the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta. Wherefore the King determined at length to sacrifice Raleigh to the Spaniard. But as he could not be tried upon his late expedition, for which he had a commission in form, it was resolved he should lose his head, by virtue of the sentence passed upon him fourteen years before.

## Sir Walter Raleigh Executed

In vain did he plead that his commission, wherein the King stiled him faithful Servant, and gave him power of life and death over those who were under his command, was equivalent to a pardon. The Judges told him, that treason could not be pardoned but by express words. So, without being called to an account for his late expedition, it was ordered that the former sentence should be executed[247].

Thus died Sir Walter Raleigh, in the seventy seventh year of his age. He was a man that deserved a better fortune, and had a large share of merit. He had also some faults, which are lessened or aggravated, in order to render his execution more or less odious, according as the historians are for or against King James.

Most certain it is, he fell a sacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards against him in Queen Elizabeth's time, and to the King's unhappy desire to accomplish the Prince his son's marriage with the Infanta of Spain[248].

## The People Complain of The King and The Administration

**1618 AD]** Since James was on the throne, the English had lived in peace with all their neighbours, without being disturbed by any war. The King and his ministers pretended, this was the chief point of government, and that nothing more plainly discovered the capacity of those that ruled, than to cause the subjects to live in peace.

Meanwhile, the people were not satisfied. Many affirmed, this maxim was false when carried too far, and that war often happens to be no less necessary than peace, for the welfare of a nation, it was disliked, that the King should let the Hollanders fish upon the English coast, without asking leave of him, or the Governor of Scarborough, as was customary, before they had recovered their cautionary towns.

It was thought no less strange, that they should be suffered to come upon the coast with a fleet to support their Fishermen, as if they meant to bully the King, and shew they would fish on his coast in spite of him; and it was openly said, to preserve peace by bearing such affronts, was no great sign of ability.

It was also complained, that the King deserted the cause of the Protestant religion, at a time when France, the Emperor, King of Spain, and Pope, were using their utmost endeavours to destroy it, and had but too much bones of succeeding, since the defender of the faith remained unconcerned.

## The People Complain also of The Favourite

The King's extreme jealousy with respect to his Prerogative, was another and great occasion of discontent. It did not appear wherein this Prerogative had been infringed: but it was thought very manifest, he intended to stretch it farther than any of his predecessors. It was considered, he had imprisoned several members of Parliament, solely for in filling in the House upon the people's grievances: had granted divers Monopolies; and raised money upon the subject without consent of Parliament:—

**That** his speeches to the houses, to the judges, and in the Star-Chamber, tended only to exalt the regal authority, and make it, as it were, equal to God's; from whence it was inferred, that he designed to destroy the Constitution.

**People** could not behold, without indignation, a young man of twenty five imperiously governing the whole Kingdom; disposing of all preferments in favour

of his relations and friends ; invested with the office of Lord High-Admiral, though he had. never been at Sea, except from Dover to Calais; and:

**Lastly**, honoured with the title of Marquis of Buckingham, without having ever done the State any service during the two years he had been at Court.

These two dignities were lately bestowed on the favourite; the first, by the Earl Nottingham's resignation, who had amassed great sums, and got a pension for the residue of his life. But there were still farther complaints.

It was said, the court gave a very ill example to, the whole Kingdom: Nothing was heard there but blasphemy and oaths, and the King himself was not free from this vice:–

**That** one of the two Secretaries of State was a Papist, as well as the favourite's mother:

**That** though it was not known what religion her son was of, his debaucheries were public, and gave universal offence:

**The** number of Papists daily increased:

**The** Prince's marriage with a Papist, daughter to the mortal enemy of the Protestant religion, shewed how little the King regarded the concerns of religion:

**That** if any one represented to the King or the ministers, the inconveniences arising from such a marriage, he was silenced, by being told, it was an attempt upon the prerogative Royal and that every man, who, without a call, pried into the secrets of the Government, was guilty of rebellion.

### **The King is Not Satisfied With The People**

But on the other hand, the King was no less offended with this boldness in censuring his conduct, as if a King was to be guided by the caprice of his subjects. What most troubled him was, that the Puritans were not the only persons who dared to complain of the government, but that even the greatest friends to the ecclesiastical hierarchy could not bear an arbitrary power in the State. The Parliament itself had plainly shewed him, how far they were from submitting to any Laws but those which had been hitherto in use.

Thus the King and people were equally dissatisfied. It is true, the King seemed to have a great advantage, as, there not being a Parliament, no man had right openly to arraign his conduct: but then, money did not flow into the Exchequer too plentifully as under the Kings his predecessors, who knew how to manage the Parliament.

He chose however to be without any, or to procure it by such means as increased the people's discontent, rather than run the hazard of feeing the Parliament question his prerogative, of which he was strangely jealous. He comforted himself, however with the hopes of speedily concluding his son's marriage, by which he was to receive a dowry of two millions.

It is certain the Court of Spain had offered that sum: but I have not been able to discover what sort of money was meant. I imagine the Spaniard left that undetermined, to have an opportunity of prolonging the negotiation as much as he pleased, and of breaking it off at last when he thought proper. When the King of Spain's proceedings with respect to the marriage are considered, it must be thought, that he did not intend to conclude it, either at the time the negotiation was begun, or long after[249].

At first his sole aim was to amuse King James, and hinder him from interposing in the affair of Cleves. The Emperor had a mind either to keep that Duchy for himself, or to give it to some Prince of his family, under colour of holding it in sequestration till the dispute was decided. But the States of the United-Provinces avoiding this snare, seized part of the country in question, protesting to restore it to the person to whom it should be adjudged.

Besides, they openly protected the Elector of Brandenburg, who was one of the chief claimants, and a Protestant; as on the contrary, the House of Austria favoured the Duke of Newburgh, who was turned Catholic. On this pretence, Prince Maurice on the one side, and Spinola on the other, endeavoured, to become masters of the country, and so a kind of religious war ensued, wherein England not interposing was of great consequence to the House of Austria. For this it was, that "James was allured by the Spaniard with the hopes of the marriage and dowry of two millions.

## **Convention For The prince of Wales Marriage with The Infanta**

Pretences were not wanting to prolong the negotiation. The union of a Catholic Princess with a Protestant Prince, required that care should be taken to secure to the Infanta the liberty of professing her religion, in a manner becoming the Princess of Spain.

This was the only article insisted upon at first, the two courts being of opinion, that before this was settled, it was in vain to bring the rest upon the carpet. As it was in the Spaniard's interest to lengthen the negotiation, so it was necessary to satisfy King James of his sincerity, to keep him still at a bay.

To that purpose, after a two years' debate, fearing at last that James would be discouraged, he agreed with Digby and Cottington the English ambassadors upon five articles, the first whereof facilitated the continuance or even the entire interruption of the treaty, when it should be no longer his interest to dissemble. The Articles were these:—

- 1. That** the Pope's dispensation be first obtained by the mere act of the King of Spain.
- 2. That** the children of this marriage be not constrained in matter of religion, nor their title prejudiced in case they prove Catholics.
- 3. That** the Infanta's family, being strangers may be Catholics, and shall have a decent place appointed for all divine service, according to the use of the Church of Rome, and the Ecclesiastics and religious persons may wear their proper habits.
- 4. That** the marriage shall be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the instructions of the Council of Trent; and after the Infanta's arrival in England, such a solemnization shall be used, as may make the marriage valid, according to the Laws of this Kingdom.
- 5. That** she shall have a competent number of chaplains, and a counsellor, being strangers, one whereof shall have power to govern the family in religious matters.

## **The King Signs The Articles**

These articles being transmitted to England, the King in allowing and signing them, thus expressed himself:—

“Seeing this marriage is to be with a Lady of a different religion from us, it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give them all satisfaction convenient, so on the

other, to admit nothing that may blemish our conscience, or detract from the religion here established.”

I confess I do not see how this maxim agreed with the second article. For the first, he supposed as previous, the Pope's dispensation, which was expected several years, and at last came clogged with additions and limitations, which I shall have occasion to speak of hereafter.

## **King Philips Reasons for Spinning out The Negotiations**

Hitherto the Spaniard in prolonging the negotiation had only the succession of Cleves in view. But this year the affairs of Germany and Bohemia began to give occasion to fear, a religious war would be kindled in those countries. This was a fresh reason for the Spaniard's amusing King James, lest he should side with the Protestants, and send them a powerful aid. For the better understanding of the sequel, it will be absolutely necessary to know in what fixation the affairs of Germany and Bohemia then were.

### **Affairs of Germany**

As for Germany, it suffices to say in two words, that for some time there had been great jealousies and mutual suspicions between the Catholics and Protestants. These last complained, That they could not have justice either from the Emperor or the imperial Chamber. The Catholics complained in their turn, that the Protestants were continually endeavouring to extend their privileges beyond what the laws of the Empire allowed:—

That after pretending to be satisfied with a bare toleration, they had aspired to an equality, and not content with that, had plotted to banish the Catholic religion out of all Germany. On this pretence it was that the Catholics had entered into a confederacy, which occasioned the like among the Protestants.

The Protestants being assembled at Hailbrun, the Emperor Matthias wrote to exhort them to dissolve their League. But they thought not proper to submit to his exhortations, by reason their League was only defensive and the Catholics did not offer to break their confederacy.

This was a motive for the Spaniard to amuse King James, and hinder him from uniting with the Protestants of Germany. But the troubles this year in Bohemia, furnished him with a motive of much greater consequence, which I must explain here as briefly as possible, because this affair continually influences all the rest of this reign.

### **The Affairs of Bohemia**

In Bohemia were two religions established by law; the one was called *sub unà*, and the other *sub utrâque*. The former was professed by the Catholics, who communicated in one kind only, the latter by the Hussites who received the Eucharist in both kinds, and, since the Reformation, were become true Protestants.

I have spoken elsewhere of the religious wars which afflicted that Kingdom under the Emperor Sigismund. It suffices therefore to add here, that this Emperor was forced, in order to be owned for King of Bohemia, to grant the Hussites an edict whereby, among other privileges, it was decreed there should be no magistrate or inhabitant in Prague but what was of their religion.

This edict granted in the year 1435 was observed till 1570, when, by order of Maximilian II. a Catholic was made citizen of Prague. Another of the same religion obtained the same favour in 1599, and withal, a place in the magistracy.

From that time, Sigismund's edict was very frequently violated, and at last the Jesuits were admitted into Prague, and built there a stately college. Thus, by degrees the number of the Catholics was considerably augmented in the city, by means of the governors and the Emperor's other officers who were all of the same Religion. The more they increased, the higher they carried their pretensions, and at last, if we may believe the apology published afterwards by the Bohemians, the edict of Sigismund was continually transgressed.

However, in the Reign of Rodolphus II. the Protestants, by the intercession of Prince Matthias, obtained of the Emperor a second edict, which under colour of confirming their privileges, put them upon a sort of equality with the Catholics, though they had enjoyed the superiority for one hundred and fifty years. Nevertheless, this equality was as much as they could expect, considering the present juncture of time.

But though it was far short of their ancient privileges, the Emperor's officers in Bohemia thinking such an edict prejudicial to the Catholic religion, refuses to publish it, affirming, it was extorted from the Emperor whilst at war with the Turk. Very likely they were privately countenanced by the Court of Vienna.

## **Rebel of Bohemia**

Rodolphus II. dying in 1614[250], his Brother Matthias succeeded him, both in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the imperial dignity. Under this new King the privileges of the Protestants were violated much more openly, and with greater haughtiness than under the last, if any credit is to be given to their apology.

## **Ferdinand of Austria Declared Heir to Matthias**

But this was not all, Matthias having adopted his nephew[251]. Ferdinand of Austria, had a mind also to secure him the Crown of Bohemia. The execution of this project would doubtless have been very difficult, had not the Emperor used artifice. Silesia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, being annexed to Bohemia, had a right to send deputies to the Assembly of the States of that Kingdom. But as these countries were Protestant, their deputies very probably would join with those of Bohemia of the same Religion, and frustrate the Emperor's design. Wherefore he convened the States of Bohemia without summoning the others.

## **The Bohemian States Petition The Emperor**

The Protestants complained of this innovation, and not to authorize it, refused, for the most part, to send deputies to the States. This was what the Emperor foresaw and wished: for the Catholic deputies being the majority, Ferdinand was declared Matthias's preemptive successor. and shortly after crowned at Prague; after which he resided at Gratz.

The defenders, for so were called a certain number of eminent persons, chosen and appointed by the States to see the edicts put in execution, perceiving the designs of the imperial court, summoned the States pursuant to their power, and forgot not to call the incorporated provinces.

This assembly only drew a petition to be presented to the Emperor, wherein the States demanded the execution of the laws of the Kingdom, and a just reparation for the injuries done them. Mean while, as they could come to no resolution before the Emperor's answer was received, they adjourned to the Monday after Rogation Week, in the year 1618.

## **Three of His Officers Thrown Out of The Window**

The Emperor instead of being inclined to send a favourable answer to the States petition, ordered his Lieutenant in Bohemia to hinder the next session of the assembly, called without his licence. But the lieutenant was not strong enough to execute the order. His opposition serving only to exasperate the States who were assembled on the day appointed in the college of Charles IV. they went in a body to the chancery, and seizing the Emperor's officers, pitched upon three, and threw them out of the Castle window[252]. After that, they drove the Jesuits out of Prague.

## **They Resolve to Take up Arms**

Things being come to these extremities, the States published an apology to acquaint the public why they had punished these officers. But as they believed the Emperor would not hear their reasons, they signed a confederacy, promising mutual assistance against all opposers. In the meantime, hearing the Emperor was making preparations to attack them, they chose four and twenty Protectors, empowering them to raise forces, and lay upon the Kingdom and the incorporated countries what taxes they should judge necessary. Thus, a war being unavoidable, every one took such measures as he deemed requisite, whether to attack or defend.

## **Army Levied in The Low Countries for The Emperor**

At the time, the Bohemian States were taking these resolutions, the Cardinal Infant was preparing an army in the Low-Countries to assist the Emperor. Whilst this army was levying, he sent Charles de Bucquoy, Count de Longueval to the Emperor, who made him general of the army designed against Bohemia,

The States chose for their generals Count Ernest of Mansfeldt, and Count de la Tour. This war was of so great moment to the House of Austria, that it is not very strange the Spaniard should still continue to amuse King James with the hopes of seeing the projected marriage speedily concluded.

Very likely this war would at last become a religious war, and in that case, England could very much strengthen the Protestant party. Afterwards, the King of Spain had still farther motives to continue this management. But the wonder is, though James had very strong reasons to suspect the Spaniard of artifice, he still obstinately relied on his sincerity.

It seemeth unto us here in England, (says one of his Ministers in a letter to Cottington) that Condé Gondemar hath gone but very slowly in his journey: and divers (seeing how long time he hath spent in the way) do make conjecture, That it proceedeth from the small affection that he judgeth to be there, towards the effecting of the main business.—But if the Spaniards act un-sincerely, I shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious people of the world, and the more, for that his Majesty hath given them so many testimonies of his sincere intentions towards them, which he daily continued, as now of late, by the causing Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction, when by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command upon all occasions as useful a man as served any Prince in Christendom[253].

It is certain however the King was amused by the Spanish Court. Count Gondemar undertaking to carry into Spain the articles signed by the King, was so very long on the road, that it was evident he sought only to delay the time. Notwithstanding this King James continued wilfully to shut his eyes, which will appear still plainer in the sequel.

Though the people of England were not informed of the contents of the articles agreed upon by the two Courts, they knew however, the marriage was going to be concluded, and thought it could not but be prejudicial to Religion.

## **The Protestants of England Murmur and The Catholics**

This occasioned many complaints and murmurs amongst the Protestants[254], whilst the Catholics triumphed, knowing the King of Spain would not give his daughter to Prince Charles, without procuring them great advantages. At the worst, they were sure of having in this Princess a powerful, protectress who would never forsake the interest of her religion.

We shall see in the following years how artfully the Spaniard prolonged the negotiation, till he had drawn from it all possible advantages, as well for the House of Austria, as for the Catholic religion.

### **The Earl of Northumberland Is Released**

**1619 AD]** In the beginning of the year 1619, the Earl of Northumberland who had been in the tower ever since the gun-powder plot, obtained his liberty at last by means of the Lord Hay his son-in-law, lately made Viscount Doncaster[255].

About the same time, Doctor Williams Dean of Westminster was made Privy-Counsellor, and shortly after Bishop of Lincoln[256]. I purposely mention this prelate's promotion, because he will often occur in the history of this, as well as of the next reign.

### **The Queen's Death**

In March this year[257] the King lost his Queen, in the forty-sixth year of her age. Shortly after he was himself seized with a great illness, which brought him, as I may say, to the brink of the grave. It would have been well for his reputation, had he died at this time, since the rest of his reign, which lasted six years longer, was not much to his honour.

In this space he more plainly discovered his settled design to stretch the prerogative Royal as high as possible. Besides, he gave very convincing proofs, that though he defended the Protestant religion by his writings, he had not its interest much at heart. In fine, his eager desire to conclude the Spanish match, displayed all his weakness, and the affair of Bohemia, in which he could not but be concerned, fully satisfied the world of his slender capacity.

### **Continuation of The Affairs of Bohemia**

The Emperor Matthias dying the 20th of March 1619, Ferdinand his cousin and adopted son, was proclaimed King of Bohemia, as well in consequence of his election, as in virtue of his pretended hereditary right to that crown. Meanwhile, as his chief aim was to obtain the Imperial dignity, and as he stood in need for that purpose of the Protestant electors, he feigned a willingness to end amicably the war now begun in Bohemia, by giving the States a reasonable satisfaction with respect to their privileges.

But the States thought not fit to trust to his promises. In the mean time, he endeavoured to gain the electors, and make alliances with the Catholic Princes of Germany. James, who gloried in being stiled the Pacific King, thought himself obliged as such, to try to appease, by his mediation, the troubles of Bohemia.

To this end, he chose the Viscount Doncaster to go and endeavour to procure a peace between Ferdinand and the Bohemian States. There was not a Prince in Europe so improper as he for a mediation of this nature, considering his principles, with respect to monarchy. This embassy was very expensive, the ambassador, who was a sort of favourite, and extremely profuse, having been very lavish of his master's money.

### **Ferdinand is Invited to The Diet as King of Bohemia**

Meanwhile, I know not whether he could obtain so much as a single audience of Ferdinand, who still removed as the ambassador approached. Thus much is certain, the embassy was entirely fruitless, and served only to show the little account Ferdinand made of the King of England's mediation.

The time appointed for the election of an Emperor approaching, the Elector of Mentz summoned the rest of the Electors, and particularly Ferdinand as King of Bohemia. The States of that Kingdom protested against the summons saying, Ferdinand could not be received as Elector in quality of the King of Bohemia, since he was not in possession of the Kingdom.

But their opposition was ineffectual. Ferdinand was not only acknowledged for the King of Bohemia and Elector, but was also chosen Emperor the 2-18 of August 1619[258], Then the States of Bohemia, seeing they had not been able to hinder Ferdinand from being Emperor, took an oath never to own him for their Sovereign, and at the same time, namely, on the 5th of September[259], chose for their King, Frederic Elector Palatine, and sent deputies to acquaint him with his election, and pray him to repair to Prague[260].

### **The Bohemian States Chose The Elector Palatine**

Frederic did not want much solicitation to accept of a crown offered him by those who, in his opinion, had a right to dispose of it. He dispatched however Baron d' Aulné[261] to the King his father-in-law, for his advice, but it was a mere compliment. As he knew him to be a Prince not very ready to engage in great undertakings, he did not stay for his answer, but assembling some troops, came to Prague, where he was crowned the 4th of November.

Before Frederic's envoy reached England, James hearing the news of his son-in-law's election, called a council to debate whether the Elector ought to accept or refuse the Crown of Bohemia.

The Archbishop of Canterbury not being present, by reason of the gout which confined him to his bed, writ to secretary Naunton:—

“That it was his opinion the Elector should accept of the Crown, and England openly support him. And therefore as soon as there should be certain news of his Coronation, the bells ought to be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe see the King was determined to countenance him.”

### **James Thinks The Elector Ought to Refuse it**

But this advice was not followed. The King maintained in the council Ferdinand's cause against the States of Bohemia, and without knowing any thing of their privileges, as he afterwards owned, decided that the Bohemian States were in actual rebellion[262] .

As for the reasons with which the Archbishop supported his opinion, in his letter to Naunton, the King rejected them, as built upon Puritan-principles[263]. For, as I have elsewhere observed, there were in this reign State Puritans as well as Church Puritans, whom the court took great care to confound one with another, and this confusion of ideas has been preserved to this day.

Hence the obscurity which still occurs in the notion of the two parties of Whigs and Tories. It was therefore resolved, the King should admonish the Elector to refute the offered Crown, not only because it was agreeable to the King's principles, but for another and no less strong, reason, namely, the King rightly judged that the Electors acceptance could not but be extremely prejudicial to the negotiation of the Spanish match, considering the first union between the Princes of the House of Austria.

## **The King is Angry With The Elector**

But the Elector Palatine had broken these measures by accepting the crown, without expecting the council of England's resolution. The King was so angry, that he refused to give Baron d' Aulné audience, who, since his departure, had received orders to excuse the Elector from the necessity he was under of proceeding with all possible expedition.

If the States of Bohemia had designed to gain King James, by electing his son-in-law, they were very much deceived, since they were never assisted by him. The very Ambassadors, sent by King James on this occasion to the Emperor, and several German Princes, did great injury to the States; for these ambassadors had expedition. If the States of Bohemia had designed to gain a great injury to the States; for these ambassadors had express orders to disavow Frederic's proceedings; and of all the Protestant Princes, James alone never gave him the title of King.

## **He Thinks Meanwhile to Persuade Him to Quit The Crown**

Meanwhile, though the Elector was now crowned, the King his father-in-law fancied, he could persuade him to quit the crown, and induce the States of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. To that purpose, he sent two ambassadors to Prague, namely, Rochard Weston a Papist, and Sir Edward Conway a Protestant.

Conway being afterwards made Secretary of State, the King used to say to him merrily, that never Prince had such a secretary, who could neither read nor write[264]. This embassy was very fruitless, as it was easy to foresee.

## **The Spanish Court Continues to Amuse The King**

Meantime, the King of Spain did not forget to do the Emperor good service, keeping King James in his pacific disposition. Nothing was talked of at the court of Madrid, but the King of England's generosity, justice, and equity. In fine, to amuse him the better, the negotiation of the marriage was renewed, having been interrupted, in expectation of the Pope's dispensation.

Nay, it was intimated to Cottington, that if the dispensation did not quickly arrive, the marriage should be concluded without it, or means found to force the Pope to grant it. Cottington, who knew the Spanish Court, fell not into the snare.

He sent word to England, that nothing more was to be expected concerning the marriage; that the King of Spain's intent was only to amuse his Majesty, and therefore he believed, the negotiation ought to be broke off. But instead of seeing his advice followed, he received orders to declare to the King of Spain, that his master was not concerned in the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia:—

That his son-in-law had proceeded without his approbation and knowledge, and therefore he entirely disowned him. Philip answered, he was glad to find the King his Brother in so equitable a disposition, and that nothing could sooner gain his esteem and affection, than the continuance of this express disowning an action so repugnant to justice[265].

**1620 AD]** The affair of Bohemia put several of the Princes of Europe in motion, and held the rest in suspense. Ferdinand and Frederic had each their friends and allies, who were preparing to assist them, whilst James stood neuter, imagining, that by making a show of neutrality, he should induce the two competitors to make him arbiter of their difference.

But both were jealous of him, the one because he was a Protestant, and father-in-law of his adversary; the other, because he had openly declared, he disapproved of his conduct. So, without much regarding his solicitations, both sides prepared to decide the quarrel by arms.

### **Ferdinand is Embarrassed**

Had England espoused Frederic's cause, and with a good fleet kept Spain and the Netherlands in awe, the Elector, very probably, would have preferred his crown, in so good a situation were his affairs the beginning of the year 1620. Several Princes of Germany had formed a league to support him, and were now levying an army, to be commanded by the Prince of Anspach[266].

On the other hand, Bethlem Gabor Prince of Transylvania, had excited the Hungarians to rebel against Ferdinand, and most part of Austria had followed the example of Hungary and Bohemia. All this confounded the Emperor, and would have confounded him more, if the Elector of Saxony had still remained neuter, according to his first resolution. But the Emperor offering him Upper Lusutia, on condition he would conquer it, he could not withstand the temptation of acquiring a country which lay so convenient for him.

Moreover, the Duke of Bavaria, and the three ecclesiastical Electors[267], declared for the Emperor: the Pope supplied him with money, and the King of Spain ordered his forces at Naples and in the Milanese to march to his assistance.

### **Philip Orders an Army to be Raised in The Netherlands To Invade The Palatinate**

But this was not all the aid, the Spaniard gave the Emperor. He assisted him still more considerably, in hindering James from aiding his daughter and son-in-law, and keeping him immovable, and, as it were, enchanted, with the hopes of the marriage and dowry of two millions. To hold him the faster in his chains, Philip sent back Count Gondemar, under colour of finishing the affair.

He dissembled so artfully, that James, who had recalled Digby[268] from Spain, sent thither Sir Walter Aston, to endeavour with Cottington to finish the treaty, which he thought very near a conclusion. Gondemar being returned to England with great sums of money, laid them out so pertinently, and made such good use of his talents and knowledge of the Court, that he became as master of the King, the favourite, and the ministers, and governed them as he pleased.

To this aid, which was not inconsiderable, Philip was preparing to add another more effectual, to enable the Emperor to get the advantage of his enemy. Frederic had drawn ten thousand men out of the Palatinate, and sent them into Bohemia.

This inspired the Emperor with the thoughts of invading him on that side, and to execute his project, Philip and the Archduke Albert levied in the Low-Countries an army of twenty six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to be commanded by Ambrose Spinola.

The truce between Spain and the United Provinces not being yet near expired, it was evident these forces could be designed, only against the Palatinate. The Hollander: warned King James of it, and such of the courtiers as were not bribed with Spanish gold, never ceased to represent to him his danger to which the Elector's dominions would be exposed, if he did not suddenly resolve to prepare for their defence.

### **King James Wretched Management**

But James could not think of taking such measures on bare suspicions. He contented himself, with ordering Sir Thomas Edmonds, his ambassador at Brussels, to ask the Archduke the reason of so considerable an armament. The Archduke answered, It was by the King of Spain's order, and the reason might be known of Spinola, who had the command of the army. Spinola being asked the same question, replied:—

**That** indeed he was ordered by the King of Spain to raise forces, but did not know for what purpose:

**That** his orders being sealed, he could not open them till his march, and if the ambassador would follow him, he might then be resolved.

A man must have been wilfully blind, not to see what this mystery tended to, and yet James still continued immoveable, relying on the Spaniard's friendship, and Gondemar's fair promises.

### **The King is Persuaded to Let 22000 English to be Sent to The Palatinate**

The whole Kingdom was extremely surprised at the King's insensibility for his son-in-law, his daughter, and their children; but for his part, he looked upon the quarrel between the Emperor and Frederic in quite another light. He was just going to be strictly united with the House of Austria, by his son's marriage with the Infanta of Spain, and at this very time, the Elector his son-in-law had broken all his measures by a rash, unjust, and inconsiderate action; for so he termed the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia.

“Is it reasonable”, said he, I should suffer myself to be drawn by a son-in-law's ambition and humour, into a war against the House of Austria, who have done me no wrong? Must I alter all my projects, all my measurers, because the Elector Palatine has been pleased to accept the crown of Bohemia, without so much as asking my advice”?[269]

### **They are Commanded by Sir Horatio Vere**

However, by much persuasion, he was prevailed with at length to suffer a regiment of two thousand two hundred men to be raised, which was done mostly at the charge of some Lords. Sir Horatio Vere, who had long served in Holland, where he had acquired great reputation, commanded this regiment, having under him Burroughs and Herbert for Major Generals. The Earls of Oxford and Essex accompanied him, and commanded each a company of gentlemen volunteers[270].

### **The English Join The Army of The Confederates**

This regiment being raised with extreme need, was transported to Holland. Then they passed the Rhine below Wezel, to avoid Spinola, who was at Aix la Chapelle. It was not without danger, that the English army crossed so many countries to reach the Palatinate: nay, they durst not have attempted it, if Prince Frederic Henry of Nassau, with two thousand horse, and same foot, had not conducted them to Francfort, and deceived Spinola's vigilance, who expected them on another road. It was the 1<sup>st</sup> of October before they joined the army of the King of Bohemia's allies[271], commanded by the Markgrave of Anspach.

### **Campaign of The Palatine**

Spinola, who departed from Brussels the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, being come to Coblentz, opened his orders in the presence of the English ambassador, who had accompanied him thus far. The orders were, to make war upon all who should declare for the Elector Palatine.

This was all Edmonds could know of Spinola's designs. The rest was easy to be guessed, considering which way he was marching. He arrived in the Palatinate before the English had joined the confederate army, and took several small places. The two armies tried one another for some time, and were once in sight of each other, ready to engage, but no action of moment ensued[272].

The season, which daily grew worse, obliging them at last to retire to winter quarters, the confederate Princes led home their troops, leaving the English in garrison at Heidelberg, Manheim, and Frankendal. In April this year the King of France sent to the Emperor and several German Princes, the Duke of Angoulême, the Duke of Bethune, and Mr. Des Preaux, to endeavour to appease the Bohemian and Hungarian troubles. At the same time James dispatched Sir Henry Wotton[273] on the same errand, and to exhort to peace all the Princes engaged in the quarrel between the Emperor and the Palsgrave.

If, whilst he sent this ambassador, he had arrived by land and sea, and put himself in a condition to strike terror, his remonstrances doubtless would have been hearkened to, and his mediation perhaps accepted[274].

But Wotton having traversed most part of Germany, and talked with several Princes of both parties, brought back only general expressions, which showed how little the King his master was regarded. At last he came to Vienna[275], where he found the French ambassadors. In the audience he had of the Emperor, he made two propositions, each divided into three articles, according to the King's usual custom, who was very fond of divisions and subdivisions.

It must be observed, the Emperor had now published a ban against the Elector Palatine[276], wherein he had fully set forth the reasons moving him to come to such extremities:—

**That** Spinola was marching to the Palatinate:

**That** the Duke of Bavaria was leading his troops to Bohemia to join the Emperor's forces[277], and the Elector of Saxony going to invade Lusatia[278].

In this juncture Wotton made his two propositions to the Emperor. The first general proposition was, that the Emperor might trust the King, as it appeared by the three following reasons:—

- 1) The King was never concerned in the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia.
- 2) The Elector Palatine did not impart the affair to him before his election, and he had disapproved of it. This was evident from the King's never suffering him to be stiled King of Bohemia, or to be prayed for as such in the Churches.
- 3) The King never assisted the Elector with men or money.

The second proposition was concerning the means of procuring a peace, and contained these three Articles.

- 1). He desired the Emperor to let him know, whether he was content to treat of an accommodation by his masters and the French King's mediation: adding, if his imperial Majesty expected the affairs of Bohemia should be restored to their former state, he conceived that his stay at Vienna, and the King his master's mediation would be fruitless.
- 2) He prayed the Emperor to inform him of the state of affairs in Bohemia.

3) And that he would be pleased to grant a cessation of arms, and let the roads be open between Vienna and Prague during the negotiation.

The Emperor surprised to hear such proportions in the present state of affairs, told the ambassador, he did not fully understand his discourse, and desired a clearer and more circumstantial memorial, that he might be able to give him a suitable answer.

Whether the ambassador could explain the King's mind concerning the first article of the second proposition, or for some other reason unknown, the memorial was never presented, at which the Emperor was much displeased. Thus ended this embassy. The Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Marquis of Spinola, commissioned to execute the imperial ban, began all three to act in September, I have already spoken of what Spinola did in the Palatinate, during this first campaign.

### **The Duke of Savoy Conquers Lusatia**

The Elector of Saxony, at the head of twenty thousand men, entered Lusatia, and by the end of October conquered the whole Country, which he kept for himself, according to his agreement with the Emperor.

### **The Duke of Bavaria Joins Count Bucquoy**

Whilst the Elector of Saxony was in Lusatia, the Duke of Bavaria having subdued Upper Austria, the beginning of September, joined Count Bucquoy, who commanded the imperial army in Bohemia. As Frederic had all his forces there, the Emperor's two generals were obliged to take some places, before they could advance to Prague.

### **The Battle of Prague Wherein Frederic is Defeated**

At length, having opened a passage, they came in the beginning of November within sight of that metropolis and of the enemy's army posted between them and the City. A few days after[279] was fought the famous battle of Prague, wherein Frederic's army was entirely routed.

This Prince, who stayed at Prague during the battle, hastily retired with his wife and children, leaving all his baggage and money in the City, which on the morrow opened her gates to the imperialists and Bavarians. Weston and Conway the English ambassadors followed the King in his flight. But finding he intended to withdraw into Holland, they obtained a passport to return to Prague, where they remained not long, their stay being entirely needless[280].

### **He is Deserted by His Allies**

The victory lately gained by the Emperor's arms produced great effects; the first whereof was, that the Palsgrave was forsaken by most of the Princes his confederates. The Prince of Anhalt himself, who commanded his army, entered into the Emperor's service. Count Mansfeldt alone remained faithful, and was still serviceable to him[281].

### **James Solicits Lewis XIII on Behalf of The Huguenots**

This same year the Huguenots of France being vigorously pushed by Lewis XIII, James sent Sir Edward Herbert[282] to solicit him in their behalf. Nay, he had orders to use menaces, if the Court of France refused to regard his remonstrances. Herbert discharged his commission so bluntly, that the Constable Luynes being offended at it, caused him to be recalled.

Herbert would have afterwards sent a challenge to the Constable for misrepresenting his words, but the King would not suffer it. The Viscount Doncaster, lately made Earl of Carlisle, was sent

to France in Herbert's room. He spent immense sums, without effecting anything for the Huguenots. This is not surprising, since the French Court knew King James was neither able nor willing to assist them.

## **He Takes False Measures to Save The Palatinate**

The campaign of the Palatinate was no sooner ended, than the Earl of Essex posted away, to represent to the- King the impossibility of saving that country, without a speedy and powerful aid[283]. But it was not by way of arms that James meant to support his son-in-law's interest.

Count Gondemar ruled him as he pleased, by feeding him with continual hopes of the good success of the marriage, provided he would not disturb the negotiation by proceedings offensive to the King of Spain. Nay he told him, that should the Emperor become master of the Palatinate, it would only be a surer means to put an end to the war, because then it would be given to the Infanta, for a present to the Prince her spouse, who might restore it to the Count Palatine. All this passed current with the King.

He was so possessed with the project of ending the war by means of this match, that nothing was capable of altering his belief. Count Gondemar had bribed with presents and pensions all those who had the King's ear[284], and who took care to cherish him in this vain project[285]. The rest of the world were astonished to see the King take such wrong measures: but no man durst press him upon that head, knowing he did not care any but his Ministers should speak to him of State affairs.

He verily believed there was no other way to save the Palatinate, than to preserve a good understanding with the King of Spain and the Emperor by standing neuter. This he declared himself to the council, adding however, if his instances were rejected he would have recourse to arms at last.

Not that he had any intent to go to war with the House of Austria lest what would happen, but hoped, this would be a good pretence to get money, which he wanted very much. To this end likewise it was debated in council, how to make preparations for the defence oft he Palatinate, in case the King's mediation was rejected.

Gondemar having notice of what had passed at the board, writ to the Marquis of Buckingham, desiring to know what was the King's intention. Here is the favourite's answer, which plainly discovers the King's thoughts:—

## **Buckingham's Letter Gondemar Wherein He Explains The King's Thoughts on The Palatinate**

**“SIR,**

I showed your letter to the King, who thinks your request reasonable. He has ordered me to tell you, that the speech he lately made to the council, contained two principal points:—

**First**, whereas the world talked so variously of him, he declared, he was so far from advising the Elector Palatine to accept the Crown of Bohemia, that he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it. For the particulars of what he said upon this subject, he refers to the Lord Digby, who being present, can inform your Excellency. His Majesty declared moreover, he was resolved to continue neuter for three reasons.

**First**, because his conscience obliged him to it.

**Secondly**, because his honour was concerned.

**Thirdly**, not to give an ill example. Upon the first reason he said, he was sure the religion he professed did not allow that crowns should be removed from one head to another on account of Religion:

**That** our Church very justly opposed the principle of the Jesuits, who take upon them to enthrone and dethrone Kings according to their fancy:

**That** our religion enjoins us to obey our Princes and Sovereigns, though they should be Turks or infidels:

**That** the world was inclined to turn this to a religious war, to which his Majesty is entirely averse.

As to the point of Honour, the King said,

**That** being solicited by the King of Spain to use all his interest to procure a peace between the Emperor and the Bohemian States, and this accident, of accepting the Crown of Bohemia, happening whilst his ambassador was in Germany mediating an accommodation, he was obliged to make known his innocence, in order to save his honour:

**That** if now he assisted his son-in-law in this affair, his actions would be directly contrary to his protestation, which would be very dishonourable.

**Upon the third reason**, his Majesty declared, It was a very dangerous precedent against all Christian Princes, to allow of the translation of a crown by the people's authority:

**That** though he was King by hereditary right, yet it could not be sufficiently considered, how far this mischief might reach, if once it took root, and that this example might very sensibly affect the King of Denmark his brother-in-law, whose crown was elective:

**That** as for the privileges the Bohemians might have, in this case, by the antient and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, it would be necessary to turn over many Volumes, read abundance of histories, and carefully examine what their rights are, before this point could be determined, with which he has nothing to do, not being made Judge of the dispute.

**The second thing**, concerning which the King declared himself, was the affair of the Palatinate.

**Upon this point** he first informed his council, that he had omitted nothing, as well by means of his ambassadors, as by his own mouth, in speaking to your excellency:

**That** moreover, he had sent an Ambassador to the German Princes, who were concerned in the affair, to remonstrate to them, that since he had with so much sincerity and candour continued neuter, he had great reason, on the other hand, to represent to them how much he was concerned in the invasion of the Palatinate, since he had given his

daughter to the Elector Palatinate, *bond fide*, whilst that Prince was in possession of his dominions, and long before these troubles could be foreseen:

**That** at present, his grandchildren were lawful heirs to it, and it was neither just nor reasonable to deprive them of their inheritance, since they are not guilty, considering the sincerity of the King their grandfather:

**That** indeed, it cannot be denied, there was notice given from Spain, that the Emperor would be forced to make this diversion, to free himself from the oppression he endured in Bohemia and Austria:

**That** your excellency said the same thing, which was confirmed by his ambassadors:

**That** the invasion being really made, nature obliged him. to provide for the defence of his grandchildren by all possible and lawful ways:

**That** the approaching winter allowed him to make two sorts of preparations:

**First**, to endeavour, that a peace may be concluded before summer; and if, as he hoped, the Elector his son-in-law would be guided by him, and the Emperor be willing to hearken to the overtures which would be made him, he did not question but a peace would ensue, and the calamities Christendom was threatened with, both by a Turkish invasion and an intestine war, would be happily prevented. But if the Elector would be willing to yield to reasonable terms, and the Emperor refuse to comply, in that case he would not lose the opportunity of the winter, to prepare for the defence of the Palatinate: and if, on the contrary, the Elector remained obstinate, he would then leave him to his own counsels.

After the King had thus spoken, it was debated in Council concerning the means of defending the Palatinate, as the Lord Digby could have informed your Excellency. to conclude this letter, his Majesty commands me to assure you, upon the honour of a Christian King, that this is all that has passed in this affair either in public or private.

He is persuaded, not only your Excellency but the King of Spain also will believe it, sooner than all the information which through ignorance or malice may be given you from any other place.”

### **The King Demands a Benevolence for The Defence of The Palatinate**

The King's whole conduct, whether at the time this letter was writ, or afterwards, agrees so exactly with the sentiments therein expressed, that it would be in vain to question its being genuine[286].

### **Gondemar Rules The English Court**

It is certain, the King never intended to defend the Palatinate by arms, whilst he had any hopes of concluding the Prince his son's marriage with the Infanta. He used however this pretence to draw money from his subjects, and to send a letter signed by the council to all the nobility, and

to the Lord Mayor of London, for a benevolence[287]. But probably this method was unsuccessful, so much were the people dissatisfied with the government.

At the very time he seemed desirous to defend the Palatinate, invaded by the Spaniards, Count Gondemar properly governed England by his influence over the King[288]. All who had any expectations from the court, were extremely careful not to offend him in any thing whatever, knowing how much it was in his power to prejudice such as he was displeased with.

### **Conway Made Secretary of State**

Secretary Naunton failing, on some occasion, to make use of this policy, lost his place, which was given to Conway.

### **Buckingham's Mother is in Great Power**

On the other hand, the Marquis of Buckingham ruled in the King's name, without bearing the least contradiction. He absolutely disposed of all offices, or rather his mother, since he could not deny her anything[289], As she was extremely greedy of money, and a great bigot to the Romish religion, none were preferred but such as could make large presents to the favourite's mother, and were well inclined to Rome, or at least indifferent in point of religion.

### **Cranfield is Made Lord Treasurer**

Nay, places were frequently taken from those who had paid dear for them, in order to dispose of them to new purchasers. Montague having given twenty thousand pounds for the office of Lord Treasurer, was removed before the year expired[290], and Sir Lionel Cranfield put in his place, and created soon after Earl of Middlesex[291].

**Cranfield had been a merchant in London**, and afterwards a custom house officer, from whence he was introduced into court as a projector: a name given to such as suggested to the Ministers' expedients to bring money into the King's Exchequer, when there was no Parliament.

### **Buckingham's Marriage**

The Marquis of Buckingham., about the end of the year, married the Earl of Rutland's only daughter, the richest heiress in the Kingdom. Some say, he debauched her before marriage, and the Earl of Rutland sent him word, if he did not espouse her, the King's favour should not screen him from his revenge.

Buckingham readily complied, since it was a very advantageous match for him, But as the young lady was bred a Papist by her mother, she must, for form sake, be instructed by Dr. White, who, as it is pretended, made her a good Protestant. However, she was brought by her mother-in-law into the old way again.

### **The King Feigns to Take to Heart The Defence of The Palatinate**

The affairs of the Protestant religion in Germany and France were in a very ill situation. On the other hand, the King of Bohemia being driven out of his Kingdom, saw himself upon the point of losing also the Palatinate.

### **The King Calls a Parliament to Get Money**

All the world murmured to behold die King's extreme indolence with respect to these two affairs, wherein he was particularly concerned as a father, as a King of England, and as a Protestant.

These murmurs produced at length a Parliament. Not that the court's intent was to satisfy the people: but it was judged, since they were so desirous, that proper measures should be taken for the defence of religion and the Palatinate, the House of Commons would be ready to grant the King an aid answerable to so important a design.

**1621 AD]** Parliament was therefore summoned to meet on the 20th of January 1621[192]. But the better to persuade the public, the King was really bent upon a war, the Council nominated, a few days before the Parliament met, a certain number of the most noted Lords and officers, who had orders to meet and give their opinion concerning the means of vigorously carrying on the war.

Meanwhile, as the people talked too freely of the King's and his ministry's conduct, they were forbid by, proclamation to discourse of State-affairs. But this prohibition produced a quite contrary effect, it being hardly possible to stop people's tongues by such means.

## **The Reason The King Took Wrong Measures to Save The Palatinate**

**1621 AD]** The King, no doubt, wished to preserve the Palatinate for his son-in-law. All he could be blamed of was, his taking a wrong course to that end. Amused, or as it were bewitched by Gondemar's charm, he believed the Prince's marriage with the Infanta was the most proper means, not perceiving that this marriage was only a decoy to deceive and hinder him from taking better measures.

It will doubtless be thought strange, that James should suffer himself to be thus managed by a Spanish ambassador, in an affair, which so much concerned the House of Austria: but it will be the less surprising, if his situation be considered.

First, he had an aversion to war, and though he would have made believe, it was out of reason and choice, it is certain however, this aversion was so natural, that it was almost impossible for him to overcome it.

In the next place, his opinion concerning the extent of the Royal power, made him dread all occasions of causing his prerogative to be questioned. If he engaged in a war, he must call a Parliament, and the Parliament had already convinced him, they were not of his sentiment concerning the extent of the prerogative Royal, of which he was so jealous.

It is therefore no wonder, that of the two ways which offered to preserve the Palatinate, namely, war, and the Prince's marriage, he should chose that which was most agreeable to his temper and inclination. What is more strange, is, that in comparing these two ways, he should be so blind as to think the marriage the easiest and most proper, and would not see that it was only a snare to deceive him.

On the other hand, he was not satisfied with resolving to take this method rather than the other, but even affected to intimate to the House of Austria, that he should not, till the last extremity, think of having recourse to arms, and thereby marred all his affairs.

The Emperor and King of Spain knew how to improve these wrong proceedings. Gondemar having easily discovered the King's scheme, failed not to encourage him to pursue it steadily, by putting him in hopes of success. There was another and very strong reason for Gondemar's keeping the King in this situation.

The truce between Spain and Holland being like to end quickly, if the King should resolve to support his son-in-law by arms, he would be able to make such a diversion in the Low Countries, as would render the conquest of the Palatinate dear to the House of Austria. For this reason chiefly the Courts of Vienna and Madrid flattered him with the hopes of obtaining an honourable

peace for the Prince Palatine. But these were only words, which James, too credulous, took for deeds.

Though the King did not intend to declare War with Spain, he was very glad however that the people were inclined to support by arms the Elector's interest. He hoped the Parliament would grant him large sums to enable him to make himself feared, and then he fancied, it would be easy for him to determine his son-in-law's affairs, without drawing the sword, and consequently without employing the money which should be given him by the Parliament.

Herein he meant to imitate his great-grandfather Henry VII, who often used this expedient to fill his coffers. But he should also have imitated his address in concealing his designs, whereas on the contrary, James's intentions were known to all.

## **The Parliament Meets January 1620-1**

The Parliament being assembled, the King made a speech to both Houses, which he divided into three heads. In the first, he told them what a Parliament was, under colour of reminding them of so necessary and fundamental a point.

The second contained the reasons of their meeting. In the third, he spoke of the grievances which the people thought to have cause to complain of, and endeavoured to justify his conduct. As this speech is very long, I shall only cite such passages as may serve to discover both the King's principles and designs. He begins thus:—

### **The King's Speech**

#### **My Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and You The Commons**

**IN** *multiloquio non deest peccatum*, faith the wisest man that ever was; and this experience I have found in mine own person, for it is true, there have been many sessions of Parliament before this, wherein I have made many discourses to the gentlemen of the Lower House, and in them delivered a true mirror of my heart; but as no man's actions are free from censure, in regard of the excellency of perfection, so, it may be, it pleased God, seeing some vanity in me, to send back my words as wine, spit into my own face, so as I may truly say, I have piped unto you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and you have not lamented.

#### **Concerning the Constitution of A Parliament**

What is a Parliament? it is an assembly composed of a head and a body; the Monarch is the head, and the three Estates<sup>[293]</sup> the Body, which are called in a Monarchy a Parliament, which was used and created by monarchs; For Kings were before Parliaments, who as soon as they had settled a form of government, and were, willing that the people should be governed by laws, called their Parliaments, &c.—Only this I would have you to observe, that it is a vain thing for a parliament to press to be popular; there is in no state a parliament without a Monarchy.

This I put you in mind of that you serve under a Monarchy, and that we must stand and fall with it. Now consider:—

First, who called you? Your King.

Secondly, Whom he calls? The Peers, who in respect of the eminency of their, places and highness have an interest therein by birth and inheritance, because they are to

assist the King in his great affairs. In the next, the Church, the clergy, not all, but the principal heads thereof, the Bishops—The Knights stand for the shires, and the other gentlemen for the Boroughs: of these is the whole body compact.

Thirdly, why ye are called? To give the King your advice in such errands as he shall ask of you, or you shall think fit to ask his advice.

The King makes Laws, and ye are to advice him. to make such as will be best for the Common wealth. There is another cause for which the House of Commons is called, for that they best know the particular estate of their country; and if the King shall ask their advice, they can best tell what is amiss, as being most sensible. And also petition him to redress and amend it; they are the authors of sustenance also to him, to supply his necessities, and that is the proper use of a Parliament. Here they are to offer what they think sit to supply his wants, and he is in lieu thereof to afford them mercy and justice.

And this I dare boldly say, and I am not ashamed to speak it, that all people owe a kind of tribute to their King, as a thankfulness, for his love to them ; and where there is this sympathy between a King and his people, it breeds a happy Parliament.

### **Concerning Religion**

As for Religion there are Laws enough, so as the true intent and execution follow—

As touching the rumour which is spread, that I should tolerate religion in respect to the match which hath been long in treaty with Spain for my son; I profess I will do nothing therein which shall not be honourable and for the good of religion, else am I not worthy to be your King; and if any thing break off this match, it shall be the cause of religion. The trial which you have had of my words and writings, wherein I have been a martyr, tortured in the mouths of many idle fellows, may give you ample testimony of my integrity, in such sort, as I hope you will trust the wisdom of your King so far, as I will never do one thing in private and another in public; but if after this my declaration any shall transgress, blame me not if I see them severely punished.

### **Concerning The Reasons of Calling The Parliament**

Now the major errand (I speak truth) for which I have called you, is for a supply of my urgent necessities in urgent causes; ye can all bear me witness, that I have reigned above eighteen years among you; if it hath been a fault in me that you have been at peace all this time, I pray you pardon it; for I took it for an honour unto me, that you should live quietly under your vines and fig trees, reaping the fruits of your own labours, and myself to be a just and merciful King among you.

You have not been troubled with pressing of men, nor with other inconveniences which the disasters of war produce, and yet in these eighteen years have I had less supplies than any King before me. The late Queen of famous memory was so far supplied in her time, that it grew to an annual contribution of one hundred thirty five thousand pounds a year: I had never above four subsidies and six fifteenths, I challenge not more of desert than she; but sure I am, I have governed as peaceably. The time since my supply hath been as the time of women with child, Quæ decem tulerint fastidia menses, who after ten months longings, are delivered of their burthens; but I have travailed ten years, and therefore full time to be delivered of my wants.

Now you have seen a trial of my late care in divers years last past looking into the particulars of my estate, wherein I must confess I have found my revenue (as Job's friends) forsaking me. (In my household expenses I have abated ten thousand pounds per annum, in my navy I have abated twenty five thousand pounds, and shortly I hope to abate ten thousand pounds more. In my ordinary I have brought the expense from thirty four thousand to fourteen thousand pounds), and yet I was loath to believe at first that these were so much out of order; but at last, by the information of some private gentlemen, I was induced to enter into a particular survey; and herein was the love of my young admiral to me, as he took the envy of all upon himself for my sake: And though he be but young, yet I find him true in faith, and an honest man, and hath had the best success in all he hath taken in hand: He appointed under himself divers Commissioners, as a young Commander should do, the better to preserve himself from errors, and yet fought no reward but my good and service, nevertheless went through with great diligence and good success: And therefore I hope the Kingdom shall say I have now a true care of my estate, not taking from others by violence, house or land, but governing my own with good husbandry.

**Concerning the affair of Bohemia, he said much the same things as the Marquis of Buckingham writ in his Letter to Count Gondemar, after which he added:**

I am now to take for a worse danger against next summer, albeit I will leave no travel untried to obtain a happy peace; but I thought good to be armed against the worse time, it being best to treat of peace with the sword in my hand: Now I shall labour to preserve the rest of the Palatinate, wherein I declare, That if by fair means I cannot get it, my crown, my blood, and all shall be spent, with my son's blood also, but I will get it for him ; and this is the cause of all, that the cause of religion is involved in it, for they will alter religion where they conquer, and so perhaps my grandchild may suffer who hath committed no fault at all. But this is nothing without a speedy supply, *Bis dat qui citò dat.*

Consider who it is that moves you? your King: and the care of the reformation, and the charges which he hath disbursed, besides forty thousand pounds upon the practical wars; and consider if I deserve not your respect?

It is strange that my mint hath not gone this eight or nine years, but I think the fault of the want of money is in the uneven balancing of trade; for other things I confess I have been liberal, but the main cause of my wants has been the ill Government of those whom I have trusted under me, for I will not make every day a Christmas; and yet it may be in some grants I have hurt myself, and in others my subjects; but If I be truly informed, I will lightly reform them.

**But for you to hunt after grievances to the prejudice of the King and yourselves, is not the errand: deal with me as I shall deserve it at your hands: I will not have any thing undone that becomes a just King, if you deal accordingly.**

I know this Parliament hath been of great expectation, and so was that at my first coming: You I knew, but not the laws and customs of this land. I was led by the old Counsellors I found, which the old Queen left, and it may be there was, a mistaking misunderstanding between us which bred an abruption. And at the last Parliament there came up a strange kind of beast called undertakers[294], a name, which in my nature I abhor, which caused a dissolution.

Now you have that advantage that I call you out of my own free motion, and my trust is in your good offices: For my good States, even all and every one shall find an honest King of me.

How happy a name will that be, that he is revered and loved of all his people, and he reciprocally loves them. So shall I then be honoured by my neighbour Princes, and peradventure my Government be made an example for posterity to follow[295].”

### **Remarks on This Speech**

Many remarks and reflections might be made upon this speech, but as that would lead me too far, I shall content myself with making one single observation. This speech contained some maxims concerning the Regal Power, which certainly the English in general did not then admit, as they do not even at this day. If since King James's accession, the Parliament, or the Commons in particular, had endeavoured to encroach upon his Prerogative, it might not be thought strange that he should let them know his resolution to maintain it, and mark out the bounds they were not to exceed.

But if we consider what passed in the two first Parliaments of this reign, the Commons did not begin to attack the King, but the King himself gave the Parliament cause to complain. And supposing the grievances complained of by the Lower-House were groundless, to represent them to the King was no attempt upon the Prerogative Royal; and yet this was the only reason of dissolving the two first Parliaments.

It appears moreover, not only in this to the present Parliament, but also in his former speeches, that he made his Prerogative to consist in an unlimited power, since he laid in express terms, That as to dispute what God may do, is blasphemy; so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power[296]. Hence it was easy to infer, he set no bounds to the Prerogative Royal.

### **The Parliament Grants The King Money**

The occasion of calling the Parliament was so plausible, that the Commons easily perceived, if they began, according to custom, with the consideration of the grievances, before they gave the King money, he would not fail to say, that a delay in so important a juncture was the same as a denial.

The people were extremely incensed against Spain for invading the Palatinate. They dreaded the Prince's marriage with the Infanta, and the destruction of the Protestant religion abroad. So to deny the King money on this occasion, would be justifying his indolence. Some members, however, believing the King had no design to make war, were desirous to spare the people's purses.

But the rest demonstrated to them, the necessity of sacrificing a sum of money, whether the King employed it in defence of the Palatinate, or put it to other uses. In the first case, the public would have what they wished, and the money given the King, would be only a small part of what was farther to be expended in support of the war.

In the second case, the King's intentions would be manifestly known, and that would afford a just motive to refuse him money hereafter for imaginary undertakings. So, without any solicitation, the Commons granted the King two entire subsidies[297], with which he was satisfied, in expectation of obtaining much more hereafter on the same account.

### **Lord Digby Sent to Vienna**

Not long after, the King sent the Lord Digby to Vienna, to endeavour to adjust the Elector Palatine's affair, or at least, to obtain a truce, which should secure the Palatinate from the danger

it was threatened with in the next campaign. I shall speak of this negotiation, after the recital of what passed in the Parliament.

## **Complaints in Parliament Against Monopolies**

The subsidy act was no sooner passed, but many petitions were received by the House of Commons, as well against the increase of popery, and impunity of recusants, as against monopolies, informers, or projectors.

Of the monopolies, three were chiefly complained of. The first was concerning Inns, which no man could keep without a licence from certain persons, to whom the King had granted a patent.

### **Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel are Carried to The House of Commons**

The second was of the same nature with respect to ale houses. The third was the most enormous. It was a patent granted by the King to Sir Giles Mompesson, and Sir Francis Michel, for the sole making and selling of gold and silver lace. By this means, they sold great quantities of counterfeit gold lace instead of real, and if any person presumed to make or sell any other, he was thrown into goal, and fined severely[298].

### **Mompesson Escapes**

The two patentees being informed against in the House of Commons, were immediately committed to prison: but Mompesson, Buckingham's creature, found means to make his escape. As soon as he was safe, the King published a proclamation, promising a reward to any person that should take him.

Meanwhile, the two Houses applied themselves closely to the affair of Monopolies. The Commons would know how these two persons obtained their patent, whilst the Lords were diligently forming their process. In the meantime, the King was very uneasy. He saw, this affair was examining in such a manner, that the odium could not but fall upon himself or favourite. Wherefore, to prevent the consequences, he came to the House of Lords, and made a speech full of tender and affectionate expressions.

### **The King's Speech to The Lords**

He affirmed, he was ignorant of the ill effects his Patent had caused, and charged them to bring the offenders to speedy and severe justice: adding, his intention was to revoke all his Patents which had been so injurious to the people, and particularly that of gold and silver lace, which was a kind of false coin.

He exhorted them, moreover, to dispatch the bill they were preparing against informers and projectors, saying, he had (before in the Star-Chamber) shewn his dislike of such people, and to be rid of them, would be the greatest ease to himself, (and all those about him).

For, continued he:—

“Buckingham told me he never found such quiet and rest as in this time of Parliament from projectors and informers, who at other times miserably vexed him at all hours.”

In short, he told them, he thought till then the people had never been so happy as in his reign: but now he was ashamed to consider how his people had been vexed and polled by the vile

execution of projects, patents, bills of conformity, and the like, which have more exhausted their purses than subsidies would have done.

Having thus obviated the complaints which could be made against him, by condemning first the occasion of them, he taught the Lords how they were to proceed in equitably judging the matters before them, namely, not to suffer themselves to be carried away with an inconsiderate zeal for justice, in hearkening to those who accused the innocent as well as the guilty.

Every one knew that he meant to hinder the Marquis of Buckingham from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief author of the monopolies. He had indeed the satisfaction to see that the Parliament did not carry this affair very far. But though he had ordered his speech to be printed, and dispersed, he could not hinder reflections to his disadvantage. For instance, he said in his speech, that:—

“he assured them in the heart of an honest man, and by the faith of a Christian King, if these grievances had been complained of to him before the Parliament, he would have punished them more severely than perhaps the Parliament intended to do.”

And yet he was contented with abandoning Mompesson and Michel, whilst he desired the person who procured them their patent should be left unmolested.

### **Mompesson and Michel Sentenced**

However this be, the Lords were satisfied with punishing Mompesson and Michel. They confiscated Mompesson's estate, who had made his escape, and degraded him of his knighthood [299]. Michel was likewise degraded, fined a thousand pounds, imprisoned for life, and carried on horseback with his face to the tail, through the public streets in London.

### **Chancellor Bacon is Accused**

Shortly after, the King hearing, complaints were brought before the Peers against chancellor Bacon, came to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, made a speech, wherein he chiefly insisted upon the necessity of punishing corruption and bribery in Judges.

Then he thanked the Commons for the two subsidies, but said, the money had been employed beforehand for the defence of the Palatinate, and maintenance of his children, who were fled to Holland for refuge: That he had procured a short truce, and hoped soon to obtain a general peace; but the great charges of sending Ambassadors over all Europe, or an army into the Palatinate in case his negotiations became fruitless, required a much larger sum than what had been granted him.

### **He Promises Not to Dissolve Parliament**

He concluded, with protesting before, God, he would not dissolve the Parliament till the affairs in agitation were finished.

### **The Commons Desire That Bacon be Tried**

Meanwhile, the House of Commons having demanded a conference of the Lords, represented to them, that the Chancellor being accused of several crimes, it was not fit he should continue any longer in so eminent a post if he was guilty, or be exposed to calumny if innocent.

Whereupon the Lords sent the Chancellor to the Tower, and prepared for his trial. He used all possible endeavours to avoid the shame of a particular and full confession, To that end, he presented an humble submission to the House, confessing himself guilty in general, and imploring

pardon, or at least, that his punishment might not extend farther than the taking from him the Great Seal. But the Lords were inexorable.

### **He is Freed to Make A Particular Confession**

They required him to confess the particulars of the charge, which consisted in the enumeration of several bribes he had taken. He was so very express, that he confessed, one of his servants took a dozen of buttons as a gift, in a cause depending before him[300].

But this confession, however full and plain as it was, did not hinder him from being declared unworthy, not only of the office of chancellor, but even of having a place for the future in the House of Peers[301], though he had been created Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans[302]. Nay, he was like to have been deprived of this dignity[303].

### **Bacon's Character And Remarks on His History Of Henry VII**

He was a very great genius, and one of the most learned men in Europe, but a servile flatterer, extremely haughty whilst, fortune smiled upon him, and cringing when she frowned. After his disgrace, he composed several works, and amongst others, the *History of King Henry VII*, to whom certainly he has not given a just character.

This is not surprising; for as his estate was forfeited by the sentence passed upon him, and as he lived only on a pension from the King, who always spoke of Henry VII. his great-grandfather with high commendations, he made his court to the King, by representing that Prince as a pattern of wisdom and virtue[304].

### **Origins of The Two Parties Known by The Names of Tories and Whigs**

It was properly in this third Parliament that two Parties were formed, the one for the Court, the other for the people, who began from this time to oppose one another on all occasions. The people had the strongest party among the Commons, and the King in the House of Lords. Not but that the Kings had always their adherents in both Houses, and the ministers and favourites their enemies and enviers.

But till this Parliament, there were not properly any formed parties, or, if any, they were not long lived. But those that began to be formed this year, continually increased. These are the same parties which still subsist, under the names of Tories and Whigs; the first of which labours incessantly to stretch the prerogative royal as high as possible, when favoured by the King; and the other is always insisting on the rights and privileges of the people.

The mutual animosity of these two parties, when first they were formed, was nothing in comparison of what it is at this day. When all parliamentary affairs came to be transacted with a spirit of party, every thing tended by degrees to confusion. As one of the parties was always ready to increase the King's power, the others used their utmost endeavours, not only to keep it within due bounds, but also to lessen it, for fear the King's prerogatives might serve him for steps to mount higher.

Thus both went too far. James I gave birth to these two parties, (who occasioned so many calamities to England and his own family) by haughtily establishing prerogatives, which perhaps would never have been questioned, had he not founded them upon principles that opened a door to arbitrary power.

He met however, with great opposition, not only in the House of Commons, but among the Peers themselves, several of whom did not scruple to contradict him openly. Of this number were the Earls of Essex, Oxford, Southampton, (and Warwick), the Lord Say and Seal, the Lord Spencer, and some others.

### **Quarrel Between Arundel and Spencer**

It was then become customary, that when one Lord had spoken for or against the Government, he was answered by another of the opposite party, and very often with a heat and passion unbecoming the dignity of the House.

One day, as the Lord Spencer was speaking about the government, and alleging several examples of their great ancestors, Arundel suddenly interrupted him, saying, My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep[305]. Spencer instantly replied, when my ancestors (as you say) were keeping sheep, yours were plotting treason.

Whereupon the House ordering them both to withdraw, it was resolved, in spite of the most zealous courtiers, that the Earl of Arundel, as aggressor, should give the Lord Spencer satisfaction, which he refusing, was sent to the Tower, and not released till he had submitted to the commands of the House.

### **The Commons Delay Granting The King Money**

Meanwhile, the Commons finding the King made no preparations for war, but only sent Digby to the Emperor, were not forward to give him a fresh supply, especially as they knew the two subsidies already granted had been put to other uses. They were not ignorant, moreover, that the King built all his hopes upon the Spanish match, and consequently would not easily resolve to take arms against the House of Austria, and the more, because Gondemar had still a great influence over him.

### **Gondemar Insulted by The People**

The truth is, had the King really intended to wrest from the Spaniard what was taken from the Palatinate, it was not natural for the Spanish ambassador to have so much power at court. The people were extremely displeased with it, and looked upon the Spanish marriage as a very great misfortune to the nation, and the Protestant religion. Of this they gave Gondemar himself a sensible proof, who was reviled and insulted by the populace in London streets[306]. The King hearing of it, ordered one of the insolent mob to be publicly whipped by the hangman.

### **The King Orders The Parliament to be Adjourned**

The King perceiving the Commons would never think of granting him a fresh aid, before it was more certainly known whether there would be peace or war, ordered the Lord-Treasurer to go in his name, on June 4, and adjourn the Parliament to the 14th of November.

### **The Commons Think it a Breach of Privilege**

The spirit of jealousy, which then reigned among the Commons, caused them to consider this adjournment as an encroachment upon their privileges. They pretended, the King had indeed power to prorogue and dissolve the Parliament, but that adjournment was the peculiar privilege of each House. So they desired a conference with the Lords, to persuade them to concur with them, in presenting a petition to the King upon this occasion.

But the King acquainting the Lords, that such a petition would be very displeasing to him, and that he would not suffer his power to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the Parliament, to be disputed, the Lords refused to join with the Commons.

Whereupon the Commons declared, that they were extremely concerned at the King's resolution, because it deprived them of the means of finishing what was begun for the public good.

This declaration brought the King to the House of Peers, and after thanking their Lordships for acknowledging his prerogative, and refusing to join with the Commons, he told them, if they desired it, he would grant them a delay of eight or ten days; but would not do it at the request of the Commons. Upon this offer, the Lords, after a conference with the Commons, moved the King to continue their sitting for fourteen days, which was granted.

Some days after, a committee of both Houses attending the King, he took occasion to tell them, how ill he took it that the Commons should dispute his undoubted right to adjourn the Parliament. Probably, this power was not confirmed by custom, since the Commons considered it as an invasion of their privileges, whereas they never thought of questioning his right to prorogue and dissolve the Parliament.

### **The Common Declaration for The Palatinate**

Be this as it will, the Commons, seeing the Lords, who were equally concerned in the affair, refuse their concurrence, proceeded no farther. Nevertheless, on the day they were to break up, they drew the following declaration:—

**That** taking into most serious consideration the present state of the King's children abroad, and the generally afflicted estate of the true professors of the same Christian religion, professed by the Church of England in foreign parts, and being touched with a true sense and fellow feeling of their distresses, as members of the same body, they do with unanimous consent declare—they shall be ready to the utmost of their power, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist his Majesty so, as that he may be able to do that with his sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected.

### **Proclamation to Revoke Divers Monopolies**

Presently after, the King published a proclamation, wherein he set forth, That as many great affairs debated in Parliament, could not be brought to perfection in so short a time, the Commons thought it convenient to continue the same session in course of adjournment, that is for the grievances, they were such as he needed not the assistance of Parliament to reform the same, and would have redressed them himself, had they been sooner made known to him.

Adding, that by his own Regal authority, he annulled and revoked the patent for gold and silver thread, and some others mentioned in the Proclamation. At the same time a second proclamation was published against such as were so bold as to talk of state affairs, notwithstanding his Majesty's former command, with threats of severe punishment, as well against the concealers of such discourses, as against audacious tongues and pens.

### **Williams Made Lord Keeper**

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, John Williams Dean of Westminster was sworn Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal of England, the Chancellorship having been vacant ever since Bacon's condemnation.

I must now briefly relate what passed in Bohemia and the Palatinate, after the battle of Prague. This knowledge is absolutely necessary for the clear understanding of the affairs of England.

## **The Affairs of Prague**

The day after the battle, the City of Prague surrendered at discretion, and the Duke of Bavaria returned to Munich, leaving his army in Bohemia under the command of Count Tilly his general. On the other hand, Count Bucquoy departed the 12<sup>th</sup> of December for Moravia which voluntarily submitted, as despairing of assistance. After Bucquoy had spent part of the winter in Moravia and at Vienna, he went and commanded the imperial army in Hungary, where he was slain, after some progress. A little before, Silesia had likewise submitted to the Emperor.

Mean while, Count Mansfeldt had fortified himself in Bohemia, from whence the Imperialists would have found it difficult to drive him. But the King of Bohemia, who was still in Holland, hearing the Duke of Bavaria was preparing to invade the Upper Palatinate, caused Mansfeldt to march his army thither, having obtained of the Hollanders a hundred and fifty thousand florins to pay his troops.

### **Mansfeldt Marches into Upper Palatinate**

Mansfeldt was not however in condition to withstand Tilly, who being entered the Upper Palatinate with twenty five thousand men, had taken Bamburgh and some other places. Mean while, as Mansfeldt had intrenched himself behind a morass, where it was impracticable to attack him, Count Tilly, to make him quit the country, concluded a treaty with him, by which he promised to supply him with two hundred thousand florins.

### **He Makes a Treaty With Tilly**

This treaty was concluded the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1621, but some difficulty arising, it was not executed. So Mansfeldt, kept his post till the Lord Digby's arrival, who passing that way in his return from Vienna, prevailed with him to march into the Lower Palatinate, which was in extreme danger. By this means the Upper Palatinate was really lost: and subdued by the Duke of Bavaria.

### **Affairs of The Lower Palatinate**

In the year 1620, Spinola, as I said, began his conquests in the Lower Palatinate. Since the submission of the King of Bohemia's allies to the Emperor, after the battle of Prague, Spinola had continued his conquests with rapidity, for there was no army to stop him, and the English were too weak to oppose his progress.

However on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1620, a five weeks truce was concluded at Haguenau which was the truce mentioned by King James in his speech to the Parliament. The Archduke had made him believe he agreed to this truce purely on his account; but in reality it was only to give the Emperor time to send forces into the Lower Palatinate, in the room of those, Spinola was leading back to the Netherlands, because of the expiration of the twelve years truce between Spain and Holland.

Spinola leaving but very few troops with Don Gonsales de Cordova, who was to command in the Palatinate, the truce was as much for the Spaniard's advantage as for the King of Bohemia's. Shortly after, the Spanish army being grown ten thousand strong, were forced to retire to Wormes.

### **Siege of Frankendal**

Meanwhile, the Spanish general became master of Stein, Ladenburg, and Keisers Lautern, and in October besieged Frankendal, where Vere had retired. There was no other way to save this important place, than, as I said, by causing Mansfeldt to; come from the Upper Palatinate.

## **Mansfeldt Goes and Raises The Siege**

Upon Mansfeldt's approach, Gonsales raised the siege of Frankendal. Hue but presently after, Tilly arrived in the Lower Palatinate with the Bavarian army, and some troops of Mentz and Wirtzburgh, Mansfeldt was forced to retire into Alsatia.

This campaign ended with the loss of all the towns in the Lower Palatinate, except Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal, which were the most important. Vere continued at Frankendal. Herbert commanded in Manheim, and Burroughs in Heidelberg.

## **Philip III of Spain Dies**

Philip King of Spain died the 31<sup>st</sup> of March this year, and was succeeded by his son Philip IV.

## **Siege of Montauban**

In France, Lewis XIII. vigorously pressed the Huguenots, and invested Montauban, but the long resistance of the besieged, compelled him to desist.

## **James is Amused by The Archduke**

The twelve years truce between Spain and the United Provinces being about to expire, the Archduke was afraid, James would send a strong aid to the States, in order to oblige the Spaniards to restore what was taken in the Palatinate. To divert him from such a thought, he intimated to him, that a peace between the Elector Palatine and the Emperor was not so difficult as was imagined, and the Emperor doubtless would agree to it upon reasonable terms.

Nay, he sent the Emperor in the Elector's behalf a very pressing letter, which was shown to the King. This was attacking him on his weak side: for he was ever of opinion, that justice, honesty, and the regard the world had for him, were sufficient to determine this affair.

To ensnare him the more easily, the Emperor writ to the Archduke, that at his instances, and out of his great respect to the King of England, he was ready to embrace all proper methods for a peace with the Elector Palatine. On the other hand, the King of Spain told the Emperor, that if he gave the upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria, as was reported, he must expect no farther assistance from Spain.

All these letters were communicated to the King, or his ambassadors, which confirmed him in his opinion, that there would be no occasion for war, and to show the least mistrust would spoil all. Thus the Princes of the House of Austria amused the King, to induce him to remain in his fatal neutrality.

## **Success of Digby's Embassy**

Upon these hopes therefore, without questioning in the least their sincerity, he dispatched the Lord Digby to Vienna, the success of whose negotiation I must now relate.

This ambassador having an audience of the Emperor the 15th of July, confined his demands to these two heads. First, That the Elector Palatine should be restored to the same state he was in before he was chosen King of Bohemia. Secondly, That the imperial ban should be revoked, or at least suspended; for which the King his father-in-law would undertake to oblige him to give the Emperor due satisfaction.

The Emperor, who only sought to gain time, answered in writing, that at the request of the King of England, and some other princes who had writ to him in the Palsgrave's behalf, he was ready to pardon him. That the difficulty of this affair consisted in two principal points, the first whereof was, that the Palsgrave should pay him the obedience due to the Head of the Empire; the second, that he should give him a reasonable satisfaction.

As this was exactly James's scheme for an accommodation, a peace seemed not to be very remote. But the term, satisfaction, being capable of a more or less extensive meaning, it was easy for the Emperor to prolong the negotiation, as he pleased. However, for fear he should be taken at his word, he added in his answer, that, as he had undertaken the war with the advice and assistance of divers Princes, he could do nothing without their consent; but had called a Diet at Ratisbon, the resolutions whereof should be communicated to the King of England. It must be observed, this Diet did not meet till January 1623.

## Death of The Archduke

A few days after the Emperor had delivered this answer to the ambassador, he received a letter from the Infanta Isabella, notifying the death of her husband the Archduke, at Brussels the 13<sup>th</sup> of July and repeating withal her instances in the Elector's behalf. Whereupon Digby presented a fresh memorial, demanding a truce for the Lower Palatinate on three conditions:—

- 1) **That** Count Mansfeldt should observe the truce, otherwise the Elector Palatine should revoke his commission.
- 2) **That** the commission of John George de Brandenburg Marquis of Jagerndorf who served the Elector, should be likewise revoked.
- 3) **That** as soon as the truce was published, the Elector should deliver to the Emperor, Tabor and Witigaw, the only places he still held in Bohemia.

The Emperor receiving these proposals, communicated them to the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Bavaria, who returned both the lame answer, as if they had given each other the word, namely, they advised him to omit nothing to restore peace to Germany: loose expressions without any meaning, but which however gave occasion to believe they were inclined to peace.

After this the Emperor writ a letter to the Infanta, which was imparted to Digby telling her, that at her request, and out of his great regard for the King of England, who had shown so much prudence, sincerity, and moderation, he was resolved to treat of a truce, on the conditions proposed by the English ambassador himself. Adding, that during the truce, conferences might be held, to try to come to a peace.

Thus James was obliged either to sit still and expect the event of these conferences, or to break with the Emperor and Spain, when the peace seemed to be upon the point of conclusion, to which it was well known he would not easily be determined.

Some time after, the Emperor, whether to gain time, or, to be freed from Digby's importunities, told him, he intended to grant a truce for the Palatinate, if the Duke of Bavaria would consent to it. Nay, he advised him to go and negotiate the truce with the Duke.

Digby leaving Vienna the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, came into the Upper-Palatinate, where the Duke of Bavaria then was, at the time Mansfeldt was concluding the aforementioned truce with Tilly. When Digby talked of a truce, the Duke told him, there was no need to labour for a truce, for the wars were at an end, in that he had agreed with Count Mansfeldt; nor did he doubt of keeping both Palatinates in peace, till the Emperor and Palsgrave were agreed.

The Emperor hearing by Digby this answer, writ him word, that the face of affairs being altered in the Upper-Palatinate, by Mansfeldt's fault, who had entered that country with his troops, the Duke of Bavaria was under a necessity of raising an army to drive him thence, and it was not reasonable he should be at that charge to no purpose.

Then it was that Digby, having informed the King of the state of affairs in Germany, brought Mansfeldt into the Lower-Palatinate, where his coming saved Frankendal. After that, he borrowed, upon his own credit, ten thousand pounds sterling, to pay the English troops, who had for a long time received nothing.

### **Satisfaction Offered to The Emperor By The King in The Emperor's Name**

The King being informed, by his ambassador's letter, of the Duke of Bavaria's answer, wrote to the Emperor, to complain of the invasion of the Palatinate, and to tell, him, in what manner he conceived, the Elector Palatine was to give him satisfaction, in order to fix the sense of the word.

1. That he should renounce the Crown of Bohemia.
2. That as Prince of the Empire he should submit to his Imperial Majesty.
3. That he should ask pardon on his knees.
4. That for the future, he should remain quiet, and raise no disturbance in the Empire.
5. That he should be reconciled to all the Princes.
6. That if this was not sufficient, he would undertake to procure what other terms should be deemed reasonable.

**Lastly**, He told him, that if he could not obtain his son-in-law's pardon by fair means, he was resolved to have recourse to arms.

### **The Emperor Sends an Ambassador to Amuse Him**

The Emperor, without being frightened at this menace, still continued to amuse him, and the better, to persuade him he was inclined to peace, he dispatched Count Schwatzenburgh to settle with him the conditions of a truce. The Count was very magnificently received at London. But before I speak of the success of his embassy, I must relate what passed in England till the end of the year.

### **The King Assembles The Parliament at Digby's Return**

The King had farther adjourned the two Houses from the 14th of November to the 8<sup>th</sup> of February 1622. But Digby's return occasioned his ordering them to meet the 20th of November. As he was a little indisposed, he commanded the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Digby, to acquaint the Parliament with his intentions.

### **The Lord Keeper's Speech**

The Lord Keeper said, that since the last adjournment the King had taken great care of the nation, reforming by his proclamations thirty-seven several grievances complained of by the people, without demanding anything in return for these favours, as was usual in former times. That he

had reassembled the Parliament, upon the declaration of the Commons to assist him powerfully in the recovery of the Palatinate.

That he had used his endeavours to procure a good peace, but with little success, as the Lord Digby would inform them. Then, he put them in mind, that the King had advanced forty thousand pounds to keep together an army in the Lower-Palatinate: But, continued he, unless the Parliament take further resolution, and imitate rather antient than modern principles, and be more expeditious in what they do, his Majesty's endeavours will fall to the ground. He concluded with saying, the King had resolved to continue the session till seven or eight days before Christmas, and renew it the 8<sup>th</sup> of February.

### **Digby's Speech**

The Lord Digby, speaking next, gave a brief account of his embassy to Vienna, and said, he plainly discovered, it was the Emperor's intent to give the Upper-Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria. Adding, that a good sum of money was absolutely necessary, both to keep Count Mansfeldt's army together, and to send a strong supply of English troops to the Palatinate.

### **The Treasurer's Speech**

The Lord-Treasurer said, the King's coffers were empty, his treasure being exhausted by the sums employed in the defence of the Palatinate. Nevertheless, though the King declared for war, he was resolved to conclude the Spanish marriage, hoping by that means to heal the breach.

### **The King's Design**

It is certain, the King had no design to go to war, since it could be only with the Spaniard, whom he considered as his best friend, and with whom he was going to be allied by his son's marriage with the Infanta. But he made as if he intended to take arms, in case he was obliged to it.

To that end, it was necessary, in his opinion, to prepare betimes, and begin with sending money to Mansfeldt, to pay his troops and continue the war in the Palatinate, till the success of the negotiations at Vienna and Madrid should be known. The King would therefore have it imposed, as a thing certain, that in case these negotiations were fruitless, he was bent to begin the war, and vigorously support it.

Consequently, he demanded money to enable him to make the necessary preparations, and, in a word, required, that the affair should be left entirely to his management. Indeed, Parliaments are wont to act thus, when they think the King is undertaking a just and necessary war.

So James proceeded upon the usual custom and method of the Parliament. There was only one objection to be made, on which however no man durst speak his mind freely, namely, that, the conduct of former Parliaments was grounded upon their good opinion of their Kings, and their confidence in them. But the Commons had no such confidence in James I.

He demanded money for a war, to which they were persuaded, he had no inclination. And therefore they could not help fearing, that the money which should be granted him, would be employed other ways than in a war with Spain. On the other hand, the Commons were taken in their own nets.

To show that the delay of a war, deemed necessary by all the world, did not proceed from them, they had promised to put the King in condition to begin and pursue it vigorously. But when this promise came to be performed, their little confidence in the King, made them very reserved.

### **The Common Resolve to Make a Remonstrance**

It was necessary however to satisfy the public, and show, they meant to keep their promise, provided they could be certain, it would be for the advantage of the State. To this end, they resolved to make a remonstrance to the King, and represent to him what, they thought requisite in the present juncture.

Not that they expected the King would grant their requests, but to leave him without excuse, in case he refused them, which was scarce to be doubted. Such were the effects, the distrust between the King and Parliament began to produce. Instead of using their joint endeavours for the public good, each strove to take advantage of the other.

For the better understanding the events of this reign, which were the origin and spring of the troubles in the next, it will not be improper to insert the whole remonstrance, notwithstanding its length.

## **The Commons Remonstrance**

### **Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign**

**We your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects**, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled in Parliament, who represent the Commons of your realm, full of hearty sorrow, to be deprived of the comfort of your Royal presence, or the rather, for that it proceeds from the want of your health, wherein we all un-feignedly do suffer; in all humble manner, calling to mind your gracious answer to our former petition concerning religion, which, notwithstanding your Majesty's pious and princely intentions, hath not produced that good effect, which the danger of these times doth seem to us to require: and finding how ill your Majesty's goodness hath been requited by Princes of different religion, who, even in time of treaty, have taken opportunity to advance their own ends, tending to the subversion of religion, and disadvantage of your affairs, and the estate of your children; by reason whereof, your ill-affected subjects at home, the popish recusants, have taken too much encouragement, and are dangerously increased in their number, and in their insolences.

We cannot but be sensible thereof, and therefore humbly represent what we conceive to be the causes of so great and growing mischief, and what be the remedies.

- I.** The vigilancy and ambition of the Pope of Rome, and his dearest son, the one aiming at as large a temporal monarchy, as the other at a spiritual supremacy.
- II.** The devilish positions and doctrines, whereon popery is built, and taught with authority to their followers, for advancement of their temporal ends.
- III.** The distressed and miserable estate of the professors of true religion in foreign parts.
- IV.** The disastrous accidents to your Majesty's children abroad, expressed with rejoicing, and even with contempt of their persons.
- V.** The strange confederacy of the Princes of the popish religion, aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs, and subverting of ours, and taking the advantages conducing to that end upon all occasions.

**VI.** The great and many armies railed, and maintained at the charge of the King of Spain, the chief of that league.

**VII.** The expectation of the popish recusants of the match with Spain, and feeding themselves with great hopes of the consequences thereof.

**VIII.** The interposing of foreign Princes, and their agents, in the behalf of popish recusants, for connivance and favour unto them.

**IX.** The open and usual resort to the houses, and which is worse, to the chapels of foreign ambassadors.

**X.** Their more than usual concourse to the city and their frequent conventions and conferences there.

**XI.** The education of their children in many several seminaries and houses of their religion in foreign parts, appropriated to the English fugitives.

**XII.** The grants of their just forfeitures intended by your Majesty, as a reward of service to the grantees; but, beyond your Majesty's intention, transferred or compounded for, at such mean rates, as will amount to less than a toleration.

**XIII.** The licentious printing and dispersing of popish and seditious books, even in the time of Parliament

**XIV.** The swarms of priests and Jesuits, the common incendiaries of all Christendom, dispersed in all parts of your Kingdom.

And from these causes, as bitter roots, we humbly offer to your Majesty, that we foresee and fear there will necessarily follow very dangerous effects both to Church and State. For:—

**I.** The popish religion is incompatible with ours in respect of their positions.

**II.** It draweth with it an inviolable dependency on foreign Princes.

**III.** It openeth too wide a gap for popularity, to any who shall draw too great a party.

**IV.** It hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will press for a toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority and will never rest till they get a subversion of the true religion.

The remedies against these growing evils, which, in all humility we offer unto your most excellent Majesty are these:—

**I.** The popish religion is incompatible with ours in respect of their portions.

**II.** It draweth with it an inviolable dependency on foreign Princes.

**III.** It openeth too wide a gap for popularity, to any who shall draw too great a party.

**IV.** It hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will press for a toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority, and will never rest till they get a subversion of the true religion.

The remedies against these growing evils, which in all humility we offer unto your most excellent Majesty, are these:—

**I.** That seeing this inevitable necessity is fallen upon your Majesty, which no wisdom or providence of a peaceful and pious King can avoid, your Majesty would not omit this just occasion, speedily and effectually to take your sword into your hand.

**II.** That once undertaken upon so honourable and just grounds, your Majesty would resolve to pursue, and more publicly avow the aiding of those of our religion in foreign parts, which, doubtless, would re-unite the Princes and States of the Union, by these disasters disheartened and disbanded.

**III.** That your Majesty would propose to yourself to manage this war with the best advantage, by a diversion or otherwise, as in your deep judgment, shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a war in these parts only, which will consume your treasure, and discourage your people.

**IV.** That the bent of this war, and point of your sword, may be against that Prince, (whatsoever opinion of potency he hath) whose armies and treasures, have first diverted, and since maintained the war in the Palatinate.

**V.** That for securing of our peace at home, your Majesty would be pleased to review the parts of our petition, formerly delivered unto your Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put in execution, by the care of choice commissioners to be thereunto especially appointed, the laws already, and hereafter to be made for preventing of dangers by popish recusants, and their wonted evasions.

**VI.** That to frustrate their hopes for a future age, our most noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own religion.

**VII.** That the children of the nobility and gentry of this Kingdom, and of others ill affected and suspected in their religion now beyond the seas, may be forthwith called home by your means, and at the charge of their parents or governors.

**VIII.** That the children of popish recusants, or such whose wives are popish recusants, be brought up during their minority, with Protestant school masters and teachers, who may sow, in their tender years the seeds of true religion.

**IX.** That your Majesty will be pleased speedily to revoke all former licences for such children and youth to travel beyond the seas, and not grant any such licence hereafter.

**X.** That your Majesty's learned council may receive commandment from your Highness, carefully to look into former grants of recusants lands, and to avoid them, if by law they can; and that your Majesty will stay your hand from passing any such grants hereafter.

This is the sum and effect of our humble declaration, which we (no ways intending to press upon your Majesty's undoubted and regal prerogative) do, with the fullness of our duty and obedience, humbly submit to your most princely consideration: The glory of God, whose cause it is; the zeal of our true religion, in which we have been born, and wherein (by God's grace) we are resolved to die; the safety of your Majesty's person, who is the very life of your people; the happiness of your children and posterity; the honour and good of the Church and State, dearer unto us than our own lives, having kindled these affections, truly devoted to your Majesty.

And seeing, out of our duty to your Majesty, we have already resolved to give, at the end of this session, one entire subsidy, for the present relief of the Palatinate only, to be paid in the end of February next, which cannot well be effected, but by passing a bill in a parliamentary course before Christmas; we most humbly beseech your Majesty, (as our assured hope is ) that you will then also vouchsafe to give life by your royal assent, to such bills, as before that time shall be prepared for your Majesty's honour, and the genera! good of your people:

And that such bills may be also accompanied (as hath been accustomed ) with your Majesty's gracious pardon, which proceeding from your own mere grace, may, by your Highness' direction, be drawn to that latitude and extent, as may best sort with your Majesty's bounty and goodness.

And that not only felons and criminal offenders may take benefit thereof, but that your good subjects may receive ease thereby. And if it shall so stand with your good pleasure, that it may extend to the relief of the old debts and duties to the crown, before the first year of your Majesty's Reign, to the discharge of alienations without licence, and misusing of liveries, and *Oustre le Maines*, before the first summons of this Parliament, and of concealed wardships and not suing of liveries and *Oustre le Maines* before the twelfth year of your Majesty's reign: Which gracious favour would much, comfort your good subjects, and case them from vexation, with little loss or prejudice to your own profit.

And we by our daily and devout prayers to the Almighty, the great King of Kings, shall contend for a blessing upon our endeavours; and for your Majesty's long and happy Reign over us; and for your children's children after you, for many and many generations.

## **Different Principle of The King and Commons**

The King had taken great care, at the opening of this Parliament, to mark out the bounds which the Commons were not to exceed. Above all things, he intimated to them, that they ought not to give him advice without being asked.

They neglected this charge very much in their remonstrance, and plainly showed, they did not believe it belonged to the King to determine, how far the duty of the people's representatives in

Parliament reached. The King's principles were so different from those of the Commons, that it is no wonder their inferences were directly contrary.

The King did not expect, the Commons should advise him; and the Commons pretended, it was their indispensable duty to represent to him the dangers of the Church or State, with the properest remedies.

The King rested upon the Prerogative Royal, but the Commons did not agree to the extent, he gave this Prerogative, by virtue whereof he pretended to hinder them from taking care of the Church and State when they were in danger, or their concerns neglected. It is very difficult, not to say impossible, to mark out the bounds of the Royal Prerogative, as well as of the privilege and duty of the nation's representatives, in all cases which may occur.

So, without undertaking to decide this point, I shall only say, the Commons distrust made them take an extraordinary course, which doubtless they would not have followed, had they been to deal with a Prince more esteemed. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, the King gave great occasions of suspicion and jealousy, in affecting to establish his Prerogative upon general principles, which will never be received in England, without the proper restrictions to the nature of the English Constitution.

### **The King is Offended at The Manner of The Remonstrance**

But the attempt upon the Royal Prerogative was not the only thing that offended the King. The remonstrance contained, what could not but be very disagreeable to him, since in obscure terms, he was taxed with neglecting the welfare of religion and the nation, with tolerating recusants; with having no design to engage in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, though he desired money for that purpose; with granting licences prejudicial to the Kingdom; and lastly, with having little or no concern for the interest of religion, in marrying the Prince his son with a Spanish Princess.

The Commons not daring to speak their thoughts freely on this occasion, were contented with giving intimations. The King perceived it, but forbore, in his own vindication, to enter into particulars, which would not have been for his advantage.

It was much more agreeable to his interest and dignity, to hinder so ungrateful a remonstrance from being presented to him. And that was the course he took. As soon as he heard the remonstrance was ready, he sent the following letter to the speaker:—

### **The King's Letter to The Speaker of The House of Commons**

**To our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Thomas Richardson,  
Knight, Speaker of the House of Commons,**

**W**E have heard by divers report?, to our great grief, that our distance from the Houses of Parliament, caused by our indisposition of health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the House of Commons, to argue and debate publicly of the matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour, and breach of Prerogative Royal.

These are therefore to command you, to make known, in our name, unto the House, That none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our Government, or deep matters of state and namely, not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that King, or any other

our friends and confederates; and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of justice.

And whereas, we hear they have sent a message to Sir Edward Sandys, to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall in our name resolve them, That it was not for any misdemeanour of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our name, that we think ourselves very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanours in Parliament, as well during their sitting, as after: which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there that shall be ministered unto us:

And if they have already touched any of these points, which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our hands, we will not deign the hearing, nor answering of it. — **Dated at New-Market, Dec. 3. 1621**

This letter being read and examined in the House, the Commons did not think proper to keep silence, but to let the King see, his threats should not deter them from doing their duty, as they pretended.

They drew therefore a petition, which was presented to the King with the foregoing remonstrance. The Petition ran thus:—

## **The Commons Remonstrance**

### **Most Dread and Gracious Sovereign**

**W**E your most humble and loyal subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgess's assembled in the Commons House of Parliament, full of grief and unspeakable sorrow, through the true sense of your Majesty's displeasure, expressed by your letter lately sent to our speaker, and by him related and read unto us:

Yet comforted again with the assurance of your grace and goodness, and of the sincerity of our own intentions and proceedings, whereon with confidence we can rely, in all humbleness beseech your most excellent Majesty, that the loyalty and dutifulness of as faithful and loving subjects as ever served, or lived under a gracious Sovereign, may not undeservedly suffer by the misinformation of partial and uncertain reports, which are ever unfaithful intelligencers:

But that your Majesty would, in the clearness of your own judgment, first vouchsafe to understand from ourselves, and not from others, what our humble declaration and petition (resolved upon by the universal voice of the House, and proposed with your gracious favour to be presented unto your sacred Majesty) doth contain. Upon what occasion we entered into consideration of those things which are therein contained, with what dutiful respect to your Majesty, and your service, we did confide thereof, and what was our true intention thereby.

And that when your Majesty shall thereby truly discern our dutiful affections, you will, in your royal judgment, free us from those heavy charges, wherewith some of our members are burdened, and wherein the whole house is involved.

And we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would not hereafter give credit to private reports, against all or any of the members of our house, whom the whole have not censured, until your Majesty have been truly informed thereof from ourselves:

And that in the mean time, and ever, we may stand upright in your Majesty's grace and good opinion, than which no worldly consideration is or can be dearer unto us.

When your Majesty had reassembled us in Parliament by your royal commandment, sooner than we expected, and did vouchsafe, by the mouths of three honourable Lords, to impart unto us the weighty occasions moving your Majesty thereunto, and from them we did understand these particulars:—

**That** notwithstanding your princely and pious endeavours to procure peace, the time is now come, that James's temple must be opened.

**That** the voice of Bellona must be heard, and not the voice of a turtle.

**That** there was no hope of peace, nor any truce to be obtained, no not for a few days.

**That** your Majesty must either abandon your own children, or engage yourself in a war, wherein confederation is to be had, what foot, what horse, what money will be sufficient.

**That** the Lower Palatinate was seized upon by the army of the King of Spain as executor of the ban there in quality of Duke of Burgundy, as the Upper Palatinate was by the Duke of Bavaria.

**That** the King of Spain, at his own charge, had now at least five armies on foot.

**That** the Princes of the union were disbanded, but the Catholic league remained firm, whereby those Princes so dissevered, were in danger, one by one, to be ruined.

**That** the estate of those of the religion in foreign parts was miserable; and that out of these considerations we were called to a war, and forthwith to advise for a supply of keeping the forces in the Palatinate from disbanding, and to foresee the means for raising and maintaining the body of an army, for the war again in the spring.

We therefore, out of our zeal to your Majesty and your posterity, with more alacrity and celerity than ever was presented in Parliament, did address ourselves to the service commended unto us.

And although we cannot conceive that the honour and safety of your Majesty and your posterity, the patrimony of your children invaded, and possessed by their enemies, the welfare of religion and state of your Kingdoms, are matters at any time unfit for the deepest confederation, in time of Parliament:

And although before this time we were in some of these points silent, and yet being now invited thereunto, and led on by so just an occasion, we thought it our duties to provide for the present supply thereof, and not only to turn our eyes on a war abroad,

but to take care for the securing of our peace at home, which the dangerous increase and insolence of Popish recusants, apparently, visibly, and sensibly did lead us unto.

The consideration whereof did necessarily draw us truly to represent unto your Majesty, what we conceive to be the causes, what we feared would be the effects, and what we hoped might be the remedies of these growing evils; among which, as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon some things which seem to touch upon the King of Spain, as they have relation to Popish recusants at home, to the wars by him maintained in the Palatinate against your Majesty's children, and to his several armies now on foot; yet, as we conceived, without touch of dishonour to that King, or any other Prince your Majesty's confederate.

In the discourse whereof, we did not assume to ourselves any power, to determine of any part thereof, nor intend to encroach or intrude upon the sacred bounds of your royal authority, to whom, and to whom only we acknowledge it doth belong to resolve of peace and war, and of the marriage of the most noble Prince your son:

But as your most loyal and humble subjects and servants, representing the whole Commons of your Kingdom (who have a large interest in the happy and prosperous estate of your Majesty, and your royal posterity, and of the flourishing estate of our Church and Commonwealth) did resolve, out of our cares and fears, truly and plainly to demonstrate these things to your Majesty, which we were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to your knowledge; and that being done, to lay the same down at your Majesty's feet, without expectation of any other answer of your Majesty, touching these higher points, than what at your good pleasure, and in your own time should be held fit.

This being the effect of that we had formerly resolved upon, and these the occasions and reasons inducing the same, our humble suit to your Majesty and confidence is, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive, at the hands of these our messengers, our former humble declaration and petition, and vouchsafe to read, and favourably to interpret the same: and that to so much thereof as containeth our humble petition concerning Jesuits, priests, and Popish recusants, the passage of bills, and granting your royal pardon, you will vouchsafe an answer unto us.

And whereas your Majesty, by the general words of your letter, seemeth to retrain us from intermeddling with matters of Government, or particulars which have their motion in the courts of justice, the generality of which words, in the largeness of the extent thereof (as we hope beyond your Majesty's intention) might involve those things, which are the proper subject of Parliamentary occasions and discourse.

And whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the antient liberty of Parliament, for freedom of speech, jurisdiction, and just censure of the house, and other proceedings there, (wherein, we trust in God, we shall never transgress the bounds of loyal and dutiful Subjects) a liberty which we assure ourselves, so wise and so just a King will not infringe, the same being our antient and undoubted right and inheritance received from our ancestors; without which we cannot freely debate, nor clearly discern of things in question before us, nor truly inform your Majesty; in which we have been confirmed by your Majesty's most gracious former speeches and messages.

We are therefore now again enforced in all humbleness to pray your Majesty to allow the same, and thereby to take away the doubts and scruples, your Majesty's late letter to our speaker hath wrought upon us.

So shall we your loyal and loving subjects ever acknowledge your Majesty's justice, grace and goodness, and be ready to perform that service to your Majesty, which in the true affection of our hearts we profess, and pour out our daily and devout prayers to the Almighty for your Majesty's long life, happy and religious reign, and prosperous imitate, and for your royal posterity after you for ever.

This petition, with the remonstrance annexed, was sent to the King by twelve members, at the head of whom the House affected to set Sir Richard Weston a Privy-Counsellor, a known Papist, and thought to be the person that most incensed the King against the Commons.

Then the House resolved to proceed to no other affair, till they had an answer to their petition. The King received the twelve Members very roughly. Some say, he called for twelve chairs for them, saying, here are twelve Kings came to me.

He received from them the last petition, but rejected the remonstrance, with the copy of the petition already presented to him against the recusants. Some days after he sent the Commons an answer in writing. As nothing can better discover that Prince's designs and character than his speeches, though generally very long, the reader perhaps will be glad to see the answer at length.

### **The Kings Answer to The Latter Petition**

**W**E must here begin in the same fashion that we would have done, if your first petition had; come to our hands, before we had made a stay thereof; which is to repeat the first words of the late Queen of famous memory, used by her, in an answer to an insolent proposition made by a Polonian ambassador unto her; that is, Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus.

For we had great reason to expect, that the first message from your house should have been a message of thanksgiving, for our continued gracious behaviour towards our people, since your last recess, not only by our proclamation of grace, wherein were contained six or seven and thirty articles, all of several points of grace to the people, but also by the labour we took for the satisfaction of both Houses, in those three articles recommended unto us in both their names, by the right reverend father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and likewise for the good Government of Ireland, we are now in hand with at your request; But not only have we heard no news of all this, but contrary, great complaints of the danger of religion within this Kingdom, tacitly implying our ill government in this point.

And we leave you to judge, whether it be your duties, that are the representative body of our people, so to distaste them with our Government; whereas by the contrary it is your duty, with all your endeavours, to kindle more and more a dutiful and thankful love in the people's hearts towards us, for our just and gracious Government.

Now whereas, in the very beginning of this your apology, you tax us in fair terms of trusting uncertain reports, and partial information concerning your proceedings, we with you to remember, that we are an old and experienced King, needing no such lessons, being in our conscience freest of any King alive, from hearing or trusting idle reports, which so many of your House as are nearest us can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to some tribunitial orators among you:

And for proof in this particular, we have made your own messengers confer your other petitions sent by you, with the copy thereof, which was sent us before; Between which there is no difference at all; but that since our receiving the first copy, you added a conclusion unto it, which could not come to our hands till it was done by

you, and your messenger sent, which was all at one time. And if we had no copy of it beforehand, we must have received your first petition, to our great dishonour, before we had known what it contained, which would have enforced us to return you a far worse answer than now we do; for then your messengers had returned with nothing, but that we have judged your petition unlawful and unworthy of an answer:

For as to your conclusion thereof, it is nothing *but Protestatio contraria facto*, for in the body of your petition, you usurp upon our prerogative royal, and meddle with things far above your reach; and then in the conclusion you protest the contrary; as if a robber would take a man's purse and then protest he meant not to rob him.

For first, you presume to give us your advice concerning the match of our dearest son with some Protestant (we cannot say Princess, for we know none of these fit for him) and dissuade us from his match with Spain; urging us to present war with that King: and yet in the conclusion, forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our most undoubted and regal prerogative; as if the petitioning of us in matters that yourselves confess ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited to this course by the speeches of three honourable Lords; yet by so much as yourselves repeat of the speeches, nothing can be concluded, but that we were resolved by war to regain the Palatinate, if other wise we could not attain unto it.

And you are invited to advise forthwith upon a supply, for keeping the forces in the Palatinate from disbanding, and to foresee the means for the raising, and maintenance of the body of an army for that war again# the spring.

Now, what inference can be made upon this, that therefore we mu# presently denounce War again# the King of Spain, break our dearest son's match, and match him to one of our religion, let the world judge. The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a merchant, that we had great need to borrow money from him for railing an army; that thereupon it would follow, that we were bound to follow his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon:

But yet not contenting yourselves with this excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold water, ye come after to a direct contradiction to the conclusion of your former petition, saying, that the honour and safety of us and our posterity, and the patrimony of our children, invaded and possessed by their enemies, the welfare of religion, and State of our Kingdom, are matters at any time not unfit for your deepest consideration in Parliament.

To this generality, we answer with the logicians, that where all things are contained, nothing is omitted. So as this plenipotence of yours, inverts you in all power upon earth, lacking nothing but the Pope's to have the keys also both of heaven and purgatory:

And to this vast generality of yours, we can give no other answer, for it will trouble all the best lawyers in the House to make a good commentary upon it:

For so did the Puritan ministers in Scotland bring all kind of causes within the compass of their jurisdiction, saying, that it was the Church's office to judge of slander, and there could no kind of crime or fault be committed, but there was a slander in it, either against God, the King, or their neighbour; and by this means they hooked in to themselves the cognizance of all causes: or like Bellarmine's distinction

of the Pope's power over all Kings, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, whereby he gives them all temporal jurisdiction over them.

But to give you a direct answer to the matter of war for which you are so earnest. We confess, we rather expect you should have given us great and hearty thanks, for the so long maintaining a settled peace in all our Dominions, when as all our neighbours about are in a miserable combustion of war; but, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*.

And we indeed find by experience, that a number of our subjects are so pampered with peace, as they are desirous of change, though they know not what.

It is true, that we have ever professed, and in that mind with God's grace, we will live and die, that we will labour by all means possible, either by treaty or by force to restore our children to their ancient dignity and inheritance:

And whatsoever Christian Princes or potentates will set themselves against it, we will not spare any lawful means to bring our so just and honourable purpose to a good end; neither shall the match of our son, or any other worldly respect, be preferred to this our resolution. For by our credit and intervention with the King of Spain, and the Arch-Duchess and her husband, now with God, we preserved the Lower Palatinate one whole year from any further conquering in it, which in eight days space, in that time might have easily been swallowed up by Spain's army without any resistance.

And in no better case was it now at our ambassador the Lord Digby's coming through Heidelberg, if he had not extraordinarily succoured it.

But because we conceive that ye couple this war of the Palatinate with the cause of religion, we must a little unfold your eyes herein.

The beginning of this miserable war, which hath set all Christendom on fire, was not for religion, but only caused by our son-in-law his hasty and harsh resolution, following evil counsel, to take to himself the Crown of Bohemia.

And that this is true, himself wrote letters unto us at that time, desiring to give assurance both to the French King, and State of Venice, that his accepting of the Crown of Bohemia had no reference to the cause of religion, but only by reason of his right of election, (as he called it.)

And we would be sorry that that aspersion should come upon our religion, as to make it a good pretext for dethroning of Kings, and usurping their crowns; and we would be loath that our people here should be taught that strange doctrine: No, let us not so far wrong the Jesuits, as to rob them of their sweet positions and practice in that very point.

And upon the other part, we assure ourselves so far of your charitable thoughts of us, that we would never have constantly denied our son-in-law both the title and assistance in that point, if we had been well persuaded of the justice of his quarrel.

But to conclude; this unjust usurpation of the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary from the Emperor, hath given the pope and all that party too fair a ground, and opened them too wide a gate for curbing and oppressing of many thousands of our religion, in divers parts of Christendom.

And whereas you excuse your touching upon the King of Spain, upon occasion of the incidents by you repeated in that place, and yet affirm, that it is without any touch to his honour; we cannot wonder enough that you are so forgetful both of your words and writs:

For in your former petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the temporal monarchy of the whole earth; than which there can be no more malice uttered against any great King, to make all other Princes and potentates both envy and hate him; but if ye list it may easily be tried, whether that speech touched him in honour or not, if ye shall ask him the question, whether he means to assume to himself that title or no, for every King can best judge of his own honour. We omit the particular ejaculations of some foul-mouthed orators in your House, against the honour of that King's crown and estate.

And touching your excuse of not determining anything concerning the match of our dearest son, but only to tell your opinion, and lay it down at our feet. First, we desire to know, how you could have presumed to determine in that point, without committing of High-Treason. And next you cannot deny but your talking of his match after that manner, was a direct breach of our commandment, and declaration out of our own mouth, at the first setting down of this Parliament, where we plainly professed that we were in treaty of this match with Spain; and wished you to have that confidence in our religion and wisdom, that we would so manage it, as our religion should receive no prejudice by it:

And the same we now repeat unto you, professing that we are so far engaged in that match, as we cannot in honour go back, except the King of Spain perform not such things as we expect at his hands. And therefore we are sorry, that ye should shew to have so great distrust in us, as to conceive that we should be cold in our religion, otherwise we cannot imagine how our former public declaration should not have stopped your mouths in this point.

And as to your request, that we would now receive your former petition; we wonder what could make you presume that we would receive it, whereas in our former letter we plainly declared the contrary unto you.

And therefore we have justly rejected that suit of yours: For what have you left unattempted in the highest points of Sovereignty, in that petition of yours, except the striking of coin? For it contains the violation of leagues, the particular way how to govern a war, and the marriage of our dearest son, both negative with Spain, nay, with any other Popish Princess: and also affirmatively, as to the matching with one of our religion, which we confess is a strain beyond any providence or wisdom God hath given us, as things now stand.

These are unfit things to be handled in Parliament, except your King shall require it of you: For who can have wisdom to judge of things of that nature, but such as are daily acquainted with the particulars of treaties, and of the variable and fixed connection of affairs of state, together with the knowledge of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of Princes in their several negotiations?

Otherwise, a small mistaking of matters of this nature may produce more effects than can be imagined: and therefore, *Ne futor ultra crepidam*. And besides, the intermeddling in Parliament with matters of peace or war, and marriage of our dearest son, would be such a diminution to us, to our Crown in foreign countries, as would make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either in matters of peace or marriage, excepting they might be affirmed by the assent of the Parliament.

And so it proved long ago with the King of France[307] who upon a trick procuring his State to dissent from some treaty which, before he had made, was after refused treating with any other Princes, to his great reproach, unless he would first procure the assent of his estates to their proposition.

And will you cast your eyes upon the late times, you shall find that the late Queen of famous memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry: But her answer was, That she liked their petition well, because it was simple, not limiting her to place or person, as not befitting her liking to their fancies; and if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it a high presumption in them. Judge then what we may do in such a case, having made our public declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.

Now to the points in your petition, whereof you desire an answer, as properly belonging to the Parliament: The first and the greatest point is that of religion; concerning which, at this time, we can give you no other answer than in general; which is, that you may rest secure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for the propagation of our religion, and repressing of Popery: But the manner and form you must remit to our care and providence, who can best consider of times and seasons, not by undertaking a public war of religion through all the world at once, (which how hard and dangerous a task it may prove, you may judge).

But this puts us in mind, how all the world complained the last year of plenty of corn; and God sent us a cooling card this year for that heat:

And so we pray God, that this desire among you of kindling wars (shewing your weariness of peace and plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the miseries of both. But as we already said, our care of religion must be such, as on the one part we must not, by the hot perfection of our recusants at home, irritate foreign Princes of contrary religion, and teach them the way to plague the Protestants in their dominions, with whom we daily intercede, and at this time principally, for ease to them of our profession that live under them; yet upon the other part, we never mean to spare from due and severe punishment any Papist that will grow insolent for living under our so mild Government.

And you may also be assured, we will leave no care un-taken, as well for the education of the youth at home, especially the children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter the youth that are or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and so poisoned in Popish seminaries. And as in this point, namely, the good education of popish youth at home, we have already given some good proofs, both in this Kingdom and in Ireland, so will we be well pleased to pass any good laws that shall be made, either now, or at any time hereafter to this purpose.

And as to your request of making this a session, and granting a general pardon; it shall be in your defaults, if we make not this a session before Christmas.

But for the pardon, ye crave such particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, lest otherwise we give you back the double or treble of that we are to receive by your entire subsidy, without fifteens. But the ordinary course we hold fittest to be used still in this case, is, that we should of our free grace send you down a pardon from the Higher-House, containing such points as we shall think fittest, wherein, we hope, ye shall receive good satisfaction.

But we cannot omit to shew you, how strange we think it, that ye should make so bad and unjust a commentary upon some words of our former letter, as if we meant

to restrain you thereby of your antient privileges and liberties in Parliament. Truly, a scholar would be ashamed so to misplace and misjudge any sentences in another man's book.

For, whereas in the end of our former letter, we discharge you to meddle with matters of Government, and mysteries of state, namely, matters of war or peace, or our dearest son's match with Spain, by which particular denominations we interpret and restrain our former words:

And then, after we forbid you to meddle with such things as have their ordinary course in Courts of Justice; ye couple together those two distinct sentences, and plainly leave out those words, of mysteries of State; so as ye err, *à bene divisis ad male conjuncta*:

For of the former part concerning mysteries of state, we plainly restrain our meaning to the particulars that were after mentioned; and in the latter, we confess we meant it by Sir Edward Cole's foolish business[308].

And therefore it had well become him, especially being our servant, and one of our council, to have complained unto us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at court since, and never had access refused unto him.

And although we cannot allow of the stile, calling it your antient and undoubted right and inheritance; but could rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us; (for most of them grow from precedents, which rather few a toleration than inheritance;) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges, as ever any of our predecessors were; nay, as to preserve our own Royal Prerogative, so as your House shall only have need to beware to trench up on the Prerogative of the Crown, which would enforce us or any just King, to retrench them of their privileges that would pare his prerogative, and powers of the Crown: But of this, we hope, there shall never be cause given.

**Dated at New Market the eleventh day of December, 1621[309]**

The last part of the King's answer was so clear, as to want no explication. He had contented himself hitherto with insinuating certain principles, the consequences whereof he had carefully concealed, and thereby seemed to reserve to himself the power either of admitting these consequences, in their utmost extent, or with restrictions, or of denying them according as occasion should require.

But now, whether he gave way to his passion, or was glad at last to speak his thoughts clearly, not to be constrained any longer to use doubtful expressions, which very often were pretended not to be understood, he put the Commons under a necessity either of granting his pretensions, or opposing them openly.

But, if I may venture to say it, he committed an inexcusable error, in not dissolving the Parliament, before the Commons had time to debate upon his answer. He would thereby have established his pretensions without incurring the vexation of an open and public opposition, which he must have expected, unless he was wilfully blind. The Commons having read the answer, the consequences whereof they plainly perceived, and knowing the Parliament was going to be dissolved or prorogued, drew up the following protestation:—

## The Commons Protestation

**T**HE COMMONS now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following, that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischief and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House of Parliament hath, and, of right, ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order, as in their judgments shall seem fittest;

And that every member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the House itself) for, or concerning, any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament or Parliament business:

And that if any of the said members complained of, and questioned for anything done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private information.

## The King Takes The Protestation Out of The Journal Book

The King being informed of this protestation, called a council, and came in person, to cause what is contained in the following memorial, to be ordered:—

**Whitehall, Dec, 30, 1621.**

**H**IS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY coming this day to the Council, the Prince his Highness, and all the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council sitting about him, and all the Judges then in London, which were six in number, there attending upon his Majesty; the Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament was called for, and commanded to produce his Journal Book, wherein was noted, and entries made of most passages that were in the Commons House of Parliament; and amongst other things, there was written down the form of Protestation concerning sundry liberties, privileges, and franchises of Parliament; with which form of protestation his Majesty was justly offended.

Nevertheless, his Majesty, in a most gracious manner, there expressed, that he never meant to deny that House of Commons any lawful privileges that ever they had enjoyed; but whatsoever privileges or liberties they had by any law or statute, the same should be inviolably preserved unto them, and whatsoever privileges they enjoyed by custom, or uncontrolled and lawful precedent, his Majesty would be careful to preserve.

But this protestation of the Commons House, so contrived and carried as it was, his Majesty thought fit to be razed out of all memorials, and utterly to be annihilated,

both in respect of the manner by which it was gained, and the matter therein contained. For the manner of getting it, first in respect of the time:

For, after such time as his Majesty, out of his Princely grace, and to take away all mistakings, had directed his letter to Secretary Calvert, dated at Royston, 16 December, and therein had so explained himself in the point of maintaining the Privileges of the House of Commons, as that most of the said House rested fully satisfied, and freed from any scruple of having their liberties impeached; and after that, by his Majesty's letters, directed to the Speaker, dated 18<sup>th</sup> December, being Tuesday, his Majesty, at the humble suit of the House of Commons, condescended to make this meeting a session before Christmas, and for that purpose had assigned Saturday following.

Now upon this very Tuesday, and while the messengers from the House of Commons were with his Majesty at Theobalds, to return thanks unto his Majesty, and therewith an excuse from them not to make it a session, in respect of the strait of time whereunto they were driven; which deferment his Majesty admitted of at their desires, and thereupon gave orders for the adjournment of the Parliament until the 8<sup>th</sup> of February next, which was the first day formerly appointed by his Majesty for the meeting together of the Parliament:

And whilst their messengers were with his Majesty, and had received a gracious answer to return unto their Houses; even that afternoon, a Committee was procured to be made for taking their liberties into consideration; and this afternoon a protestation was made (to whom, appears not) concerning their liberties; and at six a clock at night, by candle-light, the same protestation was brought into the House by the Committee, and at that time of night it was called upon to be put to the question, there not being the third part of the House then present; whereas in all matters of weight, their usual custom is, to put nothing of importance to the question, till the House be full:

And at this time many of them that were present, expected the question would have been deferred to another day, and a fuller House; and some then present stood up to have spoken to it, but could not be seen or heard in that darkness and confusion.

Now for the matter of the protestation, it is penned in such ambiguous and general words, as may serve for future times to invade most of the rights and prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Crown; the claim of some privileges being grounded upon the words of the writ for assembling the Parliament, wherein some words, viz. *Arduis Regni*, are cunningly mentioned but the word *quibusdam*, which restraineth the generality to such particular cases, as his Majesty pleaseth to consult with them upon, is purposely omitted[310].

These things considered, his Majesty did, this present day, in full assembly of his council, and in the presence of the judges, declare the said protestation, to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no effect: and did further, *manu fuâ propriâ*, take the said protestation out of the **Journal-Book** of the Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this act to be entered in the register of Council causes.

## **The Parliament is Dissolved**

Six days after, the King dissolved the Parliament by proclamation, declaring, he was not obliged to give an account thereof to any, since the dissolving of the Parliament, when he pleased, was confessedly in his power[311].

That however, he was willing to inform the public, it was because the Commons took the liberty not only to treat of his High Prerogatives which belonged not to them, but also to speak disrespectfully of foreign Princes: that they spent the time in disputing about their privileges, without regarding the public wants: that some ill tempered spirits sowed tares among the corn, and by their cunning devices, had imposed upon him a necessity of discontinuing the present Parliament, without putting it to the name or period of a session.

Then, he declared, that though the Parliament was broken off, he intended to govern well, and should gladly embrace the first occasion to call another at a proper season.

This Proclamation was followed by another, forbidding under severe penalties, to talk of state affairs, and charging the judges in their circuits, to put the laws in force against licentious tongues.

## **Members Are Imprisoned**

But the King's resentment did not end here. Some of the Commons, who had appeared most zealous to maintain the privileges of the House, as Sir Edward Coke<sup>[312]</sup>, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Mallory, were committed to prison. Likewise Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Perrot, were ordered into Ireland, to execute a certain Commission, the King intending thereby to remove them from their homes, and punish them with a sort of banishment.

On the other hand, the Earls of Oxford and Southampton were sent to the Tower on some studied pretence<sup>[313]</sup>: but it was easy to see, it was for speaking too freely in the House of Peers, of the King's conduct.

## **Cause of The Difference Between The King and Commons**

Till the said Parliament, the King and Commons had only mutually tried each other, the one to enlarge his Prerogative, the other to preserve privileges, which they looked upon as inconsolable. But on the present occasion, there was a necessity of declaring and adding openly.

The King pretended, as appears by his answer to the petition of the commons, that their privileges having no other foundation than the concession of the Kings his predecessors, it was in his power to revoke them if they gave just occasion.

The Commons, on their side, pretended, they enjoyed these privileges by antient and undoubted right, had received them by inheritance from their ancestors, and the King had no power to take them away. I pass over in silence the consequences which may be drawn from both these principles, if carried as far as the general terms will allow: they are obvious to the meanest capacity. I beg leave not to determine so difficult a point, but only to make some remarks, which, I hope, will be of use for the sequel of the history.

## **Remarks on This Difference**

First, it is very difficult, in my opinion, and perhaps impossible, to establish upon fixed principles, as well the Royal Prerogatives of the Kings of England, as the privileges of the Parliament, and the House of Commons in particular.

We must except such as are allowed on both sides, since this mutual consent is of no less force than a law. custom therefore and precedent are the only foundation on which to establish their respective rights.

The Anglo-Saxons, who conquered Britain, had no Kings in those parts of Germany, where they inhabited before their coming into England, Their Government was aristocratical. Seven of their chiefs by whom Britain was conquered, assumed the title of Kings, which was never before in use among them.

It must be observed, as a very necessary point, That the dominion of these new Kings did not properly extend over the conquered people, namely, the Britons, who were almost all driven into Wales and Cornwall but over the conquerors themselves, among whom the subdued country was divided. Hence it is evident, that the right of conquest which might be alleged in favour of these first Kings and their successors, is wholly excluded.

It is very likely, not to say certain, that the Parliament of England is as antient as the Monarchy, though some dispute it, but, in my opinion, without any foundation[314]. At least, the time cannot be ascertained, when the Parliament first began. But it is very difficult to prove, the Commons were summoned to Parliament, and voted there.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted, these first Kings had great prerogatives, which were much increased by their successors. But I believe it may be taken for granted, that in general, neither the King's prerogatives, nor the people's privileges, owe their origin to the Laws. consequently, they can neither be limited nor enlarged, but as warranted by examples and precedents.

Now three Precedents are so contrary one to another, that there is no forming any fixed and certain rules. And what causes most difficulty in this matter, is the ambiguity of the terms; and first, in the word Parliament.

If the Parliament is considered as composed of the King and the two Houses, an unlimited power, with respect to the affairs of the Kingdom, may, without fear, be ascribed to it. But if the Parliament is supposed to consist only of the two Houses without the King, it cannot be denied, that its Rights are limited. The two Houses are properly the whole nation, exclusive of the King.

They have their privileges: but it belongs not to them to extend them as they please: the King's consent is necessary to that end. This is still more true, when one of the Houses acts alone, without the concurrence of the other: For then it represents but part of the nation, who cannot lawfully claim any other rights than those which are granted either by some law, or by the tacit consent of the King and the other House.

It is very certain, that to each of the two Houses belong separate rights and privileges; and that the two Houses together, though parted from the King, have also their privileges. But the question is, to know how far they reach, and whether the King alone ought to be judge.

The term prerogative royal is liable to no less ambiguity than the word Parliament. It is a loose and general term, which gives only a very confused idea of the thing dignified. If it is a right common to all that bear the title of King, the prerogative royal must be the same every where, and the Kings of England and Poland will be as absolute as the King of Persia.

If it has bounds, by whom were they set? Or, what are the bounds which it cannot exceed? I believe it is no less difficult to resolve these questions, than those concerning the privileges of the Parliament. But as the prerogative royal includes many particular rights, let us examine, for instance, the power challenged by James of revoking the privileges of the House of Commons. From whence had he this particular prerogative?

Was it a right common to all Kings? But there are in the world Kingdoms without Parliaments or a House of Commons. Was this prerogative as antient as the English Monarchy? But he himself would not grant the House of Commons to be so antient.

Was it from some Law? But he produced none. Was it by a tacit consent, or by usurpation? But the thing had never happened before. Was it, in fine, upon this general maxim, that whatever is granted by one King, may be revoked by another? But, besides that this is no undeniable Principle, especially after an uninterrupted possession for many ages, the King would have been very much puzzled to name the Kings who had granted the Commons their Privileges.

Thus King James supposed, that the prerogative was à thing fixed, incontestable, known to all the world, though nothing was more indeterminate, or of less known extent and limits.

Let us consider now what were those rights, liberties, privileges claimed by the Commons as their antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance. These are all uncertain and general terms, of which we cannot have a clear and distinct idea, without applying them to particular cases. But what was said concerning the Royal Prerogative, may be applied here.

How came the Commons by these rights? How far did they reach? Where were their bounds? This would be very difficult to fix. James perhaps went too far, when he would have entirely deprived the Commons of the right of representing to him the nation's grievances, and of the liberty to debate, reason, and say in the House what was thought proper.

But if, under colour of these rights, the Commons would take upon them to advise the King upon all occasions, and speak injuriously of his Majesty in their House, upon what would they ground such privileges?

Since therefore it is so difficult to decide the questions concerning the prerogative royal, and the privileges of both Houses, or of each in particular, prudence and good policy require, that Kings and Parliaments avoid as a rock the engaging in such disputes. Accordingly, we may have observed in the perusal of this history, that the wisest, the most illustrious Kings, those whose merit is most universally acknowledged, as Edward I, Edward III, Henry V, Edward IV, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, never had any contests of this nature with their Parliaments.

On the contrary, those that were least eminent for their prudence and capacity, such as Henry III, Edward II, Richard II, were ruined, for raising such sort of disputes. James is the first, who in those latter days engaged in this quarrel. He was followed by his son and grandsons, and these Princes instead of succeeding in their projects, only rendered themselves most unhappy.

A wise and prudent King of England, who knows his own interest, will never quarrel with his Parliament; and a Parliament, whose sole view is the Kingdom's welfare, will take care never to question the King's just prerogative: Nay, they will rather chose to see it stretched a little too far, than run the risk of breaking an union, which is the sole foundation of the public business.

I hope I shall be forgiven this digression, which to me seems of use to inform the reader, and help him to judge impartially of the difference, which arose in this, and produced so many calamities in the following reign.

### **Ill Consequences of Dissolving Parliament**

**1622 AD]** The dissolution of the Parliament, and the little likelihood of the King's ever calling another, could not but be attended with ill consequences. The King forfeited, by this proceeding, not only the love and esteem of great part, of his subjects, but also the regard of foreigners.

When he was thus embroiled with his people, it was universally concluded he could be no longer either a friend to be relied on, or an enemy to be feared. On the other hand, the nation could not reflect without terror, that they were going to be exposed to an arbitrary power, since there were to be no more Parliaments to keep the prerogative-royal within due bounds.

But the worst effect produced by the rupture between the King and Parliament, was the division among the subjects, who continually joined with the two opposite parties, which subsist to this day, with some difference, under the names of Tories and Whigs.

These two parties, which began to be formed, were contented at first with mutual disputes, in defence of the King's or the people's rights, in respect of what had caused the dissolution of the Parliament. The Royalists said, the Commons meant to make the English Monarchy a Republic.

That in meddling with State-affairs, and advising the King concerning the management of the Kingdom and his own family, they shewed they aspired to no less than governing the State, since they would never want pretences to give the King counsel; which if he refused to comply with, he would, by that very thing, be deprived of the necessary aids for defence of the realm, and constrained to receive law from foreign Princes.

That England was originally a monarchy, and had ever continued upon the same foot: but the foundations were going to be undermined, by making the King subject to the Parliament. That at first remonstrances only were made to the King; afterwards counsels were added; but these counsels would soon be converted into intrusions, and the instructions into orders and commands.

In a word, if the Commons were suffered to proceed, the King would quickly become a mere Doge. That the Commons had the less right to pretend to the government of the state, as the state had subsisted five hundred years without them, since it was about the end of Henry III's Reign, and during the Earl of Leicester's usurpation, that the representatives of the people were first admitted into the Parliament.

In short, that it was a strange thing, that under a monarchical Government, the people, or their representatives, should tell the King how he was to govern his Kingdom: that supposing the people had such a right, it would be necessary to impart to them all the secrets of the State, and consult them about alliances and treaties, peace and war.

But as this had never been practised, it followed of course that the supposition was false, and the people were called to Parliament only to supply the King's wants, and to settle the taxes and impositions in a manner the least burdensome to the subjects:—

**That** indeed, as to the laws concerning the internal government of the state, it was thought proper to enact them with the consent of the people who were to be subject to them, that they might be the better executed: but no consequence could thence be drawn, either for foreign affairs, or for the execution of these laws which was left to the King alone, or for the general Government of the Realm. The favourers of the people said in their turn, that the King was not satisfied with England being a Monarchy, but would make it an absolute Monarchy.

**That** he affected to confound the several kinds of monarchies, whereof some were more, others less absolute, in order to acknowledge but one sort, to which he ascribed an unlimited power.

**That** the English monarchy was not of this kind, but began with the Parliament, which being as ancient as the Royalty, formed, together with the Sovereign, the absolute power, the King would assume to himself alone.

**That** the Parliament had their privileges, as the King had his, nor could be deprived of them, without destroying the nature and constitution of the English government.

**That** the Parliament represented the whole nation, who were as much or more concerned in the welfare of the State than the King himself.

**That** indeed, the King had his undoubted prerogatives: But they were intended for the welfare and preservation, and not for the ruin, of the State.

**That**, whilst he kept within these bounds, and acted only for the benefit of the Kingdom, he answered the end and intent of his prerogatives: but it was destroying the constitution, to pretend that his prerogative royal gave him power to subvert the laws, to make alliances repugnant to the good of the realm, to render the nation contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, to expose religion to the danger of being ruined, through an extreme carelessness and condescension for its enemies.

**That** in such a case, as he swerved from the end and design of his prerogative, it was the people's or their representatives business, to shew him the inconveniences of his conduct, propound means to prevent them, and give him proper advice for their cure.

**That** if this were not so, it would follow the King would be absolute and arbitrary: might ruin and destroy the Kingdom at his pleasure, trample upon the established Laws, oppress the subjects, take away their lives and fortunes, which was directly contrary to the constitution of England.

**That** as to the rest, it evidently appeared, the King was labouring to reduce the privileges of the Parliament to little or nothing. Does the Parliament represent to him the people's grievances? It may, says he, from thence be inferred, that the King governs ill, and this tends to alienate from him the love of his subjects. Is he desired to put the Laws against recusants in execution? He answers:—

**That** affair must be left to his care, he knows what is proper to be done: He is an old experienced King, who has no need to be taught, and yet he is not seen to do the least thing towards redressing the grievances complained of.

**Do** the Commons represent to him that the Prince his son's marriage with the Spanish Infanta may be of very ill consequences to religion?

He replies,

**They** have no business to meddle with his family concerns.

**Do** they strive to make him sensible that the Protestant religion is in danger of being destroyed throughout all Europe, for want of assistance, and that the King of Spain amuses him with fair promises, whilst he is over-running the Palatinate ?

He answers,

**These** are matters of state too high for the people's representatives, who have neither wisdom nor capacity enough to comprehend the mysteries of government: *Ne futor ultra crepidam.*

In a word, he reduces the privileges of the Commons to advising the King, when he shall do them the honour to ask it, and to supplying him with money when he demands it on any pretence, though the pretence be evidently false, since he will not suffer his reasons to be examined. But this is not all.

He plainly tells the Commons, their privileges are only concessions of himself and predecessors, and intimates that they shall keep them no longer than their submission makes them worthy of them. Is it possible, say they, to give plainer marks of a settled design to usurp an arbitrary power?

Supposing the Commons were not called to Parliament till the Reign of Henry III, which however cannot be proved, have they not been, ever since, an essential part of Parliament, and consequently have they not an undoubted right to all parliamentary privileges?

## **The Puritans are For The People**

This is part of what was then said on both sides, and is what served to cherish division between the two parties, who have not ever since ceased to revile one another. It is easy to guess which of the two parties the Puritans joined with. They loved not the King, who, on his part, discovered on all occasions that he was their mortal enemy. But, as I said, there were two sorts of Puritans, namely, State-Puritans and Church-Puritans.

Before the King declared himself so openly with respect to his Prerogative Royal, the State Puritans were few, because the King having gone no great lengths, his intention was yet only suspected. But after the dissolution of the third Parliament, their number greatly increased, and the King, through a policy very destructive of his interests, always affected to confound these two sorts of Puritans.

He thereby forced them to make but one party, though they were united only in a single point, namely, in opposing the maxims of the Court. The Church Puritans, who before made but a little figure in the Kingdom, suddenly formed a very considerable party, by the junction of the State-Puritans.

This party grew in the end so powerful, that they overthrew the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the Monarchy itself: but this happened not till the following reign.

## **The Arminians are for The King**

On the other hand, the King's party was strengthened by the junction of the Arminians, who were very numerous. Arminius's doctrine had bred disputes in England, though with less noise than in Holland. Many clergymen had embraced this doctrine, though condemned by the Synod of Dart, whose authority they did not acknowledge, and notwithstanding the King's open profession to reject Arminius's tenets.

These men improving the opportunity arising from the discord between the two parties, readily joined with the Royalists, and from that time were as much caressed at Court as they were hated before.

By this means William Laud, a clergyman of great parts and learning, was qualified, though Arminian, to be promoted to the See of St. David's by the Marquis of Buckingham's interest, who desired the Bishop of Lincoln[315] to recommend him to the King. It was however, with some difficulty that the King agreed to his preferment, being prejudiced against him on account of his proud and turbulent spirit[316].

## **The Papists Embrace The Same Party**

After the Armenians had lifted themselves in the King's party, they were in the height of prosperity, favoured by the courtiers, who were labouring to hinder the growth of Puritanism. On the other hand, the Papists also declared openly for the King, because it was by an absolute power alone that they could obtain their desires, whereas the Parliament was their professed enemy.

In fine, most of the clergy espoused likewise the King's side, looking upon him as the only person capable of supporting them against the attempts of the Puritans, whose number continually increased.

### **Mutual Reproaches of Both Parties**

The two Parties being thus composed of men of different kinds and sentiments, mutually upbraided one another with what was most odious in each party. The Royalists confounded under the name of Puritans, all who opposed the King, and the Puritans taxed all the Royalists with being Papists or Arminians[317].

### **The King is Lightly Esteemed Abroad**

This division, which began to be remarkable in England, did not serve to establish the King's reputation abroad. It was now two years since his son-in-law's dominions were invaded by the Spaniard and Duke of Bavaria, and he was not seen to take any effectual course for their recovery. Embassies and solicitations were the only arms he employed for that end[318].

The King of Spain had amused him four or five years with the hopes of a marriage which advanced not, and by that means tied up his hands, whilst he seized the Palatinate. In short, when all Europe expected he would see the interests of his Kingdom, his family and his own, and take some vigorous resolution, it was heard that he was irreconcilably fallen out with his Parliament.

### **Pasquils Made Upon The King in The Netherlands**

Whereupon he was despised abroad, and insults quickly followed contempt. In the Netherlands he was publicly ridiculed on their stages. Comedies were acted with messengers hastily bringing news that the Palatinate was going to be lost, considering the numerous forces that were sending thither by the King of Spain's enemies.

The King of Denmark was to find a hundred thousand pickled herrings; the Hollanders a hundred thousand butter boxes; and the King of England a hundred thousand ambassadors. In one place, King James was pictured with a scabbard without a sword, in another with a sword which could not be drawn, though divers persons stood pulling at it[391].

In England itself the almost forgotten story of David Rizzo was revived. But what most troubled the contrary party to the King, was to see Buckingham govern so absolutely, that the King seemed to have made his favourite his master. None were admitted to places but Papists, Arminians, or such as were reckoned to have little or no religion.

### **The Archbishop of Canterbury is Reckoned a Puritan**

In short, such only parted for Protestants with the court, as were for the Royal Prerogative in its utmost extent, let their religion be what it would. All the rest were Puritans. Abbot himself, Archbishop of Canterbury, was reckoned among the Puritans, because he approved not of the court maxims. He had the misfortune in the year 1622, to kill a man with an arrow as he was shooting at a buck[392], and this accident occasioned his being deemed incapable of performing any longer the functions of a Bishop.

Wherefore he resolved also to save himself the trouble of going to the council, where his advice was little regarded, as coming from a person of Puritan-Principles.

Whilst the people were in this sort of fermentation, the King wanted money. He had a mind to send Digby to Spain, and Weston to Brussels[393], to finish at once the marriage and the affair

of the Palatinate. Besides, Buckingham and his relations were a gulph which could not be filled. There was no likelihood of a new Parliament, after the King's late proceedings.

Though a Parliament could have been persuaded to give the King money, it would not have been till after their Privileges were secured at the expense of the prerogative royal, and the King thought the remedy worse than the disease.

## **The King Exacts a Benevolence**

Recourse therefore was to be had to extraordinary methods. The speediest and most sure seemed to be the exacting from the people a contribution under the name of benevolence. As the court knew, if some constraint were not used, the people's liberality would not go very far, the judges were ordered in their circuits to demand a benevolence, and to intimate withal, that the King would not be satisfied with what should be voluntarily offered, if it was not proportional to the giver's abilities.

To that purpose the council directed a circular letter to the Judges, concluding with these words: Nevertheless, if any person finally out of obstinacy or disaffection, refuse to contribute herein, proportionally to their estates and means, you are to certify their names unto this board. And so recommending this service to your best care and endeavour, and praying you to return unto us notes of the names of such as shall contribute, and of the sums offered by them[394].

The excuse for this levy of money was the King's pretended resolution to recover the Palatinate by arms, after having in vain tried gentle means. It will hereafter appear how this resolution was executed.

## **The King's Project**

The King's project was to conclude the Prince his son's marriage, and receive the dowry of two millions, before he demanded the restitution of the Palatinate, for fear the Spaniard should pretend that this restitution was to be in compensation of the dowry.

After that, he hoped the King of Spain, out of friendship, and in consideration of their alliance, would surrender the Lower Palatinate to his son-in-law, and oblige the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria to restore him the Upper. This was all he intended to do for his daughter and son-in-law.

That this was his design, manifestly appears in his instructions to the Lord Digby, before his departure for Spain, wherein he was expressly ordered, not to make the affair of the Palatinate one of the marriage articles. The King however would have the public believe, that his chief aim in the Spanish match was to procure his son-in-law the restitution of the Palatinate.

This doubtless was one of those mysteries of state which could not be comprehended by the Commons. Perhaps he really hoped, the restitution would immediately follow upon the marriage: but this hope was built on a very weak foundation. In all appearance, Gondemar inspired him with so chimerical an expectation.

## **Digby Sent as Ambassador to Spain**

However this be, James, being entirely bent upon this project, sent Digby ambassador extraordinary to Spain, to conclude the marriage treaty jointly with Sir Walter Alson, who had been some time at the Court of Philip IV[395]. The articles concerning religion were already settled, but the rest were not to be talked of, till the Pope's dispensation was obtained, for fear of labouring in vain.

This was an artifice of the Spanish court, to prolong the affair, to have time to finish the conquest of the Palatinate, whilst the dispensation was expected, which to hasten or delay was, probably, in the King of Spain's breast.

Meanwhile, the hopes of a speedy conclusion of the marriage, of the dowry of two millions, and of the restitution of the Palatinate, so tied up the King's hands, that he durst not take the lead step to offend the Spaniard, for fear of defeating so noble a project. Therefore, whenever he talked of engaging in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, it was always with this restriction, if he could not obtain it by fair means, because he thought himself sure of the success of his negotiations.

It is therefore certain, that when he demanded money of the Parliament, or exacted the benevolence on the people, it was not with design to prepare for war, though that was the pretence, since a breach with the House of Austria was inconsistent with his project.

### **Digby Made Earl of Bristol**

When Digby, who was this year created Earl of Bristol[396], set out for Spain, the King sent Gage to Rome, to solicit the dispatch of the dispensation, without which the new ambassador could not proceed at Madrid. But to render Gage's instances more effectual, it was necessary to shew the Pope, the King was not a persecutor of the Catholics. Not but that he had already given very convincing proofs: however he thought he should on this occasion give a still stronger one, by releasing all the imprisoned recusants[397].

This was done publicly and openly, by writs under the Great-Seal to the Justices of assize, with a letter from the Lord-Keeper Williams, exhorting them punctually to obey the King's orders.

### **The Lord Keeper's Vindication of The King**

These writs, contrary to the law, to the Commons remonstrance, and to the King's own answer to their petition, occasioned many severe censures upon the King's conduct. As this affair made a noise among the people, the Lord Keeper was ordered to vindicate the King by a public writing.

This vindication begins with this noble comparison: As the sun in the firmament appears to us no bigger than a platter, and the stars but as so many nails in the pommel of a saddle, because of the enlargement and disproportion between our eye and the object: So is there such an immeasurable distance between the deep resolution of a Prince, and the shallow apprehensions of common and ordinary people, that as they will ever be judging and censuring so they must needs be obnoxious to error and mistaking.

Then he gives two reasons, both very false, of this conduct.

The first is, that as the King was now soliciting very zealously for some ease to all the Protestants in Europe, it would be unreasonable to execute at the same time the laws against the Roman Catholics.

The second, that the English Jesuits had published a book to excite the French King to execute in his Kingdom against the Huguenots, the same laws as those enacted in England against the Papists. But, added the Bishop, to conclude, from the favour done to the English Papists, that the King favours the Romish religion, is a composition of folly and malice, little deserved by a gracious Prince, who by word, writing, exercise of religion, and a acts of Parliament hath demonstrated himself so resolved a Protestant.

I observed that about the latter end of the last year, the Emperor sent Count Schwartzemburg to the King, to treat of the affair of the Palatinate. This ambassador being pompously received at London, as witnessing the Emperor's regard for the King, could produce no powers when he came to talk of affairs. It was the Archduchess Isabella that was empowered by the Emperor to conclude the truce desired by the King.

### **Weston Sent to Brussels**

There was a necessity therefore of going to negotiate at Brussels with the Archduchess and envoys of some Protestant Princes. The King chose for this employ, Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, probably because he thought his religion would advance the negotiation. But, to gain the Infanta's favour, he made use of another means also. He permitted the Lord Vaux, a Papist, to raise two thousand men<sup>[326]</sup> in England, to serve the Infanta against the United Provinces, and the Protestant Princes their allies. By such means as these the King hoped to succeed in his negotiations.

We shall see presently the event, but it will be necessary first to mention what passed in Germany during the year 1622.

The King of Bohemia, plainly perceiving the King his Father-in-law made use of very ineffectual methods to restore him to his dominions, believed it advisable to proceed some other way. He was still master of Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal, and Count Mansfeldt, though withdrawn into Alsatia, had it still in his power to reenter the Lower-Palatinate.

In order to improve this last remedy, he agreed with Prince Christian of Brunswick, administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, who had accompanied him to the Hague, to raise an army in Westphalia, and join Mansfeldt. At the same time he made the like agreement with the Prince of Baden Durlach who promised also to levy an army for the same purpose.

It is likely, the Hollanders supplied the money for these levies, on account of the advantage they should reap from this powerful diversion. These two Princes kept promise with the King of Bohemia, and each headed ten or twelve thousand men. The difficulty was how to enter the Lower-Palatinate, where the Spaniards were very strong.

However, the thing not appearing impracticable, the Prince of Brunswick took the field in Westphalia, and seized some places in the county of March. This drew upon him a detachment of the Spanish army from the Low-Countries, commanded by Count Henry de Bergh, who was joined by the Count of Anhalt with another detachment of the army of Bavaria, commanded by Count Tilly in the Palatinate.

By this means, Prince Christian saw himself detained some time in Westphalia. But at length, the Count of Bergh being recalled, he was at liberty to advance. On the other hand, it was not easy for the Prince of Baden to enter the Palatinate, all the passages being stopped up say Count Tilly and Gonsales of Cordova.

In the meanwhile, the King of Bohemia departing privately from the Hague, on board a small vessel, and landing at Calais, travels through France and safely arrived at Mansfeldt's army, who was advanced to Germersheim.

Here they impatiently expected the approach of the two armies coming to their assistance. It would be needless to give a particular account of the march of these two armies, and the obstacles they met with from the Spaniards and Bavarians.

It will suffice to say, the Prince of Baden was defeated the sixth of May: that afterwards the King of Bohemia and Mansfeldt marching to Prince Christian, met Count Tilly, who put them to rout,

and forced them to retire to Manheim. This battle was fought the 12<sup>th</sup> of June. Eight days after, Tilly also attacked Prince Christian, who was advanced to the borders of the Palatinate, and though he gained some advantage over him, could not however prevent his passing to Manheim with good part of his troops.

Some time after, the Spaniards and Bavarians were so strongly recruited, that their army consisted of above fifty thousand men, with which they almost surrounded their enemies, who were encamped between Manheim and Heidelberg.

Wherefore the King of Bohemia despairing ever to recover what he had lost, returned to Holland. After his departure, the Prince of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt, resolved to join Prince Maurice in the Low-Countries, and marched through Lorraine. As they were obliged to take a compass, Gonsales de Cordova parting from Tilly, went and expected them at Brabant, to hinder their passage. The two armies meeting between Namur and Brussels, fought with equal success; but the Prince of Brunswick lost an arm by a cannon ball. After the battle, Mansfeldt continued his march towards Holland.

### **Heidelberg, Manheim and Frankendal Besieged**

Meanwhile, Count Tilly having no enemy to oppose him in the lower Palatinate carried Heidelberg by storm[327], took *Manheim* by a long blockade, and then besieged Frankendal[328].

### **Negotiations at Brussels**

Whilst the King of Bohemia was in the Palatinate, conferences were held at Brussels, to procure a truce for that unfortunate country, according to the King of England's desire, though he was not empowered by the King his son-in-law, for whom, at this juncture, a truce was not convenient.

In this negotiation two difficulties immediately occurred, which served to prolong it. The first was, the English ambassador had not sufficient powers from the King of Bohemia and his allies. James had doubtless imagined, that since this truce was negotiating on his account, it sufficed to treat with him. But the Spaniards gave to understand, they could treat only with the principal parties.

There was occasion therefore to send to the Palatinate for full powers from the King of Bohemia, who was not in haste to dispatch them, whilst he had any hopes of succeeding in his enterprise. But at last, sending these powers when he saw his affairs declining, another difficulty of the same nature occurred at Brussels.

The Archduchess had no other power than the Emperor's bare letter, desiring her to consult with the English ambassador concerning a truce for the Lower Palatinate[329]. From that time the King of Bohemia's affairs daily growing worse, the Archduchess and Count Schwartzenburg prolonged the affair on divers pretences, till Heidelberg was taken, and Manheim closely blocked up.

Then James writ to the King of Spain, to desire him to order that the affairs of the Palatinate might remain in their present state, till the conclusion of the truce, and the blockade of Manheim was raised. Philip feigned to have this condescension for him, but before his letter to the Archduchess was received, Manheim was taken.

### **The King Deceives Himself**

Nay, it did not hinder Count Tilly from besieging Frankendal which he would have also taken without scruple, had not the overflowing of the rivers forced him to raise the siege. Thus was the King amused with vain hopes, whilst the conquest of the Palatinate was completing.

He perceived it at last, but at the same time was told, the Prince his Son's marriage was so near a conclusion, that he could not think of hazarding a miscarriage in that affair, by instilling too strenuously on the restitution of the Elector's dominions.

This may be clearly seen in his letters to the Earl of Bristol, his ambassador in Spain, of which I shall here give some extracts.

### **The King's Letter to The Earl of Bristol Sept, 9. 1622**

**Right trusty, and well beloved,**

**Y**OUR dispatch of the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, gave us so much contentment, and so great hopes of satisfaction in all those businesses, which you have there to treat; with that King, as we could not expect any further difficulties; notwithstanding by that which has come to our hands immediately after, as well by George Gage from Rome? As by our ambassador Sir Richard Weston at Brussels and our ministers in the Palatinate; we find that neither the dispensation is granted for the match, nor the treaty of cessation so near a conclusion, as we conceived it would have been, now that the auxiliaries, and all other obstacles are removed.

But on the contrary side, that new delays and excuses are invented, our garrisons in the Palatinate in the meantime blocked up, Heidelberg itself actually besieged——

Therefore our pleasure is, that you shall immediately, and with as much speed as you may, crave audience of that King, and represent unto him the merit which we may justly challenge unto ourself, for our sincere proceedings with the emperor and him in all the course of this business, notwithstanding the many invitations and temptations which we have had, to engage ourself on our son-in-law's part.

That we have had both from the Emperor and him hopes given us from time to time of extraordinary respect, howsoever our son-in-law had deserved, which we have attended and expected even to the very last, with much patience, and in despite (as it were), of all the opposition that hath been, made to shake our resolution in that behalf.

If now when all impediments are removed, and that the way is so prepared, as that the Emperor may give an end unto the war, and make some present demonstration of his respects towards us, in leaving us the honour of holding those poor places which yet remain, quietly and peaceably until the general accommodation, the same shall nevertheless be violently taken from us, what can we look for, when the whole shall be in his hands and possession? Who amusing us with a treaty of cessation. and protracting it industriously, (as we have reason to believe), doth in the mean time seize himself of the whole country; which being done, our ambassador shall return with scorn, and we remain with dishonour.

I shall not need to furnish you with arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly dealing more plainly unto them; your own reason and observation will find enough out of the dispatches, whereof copies are sent unto you; as namely, the withdrawing of the Spanish forces, and leaving the business wholly in the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; the stile of the Infanta, in answering our ambassador with recriminations, which was not her manner heretofore; the slight and frivolous answer given by the Marquis of Bedmar unto our ambassador, when he acquainted him with the siege of Heidelberg; the querulous occasion taken by

the Emperor for calling the Diet at Ratisbon, contrary to his own promise, which, in his dispatch to us, he confesseth to have broken, as you will see by the copy.

All which, and many more, which your own judgment (in the perusal of the dispatches) will suggest unto you, do minister unto us cause sufficient of jealousy on the Emperor's part, as you shall plainly tell that King; although we will not do him that wrong, as to mistrust that he gives the least consent to it.

In this confidence, with much earnestness, we shall still solicit him, that for this affection he bears us, and the desire which we suppose he hath, that there may continue for ever a perfect amity betwixt us and the whole House of Austria, he will not cease to do all good offices herein; letting him know directly, that in these terms we cannot stand with the Emperor; but that if Heidelberg be won, or the siege continue, or the cessation be long unnecessarily delayed, we must recall our ambassador from Brussels, and treat no more, as we have already given order, hoping, that what soever unkindness we shall conceive against the Emperor upon these occasions, it shall not be interpreted to reflect in any sort upon the entire affection that is at this present, and as we hope shall always continue, betwixt us and the Crown of Spain.

And therefore, as we have heretofore sundry times promised, in testimony of the sincerity of our proceedings, and of our great desire to preserve the amity inviolable between us and the whole House of Austria. That in case our son-in-law would not be governed by us, that then we would not only forsake him, but take part, and join our forces with the Emperor against him; so you may fairly represent unto that King, that in like manner we have reason to expect the same measure from him, that (upon the Emperor's averseness to a cessation and accommodation ) he will likewise actually assist us for the recovery of the Palatinate, and Electoral dignity, unto our son-in-law, as it hath been oftentimes intimated from Spain[330].

To conclude, we shall not need to say any more unto you touching this point, but to let you see that our meaning is, to carry all things fair with that King, and not to give him any cause of distrust or jealousy, if you perceive that they intend to go really and roundly on with the match.

Notwithstanding all this, Heidelberg and Manheim were taken by the Emperor's forces, and Frankendal besieged.

In another letter to the same Ambassador, dated October 3, the King said:—

That while he was amused with Treaties at Madrid and Brussels, Heidelberg had been taken by force, the English garrisons put to the sword, and Manheim besieged:

That the Infanta, (having an absolute commission to conclude a cessation and suspension of arms when all objections were answered, did not only delay the conclusion of the treaty, but refuse to lay her command upon the Emperor's Generals to abstain from the siege of his garrisons during the treaty, upon a pretext of want of authority.

And therefore, for avoiding of further dishonour, he had been forced to recall both his ambassadors, as also the Lord Chichester[332], whom he intended to have sent unto the Emperor to the Diet at Ratisbon.

After which he added:—

Seeing therefore, that merely out of our extraordinary respect to the King of Spain, and the firm confidence we ever put in the hopes and promises which he did give us, (desiring nothing more than for his cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put us in ill understanding with any of the House of Austria) we have hitherto proceeded with a steadfast patience: trusting to the treaties, and neglecting all other means, which probably might have secured the remainder of our Children's inheritance, and by this confidence and security of ours, are now expected to dishonour and reproach.

You shalt tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good effects which he hath used towards the Emperor in this business, on the behalf of our son-in-law, have not sorted to any other issue, than to a plain abuse both of his trust and ours; we hope and desire, that he will faithfully promise and undertake upon his honour, (confirming the same also under his hand and seal) either that the town and castle of Heidelberg shall within threescore and ten days after your audience, and demand made, be rendered into our hands, with all things therein belonging; and the Duke of Manheim and Frankendal, if both or either of them shall be taken by the enemy while these things are in treaty:

As also, that there shall be within the said term of seventy days, a cessation and suspension of arms in the Palatinate for the future, upon the several articles and conditions last propounded by our ambassador Sir Richard Weston; and that the general Treaty shall be set a foot again:

Or else, in case all these particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperor, that the King of Spain do join his forces with ours:

Or if so be his forces be otherwise employed, yet that at the least he will permit us a free and friendly passage through his territories and dominions, for such forces as we shall send and employ in Germany for his service.

Of all which, if you receive not from the King of Spain (within ten days at the farthest after your audience) a direct assurance under his hand and seal without delay, that then you take your leave, and return to our presence, without further stay; otherwise to proceed in the negotiation for the marriage of our son, according to the instructions we have given you.

This Letter plainly shows, the King was convinced, he had hitherto been only amused. And yet he writ the next day, to the Earl of Bristol, to this effect:—

Though you have order to come away without farther delay, in case you receive not satisfaction to your demands from the King of Spain; yet we would not have you instantly come away upon it, but advertise us first, letting us know privately (if you find such cause) that there is no good to be done, nor satisfaction, as you judge, intended us, (though publicly and outwardly you give out to the contrary) that we may make use thereof with our people in Parliament, as we shall hold best for our service.

### **The King's False Measures**

It is evident by these Letters how much the King was mistaken, in expecting to adjust his son-in-law's affairs, by the method he had followed, and how he had been trifled with in his several negotiations:—

That he himself knew it, and all the vengeance he took was to recall his ambassador from Brussels. It is true, he seemed to intend to be revenged by arms: but he would have the King of Spain join with him, to oblige the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria to restore a country which he had himself delivered to them.

At least, he hoped, the King of Spain would grant him a passage through his territories, projects as chimerical as that of recovering the Palatinate by for means and solicitations alone. In short, it is visible in these letters, that the King made the restitution of the Palatinate and conclusion of the marriage two distinct affairs, and did not consider the last as dependent of the other. Indeed, though there was manifestly a collusion between the Emperor, Philip IV, and the Infanta, James ordered his ambassador to do nothing offensive to the King of Spain, for fear of prejudicing the marriage which he was always made to regard as upon the point of conclusion.

In fine, after a long expectation, Gage was sent back from Rome, where he had been soliciting the dispensation, with nineteen articles, to each of which the Pope had put a postil or short note, after the manner practised in the capitulations of places. Probably, the sense of the three material articles which were agreed on, was explained, and the nineteen following ones were formed by common consent:—

### **The Marriage Articles With The Pope's Answers**

**I. That** the Pope's dispensation shall be first obtained at the sole instance of his Catholic Majesty.

**Note.** The two Parties are agreed on this point.

**II. That** the marriage shall be celebrated in Spain according to the rites practised in the Church of Rome, and afterwards in England, with such ceremonies as shall tend most to the advantage of the King of Great Britain; yet so, as that nothing be done contrary to the religion professed by the most excellent Infanta. But as to this point, they shall agree about the ceremonies to be performed in both Kingdoms.

**Note.** The Marriage ought to be celebrated but once in Spain, and if any ceremony is to be performed in England, notice must be given beforehand, and let this ceremony be agreed on.

**III. That** the most gracious Infanta shall have free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.

**Note.** This Article is granted.

**IV. That** all the domestics and servants belonging to the most gracious Infanta, shall be appointed by his Catholic Majesty, so as the King of England shall not have the liberty of nominating any one.

**Note.** Granted.

**V. That** the most gracious Infanta shall have an oratory, where divine Service shall be celebrated in such manner as she shall appoint.

**Note.** This Article is granted.

**VI. That** this oratory shall be in her palace, and there Masses to be celebrated at the pleasure of the Infanta.

**Note.** A Church shall be built in London, besides that in the palace, and divine service shall be celebrated in each, and the word of God preached, and the sacraments administered.

**VII. That** all the officers and domestics belonging to the Infanta of what sort soever, as also her servants and family, may be freely and publicly Catholics; which is so to be understood, as that each of them in particular shall be obliged to profess the Roman Catholic religion.

**Note.** The men and women servants of the most serene Infanta, their children and posterity, with their whole families, what office soever they bear, shall have the free exercise of the Catholic religion.

**VIII. That** the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall be in form following: The most gracious Infanta shall have in her palace a chapel so spacious, that her servants and family may enter and stay therein; in which there shall be an ordinary and public door for them, and another inward door, by which the Infanta may have a passage into the chapel, where she and others may be present at divine offices.

**Note.** All the servants must conform to this.

**IX.** That the Chapel may be beautified with decent ornaments, and other things necessary for divine service, according to the custom of the holy Roman Church; and that, it shall be lawful for the servants and others to go to the said chapel at all hours.

**Note.** Granted.

**X. That** the keeper 2nd Guardians of the Chapel shall be appointed by the Lady Infanta, and they shall take care no body may enter into it to do any un-decent thing.

**Note.** The keeper and guardians of the chapel and church shall be Spaniards.

**XI. That** to serve in the chapel, there shall be a convenient number of Priests as to the Infanta shall seem fit. And if any of them be natives of Great Britain, they shall not be admitted to serve, without her consent first obtained.

**Note.** His Holiness wills and means that this be a true church.

**XII. That** among the Priests, there shall be one superior minister or rector, with authority to decide the. cases of religion and conscience.

**Note.** His Holiness will have this superior to be a Bishop.

**XIII. That** this superior minister may exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction upon all who shall offend in the Infanta's family: And moreover, the Lady Infanta shall have power to turn them out of her service, when soever it shall seem expedient to her.

**Note.** He must be a Bishop.

**XIV. That** it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta to procure from Rome indulgences and jubilees, and all graces, as shall seem fit to her religion and conscience.

**Note.** This article is granted.

**XV. That** the servants and family of the Lady Infanta shall take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain; provided there be no clause therein contrary to their confidences and the Roman Catholic religion, and that the form of the oath be first approved of.

**Note.** The men and women servants shall be Spaniards.

**XVI. That** the laws made against the Raman Catholic religion in England, shall not extend to the servants of the most gracious Infanta; but they shall be exempted from the said laws, and the penalties annexed, and of this a declaration shall be made.

**Note.** The Laws already made or to be made in England concerning religion shall not extend to the servants, who shall be exempted from them as well as from the penalties, he and for this reason the ecclesiastics shall not be liable to any but their ecclesiastical Laws.

**XVII. That** the Children of the most illustrious Prince, and the most gracious Infanta, shall not be constrained in point of confidence, and in that case, the laws made against Catholics in England shall not extend to them; and though any of them be Catholics, they shall not lose the right of succession to the Kingdom and dominions of Great Britain.

**Note.** This article is granted by his Holiness.

**XVIII. That** the nurses which shall give suck to the children of the Lady Infanta, shall be chosen by the Lady Infanta, and accounted part of her family.

**Note.** The nurses shall be Catholic is, chosen by the most serene Infanta, and reckoned among her domestics.

**XIX. That** the rector or superior minister, and other ecclesiastical and religious persons of the family of the Lady Infanta shall wear their usual vestment and habits.

**Note.** Granted.

At the end of these articles, which were long debated and canvassed by the congregation of the propagation of faith, the congregation subjoined their opinion in the following terms:—

As to the terms offered by the most serene King of England, it seems to us they are deigned only to secure the most serene Infanta's religion. But to the end his Holiness may grant the dispensations, there are other things necessary to the privilege, increase and welfare of the Roman Catholic religion.

These things are to be proposed by the most serene King, that his Holiness may consider whether, upon such offers, he can grant the dispensation.

### **Remarks on This Subject**

It is easy to see, the Pope's postils tended not only to the benefit of the Roman Catholic religion, but also to cause the affair to be prolonged, pursuant to the court of Spain's intentions. Besides that James was not expected to agree to the contents of the notes, another expedient was ready to stop the conclusion of the marriage, namely, to oblige the King to make offers for the advancement of the Roman religion, with which the Pope, if he pleased might never be satisfied.

Thus, after a six years expectation, James was no farther advanced than when the affair was begun, except that he was willing to grant whatever the Pope did or might demand. And indeed, this was the course he took. He found now of what consequence the first article was, which he had been made to sign, that the dispensation should be first procured by the endeavours of the King of Spain: for by this means, the Spaniard could advance or entirely break off the negotiation as he pleased, by causing the Pope to delay or refuse the dispensation.

It is certain, as I said, the court of Spain's intent at first was only to make use of the project of this marriage, to allure James into their snare, for fear he should join with the German Protestants, and afterwards, for fear he should send a powerful aid to the King of Bohemia.

When Gage came from Rome with the articles, the King was terribly embarrassed. The Palatinate was almost quite lost. The negotiation at Brussels did not advance, and he could not but perceive, he was imposed upon by the Emperor and King of Spain: so that he saw no other way to procure the Elector's restoration, but the Prince's marriage with the Infanta.

It is true, England was sufficiently powerful to molest the House of Austria; but a Parliament must have been called, which the King could not think of. On the other hand, the Pope annexed to the marriage such terms as the King could not grant, without giving occasion to his domestic enemies, to represent him as a Prince regardless of the interests of the Protestant religion, to which imputation he was already but too liable.

In this perplexity, rather than break with Spain and so lose the desired dowry of two millions, with the hopes of recovering the Palatinate, he chose to be exposed to the reproaches of his subjects, which he did not seem much to regard.

He drew therefore a memorial which he signed with his own hand, containing his offers in favour of the Catholic religion, and sent it to the Earl of Bristol, with the letter of the 9th of September, of which I have already given an extract. The conclusion of the letter, which I reserved for this occasion, because the marriage is there mentioned, was as follows:-

### **The King's Letter to The Earl of Bristol With a Memorial Concerning His Offers**

Nevertheless we must tell you, that we have no great cause to be well pleased with the diligences used on that part, when we observe, that after so long an expectance of the dispensation, upon which the whole business (as they will have it) depends, there is nothing yet returned but queries and objections.

Yet because we will not give over our patience a while longer, until we understand more certainly what the elicited thereof is likely to be, wherein we require you to be very wary and watchful, considering how our honour is therein engaged; we have thought fit to let you know, how far we are pleased to enlarge ourself, concerning those points demanded by the Pope, and set down by way of postil unto the articles agreed upon betwixt Spain and us, as you shall see by the power which Gage brought us from Rome, whereof we have sent you a copy, and our resolutions thereupon signed with our own hand, for your warrant and instruction.

And further than that, since we cannot go without much prejudice, inconveniency, and dishonour to ourself and our son, we hope and expect the King of Spain will bring it instantly to an issue, without farther delay, which you are to press with all diligence and earnestness, that you may presently know their final resolution, and what we may expect thereupon. But if any respite of time be earnestly demanded, and that you perceive it not possible for them to resolve until an answer come from

Rome, we then think it fit that you give them two months time after your audience, that we may understand that King's final resolution before Christmas next at the farthest.

## **The King Resolves at Last to Conclude The Marriage**

Though the King affirmed he could go no farther, yet means were found to persuade him to a greater compliance, as will hereafter appear.

Hitherto the Spaniard had fed the King's hopes concerning the marriage, only to amuse him. But since he plainly saw, by the articles and offers signed with his own hand, that James was resolved to conclude at any rate, he thought, so fair an opportunity should not be missed to restore the Catholic religion in England, which very probably might be accomplished by means of this match.

So Philip suddenly altering his mind, appeared as eager to conclude, as he had seemed unwilling before[332]. From that time, that is, from the end of the year 1622, the marriage was resolved at the court of Madrid.

The business was only to extort from the King such terms as should lead to what was intended. All the King of Spain's proceedings, from the time I am speaking of, evidently show, that he was inclined to the marriage, in case he could obtain what he promised himself for the advancement of the Roman religion in England, and which James's impatience gave him room to expect.

But it is no less certain, that before this, he was entirely averse to it. This manifestly appears in King Philip the fourth's letter to the Condé d'Olivarez, and from that minister's answer. The letters were as follows:—

### **The King of Spain's Letter to the Condé d'Olivarez Nov. 5. 1622**

**T**HE King my Father declared at his death, that his intent was never to marry my sister, the Infanta Donna Maria with the Prince of Wales, which your uncle Don Balthazar understood, and so treated this match ever with intention to delay it; notwithstanding, it is now so far advanced, that considering all the averseness of the Infanta unto it, it is time to take some means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be.

But in all other things, procure the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain, (who hath deserved much) and it shall content me, so it be not in the match.

The Condé d'Olivarez, in his answer agreed, That the late King never intended to conclude this marriage, but only to amuse the King of England, by reason of the situation of affairs in the Palatinate and Netherlands. He said moreover, the Infanta was determined to retire to a convent, as soon as she should be pressed upon that head.

After that, he represented to his Majesty:—

That the King of England found himself equally engaged in two businesses at that time, namely, the marriage, and the restitution of the Palatinate. Supposing then, added the Condé, that the marriage be made, we must come to the other affair, and

then your Majesty will find yourself engaged with the King of England in a war against the Emperor, and the Catholic league:

A thing, which to hear, will offend your ears; or if you declare yourself for the Emperor, then you will find yourself engaged in a war against the King of England, and your sister married with his son. If your Majesty should show yourself neutral, what a great scandal will it be, for Spain to stand neuter, in a business wherein religion is to much concerned?

On the other hand, said the Condé, supposing we could satisfy the King of England, by having the Palatinate restored to his son-in-law, yet we must consider whether it is in our power to have it restored since the Duke of Bavaria is possessed of all those dominions, and the Emperor, who hath promised to transfer to him the upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity, is new in the Diet, where that translation is to be made.

Besides, the Emperor hath given us to understand, how difficult it will be to wrest the Palatinate out of the Duke of Bavaria's hands, since it appears by the memorial, which was yesterday presented to your Majesty by the Emperor's ambassador, that the Duke of Bavaria alone can maintain more troops, than all the rest of the allies joined together.

Upon these difficulties, the Condé proposed in the same letter:—

—to set on foot two other marriages, namely, between the Emperor's eldest daughter, and the Prince of Wales, and between the Prince Palatine's son, and the Emperor's second daughter by which means the business (says he) may be accommodated, and afterwards, I would reduce the Prince Elector to the obedience of the Church, by breeding his sons in the Emperor's court with Catholic doctrine.

If it be considered, that the King of Spain's letter is dated the 5th of November, and that probably the answer was made within a few days, it will be easy to perceive, that till then the Spaniard never intended to conclude the marriage. But presently after, as I have observed, he came to another revolution.

## **Truce For Fifteen Months Concluded at London**

**1623 AD]** The late alteration in the projects of the Spanish court, procured the Earl of Bristol a letter from Philip IV, to the Infanta Isabella, to desire her to raise the siege of Frankendal, and renew at London the conferences for a truce, which were broken off at Brussels.

This request was a real order which the Infanta obeyed, and the negotiation of the truce was begun at London, where it ended the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1623[333]. The sole point was to hinder, by means, of this truce, Frankendal, the only place in the Palatinate where was an English garrison, from falling into the Emperors hands.

But on the other side, the Emperor had reason to fear, if James remained master of this place, he would make use of it to carry war into the Palatinate, and the more, as he had sometimes threatened to have recourse in the end to arms. To adjust the different interests of the Emperor and the King, this rare expedient was devised. Frankendal was to be delivered to the Infanta Isabella, and a truce made for fifteen or eighteen months, after which, the Infanta was to restore the place to the English. But withal, the Elector was to break his alliance with the Prince of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt.

## **The Council of England's Oversight in This Treaty**

This Treaty gives no great idea of the capacity of King's James and his council. Not only was Frankendal delivered to the Infanta, as if she had been a third person entirely disinterested, though she had shown the contrary in this very treaty; but the Elector was also deprived of all hopes of re-entering his country. Moreover, the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria were at liberty either to dismiss their troops, or to assist the King of Spain in the Low Countries, since there was no farther danger of a war in the Palatinate.

But what advantage accrued to James by this Treaty? Indeed, he hindered the Emperor from taking Frankendal, but at the same time, the place was delivered to Spain. On the other hand, the truce, which would have been for his advantage, had he kept Frankendal, turned to his prejudice, since it deprived him of the power to carry the war into the Palatinate, in favour of his son-in-law.

It is true, upon supposition of the Infanta's sincerity, he was to have the place again when the truce was expired: but this was a very doubtful supposition, since the Infanta was entirely guided by the directions of the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

## **The Duke of Bavaria is Made Elector**

Before the truce was concluded at London, the Emperor going to the Diet of Ratisbon. invested the Duke of Bavaria with the electoral dignity and the upper Palatinate, notwithstanding the opposition of several Princes who were possessed of hereditary dominions, and to whom such a precedent was a just occasion of fear.

Such was the effect on King James's three years negotiations, in favour of his son-in-law, who was at length stripped of his dominions and dignities[334]. But the Spanish match was to recover all. We must see now the success of that tedious negotiation, the only remarkable event of the year 1623.

## **The Sequel of The Negotiations of The Marriage**

The only obstacle of the marriage, were the articles concerning religion. The Earl of Bristol had been disputing the ground inch by inch, ever since his arrival in Spain, and Philip IV was not displeased with it, because it gave him an opportunity to gain time.

In August 1622, the Spaniard demanded certain articles in favour of the English Catholics, to which the ambassador only answered, He would acquaint the King his master therewith. At the same time, the Pope put his postils or notes to the articles that were agreed on. Hence, it is easy to perceive, that the courts of Rome and Spain added in concert, both tending to the same end.

## **The King Agrees to Agree to Whatever The Pope Requires For The Catholics**

The King received, about the same time, the Pope's postils, and the court of Madrid demands in favour of the Catholics. He kept these last, out of ceremony, some months, without giving an answer, but at length signed all the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1623, and having made the prince sign them also, sent the same articles to the Earl of Bristol, who received them the 25<sup>th</sup> of the same month.

I believe the full and entire resolution of the Spanish court to conclude the marriage, may be fixed to this time. From the year 1616, to November 1622, the Spaniard's, sole intent was to

amuse King James. From thence, to the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1623, he seems to have resolved upon the marriage, provided certain advantages could be obtained for the Roman religion.

### **The Time of Solemnising The Marriage is Fixed**

In fine, alter the articles, signed by the King and Prince, had secured him what he desired, his resolution was fixed. These three epocha's are to be carefully observed and distinguished, for want of which, most historians are very obscure in their recital of this affair.

The Spaniard being satisfied with the articles sent from England, which were much more advantageous to the Catholics than those agreed upon with the Earl of Bristol, demanded time to send them to Rome, and obtain the Pope's dispensation.

### **Defence of The Earl of Bristol**

It was thought, the dispensation might come in March or April at farthest, and it was agreed, the nuptials should be solemnized four days[335] after his arrival: that the Infanta should set out within twenty days after the celebration of the marriage, and whilst the dispensation was expelled, the other articles which were called temporal, to distinguish them from those concerning religion, should be settled.

### **The Temporal Articles are Approved**

Pursuant to this agreement, the Earl of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston jointly with the Spanish ministers prepared these articles by the beginning of March to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The 22<sup>nd</sup> of March, the Condé d'Olivarez and Gondemar came to the English ambassadors, and showed them a writing with the King of Spain's hand to it, whereby he approved of the temporal articles, and ordered them to finish the affair.

These articles concerned only the portion and dowry, without any mention of the Palatinate. Besides that he had commanded the Earl of Bristol, in his instructions not to make the restitution of the Palatinate one of the marriage articles, this command was repeated in the King's letter to him of the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1622, that is, two or three months before. Moreover, at this, the affair of the marriage being in this situation, and very probably, near a conclusion, the end of April was to be expected with patience, to see whether any new difficulty would occur, for thus far every thing seemed to be settled to the King's satisfaction. But the face of this affair was suddenly changed by a very odd and most extraordinary adventure.

### **The Prince of Wales Resolves to go to Spain**

The Marquis of Buckingham persuaded the Prince of Wales, to go to Spain and fetch home his Mistress the Infanta himself. He told him;—

The more uncommon such a gallantry was among Princes, the more it would redound to his honour: The Infanta herself would be charmed with it: His presence would immediately put an end to all formalities, and remove whatever difficulties might yet occur.

As after the marriage, there was an affair of moment to be negotiated, namely, the restitution of the Palatinate, an intercessor like him, would do no more in three days than ambassadors could do in as many months.

In a word, he so artfully represented this project, that the Prince, transported with the thoughts of so noble an adventure, never recited till he had accomplished it. The difficulty was to obtain the King's consent[336].

The Prince asked it before Buckingham, and expressed so earnest a desire to make the journey, that the King granted his request without much hesitation, and put off till next day to consider of means to effect it. But after he had more seriously reflected on this affair, his mind was quite changed on the morrow, when the Prince and Buckingham came to him.

## The King Consents

He represent so to them, how fruitless such a journey would be in the present situation of the marriage affair, and the inconvenience it might be attended with. But instead of answering his reasons, Buckingham rudely told him, he had given his word, and if he broke it, would be never more credited[337].

The reader may see in the Lord Clarendon's *History* this conversation at large, which ended with the King's permission, extorted by the Prince and Buckingham, for this strange, rash, and very dangerous journey.

It was resolved, that Buckingham should accompany the Prince, with two more only, namely, Sir Francis Cottington, who had been the King's agent in Spain, and came from thence in September and Endymion Porter Gentleman of the bed chamber to the Prince, who had been bred at Madrid: That they should go post haste through France, and the secret be kept, that they might be at a distance before their departure was known. This resolution being taken, the Prince and Buckingham desired only two days to prepare.

The motives of this journey are variously related, according to the interests and prejudices of the several writers. Some say, the Court of England still doubting the Spanish Court's sincerity, thought proper, the Prince and Buckingham should be satisfied with their own eyes in order to know what could be depended upon.

But supposing this doubt, was it not extremely imprudent to put the King's only son into the hands of a Prince, whose sincerity was believed to be justly suspected? The King, Prince, and favourite, must have been all three void of undemanding, to be guilty of such an error. This therefore seems to be altogether improbable.

The Lord Clarendon says, Buckingham, out of envy that the Earl of Bristol should have the sole management of so great an affair, had a mind to have the glory of ending it. But he should have thought of it sooner, since everything was now concluded in Spain, at or about the time of the Prince's departure for Madrid. So the Marquis could not acquire much honour. Besides, the event showed, this was not his motive, since instead of promoting, he was the sole cause of the unexpected difficulties, and final breach, of the marriage.

Others pretend, Buckingham's aim was insensibly to induce the Prince to change his religion, by exposing him to all the temptations which of course he would meet at the Court of Madrid.

Of this he was afterwards accused before the Parliament, by the Earl of Bristol, who said, the project was formed several months before the Prince's departure, between Buckingham and Gondemar, by means of Endymion Porter, who had been lent to Spain for that purpose. But the proofs on which the Earl of Bristol grounded his accusation, were but presumptions at most, and as he was a professed enemy to the Marquis of Buckingham, I do not know whether his testimony may be relied on.

But whatever were the favourite's real motives with respect to this journey, it can hardly be denied, that it was a sign of great levity in the Prince, and of no less weakness and imprudence in the King.

## **The Prince Sets Out With Buckingham**

The affair of the Marriage was in such a situation, that it was entirely needles to solicit afresh the Court of Spain with whom every thing was agreed. Two months patience would have shown the King, whether he could rely on them, without exposing his only son and heir apparent to so imminent danger, by buffering him to execute a romantic project, which could procure no advantage. But the King's condescension for the Prince and Buckingham prevailed above all these considerations.

They set out post haste the 17th of , February[338], and came to Paris, where they ventured to appear at Court, and be present at a ball, where, though disguised, they were in some danger of being discovered.

## **The Prince is Well Received in Spain**

However, they arrived safely at Madrid the 7<sup>th</sup> of March and alighted at the Earl of Bristol's, who was not a little surprised to see the Prince[339]. I shall not stay to describe the magnificent reception of the Prince by the Court of Spain, when he made himself known.

I shall only say, he met with all the respect due to his birth, and all possible caresses to testify the satisfaction at his gallantry to the Infanta, and his candour in confiding in the King's generosity.

## **He is Not Permitted to See The Infanta**

The only thing in which great ceremony was used, was his not being permitted to visit the Infanta in private. The Spanish way did not admit of such a familiarity, and the more because the dispensation not being yet come, he could not in strictness be considered as the Infanta's future spouse.

No sooner was the Prince arrived in Spain, but all the Spaniards thought he was come to change his religion before he espoused the Infanta, no one imagining there could be any other motive of his journey. Nay, Count Gondemar very seriously desired the Earl of Bristol, not to oppose so pious a design, and if the Earl is to be credited, the Count intimated to him, that the Marquis of Buckingham was not against it[340].

The Earl of Bristol perceiving, if the Court of Spain had any such hopes, it would be apt to retard the Marriage, spoke of it to the Prince, and conjured him to impart the secret to him, if there was really anything in it. But the Prince firmly denied it, and expostulated with the ambassador for having so ill an opinion of him[341]

Whereupon the Earl of Bristol entreated him; neither to do nor say anything whatever that might feed the hopes of the Spanish Court in that respect, for fear of obstructing the marriage.

Nevertheless he was attacked several times, one while by Ecclesiastics, who took all occasions to dispute with him about religion, another while by courtiers, who represented to him how powerful England would grow, if she would return to the obedience of the Pope. he even received a long letter from Gregory XV, exhorting him to come into the bosom of the Church, and imitate his glorious ancestors, who had done so great things for the defence of religion.

## **The Prince's Answer to The Pope**

The Prince answered this letter the 20th of June. But because the two printed copies of this answer are very different, it will not be amiss to insert them both:—

## Prince Charles to Pope Gregory XV

**Most Holy Father,**

I Received the dispatch from your Holiness with great content, and with that respect which the piety and care wherewith your Holiness writes doth require.

It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the generous exploits of the Kings my predecessors, to whose memory posterity hath not given those praises and eulogies of honour that were due to them. I do believe that your Holiness hath set their example before my eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my actions; for in truth they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the Holy Chair.

And the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a bond of true concord:

For like as the common enemy of peace watcheth always to put hatred and dissension between Christian Princes, so I believe that the glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great Princes, than to imitate them in the zeal of their piety:

In which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy intentions of his Catholic Majesty, to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design: for it grieves him extremely to see the great evil that grows from the division of Christian Princes, which the wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the marriage, which you pleased to design between the Infanta of Spain and myself, to be necessary to procure so great a good:

For it is very certain, that I shall never be so extremely affectionate to anything in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehensions of the true religion with myself. Therefore I entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always far from encouraging novelties, or to be a partisan of any faction against the Catholic Apostolic, Roman religion:

But on the contrary, I have fought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me; and that I will employ myself for the time to come to have but one religion, and one faith; seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ:

Having resolved in myself to spare nothing that I may have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities; even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God. It rests only, that I thank your Holiness for the permission which you have been pleased to afford me, and that I may pray God to give you a blessed health here, and his glory, after so much travel which your Holiness takes within his Church.

**Madrid - June 1622**

**Charles Stuart**

The other Copy of the same letter, is as follows.

## Prince Charles to Pope Gregory XV.

**Most Holy Father,**

**W**E have received your Letter, with no less thankfulness and respect than is due to the singular good will and godly affection wherewith we know it was written.

It was most acceptable unto us, that the never enough renowned examples of our ancestors were proposed to us by your Holiness. for our inspection and imitation; who though they often hazarded their lives and fortunes to propagate the Christian faith, yet did they never more cheerfully display the banners of the cross of Christ against his most bitter enemies, than we will endeavour to the utmost, that the peace and union which so long triumphed, may be reduced into the Christian world, after a kind of elimination or exile.

For since the malice of the father of discords hath sowed such unhappy divisions amongst those who profess the Christian religion, we account this most necessary, thereby to promote with better success the glory of God, and Christ our Saviour, nor shall we esteem it less honour to tread in their footsteps, and to have been their rivals and imitators in holy undertakings, than to have been defended of them.

And we are very much encouraged to this as well by the known inclination of our Lord and father, and his ardent desire to lend a helping hand to so pious a work, and the anguish that gnaws his royal breast, when he considers what cruel destructions, what deplorable calamities arise out of the dissensions of Christian Princes.

Your Holiness' conjecture of our desire to contract an alliance and marriage with a Catholic Family and Princess, is agreeable both to your wisdom and charity, for we would never desire so vehemently to be joined in a strict and indissoluble bond with any mortal whatsoever, whose religion we hated.

Therefore your Holiness may be assured, that we are, and always will be of that moderation, as to abstain from such actions, which may testify our hatred against the Roman Catholic religion; we will rather embrace all occasions whereby through a gentle and fair procedure, all sinister suspicions may be taken away; that as we all confess one individual Trinity, and one Christ crucified, we may unanimously grow up into one Faith.

Which that we may compass, we little value all labour and watching, yea, the very hazard of our lives. It remains that we render thanks to your Holiness for your letter, which we esteem as a singular present, and with your Holiness all prosperity and eternal happiness.

**Dated at Madrid, 20 June 1623.**

It must be observed of these two letters, which are very different, that as they did not appear till after the Civil Wars, it is equally probable that one of the parties qualified, whilst the other aggravated, the expressions. And therefore it is needless to make any reflection upon them.

Meanwhile, since the Prince's arrival in Spain, the state of the marriage treaty was somewhat altered. The dispensation arrived about six weeks after, that is, about the beginning of May. But the Pope had annexed certain conditions, without which it was to be of no force. Very probably, had not the Prince been in Spain, the dispensation would have come sooner, and without any

restriction: but it is not very surprising, that the Pope, knowing the Prince was in Spain, should desire to make an advantage of that imprudence.

He sent therefore the dispensation, but it was to be delivered only on these terms:—

**That** the Infanta should have a Church in London:

**That** the Children by this marriage should be left to their mother's care till they were ten years old:

**That** the nurses should be Catholics, and appointed by the mother:

**That** the King of England should give security for the performance of the articles agreed upon concerning religion.

## **The Articles Relating to The Education of The Children is Agreed**

The article relating to the education of the Children had been debated in November, and the Pope and King of Spain had insisted that the Children should be educated by their mother till marriageable.

The King at first offered seven years, and the Courts of Rome and Spain came to twelve. Then the King allowed nine, and the Pope ten. At last, the Earl of Bristol received the King's orders, not to dispute for a year more or less.

After the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham came to Madrid, they managed the affair of the marriage exclusive of the Earl of Bristol There was some debate upon the articles annexed to the Pope's dispensation. The Prince of Wales said, he had no power to make the least addition to the articles signed by the King his father, and the Spanish ministers maintained, his Catholic Majesty could not reject the conditions on which the Pope had granted the dispensation:

**That** it lay in the Pope's breast to grant his favours on what terms he pleased, and that the dispensations was void without these conditions. In short, it was thought proper to consult the King of England by letter, and to ask withal, what security he would give for the performance of the articles.

James made no scruple concerning the time of the education of the children, or about the nurses, because these things were now settled. As to the security, he replied, he could give no other than his own, and the Prince's Royal words and oaths, confirmed by his council of state, and exemplified under the Great Seal of England.

All this not satisfying the Pope's Nuncio, who pretended to have particular orders upon that point, the King of Spain offered to become security himself: but it was first to be determined by a committee of Ecclesiastics, that Philip might lawfully swear for the King of England.

## **Cottington Carries The Signed Articles to England**

Some believe this to be a Spanish device, to make the King of Spain's guarantee of the articles granted to the Catholics. This difficulty being removed, the Prince sent Cottington to England with the articles concerning religion, newly drawn according to the Popes intentions, and with some other secret articles which were not to be published so soon.

It must be remarked, that hitherto there was no other writing concerning the Infanta's dowry, than a rough draught, approved indeed by the King of Spain in a aforementioned letter directed to his ministers, but which remained in the hands of Olivarez.

Much less had there been any care taken about the restitution of the Palatinate, James being unwilling to make this one of the marriage articles, for fear it should be in recompense of the two millions promised him for the Infanta's dowry.

But he was very willing to receive the Palatinate from the King of Spain's bounty, when the marriage should be consummated. This at last was his project, and, no doubt, at the time the Court of Spain fought only to amuse him, he was made to expect the restitution of the Palatinate^ though without any written engagement. Meanwhile, James depended upon this verbal promise, as if it had been a Treaty signed with the Spaniard's own hand[342].

## **The King Debates in Council About Toleration The Papists**

Cottington being come to England with the Articles both public and private, it was rumoured, that the Pope and King of Spain demanded a toleration for the English Papists. The King himself occasioned this rumour, by asking his council, Whether it would be convenient to grant such a toleration?

## **The Archbishop's Letter to The King Against Toleration of Popery**

Whereupon, Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, who had withdrawn to his own house ever since the fatal accident of killing the Park-keeper, and came no more to the council, thought it his duty to write the following letter to the King:—

### **May it Please Your Majesty,**

I Have been too long silent, and I am afraid by my silence I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in:

But I now humbly crave leave I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duty to your Majesty; and therefore I beseech you freely to give me leave to deliver myself, and then let your Majesty do with me what you please.

Your Majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion, I beseech you take it into your consideration what your act is, what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; How hateful it will be to God, and grievous to your good subjects, the professors of the Gospel, That your Majesty who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those heresies, should now shew your!elf a patron of those wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable.

And hereunto I add what you have done in sending the Prince into Spain without consent of your council, the privity and approbation of your people:

And although you have a charge and interest in the Prince, as son of your flesh; yet have the people a greater, as son of the Kingdom, upon whom next after your Majesty are their eyes fixed, and welfare depends; and so tenderly is his going apprehended (as believe it) however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him into this action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, unpunished.

Besides, this toleration which you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majesty will let your subjects see that

you will take unto your self ability to throw down the laws of your land at your pleasure.

What dread consequences these things may draw afterwards, I beseech your Majesty to consider; and above all, left by this toleration and discountenancing of the true profession of the Gospel, wherewith God hath blessed us, and this Kingdom hath so long flourished under, your Majesty do not draw upon this Kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.

Thus in discharge of my duty towards God, to your Majesty and the place of my calling, I have taken humble leave to deliver my conscience. Now, Sir, do what you please with me.

## **The King Signs The Articles Sent From Spain**

It may be seen by this Letter, it was not without reason that the Archbishop passed for a Puritan, at least, according to the notions of the court, where all were considered as Puritans, who refused to ascribe to the King an unlimited power. Wherefore his Counsels were not regarded.

The King did not long detain Cottington in England. As it was not now time to dispute, and he was required to sign the articles as brought by Cottington, without any alterations, he chose to do it rather than hazard a breach of the marriage, when the Prince his son was in the hands of the Spaniard.

He signed them therefore, and solemnly swore to them. As these articles were new drawn, explained, and increased to twenty-three, besides four secret articles, the reader, perhaps, will be glad to view them here in their new form, and see withal how far the King carried his compliance:—

### **Articles Sworn by The King**

**I. That** the marriage be made by dispensation of the Pope, but that to be procured by the endeavour of the King of Spain.

**II. That** the marriage be once only celebrated in Spain, and ratified in England, in form following: In the morning, after the most gracious Infanta hath ended her devotions in the chapel, she, and the most excellent Prince Charles, shall meet in the King's Chapel, or in some other room of the Palace, where it shall seem most expedient; and there shall be read all the procurations, by virtue whereof the, marriage was celebrated in Spain and as well the most, excellent Prince, as the most excellent Infanta, shall ratify, the said marriage celebrated in Spain, with all solemnity necessary for such an act: So as no ceremony, or other thing intervene, which shall be contrary to the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion.

**III That** the most gracious Infanta shall take with her such servants and family as are convenient for her service, which Family, and all persons to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the Catholic King: so as he nominate no servant which is vassal to the King of Great Britain, without his will and consent.

**IV That** as well the most gracious Infanta, as all her servants and Family, shall have free use and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, in manner and form as is beneath capitulated.

**V. That** she shall have an oratory and decent chapel in her Palace, where, at the pleasure of the most gracious Infanta, Masses may be celebrated; and in like manner, she shall have in London, or wheresoever she shall make her abode, a public and capacious church near her Palace, wherein all duties may be solemnly celebrated, and all other things necessary for the public preaching of God's word, the celebration and administration of all the sacraments of the Catholic Roman church, and for burial of the dead, and baptizing of children. That the said oratory, chapel, and church, shall be adorned with such decency, as shall seem convenient to the most gracious Infanta.

**VI That** the men servants and maid servants of the most gracious Infanta, and their servants, children, and descendants, and all their families, of what sort soever, serving her Highness, may be freely and publicly Catholics.

**VII. That** the most gracious Infanta, her servants and family, may live as Catholics in form following: That the most gracious Infanta shall have in her Palace, her oratory and chapel so spacious, that her said servants and family may enter and stay therein; in which there shall be an ordinary and public door for them, and another inward door, by which the Infanta may have a passage into the said chapel, where she and others, as above said, may be present at divine offices.

**VIII. That** the chapel, church and oratory, maybe beautified with decent ornaments of altars, and other things necessary for divine service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the custom of the Holy Roman Church; and that it shall be lawful for the said servants and others, to go to the said chapel and church at all hours, as to them shall seem expedient.

**IX. That** the care and custody of the said chapel and church, shall be committed to such as the Lady Infanta shall appoint, to whom it shall be lawful to appoint keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any indecent thing.

**X. That** to the administration of the sacraments, and to serve in chapel and church aforesaid, there shall be four and twenty Priests and assistants, who shall serve weekly or monthly, as to the Infanta shall seem fit; and the election of them shall belong to the Lady Infanta, and the Catholic King, provided that they be none of the vassals of the King of Great-Britain; and if they be, his will and consent is to be first obtained.

**XI. That** there be one superior minister or bishop, with necessary authority upon all occasions which shall happen belonging to religion; and for want of a bishop, that his vicar may have his authority and jurisdiction.

**XII. That** this bishop or superior minister may correct and chastise all Roman Catholics who shall offend, and shall exercise upon them all jurisdiction Ecclesiastical: And moreover also, the Lady Infanta shall have power to put them out of her service, whensoever it shall seem expedient to her.

**XIII. That** it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta and her servants to procure from Rome dispensations, indulgences, jubilees, and all graces, as shall seem fit to their religion and consciences, and to get and make use of any manner of Catholic books whatsoever.

**XIV. That** the servants and family of the Lady Infanta, who shall come into England, shall take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain: Provided, that there be no clause therein which shall be contrary to their conscience, and the Roman Catholic

religion, and if they happen to be vassals to the King of Great Britain, they shall take the same oath that the Spaniards do.

**XV. That** the Laws which are or shall be in England against religion, shall not take hold of the said servants; and only the aforesaid superior ecclesiastical Catholic may proceed against ecclesiastical persons, as hath been accustomed by Catholics: And if any secular Judge shall apprehend any ecclesiastical person for any offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the aforesaid superior Ecclesiastic who shall proceed against him according to the Canon Law.

**XVI. That** the laws made against Catholics in England, or in another Kingdom of the King of Great Britain, shall not extend to the children of this marriage, and though they be Catholics, they shall not lose the right of succession to the Kingdom and dominions of Great Britain.

**XVII. That** the nurses which shall give suck to the children of the Lady Infanta, (whether they be of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other nation whatsoever) shall be chosen by the Lady Infanta, as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her family, and enjoy the privileges thereof.

**XVIII. That** the bishop, ecclesiastical and religious persons of the family of the Lady Infanta, shall wear the vestments and habit of their dignity, profession, and Religion, after the custom of Rome.

**XIX. For** security that the said matrimony be not dissolved for any cause whatsoever, the King and Prince are equally to pass the word and honour of a King; and moreover, that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the Catholic King for further confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

**XX. That** the sons and daughters which shall be born of this marriage, shall be brought up in the company of the most excellent Infanta, at the least, until the age of ten years, and shall freely enjoy the right of succession to the Kingdoms, as aforesaid.

**XXI. That** whensoever any place of either man servant or maid servant, which the Lady Infanta shall bring with her, (nominated by the Catholic King her brother) shall happen to be void, whether by death, or by other cause or accident, all the said servants of her family are to be supplied by the Catholic King, as aforesaid.

**XXII. For** security that whatsoever is capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are to be bound by oath; and all the King's Council shall confirm the said Treaty under their hands: Moreover, the said King and Prince are to give their faiths in the word of a King, to endeavor, if possible, that whatsoever is capitulated may be established by Parliament.

**XXIII. That** conformable to this Treaty, all those things proposed, are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an apostolic benediction, and a dispensation necessary to effect the marriage.

### **Difficulty Concerning The Pope's Title**

The King ratified these articles in the usual form, and swore to observe them, before the two Spanish ambassadors and twenty[343] Privy Counsellors, who also signed the treaty. When the King came to take the oath, he had some dispute with the ambassadors.

His Majesty would not give the Pope the title of Holy Father, or His Holiness, saying, he had writ against this title, and it was unreasonable to make him retract. But the ambassadors insisting upon it, the King yielded at last, not thinking he ought, for such a trifle, retard a treaty, which had now been seven years on foot.

## The King Yields

After publicly taking this oath, he withdrew into his closet, where, in presence of the same ambassadors, and some Privy Counsellors, he ratified and swore to these four secret articles.

**I. That** particular laws made against Roman Catholics under which other vassals of our Realms are not comprehended, and to whose observation all generally are not obliged; as likewise general laws, under which all are equally comprised, if so be they are such which are repugnant to the Romish religion, shall not at any time hereafter, by any means or chance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in execution against the said Roman Catholics; and we will cause that our council shall take the same oath, as far as it pertains to them, and belongs to the execution, which by the hands of them and their ministers, is to be exercised.

**II. That** no other laws shall hereafter be made anew against the said Roman Catholics, but that there shall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman Catholic Religion, within private houses throughout all our Realms and Dominions, which we will have to be understood as well of our Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as in England which shall be granted to them in manner and form, as is capitulated, decreed, and granted in the article of the treaty concerning the marriage.

**III. That** neither by us nor any other interposed person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, privately or publicly will we treat (or attempt) anything with the most renowned Lady Infanta Donna Maria, which shall be repugnant to the Romish Catholic religion; neither will we by any means persuade her, that she should ever renounce or relinquish the same in substance or form, or that she should do any thing repugnant or contrary to those things which are contained in the Treaty of matrimony.

**IV. That** we and the Prince of Wales will interpose our authority, and will do as much as in us shall lie, that the Parliament shall approve, confirm, and ratify all and singular articles in favour of the Roman Catholics, capitulated between the most renowned Kings by reason of this marriage: And that the said Parliament shall revoke and abrogate particular laws made against the said Roman Catholics, to whose observance also the rest of our subjects and vassals are not obliged: as likewise the general laws under which all are equally comprehended, to wit, as to the Roman Catholics, if they be such as is aforesaid, which are repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion: And that hereafter, we will not consent that the said Parliament should ever, at any time, enact or write any other new laws against the Roman Catholics[344].

These are the four articles which served for foundation to the Pope's dispensation: for, as the *Congregation de propaganda* said:—

The other articles are only to secure the Infanta's religion: but there must be something more for the Catholics in general, before the dispensation can be granted.

Nelson and others pretend, these four secret articles are fictitious, groundless, and even improbable. But, besides that they follow very naturally from what was demanded by the *Congregation de propaganda*, and are manifestly alluded to in the Archbishop's letter to the King, we shall see presently a paper which leaves no room to doubt, that the King had engaged to perform the contents of the four articles.

It is pretended, all these articles, as well public as private, signed by the King and Privy-Council, with the Great Seal annexed, being brought to Spain, the Prince of Wales made the following additions. But I confess, I do not find so strong proofs of these additions, as of the foregoing articles. This depends upon the degree of credit, which the reader is willing to give the first publishers.

### **Articles Sworn to by The Prince of Wales**

**MOREOVER, I CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES** engage myself, (and promise, that the most illustrious King of Great Britain, my most honoured Lord and father, shall do the same both by word and writing,) That all those things which are contained in the foregoing Articles, and concern as well the suspension as the abrogation of all laws made against the Roman Catholics, shall within three years infallibly take effect and sooner, if it be possible, which we will have to lie upon our conscience and royal honour:

**That I** will intercede with the most illustrious King of Great Britain my father, that the ten years of the education of the children which shall be born of this marriage, with the most illustrious Lady Infanta their mother, accorded in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Article. (which term the Pope of Rome desires to have prorogued to twelve years) may be lengthened to the said term:

**And I** promise freely and of my own accord, and swear:—

**That** if it so happen, that the entire power of disposing of this matter be devolved to me, I will also grant and approve the said term.

**Furthermore, I Prince of Wales** oblige myself, upon my faith to the Catholic King, That as often as the most illustrious Lady Infanta shall retire, that I should give ear to divines or others, whom her Highness shall be pleased to employ in matter of the Roman Catholic religion, I will hearken to them willingly without all difficulty, and laying aside all excuse.

**And** for further caution in point of the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and the suspension of the law above named, **I Charles Prince of Wales**, promise and take upon me in the word of a King, that the things above promised and treated concerning those matters, shall take effect, and be put in execution, as well in the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as of England.

### **Buckingham is Created a Duke**

This is what occasioned the Prince's and Buckingham's journey to Spain, a journey not only needless, but even pernicious, as may easily be seen by all the additions made to the articles settled by the Earl of Bristol.

The King was so glad he had finished the affair of the marriage, that he desired all the devils in hell to break it[345]. As a grateful acknowledgment for his favourite's great services, he sent him a patent creating him Duke of Buckingham. There was no other Duke at that time in England[346].

### **The Court of Spain Want to See The Secret Articles Executed**

The King's compliance in every thing he had signed and ratified was so great, that the Spaniards could hardly believe it sincere. Some who knew the English constitution, maintained, it was not

in the King's power to perform his promises, or in case he attempted it, a rebellion would infallibly follow.

Wherefore the King of Spain appointed a committee to take this matter into consideration. The result of the debate was, that it was not proper to send the Infanta to England before the next spring, that in this interval the performance of the articles granted to the Catholics, and their effects might be assured.

Upon this the Spanish ambassadors in England had orders to desire the King to begin to execute his engagements in favour of the Catholics. This demand embarrassed him. What he had promised was secret, and not to be performed till after the marriage, and he was pressed to make it public by the execution, whilst the Prince was still in Spain.

This was a sort of menace that the marriage should not be solemnized, before he had given public marks of his sincerity. He knew a proclamation for granting the Papists a toleration might be attended with ill consequences; that these consequences might break off the marriage, and the Prince his son would be in danger of being detained in Spain,

To free himself from this perplexity, he resolved to give the ambassadors some satisfaction, by putting into their hands a declaration of his council, containing his intention concerning this affair. In all appearance, the ambassadors were prevailed with to consent, that the performance of it should be deferred, by reason of the accidents that might follow.

The declaration was thus:—

**Salisbury, Aug. 7. 1623**

**A DECLARATION TOUCHING THE PARDONS,  
SUSPENSIONS, AND DISPENSATIONS OF THE ROMAN  
CATHOLICS**

**F**OR the satisfaction of their excellencies, the Marquis Ynojosa and Don Carolus de Colonia, the Lords, ambassadors for the King of Spain; and to the end it may appear that his Majesty of Great Britain will presently and really put in execution the grace promised; and intended to the Roman Catholics his Majesty's subject; and of his own grace more than he is tied to by the Articles of Treaty of Marriage[347].

We do declare in his Majesty's name, that his Majesty's will and pleasure is, that a legal and authentical Pardon shall be passed under the Great Seal, wherein shall be freely pardoned all those penalties, forfeitures and seizures, indictments, convictments and encumbrances whatsoever, whereunto the Roman Catholics are liable, or have been proceeded against, or might be, as well priests, as others, for matters of conscience only, and to which the rest of his Majesty's subjects are not liable.

And to the end his Majesty may make himself clearly understood, where it shall happen that any of those forfeitures and pecuniary mulcts have been given away under his Majesty's Great-Seal his Majesty will not hide that it is not in his power so to make void those Letters Patents, except they be voidable by law; and then his Majesty is well pleased that all Roman Catholics may in those cases plead in Law, if they find it good, and shall have equal and legal trial.

And his Majesty is likewise pleased, that his general pardon shall remain in being five years, to the end all that will may in that time take it out; and his Majesty will give order for the comfort of the poorer sort, that the pardon shall not be costly, but such like course shall be taken as was in a like occasion at his Majesty's coming into England; and that it shall be lawful to put as many as can be possible into one pardon.

And we do farther declare, that his Majesty's will and pleasure is, to the end the Roman Catholics, his Majesty's subjects, may have a present and a free fruition of as much as is intended them by the articles of treaty of marriage, to cause a present suspension under his Majesty's seal of all those penal laws, charges, and forfeitures, whereunto the Roman Catholic subjects of his Majesty have heretofore been subject, and to which the rest of his Majesty's subjects have not been liable; and in the same grant, and under the same seal, to give a dispensation and toleration to all the Roman Catholics his Majesty's subjects, as well priests, as temporal persons and others, of and from all the penalties forfeitures, troubles, and encumbrances, which they have been or may be subject to, by reason of any statute or law whatsoever, to the observation whereof the rest of his Majesty's subjects are not bound. We do likewise declare, that his Majesty hath promised his royal word, that the execution shall be no ways burdensome or penal to the Roman Catholics, but that for the manner of privileging and freeing them from that, he must confer with bishops and advocates, into which he will presently enter and expedite by all means.

And we do further declare; That his Majesty's intention, is, presently to pursue his former directions (which had been before executed if their excellencies had so thought good) to put under his seal severally the said pardon, and suspension, and dispensation; and that his Majesty's attorney, and learned council shall have referred to them the charge to pen them with all those effectual words, clauses, expressions, and reservations, which may presently give fruition to the Roman Catholics his Majesty's subjects, and make them inviolable in the fruition of all that is intended and promised by his Majesty in the articles of marriage, and his Majesty's further grace.

And we do declare, That his Majesty's further will and pleasure is, for the better satisfaction and discharge of the care and endeavour of their excellencies the ambassadors, that it shall be lawful to them to assign a discreet person to entertain such sufficient lawyers as shall be thought fit to take care to the strength, validity, and security of the said grants:

And his Majesty's Attorney shall have charge to receive and admit the said lawyers to the sight and judgment of the said draughts, and in any doubts to give them satisfaction, or to use such legal, necessary and pertinent words and phrases, as he the said lawyer shall propound for the security of the Roman Catholics, and for making of the said grants.

And we do further declare, That his Majesty's pleasure is, to make a dispatch into Ireland unto his deputy there, by the hands of the Lord Treasurer and Secretary of State Sir George Calvert, for the present confirming and sealing the things concerning the Roman Catholics, answerable to the articles of treaty, his royal promise and proceedings here:

And for Scotland, that his Majesty according to the constitution of his affairs there, and regard to the public good, and peace of that Kingdom, and as soon as possible, will do all that shall be convenient for the accomplishment of his promise in grace

and favour of the Roman Catholics his subjects, conformable to the articles of treaty of marriage.

This declaration, signed by Secretary Conway and some Privy counsellors, who were most trusted by the King, was very probably sent to Spain as a pledge of the King's intention to perform his engagements.

There it was that the Earl of Bristol found means to have either the original itself, or a copy, which he produced before the Parliament in 1626, to show what the Duke of Buckingham had negotiated in Spain without his privity. It is manifest, first, that this declaration supposes the secret articles; secondly, that the Earl of Bristol would not have ventured to produce it before the Parliament, had he not been able to prove it no forgery[348].

## **The Death of Gregory XV Which Renders The Dispensation Null**

Whilst these things passed in England, news came to Madrid of Pope Gregory XV's death, which was a fresh obstacle to the conclusion of the marriage. When Cottington arrived from England with the ratification of the articles, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, affirming, as the marriage was not yet celebrated, the dead Pope's dispensation was of no force, and therefore it was necessary to stay till there was a new Pope, who might grant a valid dispensation.

## **They are Forced to Stay for a New Dispensation**

By this accident the Prince of Wales saw himself detained in Spain till the election of a new Pope. The 29<sup>th</sup> of August however was appointed for the celebration of the marriage, in a supposition, that before that time there would be a Pope and a new dispensation.

Meanwhile, the restitution of the Palatinate was not talked of, or if mentioned, it was only by way of convention, without any positive demand on the King of Spain, or his ministers. I have already shown the reason.

As to the temporal articles, they were in the same date as when the Prince came to Madrid, and nothing signed on either side; so that if the dispensation arrived before the 29<sup>th</sup> of August, the marriage must have been either deferred, or solemnized before these articles were settled.

## **Project to Persuade The Prince to Turn Catholic**

But the Court of Spain was intent upon a project of greater consequence, namely, to endeavour to persuade the Prince of Wales to turn Catholic; and it is not very strange, they should hope to succeed, after what had passed. Besides, if we may believe the Earl of Bristol in the impeachment he brought before the Parliament against Buckingham, that Duke gave the Spaniards too much reason to expect this pretended conversion.

## **Urban VIII Chosen Pope Delays to Give The Dispensation**

And to this alone is to be ascribed the delay of the dispensation. Urban VIII, who was chosen the 6<sup>th</sup> of August would not have failed to send it, had he not waited for this happy event, which he strove to advance by his letters to the Prince and Duke of Buckingham. This occasioned at last the breach of the marriage, after having been so long deferred.

## **Probable Causes of The Breach of The Marriage**

I have very carefully searched after the real cause of this breach, but could never meet with any thing satisfactory. All agree, it was the Duke of Buckingham that first inspired the Prince, and

afterwards the King with the thought, but it is difficult to guess his motive, and what caused him to break his first measures, and pursue a contrary course so obscurely, is this point explained by the historians?

Some say, the Duke rendered himself contemptible and odious to the Court of Spain, by affecting to follow the French fashions in almost every thing opposite to the Spanish: That for this reason, foreseeing the Infanta and the Spaniards would have great power at the Court of England, he thought they might in the end do him some ill turn, and therefore resolved to break off the match.

Others say Olivarez, favourite of Philip IV, reminding the Duke of his promise that the Prince should turn Catholic, the Duke gave him the lye to his face, and from that time fought means to retire from the Spanish court, for fear of the Condé's revenge.

Some say, the Queen of Bohemia perceiving there was no likelihood of recovering the Palatinate by this marriage, and having much more reason to expect great advantages from a rupture between England and Spain, sent a trusty messenger[349] to the Duke, with certain offers, in case he would procure a breach. This is not improbable, and the Hollanders, to whom the union between Spain and England must have been prejudicial, might well be concerned in the project.

In fine, the Duke of Buckingham's greatest favourers pretend, the Duke having founded the King of Spain's intentions concerning the restitution of the Palatinate, found there was nothing to be expected, and therefore resolved to break off a marriage, which was intended for no other purpose.

It is certain at least, the King, Prince, and Duke made use of this pretence to justify the breach.

## **The Prince Resolves to Depart From Spain**

However this be, the Duke of Buckingham having taken this resolution, soon prevailed with the Prince to agree to it, over whom he had now a very great ascendant. There were two difficulties to be surmounted in the execution of this design.

The first was to obtain the King's consent. The second, to get the Prince out of Spain. The Duke must have been fully persuaded of his power over the King, to hope to incline him at once to desist from a design, he had so constantly pursued for seven years, at the very time all was concluded, and nothing wanting but the nuptial ceremonies.

## **He Gets The King's Consent**

He despaired not however of succeeding, and therefore sent him word, he had at last discovered the King of Spain's insincerity: That not only he had no inclination to cause the Palatinate to be restored, but also was far from having the least thought of accomplishing the marriage, and the Prince was in danger of being detained in Spain all his life.

To support what the Duke said, the Prince himself writ to the King his father, telling him, He must now look upon his sister and her children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had such a son. The King fell, or rather, threw himself into this snare, without the least reflection, and immediately writ to Buckingham, to bring away the Prince by all means. At the same time, he sent some ships to St. Andero in Biscay to take them on board.

## **Means Used by The Prince to Leave Madrid**

The first difficulty being overcome, means were to be devised to quit Spain, and not give the Court any suspicion, which could not be done without wounding the Prince's honour and conscience. Happily for them, Urban VIII. had not yet sent the dispensation, nor even fixed any

time for it. So Buckingham notified to his Catholic Majesty the order he had received to bring back the Prince to England, his return being absolutely necessary to remove the nation's jealousy of his so long stay in Spain. Adding, his departure would cause no considerable alteration, since he would leave a proxy in the hands of any person, his Majesty should please to appoint, to espouse the Infanta in his name, as soon as the dispensation should come.

The King of Spain was a little surprised at the Prince's design. However as he did not desire the Infanta his sister should go before spring, he imagined, that after the espousals, it would be more easy to detain her, than if the Prince of Wales was actually in Spain, and therefore, he very readily consented to the Prince's departure[350].

### **He Leaves A Proxy to Celebrate The Marriage**

The only point therefore was to be assured of the celebration of the marriage, and the King himself desired to be the Prince's Proxy, jointly with Prince Edward of Portugal. The Proxy was drawn by the King's Secretary, and the Prince of Wales signing it in the presence of several witnesses, left it in the hands of the Earl of Bristol, with orders to deliver it to the King of Spain, ten days after the dispensation should be received.

### **The Prince Departs**

This done, the Duke of Buckingham departed first, under colour of preparing for the Prince's reception on board the English fleet at St. Andero. The court saw him depart without any concern, or rather with a satisfaction equal to his impatience to be in a place of security.

After his departure all imaginable honours were paid to the Prince. The King himself conducted him to the Escorial[351], where he received and feasted him as a Prince that was to be very shortly his brother-in-law.

I shall not give a particular account of all the civilities that were shown him. It will suffice to say, that on the very day of his departure, he solemnly swore again to the articles of the marriage, and then left the proxy with the Earl of Bristol, of which one of the secretaries of State made an authentic act, which was signed by several witnesses.

### **He Sends an Order to The Earl of Bristol Not to Deliver The Proxy**

The Prince went away, loaded with honours, caresses, presents, and attended by several Lords of the court, who waited upon him to the fleet[352]. He was no sooner come there, but he dispatched to the Earl of Bristol Mr. Edward Clarke, one of Buckingham's creatures, with positive orders not to deliver the proxy till security was given him that the Infanta, after the espousals, would not betake herself to a cloister, and to send him word before the delivery of the proxy what security was offered, that he might be judge himself, whether n was proper to accept it.

This was the first artifice used by the Prince to gain time, in the fear that the dispensation would come, and the marriage be solemnised before the King his father was determined to break it. The Earl of Bristol not yet perceiving the intent of the order he had received, was afraid if he should stay to the last, it might be an obstacle to the consummation of the marriage.

### **Defence of The Earl of Bristol**

He thought proper therefore to take care before the dispensation should arrive, to know what security the court of Spain would give concerning the Prince's scruple. He received as satisfactory an answer as he could with, which he conveyed to the King and Prince by a letter.

## **The Prince Arrives in England**

The Prince and Duke arrived on the 5th of October at Portsmouth, and from thence posted to Royston, where the King was. It seems they durst not immediately discover their design to the King about the breach of the marriage, but thought fit to take some precautions, to render it less strange to him.

### **He Defers Acquainting The King With His Design**

What makes me think this, is that the Earl of Bristol's Letter coming soon after, the King writ to him the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, that he was satisfied with the security offered by the Court of Spain. The Prince, who probably had not yet prepared all his batteries, concealing his design, writ likewise to the Earl of Bristol the following letter, which no doubt was to be seen by the King his father:—

Your letter to the King and me, concerning that doubt I made after I came from St. Laurence, hath so satisfied us both, that we think it fit no longer to stick upon it, but leave it to your discretion to take what security you shall think fitting.

The Prince however was in danger of the dispensation's arriving at Madrid, before the Earl of Bristol should have received a positive order not to deliver the proxy, since in that case, he would have been forced to execute what was enjoined him by the Prince himself when he left the Escorial. But this risk was to be run, there being no avoiding it, before the King was determined to a breach.

It is true, himself and the Duke had now begun to fill the King with doubts concerning the restitution of the Palatinate. Wherefore the King in his letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of October, writ to the Earl of Bristol, that he hoped to receive before Christmas the agreeable news both of his son's marriage, and son-in-law's restoration[353].

Though this was not an express order to demand the Palatinate before the espousals, the Earl of Bristol thought proper however to take some care of an affair, so much neglected during the Princes stay in Spain, and even since the marriage articles were settled. He mentioned it therefore to Olivarez, and made him engage, the Proxy should not be demanded, till a written promise was put into his hands that the Palatinate should be restored.

Of this he informed the King in a letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, wherein he told him, he hoped by Christmas, he should congratulate the Prince his son, and the Princess his daughter, the one upon his marriage, the other upon the end of her sufferings.

### **The Artifice of The Prince of Wales**

It must be observed, the Prince of Wales, before he left Spain, had used an artifice to gain time, knowing he could not break off the marriage without the King's consent. He had caused it to be inserted in the Proxy, that it should remain in force only till Christmas. He hoped the dispensation would not arrive before that time, or if it came but a few days before, the proxy would be useless.

### **The King is Prevailed with by The Prince and Buckingham**

And indeed, as the Earl of Bristol was not to deliver it till ten days after the arrival of the dispensation at Madrid, if the tenth day was after Christmas Day the proxy would be of no force, by virtue of the inserted clause.

But this precaution was not sufficient, because the dispensation might happen to be at Madrid above ten days before Christmas. This obliged the Prince and Duke at length to discover their minds to the King. Whether James yielded to their reasons, or, out of an excessive condescension for his son and favorite, would not grieve them by a denial, he writ to the Earl of Bristol the 13<sup>th</sup> of November expressly ordering him not to deliver the proxy till after Christmas: that is, when it was no longer valid.

Moreover, he enjoined him not to discover this order to the court of Spain till the very last. This letter was sent to the Earl by three[354] several messengers, two by land, and one by sea, for fear of accidents. It came in a critical time, for the dispensation arrived at Madrid the beginning of December, new Stile[355], and the King's letter the 13<sup>th</sup> of November old stile.

## **He Orders The Earl of Bristol not to Deliver The Proxy**

Upon the receipt of the dispensation, Philip immediately, ordered all the necessary preparations for the espousals to be made[356]. But when the ten days were expired and the marriage was expected to be solemnised, the Earl of Bristol notified to him the King his master's orders, not to deliver the proxy till after Christmas.

He easily perceived the King of England's intention since the proxy would then be invalid. That very day he sent to the Earl of Bristol to demand no more audience, and gave command that the Infanta should be no longer called the Princess of Wales, as she had been ever since the arrival of the dispensation, and caused all preparations for the marriage to cease.

Meanwhile, to call all the blame on the King of England, he sent the Earl of Bristol on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1624, a written promise, signed with his own hand, whereby he engaged to cause the Palatinate to be restored to the Elector Palatine. This the Earl of Bristol in the following reign, affirmed before the Parliament in his defence.

There is scarce an English historian but what assures, the want of this restitution was the cause of the breach of the marriage, and that the Earl of Bristol having demanded it of his Catholic Majesty, as a condition without which the marriage could not be accomplished, Philip coldly answered, the Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Emperor might be applied to.

But this is directly contrary to the Earl of Bristol's own account, who doubtless knew more of this affair than any other. The Earl of Clarendon took care not to speak like the rest. He contents himself with ascribing the breach to some secret design of Buckingham.

Thus ended the affair of the Spanish marriage, which had wholly employed King James for seven years. During all that time, he most earnestly solicited the conclusion of it, and, to succeed, scrupled not to sacrifice the interests of his son-in-law, his own reputation, the religion he professed, the good of his people, and the laws of his realm.

But when, at last, it was just going to be concluded, he suddenly broke it off, for reasons which were never yet clearly known. It can only be ascribed to his weakness for his favourite. The Earl of Clarendon says positively, the King was compelled to it by the Duke of Buckingham:—

— who, in breaking the marriage, resumed the same impetuosity, he had indulged to himself in the debate of the journey into Spain

He adds,

The King plainly found the Prince and Duke were resolved upon a breach, with or without his approbation, and that he never forgave the Duke what he had done, but retained as sharp a memory of it as his nature could contain.

It is to be presumed, the Earl of Clarendon was well acquainted with this affair, and the more, as he is not the only writer that intimates, the King had neither the power nor the courage to withstand the Prince and Duke, who were strictly united, since their journey to Spain[357].

**1624 AD]** Meantime, for fear the Earl of Bristol should by some means renew a treaty broken with so little reason, they caused him to be recalled. The King consented the more readily to his return, as he saw no person in his Court able to give him good counsels, to free himself from the slavery he was under, but the Earl of Bristol, who never yielded to Buckingham's haughtiness.

This had drawn upon him the favourite's enmity to such a degree, that ever after he was continually exposed to his perfections, and the Prince's indignation, who following Buckingham's suggestions, forgot nothing to ruin him, even when he had mounted the throne, though without being able to succeed.

Since the return of the Prince and Duke, the King no longer ruled, all his affairs were managed by them, and he only executed their counsels. The King saw about him none he could trust. All his officers, all his courtiers, were the Duke's creatures, and the more attached to him, as they saw him firstly united with the Prince.

In this situation, the King saw no other remedy, than to surrender himself entirely to them, and do whatever they pleased, whether he feared an increase of their boldness by resistance, or waited for some favorable opportunity to throw off their yoke.

Not only the breach of the marriage had been resolved between them, but also a war with Spain, and the King durst not contradict them, notwithstanding his aversion to arms. Their first project, was to demand for this war a benevolence of every subject: nay, they made the King sign an order to levy it.

Baker says in his chronicle, he himself paid fifty pounds on this occasion. But on a sudden, the King, by advice of the Prince and Buckingham, gave over this project, and resolved to call a Parliament. That was indeed the most proper way to justify the breach of the treaty with Spain, and to procure money, which he wanted extremely.

There was not one good Englishman but what had ever considered the Spanish match as very prejudicial to the Kingdom. It was known in general, that the King, in favour of this marriage, had made large concessions with respect to religion, though the particulars, and especially the secret articles, were known to very few.

But the King's condescension to the Roman Catholics, was a plain indication, the court of Spain had greatly prevailed with him. The Duke of Buckingham not being ignorant of the people's aversion to the marriage, the breach whereof was not yet well known, doubted not to gain their affection, by causing a Parliament to be called, and declaring himself the author of this happy breach, so passionately desired by all true Englishmen.

To compass his ends, he rendered himself popular, and affected to caress both the Church and state Puritans: Nay, he consulted with, Dr John Preston, head of the Puritan party, how the King might seize the dean and chapter lands. Nothing could be more proper to procure him the love of the people, most of the clergy having rendered themselves odious, by their zeal in maintaining the prerogative Royal[358].

## **The King Calls a Parliament**

So, the juncture being very favourable, the Duke caused the King to call a Parliament, notwithstanding his resolution never to summon another: Nay, such was his power over the King,

that he made him speak to the Parliament in a manner the most repugnant to his opinions and principles.

## **Project of a Match Between The Prince and Henrietta Maria of Prague**

Meanwhile, the Prince and Duke had contrived another project, namely, the Prince's marriage with Henrietta Maria, the King of France's sister, to which his Majesty readily consented. He was so proud of his grandeur, that he could not think of marrying his son to any but a Princess of royal extraction, and the third daughter of Henry IV. was the only Princess then in Europe of that character.

It is very probable, the person sent by the Queen of Bohemia to Buckingham in Spain, made him the first overture of this match, and that the Duke thereupon resolved to break the marriage, the Prince was going to consummate with the Infanta.

However this be, the King approving the project, Henry Rich Baron of Kensington, was, on some pretence, sent to France, in order to sound the court concerning this marriage; and before his departure, he was created Earl of Holland. I shall speak presently of the success of this negotiation; but must first see what passed in the Parliament which met the 19th of February[359].

The King made a speech to both Houses so different from those to the two former Parliaments, that such opposite expressions could hardly be thought to come from the mouth of the same Prince, if it was not known how great an ascendant Buckingham had over him, and how necessary it was to the favourite's designs, that the King should talk in this manner. As the speech is not so long as the others, the reader perhaps will be glad to see it.

### **The King's Speech to Parliament**

**My Lords and Gentlemen,**

**I** HAVE assembled you at this time, to impart to you a secret, and matter of as great importance, as can be to my state, and the state of my children; wherein I crave your best and safest advice and counsel, according as the writ whereby you were assembled, imports:

That the King would advise with you in matters concerning his estate and dignity. And as I have ever endeavoured, by this and the like ways to procure and cherish the love of my people towards me, so I do hope, and my hope is exceeded by faith; for I fully now believe, that never any King was more beloved of his people; whom as you, my Lords and Gentlemen, do here represent, so would I have you truly to represent all their loves to me; that in you, as in a true mirror or glass, I may perfectly behold it, and not as in a false glass that represents it not at all, or otherwise than it is indeed.

Give me your free and faithful counsels in the matter I propose, of which you have often heard, the match of my son: wherein, as you may know, I have spent much time with great cost in long treaties, desiring always therein (and not without reason hoping to have effected my desires) the advancement of my state and children, and the general peace of Christendom, wherein I have always constantly laboured, depending upon fair hopes and promises.

At the earnest instance of my son, I was contented (although it was of an extraordinary nature) to send him to prosecute his desires in Spain; and for his more

safety, sent Buckingham (in whom I ever reposed most trust of my person) with him, with this command, continually to be present with him, and never to leave him, till he had returned again safely unto me. Which he performed, though not with that effect in the business that I expected, yet not altogether without profit, for it taught me this point of wisdom, *Qui versatur in generalibus*, is easily deceived, and that generality brings nothing to good issue, but that before any matter can be fully finished, it must be brought to particulars:

For, when, as I thought, the affair had been, before their going, produced to a narrow point, relying upon their general propositions, I found, when they came there, the matter proved to be so raw, as if it had never been treated off; the generals giving them easy way to invade, and affording them means to avoid the effecting of any thing[360].

The particulars that passed in the treaty, I mean not now to discover to you, the time being too short; I refer you to Charles and Buckingham, and the secretaries' reports, who shall relate unto you all the particulars. And after that, *Super totam materiam*, I desire your best assistance to advise me what is best and fittest for me to do, for the good of the Commonwealth, and the advancement of religion, and the good of my son, and my grandchildren of the Palatinate. And of our estate, I know you cannot but be sensible, considering that your welfare consists in ours, and you shall be sure to have your share in what misery shall befall us:

And therefore I need to urge no other argument to you in this behalf, in offering me your wisest and surest counsel and furtherance. And I assure you in the faith of a Christian King, that it is *res intégra*, presented unto you, and that I stand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised.

To plant is not sufficient, unless like good gardeners, you pluck up the weeds that will choke your labours:

And the greatest weeds among you are jealousies, root them out. For my actions, I dare avow them before God; but jealousies are of a strange depth. I am the husband, and you the wife, and it is subject to the wife to be jealous of her husband:

Let this be far from you. I can truly say, and will avouch it before the fear of God and Angels, that never King governed with a purer, sincerer, and more uncorrupt heart, than I have done, far from all will and meaning of the least error or imperfection of my reign.

It hath been talked of my remissness in maintenance of religion, and suspicion of a toleration: But as God shall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expressed anything that favoured of it[361].

It is true, that at times, for reasons best known to myself, I did not so fully put those laws in execution, but did wink and connive at some things, which might have hindered more weighty affairs, but I never in all my treaties ever agreed to anything to the overthrow and disagreeing of those laws, but had in all a chief preservation of that truth which I have ever professed:

And as in that respect I have a charitable conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me also, in which I did not transgress:

For it is a good horseman's part, not always to use his spurs, and keep strait the reins, but sometime to use the spurs, and suffer the reins more remiss; so it is the

part of a wife King, and my age and experience in Government hath informed me, sometime to quicken the laws with straight executions, and at other times, upon just occasions, to be more remiss. And I would also remove from your thoughts all jealousies, that I might or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful liberties or privileges; but I protest before God, I ever intended you should enjoy the fullness of all those that former times give good warrant and testimony of, which, if need be, I will enlarge and amplify.

Therefore I would have you, as I have in this place heretofore told you, as St. Paul did Timothy, avoid genealogies and curious questions, and nice quirks and jerks of law, and idle innovations and if you minister me no just occasion, I never yet was, nor ever shall be curious or captious to quarrel with you:

But I desire you to avoid all doubts and hindrances, and to compose yourselves speedily and quietly to this weighty affair I have proposed; for that I have found already, delays have proved dangerous, and have bred distraction of this business; and I would not have you by other occasions to neglect or protract it. God is my judge. I speak it as a Christian King, never any wayfaring man, that was in the deserts of Arabia, and in danger of death for want of water to quench his thirst, more desired water, than I thirst and desire the good and comfortable success of this Parliament, and blessing of your Councils, that the good issue of this may expiate and acquit the fruitless issue of the former. And I pray God, your counsels may advance religion, and the public weal, and the good of me and my children.

### **The King's Speech is Censured**

This Speech like the rest made by the King to his Parliament, was liable to many censures which reflected on his sincerity. It could not be conceived that he really believed he was more beloved by his people than any of his predecessors, since no King hath so frequently quarrelled with his Parliament, which surely is no proper way to gain the people's affection.

Those who were acquainted with the state of affairs, thought it very strange, the King should tell the Parliament, that at the Prince's arrival in Spain, the affair was so raw as if it had been never treated of, since he had already signed the marriage articles, and as to the Palatinate, would not have it mentioned before the marriage was accomplished.

The same persons could not forbear wondering, he should take God to witness, he never so much as thought or intended to grant a toleration to the Papists, since it was one of the secret articles of the marriage, and since without being informed of such an article, it was easy to perceive, Philip gave his sister to the Prince of Wales, solely with that view.

In fine, some malicious persons observed, that when the King said, he never intended to invade the people's liberties, the simile might very justly be applied to him, which himself had used on another occasion, of the person who took a man's purse, alluring him he had no design to rob him.

A few days after the King had delivered his Speech, the two Houses resolving upon a conference, to examine the affair recommended by the King, the Prince and; Buckingham came and informed them of all particulars.

After the Prince had said a few words, the Duke of Buckingham began and made a long speech, which he divided into six heads, under colour of more clearly explaining the affair, but in reality to confound it, and conceal the mutual coherence of the particulars he was to relate. Under the first head, he set forth the motives of the Prince's journey to Spain. In the second, he spoke of the treaty of the marriage apart by itself. In the third, he joined together the two affairs of the

marriage and Palatinate. In the fourth, he declared the reasons of the Prince's return. In the fifth, he informed the Parliament of his Majesty's subsequent proceedings in the affairs of the marriage and Palatinate since the Prince's return.

In the sixth and last, he stated the question, wherein both Houses were to offer to his Majesty their advice and Council. Whilst he was speaking, he turned, at the end of every point, to the Prince, asking; him whether what he was saying was not true, to which the Prince did not fail to answer; Yes, it is true, or to the like effect. The intent of this whole speech was to show, the King had been unadvisedly engaged in the treaty of the marriage, by the false hopes given him by the Earl of Bristol:—

**That** the Court of Spain never intended this marriage, much less the restitution of the Palatinate, though the Earl of Bristol assured the contrary:

**That** the Prince had been ill used in Spain, and much pressed to turn Catholic:

**In a word**, he intimated that the Earl of Bristol was only to blame, who had abused his Majesty's confidence.

Nothing is more easy than to accuse an absent person. It is only concealing what makes for him, giving an ill turn to his most innocent actions, aggravating the faults he may have committed, and loading him with crimes he is not guilty of.

This is precisely what the Duke of Buckingham did in respect of the Earl of Bristol, with the Prince's approbation and aid (3).

This is so true, that two years after, the Prince being in the throne, and having himself accused the Earl of high treason, the Earl in his defence to the Parliament, gave a quite different narrative of the Spanish negotiation from that of the Duke of Buckingham.

He proved what he said by unexceptionable papers, and defied the Duke to answer them. He not only affirmed, that the Duke's whole narration was false, but also impeached him in form, and gave in his impeachment to the House of Lords, which remained unanswered.

This is sufficient to show the falseness of the Duke of Buckingham's narrative. So, I think it needles to enlarge any more upon this subject.

## **The Parliament Applauds The Duke**

The Duke of Buckingham's speech was received however with applause, for several reasons. First, He had made a party in the two Houses. Secondly, He had prevented the consummation of the marriage in Spain, which was very grateful to the nation and Parliament. In the third place, he had brought home the Prince, contrary to all expectation, and so removed the just fears of the English.

Finally, the Duke of Buckingham's narrative being attested by the Prince himself, it could not be thought false. As the public was not informed of the secret circumstances of the negotiation, it is no wonder the Parliament should believe what they were told by the King, Prince and Duke. But afterwards, when all was discovered, people were of another sentiment.

## **The Spanish Ambassador Complains of The Duke**

The Spanish ambassador being informed of what passed at the conference between the two Houses, demanded an audience of the King, and boldly complained, that the Duke had reflected

on the King of Spain's honour[363]. Adding, if a subject of his master had spoken thus of the King of England, it would cost him his head. Probably, the ambassador hath been misinformed, since the Duke had not used any offensive expressions against the King of Spain.

### **The Parliament Takes The King's Part**

He had only insinuated, that Philip's intention was always to amuse the King and Prince. As the Duke of Buckingham was now the Parliament's favourite, as well as the King's and Prince's, both Houses openly took his part, and presented an address to his Majesty, declaring, the Duke had said nothing which could give offence to the King of Spain, and thanked the Duke for his faithful relation attested by the Prince.

The King was so pleased with this address, where he forgot not to proclaim the praises of his Favourite. He said, he could not doubt the truth of his narrative, because he made the same to himself at his return from Spain. But the King must have been wilfully blind not to see the falseness of the Duke's relation, or been strangely kept under by the favourite, if he was made to attest before the Parliament what he knew to be false.

### **Parliament Advises The King to Break The Spanish Match**

The Parliament was extremely pleased to see the King disposed to break the Spanish match, not knowing, or feigning not to know, it was really broken, by the affront put upon the King of Spain. But the King having affirmed, it was yet *Res integra*, the two Houses could not say otherwise. So forgetting all former occasions of discontent, and applying themselves wholly to the affair proposed by the King, they jointly presented an address to his Majesty, to advise him to discontinue the treaty, begun with Spain, as well for the restitution of the Palatinate as for the marriage.

They grounded their advice upon four principal reasons; the first was, that in the beginning of the treaty, the Spaniards insisted only upon liberty of conscience to the Infanta and her Family, with the free exercise of their religion. But that afterwards, taking advantage of the Prince's being in their power, they importuned a general toleration, contrary to the usage of other Catholic Princes in the like treaties. That besides, the Popish faction had increased to such a degree, during the negotiation, that there was no way to suppress them as long as the treaty continued.

The second reason was, that, during the treaty, the Protestant party in Germany was oppressed, and the Palatinate invaded: that the Spaniards had deluded the King, and offered indignity to the Prince, by importuning him to change his religion, contrary to the law of hospitality and the privilege of Princes.

The third was grounded upon the insincerity of the Spaniards, as well in the former overture of marriage for the late Prince Henry as in this; upon the scornful proposition made to the King, of the Prince's turning Catholic, and upon the deceit used in the treaty of Brussels, the sole end whereof was to cause Heidelberg to be taken.

Lastly, the Parliament added as a fourth reason, the translation of the Electorate to the Duke of Bavaria; the King of Spain's letter to Condé Olivarez, with the Condé's answer, which plainly imported, that the Spaniards never intended to accomplish the marriage; the first devised by a junto of divines, to send home the Prince without the lady.

### **The King Consents to The Breach and Demands Money**

All these reasons were so many indirect reproaches to the King for differing himself to be so long amused. But his Majesty, feigning not to perceive it, came to the Parliament, and made a

speech to shew he could not break off the treaties, without knowing how to maintain the war which would unavoidably follow, since the Palatinate was to be recovered by arms.

He declared therefore, if they thought proper to engage in a war with Spain, he would readily consent, the supply to be granted should be managed by commissioners appointed by the Parliament. Moreover, he promised the two Houses, he would not make a peace without their advice.

He concluded with saying:—

I am so desirous to forget all rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be my default, if I am not in love with Parliaments, and call them often, and desire to end my life in that intercourse between me and my people, for the making of good laws, reforming of such abuses as I cannot be well informed of but in Parliament, and maintaining the good government of the Commonwealth.

### **The Commons Offer The King Money**

How different is this Speech from those the King made to the former Parliaments! But the King's thoughts are not so visible in these expressions as the Duke of Buckingham's policy, who, after breaking the Prince's marriage, had a mind to push his point, and proclaim war with Spain. To succeed, a Parliament must be called, and to gain their affection, the King must talk after this manner.

Some days after, the Commons presented an address to the King, offering to grant him three entire subsidies, and three fifteenths, upon his public declaration for dissolving the treaties of the marriage and the Palatinate. But they took him at his word, concerning his offer that the money should be disposed of by commissioners of their own choosing.

### **He Has Notice of a Stinging Petition Against The Recusants and Stops The Courier From Going to Spain**

The King thanked them for their affectionate expressions, and told them, he was resolved for the future solely to confide in his Parliament. After which, he dispatched a messenger to the court of Spain, with his last resolution to break off the treaty. But upon notice that a sharp petition against the Popish recusants framed by the Commons, was going to be presented to him, he writ the following letter, with his own hand, to Secretary Conway:—

**I DOUBT NOT** but you have heard what a stinging petition against the Papists the Lower House have sent to the Higher House this day, that they may jointly present it unto me. You know my firm resolution, not to make this a war of religion; and seeing I would be loath to be Coney cached by my people, I pray you stay the pass that is going to Spain, till I meet with my son, who will be here to morrow morning

:

Do it upon pretext of some more letters ye are to send by him; and if he should be gone, hasten after him to stay him upon the same such pretext; and let none living know of this, as you love me. And before two in the afternoon to morrow, you shall without fail hear from me. Farewell.

Probably, the King imagined, the Parliament in this petition would have demanded things he had no intention to grant. And therefore, for fear of being forced to dissolve the Parliament, he would not hasten the rupture with Spain. But afterwards, being told the petition[364] contained nothing of what he dreaded, he suffered the messenger to depart. As soon as the people knew the breach

with Spain was resolved, the whole City of London shone with bonfires, which denoted the public dislike of the Spain's match, and the danger to which religion had been exposed. It was not yet known, that another and no less dangerous marriage was now treating in France.

## **The Petition of Both Houses Sent to The King**

The petition, presented to his Majesty by both Houses, contained the seven following articles:—

**I.** That all Jesuits and seminary Priests may be commanded forthwith to depart out of the realm, and not to return or come hither again, upon peril of the severe penalty of the laws now in force against them.

**II.** That his Majesty would be pleased to give charge to the Justices of the peace, that they take from all Popish recusants all such armour, gunpowder and munitions of any kind, as any of them have.

**III.** That all Popish recusants be commanded forthwith to retire themselves from or about London to there several dwellings, or places by the laws appointed, and there to remain confined within five miles of their dwelling-places: And for that purpose to discharge all by past licences granted unto them; and that they presume not any time thereafter to repair to London, or within ten miles of London, or to the King's Court, or to the Prince's Court wheresoever.

**IV.** That his Majesty would forbid and restrain the great resort of his own subjects, for the hearing of Mass, to the houses of foreign ambassadors.

**V.** That his Majesty would be pleased to discharge Popish recusants from those places of trust, as Lords Lieutenants, justices of peace, &c., by which they have that power in the country where they live as is not fit to be put into the hands of persons so affected.

**VI.** That his Majesty would be pleased generally to put the Laws in due execution against Popish recusants; and that all his Judges, Justices, &c. may be commanded to do their duty therein.

**VII.** That seeing they were happily delivered from that danger which the treaties with Spain would certainly have drawn upon England, his Majesty would be pleased to engage his royal word, that upon no occasion of marriage or treaty, or other request in that behalf from any foreign Prince or states whatsoever, he will take off, or slacken the execution of the laws against the Popish recusants[365].

## **The King's Answer**

To which petition his Majesty returned this answer:—

**My Lords, and Gentlemen of both Houses,**

**I CANNOT BUT COMMEND YOUR ZEAL** in offering this Petition to me; yet on the other side, I cannot but hold myself unfortunate, that I should be thought to need a spur to do that which my conscience and duty binds me unto. What religion I am of, my books do declare, my profession and behaviour doth shew; and I hope in God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I shall never deserve it; and for my part, I wish it may be written in Marble, and remain to posterity as a mark

upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion; for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with men.

My Lords, for my part I protest before God, that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of Popery, God is my Judge, it hath been such a great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my sides; and so far have I been, and shall be from turning another way.

And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that one way or other it hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an honest man if I should have done otherwise.

And this I may say further, that if I be not a martyr, I am sure I am a confessor; and in some sense I may be called a martyr, as in the Scripture Isaac was persecuted by Ishmael by mocking words: for never King suffered more ill tongues than I have done, and I am sure for no cause; yet I have been far from perfection; for I have ever thought that no way more increased any religion than perfection, according to that saying, *Sanguis Martyrum est semen ecclesiae*.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your petition, I will not only grant the substance of what you crave, but add somewhat more of my own; for the two treaties being already annulled, (as I have declared them to be) it necessarily follows of itself, that which you desire, and therefore it needs no more; but that I do declare by Proclamation, (which I am ready to do) that all Jesuits and Priests do depart by a day; but it cannot be as you desire by our Proclamation, to be out of all my dominions; for a Proclamation here extends but to this Kingdom.

This I will do and more, I will command all my Judges when they go their circuits to keep the same courses, for putting all the laws in execution against recusants, as they were wont to do before these treaties, for the laws are still in force, and were never dispensed with by me:

God is my judge, they were never intended by me, but as I told you in the beginning of the Parliament, you must give me leave, as a good horseman, sometimes to use the reins, and not always to use the spurs:

So now there needs nothing but my declaration for the disarming of them; that is ready done by the laws, and shall be done as you desired: and more, I will take order for the shameful disorder of the resorting of my subjects to all foreign ambassadors; for this I will advise with my council how it may be best reformed.

It is time, that the houses of ambassadors are privileged places; and though they cannot take them out of their houses, yet the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Recorder of London, may take some of them as they come from thence, and make them examples:

Another point I will add concerning the education of their children, of which I have had a principal care, as the Lord of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of my council can bear me witness, with whom I have advised about this business; for in good faith it is a shame, their children should be bred here as if they were at Rome. So I do grant not only your desire, but more. I am sorry I was not the first mover of it to you, but had you not done it, I would have done it myself.

Now for the second part of your petition, you have here given me the best advice in the world; for it is against the rule of wisdom, that a King should suffer any of his subjects to transgress the laws, by the intercession of other princes; and therefore

allure yourselves, that (by the grace of God) I will be careful that no such conditions be foisted in upon any other treaty whatsoever; for it is fit my subjects should stand, and fall to their own laws.

What a happy harmony is here between the King and his Parliament! Nothing can be more affable, more obliging than that answer, and the free and easy manner wherewith he came into the measures of the two Houses. To render their happiness complete, nothing was wanting, but the performance of the King's promises, which, how carefully he observed, will presently appear.

## **The Parliament Presents to The King A List of The Papists in Post**

The King had artfully avoided to answer the two principal articles of the petition, namely, the IIIrd and Vth, where the Parliament required, that all papists should be removed from London and the court, and discharged from all places of truth. Had he consented to these two requests, the face of the Court would have been entirely changed.

The Duke of Buckingham's mother, who, by her son's means, disposed of all the offices, must have been removed. His Duchess would also have been of this number, as well as one of the secretaries of State, with many others who had considerable places at court, and in the country[366].

The King's silence on this head, caused the Parliament to draw a list of fifty-seven popish Lords and Knights, who were in public offices, and present it to the King. But it does not appear that he took much notice of it. As it merely concerned the Duke of Buckingham, very probably, he hindered the King from giving the Parliament any satisfaction in this point, and the Houses did not much insist upon it, that they might not too openly offend a Lord, whose credit was so great both with the King and Prince.

## **The Spanish Ambassador Privately Informs Against Buckingham**

But though no Englishman dared to attack the favourite directly, a foreigner however undertook to ruin him in the King's favour, namely, the Marquis of Inoiosa the Spanish ambassador, who being enraged at the unworthy manner of the Duke's breaking off the marriage, burned with desire to revenge the King his master and the Infanta.

One day, as the King had few about him, he took an opportunity to give him a paper, with a wink to conceal it. The King put it into his pocket, and withdrew to his closet to read it. He was exceedingly surprised to see the following particulars:—

**I. That** he was kept from all faithful servants, that would inform him, by the ministers of the Prince and Duke, and was a prisoner as much as King John of France in England, or King Francis at Madrid, and could not be spoken with, but before such as watched him.

**II. That** there was a strong and violent machination in hand, which had turned the Prince, a most obedient son, to a quite contrary course to his Majesty's intentions.

**III. That** the council began last summer at Madrid, but was lately resolved on in England, to restrain his Majesty from the exercise of the government of his Kingdoms; and that the Prince and Duke had designed such commissioners under themselves, as should attend great affairs, and the public good.

**IV. That** this should be effected by beginning of a war, and keeping some companies on foot in this land, whereby to constrain his Majesty to yield to any thing, chiefly being brought into straits for want of monies to pay the soldiers.

**V. That** the Prince and Duke's enclosing his Majesty from the said ambassadors, and others of his own loyal people, that they might not come near him in private, did argue in them a fear and distrust of a good conscience.

**VI. That** the emissaries of the Duke had brought his Majesty into contempt with the potent men of this Realm, traducing him for slothful and inactive, for addiction to an inglorious peace, while the inheritance of his daughter and her children is in the hands of his foes; and this appeared by a letter which the Duke had writ into Holland, and they had intercepted.

**VII. That** his Majesty's honour, nay, his Crown and Safety, did depend upon a sudden dissolution of the Parliament.

**VIII. That** They loaded the Duke with sundry misdemeanours in Spain, and his violent opposition to the match.

**IX. That** the Duke had divulged the King's secrets, and the close designs between his Majesty and their master King Philip, about the States of Holland, and their Provinces, and laboured to put his Majesty out of the good opinion of the Hollanders.

**X. That** the Duke was guilty of more corrupt dealing with the ambassadors of divers Princes.

**XI. That** all these things were carried on in the Parliament with an headstrong violence, and that the Duke was the cause of it, who courted them only that were of troubled humours.

**XII. That** such bitterness and ignominies were vented in Parliament against the King of Spain, as were against all good manners and honour of the English nation.

**XIII. That** the Puritans (of whom the Duke was head) did wish they could bring it about, that the succession of the Kingdom might come to the Prince Palatine and his children, in light of the Lady Elizabeth.

In a postscript, the paper prayed the King:—

**That** the secretary to the Marquis Inoiosa, might be brought to the King, when the Prince and Duke were sitting in the Lords House, to satisfy such doubts as the King might raise.

### **The King Entertains Strong Suspicions Against The Prince and Duke**

The King talked with the Secretary, and discoursed likewise in private with Padre Maestro a Spanish Jesuit. It is not known what these men told him[367]; but the King was perceived, after these conversations, to grow very melancholy, and his temper to be entirely altered.

### **The Duke is on The Point of Being Discarded**

He affected, in speaking to the Prince and Duke, to use broken and mysterious expressions, which shewed that something lay heavy upon his mind[368]. At last, the King going one day to Windsor, and taking coach at St. James's, ordered the Duke[369], on some slight pretence, to stay behind.

Then the Duke no longer doubting his disgrace, besought him for God's sake, to tell him what was laid to his charge. The King only answered, he was the unhappiest man alive, to be forsaken of those who were most dear to him[370], and taking the Prince his son with him, left Buckingham at London, The Duke retired to his own house, overwhelmed with grief, and thinking himself irrecoverably ruined.

## **He is Let Off**

But by the advice of the Lord-Keeper Williams, he went immediately to Windsor, where he found means to remove the King's suspicions. At least, the King feigned to be cured of them. But the Earl of Clarendon confirms in his history, what is assured by others, that the Duke had entirely lost the King's favour.

Meanwhile, James was naturally so timorous, that, instead of freeing himself from a favourite, whom he might easily have discarded, he gave himself up more and more to him, so apprehensive was he of his union with the Prince. He impatiently expected the Earl of Bristol's arrival, to use his advice: but means were found to prevent him from declaring his mind to him, and even of speaking to him.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King received a fresh mortification from the Prince and Duke. Whilst they were in Spain, Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, lately created Earl of Middlesex, having the courage to refuse them sometimes the exorbitant sums they demanded, they resolved to ruin him at their return.

## **The Prince and The Duke Cause The Treasurer to be Condemned in Spite of The King**

They made use for that purpose of their credit with the Parliament, and caused him to be accused by their creatures, of mismanagement in the discharge of his office. The King knowing this came from them, desired them for God's sake, to use their interest with the two Houses to drop the impeachment: but they remained inflexible and unmoved at all the King's entreaties.

So the Lord Treasurer was condemned in a fine of fifty thousand pounds, and declared incapable of ever sitting in the House of Peers. All the historians agree, he did not deserve so rigorous a treatment. But the Duke, who had raised him from the dust, had a mind to shew he was powerful enough to reduce him to his primitive state, for an example to all who should dare to resist him.

## **The King is Kept Under by The Prince and The Duke**

After this, it must not be thought strange, if the King, when he spoke to this Parliament, appeared so different from what he was with respect to the two former. Not that he had changed his sentiments and maxims, but durst not do any thing without the direction of the Prince and Duke, who had formed projects to which a Parliament was necessary.

The Earl of Clarendon affirms, the King was extremely surprised in the beginning of this Parliament, when he was informed of the contents of the Duke of Buckingham's narration, concerning the treaty of marriage: a narration, says:—

That famous historian, which, for the most part, the King himself knew to be untrue. Meanwhile, he had the weakness, as I said, to attest the truth of it, and to assure, the

Duke had said the same things to him. There cannot be a clearer evidence of his subjection to the Prince and favourite.

## **He is Forced to Turn The Earl of Bristol Out of Favour**

Here is also another remarkable proof of the King's weakness or fears. He saw no remedy but in the Earl of Bristol's counsels, whose return he impatiently expected. And yet, no sooner was this Lord arrived in England, but the King was constrained to send him express orders at Dover, not to come to Court, but remain at his own house till he had answered certain questions, which should be put to him by some of the council.

The Parliament being prorogued shortly after, the Earl frequently writ to the King, to desire he might be examined. The King wished it; but it was not the Prince's or Buckingham's interest, who still found fresh excuses to defer the examination.

## **The Earl of Bristol's Defence**

The Earl was however examined at last, after much solicitation, and returned such answers, that his examiners could not help declaring, his conduct was un-blameable. But this could not procure him his liberty or admittance into the King's presence. Some time after, the Duke sent him word, he was much mistaken, if he imagined his answers were satisfactory to the King, the Prince, or to him the Duke; but his only way to come into favour again, was to make the confession he had sent him.

The Earl refused it, and the King told Buckingham, it was horrible tyranny to make an innocent person confess faults, of which he was not guilty. Notwithstanding all this, it was not in his power to speak with the Earl, because the Prince and Duke did not think it proper.

## **The King Sends Six Thousand Men into Holland**

The Parliament being prorogued[371], it was necessary to think of the war. The aid granted the King was very considerable[372]. It was computed that with this money he might send twenty-five thousand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an English general. But the Court had already taken other measures.

Six thousand men only were therefore sent into Holland[373], to serve in the army of the states, under the command of the Prince of Orange, and other troops were levied for Count Mansfeldt, who was during the winter to open himself a passage into the Palatinate.

## **Treaty of The Princes Marriage With Henrietta of France**

Meanwhile, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, who had been dispatched into France, having sent word that Lewis XIII. was inclined to listen to the overture of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and his sister the Princess Henrietta Maria, the King appointed, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle to go and negotiate the affair jointly with him.

The two ambassadors repairing to Compiègne, where the Court of France was, commissioners were nominated to treat with them, of whom the Marquis de la Vieuville Superintendent of the Finances was the first. The conferences began a few days after the prorogation of the Parliament, when the King, according to his promise, was putting the laws in execution against Popish recusants, particularly against friars and priests, some of whom were thrown into prison.

## **They Complain to The King**

This severity caused the Catholics to exclaim, who expected a very different treatment a few months before, They could not forbear complaining, that whereas the negotiation of the Spanish match had procured them great ease, this with France seemed on the contrary to serve only to increase their miseries.

Several writ to France in that strain, intimating they had nothing to trust to but the piety, zeal, and protection of Lewis. Among others, a Scotch Franciscan wrote upon this subject to Hugo Archbishop of Ambrun, who had been general of the order, and to whom he was known. The Archbishop shewed the letter to the King, and aggravated the sufferings of the English Catholics, who expected relief only from his intercession.

The King of France had already done his utmost to pacify the English Catholics, assuring them by Tilliers his ambassador at London, that he would not forget them. But their repeated complaints obliged him at length to take some step in their favour, and the rather, as he was afraid, they would obstruct the Pope's dispensation, which would soon be wanted.

### **Lewis Sends The Archbishop of Ambrun to James**

He resolved therefore to send to James a secret agent to intercede for the Catholics, and chose for that purpose the Archbishop of Ambrun, who came to London in disguise, and passed for a counsellor of the Parliament of Grenoble. At his arrival, he waited upon Buckingham, who seemed very much inclined to countenance his negotiation.

The Countess of Buckingham the Duke's mother, the Earl of Rutland, and some other Catholics did the Archbishop great services, and acquainted him with many things necessary to be known, in order to succeed in his designs.

### **James Receives Him Graciously**

The King being informed that the Archbishop desired to speak with him, sent for him to Royston, where he then was, confined to his bed with the gout. The Archbishop's first conference with the King was followed by the release of several Popish recusants, imprisoned since the Parliament's petition.

Moreover, the King gave the Archbishop leave to administer confirmation in the French ambassador's house, to all that should apply for it. This was done in so public a manner, that not only the house, but the street itself, was crowded with people. If the Archbishop's own narrative may be credited, he confirmed above ten thousand persons, which seems to me a little exaggerated.

However this be, the number must have been great, since the Magistrates of London complained of it to the King, who owned it was done with his leave. And yet he had very lately told the Parliament, it was a shame to suffer such crowds of Papists at ambassadors houses.

From that time, the King had several conferences with this prelate, and one day as he was expressing his earnest desire to live in strict union with the King of France, the Archbishop took occasion to tell him, that one of the best means to that end, was to grant a full toleration to the Catholics.

Whereupon the King squeezing him by the hand, said these words to him:—

I perceive you are the man sent me from God, to whom I may freely open my mind. Adding, He had always a good opinion of the Catholic religion, and for it had often been in danger of assassination during his minority.

Adding:—

He intended to grant a full toleration to the Catholics; and in order to succeed, meant to cause an assembly of divines, as well foreign as English to be held, and therein to be decided, that it was necessary to grant an universal liberty of conscience: and he had already cast his eyes on the English divines to be sent thither:

If the assembly could not be held at Dover, he would agree it should be at Boulogne, as soon as his son's marriage secured him the assistance of France: He thought proper that the Archbishop should now return to France, under colour of waiting on the Princess, and he would send him two letters under his own hand, one for the Pope, the other for the King of France, wherein his project should be at Boulogne, as soon as his son's marriage secured him the assistance of France: wherein his project should be more fully explained:

He would also give him a memorial on the same subject, that being armed with these two papers, he might go and negotiate at Rome with the Pope, for whom he had a very great respect, being obliged to him for a copy of verses he had formerly [when Cardinal] made upon the Queen his mother and the house of Stewart.

At the same time he shewed the verses to the Archbishop, and then said:—

If he returned from Rome with the Pope's approbation, concerning the assembly, it should be immediately held, and he did not question, it would be very advantageous to the Catholic religion. In the meantime, he intended to negotiate with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and endeavour to gain some of the chief Puritan Lords in England and Scotland

## **Deagcant's Memoirs**

On supposition of the truth of this extract from the Archbishop of Ambrun's narrative, at the end of Deagcant's memoirs all that can be inferred from it, is, that James had formed a chimerical project of a mutual toleration throughout Christendom, and thought himself qualified to effect it, with the assistance of France.

### **The King's Engagement According to Deagcant**

But Deagcant says something more. He affirms, James writ a letter to the Pope, and sent it by an English Roman Catholic gentleman. In this letter, according to that Author:—

He owns the Pope for Christ's Vicar upon earth, and head of the Church universal. He assures him, he intends to declare himself a Catholic, as soon as he has provided against some inconveniences which he foresees his declaration may cause.

He promises, the Priests shall not be disturbed who are sent into England by his Holiness or the King of France, unless they are Jesuits. Moreover, desires the Pope not to think of causing to be restored to the church, the abbey lands granted or sold to the principal families in the kingdom, for fear of ruining the whole project.

He says farther,

Nothing hinders him from openly professing the Catholic religion, but his hopes of gaining first his brother-in-law the King of Denmark, to whom he had lent to desire him, on some other pretence, to come to England.

And when they two shall be closely united in the same design, he does not doubt but they shall prevail upon most of the other Protestant Princes.

Deagcant allures, nobody knew of this letter but Buckingham and the bearer: however he does not say how he himself came to know the contents. To speak the truth, I can hardly believe, James really intended to declare himself Catholic, or if he did intend it, would write such a letter to the Pope, in his present circumstances.

In short, I think it very unlikely this letter should fall into Deagcant's hands. So, I suspect, this author's relation was only communicated to him by some English Catholic, on whose testimony whether we may rely, cannot be known.

## Remarks of This Subject

The Archbishop of Ambrun's narrative is much more probable;

**First**, because that prelate relates only what he had himself from the King's own mouth:

**Secondly**, because he says nothing but what is agreeable to that Prince's conduct through the whole course of his life. His religious notions were very particular, and not embraced by the Protestants. He believed that difference of opinion, with respect to the doctrines of transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and the other tenets which distinguished the two religions, and were by him considered as school questions, was not sufficient to justify a schism, consequently the Roman and Protestant Churches were one and the same Church, from whence he inferred, it was incumbent upon all Christians mutually to support one another, and live like brethren.

It followed equally from this principle, that the protestants ought not to persecute or molest the Catholics, nor the Catholics the Protestants. He observed this rule himself very punctually, but without any just foundation that the Catholic Princes would follow the same maxim. So the scheme of an universal toleration, which he meant to establish among all Christians, was properly but a chimera, since he had not sufficient authority to make all the world come into his measures.

Meanwhile, as his maxims obliged him to look upon the Catholics with a different eye from what other Protestants did, it is no wonder that he passed, with the Protestants and the Papists themselves, for a Prince well affected to the Catholic Religion.

And indeed, so far was he from having any aversion to that religion, that he considered the Church of Rome as the mother church, from whence the Protestant Church was sprung, and doubtless, had it been in his power to unite them, he would have given the preference to the first, leaving every one free to believe what he pleased concerning the doctrines.

There was but one thing that embarrassed him, namely, the exorbitant power ascribed to the Pope, and the damnable maxim of the lawfulness of murdering Kings on account of religion. To free himself from this embarrassment, he endeavoured to deceive himself, by imagining, there were but very few Catholics, who were possessed with the Pope's unlimited power, and that the King-killing doctrine was peculiar to the Jesuits.

On the other hand, Puritanism in the Protestant religion was so odious to him, that, probably, he would, if he could, have excluded the Puritans from the general toleration he was willing to grant to all other Christians. King James had the misfortune to govern himself by general maxims, without considering, such maxims could not be always adapted to particular cases. His notions concerning religion were of the same nature with his opinions about monarchy, the general

principles whereof he applied to the government of England, contrary to the particular constitution of that Kingdom.

## **The Treaty of The Princes Marriage is Carried on in France**

Whilst the Archbishop of Ambrun was in England, the negotiation of the marriage was continued in France, between the English Ambassadors and the French commissioners. The English proposed at first the continuation of the treaty, formerly begun for Prince Henry's marriage with the Princess Christina, who espoused the Duke of Savoy.

But this motion was rejected by the French commissioners:—

**First**, because that negotiation was properly but just set on foot:

**Secondly**, because France would not be contented with less than was offered by the King of England, for the Prince of Wales's marriage with the Infanta of Spain. So the French Commissioners demanded in their turn, that the articles concerning Religion granted to Spain, should serve for foundation to the present treaty.

The Ambassadors expected this demand, and by their private instructions knew how to proceed, but pretended, they could not grant what was demanded, without fresh orders. They sent therefore a courier to London, but the Court of France knew it was not upon that account, so, they were pressed the more earnestly, to declare what they would grant with respect to religion.

At last, after some solicitation, they offered the articles agreed upon with Spain, except four, namely:—

Liberty of conscience to the Catholics:

A Church in London:

The education of the children by the Queen till ten years old:

A Bishop with ecclesiastical authority over the Princess's family.

These four Articles were much debated, and at length, the ambassadors yielded the two last. But for the two first, they said, they could not absolutely grant them, because of the King's solemn promise to the Parliament.

This reason appeared so strong to the French commissioners, that they thought it fruitless to insist any more upon these two articles. The portion was settled without much trouble. The King of France offered eight-hundred-thousand crowns, on condition the Prince assigned a jointure of sixty-thousand crowns a year; which offer with the condition was accepted. So, in all appearance, this affair was to be ended in a very short space, but two things retarded the conclusion.

In the first place, the Pope did not approve of this marriage, because, hearing that the English ambassadors had proposed a league to the King of France, he was afraid, the design of it might be to dispossess the Duke of Bavaria of the Palatinate and electoral dignity. For which reason he endeavoured at first to dissuade Lewis XIII. from giving his sister to an heretical Prince.

But finding Lewis did not much regard his arguments, he declared he would not grant a dispensation, unless the marriage was made upon the same terms as were granted to Spain. Whereupon the King of France resolved to send Father Berulle, general of the Fathers of the oratory to solicit the dispensation. His instructions signed the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, imported among other things:—

That by the articles already agreed on, the Princess, as well as all her domestics were very secure as to religion: she had a Bishop with twenty-eight priests or monks: and a chapel in every place where she shall reside:

She was to educate her children till the age of thirteen years, whereas in the Spanish articles, the time was fixed to ten years. In fine, she was well instructed and very firm in the faith: and instead of having any thing to fear for her, it was to be hoped, considering how well inclined the King of England was to be a Catholic, she would convert him as well as the Prince her spouse, after the example of Bertha of France, who made a convert of King Ethelbert.

The Marquis de la Vieuville's disgrace which happened at this time, was the other cause of the delay of this affair, and stopped Father Berulle who was about to depart. Cardinal Richelieu, v/ho was commissioned to treat with the English ambassadors, in the room of the disgraced Superintendent, pretended, that la Vieuville had acted without orders, or at least without the approbation of the King or council.

James being informed of this new obstacle, believed, the Court of France used this pretence to break off the treaty, and made great complaints to the Marquis d' Essiat, who was lately come to his court in the place of Tilliers. But Cardinal Richelieu was far from breaking off a negotiation so advantageous to France upon many accounts. So, contenting himself with disparaging la Vieuville by this accusation, he renewed the treaty.

The late change in the ministry inspired the Nuncio with fresh hopes. He represented to the Cardinal, that his own and the Pope's honour obliged him not to abate any thing of the Spanish articles, and that assuredly the dispensation would not be granted upon any other terms. The Cardinal told him, the King of England and Prince of Wales had complied with whatever they really intended to grant the King of Spain, though not with what was extorted from them, whilst the Prince was as a prisoner at Madrid, and what was not in their power.

Moreover, he intimated to him, that there was no absolute occasion for a dispensation, and though it was desired, it was not so much out of necessity as respect for the Pope's person. So, Father Berulle departed with his instructions, notwithstanding the nuncio's opposition. If the court of France had shown less resolution, this affair would never have been accomplished.

The Pope's behaviour on this occasion plainly showed, he only wanted a pretence to refuse the dispensation, or at least, to delay it as long as possible. He retarded the affair by laying it before a congregation, where fresh difficulties were continually started. They were not satisfied that the King of England and Prince of Wales should swear to the articles, they would have also the King of France to be guarantee, like the King of Spain, and Lewis was forced at last to promise it.

They insisted particularly upon demanding a public church in London for the Catholics, though they were told, it was not in the King of England's power to perform such an article, if it was granted. In a word, there was no delay, no artifice, but what was practised by the Pope, to gain time, till at last the French ambassador had orders to declare, if the dispensation was much longer deferred, the affair might be transacted without it.

This menace making the Pope apprehensive that he might very unseasonably expose his authority, he promised the dispensation, after a tedious solicitation which would have held longer, had it been the Court of France's interest to prolong it. But Cardinal Richelieu was afraid, a farther delay would bring with it alterations that might cause a breach of the marriage, as happened in Spain. So the treaty was signed at Paris the 10<sup>th</sup> of November.

It contained thirty public, with three secret, articles, wherein much the same advantages were stipulated for the Catholics, as in those of Madrid. The articles of the treaty were:—

## Articles of The Marriage

**I.** His most Christian Majesty, to discharge what his dignity and piety oblige him to, and that he may treat of this marriage with a safe conscience, undertakes to procure the Pope's dispensation, within two months at farthest.

**II.** The articles and conditions of the marriage being signed, the King of Great Britain shall appoint such persons of quality as he shall think proper, to espouse Madame in the Prince his son's name, according to the usual form in the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church.

**III.** The nuptial shall be celebrated in France, after the manner observed in the marriage of the late King with Queen Margaret, and in that of the Duchess of Bar.

**IV.** After the celebration of the marriage, Madame shall be conducted at his most Christian Majesty's charge, as far as Calais, where she shall be delivered to the person commissioned by the King of Great Britain to receive her.

**V.** From Calais to England, her expenses shall be born by the King of Great-Britain and everything shall be done on both fides, as is suitable to a Princess of the Royal family of France, joined in marriage to the heir of Great-Britain.

**VI.** The marriage being celebrated in France, and Madame arrived in England, a day shall be fixed, on which the King of Great Britain, the Prince his son, and Madame his wife being in some convenient room of the Palace, dressed in their royal robes, the contract and authentic instrument of the celebration of the marriage, shall be publicly read, together with the procurations, by virtue whereof the marriage was celebrated. Which done, the said contract shall be ratified anew by the King and the Prince his son, in the presence of such as the most Christian King shall commission to that end, and of the Lords of Great Britain who shall be present on this occasion, without the intervention of any church ceremony.

**VII.** The free exercise of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion shall be granted to Madame, as likewise to all the children that shall be born of this marriage.

**VIII.** To that end, Madame shall have a Chapel in all the Royal Palaces, and in every place of the King of Great Britain's dominions where she shall be, or reside.

**IX.** The said Chapel shall be beautified with decent ornaments, and the care and custody thereof shall be committed to such as Madame shall appoint. The preaching of God's word, and the administration of the sacraments shall be entirely free, and the Mass, and the other parts of Divine Service, shall be celebrated according to the custom of the Holy Roman Church, with all Jubilees and indulgences which Madame shall procure from Rome. There shall be also a Church-yard allowed in the City of London, where, according to the custom of the Roman Church, such of Madame's attendants shall be buried, as shall happen to die, which shall be done in a modest manner. The said Churchyard shall be enclosed, that it may not be profaned.

**X.** Madame shall have a Bishop for her almoner, who shall have all necessary authority and jurisdiction in all things belonging to religion, and shall have power to proceed according to the canons against such as shall be under his charge. And in case the civil court shall lay hold on any the said ecclesiastics, for some State crime, and information be made against him, he shall be sent to the said Bishop, with the information's and proceedings, and the said Bishop, after degrading him, shall put him again into the hands of the secular court. For any other crimes the civil

court shall send back the said ecclesiastic to the bishop, who shall proceed against him according to the canons. And in case of absence or sickness, the bishop's vicar shall have the same authority.

**XI.** Madame shall have in her house twenty-eight priests or ecclesiastics, almoners and chaplains included, to serve in her chapel, and if there are any regulars, they shall wear the habit of their order.

**XII.** The King and Prince shall oblige themselves by oath not to attempt by any means whatever, to persuade Madame to change her religion, or to engage her in any thing; repugnant to it.

**XIII.** Madame's household shall be settled with as much dignity, and consist of as many officers as any Princess of Wales ever had, and in the same manner as was agreed upon for the marriage of the most serene Prince with the Infanta of Spain.

**XIV.** All the domestics Madame shall bring into England shall be French Catholics, chosen by the most Christian King, and in the room of those that shall die, she shall take other French Catholics, with the consent however of the King of Great Britain.

**XV.** Madame's domestics shall take the following oath to the King, Prince and Madame:-

I promise and swear to be faithful to the King of Great Britain, to the most serene Prince Charles, and to Madame Henrietta Maria daughter of France, and to keep truly and inviolably this my promise. And if I know of anything to be attempted against the persons of the said King, Prince, and Madame, or against the state, or public good of the said King's realms. I will discover the same to the said King, Prince, and Madame, or to those who shall have charge thereof.

**XVI.** Madame's portion shall be eight hundred thousand French crowns, one half to be paid in London by his most Christian Majesty on the day before the espousals, and the other half within a year after the first payment.

**XVII.** If the Prince die before Madame, without issue, the whole portion shall be restored to Madame, to be disposed of as she pleases, whether she stays in England, or returns to France, in which last case, it shall be in her power to bring the money with her.

**XVIII.** But in case there are children, only two thirds of the portion shall be restored, the other third remaining for the children, whether Madame goes back to France, or stays in England: But in this case, she shall be paid the interest at five per cent.

**XIX.** The children which shall be born of this marriage, shall be brought up by Madame their Mother, till the age of thirteen years.

**XX.** The children shall inherit also the two thirds restored to their Mother, unless she marries again: and then, the children of the second bed, shall have an equal share with those of the first.

**XXI.** If Madame die first without children, his most Christian Majesty grants, that in such case, only half of the portion shall be paid back to him, but if there are children, the whole shall go to them.

**XXII.** Madame's jointure shall be sixty thousand French crowns, which shall be assigned her by the King of Great Britain.

**XXIII.** The King of Great Britain shall present Madame on account of the marriage, with fifty thousand crowns worth of jewels and diamonds, which shall be Madame's own property, as well as those she has now, or which shall be given her hereafter.

**XXIV.** The King of Great-Britain shall be obliged to maintain Madame and her household; and in case she becomes a widow, she shall enjoy her portion and jointure with all other things to her granted.

**XXV.** In case the Prince die first without issue, Madame shall freely enjoy, wherever she pleases to live, her jointure which shall be assigned her in lands, castles or houses, whereof one shall be fit for her to reside in, and furnished suitably to a Princess of her quality.

**XXVI.** Madame shall have the free disposal of the offices and benefices of the said lands, part of which shall have the title of Duchy or Earldom.

**XXVII.** Madame shall be at liberty, whether she have children or not, to return to France with her household goods, jewels, diamonds, and portion, as specified in the articles above. And in this case, the King of England shall be obliged to conduct her at his charge to Calais, in a manner suitable to her quality.

**XXVIII.** Madame shall renounce all paternal, maternal, and collateral inheritance, as to the lands of the royal domain subject to reversion, by appennage, or otherwise.

**XXIX.** The contract of marriage shall be enrolled in the court of the Parliament at Paris, and ratified by the Parliament of England, and registered in the usual courts. And the said King and Prince shall promise not to act contrary to any clause or condition of the same.

**XXX.** Moreover, it is agreed, that he of the two Kings which shall refuse to accomplish the present treaty, shall be obliged to pay the other the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, as a penalty for the said refusal.

### **Private or Secret Articles**

**1) That** the Catholics, as well ecclesiastics as temporal, imprisoned since the last proclamation, which followed the breach with Spain, should all be set at liberty.

**2) That** the English Catholics should be no more searched after, nor molested for their religion.

**3) That** the goods of the Catholics, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, that were seized since the aforementioned Proclamation, should be restored to them.

In this, as well as the Madrid treaty, we see the great care of the French and Spanish Courts for the interest of the Catholic religion, and the little zeal of King James, the Prince, and the Duke of Buckingham for the Protestant. The XIXth article concerning the education of the children was of very ill consequence to England. It almost proved the ruin of Church and State.

If it is asked what could induce the King to purchase this marriage with such hard terms to the religion professed by himself, and almost the whole Kingdom, there can be, in my opinion, but two motives assigned.

The first was, to give the Prince his son, a wife of Royal extraction, thinking any other Princess beneath him was not acceptable. The second was, the portion of eight hundred thousand crowns, which might excite his desire. As to the prejudice this treaty might bring to the Protestant religion, it troubled him not, for he never had the interest of that religion much at heart.

## **The Recusants are no Longer Prosecuted**

The treaty being signed at Paris, Mr. de Lomenic, s Secretary of State, was sent to London to see it sworn by the King and Prince. Immediately after, all the prosecutions against the Papists ceased, and the King promised all the prisoners should be released, as soon. as the marriage was consummated.

## **Contempt of The King and Council**

When the Earl of Carlisle was sent to France to hasten the treaty of marriage, he had orders to propose to that Court a League against the House of Austria. This was the Prince's and Buckingham's grand aim. There was then a dispute about the Valteline between the Kings of France and Spain, which made the Court of England imagine Lewis would readily listen to such a proposal.

And indeed he did so: but it was only to frighten the Pope and the Spaniard, and not with design to conclude the league. The Duke of Bavaria had friends in the French Court, who caused him to be much more regarded than the Elector Palatine, expelled his dominions, and sheltered in Holland.

So Lewis's ministers told the English ambassadors, that the league and marriage were two distinct affairs, which could not be negotiated together: but after the conclusion of the marriage, the League should be treated of. By this answer, they kept the English in hope, and the Spaniards in fear. On the other hand, the Count of Mansfeldt stayed at or near Paris, and the Spaniards knew he had frequent conferences with the ministers.

## **The King Sends Mansfeldt With an Army to The Palatinate**

Some time after, Mansfeldt came to England, where he was received with extraordinary caresses, and lodged by the Prince in his Palace at St. James's. Here, after some conferences, he agreed with the King, the Prince, and the Duke, that he should have twelve thousand men, to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate.

This project being formed, the King pressed the Court of France with respect to the League: but his proposal was artfully evaded on divers pretences, though without an absolute denial. He was forced therefore to be contented, till the League was concluded, with demanding of the French King, a passage through his dominions for Mansfeldt's army. Lewis in general or ambiguous terms, made him hope, not only till he would grant a passage, but also strengthen this army with a body of his own troops.

## **He Demands Frankendal of The Infanta**

The event showed, he meant after the conclusion of the league, whereas the English took it for a positive promise, whether the league should be concluded or not. Pursuant to this project, the forces to be commanded by Mansfeldt were levied in England.

Whilst this army was preparing to march, James caused a memorial to be presented to the Infanta Isabella, demanding the city of Frankendal, which she held in sequestration, and, by the treaty of London, was to keep but till the end of the truce, which was to expire the 26th of October.

Moreover, he demanded in the same memorial, a free passage for the garrison he was to send to Frankendal, not only through the Infanta's and his Catholic Majesty's dominions, but also through the territories of their friends and allies.

The Infanta answered, she would order the governor of Frankendal to surrender the place on the day appointed, to such as should produce a power from the King of England: That she would grant a passage through her own, and the King of Spain's dominions, to the fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, which, according to the treaty of London, were to take possession of Frankendal, and, in general, would punctually execute the treaty.

### **The Infanta Cannot Grant A Passage Through The Empire**

But as to the King's farther demand, to procure him a passage for his troops through the Empire, she declared, it was not in her power, neither was she obliged to it. Thus the Court of England found by experience their error, in not inserting in the treaty of London, what they were afterwards forced to demand, and what the Infanta might justly deny.

It is very true, in withdrawing the English garrison from Frankendal, James met with no obstacle; but he could not expect the same thing when he should come to send them back. Some say, that on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October, the Governor of Frankendal marched out of the city with his garrison, but finding none of the King of England's forces ready to take possession, instantly re-entered.

### **Mansfeldt is Denied Passage Through France**

This was not the only error of the Court of England, the most impolitic then in Europe. The twelve thousand men to be conducted by Mansfeldt to the Palatinate, were embarked in December, in extreme cold weather, without the least doubt of their passage through France. Nevertheless, when the army came before Calais, the French would not suffer them to land.

Much time was spent in going from Calais to the court, and from the court to Calais, even several times, and all to no purpose. The King of France constantly asserted, he had never positively promised to grant these troops a passage. The English authors call this a real breach of faith. I don't know whether they are in the right, and whether the Court of England is not rather to be blamed, for not taking better measures, and securing a passage through France, before the embarkation of the army.

However this be, the army suffering greatly on board the ships where the soldiers were closely pent up, Mansfield was forced to sail for Zealand, where he met with the same difficulties. The Zealanders said, they had not provisions for such a number of troops, having had no notice of their coming.

### **Difficulties About The Dispensation**

Much time was employed in negotiating. Messengers were sent to the Hague, and afterwards to London. In the mean while, the pestilence raging among the soldiers, above two thirds perished before they were suffered to land. Most of those that escaped, either deserted, or listed among the six thousand English which were in the service of the States. Thus, by the courts wrong measures, this army became useless, and the money spent in raising it, was lost[374].

**1625 AD]** It was February 1625, before Pope Urban's dispensation arrived. When it came to Paris, two new conditions, not mentioned in the treaty, were seen in it with surprise, namely:—

- 1. That** the domestics of the children, born of this marriage, should be Catholics.

**2. That** the Princess should appoint them, and the Pope absolutely required the King of England, and the Prince his son, to swear these two articles, otherwise the dispensation was invalid.

The King of France was very angry with Father Berulle for accepting such a dispensation. But the Father was so far from thinking it a fault, that he himself, as it is said, insinuated to the Pope, that it would be proper to add these two articles, as having been forgotten in the treaty.

The court of France therefore was under a fresh concern, fearing King James would reject these new conditions. But he was far from breaking for such a trifle. He accepted them without being much importuned, and only refused to swear again, saying, his word was sufficient. But without the oath, the dispensation was not valid.

## **A New Dispensation is Demanded**

So to satisfy the Pope therefore, the King of France, and the Princess his sister, were forced to write to him, that they would warrant the performance of the two last articles. Notwithstanding this, a new dispensation was to be solicited, which was some months in coming, and in this interval, died King James, without having the pleasure of seeing the marriage consummated.

## **The Death of King James**

About the middle of March he was seized with a tertian ague, of which he had some fits. But though commonly such agues are not dangerous in the spring, this brought him to his grave. He died at Theobalds, the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of two and twenty years in England.

## **Suspicious Against Buckingham**

His death happening, as I may say, suddenly, and un-expectedly, caused many suspicions, which fell on the Duke of Buckingham. When one of the King's fits was going off, the Duke caused certain plasters to be applied to his side and wrists, and gave him twice with his own hands a medicine to drink, in the absence of the physicians.

Nay, he would have given it a third time, but could not persuade him to take it. The King finding himself much worse, sent for the physicians, who said positively, they would not prescribe, if the plasters were not immediately removed.

However, the King died within a few days. The Duke was afterwards impeached by the Commons, not directly for poisoning the King, but for daring to apply remedies without the advice of his physicians[375].

James left only a son and a daughter. His daughter was married to a prince who had now lost his dominions, and was fled for refuge to Reenen, in the province of Utrecht, where he kept his little court very poorly. King James, who was so liberal, is accused of having but moderately contributed to the maintenance of this disconsolate family. I don't know whether there be any ground for this accusation. Charles, Prince of Wales, who succeeded his father, was still more unfortunate than his sister.

James I. as I have elsewhere observed, has had for historians, men very much prepossessed in his favour, or extremely prejudiced against him. This naturally followed from the divisions to which he himself had given birth.

Some represent him as a perfect pattern of a good King: Others blacken his reputation as much as possible, by aggravating his failings. The resort of this diversity proceeds from the history of

his reign, being penned at a time when the animosity of the two parties was at the height, whence both have happened to leave in their writings evident marks of their passion.

Therefore the character of this Prince must not be formed, either upon the praises of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon his manner of governing, upon his speeches and actions. This might be done by recollecting the principal circumstances of his reign. But to save the reader the pains, I shall briefly relate, what is said on both sides, of which he will be able to judge.

The principal ingredients in King James's panegyrics is the constant peace he caused his subjects to enjoy. This cannot be laid to be the effect of chance, since it clearly appears to have been his sole, or, at least, chief aim in his administration.

Nothing, say his friends, is more noble or more worthy a great King than such a design. But this design loses all its merit, if the Prince is discovered by his conduit, to preserve peace only out of fear, supineness, excessive love of ease and repose, and King James's whole behaviour shows he acted by these motives, though he coloured it with the pretence of affection for his people.

If some take care to extol his knowledge in philosophy, divinity, history, polite learning, others affirm, it was but real pedantry, and that from all his acquired knowledge he learnt only to talk very impertinently on every subject, instead of framing solid and sure rules for the government of his dominions.

His liberality, which some praise, is exclaimed against by others as prodigality. These pretend, he gave without measure and discretion, without any regard to his own wants, or the merits of those on whom he heaped his favours.

The same contrariety occurs between King James's historians with respect to his capacity. Some call him for his wisdom, the Solomon of the age. Others endeavour to display all his errors, particularly in the two sole important affairs of his reign, wherein he came off very ill, namely, the Prince his son's marriage, and his son-in-law's election to the Kingdom of Bohemia.

Some extol him for maintaining the Prerogative Royal in its full lustre, in spite of the efforts of those who were continually attacking it. Others pretend, he had conceived very wrong ideas of the English constitution, and by aiming to carry the regal authority too high, and instilling the same principles into his successor, he was the first cause of his family's ruin.

As to his manners, writers are no less divided. Some describe him as a very wise and virtuous Prince, whilst others speak of him as a Prince of a dissolute life, given to drinking, and swearing in common conversation, especially when he was in a passion.

He is likewise reproached for dissolving the Earl of Essex's marriage, pardoning the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh and for confidently calling God to witness, in full Parliament, that he never had any thoughts of granting the Papists a toleration, which he could affirm but by means of some mental reservation.

In fine, whilst some praise his moderation and equity to the Catholics, others pretend to demonstrate he was a Papist in his heart, and only professed the Protestant religion out of fear of what might follow, in case he openly declared for the Catholic.

If some say, in proof of his being a good Protestant, that he made constant profession of the established religion, persevered in it to his death, and when dying, charged the Prince his Son to protect the Church and clergy; others answer, this is far from a demonstration. They pretend, the point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that his actions belied his outward profession:—

**That** the same thing had happened to him in Scotland, where till the age of thirty-six years, he had professed a religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards[376].

**That** when he came to England, he declared himself openly the protestor of the papists: took their part on all occasions: promoted them to honours, dignities, public offices:

**That** in his reign the Laws against them were never duly executed, of which he boasted to the Catholic Princes in his apology concerning the oath of allegiance;

**That** in all his speeches, whether in the Parliament or the Star-Chamber, his constant aim was to move his subjects to consent to a full toleration for the Catholics: but not finding the Parliament inclined as he wished, he granted, by his sole authority, a toleration in effect, by hindering the execution of the laws, and discharging the condemned recusants from fines, and other penalties:

**That** in his conventions with Spain and France, he positively promised to cause no more laws to be enacted against the papists, and those already in force not to be executed:

**That** on all occasions, he affected to show he found nothing amiss in the Roman religion, but the Pope's exorbitant power over Princes:

**That** by giving the Pope the titles of Holy Father, his Holiness, and by consenting that his son's children should be educated in the Roman religion till the age of thirteen years, he plainly discovered he should not be sorry for their continuance in that religion:

**Lastly**, his engagements with the Archbishop of Ambrun is a fresh and manifest proof of his being a true Papist. To this the others reply, it is not possible to conceive, that if King James had been a Papist in his heart, he would have spent a considerable part of his time in writing Books against the Popish religion, and combating the arguments of Bellarmine and Du Perron[377].

Having related what is said for and against King James, with respect to his religion, I shall take the liberty to offer my opinion or conjecture, which is, that this Prince was truly neither a sound Protestant, nor a good Catholic. One can hardly help owning, that he had never much at heart the interest of the Protestant religion, as on the other hand, it cannot be denied, he made public and constant profession of the same to his dying day.

This induces me to think he had formed a scheme of religion different from that of others, according to which he counted of no moment, what the Protestants and Catholics looked upon as essential. The difference between the two Religions, with respect to the tenets, was not what affected him most. He believed, probably, that every religion was good provided it taught obedience to Sovereigns, and preserved the hierarchy, which he considered as a fundamental article.

It is therefore no wonder, that, agreeably to this scheme, he should refuse to enter into the measures of the English Protestants, to hinder the growth of the Romish religion in England, or no scruple to continue in the religion he professed, since, according to his notions, the two religions were equally good, provided the Pope's despotic power was abolished. I scarce doubt that in his conferences with the Archbishop of Ambrun, he had in view the chimerical project of reconciling the two religions, without troubling himself about the tenets which divided them, and which, in one of his speeches, he called scholastic questions. But, very probably, if he could

have executed this projet, according to his ideas, all the advantage would have been on the side of the Romish religion.

This, in my opinion, is the only way to excuse his condescension to the Catholics, and his zeal to protect them. Otherwise, I don't see how his doubtful behavior, with regard to religion, can well be accounted for. This may also serve to discover the reason of his rejecting with so much animosity, the religion of the puritans, whose principles he believed directly contrary to the scheme he had formed.

But whatever may be said for and against King James's person, it is certain, England never flourished less than in his reign, and the English saw themselves exposed to the insults and railleries of other nations, whilst the blame was generally called on the King. The following epigram made in France in his time, is a clear evidence in what esteem he was with his neighbours:

**Tandis qu' Elizabeth sut Roy,  
L' Anglois sut Espagne l'essroy.  
Maintenant, devise et caquette,  
Régi par la Reine Jaquette.**

That is literally in. English

**Whilst Elizabeth was King,  
The English were of Spain the terror,  
but now, governed by Queen Jaquet,  
They only talk and prattle.**

### **King James I Coinage**

By an indenture of the 2nd of James I, a pound weight of gold, of twenty two carats fine, and two carats alloy, was coined into £31 4s. by tale; namely, into unites going for 20s, double crowns at 10s, Britain crowns at 5s, thistle crowns at 4s 9d and half-crowns at 2s 6d., a piece: And a pound weight of silver of the said old standard into 6s 1d. by tale; namely, into shillings, six-pences, Two-pences, pence, half-pence, crowns, and half-crowns.

In the 3d year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old standard, of twenty three carats, three grains and a half fine, was coined into £40, 10s, by tale; namely into rose-rialls at 30s. a-piece, Spur rials at 15s, and angels at 10s, a piece. In the 9th, there was a proclamation for raising gold 2s. in every 20s.—In the 10th, a pound weight of the old standard gold was coined into 44s. by tale; namely, rose-rials, spur rials, and angels; and a pound weight of gold of twenty two carats fine, was coined into £40, 18s. and 4d ; namely, into unites at 22s, double crowns at 21 British crowns at 5s. 6d thistle crowns at 4s. 4d three farthings, or half British crowns at 21s. 9d a-piece.

The gold coins of this King (as appears from the indentures on the next page) are rose-rials, and spur rials, angels, unites, crowns, and half-crowns, of several denominations. The rose-rial has on one side the King upon his throne, in his robes, with crown, sceptre, and ball, at his feet a portcullis, IACOBUS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverse, the rose and arms, which are quarterly, France and England in the first and fourth quarters, second, the lion within the double tressure fleury, for Scotland, third, the harp for Ireland, A. DNO FACTVM. EST. ISTUD. ET. EST. MIRAB. IN. OCV. NRIS. The unite has on one side the King's figure, IACOBVS. DEI GRA. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverse, FACIAM. EOS. IN. CENTEM VNAM. Of these unites there are several sorts, as may be seen in *Nummi Britam, Historia*, p. 84, 85.



One in particular has the King's buffo laureate on one side, and XX. behind the head, a scarf cross the shoulder, inscriptions and arms as the former unites, **HENRIC. ROSAS. RÉGNA-IACOBVS**. There is a half, with X. behind the head, and a quarter with V. The crowns have on the reverse the arms, and **HENRTCVS. ROSAS. REGNA IACOBVS**. The thistle crown has on one side a rose crowned, and **IA D. GRA. MAG. BR. FR. ET HIBER. REX**. On the other side a thistle flower crowned, **TVEATVR. VNITA. DEVS**. (Fig. 1) The Half-Crotons have, on one side, the King's figure, and **IA. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA**. Reverse, the arms, and **TVEATVR. &c**—The silver coins of this King are crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, two pences, pence and half pence. The crown represents the King on horseback in armour, and crowned, holding a sword in his hand; the rose and crown upon the trappings of a horse **IACOBVS**

**D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.** Reverse, the arms **QVÆ. DEVS. CONIVNXIT. NEMO. SEPARET.** The shillings XII (fig. 2) and the six-pences VI behind the King's head crowned legends as on the crowns The pence and two pences are inscribed **I. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA** with I or II behind the Kings head crowned. (Fig. 4.) Reverse, the arms fill up the whole area. The Irish monies are in all respects like the English only have a harp crowned on the reverie. (Fig. 3.) The copper money, of Ireland has two sceptres through the crown.

## NOTES CHAPTER I

1) The Lord Hunsdon's father married Ann Boleyn's sister. Sir Robert's brother, George Lord Hunsdon, was Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's household, and Privy Councillor; and his brother Sir John was Governor of Berwick. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II, p. 397, 398.

2) The Council's letter to him begins with these pompous words. Right high, right excellent and mighty Prince, and our dread Sovereign Lord, &c. See Spotiswood, p. 475.

3) Several other persons of distinction came to pay their respects to him, and among the rest John Peyton, (Son of Sir John Peyton Lieutenant of the Tower (London) whom he knighted, being the first on whom he conferred that honour. Stow, p. 818.

4) The person that managed Cecil's correspondence at the Court of Scotland, was Bruce, a younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, who carried this matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great men in England, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen suspecting anything, signed in writing an engagement to assert and stand by the King of Scots right of succession. Burnet's History, p. 8. Cecil was very like to have been discovered a little before the Queen's death. Being in the Coach with her as she was taking the air, on Black-heath, a post from Scotland came by. Whereupon the Queen stopped her coach to receive the packet. Cecil dreading some of his secret conveyances might be discovered, and having a ready wit, hastily calls for a knife to cut it open. But just as he was going to do so, he pretended it had a very nasty smell, and ought to be aired before her Majesty saw it. Which the Queen, mistrusting nothing, and hating ill scents of all things, ordered it to be done. Wilson, p. 662.  
**Complete History.**

5) At Hitchinbrooke, in Huntingdonshire, he was more handsomely received and entertained by Sir Oliver Cromwell, than he had been all the way before, says Stow, p. 822.

6) The King bought this house afterwards; It belongs now to the Duke of Portland. Rapin, The King gave in exchange for it Hatfield House, the seat of the present Earls of Salisbury. See above, p. 51. Note (l).

7) And Sir George Hume, afterwards Earl of Dunbar, and the Lord Kinloss. Stow. P. 822.

8) Henry Percy, and George Clifford. Rapin says, by mistake, it was the Earl of Westmoreland.

9) To avoid confusion, it will be proper to continue the account of the numerous Howard Family, from page 831. Vol. I. Thomas Howard, the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, married, 1. Ann daughter of King Edward IV, by whom he had Thomas, who died young. 2. Elizabeth daughter of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had Henry Earl of Surrey, beheaded 3. Henry VIII; and Thomas created Viscount Howard of Bindon, 1 Elizabeth—The said Henry married Frances, daughter of John de Vere Earl of Oxford, and by her had Thomas 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk, (restored i, Mary, and beheaded for attempting to marry the Queen of Scots) and Henry made Earl of Northampton. James I.—The last mentioned Thomas had two wives, 1. Mary's daughter and coheir of Henry Earl of Arundel, who was mother of Philip, Earl of Arundel. 2. Margaret daughter of Lord Audley and mother of Thomas, created Earl of Suffolk, 1. James I. and of William made Lord Howard of Naworth Castle I. James I.—said Philip Earl of Arundel, had a son named

Thomas, who was restored, I. James I. This Thomas was father, 1<sup>st</sup> of Henry. 2. Of William created Viscount Stafford in 1640 The last Thomas was father of Thomas, the 5th Duke of Norfolk, 13. Charles II. and of Henry created Earl of Norwich in 1683—The aforementioned Thomas Earl of Suffolk had seven sons; 1 Theophilus, who succeeded him: 2. Thomas created Earl of Berkshire 1629. 7. Edward, made Lord Howard of Eserick 1629.— The above said William Lord Howard of Naworth Castle, was father of Philip, and he of William, who was father of Charles created Earl of Carlisle, in 1661. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II.

10) It was only a sort of pasquil posted up in St. Paul's, Wilson, p. 665

11) Rapin by mistake says, to serve in Parliament.

12) Besides these, he made Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penhurst, Sir William Knolles Baron of Grayes, and Sir Edward Wotton Baron of Marley and afterwards, while preparations were making for his Coronation, which was performed the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, in the heat of a plague he created Egerton (Lord Chancellor) Baron of Ellesmere, Sir William Russel Baron of Thornaugh, Sir Henry Grey Baron of Groby, Sir John Petre Baron of Writtle, Sir John Harrington Baron of Exton, Sir Henry Danvers Baron of Dantsey, Sir Thomas Gerard Baron of Gerard-Bromley, Sir Robert Spencer Baron of Worth-Leighton. Wilson, p. 664. Camden. Ann. p. 641.

13) There. was no such Lord as the Lord Carew, Sir George Carew, (who had served in Ireland three years, and wrote an account of the memorable passages which happened there in that time) was now in favour, and one of those that were sent to fetch the Queen j he was made Baron of Clapton. 3; Jac. and Earl of Totness, I. Car. I. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 423. Rapin.

14) See the Reigns of Richard III, in *Henry VII.* Rapin.

15) The Earls of Sussex and Lincoln; the Lords Compton and Norris; Sir George Carrew, the Countess of Worcester and Kildare; Lady Ann Herbert, daughter of the Earl of Pembroke; the Lady Scrope and Lady Rich, wives of the Lords Scrope and Rich; the Lady Walsingham. Stow, p. 823.

16) Henry was born February 19<sup>th</sup> 1593. Elisabeth, August 19. 1596. and Charles, November 19, 1600. Sandford, p. 560, &c.

17) About this time Charles Lord Montjoy returned out of Ireland, and brought with him Hugh O' Neal Earl of Tyrone, or rather Tir-oen, i.e. (the Land of Eugenius) being the name of an Irish County. The Lord Montjoy was honourably received, sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and afterwards made Earl of Devonshire. Tir-oen himself, who had been the cause of so much bloodshed, was pardoned, and proclamation made, that he should be treated by all men with respects and honour, Stow, p. 825. Wilson, p. 664.

18) This revocation was dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June. Rapin.

19) For the more solemn reception of ambassadors, was at this time instituted a new officer, by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, with a salary of £200 a year, of whom the first was Sir Lewis Lewkenor. Stow, p. 824. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI, p. 637.

20) As Sir Edward Parham, (who was acquitted by his Jury) Bartholomew Brookisby, Anthony Copley; and Sir Griffith Markham, who was condemned and reprieved with Cobham, Grey, and Raleigh, just as they were going to lose their Heads. See Stow, p. 832. Rapin, by mistake, reckons also Carew. See note above.

21) Not Cobham, as Rapin says. See Stow, &c.

22) The best account that can be given of this obscure affair, is this; Sir John Fortescue, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Cobham, and some others, desired that King James might be tied to some articles at his accession to the Crown, on account of the known feud between the two nations; but by the artful management of the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, and the ranting protestations of the Earl of Northumberland, who threatened to bring the King in by the sword, all articles and conditions to bind him were dropped. However, for this proposal, Raleigh and the rest were frowned upon by the King, and at the King's coming to London, forbid their attendance at Court. This undoubtedly occasioned discontents among them, and probably might induce them to use disaffected expressions, and keep suspicious company. But, what their treason was, as no man could then tell, so it is with so dark a comment, that posterity will never understand the text, or remember any such treason. It is true, some lost their lives, yet the world was never satisfied of the justice. It was then believed an errant trick of State, to overthrow some, and disable others, knowing their strong abilities might otherwise live to overthrow Cecil Earl of Salisbury, for they were intimate in all his secret councils for the ruin of the Earl of Essex. Salisbury in this had a double benefit; first, in ridding himself of such as he feared would be thorns in his sides; secondly, in endearing himself to the King, by shewing his diligence, and fidelity for his safety Osborn, Sec. 3. Wilson, p. 663. Weldon, p. 28, &c.

23) Some affirm, the Lord Cobham was persuaded to sign a blank, whereon this evidence was afterwards set down. Rapin. See Weldon, p. 35, &c. But Goodman, in his *Aulicus Coquinaria*, p. 78, denies Weldon's account.

24) But lived many years in misery, being deprived of his estate: which, as Osborn well observes, is a punishment contrary to the law of God and nature who faith, the person offending shall only die, and no punishment descend to the innocent children. He died lousy for want of apparel, and linen; and had starved, had not one, sometime his laundress in court, relieved him with scraps, in whose house he died, which was so mean, that he was forced to creep up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber. A hard fate, for a man who was possessed before his arraignment of £7000 a year, and £30,000, in money. In his person ended that noble family, which had flourished for many ages. Sir Griffith Markham was also released, and retired beyond sea, where he lived in a mean condition, Weldon, p. 39. Osborn Sec. 6.

25) See the names of the Knights of the Bath made on this occasion in Stow, p. 827.

26) Thirty thousand five hundred and seventy-five, in one year. Stow, p. 833.

27) This Petition was said to be signed by a thousand persons, and was therefore called the millenary petition; though it was signed but by eight hundred out of twenty-five counties. See Neal, Tom. II. p. 5.

28)4) Wilson says, that the King thought, if Church power were in the hands of many, it would not be so easy to be managed, as when in the hands of one, who had dependence upon him, and with whom he might better grapple. And therefore the King would often say. No bishop, no King, p. 665. Coke, p. 35.

29) The Bishops were, Canterbury, London, Winchester, Durham, St. David's, Worcester, Chichester, Carlisle, and Peterborough, with eight deans, Dr. Field, and Dr. King. The petitioners were, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spark, Mr. Knewstubb, and Mr. Chaderton. See Barlow's account of this conference, and Neal, Tom. II. p. 5, &c. Dr. Welwood says, that this conference was but a blind to introduce Episcopacy in Scotland, all the Scotch noblemen then at court being designed to prevent, and others, both noblemen and ministers, being called up from Scotland by the King's letter, to assist at it. Notes in Wilson, p. 665. *Complete History*.

30) The High-Commission-Court was instituted and founded upon the Statute I Eliz. Cap. I. and consisted of a certain number of Commissioners, who exercised the King's ecclesiastical

supremacy. This Court, for divers reasons, was utterly abolished by the Statute made 16, 17 Car. I. Cap. 10.

31) Most of them went over to Holland. See Neal, Tom. II p. 47. There were but forty nine ministers all over England turned out for non-compliance, See Spotiswood, p. 479.

32) By the 19<sup>th</sup> of March. Those that were in prison were to be shipped off at some convenient port. Rymer, p. 573. In this Proclamation the King acknowledges himself personally much beholden to the Bishop of Rome for his kind offices and private temporal carriage towards him in many things, and says, he is ready to requite the same towards him as a secular Prince.

33) Bishop Burnet observes; that from the year 1606, to his dying day, He continued always writing and talking against popery, but acting for it. *History of His Own Time*, p. 12.

34) That is, to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, which was now reprinted with explanations. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 565, 574. &c. The chief explanations now added were, the whole rubric before private baptism; all the latter part of the Catechism, from the Lord's Prayer to the end; Prayers in the daily service and Litany for the rest of the Royal family; Thanksgivings for rain, fair weather, plenty, peace and victory, deliverance from the plague, &c. Rymer, Ibid. p. 566, &c.

35) There was not only a yearly feast: for this deliverance, (whether real or imaginary) but also a weekly commemoration, by a sermon every Tuesday. Weldon says, that the wisest of the Scottish nation gave little credit to that story, p. 8. And Dr. Welwood. that being in itself so improbable a thing, and attended with so many inconsistent circumstances, it was disbelieved at the time it was said to have been attempted, p. 19.

36) Ereskin and Ramsey, two of his deliverers, were rewarded with wealth and honour; The first was made Earl of Kelley, and chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King; and the second, besides the title of Earl of Holderness, got one of the prime beauties of the Kingdom, daughter to the Earl of Sussex. Wilson, p. 667.

37) The Suburbs and City were one continued scene of pageantry. There were seven triumphal gates or arches erected in the streets through which he was to pass from the Tower to Whitehall It seems, he endured this day's brunt pretty patiently, being sure he should never have such another. But afterwards (says Wilson) in his public appearances, the crowds of people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, not to say curses. His private recreations at home, and his hunting exercises abroad; both with the least disturbance, were his delights. Stow, p. 856, &c. Wilson, p. 667.

38) It was said, that if the Scots had already impoverished the Kingdom, they would by the Union bankrupt it. Weldon, p. 58.

39) There were in all forty three commissioners, Lords and Commons, who were empowered to meet and treat with certain select commissioners to be appointed by the Parliament of Scotland. Wilson, p. 673, See. Spotiswood, p. 480, &c.

40) The English repined, as Wilson says, to see the Scots advanced from blue bonnets to costly beavers, wearing instead of wadmeal, velvet and satin, p. 673.

41) This Parliament granted the King tunnage and poundage. The tunnage was, 3s. on every tun of wine, imported; and on a tun of sweet wine, 6s. and for every awm of Rhenish, 1s. The poundage was, 1s. on every twenty shillings-worth of goods and merchandise imported and exported, excepting woollen manufactures; and tin and pewter also excepted, which were to pay 2s. A denizen was to pay, for every sack of wool, 33s. 4d, for every two hundred and forty wool

fell, 33s 4d. and for every last: of hides and backs, £3 6s 8d. But a stranger was to pay for every sack of wool, £3 6s. 8d. for every two hundred and forty woolfells the same; and for every last of hides and Backs, £3 13s. 4d. See Statute, c. 33.—There were several Statutes made in this Parliament, the chief of which are; **1.** An act for the due execution of the laws against Jesuits, seminary-priests, and recusants. **2.** A continuance of the Statute 39 Eliz. concerning the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, &c. By this statute, people that go about the country to sell glasses, are to be adjudged as rogues and vagabonds. **3.** An act to restrain the inordinate haunting and tipping in inns, Alehouses, &c. **4.** A wise act against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. **5.** One for the relief of creditors against bankrupts. **6.** And another against brokers, &c. See Statute. 1 James I.

42) They are pretty now well beaten out of that false notion.

43) They were called *Articuli Cleri*. See them in Sir Edw. Coke's 2nd Institute.

44) The English Commissioners were, Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset, Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire, Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, and Robert Lord Cecil Baron of Esingden. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 580, &c. 586.

45) Weldon, p. 26, 27. says, there was not one courtier of note but what tasted of Spain's bounty either in gold or jewels, and amongst them not any had so large a proportion as the countess of Norfolk, who shared in her Lord's interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had, in being mistress to that little great secretary, (little in body but great in policy) the idle manager of State affairs. So it may be said, she was a double sharer: And in truth, Audley-End, that famous great structure, had its foundation of Spanish gold. He says, all Christendom has sine felt and seen the lamentable effect of this disadvantageous peace. A peace, says Osborn, more definitive to England than a war. He also observes, that the Earl of Northampton was by the Spanish gifts enabled to build a noble house in the Strand and there were many others in the Kingdom, that had their foundation, if not their walls and roofs, plastered with the same mortar. Sect. 4, 5.

46) This year, in September, the King borrowed several sums of money, by Privy-Seal, **from the wealthiest citizens in London**. And in October, the customs of merchandises, both inward and outward, were raised, and let out to farm. *Howes's Continuation of Stow*, p. 856. The King, who was a great enemy to tobacco, as appears by his writings against it, ordered by a proclamation, dated October 7, that besides the custom of two-pence in the pound it used to pay, there should be an additional duty of 6s. 8d. on every pound imported into the realm. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XVI. p. 601.

47) Above one hundred and twenty thousand men are said to be slain on both sides. The town was taken by the Marquis of Spinola, for which he was made Duke of Santa Sevenna. Sir Francis Vere General, and his brother Horatio had shewn great valour in the defence of this place. *Stow*, p. 856. *Howes's Continuation*.

48) The Spaniards were astonished at the magnificence of the embassy, and the handsome gentlemen; for it seem[s] the Jesuits reported our nation to be ugly, and like devils, as a punishment for calling off the Pope, and they pictured Sir Francis Drake generally half a man half a dragon. So easy is it says Wilson, for those jugglers, when they have once bound up the conscience, to tie up the understanding also. Weldon, p. 42. Wilson, p. 673.

49) This jealousy occasioned many insolences in the Streets of London swarmed night and day with bloody quarrels, and private duels were everywhere fomented betwixt the English and Scots. Wilson, p. 674.—The sects complaining at first to the King, that they were so poor, they underwent the by-word of beggarly Scots; the King replied to them, content yourselves, I will shortly make the English as beggarly as you, and to end that controversy. Weldon p. 57,

50) Mr. Chamberlain, in a Letter to Mr. Winwood, tells him, That the King finds such felicity in a hunting life, that he hath written to his Council, and desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business. Winwood's Mem. Tom. 11. p. 46.

51) This Thomas Winter seems to have been the first contriver of the plot, about Easter 1604, but Catesby invented the manner of putting it in execution. See Fawkes's Confession.

52) That place they made choice of, because the Catholic religion having been suppressed there, they thought it fittest, that justice and punishment should be executed there. *Winter's Confession*.

53) This is confirmed by Garnet's answer to some English Lords, who asked him, whether he approved that the Church of Rome should one day declare him a martyr. Martyrdom, cried he, *O qualem Martyrerm*. See Casaubon's Letter to Frouto Ducaeus, the Jesuit, Casaub. Episl. Edit, of 1709. p. 414.

54) Catesby, Percy, Wright, Fawkes, and Winter met behind St. Clement's Church in London, and upon a primer gave each other the oath of secrecy, and afterwards went into the next room, where they heard Mass, and received the Sacrament upon the same. Ibid, in their indictment it is said, "that they received the Eucharist by the hands of Garnet, Tesmond," &c. but not the oath. See *State Trials*.

55) It was about three yards thick. They that worked in this mine, were, Percy, Catesby, Thomas and Robert Winter, John and Christopher Wright, and Fawkes. They began to work December 11, and about Candlemas had worked the wall half through. They all seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, being resolved to die rather than yield or be taken. They had provided themselves with baked meats, to have the less occasion for sending out, and they went in the night, and were never seen. *Fawkes's and Winter's Confessions*.

56) They put in at first but twenty barrels, but fearing they might be damp, they added sixteen more. There were a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots to cover them. *Winter's Confessions*—In their indictment it is said, they put in thirty barrels and four hogsheads of gunpowder, and laid on them great iron bars and stones. *State Trials*.

57) He, and another gentleman, were to enter into the Duke's chamber without suspicion; and having about a dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court gate to receive him, he was to carry the Duke safe away, as soon as the Parliament House was blown up. *Winter's Confessions*.

58) And in an unknown, and somewhat illegible hand. *Discourse of The Treason*.

59) However, he observed it corresponded with some information he had received from abroad, that the Papists, both at home and abroad, were making preparations for some combination amongst them against the Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver a petition to the King for toleration of religion which should be delivered in such order, and so well backed, as the King should be loath to refuse their requests. *Discourse of the Treason*.

60) Cecil in a letter of his to Sir Charles Cornwallis, speaks as if it was he and the Lord Chamberlain that first made the discovery. See Winwood, Tom. II. p. 171.

61) ) It is the Lord Chamberlain's business to see that all places are in a readiness where the King is to come in person.

62) The Lord Monteaule, curious to know the event, was with the Lord Chamberlain, and hearing Percy named, immediately guessed the letter came from him, there being a great friendship between them. *Discourse of the Treason*.

- 63) In case nothing should be found, Whyneard was to pretend he milled some of the King's stuff or hangings, which were in his keeping, and that the search was for them. *Discourse of the Treason.*
- 64) Under the name of John Johnson.
- 65) All this was but about twelve hours before the hellish project was to be put in execution.
- 66) About four o'clock in the morning. *Discourse of the Treason.*
- 67) There were but seven or eight. The stable belonged to one Benock, a rider of great horses. Ibid.
- 68) They never amounted to fourscore. See *Discourse of the Treason.*
- 69) Particularly Sir Richard Walsh, Sheriff of Worcestershire. Ibid.
- 70) A house belonging to Stephen Littleton in Staffordshire. Winwood's Mem. Tom. II. p. 173.
- 71) As they were mending the fire in their chamber, a spark of fire happened to fall upon two pounds of powder which was drying a little from the chimney, and it blowing up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others, that they opened the gate. A great bag of powder was blown up without taking fire. See *King James' Works*, p. 244.
- 72) January 6. this year, Prince Charles was created Duke of York. What persons were made knights of the bath on that occasion, see in Winwood's Mem. Tom. II. p. 43, and Howes's *Continuation of Stow*, p. 856.— About this time began coaches to come in common use. Howe's, p. 867.
- 73) The King gave the Lord Monteagle, the first discoverer of the treason, two hundred pounds a year in fee farm rents, and five hundred pounds a year during his life, as a reward for his good service. Wilson, p. 676.
- 74) After all, it is said, that the letter to the Lord Monteagle was an artifice of Cecil's, and that the first intimation of the powder-treason came from the King of France, who received it from the Jesuits of his faction, to the end he might share in our ruin. The reasons why the most Christian King did advertise our Court of the plot were, first, because he found that nothing was to be feared from one of King James's complexion. Another (a weak one, though strongly pressed by the Ministers) was, the favours received from hence during the League. But the most probable was, the advantage the King of Spain was likely to make of it, by reason he had an army then ready in Flanders to land in the huge mist, so black a cloud must needs have caused over the nation, the Kingdom of England being, in the Pope's own judgment, too great an addition to that of Spain, Osborn, p. 437, &c. Welwood, p. 19. Mr. Winwood tells the Earl of Salisbury, in a letter to him, that he was informed of the Papists did not so much seek after the life of the King, as the life of the Earl of Salisbury. See Winwood's Mem. Tom. II. p. 264.
- 75) The King of Spain sent an agent on purpose to congratulate King James's great preservation. A flattery so palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinal d'Qlfat, when he first told him of it: It being notorious that when King James came to the Crown of England, none sought his destruction more cordially than the Spaniards, till a continued tract of experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impossibility of persuading him to form any League with France or other Christian Prince against him. Osborn, p. 438.

76) Particularly Hugh Owen. Sec Statute. 3 Jac. c. 2.

77) Sir Everard Digby, Robert Hinter, John Grant, and Tomas Bates, were executed at the west-end of St. Paul's Church, January 30; and the next day, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, suffered the punishment of traitors, in the Old Palace-yard at Westminster. Statute\* Trials, Vol. I. The Attainders of them, and the rest of their Complices, were confirmed in this Parliament. See *State Trials* Vol. 1. See Statute 3 Jac. c. 2.

78) Garnet owned upon his Trial, that Catesby told him of the plot only in general terms, and *Tesmond sub sigillo Confessonis*, profited he had dissuaded it, and prayed against it, and made no question but God heard his prayer. He had, it seems, by the cunning of his keeper, divers conferences with Hall, his brother priest in the tower, which were over-heard by spies set on purpose. Being charged with this, he protested upon his soul and salvation, there had no such Conferences past. But being confronted with Hall, he was driven to confess. And being asked how he could salve this leud perjury? He answered. So long as be thought they had no proof, he was not bound to accuse himself, but when he saw they had proof, stood no longer in it. And then fell into a larger defence of equivocations. See Winwood's Mem. Vol, II. p. 206.—He was arraigned at the Guildhall in London, March 28, and hanged at the west-end of St. Paul's, May 3. *State Trials*, Vol. I,

79) Of six score pounds. Winwood's Mem, Vol, II. p. 205.

80) It is dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of the Kalends of October 1606. *Apology*, p. 252.

81) Bellarmine, in his answer to King James's apology, took the opportunity of discovering, that his Majesty had formerly writ a letter to Pope Clement VII and thereupon upbraided him with inconstancy. See above, p. 148 and Spotiswood, p. 507.

82) The whole was payable at eleven several payments, and amounted to the sum of £453,000 In the 7<sup>th</sup> year of this reign there was granted by the laity throughout all England, one entire subsidy, and one Fifteenth and Tenth. For the subsidy, there was paid into the exchequer by the collectors £696,66 and so by estimation a subsidy is valued. One fifteenth and tenth of the laity comes to £36 000. *Truth Brought to Light*, p. 50, 70, 71. where the reader may see what each county paid towards a subsidy. As for fifteenths and tenths, every city, hundred, town and village were to pay in no more than they were chargeable by the antient roll and tax set upon them, so that their payments were certain. Ibid. Hence it appears also in the clergy's four subsidies of four shillings in the pound, amounted to £25,002 for so much remained after the laity's three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths are subtracted from the whole sum of £453,000.

83) The acts made in this Parliament were these: **1.** An act for the better discovering and reporting Popish recusants. **2.** Another to prevent the dangers which may grow by Popish recusants. **3.** An Act to reform the multitudes and misdemeanours of attorneys and solicitors, and to avoid unnecessary sums and charges in law. **4.** One for the recovering of small debts, and for the relieving of poor debtors in London,

84) He came to England July 17, and went back August 14. Howes's Continuation of Stow, p. 885—888.

85) He was feasted four days together, with all his attendants, by the Earl of Salisbury at Theobolds. Howe's, p. 885.

86) This year, on February 24. was signed a treaty of Trade and Commerce between England and France. See Rymers Fœd, Tom. XVI, p. 645, &c.

**87)** The reader may see, in Wilson's History, the chief arguments for and against the Union, p. 676–679.

**88)** The King obtained a judgment in Westminster Hall, in a case caused Calvin's case, that the *post-nati* in Scotland, after the King's assumption to the Crown of England, were free to purchase and inherit therein, Rog. Coke, p. 62. This case (says Wilson) was reported by Lord Chief Justice Coke) who was fit metal for any stamp royal, and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and most of the judges of the Kingdom, in the exchequer chamber, though many strong and valid arguments were brought against it: such power is in the breath of Kings! And such soft stuff are judges made of, that they can model their precedents into as many shapes as they please! Wilson, p. 680.

**89)** In this session it was enabled, that every person which is drunk, shall forfeit for every offence five shillings, to be paid to the church-wardens of the parish.—In the beginning of this year 1607, was begun a new English translation of the bible, which was published in 1611, and is the same as is now in common use. See an account of it, and of the translators, in Fuller. Cent. 17. p. 44.

**90)** And in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, &c. The cause of their dissatisfaction was, the inclosing of commons and other lands; and so all the mischief they did, was to break down hedges, fill up ditches, and lay open all enclosures. Howes p, 890.

**91)** So called from a great pouch he wore at his girdle.

**92)** With him went away his wife, his two younger sons and his nephew; as also the Earl of Tirconnell's son, and brother, and the Lord Dongannon, Howes, p. 891.

**93)** July 4<sup>th</sup> Sir Thomas Knevet was summoned to the House of Peers by the title of Baron of Escrycke. And November 16, Sir Gervase Clifton, by the title of Baron Clifton of Layton Bromeswold. Howes, p. 890, 891.—This year the Banqueting House at White Hall began to be rebuilt. Ibid.

**94)** Osborn says, that the nation was oppressed with impositions, monopolies, aids, privy-seals, concealment, pre-determined customs &c., besides forfeitures upon penal Statutes, &c., which were spent upon the Scots, Sect, 17.

**95)** Alderman Cockaine with some rich citizens, having promised Rochester, Northampton, and the Lord Treasurer, great sums of money, they procured him a patent for dressing and dying of cloths, and got the King to seize into his hands the Charter of the Merchant Adventurers, for transporting of white undressed cloths. But by reason of the Hollanders prohibition, and Cockaine's dying and dressing cloths worse and dearer than they were in Holland, infinite numbers of poor people lay idle, and were reduced to a starving condition. So the matter fell to the ground. Coke, p. 70.

**96)** At this time Sir John Bouchier (joining with the Lord Sheffield President of the North, Sir Thomas Challoner, Sir David Fowlis, and others who had lands in the north) brought the making of Alum to perfection in England, which with great charges had been fetched from foreign parts, particularly from Italy; and the King took the whole traffic thereof to himself. Howes, p. 898.

**97)** These two treaties bear the date June 26. The sums due from the States, to King James, are in the former treaty computed at eight hundred and eighteen thousand, four hundred and eight Pounds sterling. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 674.

**98)** The Earl of Salisbury, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1608, clears the King from this imputation. And in another letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1608-9, to Sir Charles Cornwallis then ambassador in Spain, he tells him, That Richardot had reported he was the person

that had given this promise to Spam. And adds, I am sure you never received any such direction from me, that am appointed your principal correspondent, so his Majesty is so much persuaded of your faith and discretion, that you will not intermeddle in any thing beyond the scope of your direction. In another letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1608-9, to the same Sir Charles, the Earl says, Richardot does not directly clear you, and cast the imputation upon the Spanish ambassadors, who should have given such hopes by letters, as having received them from the mouth of us that are of his Majesty's Council. But the ambassador being challenged, did protest to the contrary, with all the vows that may be. So as we see it was a device set on foot at Brussels, to colour the delays from Spain, and to save themselves from being disavowed in their proceedings. See **The Collection of State Papers in the Reign of James I.** p. 469, 472, 474. where it seems to be plain that it was all a fiction of Richardot's to serve his master' turn.

99) This year Aldgate was rebuilt. Camden's Ann.

100) Cowel was not a Clergyman, (as Rapin by mistake says) but doctor and professor of civil law in Cambridge, and Vicar General to Archbishop Bancroft. He published a book called **The Interpreter**, containing the signification of such words and terms as are mentioned in the law-writers and Statutes. It was printed at Cambridge first in quarto, in the year 1607. It hath been enlarged and reprinted in folio, but in all the later editions the dubious and offensive passages have been corrected or omitted.

101) The fifteen years letters patents granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East-India Company expiring about this time, King James granted them, in May this year, an enlargement of their privileges, and a charter whereby he incorporated them for ever. Howes, p. 993, 994.

102) July 1, 1607, King James repaid the City of London £60000 that had been borrowed by Queen Elizabeth on February. 3. 1598. Howes, p. 890.

103) Her funeral charges were £17,428. And the expense of the King and his train on his journey from Scotland to London, amounted to £10,752. *State of King James's Revenue*, p. 12.

104) When the Marquis of Rosni the French ambassador landed at Dover, the King sent him word, he could not bear the charges of the ambassadors, by reason of their number. See Mem. de Sully. Rapin.

105) The charge of the foreign ambassadors that came to England was, £31,400. And of the English ambassadors sent into foreign parts, £20,790. *State of the Revenue*, p. 12.

106) His, free-gifts out of the exchequer, paid mostly to Scots, amounted to above £14000 yearly. See *State of the Revenue*.

107) Under that general term, says Osborn, were comprehended not only those brainsick fools, as did oppose, but such as out of mere honesty refrained the vices of the Times.

108) But the King left out the power of a pawn to take a Queen, or check a King. Wilson.

109) He wished that three things especially were reformed in the Common Law; **1.** That it were written in the vulgar tongue, and made plain to the people's understanding. **2.** That it might have a settled text in all cases, and the exposition of it were fixed by act of Parliament. **3.** That the divers contrary reports and precedents, and the several statutes and acts of Parliament that crossed one another, might be reviewed and reconciled. See Wilson, p. 682.

110) They granted him one subsidy, which brought into the Exchequer £69666, and a fifteenth and tenth, which amounted to £36500. See **Truth Brought to Light**, p. 10, 70. The clergy granted also a subsidy. See Statute. 7. Jacob, c. 22.

**111)** The acts made in this session were these: **1.** That all such as are to be naturalized, or restored in blood, shall first receive the sacrament, and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. **2.** An act for the due execution of divers laws and statutes against rogues, vagabonds, and other lewd and idle persons; whereby it is provided, that there shall be a House of Correction erected in every county, to set such persons to work. **3.** An act to avoid the double payment of debts. See Statute 7 Jacob.

**112)** He was knighted before, in 1609. Upon which occasion the King forgot not to require the aid, usually paid the Kings of England, upon making their eldest son a Knight. This aid was twenty shillings out of every Knight's fee, and the same out of every twenty pounds worth of lands immediately holden of the King in socage; And amounted in all to £21,800. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. 16. p. 678, &c. *Declaration of The Revenue*, p. 10.

**113)** Soon after this, vis, August 19, King James renewed the League between the Kingdoms of England and France and received from Lewis XIII, sixty thousand pounds sterling, due to the Crown of England. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 16. p. 694, 706.

**114)** At his examination he boldly confessed he did it, because the King did not take arms against the Huguenots, and that his making war against the Pope, is the same as to make war against God, seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope. Cave.

**115)** Rapin, by mistake, says, the King sent the Lord Cornwall.

**116)** It appears from a letter of the Earl of Salisbury, that the first overtures of this match came from the court of Spain, Sec Winwood's Mem. Tom. 3. p. 291, &c.

**117)** There is a formal act of Parliament in being for the establishment of this college. Wilson, p. 685. Dr. Welwood thinks, Archbishop Bancroft was not the author, though he might be an encourager of this foundation. Notes on Wilson, p. 685. The founder was Dr. Sutcliffe Dean of Exeter. This college was to consist of a provost and twenty fellows, to be chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities. Sutcliffe endowed it with £300 a year, and £4000 in money. His death, which happened about this time, rather than Bancroft's, as Rapin says, put an end to the project. Three of the farms wherewith it was endowed, were afterwards adjudged by a decree in chancery to Mr. Halley, as heir general to Dr. Sutcliffe. The site of this college coming in process of time into the King's hands, it was founded a new for old and disabled soldiers, as it now stands. See Fuller, B. X., p. 51, See Stow's Survey, Vol. 1.

**118)** It was prorogued to February 9, and not dissolved till that day, as appears by the journals of Parliament.

**119)** There were four thousand English at this siege. Wilson, p. 683. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 16. p. 684.

**120)** Her chief favourite was the elder brother, the Earl of Pembroke, and the King's the younger, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, Wilson, p. 685.

**121)** Of all wise men living, he was the most delighted with hansom persons and fine cloths. Clarendon, Vol, 1. p, 9.

**122)** The King's second letter was sent, though not delivered, before Vorstius was settled at Leyden. *K. James's Works*, p. 358.

**123)** King James, in his declaration against Vorstius, says, "If the subject of Vorstius's heresies had not been grounded upon questions of higher quality than touching the number and nature of

the Sacraments, the points of merit, of justification, of purgatory, of the visible head of the Church, or any such matters, as are in controversy at this day betwixt the Papists, and us—in that case we should never have troubled ourselves with the business in such fashion, and with that fervency as hitherto we have done,” p. 365 of his works As if wrong notions or errors concerning the essence of God, were more pernicious than such corrupt notions and principles as are destructive of morality, and repugnant to God's moral charter!

**124)** In January this year, the King granted the learned Isaac Casubon a prebend in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury and a pension of £300, a year. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 16. p. 709, 710—This year, on December 12, died Thomas Sutton, Esq., founder of the charter-house in London. This noble foundation he endowed with about £4500 a year, for the maintenance of a master, a preacher, a free-school, in which are forty scholars, and a master and usher and also for the maintenance of eighty poor people, who are to be provided with sufficient clothing, meat, drink, lodging, wages, Stows Survey, p. 207.

**125)** Rapin, by mistake, makes the whole to be but 5000 and the King to reduce it to £2000.

**126)** Wilson gives him this character: He had great parts, was very wise, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, so as they did not aspire too high in places, or look narrowly into his actions, p. 24. Osborn, who owns he was a man of an incomparable prudence, applies to him, what was in other words said of Gregory the Great, that he was the first ill Treasurer, and the last good one since Queen Elizabeth's days. The worst thing he lays to his charge, was, the sale of the crown timber, millions of English oaks being felled, and sold at vile prices, not only during the life of the Earl of Salisbury, but all the reign of King James, to the great detriment of the navy, *The Walls of The Kingdom*, p. 461. He also fleeced the cream of the King's Manors in many counties. Weldon, p. 51, He died at Marlborough, on Sunday, May 24. 1612, and was buried at Hatfield. Dugdales Baron. Vol. II. p. 408.

**127)** This young Lord, it seems, having a mind to disgrace one Turner a fencing master, in his own act, had one of his eyes thrust out by him. Sometime after, the King of France asked him. How he lost his eye? And Sanquir telling him, it was done with a sword. The King replies, does the man live? This question made such an impression upon the young Lord, that at his return to England, he caused Tuner to be pistoled, at his house in White-Friars, Wilson, p. 688. He was tried in the court of King's Bench, June 27. and executed before Westminster Hall gate, the 29<sup>th</sup> Howes, p. 1002. Osborn says, it was thought the King would not be prevailed with to pardon Sanquir, as he had done some other of his countrymen tor the like offence, by reason of his love to the King of France, and nut making any reply, when he said in his presence, to one that called our King James, Solomon, that be hoped be was not David the fuller's Son, p. 457.

**128)** Ramsey switched Philip Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke's brother, over the face at a horse race, which he not resenting, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, and an Earl in one day. Mr .Edward Hawley of Grey's Inn, coming to court one day, Maxwell led him out of the room by a black string he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood, not only Grey's Inn society, but all the gentry in London, thought themselves concerned in the affront, and Hawley threatened to kill Maxwell wherever he met him, if he refused to fight, which so frightened the King, that he sent for the benchers, and made up the quarrel. One Murray a Scot, killed a sergeant that came to arrest him, which things, with Sanquir's pistoling Turner, and other insolences, occasioned the following verses on the Scots:—

**They Beg our Lands, our Goods, our Lives,  
They Switch our Nobles, and lie with their Wives;  
They pinch our Gentry, and send for our Benchers ;  
They Stab our Sergeants, and Pistol our Fencers.** Osborn, p. 752

**129)** He was second son to Sir Thomas Sherley of Sussex, and had been abroad sixteen years, five whereof he had spent in the service of divers Christian Princes, especially the Emperor Reddolphus, who made him a Count of the Empire. He afterwards travelled into Persia, and served that Emperor ten year? Who made him general of the artillery, and gave him in marriage, the Lady Tererisa, sister to one of the Queens of Persia. He left his young son in England. Howes, p 102.

**130)** He died, (not on the 12<sup>th</sup> as Rapin says), on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, being eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days old; and was buried at Westminster, the 7<sup>th</sup> of December following. Coke. Wilson, p. 690. Howes, p. 1004. His funeral charges came to sixteen thousand, and fifteen pounds, **State of the Revenue**, p. 13.

**131)** Being once hunting the stag, a butcher's dog chanced to kill the stag, and spoiled the sport, which the Prince not relenting, the huntsmen and company, to incense him against the butcher, told him, "if his father had been served so, he would have sworn so as no man could have endured it." Away, (says the Prince) all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath. This R. Coke the historian had from his father, who was about the Prince's age. Coke, Vol 1. p. 70.

**132)** The King said this upon the Prince's court being more frequented than the King's. Coke, p. 71.

**133)** They gave their opinions on November 7, under their hands as follows, his liver wan and paler than ordinary. His gall without Choler, and distended with wind.. His spleen unnaturally black; his lungs spotted, with much corruption. The Diaphragm blackish; and the head full of Blood in some places, and in others of water. As if, (says Wilson) no poison could produce such effects, p. 690. See *Historic Narrative*. C. 15. Howes says, he died of a malignant fever, which reigned that year in most parts of the land, and carried away a great number of people of all sorts and ages, p, 1004,

**134)** They were both installed on the 7th of February, (or according to *Camden's Annals* on December 28. 1612.) Lodwick Count of Orange being Prince Maurice's proxy. Prince Maurice, it seems, wore his Garter constantly, till a groom of his chamber happened to strangle a jeweller with one of his blue ribbons, in order to rob him. After which he would never wear it. Wilson, p. 690.—This year was finished Hicks's Hall in London. It was so named from Sir Basil Hick, a Justice of Peace for Middlesex, at whose charges it was built, on a piece of ground granted him by the King. Howes, p. 1008.—this year also. King James, and the Electors of Germany entered into a league and alliance. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 711—720.

**135)** The aid of money came but to £20,500. (**State of the Revenue**, p. 11.) and the Elector's marriage, &c, cost the King almost four times that sum, as will be seen hereafter.

**136)** It cost above £2000. Howes, p. 1007.

**137)** They embarked at Margate, April 25, and landed at Flushing the 29<sup>th</sup>. The Elector behaved, during his stay in England, so nobly and discreetly in all respects, that he gained the general applause and love of all men: And gave away to the full value of 120,000 French crowns. Howes, p. 1007.

**138)** William Cecil Viscount Cranburne, married Catherine Howard, the Earl of Suffolk's third and youngest daughter, on December 1, 1608. *Camden's Annals*.

**139)** Wilson says, it was a most violent disease, of a poisonous nature, imputed to, but far transcending, the smallpox. p. 686.

**140)** To shew the Countess what effects his art would produce, Mrs. Turner, being in love with Sir Arthur Manwearing, gave him some of the powder, which wrought so violently with him, that, through a storm of rain and thunder, he rode fifty miles one dark night to her house. Wilson, p. 637.

**141)** There was also a note produced in court, made by foreman, and written on parchment, signifying what ladies loved what lords in the court; but the Lord Chief Justice would not suffer it to be read, *Truth Brought to Light*, p. 138.

**142)** It seems he spoke very freely of the Countess; calling her whore, and base woman, and her mother and brother Bawds. See *Historic Narratives*, c. 21. Weldon, p. 67.

**143)** Some say, into France, others into Flanders. Rapin.

**144)** Under pretence, that he had vented some stinging sarcasms against the court. Coke, p. 75.

**145)** Weldon gives him this character, that he was ever held honest, and so wise, that he obtained the surname of wise Sir Gervase Elways; he was also religious, that few in the court did equal him; He was therefore very unfortunate, in having that place thrust upon him, without his thought; for according to him, he was at first ignorant of the plot, and endeavoured to prevent it. See p. 71. But others say, he bought the place, and that Wade was turned out to make room for him. *Historic Narratives*, c. 20.

**146)** He was promised £200. for this piece of service. Coke, p. 75.

**147)** Wilson says, several sorts of poisons were tempered with his broths, and every bit of meat he eat; that he might waste by degrees, and his very salt was mixed with white mercury, p. 693. See *Historic Narratives*, c. 48.

**148)** Dr. Franklyn, Author of *The Annals of James I.* says, the Earl of Suffolk presented the petition. Here he begins his account, without any mention of what went before. Rapin,

**149)** Sir Anthony Weldon declares upon the reputation of a Gentleman, that he had this verbatim from a Knight, who did usher the lady into the place of inspection, and told it often to his friends in mirth. *The Court of King James*, p. 81. The Author of the *Historic Narratives* of the first fourteen years of king James, says, it was one of Sir Thomas Monson's daughters that was searched in the Countess's room. c. 17.

**150)** Of the Judges delegates, Thomas Bilson. Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrews Bishop of Ely, Richard Neile Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and John Bucheridge Bishop of Rochester; with Julius Cæsar, Thomas Parry, Daniel Dun, Knights, signed the decree. Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, and John King Bishop of London, were against it. The Earl of Southhampton, in a letter of August 6, 1613, to Sir Ralph Winwood, has these words: "Of the Nullity, I see you have heard as much as I can write, by which you may discern the power of a King with judges; for of those which are now for it, I knew some of them when I was in England were vehemently against it, as the Bishops of Ely and Coventry." *Collection of Papers in The Reign of James I. Vol. III. p. 475*—The Earl of Ely was forced to repay his Countess's portion, (which was £5000. *Historic Narratives*, c. 27.) To do which he was obliged to sell his seat of Benington in Hertfordshire. Wilson, p. 693.

**151)** One friend accidentally found means to give him a visit, for which the lieutenant was severely rebuked, and ordered not to let any body come near him. Wilson, p. 693.

**152)** In one of his letters he tells the Earl of Somerset, "You and I will come to public trial before all the friends I have. They shall know what words have passed betwixt us heretofore. I have all

this vacation wrote the story betwixt you and me, from the first hour to this day, &c. These threats, probably, hastened Overbury's death; and hurried the Earl on to dispatch him quickly out of the way, for fear he should tell tales." See Winwood's Mem. Tom- III, p. 478.

**153)** Wilson says, he took the powder, which having a poisonous quality, added to his affliction, p. 692.

**154)** King James's Friends have given Overbury a very bad character, probably, to lessen the horror of the Viscount Rochester's crime. Rapin.— **This year, the City of London sent colonies into the province of Ulster in Ireland, which were planted chiefly about Londonderry, and Colerain.** Howes, p. 1004. October 25. Sir Edward Coke was made Lord Chief Justice; and the 26th, Sir Francis Bacon was made Attorney General, and Henry Yelverton, Esq; Solicitor General. Howes, p. 1005.

**155)** He died on June 15, at the house he had built at Charing Cross, called in his life time, Northampton House, but leaving it to the Earl of Suffolk, it was for a time called Suffolk House, and now Northumberland House. He was Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. His body was carried to be buried at Dover. But it was vulgarly rumoured (says Wilson) that his body was carried there, in order to be transported to Rome, p. 694—Weldon gives him this character, though a great clerk, yet he was not a wise man, but the greatest flatterer in the world, who raised himself by his flattery.—He was of so venomous and cankered a disposition, that he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but flatterers like himself: He used to say, that he would be content to be damned perpetually in hell, to be revenged of that proud Welshman, Sir Robert Mansell, p. 15, 22.

**156)** Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, was made Lord Treasurer in the Earl of Northampton's room, on July 10. and at the same time, Carr Earl of Somerset, was made Lord Chamberlain. **Camden's Annals.**

**157)** The first Baronets were created on May the 22<sup>nd</sup> 1611, by patent. See British Compendium, part, II, p. 352. They were to have these privileges to them and their heirs for ever; Place before all Knights Bachelors, and of the Bath, and all Bannerets; to be impleaded by addition of Baronet, and the title Sir, and their wives Lady; the King shall not create any degree under the dignity of a Baron, that shall be superior equal to them; no more to be made, but the full number two hundred, until some die, but the younger sons of Viscounts and Barons (by decree of the King and Council upon controversy) were adjudged to take place before them; and then their heirs male alone and twenty shall be knighted, and shall have either a Canton in their Coat-of-Arms, or in a scutcheon, at their election, the Arms of Ulster, argent, a hand gule; their place in the King's armies to be in the gross, near the King's Standard, for defence thereof. **Annals of King James**, p. 8. There were made at first but ninety: of whom Sir Nicolas Bacon, of Redgrave in Suffolk, was the first.

**158)** Which comes just to one thousand ninety five pounds, and not two thousand, as Rapin says by mistake. And it has been customary for those who have since been admitted into this order without money, to have a receipt endorsed on their patent for the laid sum of £1095 to be appropriated to the same uses, and for want of such endorsement, several Baronets were compelled in King Charles the second's time to pay 1095 pounds.

**159)** This Order of Baronets was first erected for advancing the plantation of Nova Scotia in America, and for settling a colony there, to which the aid of these Knights was appropriated. It was intended in 1621, but not actually founded till 1625. Scottish Compendium. p. 502.

**160)** Scottish honours of the same title, to have the precedence of an Irish, as a Scottish Baron, Viscount, or Earl, to have the precedence of an Irish and though an English honour of like degree

had the precedence of either of the other, yet if either of the other had a higher title, he should precede an English Peer under a lesser: as a Scottish or Irish Viscount, shall precede an English Baron. Coke, Vol 1. p. 66.

**161)** And likewise comparisons for assart lands, (i. e.) for grubbing up the thickets and coverts for the deer in forests. Coke, p. 67.

**162)** It did not meet till April 5. Journal Parliament.

**163)** Of this Sir Anthony Weldon gives a notable instance. He says, Salisbury would make the Scots buy books of fee-farms, some £100, per annum, some one hundred marks, and would compound with them for a thousand pounds, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any control or charge; then would Salisbury fill up this book with such prime land, as would be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds, which, as treasurer, he might easily do, and so enriched himself infinitely, and cast the envy on the Scots, in whose names these books appeared, and are still upon record to all posterity, p. 60.

**164)** These were Chutts—Nevil Lord Abergavenny's son, Wentworth, Jo Hoskins, *Camden's Annals*. This, (says Coke,) was the greatest violation of the privileges of Parliament, that ever was done by any King of England before, p. 79.

**165)** Though this account seems of little moment, it may serve however to show the liberal temper of the King, and his opinion that the Parliament was obliged to find him money for these expenses. Rapin.

**166)** He arrived at London, July 22. and embarked at Gravesend, August 1. Howes, p. 1012.

**167)** Or else from an apprehension, that the King's love and company was alienated from her, by this masculine convention and intimacy. But it was, more probably, from a suspicion of his being concerned in the prince's death, for she would never see him after it. Wilson, p. 697.

**168)** He was made so March 29, 1614. *Camden's Annals*.

**169)** He cut a channel from the the two great springs of Chadwell and Amwell, near Ware in Hertfordshire; in which the water is conveyed to a large pond at Islington, and from thence in Elm Pipes to all places of the City. This new River runs under near eight hundred Bridges. Howes, p. 1015.

**170)** It was not at Cambridge that the King first saw Villiers, but at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire. Dugdale's Baron, Vol II, p. 429.

**171)** Rapin by mistake calls him Sir Edward.

**172)** The Lord Clarendon by mistake says, he was the eldest Vol., I. p. 9,.See Dugdale's Baron, Vol- II. p. 428.

**173)** Mary Beaumont, daughter to Anthony Beaumont, younger son to William Beaumont of Cole-Orton Esq; was entertained in Sir George Villiers's family, In a mean office in the kitchen, but Sir George taking notice of the beautiful and excellent frame of her person, he prevailed with his lady, to remove her out of the kitchen into her chamber. My lady dying soon after, Sir George became so enamoured of Mary, that he married her, and at his death left her a jointure of £200 a year. This account Roger Coke Esq., had from a lady, whose, youngest sister was married to the Viscount Purbeck, eldest son of Sir George Villiers, by Mary Beaumont. After Sir George's death, she was married first to Sir Thomas Rayner, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Compton, Knight of the Bath. Coke, p. 80. Dugdale. Weldon, p. 89, &c.

174) He was about twenty one years old when he returned to England. Clarendon, Tom. I. p. 9. At his first coming to London he was inclined to court Sir Rogers Aston's daughter, but Sir John Graham dissuaded him from marrying, and encouraged him to woo fortune in the court. Dugdale, *ubi supra*. Weldon, p. 90.

175) He was sworn into it, April 23. and had a yearly pension of a thousand pounds assigned him, payable out of the Court of Words, Wotton's *Life of Villiers*.

176) The Pardon was drawn by Sir Robert Colton, and this clause taken out of a Bull granted by the Pope to Cardinal Wolsey. Coke. *Historic Narratives*. C. 32.

177) Wilson says, that the Queen prevailed with the chancellor not to let the pardon pass the Great Seal, till after the King's return to London; by which time the affair of Overbury was become quite public, p. 698.

178) Reeve falling sick at Flushing discovered the whole matter. Wilson, p. 698.

179) Winwood himself got the first information of this horrible business, from the Countess of Shrewsbury, then a prisoner in the Tower, and whom he frequently used to visit; who had been told of it by Sir Gervase Elways. Weldon, p. 93.

180) The words at length, as related by Weldon. Were, "For God's fake when shall I see thee again? On my soul. I shall neither eat nor sleep, until you come again. The Earl told him on Monday, (this being on the Friday,) for God's sake, shall I, shall I? Then lolled about his neck; then, for God's sake, give thy lady this kiss for me; In the same manner at the stairs head, and at the middle, and foot of the stairs, p. 102, 103.

181) He was at first, on October 18. committed to the custody of Dr. Mountain Dean of Westminster. *Camden's Annuls*.

182) Weston was tried and condemned. October 19, 23. Mrs. Turner, November 9. Sir Gervase Elways, (or Helwysse, as he himself writ his own name,) November 16, Franklyn, November 27. Weston was executed November 25. Ann Turner, November 14. Franklyn about the beginning of December, all at Tyburn. And sir Gervase Elways on Tower-Hill, November 20. See **Truth Brought to Light**, p. 108,159. *State Trials*, Vol, 1, *Camden's Annuls*.

183) He intimated as if Overbury had been concerned in Prince Henry's death, and the King in Overbury's whereupon it was said, that the King went to the council table, and kneeling down, desired God to lay a curse upon him and his posterity for ever, if he were consenting to Overbury's, in revenge for the Prince's, death. Wilson, p. 702.

184) The Countess was tried on May 24. and the Earl, May 25. both in Westminster Hall, the Lord Chancellor being appointed High-Steward on that occasion. See *Camden's Annuls* and **State-Trials**, and Rymer's *Fœd*. Tom. XVI, p. 781.

185) Weldon says, when More told the King, how much he was surprised at Somerset's saying, he would not appear, and that the King durst not bring him to a trial. The King falls into a passion of tears, and says, on my soul, More, I wot not what to do; thou art a wise man, help me in this strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master. Whereupon More assures the King, he would do his utmost to serve his Majesty, and leaving him, went and used the stratagem abovementioned. This relation the author says, he had from More's own Mouth. *Court of King James*, p. 115–117.

186) The reader may see an account of it in Wilson, p. 83. or in *Complete History*, p. 699. She died in August 23<sup>rd</sup> 1632. in the Lord Viscount Wallingford's house.

**187)** He died in July 1645. was buried in the parish Church of St. Paul's Covent Gardens. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 426.

**188)** Sir William Seymour upon his marriage was committed to the Tower, but Arabella was confined to her house at High Gate. After some time they appointed to meet at a certain place on the Thames, in order to fly beyond sea. He leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his keeper, got out of the Tower in disguise, and came to the place appointed. She, dressed like a young gallant, followed him from her house, but happening to stay beyond the limited time, he went away, leaving word, if she came, he was gone before to Dunkirk. She, full of tears, and lagging in her flight, was apprehended and sent to the Tower. After her death Sir William got leave to come home, and married afterwards the Lady Frances, sister to the Earl of Essex. Wilson, p. 702.

**189)** In the beginning of January, he was made Master of the Horse, and July 7, Knight of the Garter. The King bestowed upon him the best part of Somerset's estate. Howes, p. 1024, 1025, Coke, p. 88.

**190)** Rapin by mistake says, a vacant Bishopric, when a parson or vicar is made a Bishop, there is a cessation of his benefice by the promotion But. if the King gives him power to retain his benefice, he is said to hold it in commendam.

**191)** They told the King their oath was, that in case any letters came to them contrary to law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to justice. *Annals*, p. 17.

**192)** The judges themselves in their answer to the King's order by the Attorney General, built their non-compliance upon two acts of Parliament, 25 Edward III, and 25 Henry VIII. *Annals*, p. 17.

**193)** In matters of Prerogative. See the King's letter, *Annals*, p. 17,

**194)** And in *The Parliament House*, *Annals*, p. 17.

**195)** He told them, deferring upon just and necessary cause, was not delaying of justice, and therefore his order was not against law, or their oath. But Chief Justice Coke affirmed, that his Majesty's stay was a delay of justice. *Annals*, p. 18.

**196)** That the King's desiring the judges to stop proceedings till they had consulted him, was not against the judges oath, or the Common Law, as to commendams, it was agreed by the judges, not to draw the King's power into doubt. *Annals*, p. 18.

**197)** Sir Edward Coke, having it seems, determined a cause at Common Law, (in which the chief witness for the plaintiffs was made drunk by the defendants, and thereby rendered incapable of appearing,) the plaintiffs thinking themselves injured, brought the business into chancery: The defendants refused to obey the orders of that court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor for contempt committed them to prison. They petitioned against him in the Star Chamber, the Lord Chief Justice joining with them, and threatening the Chancellor with a Præmunire. The Chancellor applies to the King, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Henry Montague, &c., to search for precedents of such as complained of in Chancery, and were relieved according to equity, after judgment at Common Law. They returned answer, that it had been the constant practice ever since Henry the seventh's time, after judgment at Common Law, and many times after execution. Upon which Coke was worried, and brought upon his knees at the Council Table, Wilson, p. 704.

**198)** This was the whole cause. The rest of the articles were added to it in order to humble him. Wilson, p. 705.

199) He wrote *Institutes, or A Comment on Littleton*, several volumes of reports, &c. He is accused of discovering too much passion and prejudice on the bench, and of aiding the part of a pleader rather than a judge. His pleadings at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, shew, to his eternal infamy, that he could at any time talk an innocent person to death; for there never was seen such a heap of insolence, and hard names. See **State Trials**, Vol. I. p. 205, &c. Wilson, p. 705.

200) He was on November 7. this year created Viscount Brackley. As was also on the same day William Knowles, Viscount Wallingford; and Sir Philip Stanhope, Baron of Shelford. Howes, p. 1026. Weldon says, Villiers caused the seal to be taken from Egerton, because he would not give way to his exorbitant desires, p. 125.

201) Weldon says, Villiers sent this message to Bacon when he was made Lord-Keeper: That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, but withal of a base and ungrateful temper, and an arrant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruin any that had raised him from adversity; yet knowing how fit an instrument he was for him, he had obtained him the seals; but with this assurance, should he ever requite him as he had done some others, he would call him down as much below scorn, as he had now raised him above any honour he could ever have expected, p. 125, 126.

202) The first of November. Others the fourth. Rapin.

203) This was one of the most magnificent embassies recorded in history. Among other things, the Lord Hay, at his public entry into Paris, had his horse shod with silver shoes slightly tacked on; and when he came over against houses or balconies, where persons, or beauties, of eminency were, his horse prancing in humble reverence, flung h:s shoes away, which the surrounding mob scrambled for, then one of his train, out of a velvet bag took others, and tacked them on, which lasted till he came to the next troop of grandees. Wilson, p. 704.

204) Three hundred thousand pounds came to the crown upon his fall, says Osborn, Sect. 30.

205) And also three hospitals, one at rising in Norfolk, for twelve poor women and a governess; a second at Clun in Shropshire, for the same number of men, the third at Greenwood in Kent, for a governor, and twenty poor almsmen. Howes, p. 1012.

206) Audley Inn in Essex, the noblest structure next to Hampton Court (says Coke) ever built by any subject in England, which by modern estimates cost above £190,000 . Coke's. **Detection**, p. 8

207)The Lord Clarendon observes, That Villiers exalted almost all of his own numerous family and dependents, whose greatest merit was their alliance to him, which equally offended the antient nobility, and the people of all conditions, who saw the flowers of the crown every day fading, and withered; whilst the demerits and revenues thereof were sacrificed to the enriching of a private family scarce ever heard of before to the nation, and the expenses of the Court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity, which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it. T. I. p. 10.

208) Gondemar is said to tell King James in raillery, that he was the wisest Prince in Christendom, to make Privy Councillors sage. at the age of twenty-one, which his master the King of Spain could not do till sixty. Sir E. Peyton, p. 42.

209) Though, as Coke observes, the religion of the Dutch was Presbytery, which the King hated, nor did ever imitate their policy. Vol. I. p. 91, Coke's **Detections**.

210) Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle was Governor of Ulishing or Flushing, and Sir Horace Vere of the Briel. The Commission directed to them for the delivery of those places bears date, May 22. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 784, &c. They, and the rest of the English officers in those towns

had £13000 distributed among them in recompense for the loss of their Places. *State of the Revenue*, p. 71.

211) The Cautionary Towns being Flushing, Rammekins, and the Briel, were deemed the keys to the three famous rivers, the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Maese. Coke, p. 89.

212) Rex Pacificus He took for his Motto, Beati Pacifici.

213) The King was so far reconciled to him, as to call him to the Council Board in September 1617. He had not his place again. Wilson, p. 705. *Camden's Annals*.

214) Sir; John Bingley was one of the tellers of the exchequer. Sir Francis Bacon, in his speech upon this occasion, wittily observes, that the countess kept the shop, and Sir John Bingley, her officer, cried what do you lack? Wilson, p. 705.

215) He died October 27. 1617. *Camden's Annals*.

216) See the speech at length in *King James's Works*, p. 549.

217) He further says, "The absolute prerogative of the Crown is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: Good Christians content themselves with His revealed Will. So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do or say, that a King cannot do this or that, but rest in that which is the King's revealed Will in His Law." *King James's Works*, p. 557.

218) These were the Presbyterians, of whom several made no scruple to be present at the service of the Church of England. Rapin.

219) These were the Papists, who were willing to swear allegiance. Rapin.

220) These were the zealous and furious Papists. Rapin.

221) There could be but few of these in the Kingdom. Rapin.—Rapin, by mistake, says, Papists in general. See *King James Works*, p. 567.

222) Rapin, by mistake, says, that he was created Baron of Brandspach, or rather Branspeth, which was the title of Robert Carr Earl of Somerset. George Villiers was created August 27. 1616. Lord Whaddon, the great Lordship of Whaddon in Buckinghamshire, (then in the Crown by the Attainder of the Lord Grey of Wilton) being given him at the same time. A little after he was created Viscount Villiers, and on the 5th of January 1617, Earl of Buckingham. *Camden's Annals*.— Also July 9. Sir John Hollis was created Baron of Houghton, and Sir John Roper Lord Tenham, of Tenham in Kent. Howes, p. 1025. This year Aldersgate in London was rebuilt. *Ibid*.

223) He came to London, December 16, 1616. Howes, p. 1026.

224) He returned to Rome in 1622, and died in 1625. It is said, that it was by his means, and the measures he had concerted with father Paul before he left Italy, that Archbishop Abbot got that father's manuscript *History of The Council of Trent*, transmitted in parcels into England. Bentivoglio speaking of Padre Paolo says of him, that he is such another as Antonio de Dominis, who, when he was asked by the inquisition, which was the best religion to bring a man to heaven, answered, that of the Church of England, Samf. Spec. Europe. de Dominis was the first who used the word Puritan to denote the Anti-Arminians of the English Church. Fuller, 1. 10. p. 99.

225) There were five articles in all, the other, which is placed third, was the Sacrament of Baptism not to be deferred longer than the next Sunday, and in case of necessity to be administered in a private house, with public declaration of the same, the Sunday after, in the church,

226) They carried with them the portraits of the apostles to be set in the pews or stalls. The Bishop of Galway, Dean of the Chapel, observing the offence this caused, writ to the King, entreating him, "for the offence that was taken, to stay the affixing of those portraits". His letter was subscribed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, and Brechyn, and several ministers of Edinburgh. To this the King returned an angry answer, objecting ignorance unto them, that could not distinguish betwixt pictures intended for ornament and decoration, and images erected for adoration. Spotiswood, p. 530.

227) From July 17, to June 13. Ibid.

228) Spotiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews say, that this protestation was tumultuously formed, and that the next morning, the chief persons by whom it was subscribed, came and entreated him to stop the presenting thereof, which he shewed he might easily do by taking it from Peter Hewet, p. 532.

229) And commanded the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, in their own persons to keep Christmas day next, preaching upon texts proper for the time. *Annals*, p. 29. Spotiswood, p, 535, &. The King's letters enjoining this, are dated at New Market, December and 6 and 11.

230) It was called the *Book of Sports*, No recusant was to have the benefit of this liberty. Collier, Tom. II. p. 712.

231) There were federal Bishops that declared their opinions against the *Book of Sports*.

232) The Court was to remove next day to Theobolds. It put the King into a great rage, swearing bethought there had been, no more Kings in England but himself. Cooling a little, he sent a warrant to the Lord Mayor, ordering him to let them pass, which he obeyed with this answer, Whilst it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away, it is my duty to obey. The King upon second thoughts took, this well, and thanked him for it. Wilson, p. 709.

233) Archbishop Abbot being at Croydon the day it was ordered to be read in Churches, flatly forbid it to be read there, which King winked at, notwithstanding the daily endeavours that were used to irritate the King against him. *Welwood's Notes on Wilson*.

234) Chancellor Bacon paid a pension, Attorney General Heath paid a pension Dean Bargrave paid a pension, Fotherby Bishop of Sarum paid £3500, with many others. Nor were fines or pensions certain, butt where men were rich, there fines without reservation of rent, where poor, there pensions, no fines. There were books of rates, pensions, and fines, on all offices, Bishoprics, and Deaneries in England. Weldon, p, 130.

235) Much of his most serious affairs (says the author of the Annals) were shadowed from the vulgar, nay, from the observing politician, by his *Public Pastimes*, p. 31.

236) Prince Henry used to say, that no other King but his father would keep such a bird as Sir Walter Raleigh in a cage, i.e. the Tower. Coke, p. 66.

237) He was released in 1615. Some say, that after the publication of his history, he petitioned the King, whose love to learning induced him now at last to grant Sir Walter his liberty. *Annals*, p. 31.

**238)** Captain Keymis, Master of Arts of Baliol College, Oxford, had been his companion in the Guiana voyage, in the year 1595. Rapin by mistake calls him his footman.

**239) *Dilecto & fideli.*** Coke, p. 94. There is in Rymer's *Fœdera*, a commission for him, directed only to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, without any other addition of beloved, or faithful. In that commission he hath authority and licence to go into the south parts of America, or elsewhere, within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those Countries that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue some propagation of the Christian faith, and Reformed religion, But not a word of the Spaniards. In this commission, Sir Walter is said to stand in the peril of the law. See Tom, XVI. p. 798.

**240)** As Sir John Pennington, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir John Fern, Captain Parker, Captain North, Captain Chudleigh of Devonshire, Major Pigot, Captain Thornhurst. Wilson, p. 712.

**241)** Two of his ships deserted before he reached Guiana. *Ibid.*

**242)** Camden fays, he departed from linden, March 28, 1617. *Ann.*

**243)** And five companies of foot, commanded by his son, and the Captains in the note above. Sir Walter himself was sick, and so weak, as to be carried in a chair. Wilson, p. 712.

**244)** He first shot himself, but that not doing his Business, he thrust a knife into his body, up to the haft, and expired. Wilson, p. 713.

**245)** Sir Walter gave King James a plan of his design, together with the number of his men, burden of his ships, the country and river he was to enter &c. which the King promised to keep secret, but it was sent by Gondemar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Raleigh was out of the Thames; and that very original paper was found at the Spanish Governor's closet at St. Thomas's. *State Trials* Vol. I, p. 219.

**246)** So it is said in the warrant for apprehending Sir Walter, "we did, says the King, by express limitation and caution restraint and forbade them, attempting any act of hostility, wrong, or violence whatsoever upon the territories, states or sublets of any foreign Princes with whom We are in amity, and more peculiarly of those of our dear brother the King of Spain, in respect of his dominions and interests in that continent &c. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom XVII, p. 93.

**247)** He was not beheaded till October 29<sup>th</sup> 1618—Rapin, it was done in the old palace yard at Westminster. Wilson p. 714.

**248)** Weldon. observes, that he was executed without all precedent, without any just cause, and even against King James's will; who in many things was over awed by his timorous disposition. But the Spanish faction, and Spanish gold betrayed his life, as they had done the Kingdom before and it was one of Gondemar's greatest masterpieces to purchase Raleigh's head; yet, had not the Earl of Bristol, who was possessed of Sberborn Castle, formerly Sir Walter's, co-operated, the King would never have consented, p. 28, 29. This year, on May 7. died the learned Jacobus Augustus Thuarus, called otherwise Le President de Thou. Camden's *Ann.*

**249)** Camden says, that the Spaniard's aim in this negotiation was to disjoin and separate England from the United Provinces, that he might the more easily reduce them to obedience. *Annals.*

**250)** In 1612.

**251)** He was his cousin only, being son to Charles, younger brother to his Father Maximilian I.

**252)** Slobata the Chief Justice, Smesantius one of the council, and Fabritius the Secretary. Wilson, p. 720.

**253)** The author of the *Annals* insinuates, that this letter might be an invention of Rushworth's, but gives no reason for it. Rapin. His words are these; "the reader is to take notice that this letter, as to its value and reputation, must rest solely upon Rushworth's credit. p, 40.

**254)** They would have bought off this match at the dearest rate; and, as far as they durst opposed it by speeches, counsels, wishes, prayers, Rushworth, Tom. I., p. 4.

**255)** James Lord Hay it Seems had married, on November 6. 1617, Lucy the Duke's youngest Daughter, without his consent, and he was too much displeas'd with the match, that he could hardly be brought to accept of his liberty from the hands of his son-in-law. The fine of £30,000 which he had been condemn'd to, was compounded at £11000. *State of The Revenue*, p. 11. His daughter was the same lady, who under the title of Countess of Carlisle, made the most shining figure in the Court of Charles I, as a beauty, wit, and politician. The old Duke, when he came out of the Tower, hearing that Buckingham was drawn about with six horses in his coach, (being the first that was so), put on eight to his, and in that manner was drawn through the city, in his way to the bath. Wilson, p. 720.

**257)** Doctor Williams was not made Dean of Westminster till July the 12<sup>th</sup> 1620. Nor Bishop of Lincoln till July 1621. Philips, p. 57, 63, 76,—He was reported to be married to Buckingham's mother. Weldon, p. 138.

**258)** Rushworth places the Queen's death on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1619. Rapin—Camden says, she died March the 1<sup>st</sup>. 1619, of a dropsy in the night. *Annals* Howes, p, 1031. The Character of this Queen is variously drawn. Some represent her as a vicious, lewd, and luxurious woman; but this, upon the best enquiry, seems to be only calumny. Wilson more justly affirms, that she was a good woman, and may have engraven upon her monument, a character of virtue. See Sir E. Peyton, p. 27, 28. Wilson, p. 719, &c.

**259)** He was elected by the Archbishop of Mentz, the Duke of Saxony, and the Electors of Brandenburg, Colen, and Triers. Rushworth, Tom 1. p. 11.

**260)** The 26<sup>th</sup> of August. Rapin makes use sometimes of the new stile, which in the last century was ten days before our reckoning, and is now eleven. The Elector Palatine was crowned November 4. Wilson, p. 721.

**261)** They offered the Crown first to the Duke of Saxony, who refused it. The Elector Palatine accepted it, through the persuasion of his two uncles, Maurice Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Bouillon. *Burnet's History*. p. 13.

**261)** Some say, it was the Baron of Dhona, I own, I am not certain, whether it was d' Aulné, or Dhona, Rapin Most of our historians call that person the Baron Done, as the *Annals*, p. 42. Wilson, p. 721, &c. In Rymer's *Fœd.* he is called the Baron de Dona. Tom. 17. p. 160.

**262)** He was so possess'd of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear, that even an elective and limited King should be call'd in question by his subjects. *Burnet's History*. p. 13.

**263)** The Archbishop says in his letter, "It is a great honour to his Majesty, to have such a son made a King, and methinks I do foresee in this the work of God, that by degrees the Kings of the earth shall now leave the whore to desolation, as St. John says. Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, honour the Palsgrave, (Lengthen the union, bring on the Dutch, stir up Denmark, &c. to cast in their shares, and Hungary I hope will run the same fortune, and for money and means to support the war, *previdebit Deus*. This from my bed, and when I can stand, I hope to

do better service, September 12, 1619. The Letter in Rushworth is something different from this, particularly, he makes the Archbishop say, The Parliament is the old and honourable way of raising money, and all that may be spared is to be turned this way. And perhaps God has provided the Jewels which were laid up in the Tower by the mother for the preservation of the daughter. certainly, if countenance be given to this action, many brave spirits will offer themselves. Tom. X. p. 12.

**264)** It was a pleasant remark of the King's: That Stenny had given him three notable servants: A gentleman of the bed-chamber (Clerk) who could not help him to un-truss a point, for he had but one hand. A Chaplain, (Dr. Preston ) who could not say prayers, for he scrupled the use of our liturgy and a Secretary of State, (Conway) who could neither write nor read. Conway had been bred a soldier, being Governor of the Briel when England gave up the cautionary towns.

**265)** This year, August 2, Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle, was created Earl of Leicester, William Lord Compton Earl of Northampton, William Cavendish Earl of Devonshire, and Robert Lord Rich, Earl of Warwick. Howes, p. 1029. Dugdale, Vol. II. On July 17, one Bernard Calvert setting out of Southwark about three o'clock in the morning, embarked at Dover about eight, went to Calais, and returned to Southwark again the same day, about eight in the Evening. Howes, p. 1032.

**266)** The preference given to this Prince before the Counts Mansfield, and de la Tour, occasioned some discontent in the two latter, which was very prejudicial to the Elector Palatine's affairs. Wilson, p. 722.

**267)** The Archbishop of Mentz, (who only has power to summon the rest to an Election when the Empire is vacant), Triers, and Cologne.

**268)** He was created Lord Digby of Sherborne, November 25, 1618. Howes, p. 1031.

**269)** The King used to say, The Bohemians made use of the Palsgrave, as the fox did of the cat's tail, to pull the apple out of the fire for his own eating Rushworth, Tom. 1., p. 12.

**270)** Consisting of two hundred and fifty. There were among them, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir Gerard Herbert, Sir Robert Knolles, Captain Stafford, Wilmot. Burroughs, Knightly, William Fairfax, &c. Rushworth, p. 15. So many flocked to Essex, that besides the two hundred and fifty in his company, he paid fifty himself. Wilson, p. 722. This historian attended the Earl of Essex in this expedition. See p. 723.

**271)** They only joined then part of it, consisting of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Idem., p. 723.

**272)** There was a skirmish, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, between the two armies, wherein the Elector Palatine's got the victory. Wilson, p. 724.

**273)** Rapin by mistake says, Sir Edward. See *Annals*, p. 43.

**274)** Had he, as Weldon rightly observes, spent half the money in swords, instead of words, for which he was but scorned, it had kept his son-in-law in his own inheritance, and saved much Christian blood since shed, p, 83.

**275)** The 1<sup>st</sup> of September. Rapin.

**276)** Ever since April the 30, 1620. Idem.

**277)** Count Bacquoy joined the Duke of Bavaria the 6th, or 7th of September, Rapin.

278) He began the siege of Baudien, September the 8th. Rapin.

279) On the 8th of November. There were six thousand Bohemians slain, and more taken prisoners. Coke, p. 108.

280) It is said, that Frederic's ill success, was owing in some measure to his niggardliness, for though he had great sums of money by him, yet was he so slow in paying his soldiers, that they were necessitated to take free quarters upon the Bohemians. The jealousy also that the Lutherans had of the ascendant the Calvinists might gain by this accession, had an unhappy share in the coldness which all the Princes of that confession showed towards him, though Saxony only declared against him. Coke, p. 108. Wilson, p. 724. Burnet, p. 13.

281) He had an army of between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. Wilson, p. 725.

282) Afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

283) King James sent the Elector Palatine £30,000, to keep the Princes of the Union in Arms. Rushworth, Tom. 1. p. 18.

284) Particularly the Earls of Worcester and Arundel, the Lord Digby, Sir George Calvert, Sir Richard Wilson, and others, popishly affected together with Buckingham and his numerous train. But the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and William Earl of Pembroke, were against the Spanish match. Wilson, p. 725, 726.

285) Wilson says, he bribed the very ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much company resorted, that they might allay such as were too forward in their expressions, and stop them if they run on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady Jacobs, who upon his passing by her window in his chair, instead of answering his salutation as usual, only gaped with her mouth, which repeating again next day, he sent to know the reason, she replied, That she had a mouth to be stopped as well as other ladies, p. 726.

286) The substance of this letter is in Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 16.

287) This circular letter is to be seen in Rushworth,

288) Rushworth observes, that he had the access of a favourite, rather than of an ambassador from a foreign prince. Tom I., P. 18.

289) Gondemar perceiving most addresses were made to her first, and by her conveyed to her son, among others his witty pranks, writ merrily in his dispatches to Spain: That never was there more hope of England's conversion to Rome than now; for there are more prayers offered here to the mother than to the Son. Wilson, p. 728.

290) He was made Lord Treasurer December 4, 1610, and removed September 28, 1621. He was on December 4, created Baron of Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville and soon after Earl of Manchester; upon resigning his Office of Lord Treasurer, he was made president of the Council. Howes, p. 1034.

291) He had married Ann daughter to James Bret of Howby in Leicestershire Esq., by Ann his wife, sister to Mary Beaumont Countess of Buckingham From the heiress of his family is descended the Duke of Dorset. *Dugdall's Baron*, Vol. II. P. 446.

292) It was summoned to meet on January 16. Journal, Proceedings, The King issued a Proclamation, on November 6, wherein be ordered, That the Knights and Burgesses should be chosen of the gravest, ablest, and best affected minds that could be found—Persons approved

for their sincerity in religion, and not noted, either for superstitious blindness, or turbulent humours. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 270.

**293)** As in the following reign there were great disputes, whether the bishops were a State or a Body apart by themselves in the Parliament, each side grounded their assertion upon these words of this speech, the one affirming the King said, the three estates, and the other maintaining, he mentioned only two estates. This is the reason of the difference which occurs in the several copies. Rushworth and Wilson have two estates Franklyn, Nelson, &c. Three estates.

**294)** These were the Earl of Somerset and some others, who undertook to procure the King a Parliament at his Devotion.

**295)** This speech is taken out of the *Annals of King James I*. For the author pretends, that in Wilson is not the true one. Rapin—neither Rushworth's nor Franklyn's seems to be the true speech; but that in Nalson's introduction.

**296)** See the King's speech to the Lords and Commons at Whitehall, March 21, 1609, in his own works, p. 531.

**297)** And the Clergy Three. Coke, p, 111.

**298)** The lace was made of copper, and other sophisticated materials, which were of so poisonous a nature, that they rotted the hands arms, and legs, and brought lameness and blindness upon those that wrought this composition. Wilson, p. 731.

**299)** And also outlawed, and condemned him to perpetual banishment. See Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 27.

**300)** That dozen of buttons was valued at £50. The reader may see an account of the proceedings against him, (which continued from March 15, to May ) in State-Trials, Tom. I., p. 353, &c.

**301)** He was also condemned in a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; and declared for ever incapable of any office or place. *State-Trials*.

**302)** He was created so July 11, 1617. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVII. p. 17.

**303)** To heighten his misery the more, many others were crushed by his fall, for he was vastly in debt, and notwithstanding his pension, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his lodgings at Greys Inn. Wilson, p. 733. His too great indulgence to his servants, was the cause of his ruin; he connived at their taking, and they were profuse and expensive, and had at command whatever he was master of. His decrees in chancery were generally made with so much equity, that never was any one of them reversed as unjust. Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 31.

**304)** He was of a middling stature, his countenance indented with age, before he was old; his presence grave and comely, of a high-flying and lively wit, striving in some things to be rather admired than understood, yet so quick and easy where he would express himself, and his memory so serene and active, that he appeared the master of a large and plenteous storehouse of knowledge. Wilson, p. 736.

**305)** The Lord Spencer, it seems, took great delight in a country life, and especially his flocks of sheep, which made Wilson say, he was more vigilant to keep the people's liberties from being a prey to the encroaching power of Monarchy, than his harmless and tender lambs from foxes and ravenous creatures, p. 737.

**306)** Gondemar used all possible methods to weaken this nation. For he caused ordnance, and other warlike provisions, to be conveyed from England, to furnish the Spanish arsenals. And procured underhand, the sending of Sir Robert Mansel into the Mediterranean, to destroy the Algerians, which seized the Spanish coasts and shipping, and diverted to another use. that money and strength which should have been employed for the defence of the Palatinate. Rushworth, Tom I, p. 34.

**307)** Francis I.

**308)** This foolish business was a design formed by Chancellor Bacon, one Lepton, and Goldsmith, against Sir Edward Coke, after he was discharged from being Chief justice, namely, to exhibit an information against him in the Star Chamber, or send him into Ireland. This business was debated in the House of Commons. Coke, p. 118.

**309)** The Lord Keeper Williams advised, that the harshness of this answer might be mitigated and softened for he could never bear, that there should be a misunderstanding between the King and his people, if it were possible to prevent it. Philips, p. 98

**310)** Formerly, Parliaments sat but a few days, and took into consideration such affairs only as the King had before set forth in the writs of summons. But this method being altered, Parliaments were called without the occasion of their meeting being known, and were not limited to the affairs mentioned by the Kings in their first speeches; and this made their sessions hold so long. Rapin, See Elfyrg's manner of building Parliaments, p. 7, &c.

**311)** His proclamation began with these words. "Albeit the assembling, continuing, and dissolving of Parliaments, be a prerogative so peculiarly belonging to our imperial Crown, and the times and seasons thereof so absolutely in our own power, that we need not give account thereof unto any; yet, &c.

**312)** Orders were given for sealing up the locks and doors of Sir Edward's chambers in London, and in the Temple, for the seizing of his papers; and it was debated in council how he might be excluded from the benefit of the general pardon that should have passed this last Parliament. Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 55. Annals, p. 66. Sir Edward it seems had called the King's prerogative an overgrown monitor. Wilson, p. 749.

**313)** The Earl of Oxford was accused by one White a Papist, of having spoken some words to the dishonour of the King, and disparagement of his Government, for which he was sent to the Tower; but the Earl of Southampton was committed to the custody of the Dean of Westminster, for his freedom of speech, and for rebuking Buckingham in the House of Lords. Wilson, p. 748, Coke, p. 121.

**314)** See the Dissertation. Vol. I. p. 152, of this History. Rapin.

**315)** The Lord Keeper William—Archbishop Abbot had represented him to the King as unfound in religion, because he was an Arminian. Hacket, p. 64.

**316)** The King told the Lord Keeper, "I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, &c." See Hacket, p. 64.

**317)** The Lord Clarendon rightly observes, how much these two parties misrepresented one another: The Puritans endeavoured to persuade the people, that all who held with Arminius did intend to introduce Popery: And the other side was no less willing to have it thought, that all who adhered to Calvin, in the controversies about predestination, did in their hearts likewise

adhere to him, with reference to the discipline, and desired to change the Government of the church though in truth the one side was not inclined to Popery, and very many of the other were most affectionate to the peace and prosperity of the Church, and very pious and learned men. Clarendon, Tom. I. p. 72.

**318)** Whereupon it was said, that the King might almost have purchased such a country as the Palatinate with the money spent on Embassies. Wilson,

**319)** In Brussels they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and not one penny in them; and his purse turned upside down. In Antwerp they painted the Queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, her child at her back, and King James carrying the cradle after her, and every one of these pictures had several mottos expressing their malice. Coke, Vol. I. P. 126.

**320)** On July 24. in Bramshill Park in Hampshire, belonging to the Lord Zouch, who had invited the Archbishop to a buck hunting. Peter Hawkins the keeper running among the herd of deer, to bring them to the fairer Mark, the Archbishop sitting on horseback, let fly a barbed arrow from a crossbow, which unfortunately shot the keeper in the fleshy part of his left arm, who died immediately of the wound. Hacker, p. 65. The King granted the Archbishop a pardon for this November 22. this year. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom, XVII. p. 337.

**321)** It was by Weston's help, that the Elector Palatin and his Lady, found means, though with much difficulty, to escape to the Hague, having nothing else to support them but patience and hope, the only and ordinary comfort of those deprived of all help besides. Osborn, Sec. 47.

**322)** Letters to the same effect were directed to the high sheriffs, and justices of the peace of the several counties, and to the mayors and bailiffs throughout the Kingdom, and for making choice of collectors, &c. Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 61.

**323)** The Lord Digby carried Letters from King James and Prince Charles, to the King of Spain, and one from the King to the Lord Balthazar of Zuniga, which the Reader may see in Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 57, &c. The Lord Digby, upon his arrival in Spain, was strangely neglected by the Spanish Court, as the reader may see in Wilson, p\* 749, 750.

**324)** He was created so September 15. and at the same time, James Hay Viscount Doncaster, was created Earl of Carlisle, William Viscount Fielding Earl of Denbigh, and Lionel Lord Cranfield Earl of Middlesex. Dugdale Vol. II. p. 437, &c. Howes, p. 1034.

**325)** Gondemar used to boast, that four thousand recusants had been released through his intercession, Wilson, p. 750.

**326)** Four thousand, says Wilson, p. 753.

**327)** The famous Library there was carried to Rome, and put into the Vatican, Welwood, p. 27.

**328)** Sir Horatio Vere was the English commander in Manheim, Sir Gerard Herbert, Governor of Heidelberg Castle, and Major Burroughs of Frankendal was slain, after breaking three pikes with his own hand, in repulsing the enemies from the assault. Wilson, p. 757.

**329)** All that Wilson obtained, was only letters of entreaty from the Infanta to the Emperor's Generals to proceed no further. Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 66.

**330)** It was Count Gondemar that intimated it to him, but without giving him a positive promise, and yet the King looked upon it as an engagement.

**331)** Arthur Chichester was created Baron Chichester of Belfast in the county of Antrim, February 25, 1612. He was set this time Treasurer of Ireland and is, in the commission said to be *Spectatæ Prudentæ industræ & Integitatis Vitum, & in magnis atque aiduis Negotiis diu versitum*—Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. 17. p. 354.

**332)** The Earl of Bristol sent word to King James, that if the Spanish Court intended not the match, they were falser than all the devils in Hell for deeper oaths and protestations of sincerity could not be made. Rushworth, Tom I. p. 69.

**333)** The English commissioners were, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, Lodowic, Earl of Lenox, Steward of the Household, James Marquis of Hamilton. Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey Earl Marshal, William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, Oliver Viscount Grandison, Arthur Lord Chichester, Treasurer of Ireland, Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State, and Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rymers *Fœd.* Tom. XVII, p. 74.

**334)** Thus by King amazing negligence, was the Protestant religion entirely rooted cut of Bohemia, the electoral dignity transferred from the Palatine family, and the liberty of Germany overthrown. And all this chiefly through Gondemar's artful management, who writ in one of his letters to the Duke of Lerrna, that he had lulled king James so fast asleep, as he hoped neither the Cries of his daughter, nor her children, nor the repeated solicitation of his Parliament and subjects in their behalf would be able to awaken him. Welwood, p. 27, 28.

**335)** In one place it is said, within forty, and in another within four, days. See Rushworth, Tom. I., p. 281, 290.

**336)** Who was very quick sighted in discerning difficulties, and raising objections, and very slow in mastering them. Clarendon, Tom. I p. 11. Fol. Edit.

**337)** The King conjured them with sighs and tears not to pursue their resolution. But Buckingham told his Majesty, "That nobody could believe anything he said, when he retracted the promise he had so solemnly made; that he plainly discerned, it proceeded from another breach of his word, (for he had promised to keep the thing secret) in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons he had alleged, and he doubted not, but he should hereafter know who his councillor had been." Clarendon, Tom. 1., p. 14.

**338)** They went privately, on February 17, from the Court, which was then at Newmarket, to Newhall in Essex, a House of Buckingham's, purchased by him from Robert Earl of Sussex and from thence the next day to Gravesend, and so to Dover; attended only by Sir Richard Graham. Master of the House to the Marquis. Wilson, p. 763. Hacket, p. 114.

**339)** The Prince and Marquis of Buckingham put on false beards, to cover their smooth faces, and travelled under the borrowed names and Jack and Tim Smith. The Mayor of Dover stopped them, thinking they were going to France to fight, so that Buckingham was forced to discover himself pretending he was going to visit the fleet, as Admiral. The same day they embarked, they landed at Boulogne, and from thence rode post to Paris. At Paris they both wore periwigs that shadowed their faces. Here the Prince saw, at a masking dance, the Princess Henrietta Maria, whom he afterwards married. Wilson, p. 763. They narrowly escaped being seized in France. See Rushworth, Tom. 1. p. 75. Weldon, p. 144.

**340)** The Condé d'Olivarez speaking to the Prince about this, in his first visit, the Prince replied. That he came not thither for religion, but for a wife. Rushworth, Tom. 1. p. 78.

**341)** He seemed to be much displeased, that any should have so unworthy an opinion of him, as to think he would, for a wife or any other earthly respect whatever, so much as waver in his religion. *Ibid.* p. 291.

**342)** See King James's instructions to the Earl of Bristol, and the Earl's defence, in Rushworth and the Annals.

**343)** There are but nineteen named in Wilson, p. 769.

**344)** The Author of the Annals says, these four articles must be taken entirely upon Rushworth's credit, p. 80. Rapin.

**345)** One that heard King James say this, told the standers-by, that there was never a devil now left in Hell, for they were all gone to Spain to make up the match, Wilson, p. 770.

**346)** He was created Earl of Coventry, and Duke of Buckingham: His Patent bears date May 18. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 497. James Hay Earl of Carlisle, brought over the Patent. The Lord Kensington, captain of the King's guard, came also to see the Prince, as did the Earl of Denbigh, Edward son and Heir to Henry Montague Viscount Mandeville, the Viscount Rochford, and divers others of the nobility; and the Prince was so encircled with a splendid retinue of his own nation, that it might be said, there was an English court in the King of Spain's Palace. Wilson, p. 765. Annals, p. 75.

**347)** The treaty of the twenty-three articles contained no grant at all in favour of the Catholics in general, consequently this must relate to the secret articles of the same treaty. Rapin.

**348)** In pursuance of this declaration, there was a general pardon drawn in as full and ample a manner as the Papists themselves could desire. And two general commands were issued out, one to all Judges, Justices of Peace, &c. and the other to all Bishops, Chancellors, and Commissionaires, not to execute any statute against recusants; but to this some stop was put, by the advice of the Lord Keeper Williams. See Rushworth, Tom. I., p 101. Cabala p. 297. The Bishop of Chalcedon came also into England to exercise jurisdiction over the Catholics of the Kingdom, and a chapel began to be built at St. James's see: the Infanta. Annals, p. 81.

**349)** The Elector Palatine's secretary; under pretence of desiring the Duke to be Godfather to one of the Elector's children. Rushworth Tom. I, p. 102.

**350)** It has by some been wondered at, that the King of Spain should be so willing to let the Prince go, when it was in his power to have kept him as long as he pleased, and make what advantage of it he had a mind to. But this point is cleared by the remark with which Spanbemius sums up what relates to the Spanish affair. That never Prince was more obliged to a sister, than King Charles the first was to the Queen of Bohemia; since it was only the consideration of her and her children, who were then the next heir after him to the Crown of England, that prevailed with the Court of Spain to permit him to see England again. Welwood, p. 28. There is to this purpose a pleasant jest in Coke's *Reign of King James I*. His Majesty, a little after the Prince's departure for Spain, being in one of his pensive moods, Archy his buffoon comes in, and tells him, he must change caps with him: Why? says the King, Why, who (replies Archy) sent the Prince into Spain? But what (answered the King,) wilt thou say if the Prince comes back again? Why then (said Archy) I will take my cap from thy head, and send it to the King of Spain; which it is said troubled the King sore. But his Catholic Majesty did not care to do any thing that should help the Elector Palatine or his heirs to the Crown of England. Coke, p. 131.

**351)** The Escorial lies about eighteen miles from Madrid. It reckoned one of the most magnificent structures in Europe. The Spaniards call it the eighth wonder of the world. This mighty fabric was built by Philip II in the form of a gridiron, (the emblem and instrument of St. Lawrence's martyrdom, to whom it is dedicated) the handle whereof, is the King's palace, and the square of the gridiron is divided into twelve spacious quadrangles, in which are arched cloysters, one above, the other below, all dedicated to religious orders, who live like Princes rather than priests, with each his man and his mule. In the middle of the square stands a magnificent cathedral, to

which Philip IV. added a chapel for the sepulchre of such Kings and Queens as leave issue behind them, who lye in curious coffins of black marble, which are placed in arches round the marble wall. The chapel is built in form of the Pantheon. See Wilson, p. 775.

**352)** The Prince departed from Madrid, September 9, and came to St. Andero the 11<sup>th</sup> - The fleet, (sent to convey him over to England, and which consisted of eight men of war and two pinnaces, whereof Edward Earl of Rutland was Admiral) sailed from St. Andero the 16<sup>th</sup>, and put into the Scilly islands the 29<sup>th</sup>. *Relation. of the Prince's Journey*, p. 7.—46. Rymer's Ford. Tom. 17. p. 486.

**353)** King James commanded the Earl of Bristol, to procure instantly from the King of Spain, a punctual answer; and, before he delivered the powers, or moved the contract, to obtain from that King, either by a public act, or by an answer under his hand and seal, a direct engagement for the restitution of the Palatinate, and the electoral dignity. See Rushworth, Tom. 1. p. 106, 107.

**354)** Wilson says four, Mr. Killigrew, Gresley, Wood, and Davies, p. 776.

**355)** In a letter from Sir Walter Aston to the Duke of Buckingham, it is said, that the dispensation came to Madrid, November 12. Cabala, p. 3

**356)** The King of Spain had sent into England, Don Mendesa de Alcorcana, to congratulate the Prince's safe return, and from thence he had instructions to go and make known to all Princes and potentates, Allies to Spain, how near the marriage was. When the dispensation came, bonfires were made throughout all Spain, the 19<sup>th</sup> of December was fixed for the wedding day, presents were provided for our King and Prince, the Infanta's family was settled, and the banning of March appointed for her coming over in to England, &c. Wilson, p. 776.

**357)** In February this year, a cruel scene was acted at Amboyna in the East-Indies, of which this account is given:— A treaty was concluded in 1619, between England and the United-Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that no regard of the great bloodshed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the Hollanders, in winning the trade of the isles of the Malaccas, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Hollander: should enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the English the other third. (See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 17, p. 170, &c.) In pursuance of this agreement, English factories were placed at the Molaccas, and at Banda, and Amboyna. This last isle is the principal place in the East Indies, were nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and spice grow. Here the English had been settled but about two years, when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their share of the spice trade, pretended a plot was formed between the English and the natives, to get possession of the Dutch fort at Amboyna. Whereupon the English were tortured by the Dutch both with fire and water, in a most cruel and barbarous manner: And, on February 27, Captain Gabriel Towerson, and nine other English, with nine Japanese, and one Portuguese, were ignominiously executed for this pretended conspiracy, though they protested their innocence to the last. For this insolent affront, no reparation was obtained, till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay £300,000. upon that account. See *Relation of The Proceedings against the English at Amboyna*, printed in 1624, and Coke, p. 141.

**358)** The Duke of Buckingham proposed also the selling the remainder of the crown lands, but this project was strenuously opposed by the Lord-Keeper Williams, and accordingly laid aside. Hacket, p. 202.

**359)** The Parliament it seems was to meet the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, but the King that morning missing Lodowick Stewart Duke of Richmond, (created so May, 17, in the 21<sup>st</sup> of James I.) and sending in haste for him, his Duchess goes to his bedside to wake him, and drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed, upon news whereof the King would not adorn himself that day, and put off the Parliament till the 16<sup>th</sup> and afterwards till the 19<sup>th</sup>. His Body was interred in Henry VII's

Chapel, and leaving no issue, his estate and honours descended to his brother Esme Stuart. Howes, p. 1035. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II, p. 426. Wilson.

**360)** All ill's can relate only to the Palatinate, for the treaty of marriage was really concluded before the Prince's voyage to Spain. Rapin.

**361)** The Archbishop's letter to the King, and the council's declaration to the Spanish ambassadors, not to mention the marriage-articles, public and private, evidently show the contrary. But the King had this hole to creep out of here, that he considered what he had done, and what he intended to do for the Catholics, only as a suspension of the penalties, and not as a real toleration. Rapin,

**362)** The Duke's whole narration will be inserted in this volume, at the end of Book XIX.

**363)** And demanded his head for satisfaction. Rushworth. Tom. I., p 126.

**364)** The stinging petition, which was framed by the commons, and sent to the Lords, was afterwards reduced to another form, and presented to the King. This which follows here seems to be an extract of the first before it was reduced, the other being reduced to two petitions. See Wilson, p. 874.

**365)** This Petition, after it was reduced to another form, and so presented to his Majesty, consisted only of two articles, which were much the same with the three first and the last of these

**366)** This observation is built upon our author's mistake, in imagining the petition containing the seven articles, was presented to the King; whereas it was new modelled, and the IIIrd. and Vth articles left out. So it is no wonder the King should not take notice of them in his speech. The Petition, as it was presented to the King, is to be seen in Wilson, p 784.

**367)** Weldon says, Maestro had learnt under confession, that the King was by Buckingham, or his procurement, to be killed, but whether by poison, pistol or dagger, he could not tell, p. 153. Whereupon the King told Buckingham at the next interview, Ah, Steiny, Steiny, wilt thou kill me? The Duke, astonished at this expression, endeavoured with the strongest protestations, to justify his integrity, which the King readily believed. Wilson, p. 783.

**368)** The King required of them particular proofs, but all their answers consisted of arguments against declaring the names of the conspirators; whereupon the King's Privy Council, and others of the principal men of the nation were examined upon oath, but nothing was discovered. Rushworth, Tom., I., P 144.

**369)** As he was putting his foot in the coach, which drew tears from him. See Hacket, p. 196.

**370)** This the King uttered with tears in his eyes, which was received in the same manner by the Prince and Duke. Hacket, p. 197.

**371)** It was prorogued on May 29<sup>th</sup> to November 2<sup>nd</sup> , Journal Parliament.

**372)** It was three entire subsidies, and three fifteenths and tenths from the laity, and four entire subsidies from the clergy. Of the laity's aid, eight citizens of London were appointed to be treasurers, and ten other persons to be of his Majesty's council for the war, without whose warrant no money was to be issued out by the treasurers, nor upon any other account, but for the war: And both were to be accountable to the Commons in Parliament. See Rotul. Parliament, and Statute. 21 Jac. c. 34. The acts made in this Parliament were these. **1.** One concerning monopolies, and dispensations with penal laws, and the forfeitures thereof. **2.** For the better repressing of drunkenness, and inordinate haunting of inns, ale houses, &c. **3.** That not above 8 per cent.

interest shall be given for money. **4.** For the relief of creditors against bankrupts, **5.** That profane swearers and cursers shall pay twelve-pence for every oath, to the use of the poor. **6.** For making the River Thames navigable as far as Oxford. The rest being too long to be inserted here, may be seen in the Statute book.

**373)** Their Commanders were, Henry de Vere Earl of Oxford. Henry Wriothesly Earl of Southampton, Robert Devreux Earl of Essex, and Robert Bertie Lord Willoughby, Wilson, p. 787.

**374)** These twelve thousand foot were divided into six regiments, the colonels whereof were Theophilus Clinton Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Doncaster son to the Earl of Carlisle, the Lord Cromwell, Sir Charles Rich, Sir John Burroughs, and Colonel Grey a Scotchman, who had been an old German commander, and effected to wear bust in time of peace, and at court, with a brace of pistols at his girdle, which the King never liked to see. There were likewise two troops of horse raised for this service, one of which was commanded by the Earl of Lincoln, and the other by one Gunter. Rushworth, Tom. I. p. 153. At their winter quarters at Rosendale, the Earl of Southampton, and his son the Lord Wriothesly, were both seized with burning fevers. The son died, and the father overcoming the fever, departed from Rosendale, with intention to bring his son's body to England, but died of a lethargy at Bergben op Zome so were both in one small Bark brought to Southampton, and buried at Tichfield. Wilson, p. 789.

**375)** Wilson says, one of Buckingham's, chief motives was thought to be his fear the King would let up Bristol his deadly enemy against him, to pull him down. And if what Burnet says be true, he had reason likewise to fear the King's old favourite Somerset. He says, the King being resolved to bring the Earl of Somerset into favour again, met him, in the night in the gardens at Theobalds. Two bed chamber men were only in the secret: the King embraced him tenderly, and with many tears: the Earl of Somerset believed the secret was not well kept, for soon after, the King was taken ill with an ague, and died at Theobalds. Burnet says, he had this from some who were told it by the Earl himself. Dr. Craig the King's physician was disgraced, for saying, he believed the King was poisoned. Burnet, p. 17.

**376)** Of King James's dissimulation in point of religion, there is a clear evidence in a speech of his to the Kirk of Scotland, which he is bid to speak standing, with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, wherein, among other things, He blessed God that had honoured him to be King over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Church of Geneva, what are they? They keep Pasche and Yule, i. e. Easter and Christmas. What authority have they in God's word, and where is their instruction? As for our neighbour Church in England, their service is an evil Mass, said in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the listings, &c. Calderwood, *History of The Church of Scotland*. p. 246.

**377)** As to this King's person, though his father and mother were esteemed the handsomest couple of the age they lived in, yet he was himself but homely, nor in any of his features was to be found the least resemblance of the beautiful Mary Stewart, or Lord Darnly. Welwood, p. 17.

## BOOK XVIII

]]





## The Death of King James



**THE NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE  
CHURCH**

**CALLING THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN**

**At last the bible makes sense!**

**At last we know its meaning.**

**Its the book of the RACE**

**"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the  
Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"  
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

