

AN EDITION OF THE LETTERS (1621-1625)
OF THE REVEREND JOSEPH MEAD
TO SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE OF SUFFOLK
IN BL MS HARLEIAN 389.

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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DAPHNE M WEDGBURY (Mrs)

An Edition Of The Letters (1621-1625)
of the Reverend Joseph Mead
to Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham, Suffolk
in BL MS Harleian 389.

Joseph Mead, a theological scholar and tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge, wrote weekly newsletters to his friend and cousin at Dalham in Suffolk for eleven years from 1621 to 1631. The manuscripts are in the British Library Harleian collection in volumes 389 and 390. The 154 letters in this edition, from BL MS Harleian 389, cover the years 1621 to the end of 1625. All other contents of BL MS Harleian 389, such as copies in Mead's handwriting of letters received from London, Germany and elsewhere, are described in Calendars in Appendix 7.

Mead's letters are transcribed in chronological order. The transcriptions retain seventeenth-century spelling; standard abbreviations are extended; non-standard abbreviations are retained. Omissions and illegibilities, often due to wear and tear of the manuscripts, are noted in textual notes at the end of each letter. The textual notes also include comment on Mead's deletions, insertions and corrections.

The letters are concerned with current events in Europe and England, in particular with the early stages of the war in the German Empire (the Thirty Years' War) and English reaction to it. Mead's foreign news, which he gathered from many sources, supplements contemporary weekly printed newsbooks, many of which are no longer extant. Home news, in spite of a royal prohibition on discussion of affairs of state, includes references to the political repercussions in England of the European conflict, Parliamentary business, the Court of James I, Church business and the Clergy.

The content of the newsletters is editorially annotated using contemporary references where possible to confirm or refute Mead's news. The historical background, assumed by Mead to be 'understood', is briefly described in the Appendices. In this edition of Mead's letters thorough annotation has been attempted in the hope that the sometimes confused reports in England, about the early stages of the Thirty Years' War, will be followed without confusion and with enjoyment by the reader.

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Editor's Note

This edition of the letters of Joseph Mead in MS Harleian 389 was completed within the time limits set for completion of work for the degree of Ph.D.

The work has resulted in over 9000 lines of transcription and over 2000 notes. The editor is anxious to point out that, in such a vast work, in spite of constant re-checking, some errors of transcription will remain. It is hoped that any errors are of a trivial nature and do not alter Mead's sense or meaning.

The editor's solitary efforts will be re-checked by a second person before the letters are published.

I gratefully acknowledge the help given with notes of a literary and historical nature by Dr Gordon Campbell and Professor Richard Bonney. Any errors in the notes are entirely my own.

EDITORIAL PREFACE.

The letters of Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham, Suffolk, run from February 1620/21 to November 1631. They are held in the Harleian Collection in the British Library in two volumes - MSS Harleian 389-390. This edition of MS Harleian 389 contains Mead's letters from 3 February 1620/21 to 17 December 1625.

The letters were acquired by Robert Harley in 1703 when he purchased the library of Sir Symond D'Ewes (1602-1650). The date of the acquisition of the letters by Sir Symond D'Ewes is not known but, as he was a friend and relation by marriage to Sir Martin Stuteville, it is not unlikely that the letters were added to his library on the death of Sir Martin in 1631.

Short extracts from the letters have been published previously in Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of James I, 2 vols., (1848); Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of Charles I, 2 vols., (1848); Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters Illustrative of English History etc., 3 Series, 11 vols., (1824-1846); Heywood and Wright, Cambridge University Transactions, (1854); David Masson, The Life of John Milton etc., 6 vols., (Revised edition, 1965).

MS Harleian 389 contains copies, usually in Mead's hand-writing, of extracts from letters received by him. These were either written as separate newsletters and enclosed as separate items with Mead's weekly letters to Dalham or they were included within the material of the weekly letter. Inclusions within the letters are retained in the transcripts. Separate copies are a likely source of confusion as Mead often copied letters verbatim; for example, in a copy of a letter from London dated 9 March 1620/21 (Calendar I.20), Mead writes 'When I had wrotten this I went to the Exchange where I saw letters etc'. Mead was in Cambridge when the letter was dated and therefore it was not he who visited the Exchange. None of the separate, copied extracts is included in the transcription.

Two methods have been used to distinguish the copies from Mead's original letters: i) the content and date have been checked against Mead's own letters (as in the example quoted above); ii) a note written at the top of a folio (indicating

the originating location) and a final scrawl rather than a signature have been taken as indications of copied material. A few letters are written or copied in hands other than Mead's. Dates, provenances, sources and copyists of all material other than Mead's own letters in MS Harleian 389 are listed in two Calendars in Appendix 7 and, in the annotations, such material is referred to by its Calendar number. All letters in Mead's hand to Sir Martin Stuteville are written in flowing italics and are reasonably easy to read. His scholarly letters (at least the ones that I have seen) are written in a crabbed style with many similarities to 'secretary' hand.

Editorial Methods

No attempt has been made to provide a 'diplomatic' transcript which would have made for an untidy, distracting printed text and rendered the complicated content of the letters unnecessarily difficult to follow. Facsimiles of extracts from MS Harleian 389 are included in Appendix 7.

Each letter is numbered.

The relevant folio numbers in MS Harleian 389 are bracketed below the letter number to facilitate location in the volume. This is necessary because some letters are mis-sorted chronologically in MS Harleian 389.

Each letter is editorially dated at top right in square brackets with the correct (or assumed correct) date. If Mead's dates are apparently incorrect or non-existent, comment is made at the top of the appropriate letter.

It has not been possible to copy exactly Mead's line lengths. To do so would make for much waste of paper but any post-scripted paragraphs are retained more or less as written. Signatures and dates are positioned as in the manuscript. The letters are signed 'Joseph Mead' although certain letters with a final flourish to the signature appear to be signed 'Meade'. Mead's scholarly work was signed 'Mede' or 'Medus'.

Mead's spellings and capitalisations are transcribed as in the manuscript. Where it is occasionally not possible to distinguish lower-case from capital letters (such as 'm' and 'M',; 't' and 'T'; 'w' and 'W') an editorial decision is made without comment. Some characters are inevitably hidden in the

stuck edge of the binding or under repair patches. It was not possible to have the manuscript unbound for the purposes of transcription.

Much of Mead's punctuation is very lightly written: some brackets are left unclosed; apostrophes are used occasionally for omissions, plurals and possessives (the last, usually in a word ending in a vowel, e.g. 'Spinola's'). Punctuation has been transcribed as accurately as possible but readers who need to satisfy themselves about details will need to examine the manuscript for themselves as certainty is not possible in this area.

Mead very frequently uses standard superscripted abbreviations; for example, 'His Ma^{tie}' > His Majestie; 'S^r' > Sir; 'L^{tr}' > letter. In this transcription such abbreviations are extended using examples of the extended words from the manuscript for Mead's most likely spelling. To include Mead's large numbers of superscriptions would create a muddled-looking transcript with typewritten superscripted text as large as the normal text. Should the edition be professionally printed it would be desirable and possible to include the numerous superscriptions in a smaller font. For consistency, other regular (non-superscripted) abbreviations are also extended: for example, 'Coll' > 'Colledg'; 'Jan' and 'Feb' > 'January' and 'February' etc. Examples of all the extended spellings can be found in Mead's letters: (for example, 'January' - folios 3, 127, 275; 'February' - folios 26, 283, 290). 'Mr' and 'Dr' (Master and Doctor) are not expanded, ^{except when used as substantives.} Abbreviated Christian names and other non-standard abbreviations are left as written.

Archaic 'j', 'u', 'v' are rare in the manuscript: when they occur they are modernised to 'i', 'v', 'u'. Archaic 'y' (modern 'th') is rare but occasionally significant and is therefore kept in the transcript.

Obscurities, deletions and alterations in the manuscript are indicated in the transcripts and amplified in Textual Notes which immediately follow each letter.

Obscurities other than deletions are indicated [...]

Possible readings are given in the textual notes.

Missing letters or words are indicated []

A textual note is made of Mead's possible intention.

Legible deletions: a textual note is made of the deleted word or words. Mead's replacement word or phrase is included in the transcript.

Illegible deletions are indicated [—]

No textual note is given.

Insertions between the lines are normalised in the transcripts and indicated in the textual notes.

Editorial additions to the text are **asterisks**, **line numbers**, **superscript numbers** and **plus signs**.

Asterisks denote frequently-mentioned persons who are listed in the biographical index. The exception is the much-mentioned Emperor, Ferdinand II, who is listed in the index but not asterisked in the transcripts (to avoid the distraction of pages littered with asterisks).

Line numbers in the transcripts are used to identify textual notes which immediately follow each letter.

Superscript numbers refer to editorial annotations which follow the textual notes.

Mead's own marginal notes to the letters are shown by ⁺ and added to the bottom of the appropriate pages.

The £ sign replaces Mead's 'l' written for English pounds.

To avoid confusion, Mead's rare use of square brackets is indicated by { }.

Occasional words omitted in error from the typed copy are inserted by hand with a caret.

Editorial Annotations

Dates

Where there is a probability of confusion **dates** in the notes are sometimes given in both old and new style 'o.s.' and 'n.s.'. The Julian calendar remained in use in England and certain other Protestant states until 1752 (old style). Catholic countries in Europe changed to the Gregorian Calendar in 1582 (new style). There is a ten-day difference between the Calendars.

The difference between the date of New Year in England and the date of New Year elsewhere is indicated in the notes. For example, February 1620/21. New Year in England began in late March.

Printed Newsletters

Wherever possible Mead's reports of events in Europe have

been checked against contemporary news sources. Editorial references to contemporary printed newsletters are as follows: corantos (broadsheets) and unnumbered newsbooks from 1621 to October 1622 are referred to by date and title; numbered, titled newsbooks in series (from October 1622 to December 1624) are referred to by serial and series numbers; newsbooks entitled Mercurius Britannicus are referred to as 'Mercurius Britannicus' with serial and series numbers from January 1625 to October 1625.

All corantos and newsbooks are given an STC number.

Biblical References.

Mead appears to have translated either from Latin or Greek bibles. A Greek Testament and a Greek-Latin-Syriac New Testament by Christoph Plantin (1514-1589) are listed in Mead's book purchases. It is highly likely that he possessed also the Latin bible of John Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580) and Franciscus Junius (1545-1602). In the notes, chapter and verse are given from the Authorised Version.

Latin Translations.

Translations of his Latin insertions by Mead are retained in their original place in the transcripts. Editorial translations are included in the annotations. I am grateful for the help of Mrs K. Shipton and Mr A.J.White for help in translating Mead's somewhat idiosyncratic Latin verses.

Appendices.

Appendices 1-6 attempt to sketch in the historical background to the events reported in the letters. The material is intended to fill in details that Mead assumes known to the reader. It is necessarily very selective and much historical fact has been omitted for the sake of brevity. I have drawn heavily on Cambridge Modern History, (1906), vol.4,; A.Gindely, Thirty Years' War, (Reprint N.Y. 1972), vol.1; S.R.Gardiner, History of England, (1893), vols. 3,4,5; G.Parker, The Thirty Years' War, (1984).

ABBREVIATIONS

(Full details in Bibliography)

<u>Alumni Oxonienses</u>	<u>J.Foster, Alumni Oxonienses</u>
<u>APC</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u> , 4 vols. (1619-1626)
<u>Bassompierre, Mémoires</u>	<u>Mémoires, Bassompierre</u> , ed. Petitot
<u>Chamberlain, Letters</u>	<u>The Letters of John Chamberlain</u> , ed. N.E.McClure.
<u>CJs</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Commons</u>
<u>Cicero, Epistulae</u>	<u>Epistulae Familiares</u> , ed. Williams
<u>Cobbett,</u>	
<u>Parliamentary History</u> }	<u>Parliamentary History of England</u>
<u>Complete Peerage</u>	<u>Complete Peerage</u> , 12 vol. ed. Cokayne
<u>Cooper, Annals</u>	<u>H.C. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge</u>
<u>Clarke, Huguenot Warrior</u>	<u>J.A. Clarke, Huguenot Warrior</u>
<u>D'Ewes, Autobiography</u>	<u>Autobiography of Sir Symond D'Ewes</u> ed. J.O.Halliwell
<u>Dahl, Bibliography</u>	<u>Fulke Dahl, A Bibliography of English Corantos 1620-1642</u>
<u>Elliott, The Count-Duke</u>	<u>J.H.Elliott, The Count-Duke of Olivares</u>
<u>The Fisher,</u>	<u>D.Featly, The Fisher Caught in His Own Net</u>
<u>Gardiner, History</u>	<u>S.R.Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642</u>
<u>Hertfordshire Families</u>	<u>'Hertfordshire Families' in Victorian County Histories</u>
<u>Israel, Dutch Republic</u>	<u>J.I.Israel, The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661</u>
<u>Jonson, The Staple of News</u>	<u>B.Jonson, The Staple of News</u>
<u>Lockyer, Buckingham</u>	<u>Roger Lockyer, Buckingham, The Life and Political Career etc., 1592-1628</u>
<u>LJs</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Lords</u>
<u>Masson, Life of Milton</u>	<u>D. Masson, The Life of John Milton</u>
<u>Mullinger, Cambridge</u>	<u>J.B.Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, vol.II.</u>
<u>Nicholls, Progresses</u>	<u>J. Nicholls, Progresses etc.</u>
<u>Notes of Debates</u>	<u>Notes of Debates in the House of Lords 1621, ed. S.R.Gardiner</u>

<u>Northamptonshire Families</u>	<u>'Northamptonshire Families' in</u> <u>Victorian County History</u>
Parker, <u>Thirty Years' War</u>	G. Parker, <u>The Thirty Years' War</u>
Parker, <u>La Rochelle</u>	D. Parker, <u>La Rochelle and the</u> <u>French Monarchy</u>
Peile, <u>Christ's College</u>	J. Peile, <u>Christ's College</u>
Peile, <u>Register</u>	J. Peile, <u>Biographical Register of</u> <u>Christ's College 1505-1752 Vol 1.</u>
Richelieu, <u>Mémoires</u>	<u>Mémoires de Richelieu</u> , ed. Petitot
Rohan, <u>Mémoires</u>	<u>Mémoires de Rohan</u> , ed. Petitot
Rous, <u>Diary</u>	<u>Diary of John Rous</u> , ed. M.A.E. Green
Russell, <u>Parliaments</u>	<u>The Crisis of Parliaments</u>
<u>SPD</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</u> <u>Series</u>
<u>SPV</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</u> <u>Series.</u>
Tillieres, <u>Mémoires</u> ,	L de Tillieres, <u>Mémoires Inédits</u> ... ed. Hippeau
Tyrell, <u>Cicero</u>	<u>The Correspondence of M Tullius</u> <u>Cicero</u> , ed. R.Y. Tyrell
<u>STC</u>	<u>Short Title Catalogue of Books</u> <u>Published in England, 1475-1640</u> ed. Pollard & Rogers
Venn, <u>Alumni</u>	<u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u> , ed. J and J.A. Venn
White, <u>Grievances</u>	Stephen D. White, <u>Coke and</u> <u>Grievances</u>
Wilson, <u>History of Great Britain</u>	A. Wilson, <u>The History of Great</u> <u>Britain ... of King James the</u> <u>First</u>
Wing, <u>STC</u>	<u>Short Title Catalogue of Books</u> <u>Published in England, 1641-1700</u>
Worthington, <u>Diary</u>	J. Worthington, <u>Diary and</u> <u>Correspondence of John Worthington</u>
Worthington, <u>Mede</u>	J. Worthington, <u>The Works of</u> <u>Joseph Mede</u>
MS Harl. 389	BL MS Harleian 389

INTRODUCTION

... Through Mead's correspondence ... we ... get quite a good background to the foreign news and the reactions it caused. It is really to be hoped that all the letters ... will one day be published in their entirety in an annotated edition, as they are a veritable gold-mine not only for newspaper historians but still more for the political and social historian. ¹

The letters of Joseph Mead written between 1621-1625 to Sir Martin Stuteville are packed with news of current affairs: foreign, political, Court and Church. They are spiced with family business and Cambridge gossip. Because Joseph and Sir Martin were cousins and old friends the tone is, at times, briskly informative and, at times, colloquial.

Most of the foreign information sent from Cambridge to Dalham concerned the progress of the war which disturbed the German Empire for thirty years. The earliest extant letter was written within three years of the catalytic Bohemian defenestration and within four months of the first major defeat of the Emperor's enemies at the Battle of the White Hill at Prague in 1620. English interest in the war was intense. It was stimulated by the pivotal role played in the conflict by King James I's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, and by fears for the future of Protestantism in Germany. It was both hoped and feared that England would take up arms on Frederick's behalf. As the war progressed news from the battlefields poured out across the Channel in printed newsletters and manuscript letters sent from friend to friend. By the end of 1620/early 1621 Courantes (printed newsletters, translated from Dutch and dedicated entirely to foreign news) were available in London on a fairly regular basis. Few of these (said to be printed in Amsterdam or 'Altmere') survive.

¹ Dahl, Bibliography, p 25

Nine of them dated between April 1621 and July 1621 are collated in MS Harleian 389. Not one Courante published in England by Thomas Archer from February 1620 to September 1621 survives. Fortunately, these early Courantes were accessible to Mead, and, from the plethora of information and misinformation available to him, he selected, edited and copied, and composed his own weekly newsletter to send to his friend and kinsman in Suffolk. Thanks to Mead's letters, 'it is possible to reconstruct today the contents of several newsbooks no longer extant'.² Increasing but still small numbers of newsbooks survive after 1621. Of an estimated 1000 published between 1620-1642, only about 350 have been found. It appears then that there is no more complete seventeenth-century record of English reaction to events in Europe as they occurred than Mead's letters. His comments on the events in the Empire echo the English Protestant slant of the Courantes.

Much of Mead's news concerns English politics, sometimes connected with the far-off war, sometimes concerned solely with home affairs. Political information sent from London to Cambridge was disseminated by Mead and Sir Martin to a wide circle of acquaintances in spite of prohibitions on the discussion of affairs of State. Political news was, naturally, intertwined with Court news - of particular interest are the relationships between King James and the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Mead's tendency to quote verbatim from letters received from his friends in London bring first-hand accounts of the royal encounters sharply to life. Many of Mead's friends were clergymen with parishes in the City of London. Inevitably, the life and affairs of the English Church - with alarms about 'Popery' and Puritanism - are discussed in detail.

Because Mead writes familiarly to an old friend he includes matters of personal interest concerned with his life in

² Dahl, Bibliography, p 25.

Cambridge. Sir Martin's own acquaintance with the town and University allow a certain cryptic quality to colour the Cambridge episodes. Mutual trust ensured that there would be no misunderstanding of Mead's feelings about certain Cambridge events however delicately expressed.

II

Joseph Mead was uniquely well-placed to write such interesting and informative letters but in spite of his great interest in the affairs of the world he took no active part in public events outside Cambridge. He was a theological scholar who spent his adult life in the calm of Christ's College, immersed in the life of the College and the University. He was renowned as a scholar and popular as a tutor. His biographer describes him as

An acute Logician, an accurate Philosopher, a skilfull Mathamatician, an excellent Anatomist, ... a great Philologer, a master of many languages, and a good proficient in the studies of History and Chronology.³

Other sources confirm Mead's scholarship and academic abilities. His letters written to scholars and their respectful replies (in Worthington, Mede, Book V) clearly indicate the high regard in which he was held.

Mead was born in 1586 at Berden in Essex.⁴ His father, of whom very little is known, died when Joseph was ten years old. His mother re-married. An uncle, Richard, a merchant, offered him a home but the offer was refused. The Meads of Wenden Lofts, Essex, of some familial connection to Joseph, are mentioned frequently in the letters.

Mead decided at an early age that he wished to be a scholar.

³ 'Life of Mede', p II, in Worthington, Mede.

⁴ The following biographical information on Mead is taken from

'Life of Mede' in Worthington, Mede; Peile, Register, 245/6; Masson, Milton, vol i, passim.

He attended two Essex schools, Hoddesdon and Wethersfield and while still at school he took up the study of Hebrew in spite of discouragement from his teacher. In 1603, the year of James I's accession, Mead entered Cambridge as a pupil of Daniel Rogers at Christ's College. A later tutor was William Addison. He remained at Christ's until his death in 1638. Mead was suspected by the Master of Christ's of a leaning towards Calvinism which delayed his being elected a Fellow of the College until 1613. In 1618 he was made a Bachelor of Divinity and Mildmay lecturer in Greek.

In his own life time Joseph Mead's reputation rested on his biblical expositions - in particular, his Clavis Apocalyptica (The Key to the Apocalypse), in which he expounded his theories on the meaning of the Book of Revelation. His religious views, based on his apocalyptic researches, were those of a Millenarian. He anticipated a 1000 year period of peace for the church on earth but made no prediction as to when it would occur. From comments in his letters to other scholars and in these newsletters to Sir Martin Stuteville it would appear that Mead was unusual in a time of much contention in religious matters in that he was tolerant towards different forms of Protestantism. (He was anti-papistical enough to call the Pope 'anti-Christ'. However, he was not so prejudiced as to rejoice at personal misfortunes of Roman Catholics. In Letter 105, he refers to the 'lamentable accident' which led to death and injury of many Roman Catholics who were attending a sermon in Blackfriars. On the other hand, faced with the realisation that he had unwittingly entertained a Catholic visitor, he regrets that 'our intelligence' should be subjected to Catholic jeers (Letter 125)).

Intellectually he found nothing to fear in searching for the truth in the Scriptures. He endeavoured to keep an open mind 'not to desire to find for this side other than that' (Epistle XCVI). He sought to resolve all religious questions by 'Reason and Evidence, on what side soever the advantage or disadvantage fell' and in a letter to Samuel Hartlib he stated that 'I cannot believe that Truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of Truth' (Epistle XC). This scholarly

fair-mindedness (almost scientific detachment in pursuit of the true meaning of the Scriptures) and Mead's insistence on reason as the basis of religious thought points interestingly towards the 'right reason' of John Milton, a student at Christ's in Mead's time. But Milton can hardly be said to have followed Mead's example of tolerance! The Cambridge Platonists perhaps followed Mead's lead in their advocacy of non-sectarian toleration in the Church and in their belief in reason as the arbiter of natural and revealed religion.

Once settled in Christ's College and with his reputation as a biblical scholar established, Mead was offered and refused the position of chaplain to Lancelot Andrewes (later Bishop of Winchester) and was twice invited (and twice refused) to be Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Possibly Mead refused to accept preferment because of his slight speech impediment - an inability to pronounce 'R' - which, however, appeared not to affect his preaching. But it is more likely that he preferred to continue his quiet life as a Fellow at Cambridge, tutoring and writing, living calmly in his chambers on the ground floor of the College. (It is instructive to read the rueful comments of another Cambridge Fellow, Dr John Worthington of Emmanuel College, on his living out of College).⁵

Indeed, apart from visits to his kinsman at Dalham, there are only three occasions mentioned in the letters in Harleian MS 389 when Mead spent time away from Cambridge.

Mead's method of teaching (according to his biographer) was to ground his pupils well in Humanity, Logic, and Philosophy and

⁵ When I lived in Emmanuel College, I had little experience of any sufferings, except sometimes a little contradiction from ill-minded men ... To live in that capacity in a college, is to lie warm in the nest, and to be fed every day with manna. But after that I came into the world ... I have seen more of trouble ... than ever I felt. Worthington, Diary II.296.

to set them a daily task. In the evening all his students were summoned to his chamber to satisfy him that they had performed their tasks. Mead then asked them what doubts they had met in their studies. 'Quid dubitas?' He then resolved their doubts and sent them off to further study. Masson suggests that Mead thus procured ample time for his own studies and occupations by this 'peculiar' method of teaching. Certainly he needed ample time in which to write long detailed weekly newsletters while, at the same time, fulfilling his academic duties. Yet the letters in MS Harleian 389, rarely show signs of hasty writing. It would appear that Mead set about his task single-mindedly. He describes himself as being 'of a disposition that can tend but one thing at once' and possessing 'brains ... so narrow, that I can tend and mind but one thing at once'.⁶

In appearance Mead was evidently portly with a large face. Henry More in attempting his portrait made him look 'like a Count and Commander of an army'. More adds that there was 'modesty, melancholy and sedate seriousness in his look that did speak him a scholar' but which More was unable to convey in his attempt at a picture.⁷ Mead's reputation at home and on the Continent led to a voluminous correspondence with other biblical scholars (published in Worthington, Mede). Such a man as Mead might be expected to have had little to write about to those whose lives were not passed in scholarly pursuits. However, the 'budgets' of latest news sent every week to Suffolk, show small evidence of Mead's academic interests. What they do show is that Mead, the specialist in biblical studies, the Mildmay Lecturer in Greek, the mathematician and historian, had a fervent interest in and prodigious grasp of current affairs. Mead claimed that his interest in the Millenium, that thousand year period of Christian bliss yet to come, inspired his interest in the affairs of the world of his own time. Whatever the

⁶ Worthington, Mede, Book V: Epistle XLV, p 803; Epistle XIV, p 760.

⁷ Worthington, Diary II.136

stimulation, Mead was an avid newsmonger (a 'Novellante' or 'Corantoer' as he sometimes called himself), who shared the widespread English interest in the conflict in the Habsburg Empire which seemed set to decide the fate of Protestantism in Europe.

III

A brief summary of relevant events which preceded February 1620/21 (the date of Mead's first extant letter) is outlined below. (The complicated political and religious background to events in Europe is discussed more fully in Appendix 1).

The predominant cause of the war was fear on the part of Protestants in the Habsburg Empire that their religious freedoms were to be crushed. The opposing parties were Catholic Imperial forces (the Catholic League) and Protestant German Princes (the Protestant Union). The leader of the Protestant Princes was the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to James I of England, and since 1619 nominal King of Bohemia. In 1618 Protestant Bohemia began the revolt against Habsburg rule and in 1619 deposed the Emperor from the Bohemian throne; the crown was then offered to and accepted by the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. The revolt spread and escalated into a war which eventually engulfed all Germany and involved Spain, Venice, Switzerland, the Papal State and France. By the end of 1620, Frederick's hereditary territory, the Lower Palatinate, was part-occupied by an Imperial army of Spanish troops; the rebellion in Bohemia had been crushed at the Battle of the White Hill; Bohemia was once again under Imperial rule and Protestant forces were in disarray. The exiled Elector Palatine, his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, and their family, fled from Bohemia. They eventually found refuge in the United States of the Netherlands where they were provided with a home at The Hague under the protection of Frederick's uncle, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Thus, by the beginning of February 1621, war between Protestants and Catholics was underway in Germany; King James's son-in-law and his family were in exile at The Hague and it was feared that

Protestantism would be extinguished in the German Empire. Some Protestant participants in the war and certain English members of Parliament hoped for English military intervention to restore Frederick to his hereditary Palatinate.

However, although King James offered his services as a mediator in the conflict, he was not prepared to risk going openly to war, especially against the Spaniards. He tried to involve Spain in his efforts to persuade Frederick to submit to the Emperor over Bohemia in return for the restitution of the Palatinate. Frederick, however, was intransigent.

Concurrently with events in Germany, disturbances continued in France between Huguenots and the forces of Louis XIII.

IV

It was against the background of war that news was gathered from within the Empire and from outside the Imperial boundaries; from Savoy, Venice, France, Switzerland etc. It was translated, printed and circulated in many countries in different languages: Dutch in the Netherlands, French in France, Latin in Germany etc. Mead paid for copies of English Courantes and they are obviously a major source for his news - at times he uses the exact phraseology of the printed newsletters. But further information (sometimes confirming, sometimes contradicting the printed version of events) came from his clerical friends in the City of London. These friends received letters from France, the Hague, and Germany and they appear to have meticulously copied out the most vital parts of the news which they then sent on to Mead who in turn copied them out for his cousin. Other Cambridge Fellows received letters from the Continent (for example, Dr Chadderton of Emmanuel College) and no doubt their news was exchanged with Mead's. It may be that the original letters from Europe were sometimes passed on to Cambridge but there is no evidence of that in MS Harleian 389. Cambridge obviously was, as F.J.Levy points out, 'awash with news and rumour'. Indeed, it has been said that Christ's College was 'for a time a notable centre of political intelligence' and Mead 'the best informed resident in the University in relation to

political movements without'.⁸

Mead and his friends were naturally sympathetic to the plight of the Elector Palatine. Indeed, on the receipt in 1622 of news that 7000 of 'King Fredrick's' enemies were dead and that Frederick and his army were holding the enemy at bay, Dr Meddus 'told it in the open street for joy'. Protestant compassion was aroused by letters received direct from their beleaguered co-religionists in war-torn areas in Germany. Very moving and eloquent pleas for help were circulated in September 1622 - fear and helplessness were intermingled with reproaches at the delay in sending assistance from England (Letter 59). As in most war reporting, emotions were to the fore in spite of any attempts to be impartial. Strong language was used to castigate the Protestant Princes of Lower Saxony for their 'treachery' to Christian of Brunswick. Mead asserts that it is wished that they 'might wade in blood without without any to pittie or helpe them' (Letter 101). It is small wonder that King James was under pressure from certain parties in England to take action in the Palatinate.

Inevitably, under war conditions and with reliance on verbal and hastily-written reports, some news from abroad was inaccurate. The difficulties of conveying it were perhaps not fully appreciated by critics at home. To get news from battlefield to printer's press required some subterfuge. Mead himself speaks of news gained by 'under-intelligence' as well as by his usual sources. Who provided 'under-intelligence' is not known but it would appear that a covert web of informants was at work besides the overt network of Courantes, country-gentlemen, clerics and Cambridge Fellows. Publishers of Courantes openly revealed that they received intelligence by devious means. For example, readers were informed that 'A Relation of the most remarkable Occurences since the beginning

of the siege of Breda [1624]' was 'convei'd in a letter (inclosed in a Batoune or walking staffe) ...⁹

The charges of exaggeration and distortion levelled at the Courantes are not really fair. Ben Jonson, the best known scoffer at newsbooks (in his play The Staple of News) calls them 'a weekly cheat to draw money' with 'no syllable of truth in them'.¹⁰ But there appears to have been no wish deliberately to deceive the reading public merely to cause a sensation. For example, in Newsbook 49 (iii), an apology was printed for a mistaken reference in an earlier issue to General Tilly. A 'passenger' was blamed who had mistaken the name of one of the enemy prisoners, 'Dilly', for 'Tilly'. That the editors faced many difficulties in ascertaining the truth is frequently pointed out in their preambles. Many times news is said to be but 'rumoured'. Anthony Parr also notes this in his introduction to The Staple of News. John Chamberlain, another prolific letter writer, writing from London on London affairs, comments that 'these uncertainties of things so neere us and as yt were under our nose make me not wonder at the poor intelligence we have from abroad'. Chamberlain, Letters.II.408.

Courantes were, on the whole, devoted to straightforward reporting of news from the war. The news was summarized under the names of the various European cities whence it came. The effect is disjointed, occasionally repetitive, and, on casual reading, very confusing. Jonson mocks amusingly at the confusion and at the eagerness of the uneducated for any sort of news. His suggestion is that any news would satisfy and thus any news was printed; exotic-sounding Constantinople is one of his targets. But, Constantinople was highly relevant to the war; the Emperor and Protestant armies were affected by movements of the greatly-feared Turks and the editors of Courantes were right to include news from that city. The Courantes were purchased by all and sundry, educated and uneducated. Without some background knowledge of politics in

⁹ Newsbook 40 (ii), p 15: STC 18507.156

¹⁰ Jonson, The Staple of News, comment before Act III, p 152.

Europe the uneducated reader must have found some of the news totally incomprehensible. There, no doubt, was the foundation of Jonson's strictures against news for sale.

In spite of the difficulties of travel and communication news travelled quickly. Letters from Germany appear to have reached England in about three weeks. For example, letters dated 5 July and 7 July (n.s) from Magdeburg were received in London on 19 July (o.s) (Letter 97). If allowance is made for the ten day difference in dating the time taken was approximately three weeks. In Letter 54, dated 6 July 1622, Mead refers to letters seven days old from The Hague containing news of the battle at Höchst. The battle took place on 10 June 1622 (o.s), news of it was sent from The Hague on 21 June 1622 (o.s) and passed on from London on 28 June. Therefore, handwritten reports from the battlefield in Germany took only eighteen days to travel from an eye-witness to London. When the difficulties of movement in war-torn territory are taken into account, and remembering that transport was by horseback, this seems a remarkably short time.

V

As was to be expected, foreign news increased interest in English political events and, in spite of the prohibition on the dissemination of such news, an astonishing amount of information was circulated. Mead's London friends (especially one Doctor Meddus) informed him, sometimes several times a week, of newsworthy events as they occurred. They wrote about Parliament, the King and Court, and political and social events in London. Such reports reached Cambridge very quickly. There are numerous examples in MS Harleian 389 of letters which were sent from London on a Friday being delivered in Cambridge the next day. Parliamentary business was eagerly discussed. Mead transcribes speeches of members of Parliament in much detail. His transcripts vary a little from the printed Journals of the House of Commons. Dates and names are sometimes different but it should be remembered that

the Journals themselves were also made up from hand-written reports and may not be completely accurate. Mead's accounts are certainly livelier and at times more detailed than the official reports. Because of the restrictions in force on the writing of political news, Mead is constantly aware of the danger of his reports; 'there be no danger in my letters whilest report is so rife yet when it is forgotten they will not be so safe but your danger is as great as mine' (Letter 42). The urge to pass on news was evidently greater than fear of the King's wrath. In Letter 2 there is a wealth of confidential information concerning an audience of ambassadors from the United Provinces of the Netherlands with King James. Specific details of their requests and offers are passed on 'from the same' who detailed the affairs in Parliament. Who the informant was is not known. Mead carefully avoids quoting a name as the source of particularly dangerous material.

The letters contain many unusual and amusing details of home news: the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke (pronounced Cook), after being committed temporarily to the Tower after the dissolution of Parliament in 1621, was 'lodged ... in a roome that was once a kitchin ... written upon the dore "This Roome wants a Cook"' (Letter 29); in Letter 85 we learn that King James took refuge in his painful affliction of gout to avoid facing unpleasant issues - having listened to a few lines from a letter demanding previously promised money and troops for the Palatinate 'the King cryed "O my toe, my toe" and could heare no more'.

At the same time that he recounts such irresistible material Mead constantly re-iterates the need for secrecy. This was necessary not only because of the general prohibition on political discussion but also because at times Mead was in possession of actual State secrets. It seems likely that much of the highly secret information came from Mead's friend, William Boswell, who became clerk to the Privy Council and eagerly, it seems, kept Mead informed of the very latest Council decisions and directions. While Mead was usually discreet about his sources, Boswell's name is mentioned at times, usually with a caution to Sir Martin not to let it be

known further. As early as 1621, while Boswell was chief secretary to the English ambassador in France, he passed on to Mead details of the highly secret visit to England of 'ambassadors' from La Rochelle to King James. Their arrival and mission in England was unknown (although suspected) even to the Venetian ambassador, with all his facility for news-gathering, until after Mead had actually received and passed on the information to Dalham (Letter 22). William Boswell and Mead enjoyed a long and trusting friendship. Indeed, to entrust such dangerous knowledge to Mead, Boswell must have had great faith in his discretion. But as he said in 1633 'I shall ever love Joseph Mead as an honest old friend..'.¹¹ Other news came by word of mouth from friends (sometimes from Cambridge Fellows) who had recently returned from visits to London. The close-knit community of country gentry also circulated news amongst their own kind and these communications intermingled with those of the clerical and Cambridge groups. The inter-connections of letters which were exchanged between all three groups, with the dissemination also of Coranto news, formed a vast network of communication in the counties of Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. At times it extended beyond those counties. It is difficult to determine who was at the centre of the exchange of information - Mead or Sir Martin? Cambridge was used as a convenient point for the collection of news but Dalham appears to have been a centre for re-distribution. For example, John Pory requests Mead to send on a letter to Sir Robert Cotton (the antiquary). Mead, being unable to send it on at the requested time, passed it to Sir Martin to dispose of (Letter 145). Newcomers to Sir Martin's circle added their contribution to the merry-go-round. Symond D'Ewes joined the Dalham family circle in 1623 (through the marriage of his father to Lady Stuteville's sister) and from then on he wrote to Dalham with London news. He took advantage of the 'network' in 1626 to facilitate the return of a borrowed 'Oxford Bible' to Cambridge. Sir William Spring was to return it to Dalham; Sir Martin to send it to Mr Mead; Mr Mead to pass it on to Mr

Beeston of St. John's; or to John Scott of Cambridge. With so many correspondents adding their quota to the whole an astonishing amount of political news was circulated in spite of official restrictions.

VI

It has been suggested elsewhere that Mead's newsletters show little evidence of his encyclopaedic learning and do nothing for his scholarly reputation. The fact that they are not spiced with abstruse comments on his theological studies, his mathematics, physiology etc. is surely a courtesy to the recipient of the letters whose interests lay elsewhere. In any case, Mead's letters show a formidable grasp of the geography, topography, genealogy and politics of Europe. It is interesting to note that at times he writes so that it is 'easie to communicate' and from the content of the letters it is obvious that Sir Martin passed on news to his circle of friends and relations who congregated at Dalham. From the changes in tone it would appear that some passages were written to be read aloud to Sir Martin's guests while others were meant for his private enjoyment. Certain passages can hardly be read without dramatic emphasis. A comparison of Letter 11 (which recounts a story of three London apprentices in trouble with the Spanish ambassador) with Chamberlain's terse comments¹² on the same event will show Mead's deliberate dramatisation: compare also the attempted presentation of a petition of 33 peers to King James (Letter 4). Mead includes action, speech, and emotion (His Majesty was 'much mooved' i.e. 'furious'). Chamberlain's version¹³ is much drier and to the point. Mead's passages appear to have been written for declamation; no doubt Sir Martin would have taken the opportunity with great gusto.

To judge by the tone of some University news, Mead's attitude

12. Chamberlain, Letters II.361.

13. Chamberlain, Letters II.348

towards Cambridge was somewhat detached and amused. Cambridge gossip makes most interesting reading and is written in the certainty that his friend, himself a Cambridge man in his youth, will readily appreciate his tone.

I shall not need tell you how we entertained the Ambassadors of Spaine and Bruxells, how the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Regents, non-Regents met them at Trinity Colledg gate [etc.](Letter 78).

A lucid, ironic account of the occasion follows: by implication, the heavy drinking of the ambassadors is noted; Mead spells out the Spanish ambassador's cries of 'supernaculum, supernaculum'; he describes the conferring of five honorary degrees on the party and the disagreeableness of one of them (one Ogden, formerly of St. John's). Having told the whole story Mead ends drily 'Fame will tell you of these things. I will not trouble you'.

Mead's use of drama and irony shows his perfect confidence that his tone would not be misunderstood. This in turn betokens a pleasant friendly intimacy between the two men, born, no doubt, of long friendship and shared interests. Mead's freedom in his writing never becomes over-familiarity. He writes always with respect for the older man in spite of the insertion at times of some deliberate (rather donnish) jokes.

As befits a classical and biblical scholar who is engaged in news-mongering, Mead writes in an interesting mixture of plain and literary styles. Much of the news, especially from abroad, is extremely straight-forward and explicit. Such passages were no doubt composed with a view to clarifying complicated political and military matters. Similarly, home political news is to the point and unambiguous. (It is interesting to compare this plain style with Mead's sermon style where he is at pains to explain a biblical passage to a learned audience. His method is i) dissection of the text; ii) explication; iii) application in plain English. There is some use of quotation but not to excess. There is no hint of

the 'witty' preaching of his contemporaries which was popular with divines such as Andrewes and Donne).

Mead seems unaffected by the fashionable move towards Senecan 'wit' but (like other scholars of his time) he was so steeped in the classics that their influence shines through his writing. Cicero, in particular, appears to be the exemplar for both his eloquent and his plain writing. Cicero's influence is implicit in Mead's beautifully constructed Latinate, Ciceronian sentences in their expansive and oratorical style. Such oratory was no doubt put to good effect by Sir Martin to impress and amuse his audience! In contrast, Cicero's influence is occasionally explicit in Mead's 'familiar' passages. For example, the phrase 'owls to Athens' inserted in Greek in Cicero's 'Familiar Letters',¹⁴ is echoed (in English) in Mead's Letter 149. The description of Cicero's 'familiar' style

... colloquial, but thoroughly accurate. ... [where]
Every sentence corresponds to a definite thought, and
each word gives its aid to the adequate expression of
the whole¹⁵

might equally be applied to Mead's colloquial passages. Whatever the tone of Mead's writing, whatever the style, each sentence, each paragraph and each letter is beautifully crafted. The longest sentence never loses its intended direction; the shortest makes its point in a grammatically perfect construction.

There is very little personal comment in the letters. On the whole, Mead's character shows itself not through egotistical writing but from what can be deduced from his indirect comments on events and people. Mead remarks on his visits to Dalham, either the ease or the awkwardness of the possibility of his getting there, and his enjoyment of his visit.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Epistulae*, ed. Williams, vol 2.194

¹⁵ Tyrell, *Cicero*, p lxxviii.

Occasionally he refers to his College duties of preaching and the complications of arranging accommodation for his pupils. One letter is almost completely taken up with the relation of a journey to Derbyshire and his thankful return to Cambridge. Sometimes Mead will add a personal comment on political news but this is mainly to lament the danger in which Protestantism finds itself or to pray for help for its parlous state. (It is remarkable that Mead, a biblical scholar, uses only 10 biblical quotations in 154 letters).

His 'Discourses' in Worthington's Mede reveal more of his ways of thinking and bring to mind similar thoughts expressed by Milton. Mead observes in Discourse II that those who are, by vocation, committed to reflect on 'sacred things' 'God hath ... set apart from the world unto himselfe'. He remarks on the difficulty of resolving God's punishments with God's justice (Discourse XLI, p 230). In advocating a steady, moderate way of life he comments that 'The Devil taketh advantage of the Vehemency of our Passions to work an Overthrow'. In Discourse XL, p 223 '... It behoves us to govern and temper our Passions and Affections'. The Discourses reinforce the evidence in the letters of Mead's striving for justice and balance.

Mead indirectly reveals in the newsletters that he is an extremely learned man, voracious for knowledge of any description, eager to share what he knows - a tutor, a scholar, a scholarly letter-writer and a journalistic letter-writer - not a hoarder either of his arcane learning or of his budgets of contemporary news.

It must be admitted, however, that he reveals a certain irascibility in his dealings with the deliverers of the letters to Dalham; one Parker and Parker's 'incorrigible' man. Mead threatens never to write to Sir Martin again unless Parker's man is disciplined. He frequently complains that Parker's man will not wait at College until the letters are ready. Indeed at times Mead has himself to hurry to Geoffrey Finch's shop in Petty Cury in the town to take his letter for delivery. On a change of the somewhat independent-minded 'man' Mead refers to his replacement rather curtly as the 'new Parkerizer'.

On the whole, the moderate attitude of a well-governed mind sets the tone of the letters. Whatever the atrocities of war or despair of Protestants, Mead attempts to set all into the pattern of God's goodness. But - he is hard put to it at times to control his feelings when discussing a 'rascall Jesuite'!

VII

And what of the recipient of all the words that flowed from Cambridge to Dalham? Unfortunately, no replies from Sir Martin to Joseph Mead appear to have survived, so Sir Martin's character must be assessed from Mead's letters and other contemporary comment. Sir Martin and his two sons both attended Christ's College. Sir Martin evidently remained on friendly terms with certain members of the College. The letters occasionally enclose messages from the Fellows, in particular, from Valentine Cary, Master of Christ's. Sir Martin's education had been thorough enough for him to retain a working knowledge of Latin and of classical history so that Mead rarely found it necessary to translate Latin into English unless a prodigious amount of it was quoted; nor did Mead find it necessary to gloss references to ancient historical events. Obviously, Sir Martin, a local landowner and Justice of the Peace, was as hungry for news of the world as Mead. But, unlike Mead, he had seen something of the world outside England. It is known that in his youth he sailed to America with Sir Francis Drake. By the evidence of his helmet, now on display in Dalham church, he had been a soldier; perhaps he had been engaged in Elizabethan wars. He was born in Elizabeth I's reign in 1569; lived through James I's reign and died in the seventh year of Charles I in 1631. In 1606 he inherited Dalham Hall and some surrounding and nearby acreage and he appears to have relished his role as the generous local landowner. Dalham Church benefited from his generosity and there is a huge painted notice on the church wall to that effect specifying the exact amount of money which he gave to rebuild the tower, construct a steeple and donate two bells.

At the time of Mead's writing of the letters in MS Harleian 329,

Sir Martin was married to his second wife, Susan, née Isham, of Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire. His first wife, Katharine, who died in childbirth in 1605, belonged to a family of Hollands of Quiddenham in Norfolk with whom Sir Martin remained in contact. There are frequent references in the letters to Sir Thomas Holland, his brother-in-law. By his two wives, Sir Martin Stuteville had a family of eight surviving children, six girls and two boys. The Stutevilles seem to have been an hospitable family; very frequently there were visitors at the Hall, probably most of them with family connections. Mead sends his respects at various times to Lady Denton (Susan Stuteville's sister), Mr and Mrs Webbe (Mrs Webbe was an Isham cousin), and Dr and Mrs Warner (Mrs Warner was apparently related to the family through Lady Stuteville's mother). Altogether, the impression is of a lively household. Sir Symonds D'Ewes in 1624 compared Dalham hospitality favourably with that of the Isham household:

I came from Cambridge to Dalham Hall ... wher Sir Martin Stuteville resided ... and was welcomed by them with many real and affectionate expressions far beyond that entertainment I had received from the Ishams in Northamptonshire.

And, on another occasion, '...notwithstanding Sir Martin Stuteville's great unwillingness to part with us so soon, we departed from Dalham...'.¹⁶

During Sir Martin's lifetime a picture of merriment and gregarious good living is heightened by Mead's evident enjoyment of his visits to Dalham. He appreciated its 'good pure air' and the generous treatment accorded him. No doubt, he enjoyed the pleasant company as well. His correspondence ended only with Sir Martin's death in 1631.

Sir Martin Stutvill, comming from the Sessions at Bury ...went into the Angell, and there being mery in

¹⁶ D'Ewes, Autobiography, p 247.

a chayer, either readie to take tobacco, or having newly done it, ...leaned backward with his head and died immediatlie'.¹⁷

VIII

Of course Mead was not unique in passing on news through his letters to his friends and relations. We have seen, for instance, that his clerical friends in the City were similarly engaged. Another prolific letter-writer, John Chamberlain, sent most interesting and useful letters from England to the ambassador in the United Provinces of the Netherlands from 1597 to 1627. Chamberlain's letters are mainly concerned with Court news and London gossip. His personal comments on the news sometimes add another dimension to daily events. Many of his letters have been used to verify Mead's comments on English affairs.

Travellers abroad (such as James Howell) sent back lengthy reports to their families and friends; officials of Government naturally wrote copiously on current events and these letters, many held in the Public Record Office, are of course invaluable and have been used extensively by historians. It was Howell's maxim, taken from Seneca, that 'the true familiar letter should have the naturalness of talk, but should not lack substance and ideas'. Mead's letters to his kinsman certainly fulfil Howell's criteria. Naturalness is evident in the friendly and affectionate tone which springs from Mead's family friendship with the Stutevilles; there is of course a great deal of substance; ideas arise from Mead's discussions on the complications of war, such as his queries on the legality of certain procedures in the Empire and on the meaning behind the European disturbances. The overriding philosophical thought of the letters, in spite of their secular content, is a religious one. Can God be seen to be

¹⁷ Rous, Diary, p 61.

working his purpose out through wars and destruction?

It is the long continued weekly covering of so many aspects of early seventeenth-century events, thoughts and ideas that make Mead's letters unique. They can be said to be a virtual mirror of the times - in effect a kind of Annals of the reactions of the intelligentsia to contemporary events.

In this edition of Mead's letters thorough annotation has been attempted in the hope that the reader will follow without confusion the progress of the Thirty Years' War from 1621 to 1625 as it was reported in England, and will enjoy the day to day excitements of politics, Church, Dalham and Cambridge.

[3 February 1620/21]

Sir,

With my last I sent you a great packet of reports,¹ would
God, it had beene as good, as it was much. I hope you received
all, though it was carried farre about, by reason of Parkers
mans*² incorrigible stubbornesse, who with the unpleasantnes of
the present affaires to be related makes me even weary of this
task. I send almost nothing now new but what you heard in the
postscript of my last onely it is not so absolute but not much
better.

5

I send you besides a Relation of the manner of the losse of
Prague³ written by an English Gentleman there and then present
which you will find so strange that it can hardly be imputed
to any other meanes but sorcery and [---] witchcraft. I am
almost perswaded they consulted with the Oracle of the
bottomlesse pitt:⁴ for the probability of which suspicion, I
call to mind what Mr Boswell* sent me in a paper of printed
newes from Paris July 26⁵ though it came late to my hands
which I will exscribe verbatim as it is in the French.

10

15

Egenbourg en Austriche

dés 29 Juin

'Ne pouuans nous endommager à force ouverte, ils en
cherchent des moyens illegitimes et indignes de gens de guerre,
en prestant l'oreille à des Sorciers et Negromanciers, qui leur
promettent de mettre la peste en nostree armee pour la ruyner
entierment dans peu de temps. Ausquels abominables Sorciers a
este promis de l'argent en effectuant ce malheureux dessein

20

25

indigne des Chrestiens. Et nous confians en Dieu, nous nous
asseurons que le diable et ses supposts ne nous peuvent nuire
etc'.⁶

Which though I am no Frenchman, yet with helpe I english
as followeth

30

Our Enimies;⁷ being not able to hurt us with open force
(for he had sayd before that they would not be gotten
out of their trenches) they seek after unlawfull [---]
meanes and unbeseeing warlike men; lending eare to
certaine sorcerers and Negromancers, who promise them to
send a plague upon our Armie, for to destroy it utterly in
a short time. To which abominable sorcerers, there is
money promised if they can performe this impious designe
unworthy of Christians. But we putt our trust in God
and assure our selves, that neither the Devill nor his
Instruments can hurt us.

35

40

The Bohemian Army when this writen lay at Egenbo[] in
Austria etc.⁸ Now whether this m[] not make the losing of
Prague suspicious judge when you read the Relation thereof.
But had the King* himselfe⁹ beene in the Army, it may be this
had beene avoyded for he had not beene absent thence, (or not
his absence known) from the time the Enimie entred the Country
and the Armies approached,¹⁰ untill this present; and as it
seemes by the event, their Prophet of the Devill, the Friar could
give them no assurance of victory till this time.¹¹ Hence, (if
this be credible) you may also gather upon what ground was
devised that tale of the Southwe[] Dragon, which beat the
Northeast dragon with his 3 litl[] dragons and made them
suddenly to vanish, as you may [---] remember, when I was last
at Dalham, and that I told you then, that by the Southwest

45

50

55

Dragon was intended Bavier*,¹² and by the Northeast Bohemia,
 with the three litle dragons Silesia Moravia, Lusatia, etc.¹³
 But if God hath permitted the Devill thus farre, he hath
 certainly some extraordinary thing to work; for I think such a
 permission is more then ordinary. He do wha[] seemes best to 60
 his glory.

We heare by those who came from London this week that the
 Parliament began on tuesday.¹⁴ Other newes we have none as
 yet. I hope my desire in my last is satisfied howsoever I
 heare not any thing from you, a[] I hope I shall. Thus with 65
 my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

February 3

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 4. 'who' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 6. 'almost' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 13. In MS: 'consulted e^f with the Oracle'.
- Lines 14-15. In MS: 'I ^f call to mind'.
- Line 19. 'dès' written 'dés' in MS: - 'since'.
- Line 31. 'not' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 42. 'this writen': 'this was writen' probably intended.
- Line 42. Presumably 'Egenbourg': letters missing at edge.
- Line 43. Presumably 'this may': MS worn.
- Line 50. In MS: 'victory ^f till theis'.
- Line 52. Presumably 'Southwest': letters missing at edge.
- Line 53. Presumably 'litle': letter missing at edge.
- Line 53. 'them' inserted above line.
- Line 58. In MS: 'farre ^t he'.
- Line 60. Presumably 'what': letter missing at edge of leaf.
- Line 64. In MS: 'I hope ~~you~~ my'.
- Line 65. Presumably 'as': letter missing at edge of leaf.

Notes

- 1 Mead's 'last' letter and the 'great packet of reports' are not in MS Harl. 389.
- 2 Parker (other names unknown) and 'his man' (on whom see

Biographical Index) evidently lived near Dalham and brought in cheeses etc. to Cambridge market. Mead sent letters to Dalham by Parker who either collected them from the shop of Geoffrey Finch in the Cury or relied on 'his man' to fetch them from Mead.

- 3 On the fall of Prague in Bohemia see Appendix 1.

For Mead's copy of 'A Relation of the Manner of the Losse of Prague etc.', dated 21 November 1620, see Appendix 1.i. and Calendar I.1

For the original 'Relation' see MS Lansdowne 498, f 80.

- 4 The loss of Prague was 'strange' in that the armies of the Catholic League attacked and took the city on Sunday 8 November 1620 n.s. after assurances from a Friar that a troupe of angels hovered overhead to protect them. As late as the previous evening, Saturday 7 November 1620 n.s., the Bohemian Court had been confident that their city was safe from attack. In the event, the Protestant forces were easily defeated and disgraced.

'The bottomlesse pitt'; Revelation.xx.3. The 'oracle of the bottomlesse pitt' presumably refers to the false prophet condemned for ever to the lake of fire and brimstone; Revelation.xx.10.

- 5 The original printed news from Paris, sent to Mead by William Boswell, has not been found.
- 6 The news in French was evidently sent from the Bohemian army (see Appendix 1) which, in the summer of 1620, was returning to Bohemia from an Austrian campaign.
- 7 'Our Enemies' is a reference to the enemies of Protestant Bohemia, in this instance the armies of the Catholic League (Appendix 1).

- 8 The Bohemian army had marched into Imperial Lower Austria in May 1620 to lend assistance to Protestant forces attacking Pressburg in Hungary. By June 1620 the army was in mutinous disarray at Eggenberg and began the march back to Bohemia. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War, I. 219-221.
- 9 On 'the King himselfe', Frederick V, Elector Palatine, nominal King of Bohemia, see Biographical Index.
- 10 The Catholic League armies under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and General Bucquoy marched over the Bohemian frontier in September 1620. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War, I.235-237. The King (Frederick) joined the Bohemian army at Klingenberg in Bohemia in September 1620.
- 11 The Carmelite Friar, Father Dominicus, had been 'attached to Maximilian [the Duke of Bavaria, commander of the Catholic League Imperial forces in Bohemia] as a kind of general army chaplain'. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War, i.246-248. Maximilian testified, after the death of Dominicus, that it was the friar's assurance of victory which spurred his troops into battle. See Author's Preface, ibid.
- 12 On 'Bavier', Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, see Biographical Index.
- 13 Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia were estates in confederation with Bohemia. On the confederation and the events there in 1620 see Appendix 2.
- In Christian symbolism the dragon is equated with the serpent, the serpent with the Devil: see Revelation.xii.9.
- 14 Parliament commenced on 30 January 1620/21. See LJs iii.8.

(fos 14r,v;15r,v)

Letter 2 is collated in MS Harl 389 after
Letter 3. Letter 3 is mis-dated 9 February
1620/21 in a hand other than Mead's.
See note preceding Letter 3.

[10 February 1620/21]

Sir,

I received your letter, though but yesterday; and thank you
for satisfying me. for though you except the 2 last, yet I hope
the List¹ which w[] in the end of the first of them, is also
remembred, otherwise we are never the neere. The newes I now
send in the latest thereof² gives life againe to the adhering
of Silesia and Moravia to their King*.³ I pray God it hold
true. for by it it should seeme that all the former report was
grounded upon his departure from Breslaw⁴ to visit the Queene*
at Castrin⁵ then neere hir delivery, and before his departure,
made a speech in a full Assembly of the States there;⁶ not a
speech of despaire (as was interpreted) but of confidence, that
they would not forsake him, now they had brought him out of his
country,⁷ without any seeking of his etc. and then concluded
with the fore-related words of David. If I shall find favour
in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe to this place
etc.⁸ and so for a time departed from them, whither he is now
againe returned and hath written thence to the Hague etc. as
our last newes reporteth.⁹

I know you desire to heare newes of the Parliament: the
summe of the principall points of his Majesties speech¹⁰ you
have heere. But we expect that the whole speech printed should
come downe today: if it doth, you shall have it on Tuesday sent

to Newmarket to John Pollingtons,¹¹ by some of our Cambridg
chapmen;¹² if H. Law* step thither to enquire for it. you shall
not misse it. But for what hath beene done since, I have
nothing but such as I must trust the reporters for; whose
meaning, though good, yet [---] ignorance of the nature of such
affaires, may cause to mistake or committ solacismes. Howsoever
if you will pardon both me and them, thus it is.

Their next meeting after the speech was Saturday,¹³ when
Sir Edw: Phillips¹⁴ made the first motion to this purpose That
he referred it to the consideration of the House 1 That before
they medled with any thing else whether it were not needfull,
they should first obtaine assurance of libertie of speech, and
Security that no man should be troubled for any thing there
spoken, either during the Parliament time or at any time
thereafter.¹⁵ 2 His second motion was, that the Statute of
Queene Elizabeth against Recusants (I know not which) might
presently be put in execution and that before they proceeded to
any other matter for that upon true and certaine information he
had learned, That 40/000 of them were gathered into the Citty
this Parliament time, and some of them such, as crawled not out
of their dores many a yeare before: what th^eir meaning was he
knew not.¹⁶ His motion was seconded by Sir Ed Gyles¹⁷
alledging many arguments why he thought both the one and the
other worthy and needful to be in the first place considered
of. Next follows Sir Thom Edmonds,¹⁸ Sir Julius Caesar¹⁹ and,
Secretary Calvert²⁰ who all in order without once speaking to
the former motion, propounded the Kings wants and necessityes
for money, such as could not beare any delay in regard as well
of other imployments, as the present and extree[] necessity of
the Palatinate, and therefore fitt a Supp[]²¹ should be first

concluded of before anything else were proceeded unto; for then they should have better leysure to consult of other matters.

When they had all thus spoken; another (I know not his name) 55
rose up and sayd that he thought the order of the House was not observed, which was, that every one should speak to that which was first propounded, and not every one to make new motions for that were the way to confusion, and spending of much time to litle purpose etc.²² This was all that was done on Saturday.²³ 60
The next day they met (which I think was munday) Secretary Calvert begins to speak; That his Majestie thought the first motion for obtaining security of free speech, w[] very unreasonable, because it was to Question that which was always granted to be done and never yet called in Question etc. And 65
for the second, that it was more fitt that his present necessities should considered of and a meanes of supplie concluded, before any thing else were done etc.²⁴ To this Sir Ed Gyles (I think) i[] sayd to reply, that if the subsidie must first be done, the Parliament would be as good as done 70
also.²⁵ In conclusion the busines was referred by the House to 18 Committies²⁶ where of Sir Ed Phill and Gyles were two, and Sir Edwin Sands another, who being a Burgess chosen durst not come into the Parliament,²⁷ as [sic] was therefore (as is thought) chosen a Comittie, that he might so be brought in. 75
This is all I heare besides that I forgott to tell that Sir Ed Gyles should likewise say, that though the priviledg of the house for libertie of speech was not questionable, yet former experience had taught them to think a more speciall security needfull etc.²⁸ If he that told me, or my selfe in telling you, 80
shall committ any solecisme, I hope you will not impute it. knowing that these are things [---] altogether out of the

spheare of our experience.

It is reported besides (from the same) that the States
Ambassadors²⁹ spake with the King (I think) at Theobalds',³⁰ and 85
desired audience, to which His Majestie answered, He would
heare them privately but they told him, their commission was
otherwise, namely to deliver their Message to his Majestie
wheresoever they should find him and that publikly.³¹ whereat
the King was very much displeased as seemed by that he uttered. 90
Then they told him, if they could not obtaine it, they were to
returne home againe. Yet at length they had a day of audience
appointed them, wherein they are sayd to have delivered their
message to this effect: 1 To signifie to his Majestie, that
whereas their truce with Spaine was to end in Aprill next, 95
they were firmly resolved never to renew it any more with that
perfidious faithless ambitious and cruell nation.³² 2 But when
as there had beene so ancient and faithfull an amitie betweene
his Majesties predecessers and themselves, and that so much
strengthened and renued by Queene Elizabeth,³³ and since 100
continued by his Majestie, they were desirous to have the same
now at this present renued and confirmed;³⁴ which done; they
would not onely approve themselves for true and faithfull
confederats, but be ready to venture both their bodies and
their estates for his Majestie and his son after him as often 105
as occasion required: and for the present would engage
themselves not onely for recovery of the Palatinate (which they
sayd, they made no question of) but also for restoring his Son
in law* to the Kingdome of Bohemia, unto which he had beene
most justly elected and whence he was now unjustly driven³⁵ 3. 110
Moreover that they had sent or were sending their fleet to the
West Indies so to bridle the King of Spaine,³⁶ and if his

Majestie would joyne with them, he should not doubt but to
 treat with the King of Spaine on such conditions as he would,
 within a small time. Lastly they added, they would not be taken 115
 to propound these offers as suppliants or suters to his
 Majestie as out of any feare, but onely as a Remonstrance
 proceeding from their love. For they thanked God they neither
 needed nor did feare the greatest Monarch in the world. They
 have not yet received any answeare. Yet some there are, it 120
 seemes, who are so well affected to their motion, that they
 could wish their entertainment and lodging were as well
 provided for as Don Gondomers*.³⁷

Mr Ward of Ipswich³⁸ had of late devised, and putt forth a
 picture of 88³⁹ and of the powder treason,⁴⁰ for which he was 125
 sent up for by a pursevant,⁴¹ upon Don Gondomers* complaint and
 sute, who says His Master⁴² was dishonoured and abused by those
 pictures. It is sayd that he is in the fleet.⁴³ I had almost
 seene the picture and sent it you. The Pope sitts in counsell
 with a Cardinall on one hand and the Devill on the other, and 130
 some Lay man, with a fether in his cap etc. The Parliament
 House pictured and Fauks⁴⁴ therein with his Lanthorne very busy
 about his work; Over it in heaven, is a great eye (signifying
 divine providence) which darts it [sic] beames downe into the
 cellar where Fauks is, and the posy Video et rideo⁴⁵. all is 135
 adorned with verses and suchlike devices. The other is the
 Flying of the Spanish Fleet, and ours pursuing it and such
 like. Thus much I had from one that saw it.⁴⁶

Scott of Norwich,⁴⁷ who is sayd to be the Author of Vox
Populi,⁴⁸ they say is now fled, having as it seemes fore-notice 140
 of the pursevant.

It was a flying rumor yesterday, as though it had beene

newes at London on Sunday and monday, that the Prince of
 Orange* was treachrously slaine.⁴⁹ God grant it be not true:
 if it be it is another shrewd presage of the imminent calamitie 145
 of our time.

It is sayd also That the Bishop of London⁵⁰ di[] on
 tuesday. How certaine these are we shall know []night, when
 letters come.

February 10 Yours to command 150
 Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 3. Presumably 'was': lettersblotted.
- Line 27. In MS: 'yet [---] ignorance': deleted letters almost illegible, possibly 'nig'.
- Line 34. In MS: 'obtain like assurance; 'of the Speech'.
- Line 42. 'time' inserted with caret.
- Line 51. Presumably 'extreem': 'm' missing at edge of leaf.
- Line 52. Presumably 'Supply': 'ly' missing at edge of leaf.
- Line 63. Presumably 'was': 'as' missing at edge of leaf.
- Line 65. 'to be done' inserted above the line with caret.
- Line 69. Perhaps 'is': letter missing at edge of leaf.
- Line 79. 'them' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 82. In MS: 'things all [-----] altogether': partially illegible deletion.
- Line 87. 'them' inserted above the line with caret.
- Line 105. 'him' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 107. In MS: 'themselves ~~for~~ not onely'.
- Line 110. In MS: 'and ~~to~~ whence'.
- Line 115. In MS: 'Lastly they the --- as yet they have had no answers and these --- added'.
- Line 119. 'nor' written above ink blot.
- Line 125. In MS: 'for which upon he'
- Line 138. In MS: 'one that say saw'.
- Line 139. In MS: 'Scott whe of Norwich'.
- Line 147. Probably 'died': 'ed' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 149¹⁴⁹. Presumably 'tonight': 'to' missing at edge of leaf.

Notes

- 1 The list referred to may be a list of printed books from London or a catalogue of books available from Frankfurt. These were circulated by booksellers by this date.
- 2 On 'the latest thereof' see Calendar I.5.
- 3 On Silesia and Moravia see Appendix 2. It was mistakenly affirmed that they remained loyal to the (nominal) King of Bohemia, (the Elector Palatine, Frederick V*), after the defeat of his army in November 1620. See Calendar I.5. A certain amount of resistance to Imperial forces continued under the command of Counts Thurn and Jägerndorf.
- 4 Breslau(w) was the capital of Silesia. Frederick V, in January 1620/21, attempted to persuade Silesia to further resistance.
- 5 'Castrin' is Custrin in the Electorate of Brandenburg, a protestant state. 'The queen', Elizabeth of Bohemia, gave birth to a son in January 1620/21. See Calendar I.2.
- 6 'States' refers to the estates of Silesia. 'Estates': an assembly of the governing classes or their representatives (OED/6b).
- 7 'His country' is the Rhine Palatinate. Frederick V ruled there as a Calvinist prince until it was occupied in August 1620 by a Spanish army. Frederick was 'brought out' of the Palatinate and elected to the Bohemian throne (Appendix 1)
- 8 II Samuel xv.25.
- 9 See Calendar I.5.
- 10 For King James' speech to Parliament (Latin) see LJs iii.8, 30 January 1620/21. For extracts in English see Calendar I.4 and Cobbett, Parliamentary History i. 1177-1180

- 11 John Pollington has not been identified.
- 12 'a chapman': a person engaged in buying and selling (OED/1b).
- 13 Little business was concluded in Parliament on Saturday, 3 February 1620/21. The Speaker of the House of Commons was presented to the King and there followed a very short session before adjournment. See CJs i.507.
- For the speeches quoted in this letter see CJs i.507-510, 5 February 1620/21. They were not reported to Mead with complete accuracy as he himself suspected. The names of the speakers do not always agree with those reported in the Commons' Journals, nor is the content of the speeches accurately quoted.
- 14 'Sir Edwin Phillips' appears to be a mixture of the names of two Members of Parliament: Sir Edwin Giles, M.P. for Totnes and Sir Robert Phillips (Phelips), M.P. for Bath.
- 15 Sir Edwin Giles (Gyles) spoke first for liberty of speech. Sir Robert Phillips spoke on the same theme and on the dangers of Roman Catholicism. See CJs i.508.
- 16 For the 'Statute of Queen Elizabeth against Recusants' see 35 Elizabeth, LJs ii.174^r, 7 March 1592.
- There was much anti-Catholic feeling evident in the reported speeches of 5 February 1620/21 but no specific reference to 40,000 Catholics is recorded in the Commons' Journals. Robert Phillips complained that Catholics were gathering in great numbers in London. See CJs i.508^r.
- 17 On Sir Edwin Giles see note 14. Mr Alford seconded the motions. He 'concurreth'. See ibid.
- 18 Sir Thomas Edmond(e)s (1563 - 1639), a well-travelled diplomat, ~~comptroller~~ James I's household, was a member of

the Privy Council from 1616. In 1620 he was Member of Parliament for Bewdley. See DNB.

19 Sir Julius Caesar (Adelmare) (1558-1636), a Privy Councillor, was Member of Parliament for Malden, Essex. See DNB. There is no report of his speech in the Commons' Journal of this date.

20 George Calvert, later first Lord Baltimore (1580-1632), became Secretary of State in 1619. He played the difficult role of intermediary between the King and Commons in their disputes. See DNB.

21 A 'supply' is a sum of money granted by a national legislature for the expenses of government (OED/1 10).

22 There is no record of this speech in the Commons' Journals of this date.

23 The speeches (not quite accurately reported) took place on Monday, 5 February 1620/21. See note 13.

24 For Secretary Calvert's speech see CJs i.508^r.

25 This speech is not recorded in the Commons' Journals.

26 A 'committie' in this context is a person to whom some charge, trust or function is committed (OED/1 ia).

27 Sir Edwin Sandys (Sands) (1561-1629), a prominent member of the House of Commons, an official of the West India Company, represented the town of Sandwich in Parliament in 1620. He was out of favour with King James for several reasons. His not daring to come into Parliament alludes to the animosity between him and the king. See below, note 28 and DNB.

'Burgess' (in this context): one elected to represent his fellow citizens in Parliament (OED/b).

28 This is a reference to the aftermath of the 'Addled'

Parliament of 1614. The king was displeased with comments made in the House of Commons. Sir Edwin Sandys and others were summoned before the Privy Council and restrictions put on their movements. See APC 1613-1614, p 460.

- 29 'The States' are the States of the United Provinces (the Dutch Republic). The Ambassadors came to London in January 1620/21 to consult James I on the war in Germany.

They were: James de Wyngaerde, Sieur de Wyngaerdes; John Camerling, pensionary of Delft; Albert Sonck, burgomaster of Hoorn; Albert Bruyning, deputy of West Friesland; James Segotte, deputy of Zeeland; Frederick de Perron, deputy of Friesland. See SPD 1619-21, footnote to note 695, p 532, quoted from SPH 19 January 1621.

- 30 'Theobalds', a house which had belonged to Lord Burghley, lay just off the main road between London and Ware in Hertfordshire. It grew to palatial proportions in 1580 and became a royal palace in James I's reign. It was demolished in 1670. See Roy Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England, (1979), p 51.

- 31 By 'publikly' the Ambassadors meant 'in the Body of the Kingdome' i.e. Parliament. See Letter 3, note 28.

- 32 The Twelve Years' Truce between Holland and Spain was due to expire in April 1621. The Dutch did not wish to renew it. It was felt that war 'would serve the economic and political interests of the Republic'.

See J.I. Israel, 'A Conflict of Empires: Spain and the Netherlands 1618-1648', Past and Present, (No.76, 1977), pp 34ff.

- 33 'The Treaty [of Nonsuch (20 August 1585)]...committed Elizabeth to maintain a sizeable army in the Netherlands'.

See Charles Wilson, Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, (1970), pp 83, 86.

- 34 The Dutch wished to renew the military alliance (see note 33) with the despatch of English troops.
- 35 On Frederick V, Elector Palatine, the Palatinate and Bohemia see Appendix 1. The Dutch knew of James's wish to restore Frederick to the Palatinate but they themselves had no real wish to become embroiled in Bohemia.
- 36 On the aggressive policy of the Dutch in the West Indies and the formation of the Dutch West Indies Company in June 1621 see Geoffrey Parker, Spain and the Netherlands 1559-1659, (London, 1979). See also J.I. Israel, Dutch Republic, pp 122, 130.
- 37 Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador to England (see Biographical Index), was generally believed to exert political influence on James I.
- 38 Samuel Ward (1577-1640), town-preacher of Ipswich, produced a picture in 1621 which the Spanish ambassador considered to be an insult to his royal master, Philip III of Spain. Samuel Ward was examined by the Privy Council and committed to prison but soon released. He was forbidden to preach at Ipswich for some time. See Calendar I.18.
- 39 The 'picture of '88': the allusion is to the Spanish Armada of 1588.
- 40 The 'powder treason', refers to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Both pictures by Samuel Ward were considered to be anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic.
- 41 A 'pursevant' is a prosecutor. A royal or state messenger with power to execute warrants (OED/A 2).
- 42 Philip III of Spain.

- 43 'The fleet' refers to a prison of that name which stood near the river Fleet in London.
- 44 Guy Fauks (Fawkes) (1570-1606), a zealous Catholic, chosen by the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot to fire the gunpowder under the Houses of Parliament, was discovered, arrested, questioned before the Council and sent to the Tower on 4/5 November 1605. He was tried in Westminster Hall in January 1606 and executed 31 January 1606.
- 45 'video and rideo': 'I see and I laugh'.
- 46 A fuller description of the picture was sent to Sir Martin Stuteville for his appraisal. See Calendar I.6,7.
- 47 Thomas Scot(t) of Norwich (1580-1626), chaplain to James I, a political writer, fled to Holland when his authorship of Vox Populi was discovered. He continued writing polemical pamphlets. He was killed by a soldier in 1626. See DNB.
- 48 Vox Populi (STC 22098), a tract against the proposed Spanish match (the marriage of Prince Charles to a Spanish princess), took the form of a satirical account of Count Gondomar's reception by the Council of State in Madrid on his return to Spain in 1618. See SPD 1619-23, note 103, p. 208.
- 49 The rumour of the death of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (see Biographical Index), was false.
- 50 John King (1559-1621), Bishop of London, was popular at Court. King James called him the 'king of preachers'. He died on Good Friday 30 March 1621 and was buried in St. Paul's.

(fos 11r,v;12r,v)

This letter is out of order in MS Harl. 389. It was not dated by Mead but, in another hand, it is dated erroneously 9 February 1620/21. This is the date of a letter received from London by Mead and quoted in this one.

See note 28 for dating of this letter.

[17 February 1620/21]

Sir,

The last week D M¹* wrot not, neither received I any Corranto², nor heare of any man that had news. Onely a freind of mine one of the Clergie in the Cittie,³ whom I had lately begun to imploy for the getting of the Cullen Corranto⁴ (as being though not so continuall yet better then those of the Hague) he having an opportunitie of neighbourhood; this freind writes to me as followeth.

London February 9

No Corranto from Cullen; but the old gentleman to whom they use to be written saw a letter from Cullen and heard of some others written from Prague and Vienna to this purpose. That Silesia was not revolted⁵, but that Bucqhoy comming to defend the revolted in Moravia,⁶ was encountred by Bethlem Gabor*⁷ so feircely, that he lost 6000 men.⁸

An Englishman writes from Vienna, That they are there in worse case now, then before Prague was taken.⁹ That the Hungarians play reaks thereabouts.¹⁰ The King of Bohemia* hath promise of great ayd from the Kings of Denmark* and Sweden*,¹¹ That Gabriel Bethlom* meanes to ayd him with 40/000 Turks and Tartars.¹²

Moreover men heere of good intelligence affirme that not

onely not Silesia, but that Moravia¹³ also is not revolted, and
that they offer as heretofore¹⁴, onely their Popish Clergie
antiquum obtinent.¹⁵

Grave Maurice (who was falsely reported to be pistoll'd) 25
hath, as it is sayd, written a consolatorie letter to the King
of Bohemia with promise of good assistance.¹⁶ Besides here is
a rumor in London, too good to be true yet I have heard it
reported, but feare to beleeeve it. For they say that the
garrisons of Pilsen conspired with the Citizens of Prague to 30
massacre the Emperours Souldiers therein, and so themselves
being entred, to defend them from forraine attempts.¹⁷ There
is one (an underclark in Chauncerie) who gives out money upon
it, to receive more for it, if Prague be now in the Kings*¹⁸
possession if not, to loose it. And so I feare he will. 35

Our Bishop {London}¹⁹ they say, is dead or dying. But our
new Recorder Mr Shute²⁰ is for certaine dead and enjoyed his
dignitie not above a fortnight or thereabouts. Mr Henneage
Finch²¹ is sworne Recorder in his roome.

On Sunday next Bishop Usher²² is to preach before the whole 40
lower house at the Temple:²³ where and when they all receive
the Communion, none to be absent under paine of punishment.²⁴

The Committies in Parliament have by this time given their
opinion concerning an Act made against Papists.²⁵

Thus farre my freind, what I heard since the receipt of that 45
letter is as followeth; Though Dr. M* wrot not hither, yet one
who came hither this commencement told me he saw a letter of
his read on thursday before (sent into Hartfordshire) wherein
was besides what we have heard. That the King* was returned to
Breslaw²⁶ and there most royally and joyfully received by his 50
Silesians (so he called them) with presents etc. yet by the

rest, I think this letter not of much later date, then that I
last sent you.

For Grave Maurice I am told that the traytors were ready or
about to attempt upon his person when they were discovered, and .55
by Gods mercy their villanie prevented.

I am told that it is reported at London That the Prince of
Orange* and the States²⁷ should have sent the King of Bohemia a
present since his retorne to Breslaw, which was a Cannon of
pure silver and in the mouth thereof a bullet of Massie Gould. 60
a pretie Embleme.

I wrot in my last, That the States Ambassadors required
publick audience according as their Commission was. I heare
since that it was to the Body of the Kingdome assembled in
Parliament, where they have delivered their message etc.²⁸ 65

They say also that the King sent for the Lower House to
Whitehall²⁹ and made another Speech unto them.

The Act of Parliament against the Papists, the execution
whereof was referred, as you heard to the Committies to advise
of, was, as I heare made 13 Elizabeth; That no Papist during 70
the Parliament time should come within 10 miles of the
Cittie.³⁰

I am told moreover, That it was agreed, that the Subsidies
and grievances should passe together. And that there should
already passe 2 subsidies and a fifteene³¹ upon 2 conditions; 75
which His Majestie hearing of should say, He was sure one of
the Conditions would be against the Papists, but let them do
with them as they would.

One Worsley, a mad fellow, a Catholick, who some six yeare
since³² would have stabd my Lord of Canterbury³³ in his Gallery 80
and had done it, had not his Secretary came in by chance, and

was some yeares in prison for it, and afterward banished, but now
of late come home againe. This Fellow on Candlemas day³⁴ at
night sent a letter from the blew Bore within Algate, to Sir
John Lentropes lodging in Holburne, the pretence because, in 85
his examination being asked what freinds he had, he had named
Sir John Lentrope, which Sir John took very ill, it being
nothing so, onely he was somewhat of kindred to Gabriel Lentrop.
his cosens wife.³⁵ Within this letter were inclosed 2 other in
one whereof was a most bitter Invective against the Archbishop, 90
in the other as horrible treason against the K[ing], not to be
related; Sir John went presently to the Earl of South
Hampton³⁶ and shewed him. And his elde[st] son coming home upon
the Tuesday by chance understood that this Worsley was then in
his cosen Lentropes the Catholicks house, and went presently 95
with his brother (who told me this) and apprehended him etc.
etc.

Dr Usher, whom you heare should preach before the lower
house is an Irishman whom the King hath but newly made Bishop,
a wonderfull antiquary a great scholler and a man esteemed of 100
great integritie and devotion. I am told, that he was appointed;
by the Parliament to preach, and some say his text given him or
theame intimated by them. Howsoever he preacht not then, but
both his preaching and the communion were by order from the
King putt off till the Sunday after (tomorrow) and the place to 105
be Westminster. In the meantime it was on foot for the Deane
of Westminster Dr Williams³⁷ to preach and not Usher; but with
much adoe they say Usher still continues and is expected
tomorrow; though the Deane was so discontent, that he denyd (as
some say) to permitt the Communion in Westminster but I suppose 110
he wilbe otherwise advised.³⁸ Me thinks if Usher preaches;

when I consider all circumstances, it should produce some
noveltie.

I am told that there was not long since (I suppose about
Newyearstide) a play before his Majestie where there was a
Puritan brought up having long Asses eares, who should speak
after this manner: Is it now a time to give guifts and to make
merry? etc. This should be a time of fasting and prayer, when
the Church of God is in so great affliction in Bohemia and
Germanie, and other places and not of masking and musick etc.³⁹
I will not beleave this was entertained with applause, and yet
I am told so.

It is strange to heare how contrarily men of the same
affections and desires are carried since the beginning of the
Parliament; some full of hope and some as big with feare even
concerning the same matters. But God will dispose of all
thinges as it seemes good unto him.

I was told yesterday, that the Bishop of Durham⁴⁰ hath
beene quoted in some mans speach in the Lower House by the name
of That irreverend Bishop.⁴¹

I suppose you have heard that Sir Thomas Beaumont⁴² one of
the Knights for Leycester shire is putt out of the House and
some other also; I know not whether for some default in their
election or some other cause. But there is great question
about Sir Harry Carey chosen for Hartford shire. whom the King
hath since made a Vicount in Scotland viz Vicount Faukland.⁴³
whereupon is controverted whether he should be of the Upper
House or Lower house or neither. Some say they shall choose
again in Hartfordshire: and others that the House will bind
him to continue amongst the Commons as he was elected which it
seemes he is unwilling unto.

I sent you by Mr Thomas⁴⁴ a description of Mr Wards Table
or picture.⁴⁵ I heare he is but in the pursevance⁴⁶ house.

Whether the Bishop of London⁴⁷ be living or dead we can not
heare certainly. some say there is some hope he may live. 145
though all men thought him dead the last week.

I am sorry to heare that Mr Dr Newcom⁴⁸ came ill from
Dalham. I was told last night by Mr Dumbolan of Bennet,⁴⁹ as
from Mr Coleby,⁵⁰ that he was so dangerously sick, that it was
thought he would not escape it. On Thursday he took physick 150
but it wrought not neither ghiler⁵¹ nor vomitt, and a fether
was used also to cause him to vomitt; but all in vaine:
yesterday he would take no physick but sayd he would be his
owne physition that day. God help him.

I shall not be for Dalham I doubt before midlent. I am to 155
probleme⁵², and these holidayes and holiday Eves have driven it
off hitherto. And I know If I went, they would punish me till I
came againe, though every Master of Art may have some
indulgence in ab[] I must not look for it.⁵³ Thus with my
best respect in hast. I rest. 160

Yours to command,

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 31. In MS: 'themselves -on.'

Line 51. In MS: 'by the Siles his Silesians'.

Line 68. In MS: 'Papists whieh the execution'.

Line 76. In MS: 'should he was say'.

Line 91. Presumably 'King'; 'ing' missing at edge
of leaf.

Line 93. Perhaps elder or eldest; letters missing
at edge of leaf.

Line 98. 'you' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 103. 'by them' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 133. 'noe' inserted above line with caret.
Line 152. Lines from 'vomitt' to the end of the letter are
written vertically in the left-hand margin.

Line 159 MS torn & patched

Notes.

- 1 'D. M'. is Dr James Meddus, one of Mead's regular correspondents from London. See Biographical Index.
- 2 A 'corranto' is a letter or paper containing public news (OED/2).
- 3 Joseph Mead had many friends among the clergy in the city and elsewhere. There is no indication of his friend's name in this letter.
- 4 The Cullen Corranto : a Corranto from Cologne. See under Cullen (OED/a).
- 5 On Silesia, a state in confederation with Bohemia, see Appendix 2.

Reports from Germany were confused. In January it was stated (correctly) that Silesia had yielded to the Emperor (see Calendar I.2): from the Protestant standpoint Silesia had 'revolted' against Frederick of Bohemia. In February it was reported that 'now the cleane contrary was written' see Calendar I.5: i.e. Silesia was 'not revolted' against Frederick.
- 6 Charles-Bonaventure de Longueval (1571-1621), Comte de Bucquoy, a General in the Austrian army, was appointed Imperial Commander against Bohemia in 1618. He was sent to Moravia to defend those who had changed their allegiance from Frederick V to the Emperor Ferdinand II.
- 7 On Bethlen Gabor (Gabriel) (1580-1629), a Calvinist Prince of Transylvania (now Alba Iulia, Rumania), see Biographical Index.
- 8 The defeat of Bucquoy is confirmed elsewhere. See Calendar I.17,20. On the loss of 8,000 men see Calendar I.22.
- 9 On the fall of Prague in November 1620, see Appendix 11.

- 10 The Hungarian armies led by Bethlen Gabor (see note 7) were approaching Vienna. Their 'reaks' were pranks, wanton or riotous tricks or practice (OED/1).
- 11 Frederick received no military assistance from Denmark or Sweden. King James, however, 'had procured the King of Denmark to lend £75,000 and now wrot to him to make it up an 100'. See Calendar I.4 and SPV 1619-21, note 788, p 616.
- 12 See Calendar I.5. The Tartars were mercenaries hired by Bethlen.
- 13 On Moravia see Appendix 2.
- 14 On Moravian offers of military resistance to the Emperor ('as heretofore') after the defeat of the Bohemian forces in November 1620, see Appendix 2. The resistance probably gave rise to rumours that Moravia was 'not revolted' from Frederick, 'King of Bohemia'.
- 15 'antiquum obtinent' : 'keep to the old ways'.
- 16 Grave Maurice (1572-1632), the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, established Calvinism in Hesse-Cassel and supported the opposition of the Protestant Union to the Catholic League. See further Appendix 1. See also below, Letter 12, note 3.
- 17 Rumours about the re-taking of Prague by its citizens (with the aid of Mansfeld and his army garrisoned in Pilsen) remained current for some time. In March 1620/21 a wager was laid to that effect (see Calendar I.21). However, Pilsen was lost by defection of Mansfeld's troops, 'who have given up the Towne' (see Calendar II.2).
- 18 Frederick V. Prague was not currently in his possession.
- 19 On John King, Bishop of London, see Letter 2, note 49.
- 20 Robert Shute was elected Recorder of London on 20 January

1620/21 and died before 10 February 1620/21. See DNB.

- 21 Heneage Finch (d.1631), later Sir Heneage, became Recorder of London in February 1620/21 and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1626. See DNB.
- 22 James Usher (Ussher) (1581-1656), Bishop of Meath, later Archbishop of Armagh, was a distinguished theologian of Trinity College, Dublin. He was a Calvinist and opposed the toleration of Roman Catholics. See DNB.
- 23 The Temple is the name of two of the Inns of Court in London known as the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple which stand on the site once occupied by the Templars. The church alone remains (OED/1.5).
- 24 See CJs i.508,510, Monday 5 February 1621 and Tuesday, 6 February 1621.
- 25 See CJs i.519^V, 13 February 1620/21.
- 26 Breslau, now Wrocław in Poland, was the capital of Silesia.
- 27 On Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, see Biographical Index. On the 'States' see Letter 2, note 29.
- 28 See Letter 2, note 31. The reference to the States' Ambassadors, mentioned in Mead's 'last' (his previous letter of 10 February 1620/21) suggests that the date of this letter is 17 February 1620/21.
- 29 See SPD 1619-23, note 101, p 224.
- 30 For the Act restraining Recusants see Letter 2, note 16.
- 31 See CJs i.523^V. A 'fifteene' was a tax of one-fifteenth imposed on personal property (OED/B1).
- 32 Edward Worsley wrote to the Council from Marshalsea prison after four years in prison. It seems, therefore, that he made his attempt on the Archbishop in 1614 which agrees with Mead's 'some six years since'. See SPD Addenda

1580-1625 note 82, p 597.

- 33 George Abbot (1562-1633), appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1610/11, was zealous against Arianism and Arminianism and tended to aggravate the religious differences in the country. The House of Commons regarded him as the champion of their interests against Buckingham and his followers. See DNB and Paul A. Welsby, The Unwanted Archbishop (1562 - 1633), (S.P.C.K., 1962), ch. 7.
- 34 Candlemas day is 2 February.
- 35 The Lentropes have not been definitely identified but the family name appears in connection with probable Catholic schemes as early as 1585. See 'Addenda' SPD 1580-1625, note 42, pp 151-2.
- 36 Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624), Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, was a Privy Councillor. See Complete Peerage and DNB.
- 37 John Williams (1582-1650), Dean of Westminster, a chaplain to the King, elevated to the Bishopric of Lincoln in 1621, later Archbishop of York, rose rapidly in the church hierarchy accumulating many ecclesiastical benefices. He was greatly involved in affairs of state. See DNB. See also, below, Letter 20, notes 3, 15.
- 38 See SPD 1619-23, note 79, p 221.
- 39 The play presented at Court on 6 January 1620/21 o.s. is unidentified. Ben Jonson's masque, News from the New World Discovered in the Moon, is cited in Nichols, Progresses, iv.636. Other authorities suggest the masque was presented at an earlier date.
- See C.H. Herford & P. & E. Simpson, eds. Ben Jonson, 11 vols., (Oxford 1950), ix.596.

40 Richard Neile (1562-1640), Bishop of Durham, later Archbishop of York, was translated to Durham in 1617 where he led the Arminian changes.

Richard Neile was very unpopular with the House of Commons. In 1614, as Bishop of Lincoln, he had made a declaration in favour of the royal prerogative and strongly attacked the House of Commons. The Commons proceeded with charges and recriminations. See CJs i.497^V, 25 May 1614 and DNB.

41 There is no record of this speech in the Commons' Journals for January and February 1621.

42 Sir Thomas Beaumont (d.1625) of Cole Orton, Leicestershire, later Viscount Beaumont of Swords, Dublin, was Member of Parliament for Leicester. He was summoned for threatening another member of the House of Commons, Sir Alexander Carey. See CJs i.511.

43 Sir Henry Carey (1575?-1633), later Lord Deputy of Ireland 1622-29, had been created Viscount Falkland in November 1620. He was Member of Parliament for Hertfordshire from 1620 to 1622 (see DNB). See also CJs i.512.

44 Thomas Stuteville (1599/1600-1656), eldest son of Sir Martin, matriculated at Christ's College in 1615. He was a pupil of Joseph Mead. See further, Peile, Register, 303 and Venn Alumni.

45 See Letter 2, notes 38, 39, 40.

46 'Pursevance': see Letter 2, note 41.

47 See Letter 2, note 49.

48 Dr. Robert Newcome (--- d 1621) was a Fellow of Clare College and a Commissary of Cambridge University. Mead refers to him as Mr (Master) Dr Newcom. See Venn, Alumni.

49 Mr. Dumbolan is not identified with certainty.

'Benet' is the name given to Corpus Christi College because of its proximity to the church of St. Benedict. See Cooper, Memorials, i.146.

50 There were many Colebys at Cambridge at this time. Probably Mead refers here to John or Arthur, brothers from Suffolk, who were admitted to Queens in 1601 and 1602 respectively. The Suffolk connection may have admitted them to Sir Martin Stuteville's circle. See Venn, Alumni.

51 'ghiler' is probably 'chyle'. 'Chyle' is the white milky fluid formed by the action of the pancreatic juice and the bile on the pulpy acid matter into which food is converted in the stomach (OED).

52 'to probleme': See also J. Ball, 'Life of Dr Preston' in The Lives of 32 English Divines, ed. S. Clarke, 3rd edition (1659), p 77 - 'Sir Preston being to probleme in the Chappel...'.

'To probleme' is not defined in OED but the verb was evidently in use in connection with 'probleming': 'probleming' - academical or scholastic discussion (OED/7 s.u. 'Problem').

53 The personal comment concerning his absences from College is unusually querulous for Mead.

[24 February 1620/21]

Sir,

I suppose, you have heard ere this; that your old freind Mr
 Dr Newcome¹ hath changed this life for another. And who knowes
 how soone any of us, though of fewer yeares, may follow after
 him? I met him a litle before he went to Dalham in the street
 in a sharpe and cold afternoone; he took me by the hand and 5
 held me so long with discourse of going to Dalham, that I
 complained of my cold standing. Whereat he told me that he was
 not more sound a good while then at that frostie time. He dyed
 on tuesday about three a clock in the afternoone, while the
 Schoolbell was yet ringing for Mr Halorinshow² of St Johns who 10
 dyed scarce halfe an hour before him. His corps was buried the
 night of the day following. Mr Wren³ administred the comunion
 unto him on monday etc and upon his deathbed he gave his
 daughter to Mr Scroop⁴ joyning their hands; and desiring him to
 use her well and kindly, he prayed God to bless them both. So 15
 I am told, as also that he died worth £4000 whereof he
 bequeathed his daughter but 700. That he gave his will to one
 Mr Sewer⁵, a Civilian⁶ of Trinity Hall.

But I will no longer detaine you in a subject of sorrow.
 The publick⁷ I now send you is (god be thanked) indifferent 20
 Good, If it so continue. I can adde litle to the forraine (for
 of it I meane) but onely having since seene the large copie of
 Dr Burgess his letter from Frankendale⁸ January 9, whereof you
 have but an Extract in the enclosed, I think it not amisse if I
 relate one or 2 particulars, as they are there in his owne words 25
 more largely than in the extract. When therefore the

Extract says, The King of Denmark* will come in person with an Armie etc, his words are, There is much talk of the King of Denmarks* purpose to come in person etc.⁹ That of Pratorius the Minister he writes thus¹⁰

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Before the battell of Prague, one Pratorius minister of a Dorp in the Palatinate called Tresheim addressed himselfe to the Kings* Counsell at Heidelberg¹¹ and perswaded them to hasten a Post to the King to advise him to shift for himselfe; for within 8 days Prague should be taken (which indeed fell out) adding that the King* in or before the yeare 1623 should wth Armie recover the Kingdome and be made Emperour.¹² Of the latter, men think the more because the first fell out so right.

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Thus he: As for the Parliament matters, I must desire you to consider, that I am farre from London, and have nothing but mine eares, to helpe me. Yet I heare, That they had at length concluded to grant his Majestie 2 subsidies freely and without condition,¹³ thereby hoping to find him the more favourable and gracious to grant what they should desire. This therefore having passed, they proceed to frame their petition which consisted of 5 particulars: I cannot learne exactly what they were all; but I heare that one of them was, That the 100 piece of Ordnance might not go for Spaine.¹⁴ Another, That the Papists according to the Statute might be banished ten miles from the Citty during the Parliament,¹⁵ 3 That the Jesuites and Priests might be better coped up. One tells me That a fourth was That Don Gondomar* might also this time of the parliament ly at Nonsuch;¹⁶ what the 4th¹⁷ should be, I cannot

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learne.

Whiles these petitions were read and argued in the Lower house and especially those concerning the Papists banishment, and their and the Jesuites restraint spoken for by many; at last standes up one Sheapheard of Lincolneshire (a Lawyier, as is sayd) who began to speak to this purpose. My masters, I heare much spoken at every hand against the Papists, and Cannon Shott provided against them, but never a word spoken against Puritans or so much as a mousetrappe prepared for them etc¹⁸ But his speech it seemes was so distastfull to the house, that he was turned over the barre¹⁹ and thrown out of the house.

When the petitions came to be read in the upper house, it is sayd that Durham²⁰ (as also the Princes Highnes²¹ and the Marques*) should speake unto that of the Papists. That it was too severe and of dangerous example, least the King of France and other Princes should hereby take occasion to imitate the like severitie against the protestants.²² But to this answere was made, That those Princes did already what they could or durst do against the Protestants; and therefore seeing they both told and would do their utmost, as the Protestants should not be eased any whitt by our clemency, so could not our Severity any way hurt them.²³

When they were againe read, motion was made for alteration of the forme, That whereas it was That the Papists should be banished by proclamation, it might be added - Or otherwise. But here it was sayd, That this addition would bring all to an nullity, and make it to be fruitlesse; Besides that they might not break their faith and promise given to the Lower house which was, That no word or title of the petition should be altered. So it passed here also. And so upon confidence of

their free grant of the Subsidies, Mr Lord Chancellor* (as I heare) was chosen to be the man which should proferre it in the name of the whole house to His Majestie which was done accordingly.²⁴

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His Majestie therefore upon Saturday last, made a speech unto the House accepting their grant of the Subsidies very graciously in such manner that they hoped their petition had also beene acceptable, and should have beene forthwith granted.²⁵ But in conclusion his Majestie wholly denyed them, and in particular sayd to that of the Papists, That he would not be an example of such severity to other Princes; for that hereby the French King might also take the like course, to banish all Protestants from Paris etc etc. And to that of the Ordenance which were to go for Spaine, He sayd he had already give his promise, and would not alter it.²⁶ To this purpose His Majestie is reported to have spoken and that with much vehemencie. And besides concerning Sheapheard That he would not question their wisdom, for what they had done, as supposing they were able to give a good account thereof, but this much he must let them know, That he would have them strike as well on the right hand, as on the left, the Puritan as well as the Papist, etc.²⁷

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I am told, That upon tuesday, there was another petition tendred to his Majestie from the Upper house, whereunto 33 of the Nobilitie²⁸ had subscribed their names, and resolved [---] all together jointly to proferre it to his Majestie; as the surest way to prevent the danger which might come to any particular²⁹ in case His Majestie should be offended. What their petition was I could not heare.³⁰ Howsoever the King would not give them admittance to his presence, but commanded they should deliver their petition to his privie Counsell to be

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considered of which they refused to do alleading that they
 accounted themselves at this time not to be inferiour, or any
 way subordinate to his privie Counsell, but above them, and it
 was without example and not agreeable to the lawes of the 120
 Kingdome, for the privie Counsell to have the Examination or
 cognisance of matters of Parliament, which is the Highest Court
 in the Kingdome and not inferiour to any other. At which
 answere his Majestie was highly displeased, and redoubled his
 commandment, but they would not obey. Whereupon he sent the 125
 Prince unto them and commanded them to deliver it unto him.
 Then they desired some time of consultation which done, they
 told his Highnes That if he would make open protestation unto
 them, That he received it not as or in the name of a privie
 Counsellor, and would promise them upon his Honour not to 130
 deliver it unto any but his Majesties owne hand, and besides
 undertake to bring them all to his Fathers presence, they would
 then deliver it unto him, otherwise not. When these conditions
 would not be entertained nor they otherwise forge their
 petition; at last his Majestie sends for the formost of them 135
 which was the Earle of Oxford³¹ the chiefe peere, and commanded
 him to deliver the petition, supposing that he had it; but he
 according as was agreed amongst them, before he entred
 delivered it to the next, and so answered his Majestie that he
 had it not, whereupon his Majestie sends for a second and so 140
 for a third, who leaving their petition as before, told his
 Majestie they had it not. Whereat his Majestie much mooved,
 asked, who had it? answere was made The Earle of Lincolne³²,
 who being likewise called in and answering that he had not the
 petition but had given it to the next; at length they tould His 145
 Majestie That it was in vaine to send for any more of them.

For they were fully resolved not to deliver it unlesse they
were admitted all together. Whereupon His Majestie wonderfully
incensed, sent them all away Re infecta³³ and sayd that he would
come into Parliament himselfe and bring them all to the barre,
as he had before threatned, that he would find him out, that
packt them together and make him smart for it. These things I
am told by such as came from London on Wednesday who tell also
besides

That there passed an Act against a Patent for all Innes
granted to a kinsman of the Marquesses*,³⁴ who was himselfe of
the House, and was cast out; what for, I know not.

That there hath beene some rough words betweene my Lord
Chancellour and my Lord North,³⁵ the occasion, my Lord Norths
finding fault, that my Lord Chancellor* comming into the house
did no reverence as he sayd the custome was etc.

It is sayd that, there are many Billes ready to be putt up
again[] my Lord Chancellor* etc.³⁶

I sent you a description of Mr Wards picture;³⁷ now since
having gotten the picture itselfe you shall receive it by this
bearer. I heare by some, That he was released on munday last
but silenced for preaching any more at Ipswich.³⁸ It is talked
that for this trouble, he is beholding to a gentleman of your
Countrie;³⁹ I have forgot his name, but he is supposed to be a
Papist, and would have beene chosen one of your Knights in Mr
Clinches⁴⁰ stead. He hath a son with the Spanish Ambassador,
and Mr Ward, I heare some say, should in a sermon intimate a
religious care was to be had in such elections, and heed to be
taken of such as were of suspected affection to our Religion.

There was one Mr Lidall⁴¹ the last week committed by the
counsell for speaking some words of the Spanish Ambassador.

And one Mr Randalfe⁴² a Justice a p^{re}ace in Kent was
likewise committed about a day and a night for not expediting
provisions for the French Ambassador.⁴³

Thus I have told you well nie all I have heard this week
desiring you not to value it above the certaintie my meanes of
such intelligence deserveth. And when you have read it, to
entertaine it and my last in no other fashion, than you did
those before Christmas. And so with my best respect remembred.
I rest,

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Yours to command

Christ Colledg

Joseph Mead.

St. Mathias Day

If Wymark⁴⁴ bring the letter you

must receive the picture from Parker.⁴⁵

Textual Notes.

Line 12. In MS: 'the next night'.

Lines 20-21. Initial 'g' of 'god' and 'Good': probably
transposed.

Line 38. 'wth Armie': 'with his Armie' probably intended.

Line 73-74. In MS: 'answere was answeare made'.

Line 76. 'told': inserted above line with caret.

Line 85. In MS: 'petition thereof should'.

Line 117. 'that': inserted above line with caret.

Line 119. 'way': inserted above line with caret.

Line 131. 'it' inserted above line with caret.

Line 137. In MS: 'deliver him the petition'.

Line 143. In MS : 'made that The Earle'

Line 145. 'to' inserted above line with caret.

Line 149. 'would' inserted above line with caret.

Line 151. In MS: 'find out him out'.

Line 162. 'there' inserted above line with caret.

Line 163. Presumably 'against': 'st' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 170. In MS: 'a Reeusant Papist'.

Line 171. 'a' inserted above line with caret.

Line 175-76. 'by the counsell' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 177. 'Justice a peace': 'Justice of peace' probably intended.

Notes

- 1 On Dr Robert Newcome, see Letter 3, note 48. He died on Tuesday, 20 February 1620/21 and was buried on Wednesday, 21 February 1620/21 at St. Botolphs Church. See Venn, Alumni.
- 2 Mr Halorinshaw is not identified.
- 3 Matthew Wren (1585-1667), a chaplain to Prince Charles, was a Fellow of Pembroke College from 1605 to 1624; Master of Peterhouse from 1625-1634; Bishop of Ely in 1638. See DNB and Venn, Alumni.
- 4 Adrian Scroop, Fellow of Magdalene, married Robert Newcom's daughter, Jane, in September 1621. See Venn, Alumni.
- 5 Mr Sewer is not identified.
- 6 A 'civilian' is, in this context, a practitioner, doctor, professor or student of Civil Law (OED/1).
- 7 'Publick' refers to news of public events (OED/11).
- 8 Dr John Burgess (1563-1635), educated at St. John's, Cambridge, went to the Palatinate as chaplain to Sir Horace Vere. See DNB and Venn, Alumni.

Frankenthal (Frankendale) was one of the few towns in the Palatinate not under occupation at this date. English troops were there under the command of General Vere. Thus,

Burgess's letters to Mead, were sent from one of the main theatres of the war in Germany at this date.

- 9 For the extract from Burgess's letter see Calendar I.15.
For Burgess's original letter see MS Lansdowne 498, f 67.
For further comment on Christian IV's coming 'in person' see SPV 1619-21, note 767, p 600.
- 10 The minister 'Pratorius' is not identified.
- 11 A 'dorp' is a German village (OED/1). 'The King's Counsell' refers to the Council of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine. Frederick was not present at the meeting in Heidelberg.
- 12 This was a false prophecy. However, Imperial opposition to the Elector Palatine's election to the throne of Bohemia was (in part) based on the fear that it would give Protestants a 4-3 majority in the Imperial Electoral College (Appendix 1), thus increasing the possibility of the election of a Protestant as the Emperor's successor.
- 13 For the two subsidies, see CJs i.523^V.
For comment, see SPV 1619-21, note 748, p 579.
- 14 See CJs i.519^F. For further remarks on the ordnance see Chamberlain, Letters ii.344.
- 15 See CJs i.519^V. On the Statute see Letter 2, note 16.
- 16 Nonsuch Palace in Surrey (demolished 1670) was built in the reign of Henry VIII although not completed until his daughter Mary's reign. In James I's time the palace was used as a residence for the Spanish Ambassador. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.343.
- 17 '4th' is miswritten for 5th.
- 18 Thomas Sheppard (Shepherd), Member of Parliament for Shaftesbury, was expelled from the House of Commons. See

CJs i.521^r. Mead writes 'Lincolneshire' in error. See Calendar I.13: 'Lincolns Inne'.

- 19 'barre': the bar of the House of Commons, the boundary which divides the body of the house from a space near the door to which non-members may be admitted (OED/III, 27).
- 20 On Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, see Letter 3, note 40.
- 21 The 'Princes Highnes' is Prince Charles (later Charles I).
- 22 Louis XIII had already launched a military campaign to incorporate the Protestant state of Bearn into his kingdom. In mid-October 1620 royal forces had occupied the principality. The future of the Edict of Nantes, which had recognized the ecclesiastical organisation of the Protestant church, seemed in doubt. See Parker, La Rochelle, pp 9,10.
- 23 A petition from the House of Lords to the King requested stricter execution of the laws against Jesuits. See LJs iii.17^v. Contemporary opinion on the treatment of Catholics and Protestants in England and elsewhere was duly noted by the Venetian ambassador to England. See SPV 1619-21, note 758, p 590.
- 24 On Saturday, 17 February 1620/21, representatives of both Houses of Parliament were admitted 'unto His Majestie's presence'. On Monday, the Lord Chancellor reported briefly on what had passed at the meeting. See LJs iii.22^v
- 25 See note 24.
- 26 See note 14.
- 27 For further comment on the treatment of 'Papists' see Chamberlain, Letters ii.344.
- 28 The number of Lords is put at 'five or sixe and thirty' by Chamberlain. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.348.

- 29 'any particular': any one of the petitioners (OED/B 4b).
- 30 The petition, a protest against the proliferation of new peerages created by James I, in particular, the creation of Viscount Falkland in the Scottish Peerage, begged that no Scotch nobleman might take precedence in England of the lowest member of the English baronage. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.348 and Sir E Brydges, Memoirs of the Peers ... during the Reign of James the First, 1 vol., (London, 1802), Book ii.128.
- 31 On Henry de Vere (1593-1625), Earl of Oxford, Lord Chamberlain by right of inheritance, see Complete Peerage; DNB and below, Letter 24, note 7.
- 32 On Theophilus Clinton (otherwise Fiennes) (1600-1667), Earl of Lincoln and Lord Clinton, a member of Gray's Inn in 1619/20, see Complete Peerage vii.696/7.
- 33 're infecta': 'the deed not done'.
- 34 Sir Giles Mompesson (1584-1651?) was related to George Villiers, the Marquis of Buckingham, through his wife, sister-in-law to Edward Villiers, half-brother to the Marquis.
- Mompesson, commissioner for the licensing of inns, was said to have performed his duties with reckless audacity while charging exorbitant fees. On 20 February 1620/21 a committee of the whole House of Commons enquired into the patent for licensing inns. See DNB.
- 35 On Dudley, 3rd Lord North (1581-1666) see Complete Peerage. See also SPV 1619-21, footnote to note 759, p 590.
- 36 The bills against the Lord Chancellor (on whom see Biographical Index) alleged that he had accepted bribes in the course of his duties. A very full account of the Lord

Chancellor's fall from power is given in Gardiner,
History iv.chapter xxiv.

- 37 See Letter 2, notes 38,39,40.
- 38 For confirmation of this news see Calendar I.17.
- 39 'Countrie' is county (OED/I 2).
- 40 The reference is probably to Thomas Clench of Creeting,
Suffolk, a Justice of the Peace in 1622, (APC July 1621-May
1623, pp 277,381). See under 'Spring' in Peile, Register
i.234.
- 41 For Thomas Lidall, see 17 Aug 1620, APC July 1619-June
1621, p 276.
- 42 For Edmond Randolph (Randalfe), see February 1620/21, APC
July 1619-June 1621, p 343.
- 43 The French Ambassador Extraordinary was Honoré d'Albert
(d.1649), known at Court as Marquis of Cadenet. He was
created Duke of Chaulnes in 1621 and obtained the
governship of the town and castle of Amiens on the death of
his brother, the Duke of Luynes, Constable of France, in
that year. Cadenet was a Marshal of France.
- 44 A family called Wymark lived in Dalham, Sir Martin
Stuteville's parish. This is perhaps a reference to John
Wymark who was producing a family in the first decade of
the seventeenth century. See Dalham Parish Registers, Bury
St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 45 On Parker see Letter 1, note 2.

[3 March 1620/21]

Sir,

I send you here enclosed the neues I had on Saturday,¹ being for the most part a confirmation of the last you had. As for Parliament neues all letters professed, they would have nothing to do with it. Yet on tuesday, a freind of mine received something which I have added to the end of the enclosed. 5

Neither have I any thing more to adde, unlesse I should tell you vulgar tales, for I account no better of much I heare in that kind. Onely thus much, It was expected that his Majestie should come to the Parliament House on Tuesday. Whether he did or no, we heare not yet.² And it was reported from London on 10

Saturday, That [---] Sir Ed Cook³ had spoken much concerning Monopolies, as, That he had taken much paines to be truly informed concerning them; That he had found, there were 2000

Monopolies, that their yearly revenue came to 400 thousand pound; of all which there was but 400 pound paid into the 15

Exchequer. That some of them were in the hands of base fellowes, and the most of them bestowed upon such as had never deserved any thing either of King or Kingdom whereas it would be more tollerable if they were given in way of reward to such, as had deserved well of the publike, that so the detriment 20

which came to many, might be recompensed by such a desert as most had beene partakers of.⁴ When he had thus spoken, some it seemes whom it more neerly concerned, asked whether it were fitt that Subject[] should take upon them, to prescribe their King how and upon whom he should bestow his favours and benefits. 25

To which Sir Edward answered, I hope every one that says, our

Father which art in heaven, does not prescribe God Almightye,
what he shall do. So we speak of these thinges as Petitioners
to his Majestie, and not as Prescribers etc.

Since my last, I saw a copie of the 5 particulars of the 30
petition of the Parliament, for the better execution of Laws
against Jesuits Priests, Recusants.⁵ I was too lazie to copie
it out, but the marrow is this

- 1 All Recusants to be banisht from London according
to the Lawes, and to be confined within 5 miles of 35
their dwelling places, to recall all by-past
Lycences, and that they presume not hereafter to
repaire any more to London or to the Kings or
Princes Court, wheresoever; or within 10 miles of
London. 40
- 2 That Justices of Peace should disarme them in
every place, take away munition gunpowder etc.
- 3 That none of the Kings Subjects should heare masse
not so much as in any forraine Ambassadors house
as had beene of late suffered to the great 45
scandall of all well affected Subjects etc.
- 4 That the Lawes against Jesuits and popish priests
might be put in execution.
- 5 That his Majestie would command all Judges
Ecclesiasticall and Temporall etc. to see the 50
Lawes of the Realme against Popish Recusants
executed severely, and that convenient expedition
might be given to any that will informe.

Hereby it appeares that those 2 particulars of the
Ordenance and Gondomer⁶ whereof I wrot in my last, were no part 55
of this petition, but if [---] they were at all they were but as

by-matters etc.

Some affirme that his Majestie granted these petitions as
for the substance and the maine. But as for the particular and
manner of proceeding and other circumstances, he would reforme 60
those unto himself, to take order for as he should think fitt
etc.⁷ For they desired amongst other thinges that all might be
done by proclamation

I send you heere an Extract of the Kings speech in
Parliament,⁸ It was too tedious to write out all, and yet I am 65
sure you have the better halfe, and all that you would desire to
know, or any man else.

But since, I saw another Copie much varying from mine
having some thing more, something lesse and something not the
same. Pardon me. I was loth to go to work a new, especially 70
having not so free use of this Copie as of the former. But the
principalls according to my memory I have noted in the margin,
and for that I have not noted I guesse mine to be righter in
that some things in this do scarce agree with possibility or
with themselves as that, The King of Boh. being elected should 75
send to our King for his advise what to do, but before he could
send him answere, he sett the Crowne upon his head within 3 days
after,⁹ not expecting his resolution, and some of the summes of
the Kings charges concerning my Lord Doncasters Ambassage and
the Palatinate¹⁰ are very great me thinkes at £300/000 etc.¹¹ 80

Sir, I hope you will pardon me, If I come not at
midlent¹² as I thought. The small pox is gotten into our
Colledge and I have a pupill the fullest that ever I saw or
anybody else I think: when he fell sick, I had no lesse then 3
other of mine owne houshold¹³ keeping in the same chamber with 85

him, I look every day when others should drop downe For I
feare all those that never yet had them of which Mr
Huddleston¹⁴ is one. This tale I [---] trow, will make you
willing of my roome as my company. I will deferre my selfe
till Easter week, when I hope I shall both best spare my selfe 90
and be spared from others.

When Dr Newcoms¹⁵ Funeralls are, I suppose Harry Law* will
bring more certaine word then I can send. I think it wilbe
next week,¹⁶ and then I hope, if you be heere, to tell some other
tales, which now I want time to write. 95

Thus with my best respect remembred to your selfe and my
Lady, I rest.

Christ Colledg Your faithfull Novellante¹⁷
March 3 Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 24. Presumably 'subjects'; 's' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 54. In MS; 'it seemes that'. 'appeares' written above
seemes.

Line 55. In MS: 'of the O~~r~~din Ordenance'.

Line 75. 'Boh' - short for Bohemia.

Lines 88/89. 'make you willing': MS worn; 'make you as
willing' probably intended.

Notes

1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.11, 12, 13 - possibly
also Calendar I.8, 9, 10.

2 King James was not present in Parliament on Tuesday, 27
February 1620/21. See LJs iii.30^v.

3 Sir Edward Coke (Cook) (1552-1634), a judge and law-writer,
held many important offices of state in the course of his

career. In 1620 he was M.P. for Liskeard. He took a most active part in the question of monopolies and was eager to stamp out abuses. On Coke and monopolies see White, Grievances, chapter iv.

- 4 Monopoly is a kind of 'commerce ... usurped by a few and sometimes by one person ...to the gain of the Monopolist and to the detriment of other men' (OED/b), quoted from Misselden, Free Trade, 1622.
- 5 For the particulars of the petition see 14 February 1620/21, LJs iii.17^V. Also Notes of Debates, p 3.
- 6 See Letter 4, note 14.
- 7 See Notes of Debates, p 9.
- 8 For the King's speech (in Latin) of 30 January 1620/21 at the opening of Parliament see LJs iii.8. For extracts in English see Calendar I.4.
- 9 On the Elector Palatine*, Frederic V's election to and acceptance of the throne of Bohemia see Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.154. Frederick had no intention of awaiting King James's approval which might never have been given. The acceptance of the throne was an enormous gamble taken with inadequate military forces.
- 10 James Hay, Lord Doncaster, later Earl of Carlisle, (d 1636), a diplomat, was sent in 1619 on a fruitless mission to Germany in an attempt to avert the troubles in Bohemia and to offer James I's mediation in the quarrel between the Emperor and the Elector Palatine. See DNB.
- 11 The cost of Doncaster's 'ambassy' was put at £20/000. See SPD 1619-23, note 96, p 264.
- 12 Easter Day 1621 fell on 1 April. Midlent, therefore, fell on Sunday 11 March 1620/21.

- 13 'mine owne household' refers to pupils in the chambers in College allotted to Mead. Any Fellow could take pupils with the leave of the Master of the College who gave him rooms for that purpose. See Peile, Christ's College, p 21.
- 14 William Huddleston was admitted to Christ's College in 1619. He left after two years in debt £21 to Joseph Mead of which half was paid in 1628. See Venn, Alumni. See also Peile, Register i.332.
- 15 On Dr Robert Newcom(e), Fellow of Clare College, see Venn, Alumni and Letter 3, note 48.
- 16 A possible meaning of 'Funeralls' is 'a funeral sermon' (OED/B3). Thus, 'his Funeralls ... wilbe next week' suggests that a memorial service with a sermon was yet to be held for Dr Newcome who was buried on 21 February 1620/21 (Letter 4, note 1). This is confirmed below, see Letter 6, note 1.
- 17 A 'novellante' is a relater of current events, a newsmonger (OED).

This letter is not dated by Mead. See note 8 for dating.

[10 March 1620/21].²

Sir,

I hoped you would have beene at the funerall¹ on Thursday², that you might so have heard what I have but by hearesay; but now I must write it, the credite whereof for the most part, is no other then such as fame deserveth. Howsoever, It is certaine that Momperson is escaped, and a Proclamation out against him,³ that wheresoever you find him, you shall deliver him to the Lieutenant of the Tower, etc. He was delivered to the keeping of a Sergeant at Armes, who for looking no better to him is put from his office and imprisoned. The Parliament as was spoken would have proceeded against his life (so should he have f[]red as Empson and Dudley⁴ in Henry 7 his time) and think themselves much contemned, and much derogation to befall their Court by this escape.

It is talked also at London, That he should alleadge for himselfe that he was but an Instrument; whereupon the Marquesse* (whose kinsman he is) should write a letter to the Lower House⁶ excusing himselfe by his youth and unexperience, at that time he delt in that busines viz the Patent for Innes.

This moreover is reported for certaine, That Dr Everard⁷ preaching on Sunday was sevenight⁸ on Genesis 49 . . . 5.6.7. (Simeon and Levi brethren, instruments of cruelty in their habitations etc.etc. Cursed be their anger for it was feirce and their wrath for it was cruel etc) and hereupon digressing to shew the Spanish cruelties in the West-Indies,

was for it by the Lords of the Counsell committed to the Gatehouse.⁹ 25

I saw it written from London, and heare it is also there spoken, as though Dickson,¹⁰ the Late Lord Cheife Justices and now Lord Treasurers¹¹ man, was or should be questioned in Parliament for diverse foule matters. 30

Also That 4 Masters I think, of the Chancery. And, they talk at London, That my Lord Chancellor* should move the King for his protection for himselfe, who answered That he could do him no good; but he would see they should do him no wrong and for the rest, he hoped he would acquitt himselfe and prove an honest man.¹² 35

They talk at London, That Sheapheard¹³ should threaten to come againe into the house by his Majesties letters. Whereupon they expect him with resolution, to give him such a censure as hath not beene ordinary. 40

There was an idle talk, as if there had beene some presse of souldiers about London: but it was nothing so; onely some Captaines of the States¹⁴ take up Voluntaries:¹⁵ but as for the Palatinate nothing is expected before My Lord Digbies* returne¹⁶ from the Archduke¹⁷ which should be about Annunciation.¹⁸ 45

The States¹⁹ are still at London.

I doubt not but you heare talk from the Parliament of mending all Vicarages by a part of Impropriations²⁰ and That Patrons²¹ should take a like oth in presentation against Simoniacall²² taking, as the Clergie doth for giv[.]. I know not whether it be true or no; but if it be I may perhaps come by a Living one day, but it is, old newes and me thinkes, I heare not 50

talk enough of it.

Thus with my best respect, I rest

55

Your faithfull Novellante

Joseph Mead

The Parliament meddles not at all with the match²³ nor

will not (as is sayd) unlesse the King himselfe

motion it to them, and that they have

60

their answere ready. All is false

that was rumoured to the contrary.

Postscript

While I was sealing I saw a letter from London

as followeth

65

I have received a letter from Hamborough of the 17th

past wherein is written to me. The King of Bohemia*

was come in 3 days before with 50 horse into the Towne

and received into the English House. they having out of

their pittie for his poore estate undertaken his

70

expense[] during his abode there, which will not be

long. [] Queene* being also suddenly expected: who

it is repor[] will to the King of Denmark*.²⁴

Textual Notes.

Line 11. In MS: word split between two lines; perhaps

'faired'.

Line 47. In MS: 'States Ambassadors are'

Line 51. 'giving' perhaps intended; 'ing' illegible at edge.

Line 62. 'was' written above delation.

Line 71. Presumably 'expenses': 's' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 72. Missing word at damaged edge.

Line 73. Presumably 'reported': 'ted' missing at edge of leaf.

Notes

1 'The funerall' refers to a memorial service which was held

for Dr Robert Newcom, who died and was buried in February.
See Letter 5, note 16.

- 2 Probably Thursday 8 March 1620/21: see Letter 5, note 16.
- 3 On Giles Mompesson see Letter 4, note 34. See also LJs iii. 33^r, 34^v and CJs i.535^r.
- 4 Sir Richard Empson (d.1510) and Edmund Dudley (1462-1510), lawyers and statesmen in Henry VII's reign exacted due taxes and penalties from offenders to the crown. They also extorted money as bribes to stay further proceedings. Henry VIII committed both men to the Tower where they were executed in 1510.
- 5 On the relationship of Giles Mompesson to George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham see Letter 4, note 34.
- 6 For a message to the Lower House from Buckingham, relayed to the House of Commons by Sir Edward Coke, see CJs i.537^v. The words Mead quotes do not agree exactly with those quoted in the Journals of the House of Commons.
- 7 On Dr John Everard (1575-1650), Reader at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, a popular preacher, see DNB.
Everard was imprisoned for a sermon preached on 25 February 1620/21 on the 'Spanish match and the cruelties of Spain'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.350 and Everard's petition for pardon, SPD 1619-1623, note 157, p 294.
- 8 'Sunday was sevenight' refers to 25 February 1620/21 (see above, note 7), i.e. the Sunday preceding the last one. Thus, the Sunday preceding the writing of Letter 6 was 4 March 1620/21. If, as is likely, Mead wrote Letter 6 on a Saturday, its probable date is Saturday, 10 March 1620/21.
- 9 The 'Gatehouse' was an apartment over the gate of the Palace of Westminster which was used as a prison (OED/2).

- 10 For further comment on Dickson see Chamberlain, Letters ii.347 where he is referred to as 'one Dixon'.
- 11 The Lord Treasurer, Sir Henry Montague (1563-1642), Viscount Mandeville, later Earl of Manchester became Lord High Treasurer in 1620 paying £20,000 for the position. In 1621 he was Lord President of the Council. He collected further honours during his career. See DNB.
- 12 On Sir Francis Bacon's fall from power see Letter 4, note 36.
- 13 On Thomas Sheppard see Letter 4, note 18.
- 14 The 'States' were the United Provinces.
- 15 The 'taking up of Voluntaries' is confirmed in a letter from the Venetian Ambassador in London. See SPV 1619-21, note 788, p 617.
- 16 On John Digby's efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the war in Germany see Gardiner, History, iv.chapters xxxviii,xxxvix,xli.
In March 1620/21 Digby was sent to the Archduke of Austria (see n 17). His efforts, on behalf of King James, to secure a peaceful settlement of the war in Germany, continued for some time. (Appendix 1).
- 17 Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621), was cousin and brother-in-law to Philip III of Spain and his governor in the Southern Netherlands. Both the Southern Netherlands and the army in the Palatinate were under Spanish control.
- 18 Annunciation Day is 25 March.
- 19 The States Ambassadors were representatives of the Estates-General of the Dutch Republic. See Letter 2, note 29.
- 20 Impropriation is the annexation of a benefice or its

revenues to a corporation, office or individual, especially to a lay corporation or a lay proprietor (OED/1).

21 Patrons held the right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice (OED/II 4).

22 Simoniacal: of the nature of, or pertaining to or involving the act or practice of buying or selling ecclesiastical preferments, benefices or emoluments (OED/1).

During the Parliament of 1604 a conference was held on the issues of Vicarages, benefices, simony etc. and four relevant Acts were passed. See Cobbett, Parliamentary History i.1023.

23 This is a reference to the proposed 'Spanish match' - see Appendix 4 i.

24 For extracts copied from the letter from Hamburg see Calendar I.20.

Letter 7, 17 March 1620/21, (fos 39r,v;40r,v) is illegible except for a few phrases and is therefore omitted. For a facsimile see Appendix 7.

8

(fos 41r,v; 42r)

[24 March 1621]

Sir,

All I have, I send you. To the forraine I can onely adde since. That one Mr Yong¹ a Scottishman beneficed neere Ware and now by dispensation for a time Preacher at Hambrough to our English hath written to his freinds about Ware That he preached before the King of Bohemia at Hamborough and in his prayers beseeching God very effectually for him;² The King, when Sermon was done came and took him by the hand thankt him and desired him still to continue to powre out his prayers unto God for him, and others to do the like, and he trusted in God shortly to do well.adding That if our King his father in law³ would undertake the Protection of the Palatinate,⁴ for Bohemia and the rest⁵ he should with Gods assistance do well enough, though thinges at the present were not as might be wished. And though himselfe were absent now from those parts; yet had he there left behind him even in Bohemia, that would not suffer things to go as his Enimies would have them,and so bestowed upon him a chaine of gold with his owne image upon it.

It is sayd at London (as some say) that they are both in the Low-countries at least the Queene but I think no letters are yet come, but it is onely grounded upon their purposes to be there by this time.

For Parliament newes I know it is impossible you should be
 now ignorant what is reported of [.....] Great Lord
 Chancellor*. Strange billes against him⁴, and himselfe sick in
 his bed, all swolne in his body, and suffering none to come at 25
 him.⁶ Some say, he desired his Gentlemen not to take any
 notice of him but altogether to forget him and not hereafter to
 speake of him, or to remember, there was ever any such man in
 the world. The Seale,⁷ they say, was taken from him on Sunday
 last⁸ by the 2 Marquesses⁹ and entrusted to the Custody of Sir 30
 Thomas Lee (If I mistake not his Christen name)¹⁰ untill the
 King should other wayes dispose of it. Strange to heare what
 they talk at London of his former actions and now of his
 present sickness Vanitie of Vanities, all is Vanitie.¹¹ How
 happie are you at Dalham that live as it were out of the 35
 jurisdiction of those great temptations, and walke not upon the
 dangerous pinnacles of those tottering pyramides of such
 false-happie dignities!

This day is Sir Henry Velverton¹² to be heard in Parliament
 about some of his Referrismen.¹³ How he will speed, God knowes 40

My Lord Treasurer, late Cheif Justice,¹⁴ desired the House
 not to Wade into some actions of his; but had answere That they
 had not yet gone over shoos, but ment before they ended, to go
 over bootes and all.

Sir Francis Michel¹⁵ (who being a very leane-fac't fellow 45
 and coming before his Majestie, his Majestie asked him what
 newes from Bethlen Gabor*¹⁶ telling [...] he was a Hungarian
 and could not but know etc. Some say he shall ride about with
 his face to the horsetaile with 2 quart potts about his neck,

+ Thursday and Friday was sennight the days that shook him. 50

be quite disknighted and disgentilezed for ever, fined, and
perpetually imprisoned but others say that his life, will
hardly go untouched.¹⁷

For Sir Gyles Mompersons,¹⁸ as they call him, a freind on
Thursday brought me some ballade verses concerning him,like
unto an Epigramme which though worth litle, yet may please or
delight in the Country; These they are

55

Lame Giles untruly doth the proverb say;
Had Giles beene lame, he had not run away;
But Giles thought fitt, no longer to abide,
For feare he by St.Giles++ his Church should ride.

60

The earth is glad, the Heaven it also smiles,
There's no respect of Persons; Mum Sir Giles.+++

Now I am fallen into such idle stuffe, Ile tell you another
tale, because this toy shall not go alone.

65

It chanced a litle before my Lord Chancellor* was so shaken
as you heard before, that one of his Gentlemen (I think Bush)
came in the presence of the King, all covered with gold lase
and full of gold buttons whom his Majestie espying so gallant
and all - glistening, asked who it was, and was told it was one
of my Lord Chancellors* gentlemen. By my salle¹⁹,

70

quoth the King, I have never a servant, so gay with yellow
buttons. Sir, saith one that stood by, your Majestie needs not
to wonder so much at all his yellow buttons, for his Master
makes such buttons all this Parliament time.²⁰ By my salle he
telles me (quoth the King) that His Masters arse (saving your

75

++ The way to Tyburne.

+++ Sir Giles-Mum-persons backward.

reverance) makes buttons etc. If I had not trusted you would
give me leave some times to be unmannerly, I would not have
told you this tale, but I hope you will take one with another.

But more to purpose and worthy to be related, (if true) is
That there was some Bill lately put up in the Lower House which
a litle toucht the King, and was therefore presently with general
consent cast out of the House,²¹ The King hearing hereof and
having the Bill brought unto him, professed that he had beene
made beleieve by those about him, that his Subjects loved him
not, but he saw by this how he had beene abused, and sent to
the Parliament to give them thanks, telling them that they
should adjourne and Prorogue the Parliament both when and for
how long they should think fitt; and continue it at their
pleasure, conclude, and do what they would; all should be at
their discretion, and that hereafter he would have a Parliament
once every 3 yeare, as long as God granted him to raigne over
them. Is not this good, if it be true? I have it heere by
relation.²²

But certaine it is The Lords stick wonderfull fast to the
Commons and all take great paines etc.

Nothing they say, is to be expected for any preparation for
warres untill my Lord Digby* returnes with his answere from the
Archduke.²³ We heare he hath beene admirably entertained; but
this I feare wilbe all he must look for.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest

Christ Colledg

Your never-failing

March 24

Novellante

Joseph Mead.

I desire to be remembred to Mr Warner.²⁴

Textual Notes. ^{line}

Line 23. Possibly: 'reported of per the Great Lord'.

Line 28. 'ever' inserted above line with caret.

Line 39/40. In MS: 'Parliament in House about'.

Line 43. 'shooag.' Compare 'shoomake.' latter 17th c. line 12.

Line 47. Possibly 'him' written above deletion.

Line 82. '(if true)' inserted with caret.

Line 83. In MS: 'Lower which House'.

Line 84. In MS: 'there-off'; 'fore' written above deletion of 'of'.

Notes

- 1 Thomas Young (c.1587 -1655), sometime John Milton's tutor, later Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, left England for Hamburg to be pastor to the English merchants there. See Masson, Life of John Milton, I, 68-72 and passim. Masson makes no mention of Ware and dates Young's departure to 'about 1622'. On the evidence of Mead's letter Young was in Hamburg by the beginning of 1621. See also DNB.
- 2 'Our English' refers to the English merchants who were in Hamburg, the greatest German trading city at the time. For reference to Frederick's presence in Hamburg see a marginal comment, Calendar I.20.
- 3 James I of England.
- 4 The Palatinate was now partly occupied by Spanish troops of the Imperial army under the command of Ambrogio Spinola.
- 5 On 'the rest', Lusatia, Moravia and Silesia, see Appendix 2
- 6 On the bills against the Lord Chancellor see Letter 4, note 36.
- 7 'The Seale' refers to the Great Seal used for the authentication of documents of the highest importance issued in the name of the sovereign. The custodian of the Great Seal was the Lord High Chancellor or Lord Keeper (OED 4/4b).
- 8 The Seal was not taken from Bacon's custody at this stage of the proceedings against him but the Presidency in the House of Lords was entrusted temporarily to Sir James Ley during Bacon's absence. See LJs iii.51^V.

- 9 The 'two Marquesses' were the Marquis of Buckingham (see Biographical Index) and the Marquis of Hamilton. Both were members of the Privy Council. See APC July 1619-June 1621, pp 356, 357.
- 10 Mead mistakes Ley's Christian name as he suspected. It was Sir James Ley who was appointed as Bacon's temporary deputy.
- Sir James Ley (1550-1629), Earl of Marlborough, was a governor of Lincoln's Inn from 1609 to 1622. In January 1621/22 he became Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. See DNB.
- 11 Ecclesiastes i. 2.
- 12 Sir Henry Yelverton (1566 -1629), a judge who became attorney-general in 1617, was tried in the Star chamber in June 1620 on the ground of some defect in a charter passed to the city of London. His offence was connected with monopolies. In November he was sentenced to imprisonment in the Tower, fined, and dismissed from his post as attorney-general. See DNB.
- 13 'Referrisme' is a report made by a referee (OED/obs. rare).
- 14 On the Lord Treasurer, Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, see Letter 6, note 11.
- 15 Sir Francis Michell (1556-fl.1621), a commissioner for enforcing monopolies, exceeded his authority and acted with great harshness. Public feeling rose against him (compare Giles Mompesson, Letter 4, note 34). In February 1620/21 he was committed to the Tower. He underwent a succession of trials and imprisonments. See DNB.
- 16 King James's sarcasm was meant to imply, perhaps, that Michell had behaved in a wild, uncivilised manner. The

Hungarians under the leadership of Bethlen Gabor had a fearsome reputation. It may be, however, merely a very bad pun as Michell was 'leane-fa[c?]t (faced)'.

17 For further details of Michel's punishment see SPD 1619-23, note 106, p 225.

18 On Giles Mompesson see Letter 4, note 34.

19 'salle' means 'soul' but was a form more commonly in use in the sixteenth century, 'soule' being the usual seventeenth century form. Mead, by this usage, may intend a reference to King James's Scottish accent.

20 The story of 'yellow buttons' (gold coins?) refers ironically to the charges which were currently being made against the Lord Chancellor. See note 6.

'to make buttons' also means 'to be in great fear'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.(footnote),363.

21 See CJs i.562^V.

22 The copy of the 'Relation' is not preserved with this collection of letters. A letter from the King was sent to the House of Commons on 19 March 1620/21. See CJs i.562^V for a short extract.

23 On Archduke Albert of Austria see Letter 6, note 17.

24 Thomas Warner (1584?-1657), later Dr Warner, was the Rector of Balsham, Cambridgeshire. See Venn, Alumni. By the end of 1625, he was Rector of Dalham in Suffolk. Thomas Warner married Anne Nicholson, a relation, perhaps a neice, of Susan Isham's mother (Sir Martin Stuteville's mother-in-law).

9
(f 45^r)

This letter is not dated by Mead.

At the top of f 45^r, in another hand, it is suggested that the letter was written on either 30 March 1621 or 1 April 1621. However, 30 March was Good Friday and 1 April 1621 was Easter Day, both unlikely days for Mead to write letters. The content shows that it was written after 26 March 1621 (see note 21). The probable date is 31 March 1621, a Saturday - Mead's usual day for corresponding with Dalham.

[31 March 1621]?

Sir,

Our usuall intelligence¹ failed the last week. Something we heare was reported at London, as That the Lantgrave of Hessen² should have given an overthrow to some forces of Spinola's* which were sent to fetch Dollers³ from him.

And some letters that there were Ambassadors arrived at London from the Kings of Denmark*, Sweden* and the Marquess of Brandenburg.⁴ Some who come from thence report that the Polish Ambassador⁵ made so brave and passionate an oration in Latin, that the King should say he never heard eloquence till then. He demandes 10/000 men⁶ of our King for ayd against the Turk.⁷ 5 10

The newes of my Lord Chancellor* continues much after that I wrot before.⁸ onely they say that Sir James Lee⁹ supplied his place in the Parliament, but the seale¹⁰ was not taken yet from him, though he sent it to the King as willing to yeeld up his office. but the King sayd he would not take it from him. He must go to those that had begun with him.¹¹ But it is added 15

that Black Dr Feild. Bishop of Landaffe,¹² was in likewise for being my Lord Chancellors* broker for bribes and a letter of his shown where he undertakes to my Lord verbo sacerdotis¹³ etc.

20

Sir Henry Finch¹⁴ was last week examined before the High Commission¹⁵ about his book¹⁶ I wrot of but wonderfull privately. He gave up his answere in writing, which was sent to the King and expected from him what should be his censure. I thought he had beene one of the Comitties in Parliament but that is Henneage Finch.¹⁷ I mistook.

25

Our Mayor and Towne burgesse¹⁸ was questioned as uncapable by reason of his Mayoraltie but they kindly permitted him untill the breaking up of this Session; and yesterday our towne chose a new one, Sir N. Hubbard¹⁹ of some kindred to my Lord Hubbard²⁰ as I heare.

30

On Munday the King came to Parliament where the admirable concord betweene the Lords and the Commons and both with the King and all one with another, was expressed and admired with unheard of affection, the King himselfe and few there but shed reciprocall teares, the King affirming himselfe now at length happy who had beene 18 yeares enthroned in the Kingdome, and had lived to see himselfe at this present enthronised in his peoples hearts. And that which he had long sought for now at last to find etc.²¹ When the King was gone the Parliament commanded the Prince²² in all their names to carry thanks unto his Majestie who being led by the 2 Archbishops²³, and attended with a select company of Bishops and Noblemen performed his message with teares from abundance of joy, telling his Majestie that what affection would not suffer the house to do in his presence they had commanded him now to do in all their names.²⁴

35

40

45

It is a day worthy to [] kept Holiday. Some say it shall, but I beleive them not.

The Parliament is adjourned unto the 17 of Aprill. others say but to the 10th.²⁵ I have sent you a Catalogue of the Actes²⁶ agreed upon in this Session and offered to his Majestie to be ratified.

50

Your letter came not to me till Thursday night. I delivered the inclosed. For my coming I shall write more by the next. I am now very busy. I pray pardon my scribling. So with my best respect I rest.

55

Yours ever
Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 47. 'a day' inserted above the line with caret. Word missing at edge of leaf: presumably 'be'.

Lines 53-58. These lines are written in the left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 'Our usual intelligence'. Mead refers to his weekly correspondence from London.
- 2 On Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel see Letter 3, note 16.
- 3 'Dollers' is the English name for German thalers (OED/1).
On Ambrogio Spínola see Biographical Index. On his demand for dollars from the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel see Calendar I.11.
- 4 King Christian IV of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden were Lutherans. The Marquis of Brandenburg, George William, was a Calvinist whose subjects were mainly

Lutheran. The ambassadors sought support from King James I for the Protestant cause in Germany. (On the Protestant Union of German princes see Appendix 1). No help was forthcoming and the Union capitulated without making much resistance.

- 5 On the arrival of the Polish ambassador in London, see Calendar I.20. The Ambassador was 'the son of the Waywode of Sandomiria'. See Thomas Birch, ed., The Court and Times of James I 2 vols., (London 1848), ii.236,(footnote).
- 6 King James allowed a levy for Poland on the grounds that English troops were to be used only against the Turks and for 'the good of his [the Polish King's] person'. See APC July 1621-May 1623, pp 26, 32. He was aware that few English troops would choose to serve the Catholic, Polish king for fear that they would be used in some way against the Elector Palatine in his dispute with the Emperor. See SPV 1621-23, note 2, p 3.
- 7 The allusion is to the Polish-Ottoman war of 1620-21. After their defeat at Cecora in October 1620 the Poles feared a combined attack by the Turks and their ally, Bethlen Gabor, the Calvinist voivode of Transylvania. See Calendar I.3. The war terminated in October 1621 after the Turkish advance was halted at Khotin (Chocim).
- 8 The 'news' concerns the allegations of bribery against the Lord Chancellor, his subsequent illness and his hopes for a fair enquiry into his conduct.
- 9 On Sir James Lee, later Earl of Marlborough, see Letter 8, note 10.
- 10 See Letter 8, note 7.
- 11 'Those that had begun with him': presumably a reference to

Parliament.

- 12 Theophilus Field (1574-1636), Bishop of Landaffe, later Bishop of Hereford, was a chaplain to the King and to the Lord Chancellor. In 1621 he was impeached by the House of Commons for brocage and bribery. He defended himself successfully against the charge of bribery but was given an admonition as Doctor Field not as Bishop of Landaffe. See Gardiner, History iv.77-78. Mead presumably uses the term 'black' in a pejorative sense.
- 13 'verbo sacerdotis' : on the word of a priest.
- 14 Sir Henry Finch (d.1625), a legal writer, serjeant-at-law, wrote an exposition of the Common Law in French which became known as Finch's Law. He was arrested in April 1621 after publication of a book which predicted temporal dominion by the Jews and their establishment of a world-wide empire (see note 16).
- 15 The Court of High Commission was a court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction founded by a statute of Queen Elizabeth which gave the crown power to commission persons to try various offences against the ecclesiastical establishment and to crush any resistance to the supremacy of the crown in these matters (OED/7). Many of the papers relating to the Acts of the High Commission are lost. They were probably destroyed during the Civil War. See R.G. Usher, The Rise and Fall of the High Commission, (Oxford: Reprint 1968) p 367.
- 16 The World's Great Restauration or Calling of the Jews and with them of all Nations and Kingdoms of the Earth to the Faith of Christ: S.T.C. 10873. King James looked upon the work as a libel.

- 17 On Heneage Finch see Letter 3, note 21.
- 18 The Mayor and town burgess of Cambridge, Richard Foxton, was 'uncapable' to be a Member of Parliament because he held civic offices at the time of his election. See CJs i.569^V.
- 19 Sir John Hubbard is named as member of parliament for Cambridgeshire in 1620. See Cobbett, Parliamentary History, i.1169-1175.
- 20 Sir Henry Hobart (Lord Hubbard) (d. 1625) was Chief Justice of Common Pleas. The Hobarts were a family of Norfolk and Suffolk. The name was spelt variously; Hobart, Hoberd, Hubbard.
- 21 See 26 March 1621, LJs iii. 68^R.
- 22 The reference is to Charles, Prince of Wales, son of James I.
- 23 On George Abbot (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, see Letter 3, note 33.
On Tobias Matthew (1546-1628), Archbishop of York from 1606 see DNB.
- 24 See 26 March 1621, LJs iii.72^V.
- 25 Parliament was adjourned until Tuesday 17 April 1621.
See CJs i.577^R.
- 26 See Calendar I.23.

(fos 52r,v; 53r,v)

This letter is misplaced in MS Harl 389. An undated letter, misdated 'about 7 Aprill 1621' in another hand precedes it. See note preceding Letter 11.

[7 April 1621]

Sir,

My talk now is but small. The adjourning of the Parliament¹ makes an emptines of home-newes. Yet I heare the Acts whereof I sent you a Catalogue² in my last are printed, and that lay upon the Bookbinders stalles on Saturday.

I have seene a letter of my Lord Chancellors* to the Lords 5
of the Upper House of Parliament.³ If I had not beene lazie I
had wrot it out, but I suppose the Country will afford something,
or els its hard. He says he is preparing for a Higher Court
then theirs, the Court of Heaven. That he would faine preserve
his Honour and his fame unstained, and desires they would 10
reserve their good opinions, till he shall advise with his
counsell to make answere, and that they would not be mooved at
the noise of the number of billes against him considering he
was a Judge and that 2000 decrees went through his hands in a
yeare etc. The Lower house, is sayd, was much offended that he 15
wrot not to them, as interpreting it that his great stomach⁴
would not vouchsafe to take any notice of them and to be done
out of a degrie of contempt. Whereabout were many big words
spoken and Sir Rob^t Phillips⁵ (I think) took occasion to
discourse of a Parliament,⁶ and of the power and nature of the 20
House of Commons, prooving that name of Parliament most
properly to belong unto them, as representing the Body of the

Kingdome etc.

On Thursday⁷ a gentleman a marchant who came from London
but at 7 a clock that morning, reports confidently for a truth, 25
That the King of Spaine is dead,⁸ That the marchants had
letters thereof a two or 3 days before, but durst not publish
it, till newes thereof should come to the Court, whither now
letters were come, and the Courtiers appointed to mourne to
morrow.⁹ This may be an occasion of some alterations of present 30
matters.¹⁰

The same gentleman brought the Kings last speech¹¹ new
printed, I read it, but could obtaine no more. The King says
That he could never have any House of Commons that would use
him with any respect untill now, but this had shown more love 35
and regard unto him, then not onely himselfe had yet had, but
then any of his predecessors ever received, in yeelding unto him
2 subsidies in nature of a free guift and present.¹² That His
Kingdome, had seemed to him till now to be y^e best and happiest
governed in the world, which now with astonishment, he found to 40
be otherwise. He saw it much like unto his coppices, which on
the outside seemed thick and well growne, etc. but when he rid
into the middle of them, he found them bare and allbitten etc.
He desired that what he then spake that day, might be putt into
the Records of the House.¹³ 45

I have seene a letter from Collen Dat 26 March stylo
novo,¹⁴ which intimates as though (for feare of the Imperiall
Banne)¹⁵ Silesia had subjected themselves unto the Emperour¹⁶
for speaking of the reassuming of the handling of the peace
with Bethlem Gabor* at Haynburgh¹⁷ by interposition of the 50
French Ambassador.¹⁸ either for a new treatie of peace or

cessation of Armes for a time. it addes this

Whereby it is thought it will work some effect to a stay of
these troubles, by reason of the falling away of the Silesians
from the King of Bohemia* to the Emperour to [---] whom they 55
have subjected themselves.¹⁹

But if it be true, I wonder it is no more spoken of; onely I
heard one say they had sequestred themselves and held aloofe
till they saw what the event of the Banne would be, or what
preparations their King was like to make. 60

It is sayd also from Vienna That the Duke of Brunswick²⁰
howsoever he provided the King should be well entertained at
his Court at Wolfinbottell, yet he withdrew himselfe in person,
when he came thither, and that because of the Banne.

The aforesayd letter from Collen says also, That the 65
Ambassadors of the Union²¹ were gone to the Emperour to Vienna,
to understand, whether there may not upon reasonable conditions
a peace be brought to passe within the Empire or not, and That
in y^e meane time the Marquess of Darmstatt²² is treating with
the Lords of the Union²³ earnestly upon a truce for 6 weekes, 70
wherein the Marquess Spinola* is to be comprehended.²⁴

Howsoever, he prepareth to the feild, hath againe layd his
shipbridge over the Rhine at Oppenheim²⁵; and it is expected for
certaine, that if the truce go not forward, he will beseige
Wormes.²⁶ 75

The gentleman aforementioned, affirmeth the truce is
concluded.²⁷

There are commissioners expected at Prague for sentence and
execution of the prisoners there which are many but (saith the
Cullener) grace is expected.²⁸ 80

I have seene Sir Harry Finches²⁹ The Worlds great
 restauration or Calling of the Jewes (and with them) of all the
 nations and Kingdomes of the earth to the faith of Christ.³⁰ I
 cannot see but for the maine of the discourse, I might assent
 unto him. God forgive me, if it be a sin; but I have thought so 85
 many a day. But the thing which troubles his Majestie is this
 point which I will write out for you verbatim;

The Jewes and all Israel) shall returne to their land
 and ancient seats, conquere there foes, have their
 soile more fruitfull then ever; they shall erect a 90
 glorious church in the Land of Judah itselke and beare
 rule farre and neere ...

... We need not be afrayd to averre and
 maintaine, that one day, they shall come to Jerusalem
 againe, be Kings and cheife monarches of the earth 95
 sway and governe all, for the glory of Christ, that
 shall shine amongst them. And that is it Lactantius³¹
 saith. Lib 7. Cap 15.

The Romane name (I will speak it, because it must one
 day be) shalbe taken from the earth, and the Empire 100
 shall returne to Asia, and againe shall the East beare
 Dominion and the West be in subjection.

in another place

Ashur and Egipt all those large and vast Countries,
 the whole tract of the East and South shalbe converted 105
 unto Christ, the cheife sway and Soverainty remaining
 with the Jewes. All nations shall honour them etc....

Some say the King says he shalbe a pure King and he is so
old, that he cannot tell how to do his homage at Jerusalem.

Thus with my best respect, I rest

110

Aprill 7

Yours ever

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'that lay': 'that they lay' probably intended.

Line 44. In MS: 'he ~~desided~~ desired'; 'againne hath' begins a
new leaf.

Line 84. In MS: 'discourse, I shall I'.

Notes

- 1 Parliament was adjourned from 27 March to 17 April 1621.
CJs i.577^F.
- 2 See Calendar I.23.
- 3 For a copy of the Lord Chancellor's letter to the Upper
House of Parliament, see LJs iii.54^F.
- 4 'stomack': 'spirit, courage' (OED/8a, obs.); 'pride,
haughtiness' (OED/8b obs.).
- 5 Sir Robert Phillips (Phelips) (1586-1638), Member of
Parliament for Bath, held the office of chairman of the
committee which enquired into the charges of bribery
against the Lord Chancellor. On 17 March he presented the
report of the committee to the Commons. See DNB.
- 6 There is no report in the Commons' Journals of 'a discourse
of a Parliament'.
- 7 Probably Thursday, 5 April 1621.
- 8 The King of Spain died on 31 March 1621 s.n., 21 March 1621
o.s.
- 9 The merchants' letters probably arrived at the same time as
those which were sent to Court. Official letters arrived

in London on 3 April o.s., the journey from Madrid having taken twelve days. See Calendar I.24.

- 10 It was thought that the death of Philip III of Spain might precipitate a change in the political climate. There was a possibility that Philip IV would alter his Father's foreign policy in order to avert the likelihood of a general European war. This he failed to do.
For further comments see SPV 1621-1623, note 25, p 19, and SPV 1621-1623, note 30, p 26.
- 11 'The King's last speech' took place in the House of Lords on 26 March 1621. See LJs iii.68^r: STC 14399.
- 12 For the two subsidies granted by the Commons see CJs i.561^r.
- 13 Sir Edward Coke reported the content of the King's speech to the House of Commons on 27 March 1621. See CJs i.576^r.
- 14 There is no copy of the letter from Cologne in this collection of correspondence.
- 15 The Imperial Ban (Reichsacht) was the legal decision which allowed the Emperor to ban a ruler or territory within the Empire under his direct authority. It could be enforced by military means. The Elector Palatine was put under the Imperial Ban in January 1620/21 (see Appendix 1).
- 16 After the defeat of the Bohemian forces at the battle of the White Mountain (see Appendix 1i) Silesia had little capacity or wish to carry on the war against the Emperor.
See Calendar I.2, 5.
- 17 Unsuccessful peace negotiations between representatives of the Emperor and Bethlen had taken place in Pressburg (the capital of Hungary, now Bratislava in Czechoslovakia) in January 1619/20. The 'reassuming' of negotiations at

Hainburg in Austria took place in January 1620/21. No satisfactory terms were agreed. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.310/311.

- 18 The French Ambassador(s) arrived in Germany in May 1620, from the court of Louis XIII, seeking a settlement between the Emperor and his enemies. Their mediation was unsuccessful. The Duke d'Angouleme, and the Sieur de Bethune and the Sieur de Preaux returned to France after further unsuccessful negotiations at Hainburg in January 1620/21 (see ibid).
- 19 The 'King' (Elector Palatine*) was now in exile.
- 20 The Duke of Brunswick, Duke Frederick Ulrich of Wolfenbüttel (d.1634), was a Lutheran who gave his support to the Protestant cause in Germany.
- 21 'The Ambassadors of the Union' were messengers sent to Vienna from the meeting at Heilbronn (February/March 1620/21) of the Protestant Union of German Princes. On the Union see Appendix 1. The Union had hoped to effect an armistice between the Emperor and the Elector Palatine. Its efforts were ill-received by the Emperor. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.307.
- 22 Landgrave Lewis, the Margrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, acted as an intermediary between the Imperial forces and the Protestant Union. In the winter of 1620/21 Lewis had attempted to persuade the Protestant Princes to lay down their arms in the Palatinate and abandon Frederick, the King of Bohemia. See ibid.
- 23 On the 'Lords of the Union', see Appendix 1.
- 24 An agreement was concluded at Mentz on April 2 1621 o.s., April 12 1621 n.s.: Gardiner, History iv.191. The

Protestant Union informed Spínola that they were ready to yield the Palatinate on certain conditions. Contemporary sources suggest the date of the agreement as March 31 1621, o.s., April 10 1621, n.s., (see Calendar I.26 and Calendar II.2). Spínola agreed to suspend hostilities in the Lower Palatinate until May 4, 1621 o.s.

25 For news of the 'shipbridge' see Calendar I.24.

26 Wormes was the capital of a small, independent Bishopric. It was the Protestants' only passage over the Rhine: a bridge which allowed the army of the Union easy communication with Heidelberg (the capital of the Rhine Palatinate) and other Protestant territories in Southern Germany.

27 See note 25.

28 The 'commissioners' were sent to Prague on behalf of the Emperor in order to pronounce sentence on the leaders of the insurrection in Bohemia (see Appendix 1). The rebels were arrested in February 1620/21 and forfeited their estates in March. Twenty-seven were condemned to death in April 1621. The Emperor confirmed the sentences in May (excepting five from the death penalty) and the sentences were carried out in June of that year.

29 For Sir Henry Finch, see Letter 9, note 14.

30 On The World's Great Restauration etc. see Letter 9, note 16.

31 Lactantius, Lucius Caelius Firmianus (240-320) was a Christian apologist whose chief work was Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem. On Lactantius see F.L.Cross and E.A.Livingstone, eds., 2nd edition, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, (London 1974).

(fos 48r,v;49r,v)

This letter is misplaced in MS Harl 389. It is unsigned and undated by Mead. In another hand it is hypothetically and wrongly dated 'about 7 April 1621' but in the letter Mead refers to a Proclamation of 8 April 1621 (note 30). The probable date for Letter 11 is 14 April 1621.

[14 April 1621]?

Sir,

I perceive now, that he that told me he saw the statutes printed was mistaken; for it is no more but the 2 Acts for the subsidies of Clergie and Laity.¹ I dare sweare you cannot be long ignorant of these. Onely, lest you may not have seene them, I observed. That the Act for the Laitie makes a protestation in the beginning That there was never any precedent of the like in any former Parliament and humbly desires his Majestie that it may never hereafter be drawne into example to the prejudice of future Parliaments, which is againe repeated with a proviso in the end of the Act etc.

Upon Thursday in the former week my Lord Treasurer,² Duke of Lennox,³ Earls of Pembroke,⁴ Arundell,⁵ Dorsett,⁶ Sir Tho: Edmonds,⁷ Sir Foulk Grevill,⁸ Sir Julius Caesar,⁹ Sir Thomas Coventry Attorney,¹⁰ satt in the Guildhall at London as Commissioners to appoint Sessors¹¹ for the Subsidie etc. Where my Lord Treasurer had in his speach these particulars. That Queene Elizabeth had in the time she raigne 20 Subsidies and 36 Fifteenes,¹² so that hereby she received as it were for every yeare of her raigne £50/000 per annum. That King James hath had but 4 subsidies, and never a one worth above £80/000. So that there is never an 18 yeare of Queen Elizabeths raigne, wherein her receivings this way exceeded not this 18 yeares of

King James above £1300/000. That neverthelesse our King hath
expended for warres for building and repairing Forts in
Ireland for reparation of the Navie above £1700/000 besides 25
his charges for Ambassies and such like much exceeded hers.¹³

That they should not fill their bookes with idle names viz.
those who were sessed in other places: That they should not
sesse poore-men high and the rich low, but value every mans
estate according to their knowledg, and not their owne 30
confession, because rich men would seeme poorer to escape
charges, and poore would be accounted rich to gett credit etc.;
That they should follow forme-bookes¹⁴, because, in so long a
time mens estates were much altered etc.

If you chance to be a commissioner, it may be these heads 35
will not be unprofitable. They were related to me by one that
heard the speach, and observed diligently.

Concerning the disorder, and the whippingcheere¹⁵ at London
(whereof you shall read in the enclosed)¹⁶ I say on Saturday
divers other letters, reporting the cause and manner diversly, 40
but this week I received a more perfect information by a trusty
and intelligent freind, a citizen, and an eyewitness of a great
part thereof; which because it conteins some thinges since the
last weekes letters, I will insert it as neare as I can
remember he reported it, as followeth 45

Three prentises standing before their masters dores in
Fenchurch-street, it chanced The Spanish Ambassador*
came by in his litter¹⁷, whereupon one of the
Prentises sayd to the other, Sirra, knowest thou what
goes there? Why, answered he, what goes there? 50
Quoth the other, There goeth The Devill in a
Dungcart, which being repeated, and a laughter rising

thereupon amongst them; one of the Ambassadors
 company perceiving it, sayd to the second prentise,
 Sir, you shall see Bridewell¹⁸ ere long for your 55
 mirth. What, quoth the third, shall we go to
 Bridewell for such a Spanish dog as thou, and
 therewithall gave him a box on the eare, and struck up
 his heeles. Complaint hereof came erelong to the
 Mayor,¹⁹ and the matter being examined(though the Mayor 60
 (as some say) would have beene glad they could have
 excused themselves, but their Sentence was to be
 whipped from Algate through London, which on Wednesday
 (the former week)²⁰ began to be performed. They were
 tyed to a Carts taile and²⁰ whipped. At the first it 65
 was not much known what the fault was, but it being
 soone learned, and notice given, when they came at
 Temple barre there were about some 3 hundred of all
 sorts made the rescue, took them from the Cart and
 beat the marshalls²¹ man sore, and happie it was 70
 thought to be, that there was litle or no resistance
 made, for there were sayd to be coming up FetterLane
 and Poules chaine the best part of a thousand, who
 seeing the rescue already made, dispersed themselves
 againe. Hereupon it is sayd that the Ambassador sends 75
 to my Lord Mayor, to know what the goverment of the
 Citty was, and how a [---] man should have remedie
 that was injured; to whom my Lord Mayor answered
 angerly, that he was not to give an account to him of
 the Citty goverment. Hereupon Gondomar entended to 80
 complaine to the King at Theobalds²² of the Mayor and
 the Citty, but was better advised by a Catholick
 English Gentleman, to complaine onely of

those who did the injurie, lest otherwise things
might so fall out that he might deprive himselfe of
the opportunity of residence in the Citty. But as 85
soone as the notice of these thinges came unto the
King, which was on Thursday, he presently [--- ---]
takes post from Theobalds and arrives at London in the
evening.²³

It happened in the whipping time, that a brewer had 90
offended either in word or deed, who therefore was to
be whipped on Friday morning but the expectation being
great, there came [---] command from the Counsell, when
he was tyed to the carts tayle, to take him away and
suspend the execution; and presently there was newes, 95
that His Majestie was coming to the Guyld Hall, whither
when he was come, he made a long speach, and threatened
to putt a garrison into the Citty, and make them
maintaine them, if there were no better rule kept, and
to take away their charter and sword etc. but 100
concluded toward the end more fairly, if these thinges
might be amended hereafter.²⁴ So upon Saturday the
Brewer was whipped²⁵, with the Shreives²⁶ of London, and
a 100 Halbardiers²⁷ attending the Cart, every
constable in his [---] precinct, and a strong watch in 105
every precinct, and every housholder standing at his
dore with a halbard, the watch continued till 3 a
clock next morning! On Sunday comes forth a terrible
and strict proclamation (which I have seene). No man 110
so much as by his countenance to abuse, no man to look
on but to be equall in fault, etc.

But it is now but 12 a clock and Parkers man* sends me word,

that he will not stay a jot though I entreated him.

I will never send you newes more unlesse you disple²⁸ him.

I was faine to go to Geffrey Finches²⁹ myselfe, where I 115
wrote this.

In the Proclamation, as I understand it, the Citty goverment
is much taxed, and [---] strictly commanded, That no man so much
as by countenance or looke shall abuse or express any 120
irreverence to strangers especially to Ambassadors and their
followers; whosoever lookes on, unlesse he presently apprehends
the offender, and drawes him to Justice shalbe punished as
deeply as if he had offended; His Majestie will requite every
misdemeanour in this and at the hands of every Alderman in his
ward; and not take disabilitie and ignorance for an excuse.³⁰ 125

While the proclamation was reading a gentleman in the crowd
trode upon a Spanyards toe who tooke^{him} a box on the eare, he
asking what reason he had for it, he gave him another and the
gentleman tooke both patiently,
this I saw just now in a letter. 130

I could write much more but I want time.

Textual Notes.

Line 28. 'should' written above the line.

Line 39. In MS: 'I say on Saturday'; 'I saw' probably
intended.

Line 68. In MS: 'some s 3 hundred'.

Line 90 In MS: 'in the whipped whipping'.

Line 93. In MS: 'command' written above the illegible deletion.

Line 108. In MS: 'in the morning'; 'next' written above
deletion.

Line 114-130: Very blotchy lines (written at Geffrey Finch's).

Notes

- 1 See LJs iii.56^r and CJs i.561^r. On 22 March 1620/21 the two Acts received the Royal Assent. The original Acts have not been found but they are referred to by their titles in Calendars at the Parliament Office. See Statutes of the Realm IV.ii,1208.
- 2 On Sir Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, Lord Treasurer, see Letter 6, note 11.
- 3 Ludovick Stuart (1574-1624), Duke of Lennox, later Duke of Richmond, came to England from Scotland with King James. Honours accrued to him throughout his career. In 1603 he was made a Privy Councillor; in 1616 - steward of the household. See DNB.
- 4 William Herbert (1580-1630), Earl of Pembroke, a Privy Councillor, was made Lord Chamberlain in 1615. From 1617 until his death he was Chancellor of Oxford University. See DNB.
- 5 Thomas Howard (1586-1646), Earl of Arundel, Earl-Marshal of England, a Privy Councillor, was created Earl Marshal in 1621. See DNB.
- 6 Richard Sackville (1590-1624), Lord Bathurst 1608-09, succeeded to the Earldom of Dorset in 1609. See Complete Peerage IV.424.
- 7 Sir Thomas Edmund(e)s (1563-1639) was a diplomat. He became treasurer of the Royal Household in January 1617/18. See DNB.
- 8 Sir F(o)ulk(e) Grevill(e) (1554-1628), Lord Brooke, later Baron Brooke, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1614. In 1618 he was appointed a commissioner of the treasury. He resigned the chancellorship of the treasury in January

1620/21 and took his seat in the House of Lords in November 1621. See DNB.

- 9 On Sir Julius Caesar, see Letter 2, note 20.
- 10 Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Coventry (1578-1640) was a member of the Inner Temple. He became solicitor-general in 1616 and attorney-general in January 1620/21.
- 11 'Sessors' are assessors (OED/obs).
A 'subsidie' was a pecuniary aid granted by Parliament to the Sovereign to meet special needs (OED/2)
- 12 A 'fifteene' was a tax of one/fifteenth imposed on personal property (OED/B1).
- 13 The Treasurer's words echo those of the King's speech to Parliament, 30 January 1621 (LJs iii.8). For an English translation, see Cobbett, Parliamentary History, i.1177-1178. Cobbett comments (p 1175) that the translation 'corresponds exactly with the Latin abstract in the Journals'.
- 14 Mead perhaps means that the assessors were advised to follow established methods of assessment. A possible meaning of 'forme-bookes' in this context is: a set or fixed order of words; the customary or legal method of drawing up a document (OED/12).
- 15 'cheere' is a kindly welcome or hospitable entertainment (OED/5). 'whippingcheere' - a humorous attribution of 'whipping' (OED/4) but Mead's use appears to be ironical.
- 16 For 'the enclosed' see Calendar I.24.
- 17 'litter': a vehicle ... containing a couch shut in by curtains carried on men's shoulders (OED 2a).
- 18 'Bridewell', formerly a royal possession given to the citizens of London as a 'Workhouse' in 1555, was a house of

correction (or prison) situated near St. Bride's well.
Stow i.70,145.

- 19 Sir Francis Jones (Jhones) (1560-1622), a haberdasher, was an Alderman of Aldgate 1610-1622 and Lord Mayor of London 1620-1621.
- 20 'Wednesday (the former week)' was 4 April 1621. The date of the disturbances is confirmed elsewhere. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.361.
- 21 'Marschall': an officer of a court of law answerable for the charge and custody of prisoners and for the keeping of order (OED/4a).
- 22 On Theobalds, a royal residence, see Letter 2, note 32.
- 23 For a slightly different version of this event see Chamberlain, Letters ii.362.
- 24 See Chamberlain, Letters ii.361 for confirmation of the King's arrival at Guildhall on Friday 6 April 1621.
- 25 See Chamberlain, Letters ii.362, 'I heare there was one more whipt this afternoon ...'.
- 26 Shreives are high officers responsible for the execution of the law (OED/1a).
- 27 Halbardiers were soldiers armed with halberds or members of certain civic guards who carried a halberd as a badge of office (OED).
- 28 This obsolete verb is probably a popular formation from 'discipline' associated with verbal substantives in '-ing'. Thus, 'discipline' > 'disciplining' > 'discipling' > 'to disple' (OED).
- 29 Geoffrey Finch was a shopkeeper in The Cury in Cambridge. Mead's letters were collected from the shop when Parker's man was not available to collect them or was not inclined

to take them. Peile, Christ's College, p 134.

30 See J.F.Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations, i.number 216,
p 508.

This letter is undated and misplaced in MS Harl 389. At the top is written in a hand other than Mead's, 'It mentions Mayday not yet come and by the enclosed was certainly after ye 13 April'.

Mead intended to write again to Dalham before Mayday (see note 10) and Letter 13 is dated 28 April 1621. Thus, 21 April 1621 seems the most likely date for this letter.

[21 April 1621]?

Sir,

I send you now the funeralls of the Bohemian affaires if that be true which the enclosed reporteth.¹ Silesia's falling to the Emperour (as out of despaire) is otherwise confirmed as most true. The revolt of Hungary is also beleaved, at least in part.² That also of the Lantgrave³ is not contradicted. I heare nothing of the ill gainsayed but that of the surrendring the Townes in Bohemia by treason, which some deny, but I have observed that ill reports are ill signes, though not true at the present.⁴ There is a later Courrante then this I send you,⁵ I have seene it, but could not be owner of any of them. In it are the matters of Silesia and Hungary, though the latter but as in a beginning; also Baviers* undertaking the Upper Palatinate etc.⁶ but nothing of Pilsen or Tabor.⁷

One of the 3 whipt prentises is dead, as is generally heare affirmed by those who have beene at London. One thought, not so much through the severity of whipping as the indiscretion of the executioner who meeing to favour him, by the speedy running of the cart, is sayd to have tyed him too neere it so that he gott some blows on the brest.⁸

They talke also as though this week, there had beene a
Spanyard beaten in the exchange for drawing upon and misusing
some gentlemen, who when they had done slipt away in the croud
and are not knowne. 20

If all things fall right, I hope to be at Dalham about
Mayday, to eat some grasse butter and sage.⁹ I shall resolve 25
by Saturday and send you word, and make bold.¹⁰

God send us a good yeare, though my heart misgives me, this
is not the worst, we must heare to yeare though Denmark etc.
makes great preparations with Pomerland and the Lower Saxony
to the numbers of 30 thousand foot and 8 thousand horse besides 30
Sweden etc.¹¹ The States Fleet¹² lyes before Lisbone, sayes the
printed Corranto from Amsterdam.¹³

Thus with my best respect, I rest

Your faithfull servant

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 28. 'heare to yeare': *this year (cf tonight).*

Line 28. In MS: 'Denmark makes etc. makes'.

Notes.

- 1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.25 and Calendar II.1.
Reports included: a) the submission of Silesia to the
Emperor and the subsequent ban there on all religions
except the Lutheran and Roman Catholic; b) the persecution
of Protestants in Bohemia; c) the Duke of Bavaria's
intention to seize the Upper Palatinate; e) the expected
executions of various Bohemian noblemen.
- 2 Hungarian Protestant resistance to the Emperor was led by
Bethlen Gabor, 'King' of Hungary (on whom see Biographical
Index). In early 1621 certain Hungarian Estates abandoned

Bethlen and began negotiations with the Emperor. In Mead's terms they were in 'revolt' against Bethlen, not against the Emperor. See Calendar I.25.

- 3 On the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel, see Letter 3, note 16. 'The great and learned Calvinist, the Lantgrave of Hessen, hath forsaken the Union ... promised passage to the Emperor's forces through his countrie to the Palatinate'. See Calendar I.25.
- 4 Pilsen and Tabor (cities formerly held by Protestant forces) had been 'betrayed' to the Emperor while the Protestant commander was absent. See Gindely, Thirty Years War i.267 and Calendar I.25.
- 5 Two Courantes were published on 9 April 1621. See Calendar II.1 for the Courante probably sent with this letter. The later courante is perhaps from Amsterdam: STC 18507.18.
- 6 'Bavier' refers to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (on whom see Biographical Index). On Maximilian and the Upper Palatinate see Appendix 3.
- 7 On Pilsen and Tabor see note 4.
- 8 For the 'whipt prentises' see Letter 11, notes 20, 21.
- 9 Grass-butter is butter made from the milk of cows at grass(OED/13). By sage Mead perhaps means sage cheese which is a kind of cheese flavoured and mottled by mixing a decoction of sage leaves with the cheese curd (OED/4b).
- 10 Saturday, 28 April 1621, the Saturday before Mayday.
- 11 For comment on the preparations of the kings of Denmark and Sweden see Calendar I.26.
- 12 'The States Fleet' refers to the navy of the Dutch Republic.
- 13 See note 5.

13
(f 59^r)

This letter is misplaced in MS Harl 389.

[28 April 1621]

Sir,

My jealousy at home makes me not over forward to go abroad,
and therefore seeing it so falles out I am rather glad then
sorry, that I have occasion to deferre my comming a longer
time: which I shall like so much the better, when I may find
your selfe the most private.

5

For newes you see what it is, naught, naught, but I hope over a
yeare or two we shall begin to heare better, for as yet we see
it fatall, that all thinges should go downward, and god will
have his way whatsoever we wish, or think.¹

I heare no other, but some talk that the States² fleet had
taken a price from the Spanyard, 2 shippes laden with chests of
plate and comming for Dunkerk.³ I know not how many thousands;
thus they talke from London.

10

And they say That Colonell Cecill made a brave speech in
Parliament, concerning the want of warlike provision in the
Kingdome, and the meanes to redresse it.⁴ They say with much
approbation.

15

Sir Lionell Cranfeld⁵ was a hot man for the Spanish trade
of Tobacco, in so much that Sir Edwin Sands⁶ should say, I am an
Englishman and for England, not for Spaine.⁷

20

They say My Lord Northes brother put up a bill to have
justice and a lawfull hearing against Don Gondomar for his Ship
and Tobacco, and that he was gone to prison againe.⁸

Thus in hast, having some busines, I rest

Aprill 28 1621

Yours to command Joseph Mead.

25

Textual Notes.

Line 1. In MS; 'to with go'.

Line 21. In MS; 'bill-ow to have'.

Notes

- 1 'naught, naught ... all things should go downward'. See Letter 12, note 1.
- 2 The 'States fleet' is the navy of the Dutch republic.
- 3 See Calendar II.2.
- 4 Sir Edward Cecil (1572-1638), later Viscount Wimbledon, at one time Colonel of an English regiment in Dutch service, pursued a military career. See under 'Wimbledon' in Complete Peerage.
See Calendar I.29 for a copy of the speech which was later discovered to have been falsely attributed to Cecil.
- 5 Sir Lionel Cranfield (1575-1645), later Earl of Middlesex, a successful merchant adventurer, was appointed as chief Commissioner of the navy in 1619. In 1620 he became a privy councillor. See DNB.
- 6 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 27.
- 7 There is no exact record in the Commons Journals of such a speech by Sir Edwin Sandys. The Spanish tobacco trade was debated in the House of Commons on several occasions. See CJs i.581^r.
- 8 Roger North (1585?-1652?), brother of Lord North (Letter 4, n 35), was denied permission to establish the authority of King James in the Amazon in 1619 because of Spanish opposition. He set out again for the Amazon in 1620. He was arrested and his ship and cargo seized on the insistence of Don Gondomar, Spanish ambassador to England. North was committed to the Tower on 6 January 1620/21. See DNB.

[5 May 1621]

Sir,

Dr Meddus* his letter to Dr Chadderton¹ the last week contained something not fitt to be made common. Whereupon I was content to be partaker of so much as he pleased to read unto me, not inquisitive into the rest. It contained the transscript of a letter from the Hague dated Aprill 26 styl novo.² Wherein was related. 5

That the puffepast³ Princes of the Union were disbanded and gone having reconciled themselves unto the Emperor and excluded the Prince Palatine* out of their peace: so that now the poore Prince was utterly forsaken at all hands, having none but God alone for his help and succour⁴ (and heare he scipped something). That Spinola* had promised to suspend his execution on the Palatinate till the 2 of May our stile;⁵ but then, unlesse the Palatine should present himselfe in person to the Emperour to be at his mercy and disposition, he would overrunne it all. 10 15

That there was some talk of the King of Denmarks* preparation in behalfe of the Palatine, but feared this perfidious disbanding of the Princes of the Union, would quite deterre him from proceeding.⁶ 20

That there was at this present, no appearance to humane reason, how the Church and Religion could escape utter ruine. all neglecting it in the greatest danger that it ever was in. onely the States⁷ rouzed them like the lion, and it might be, God ment to give deliverance by Gideons handfull.⁸ 25

That the King* and Queene* were now at the Hague, and the

Queene must stay there, till God should send her better freinds;
but the King was providing for some adventure⁹ {here againe he
missed much}.

The Queene* came every Sunday twise to their Sermon; and 30
sometime on the weekday.

Thus much I remember out of the sayd letter from the Hague.

And I could almost guesse by what I have heard since by
others what were those passages he concealed or some of them.
For I heard, That the Queene* was desirous to come into England, 35
but her Father had absolutely forbidden her.¹⁰ That the King*
should say That, [---] were it not for the person of his Lady
which he loved above all other, he could have wished he had
married rather a Boores daughter, then the King of great
Brittaines etc.¹¹ 40

Dr Meddus* addes of his owne

That the States fleet had taken 2 or 3 ships of the
Spanyard laden with silver and bound for Dunkirk.¹² Whereof
one, our 18 Aprill, was brought into Flushing, of 400 tunne: 18
chests of Ryalls of plate,¹³ one barrell of gold in duckets, 45
besides many wedges of silver in the salt: much cuchinele,
indigo, hides, 20 peeces of ordinance.

That Sir John Bennet¹⁴ was committed to the Sheriffes of
London.etc. and some other things.

But a freind bringes me a letter just now written yesterday 50
from London wherein are both those and other things more
complete, as followeth.¹⁵

+ In France all the Protestants at Deepe on Sunday was
sennight were disarmed and the whole towne up in armes; the
King gone with 40/000 against Rochell, and hath great hope, to 55
bring them under subjection.¹⁶

+ London
May 4

Reported from Spaine, that the Duke of Lerma the late Kings
minion is out of favour and should be imprisoned.¹⁷

Four Spanish shippes of 400 tunne a peece bound from 60
Spaine to the Archdukes Country taken by the Hollanders and
brought into Zeland very rich of divers commodities of value as
cuchinele and the like but principally in ryalls of 8 to the
value of 10 hundred thousand pounds.¹⁸

Also constantly affirmed, that the ship which carried forth 65
the 100 peeces of ordnance from hence is surprised by them.¹⁹

One Fluck a Lawyier²⁰ a recusant censured in parliament for
some reprochfull speeches against the Palgrave* and his Lady*,
which (censure) seemed by reports, very distastful to the King,
who gave a countermand to what they had decreed: but upon their 70
meeting yesterday before the King, he gave them very good
satisfaction, and was willing to give way to the censure, which
was past on him; namely, To stand in the pillory at
Westminster; from thence to ride upon a bare horse back with
his face to the horse taile and his taile in his hand to the 75
Exchange; and there at 11 a clock to stand in the pillory
again; and thence to be returned to the worst dungeon in
Ludgate and there to remaine prisoner during the Kings
pleasure.²¹

Judgment also past upon my Lord Chancellor* yesterday; 40 80
thousand pound fine: never to beare any office in the land;
imprisonment during his Majesties pleasure; and at his
releasement not to come within 10 miles of the Kings Court.²²

I send you Colonell Cecills speech²³ made (as they say) in
the beginning of this session of Parliament. The boy wrote it 85

false but the figures in the top will direct you. 1. 2. 3. 4

So with my best respect I rest

Cambridg May 5

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'so' inserted above line with caret.

Line 38. 'wished' inserted with caret.

Line 68. In MS: 'reprochfull speeehes speeches'.

Line 75. In MS: 'his faee face '.

Line 81. 'any' inserted with caret.

Line 84. In MS 'Colonell Col Cecill'.

Line 86. In MS: 'in the top top'.

Notes

1 Dr Laurence Chadderton (Chatterton) (matriculated Christ's 1564/5 - d 1640), Fellow of Christ's 1568-77, became the first Master of Emmanuel College in 1584. He resigned the Mastership in 1622 but continued to reside in College. He died aged either 102 or 103. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.89.

2 The letter from The Hague is not in MS Harl 389.

3 'Puffepast' ('puffpaste'): in this context - persons of a light, flimsy or unsubstantial character (OED/b).

4 On the Protestant Union see Appendix 1.

5 Ambrogio Spinola held much of the Palatinate in occupation but under the terms of the Mentz Accord (see Letter 10, note 24), he delayed a further advance until 14/4 May 1621 (compare Mead's 2 May).

6 The King of Denmark's preparations to drive Spinola from the Palatinate were abandoned temporarily after the disbanding of the Protestant Union and the refusal of James I of England to enter the war. (See Appendix 1)

7 'The States': the states of the United Provinces (the Dutch

Republic).

8 Gideon, with God's help, defeated his enemies with a small number of men and the noise of trumpets. See Judges chapters vi, vii, viii.

9 Frederick and his wife, Elizabeth, arrived at The Hague on 4 April 1621 o.s. See SPV 1621-1623, note 32, p 27.

The 'adventure' for which the King was 'providing' was his 'return into the Palatinate ... with some good effect'. See a letter from Nethersole, secretary to Elizabeth, written in mid-March, quoted in Gardiner, History iv.182.

10 See SPV 1621-1623, note 788, p 616.

11 Boore: a Dutch or German peasant (OED 2); an ill-bred fellow (OED 3b).

Frederick's alleged remark shows his disillusionment with the English alliance. He had assumed that King James would intervene actively to restore him to the Palatinate whereas the king was attempting to negotiate terms with Spain and the Emperor. See Appendix 4.

12 The taking of the Spanish ships is confirmed in a printed news item from Amsterdam. See Calendar II.2.

13 Ryalls of Plate were spanish coins (OED/4b).

14 Sir John Bennet (d.1627), Member of Parliament for Oxford University in 1620, was accused of misappropriating money, in particular, a legacy of £1000 given to the University by Sir Thomas Bodley. He was impeached by the House of Commons and secured as a prisoner in his own house. On 25 April 1621 he petitioned the House of Lords for bail and was given the option of a fine of £40,000 or confinement in the Tower. See LJs iii.88. He chose to remain confined to his house.

- 15 For the London letter see Calendar I.28.
- 16 For the disarming of the Protestants at Dieppe, see Calendar I.28. A letter of 11 May 1621 suggests a figure of 35,000 men moving against the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle. See Calendar I.30. ('The King' is Louis XIII of France).
- 17 Don Francisco Gomez of Sandoval and Rojas (1553-1625), Duke of Lerma, a Spanish statesman previously powerful and influential, had lost his position in the Spanish Court in 1618. He became a Cardinal. His eldest son, Cristobal, Duke of Uceda, succeeded him at Court. It was Uceda who was 'out of favour' on the accession of Philip IV.
- 18 See Calendar I.28 for a reference to the four ships. No mention is made of ten hundred thousand pounds.
- 19 On the '100 peeces of ordnance' see Letter 4, note 14.
- 20 Mead is mistaken in the name but writes it correctly as Floyd elsewhere. See Calendar I.28. Edward Floyd (Floud, Lloyd) (d.1648), a Catholic barrister, was, in 1621, a prisoner in the Fleet. He was overheard to make derogatory remarks about the Elector Palatine and his wife. He was impeached by the House of Commons and ordered to suffer various humiliations. See CJs i.596-604 passim. Floyd appealed to the king who questioned the Commons' claim to act as a judicial body in this case. See Calendar I.28. Further punishment ordered by the House of Lords was later slightly mitigated. See LJs iii.134^r, 142^r, 148. See also Chamberlain, Letters ii.377.
- 21 On the Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, see Biographical Index and Letter 4, note 36.
- 22 On Colonel Cecil and his speech see Letter 13, note 4.

[19 May 1621]

Sir,

They say and write, That the Hollanders have sent a 6 or 7 waggons of their stolne silver to be coyned in the Tower:¹ Is it to outbrave Gondomer*² or is it their best marchandise? or would they do the mint a kindnes?

Gondomer* they say is sent for home having a great office bestoved upon him in Spaine. He made a feast at Nonsuch,³ where many of our Grandees were not without observation. This I saw written; but others talk as if Gondomer were afrayd to go home, as having beene too deep in the old faction, which now goes downe the wind.⁴

They talk at London, That the King of Spaine dying,⁵ should charge his daughter upon his blessing never to marry with Heretick. And there is a paper goeth about, wherein are his last words, and amongst the rest, to his Son That he should make much of his sister, and never leave her till she were an Empress, which words folkes understand not.⁶

For Sir John Bennet,⁷ Dr Lamb⁸ and Dr Cradock⁹ etc. you will heare what is true by Sir Thomas*.¹⁰

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

May 19

Yours to Command

Joseph Mead.

Dr Toulson Bishop of

Salisbury¹¹ is dead, and hath

left a poore widdow (our

Dr Davenants sister)¹² with

13 Children. He was not
Bishop (I think) much above
a twelvemonth.

Mr D^c 1,¹³ from whom Mr Grouce¹⁴
got the living, dyed on Thursday.

30

The Earl of Arundell is sent to the Tower etc.¹⁵

Textual Notes.

Line 8. In MS: 'This I say saw'.

Line 30. MS damaged - possibly 'D'.

Notes

- 1 'The Hollanders' were the citizens of the Dutch Republic.
Their stolen silver was taken from Spanish ships. See
Letter 14, note 12.
- 2 The sending of the silver to the Tower was intended,
perhaps, to 'outbrave Gondemer' because of hostility
between Holland and Spain. Either of Mead's other
suggestions is feasible: the 'Hollanders' may have sent the
silver to the place where it was most profitable for them,
or, they may have chosen to 'do the mint a kindness' in
order to foster their good relations with England.
- 3 Nonsuch Palace (see Letter 4, note 16) had been prepared
for the Spanish ambassador's use. See Chamberlain, Letters
ii.343.
- 4 The 'old faction' was the court of Philip III of Spain.
Gondomar had been deeply involved in its machinations.
Philip IV, on his accession to the throne (21/31 March
1621), dismissed his father's influential advisers and
appointed others in their places. Gondomar was eventually
replaced as ambassador to England in April 1622.
- 5 Philip III died 21/31 March 1621.
- 6 Philip III's daughter, the Infanta Maria, had been promised

in marriage to the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Empire. See Gardiner, History iii.377.

- 7 For Sir John Bennet see Letter 14, note 14.
- 8 Dr John Lamb (1566?-1647), an ecclesiastical lawyer and Chancellor for the diocese of Peterborough, Commissary for the Dean of Lincoln, (not to be confused with the astrologer of the same name) took high-handed action against Puritans in Northamptonshire. The mayor and corporation of Northampton sent a petition to Parliament in 1621 complaining of their grievances. A warrant against Dr Lamb was issued by the Speaker of the House of Commons. See DNB and Calendar I.32. See CJs i.634^r for an order for the examination of witnesses against Lamb and Cradock.
- 9 Dr ? Cradock was Chancellor of Durham. A petition was brought against him at the same time as that against Dr Lamb. See Calendar I.32.
- 10 On Sir Thomas Holland, Sr Martin Stuteville's brother-in-law, see Biographical Index. For identification of Sir Thomas see APC July 1619-June 1621, p 204.
- 11 Robert Townson (Toulson), D.D.(1575-1621), formerly a Fellow of Queens', Cambridge, was Bishop of Salisbury from 1620 to 1621. He died 15 May 1621. It was said that 'Dr Townson, ... was always confident in God's providence, that, if he should die, his children (and those were many) would be provided for; wherein he was not mistaken'. See Thomas Fuller, Worthies of England, ed. G. Austin Nuttall, 3 vols., (1840) i.232. See also Venn, Alumni.
- 12 John Davenant (1572-1641), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (1609-1621) and President of Queens' (1614-1621), succeeded his brother-in-law, Robert Townson as Bishop of

Salisbury in 1621. See Venn, Alumni.

13 Mr D~~E~~] is not identified.

14 Mr Grouse is not identified.

15 On Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundell, see Letter 11, note 5.

He refused to apologise publicly to Lord Spencer after a fierce altercation in the House of Lords. See SPD 1619-23, note 15, p 254. Arundell was, consequently, sent to the Tower on 17 May 1621. He was released on 2 June 1621 on King James' personal intercession with the Lords and on a promise of the Prince of Wales to effect a reconciliation between Arundell and Spencer. See DNB and Chamberlain, Letters ii.374.

16
(f 85^r)

[26 May 1621]

Sir,

The unwonted hand of what I now send you, will intimate,
that mine owne was otherwise busyed at that instant.¹ The
newes is partly good partly bad, for Bohemia and Hungarie:² And
I feare the worst is true, and doubt the better is false. I
heare no other either forraine or domestick then is heare: but 5
that Valteline begins to make very good shift, and the Spanyard
as good as driven out;³ We say heere, That Dr Davenant⁴ shalbe
Bish[] of Salisbury, keep his livings for a two or 3 yeares,
the revenues of the Bishoprick in the meane time to be as it
were sequestred for Dr Toulsons⁵ wife and poore children. Some 10
sayd a while (I know not out of what humour or ground) that Dr
Balcanquell⁶ should be Master of Queenes, but it is sayd now,
that the King would grant them a free Election.⁷

Thus with my old and best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to Command

15

May 26

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 1/2. In MS: 'intimate with that'.

Line 8. Presumably 'Bishop': 'op' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 8. In MS: 'for a yeare or two'.

Notes.

1 See Calendar I.32.

2 The good news from Bohemia was that Mansfeld, fighting on
behalf of the Protestant party had re-taken 'divers townes
... which [had] revolted from the Emperor'; and, the
Silesians and Moravians were willing to give their 'lives

and goods for King Frederick'.

In contrast, other news reported the loss of all Bohemia and of Presburg in Hungary to the Emperor's forces. See Calendar I.33.

- 3 On the Valtelline, a valley in the Alps, see Appendix 5. The Spaniards were not driven out at this date.

- 4 For John Davenant see DNB and Letter 15, note 12.

- 5 For Robert Townson see DNB and Letter 15, note 11.

- 6 Walter Balcanqual (1586-1645), Fellow of Pembroke, was at one time chaplain to the King. He was not appointed to the Mastership of Queens'.

See Venn, Alumni and J.H.Gray, The Queens' College, (Cambridge, 1926).

- 7 The King did not prevent a free election for the Mastership of Queens' and the choice fell on Dr John Mansell, later a Vice-chancellor of the University.

17
(f 90r)

[2 June 1621]

Sir,

I heare since Saturday of litle domestick newes stirring.
It is reported here for certaine, that the censure was executed
upon Floyd¹ about Wednesday, When he stood on the pillory in
Cheapside had a K branded on his forehead, his eares cutt of
etc.²

5

It was rumoured here by some that the Parliament was either
dissolved or prorogued but now it is sayd His Majestie hath
given them 3 weekes more, and then to prorogue it till
Michaelmas.³ And that Thursday was expected the day of Sir
John Bennets⁴ dome. All which we shall heare of more fully to
day. So with best respect I remaine

10

Christ Colledg

Your faithfull Novellante⁵

[---]

June 2

Joseph Mead.

Notes

- 1 On Edward Floyd, see DNB and Letter 14, note 20.
- 2 For further details of his punishments see Chamberlain,
Letters ii.377 and Calendar I.35. Some of the worst
excesses were mitigated through the influence of Prince
Charles who 'begged for leniency'.
- 3 Parliament was adjourned from Monday 4 June 1621 until 14
November 1621. See CJs i.639^r.
- 4 For Sir John Bennet see DNB and Letter 14, note 14.
- 5 'Novellante': see Letter 5, note 17.

[9 June 1621]

Sir,

What is become of the Parliament,¹ I doubt not but by this
 Sir Thomas* hath enformed you: as also of the Declaration or
 Protestation made by the House of Commons the 4th of June
 (being the last of their sitting), on behalfe of the Kings
 children and the generall afflicted state of the true 5
 professors of the same religion, professed by the Church of
 England, in forraine parts,² That being touched with a fellow
 feeling of their distresses as members of the same body, they
 did with one unanimous consent in the name of themselves and of
 the whole body of the kingdome whom they represent declare unto 10
 his most Excellent Majestie and unto the whole world their
 heartie greife and sorrow for the same: And did not onely
 joyne with them in their humble and devout prayers unto
 Almighty God to protect his true Church and to avert the
 dangers now threatned, but also with one heart and voice do 15
 sollemly protest, That, if His Majesties pious endeavours by
 treaty to procure their peace and safety shall not take that
 good effect which is desired (in the treaty whereof they humbly
 beseech his Majestie not to suffer any long delay) that then
 upon signification of his Majesties pleasure in Parliament, 20
 they shalbe ready to the uttermost of their powers, both with
 their lives and fortunes to assist him so, as by the divine
 help of Almighty God (who is never wanting to them, who in his
 feare shall undertake the defence of his name) he may be able
 to do that by his sword, which by peaceable courses shall not be 25
 effected.³

The gentleman which brought a copie of this from London yesterday, affirmed concerning Floyd⁴ that which I am loth to beleieve till I heare it againe, viz. That he sayd, at his branding etc., He would have given a £1000 to have beene hangd that he might have dyed a Martyr in so good a cause. And that a gentleman should affirme openly at his riding, That he had injury and his censure was most unjust etc. whereupon a Constable should arrest him for his words, whom he presently run through with his rapier, and then made an escape awhile on horseback through some streets of the Citty but at last was apprehended, and now layd in Newgate. If you heare of it againe you may beleieve it, but I suspect it because some who came from London on Tuesday could not tell of it.

Dr Snowdon Bishop of Carlisle,⁵ is dead. The like was reported of Dr [---] Bridgman Bishop of Chester,⁶ but it is false, and of Mountaine Bishop of Lyncolne⁷ which is feared will prove true. Rochester⁸ is also very sick. And yet I look not to get a Bishoprick. London it seemes is not yet determined of,⁹ but Salisbury Dr Davenant¹⁰ hath for certaine.

Our Mr Bentley,¹¹ having beene long faint and stomackless, though walking, of late grew to cough and to be very windless, which though he sayd was but a cold, yet yet [sic] others fearing it was worse advised him to change the aire and go to Newmarket for a while, whither on Tuesday after dinner he went, the Apothecary and his sizer with him, they arrived well, [---] and at bedtime he sayd he felt himselfe better, then he had done a great while. The next morning at 5 a clock or thereabouts, he would rise (as his wont was) and sat up in his bed, put on his doublet and buttoned it himselfe; which done he sayd he felt himselfe not so well as before, and therefore

would ly downe againe and see if he could sleep: And so
 sa[]ing Lord have mercy upon me he did. But after halfe an
 houres slumber, he sayd he did nothing but dreame, and therefore
 would rise: so sitting up and taking his breeches and casting 60
 him selfe toward the pillow to draw them on rested his head
 upon the bolster, and was still: which his sizer supposed had
 beene, but a litle to ease himselfe, but offering to putt his
 legges againe into the bedd, found him a dead man without any
 breath or motion. Whereof we had word by 9 a clock; some of us 65
 having hired horses to have gone, to have seene him after dinner
 which god would not. Thus we may behold, what a man is and how
 uncertaine is all, we here enjoy even life it selfe: O what is
 that we keep such a coile about? and neglect the cheifest
 happines of all! 70

I have no other newes at this present besides what I heere
 enclose¹², and therefore here end resting

Christ Colledg Yours to command

June 9 1621 Joseph Mead

Our Master¹³ is not at home
 nor wilbe this fortnight as I heare.

Textual Notes.

Line 57. In MS: 'could sle sleep'.

Line 58. Presumably 'saying'; 'y' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 62. In MS: 'upon the ~~bolster~~ bolster'.

Notes

1 See CJs i.639^F.

2 The 'King's children', the Elector Palatine, Frederick V,
 and his wife, Elizabeth, James I's daughter, were
 considered to be the leaders of the adherents to 'the same
 religion professed by the Church of England, in forraine

parts'.

- 3 For the Declaration see Cobbett, Parliamentary History i.1294. For extracts see SPV 1621-1623, note 74, p 70.
'His Majestie so liked it [the Declaration] that he caused it to be translated into sundry languages and sent it abroad': Calendar I.36.
- 4 For Edward Floyd, see DNB and Letter 14, note 20.
- 5 Robert Snowden was the Bishop of Carlisle from 1616-1621.
- 6 John Bridgman (1577-1652) became Bishop of Chester in 1619. In 1621 he resigned his canonry which may have led to rumours of his death. See DNB.
- 7 George Montaigne (1569-1628), Bishop of Lincoln 1617-1621, later Bishop of London, then Archbishop of York, was certainly not dead at this date. The rumour did not 'prove true'.
- 8 John Buckeridge (1562?-1631), Bishop of Rochester and Ely 1611-1628, may have been ill but did not die until 1631.
- 9 George Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln (see note 8) was translated to the See of London in 1621.
- 10 For John Davenant see Venn, Alumni and Letter 15, note 12.
- 11 Michael Bentley (1581?-1621), formerly of Christ's College, became a priest at Norwich and a preacher at St. Clement's, Cambridge. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.226.
- 12 See Calendar I.35 for the probable enclosure with this letter.
- 13 Valentine Cary (Carew) (matriculated Christ's 1585-d 1626), Master of Christ's 1609-1622, became Bishop of Exeter in 1621. See DNB; Venn, Alumni; and Peile, Register i.183.

[16 June 1621]

Sir,

Our newes, you see, is litle from abroad.¹ I could have sent you the copie of the Earl of Arundells letter to the Lords of the upper house and the words of his Submission² but I feared Sir Thomas Holland* had prevented me, and stale newes hath no good relish in it.

5

Our Funerall³ is to day and Our Master⁴ comes not home till about Saturday next.

Dr Beale⁵ visits for the Margaret-Divinity professorship which Dr Davenant⁶ must leave, they say, about the Commencement.⁷

10

This is all save that my respect still encreases toward your selfe and I am still

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to be
commanded

June 16.

Joseph Mead.

15

Notes

- 1 The newsletter reports that 'we have not had anything (save from Fraunce) this day fortnight, and therefore can write nothing of Germany, Denmark or the Low Countries'. See Calendar I.36.
- 2 On Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel see Letter 11, note 5. For Arundel's 'submission' - a letter and a petition sent to the House of Lords - see Arthur Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 163/4.
- 3 'Our Funerall' was a memorial service held for Michael Bentley who died on the 6 June 1621. See Letter 18, note

11 (compare Dr Newcome's 'Funerals' which were held two weeks after his burial - Letter 5, note 16 and Letter 6, note 1).

4 On Valentine Carey see Letter 18, note 13.

5 Dr Jerome Beale (B.A.Christ's 1595/96 - d.1630), later Vice-Chancellor, Master of Pembroke 1619-1630, was not appointed to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity. See Peile, Register i.204.

6 For Dr John Davenant see Venn, Alumni and Letter 15, note 16.

7 'Commencement': see Letter 19, note 7.

[23 June 1621]

Sir,

The last Saturday failed wholly of forraine newes; the winds
 I suppose have beene this 3 weeks opposite: Neither came there
 then much domestick or much worth. As That Dr Laud, Master of
 St.Johns in Oxford was Deane of Westminster,¹ Dr Dun Deane of
 Gloucester,² Dr Williams Bishop of Lincolne³, and Dr Mountaine of
 Lincolne. Bishop of London.⁴ Some other suspitions also of
 further matters which since have more appeared. For since the
 begining of this week we have had generall reports from London
 againe and againe. That The Earl of Arundell should be made or
 was already Earle Marshall of England and some added Warden of
 the Cinque Ports,⁵ That the Earle of Southampton,⁶ Sir Edwin
 Sands,⁷ Sir Samuel Sands⁸, and Mr Selden⁹ were committed;¹⁰ That
 Pursevanes¹¹ were gone for Sir Edward Cook¹², and Sir Robert
 Gyles.¹³ That my Lord Zouch should be putt from the privie
 Counsell,¹⁴ That Dr Williams was sworne of the privy Counsell
 and should be (some sayd was) Lord Chancellour of England.¹⁵
 That my Lord of Canterbury¹⁶, and Dr Morton Bishop of Coventry
 and Leichfeild¹⁷ were like, some sayd, were already confined,
 These were the reports the first part of the week.¹⁸

But on Thursday at night, I chanced to speak with a
 Chesshire gentleman my freind who came from London that day,
 having beene there welny this 3 weeks, who upon better
 intelligence both from Court and others reports as followeth

That it was affirmed that the Earl of Arundell was or
 should be Earle Marshall: but he heard nothing of his being
 Warden of the Ports.

That the Earle of South Hampton was committed to the Deanes House in Westminster,¹⁹ and one Sir John Weston²⁰ appointed to be his keeper, (whom another affirmed to me to be a Recusant or thought so).

30

That Sir Edwin and Sir Samuell Sands, and Mr Selden were also committed; Sir Edwin to one of the Shreives of London and Mr Selden to another. No cause known of these thinges, but that it was his Majesties pleasure for reasons reserved to himselfe alone.²¹ A Counsellor at Law who had visited Mr Selden told this Gentleman that Mr Selden told him, that as soone as Sir Edwin and himselfe were apprehended, their Studies were presently searcht and all their Parliament notes and papers thereabout carryed away. And I am told by another, That Mr Selden was employed by 8 Lords of the upper House having their hands thereunto, to make search of the Records in the Tower wherein he is more skilled then any man whatsoever.²²

35

40

That there had beene such reports as aforesayd of Sir Edward Cook and Sir Robert Gyles and some others, but as farre as he could learne without any ground.

45

That he was certaine as yet, there was no such thing concerning Canterbury and Leichfeild, the later of whom being his kinsman he went unto, and found he had heard of such a report, but seemed to him not to feare any such matter and thereupon went to the Court at Wansted²³ to shew himselfe.

50

That Dr Williams was sworne of the Counsell and that he waited on Sunday from 10 in the morning till 7 at night for the sealing of his patent for Lord Chancellor, and that the wax was chaffed for it, yet some Lords of the Counsell had gotten the Prince to move his Father to deferre it a while, which he obtained. Howsoever, The King and the Marquess* were downe

55

right for him.²⁴ Some think this deferring to be an ill signe
as is wont in Court sutes, but others think it is only till he
be elected Bishop of Lincolne for the more honour, time will
shew.²⁵

60

That concerning my Lord Zouch he had not heard any thing.

That the Judges and Counsell had mett often, to know whether
His Majestie might not by his sole power call the Parliament
againe before the 14 of November whither it was adjourned by
the Houses themselves; and it was sayd to be resolved That a new
Parliament he might but this by the Lawes of the Kingdome he
could not.²⁶

65

As for forraine newes, what I have heard by this gentleman
confirmed and reported by others is as followeth.

That the Imperiall Diet in Germany began on fryday was
sennight June 15. where it was secretly intended, that the first
proposition should be concerning the Prince Palatine* and the
disposing of his inheritance and Electorall dignitie,²⁷ that it
might be concluded before My Lord Digby²⁸ could arrive there
and so they might answere him that he came to late etc.²⁹ But
our King having intelligence of this purpose had sent post upon
post after my Lord Digby, that he should leave all his traine
and sumpter behind him, and take post to ride thither before the
proposition should be concluded.³⁰ the event whereof is not
yet knowne.³¹

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75

80

But it is sayd that the Emperour or Spinola* hath already
sent word, to his Majestie* That he should not expect anything
but what he could get with his sword.³²

The King of Denmark* hath a very great army but his intent
unknowne.³³ He hath an Ambassador at the Imperiall Diet, and
therefore thought by some that his designe depends thereon.

85

Dr Meddus* told a freind of mine this week, That the Prince
 Palatine* had written to our King, That if his Majestie would
 have bestowed the money, which he hath spent in treaties and
 upon the navy to Algiers in behalfe of the Spanyol, upon his 90
 daughter and children; their inheritance had beene preserved,
 and need not to have sued to their enimies; whereat his Majestie
 was offended not a litle.

They say That the Hollanders have taken 2 ships more from
 the Spanyol; and there is some speech of a great Armado 95
 preparting, of 160 saile of ships.³⁴

It is reported, That those of St John de Angelo in France
 slew many of the Kings men by a strategeme. For when they
 heard of the Kings approach and had resolved in counsell to
 hold out; it was made known unto them, that if one certaine part 100
 of the Citty were battered the disadvantage would be such, that
 it could not by any meanes be defended: whereupon it was
 concluded, to undermine the wall on that part and to lay in
 gunpowder, that so, when the breach should be made and the Enemy
 entring they might blow them up: which devise succeeding, as was 105
 imagined, there were slaine 3000 of the Enemy, the King being
 very neere the blast; for the better to cover their deadly
 purpose, they within maintained the skirmish even to the last.
 What is become of the Citty since, the reports are diverse and
 contrary; as French affaires use to be.³⁵ 110

This is all the forraine newes I heare worth relating. But
 I had almost forgot to tell you, That on Wednesday the
 Parliament- censure was executed upon Sir Francis Michell,³⁶
 where were present the Lord Duke of Lennox,³⁷ the Marquess
 Buckingham* and the Earl of Arundell, and a 4th whose name I 115
 know not.³⁸ Eight Heralds came in their coat armour, broke his

sword over his his head, and cutt his Spurres from his heales,
 and then made proclamation That none should hereafter stile him
 by the name of Sir Francis Michell Knight etc, but Francis
 Michell Arrant Knave. Then he went back in his coach to his 120
 prison in Finsbury, all the boys houting after him: yet there
 rode with him in the coach 2 with gold chaines about their
 necks, in the sight of all men (as one told me which sayd he saw
 it), but Michell himselfe sat in a corner unseene.³⁹

I am sorry I have told you so much, for I heare Sir Thomas 125
 Holland* was yesterday (if I am truly enformed) in the Towne
 who, I suppose coming from London will confirme you of these
 things more perfectly. But I hope you will pardon me, as you
 are wont, and reserve the Lodge in the garden, against I have
 need, as you promised me long agoe.⁴⁰ 130

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg Your faithfull novellante

June 23 1621

Joseph Mead.

A Gentleman from the Palatinate lately arrived and retaining
 to my Lord of Essex⁴¹ reports, That Sir Horatio Vere⁴² is by 135
 the Prince Palatine made Generall of the whole Country and the
 whole managing of the affaires of warre committed unto him:
 That his numbers encreased dayly. That it was hoped that
 Papen-muts the new Fort would be the confusion of Spinola.⁴³

Textual Notes.

Line 11. In MS: 'Earle of Arundell Southampton'.

Line 48. In MS: 'he had heard heard'.

Line 55. In MS: 'deferre it seme a while'.

Line 75. In MS: 'might answere answere'.

Line 77. 'shoold' inserted with caret.

Line 82. 'he' inserted with caret: 82/83 'anything what but what'.

Line 108. In MS: 'without they might'.

Line 118. In MS: 'hereafter should stile'.

Lines 125-132 are written in the margin of f 99^r.

Notes

- 1 Dr William Laud (1573-1645), President of St. John's, Oxford later Archbishop of Canterbury, was made Dean of Westminster in June 1621. On his elevation to the Bishopric of St. David's (1621) he retained his position at Westminster. See H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645, (Oxford, 3rd edition 1988).
- 2 On Dr John Donne (Dun) (1573-1631), poet and divine, a chaplain to King James, Dean of St. Paul's in 1621, see R.C. Bald, John Donne: A Life, (Oxford, 1986) and DNB.
- 3 On Dr John Williams see Letter 3, note 37. He was elevated to the See of Lincoln in August 1621. See further, note 15.
- 4 Dr George Montaigne (1569-1628) was translated from Lincoln to London in 1621. See DNB.
- 5 On Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, see Letter 11, note 5. He was not made Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was appointed president of the committee formed to enquire into the Lord Chancellor's conduct.
- 6 On Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, see Letter 3, note 36 and below, note 19.
- 7 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 27.
- 8 On Sir Samuel Sandys (1560-1623), the eldest brother of Edwin Sandys, and a member of Parliament, see under Edwin Sandys in DNB.
- 9 John Selden (1584-1654) a jurist and scholar, later a member of Parliament, had business interests in common with Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton. See DNB.
- 10 On reports of the committal of Edward Sandys, Samuel Sandys, John Selden and the Earl of Southampton see Calendar I.37 and, below, notes 19, 21, 22.

- 11 A 'Pursevane' (one of many different spellings) was a royal or state messenger with power to execute warrants (OED/2).
- 12 Sir Edward Coke (Cook) (1552-1634), judge and law-writer, was Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The report of his arrest was premature (see below: Letter 29, note 3).
On Coke's parliamentary career see White, Grievances.
- 13 Mead probably refers here to Sir Edwin Gyles, Member of Parliament for Totnes. See Cobbett, Parliamentary History i.1170. The report of his arrest was false.
- 14 Edward, Lord Zouch (1556-1625), Warden of the Cinque Ports from 1615 to 1624, remained a Privy Councillor. See DNB.
- 15 Dr John Williams (see note 3), 'sworne one of his Majestie's Privy Councell' on 18 June 1621, was 'sworne Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England' on 10 July 1621. See APC July 1619-June 1621, note 15, p 400 and APC July 1621-May 1623, p 11.
- 16 On George Abbot (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, see Letter 3, note 33. Reports of his confinement were untrue.
- 17 Dr Thomas Morton (1564-1659), later Bishop of Durham, was Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. News of his confinement was untrue. See DNB.
- 18 Many of the untrue reports of confinements and committals were based on anxiety about the situation which obtained in the House of Commons.
- 19 The Earl of Southampton, an advocate of active intervention by the English government in the German war, was committed to the care of the Dean of Westminster (see SPD 1619-23, note 104, p 265) ostensibly for opening negotiations with Frederick of Bohemia. The Earl was involved in other matters which incurred the King's displeasure. See June?,

SPD 1619-23, p 269.

- 20 Mead mistakes the name which he writes correctly elsewhere. See Calendar I.37. Sir Richard Weston (1577-1635), later Earl of Portland and Treasurer of the Exchequer, a lawyer and Privy Councillor, soon relinquished Southampton to Sir William Parkhurst who, 'is willing to have any employment'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.384.
- 21 His Majesty's reasons for the committalls of Edward Sandys, Samuel Sandys, John Selden and the Earl of Southampton, were possibly connected with their involvement in the transactions of the Virginia Company.
- The king considered the Virginia Company to be a 'seminary for a seditious Parliament' and Sandys 'his greatest enemy' Other possible causes for the arrest of Southampton are discussed in note 19 and for Sandys and Selden in note 22.
- 22 The searching of Sandys' and Selden's studies and the removal of their 'Parliament notes' lent weight to the generally accepted idea that they were imprisoned for their political views expressed in and about the House of Commons; (but see note 21). See Gardiner, History iv. 133.
- 23 Wanstead House was a royal residence. It had been a royal manor in Henry VIII's time. In the sixteenth century it was rebuilt and renamed. See W.V.Phillips, Wanstead Through the Ages, (1946).
- 24 Dr John Williams was in favour with George Villiers, the Marquis of Buckingham*, King James's 'favourite'.
- 25 On the controversy over John Williams's appointment to the office of Lord Keeper see below Letter 21, note 7.
- 26 The problem concerns the king's prerogative. He could summon Parliament; prorogue Parliament; suspend its

sessions; and dissolve it. In the opinion of the Lord Keeper he could also 'continue' it. See CJs i.642. Parliament was adjourned on 4 June 1621 (CJs i.640) until 14 November 1621; it was adjourned twice more, met for a few weeks, and was then dissolved by the king.

27 It was generally known that the Emperor was under pressure from Maximilian of Bavaria to transfer the Electoral title of the Palatinate to him (see Appendix 3). Rumours which circulated in June 1621 led to the false conclusion that an Imperial Diet was already in session at Ratisbon (Regensburg) for the purpose of legalising the transfer. See 9 July 1621, Courante Nwes etc., p 7: STC 18507.11.

28 On John Digby see Letter 6, note 16.

29 The Emperor's intended Assembly of German Princes, (not a full Imperial Diet), eventually met at Ratisbon (Regensburg) to legalise the transfer of the Palatinate and the Electoral title. The meeting took place from November 1622 to February 1623.

30 False rumours about an Imperial Diet (note 27) hastened Digby's departure from England. He was authorised by King James to intercede with the Emperor on behalf of Frederick, Elector Palatine. On King James's diplomatic efforts for restitution of the Electoral title see Appendix 4.

'sumpter': a pack or baggage horse (OED/2).

31 Frederick's intransigence defeated all efforts made on his behalf. In September 1621 the Electoral title was secretly conferred on Maximilian of Bavaria (Appendix 3). For comment see SPV 1621-1623, notes 73 & 125; pp 68/69 & 104.

32 'His Majesty': the Elector Palatine, 'King' of Bohemia.

33 Christian IV did not intervene in the war at this stage.

- 34 See Calendar II.8.
- 35 Louis XIII laid siege to St. Jean d'Angély, a Huguenot stronghold. The defence was protracted for over three weeks. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, pp 187-88.
- 36 On Francis Michell (1556-fl.1621), see Letter 8, note 15.
- 37 On Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, see Letter 11, note 3.
- 38 The fourth person present at the censure on Michell was Edward Somerset (1553-1628), Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.383.
- 39 See Chamberlain, Letters ii.383 and Calendar I.37, where these events are described as taking place 'yesterday afternoone', (i.e. Thursday, against Mead's 'Wednesday') at the Court of the King's Bench, Westminster.
- 40 Mead's remark about the 'Lodge in the garden', may be taken in all seriousness. In December 1620 a proclamation had been issued 'against ... lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State'. Subjects were warned to 'take heede, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, ... at home or abroad' on pain of imprisonment, 'and Our High Displeasure'. See Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations i. number 208, p 495.
- 41 Robert Devereux (1591-1646), Earl of Essex, commanded a Company in 1620 in the Regiment of English volunteers under Horace Vere sent to defend the Palatinate. See DNB.
- 42 Sir Horatio Vere (1565-1635), Baron Vere of Tilbury, a military commander, virtually took over the defence of the Palatinate against the Catholic combination of forces in Germany. See DNB.
- 43 See Calendar II.3 for the fortifying of Papen-Muts.

[30 June 1621]

Sir,

Corranto¹es I know not what is become of them. That which Dr Meddus* wrot from London on Saturday², here it is, the most whereof as for domestick, I prevented in my last. Yet I heard since^{an} besides.

That on Tuesday (the last week) the Earle of Pembroke would have yeelded up his staffe.³

It is sayd that this week The Countess of Southampton assisted with some two mo Countesses putt up a Petition to the King that hir Lord might answere before himselfe which they say His Majestie graunted.⁴

I am told, That Dr Balcanquell⁵ should write that Dr Williams⁶ had the Seale for Lord Keeper, thrice given and taken from him in one day. They say The King should say that Charles was against him and how could he make him recompense, unless he gave it him, to which some report the Doctor answered, He should be content with the Bishoprick of London, if he might hold his Deanry still in Commendam. He hath satt and spake in Starchamber etc. One tells me that he entertained a good while since 50 Houshold servants etc.⁷ We talk (but I know not) That Mr Lane of St. Johns is become his Chapleine.⁸

We hold still that Dr Guin is Bishop of St Davids⁹ and Mr Senhouse shall have his Mastership.¹⁰

For forraine, I heare that it was fresh newes at London on Munday that St. John de Angelo (which this enclosed sayd bravely held out) is now yeelded unto the King upon composition to depart with bag and baggage.¹¹ I am told by the same

authour, that our King being moved to take some pittie upon these
poore distressed French, should answere. That he held this
principle, That if Subjects would not be of the same Religion
their King was of, they must suffer for it, and no neighbour
might lawfully assist them. 30

I am told also, That after the King of Denmark* had seased
upon the Earle of Schawmburges¹² territory (which lyes north of
Lubeck upon the Baltick Sea) he sent to those of Hamburg, to
send him presently 6 barrells of gold, and to resolve with speed 35
whether they would have him or the Emperour to be their head.
The first they sent him, but for the other they had not yet
given their answere.¹³

The King* and Queene of Bohemia* were lately royally
entertained at Amsterdam where all the English women of fashion 40
came to the Queene and were graciously accepted.¹⁴ One Mr
Paget an English preacher,¹⁵ preached before them, his text
that of Revelation to the Angell of the Church of Smyrna. Be
Faithfull unto death and I will give thee a crowne of life,¹⁶
which he urged (as they say he can do well) according to the 45
present occasion bravely.

I am told even now as a secret, That the Earle of South
Hampton¹⁷ hath beene searching concerning the lawfullnes of the
Earle of Hertfords marriage;¹⁸ which is that whereat the King
is offended; for it is sayd, that the last Parliament the King or 50
somebody should propound a motion to pronounce that issue [---]
illegitimate etc. etc.¹⁹ Some talk of other things, but I think
all uncertaine.

They say there is a proclamation come or coming concerning
Sir Edwin Sands, to let the people know, that he is not 55
restrained for his service in Parliament etc. but for other

personall matters.²⁰

It is sayd that My Lord Treasurer²¹ should in his speech to
the Judges admonish them, that they should in their charges
direct their speaches so as might imprint and preserve a good 60
and reverent opinion in the people concerning his Majestie, his
goverment and his meaning in these pressent businesses and
affairres of State. But I have told you enough of these high
matters. I pray keep not my letter to read to any body. The
times are full of jealousy and he that meanes [---] no hurt may 65
be misconceived. And that which hath no other root but an
excusable curiosity will be thought to proceed from
misaffection.²²

So with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

70

June 30

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 10. In MS: 'his Majestie promised graunted'.

Line 51-2. 'illegitimate' is written above the illegible
deletion in cramped writing.

Line 55. In MS: 'Sands that to let'; 'to' inserted above line.

Line 65. Partially illegible deletion; '---ing'.

Notes

- 1 A Corranto is a letter or paper containing public news(OED)..
- 2 See Calendar I.37.
- 3 On William Herbert (1580-1630), Earl of Pembroke, see Letter 11, note 4.
- 4 The Earl of Southampton (see Letter 3, note 36) requested the House of Lords that he might answer "in his Majestie's presence ... all that should be objected against him". The

Lords were not able to grant this request: it lay only in the power of the King himself.

- 5 On Walter Balcanqual see Letter 16, note 6.
- 6 On John Williams see Letter 3, note 37 and Letter 20, notes 3, 15.
- 7 The hesitancy in confirming John Williams, Dean of Westminster, in the office of Lord Keeper arose from two causes: i) the objection of the House of Lords that 'so meane a man as a deane shold so sodainly leape over their heades' (Chamberlain, Letters ii.383); and, ii) Prince Charles' opposition to Williams's political preferment which he 'expressed ... very bitterly and angrily ... to the King his father...' (SPV 1621-1623, n 102, p 88).
- 8 Robert Lane (1577? - 1634), Fellow of St. John's 1598, was ordained priest at Lincoln in 1606. The Lincoln connection probably led to talk of his becoming chaplain to John Williams (see note 6). See Venn, Alumni.
- 9 Dr Owen Gwyn (?-1633), Master of St. John's from 1612 to 1633, held various preferments including the prebendry of Lincoln. He did not, however, become Bishop of St. David's. See Le Neve, Fasti, ii.53,120 and Venn, Alumni.
- 10 Richard Senhouse (1592-1626), a Fellow of St. John's, did not become Master of St. John's. He became Dean of Gloucester in 1621. See Venn, Alumni.
- 11 See Calendar I.37 for the brave resistance of St. Jean d'Angély.

For the agreement made between the French King and the Protestants of St. Jean d'Angély, see Calendar II.10.
- 12 The territory of the Catholic Schaumburg Counts was closely connected with the Landgravates of Holstein and Sternberg.

Holstein had long been a source of friction between the Landgraves and the Kings of Denmark who claimed part of the country as a dukedom. Schaumburg was governed by Landgrave Ernst (founder of Rinteln University) from 1619 to 1622.

- 13 The King of Denmark resented the commercial privileges of the prosperous cities, Lubeck and Hamburg. They, in turn, resented Danish exaction of dues charged for passage of the Sound. In spite of Christian IV's intention to become master of the mouths of the rivers Elbe and Weser, Lubeck and Hamburg remained neutral.
- 14 For news of the visit to Amsterdam see Calendar II.7. The royal couple were 'most stately welcommed'. There is no mention of the English ladies.
- 15 John Paget (1576?-1640), MA Trinity c.1598, was minister to the English Presbyterian Church in Amsterdam from 1607 to 1637. See Venn, Alumni.
- 16 Revelation.ii.8.
- 17 On Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624), Earl of Southampton, currently under arrest, see Letter 3, note 36 and Letter 20, notes 19, 21.
- 18 Edward Seymour (1539-1621), Earl of Hertford, married Lady Catherine Grey in 1560. She claimed rights to the crown under Henry VIII's unrepealed settlement. The marriage was declared invalid and Hertford was sent to the Tower in 1564. Hertford's son, Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, was rightful heir to the throne after the death of Elizabeth in spite of doubts of his legitimacy. See Cambridge Modern History, xiii vols. (Cambridge, 1909) iii.360.
- 19 'that whereat the King is offended', concerning the Earl of Southampton, was a matter of conjecture. See June?, SPD

1619-1623, p 269 for official queries about his conduct.

- 20 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 27.

No proclamation seems to have been issued concerning the reasons for his arrest which remained a matter of speculation. See Letter 20, notes 21, 22.

Chamberlain's comment was that 'the cause of committal, ... is asserted not to be for anything done in Parliament'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.385.

- 21 On the Lord Treasurer, Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, see Letter 6, note 11.

- 22 Mead had reason to be cautious about the content of his letters (see Letter 20, n 40). His concern is evident in Letter 22 (7 July 1621). He fears that Letter 21 (this one - 30 June 1621) has gone astray - 'But if a man should venture the hanging so he should be served'.

(f 105r,v)

Letter 22 is out of order in MS Harl. 389. It is collated after Letter 24 (21 July 1621) which is mis-dated at the top '2 July 1621' in a hand other than Mead's.

[7 July 1621]

Sir,

I would be sorry to heare you had not received my letters yet which I sent the last week. They were written and sealed by 10 a clock and sent before eleven, and my sizer (whom I examined before Mr Isham¹) affirms that he delivered them to Parkers wives owne hand at Geffery Finches.² But you have such 5
wicked neighbours at Dalham that they would coole any mans zeale in writing. I wrot no letter a good while, which I would be so loth should come into any mans hand besides your owne as that was. But if a man should venture the hanging so he should be served.³ 10

This last week I received nothing from London, but this Corranto and Book.⁴ Mr Boswell*⁵ sent out of France to Court and now to returne, made a stop to visit old freinds; from whom I learned:

That St John d'Angelo was yeelded upon faire termes, or 15
indifferent, and that the King now beseiges Pons another towne in the country about Rochell.⁶

That some 4 or 5 days before he came from Paris there was printed a book entitled A Declaration of the Catholicks of England to their King,⁷ whereupon he was so mooved that he hath 20
granted them a toleration of Religion, and a masse hath beene sayd in Powles publikly and in most parts of the Kingdome etc.

This pamphlet was cryed in the streets after the French fashion
libelle, libelle⁸. but the setter and printer my Lord
Ambassador⁹ caused to be imprisoned untill the author can be
found.¹⁰ 25

That amongst the French lately come over came some as
messengers, from the Rochellers, and the Assembly of the
Religion.¹¹ to our King, who (as they told him on Friday) had
newly had private audience of our King and departed with good 30
hope and contentment. The King bidding them be assured that he
would not survive the roine of the Religion in France, but they
must give him leave to use his owne way and take his owne time
and that his backwardnes for Bohemia should be no argument to
discourage them since a greater tye withheld him there, then any 35
other relation or point of State could be. This he told me as
a secret.¹²

That there was newes on Friday the last week of a great and
bloody battell fought betweene Bucqhoys¹³ and Bethlem Gabor* but
the letters upon the E[]nge reported contrarily about the 40
vic[].¹⁴

That the Erle of South Hampton¹⁵ was thought to be in a
differing crime from Sir Edwin Sands¹⁶ and the rest, namely to
have had some private entercourse and practise with the King*
and Queene* of Bohemia, to further their cause, and meanes of 45
releife from hence, and some beginning as it were of a
confederation, in that there were letters sent by him subsealed
with many hands as undertaking in their behalfe.¹⁷

I heare not that Sir Samuel Sands¹⁸ and Hackwell¹⁹ are
amongst the detained. 50

Withers for his motto is in the Marshalsea,²⁰ the King
threatning to pare his whelps claws.

On Wednesday was sennight Sir [—] Lee married the
 Marquesses* kinswoman, and as some think may be Lord Keeper;²¹
 Whether Dr Williams shall marry the other or no, as was sayd 55
 when he was neere the broad seale, I know not.²²

The Bishop of Bangor²³ and the King had a whot canvass
 about the Sabbath at Greenwich.²⁴

The King of Denmark* hath quartered 8000 men in Shaumburges
 Country and the rest of his Army about Hambrough and is gone 60
 back to a Parliament in Denmark.²⁵ His quarrell against him
 grew from bearing the title of Duke of Holst purchased from the
 Emperor.²⁶ Thus says Mr Yong²⁷ preacher to our English at
 Hambrough who was at Cambridg this Commencement.²⁸

Our prevaricator was committed before he had done his Act 65
 for telling us that he would give us musick, but he would not
 play upon Gondomers fistula Gondomers pipe.²⁹

Thus with my old respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

July 7

Joseph Mead.

70

Textual Notes.

Line 16. 'now' inserted above line with caret.

Line 38. In MS: 'newes of on Friday was sennight the last'.

Line 40. Presumably 'Exchange': 'cha' missing at edge and
 bottom of leaf.

Line 41. Probably 'victor': some illegible letters on worn
 bottom edge of leaf.

Notes

- 1 The reference is possibly to Augustine Isham (1593-1637), a
 graduate of Christ's College and Rector of Elmswell in
 Suffolk. Lady Stuteville was an Isham before marriage;

Augustine was her cousin. See Peile, Register, 175.

- 2 No doubt Mead considered his letter to be in safe hands when it was delivered to 'Parker's wife's owne hand'.
- 3 The letter of 30 June 1621 (Letter 21) is in this collection so it evidently arrived at Dalham eventually. Compare Letter 21, note 22.
- 4 There are several Corrautoes from Amsterdam in this collection which could have been sent with this letter. See Calendar II.8,9 and STC 18507.20.
- 5 On William Boswell see Biographical Index.
- 6 St. Jean d'Angély, a Huguenot stronghold, was under siege by Louis XIII for more than three weeks. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, p 187.
On 'Pons' (Pountz) see Calendar I.38.
- 7 The printed book, God and the King or a dialogue wherein is treated of allegiance due to King James within his dominions (STC 11110.7), was produced secretly at St. Omer by the English College Press in 1620. It is an English translation of a Latin text of 1604 (STC 4835).
- 8 A 'libelle' is a little book; a short treatise (OED/I).
- 9 The ambassador in France (before his withdrawal in mid-July 1621) was Sir Edward Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Mead's reference to him as 'my Lord ambassador' would seem to be a courtesy title which was in general use. Compare 'the Lords saluted me by the Name of Lord Ambassador of France' (in 1619). Edward Herbert, The Life of Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, ed. M. Shuttleworth (OUP, 1976), p 89.
- 10 The English government forbade the publication of Catholic books during this period. Thus, Catholics printed books

secretly in England or abroad where Catholic refugees from England met together. Names of authors and printers were frequently omitted from their books.

- 11 'The Assembly of the Religion' refers to the national assembly of the governing bodies of autonomous Huguenot (Protestant) towns in France. In May 1621 an assembly held at La Rochelle adopted a new constitution in defence of Huguenot privileges. A government campaign, ostensibly to put down rebellion and not to crush religious rights, was consequently launched against the Huguenots. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, pp 173-4, 185.

- 12 The messengers from La Rochelle (Courelles, De Fos, Basnage, David) probably left France in late May 1621 soon after the Huguenot towns had adopted their new constitution. Their audience with King James was kept as secret as possible.

News-gathering sources in England heard rumours of their arrival but were still uncertain of the truth by 22 June/2 July. See SPV 1621-1623, note 68, p 62 and footnote.

William Boswell was evidently in the deputies' confidence as it would seem that he was informed on Friday 29 June/9 July 1621 of their audience with the King. Thus, Mead was in possession of highly secret matters of State.

- 13 On Charles-Bonaventure de Longueval, Comte de Bucquoy, see Letter 3, note 6.
- 14 The battle took place at Neuhausel in Austrian Hungary in June 1621. Bucquoy besieged the fortress with Imperial troops in May; Bethlen marched to relieve it and drove off the Imperial army. Bucquoy withdrew and died soon after from wounds received in the battle. See: 9 July 1621,

Courant Newes etc. (STC 18507.11); 29 July 1621, Newes from the Low Countries (18507.26); 10 August 1621, Courante or Newes from Italy (18507.28).

- 15 On Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, see Letter 3, note 36 and Letter 20, notes 19, 21.
- 16 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 27 and Letter 20, notes 21, 22. He was held in custody at this time. .
- 17 The Earl of Southampton had been in consultation with certain members of Parliament with the object of opening direct negotiations with Frederick and Elizabeth. See Gardiner, History iv.133.
The Venetian ambassador touched on 'the differing crime' of the Earl of Southampton. '[The Spaniards] aim ... to inspire the King... with jealousy of the Queen of Bohemia and her children. It seems ... on account of such suspicion the blow has fallen on Southampton'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 95, p 80.
- 18 Sir Samuel Sandys (1560-1623) was the eldest brother of Sir Edwin Sandys. See DNB under Edwin Sandys. Earlier reports had indicated that Sir Samuel had been arrested. See Letter 20, note 10.
- 19 George Hakewill (Hackwell) (1578-1649), archdeacon of Surrey, was a chaplain to Prince Charles. See DNB, and Chamberlain, Letters ii.393.
- 20 George Wither (1588-1667), a poet, later a Puritan satirist, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea after publication of his book, Wither's Motto (STC 25925). See SPD 1619-1623, note 132, p 268. The Motto is a catalogue in verse of the author's outspoken opinions on the political ills of England under James I. Wither's personal

motto came to be known as Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo
(I have not, nor do I need, nor do I care).

- 21 Sir James Ley (1550-1629), later Earl of Marlborough, judge and politician, was not created Lord Keeper. In July 1621 he connected himself to Buckingham's family by marriage. He became Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in January 1621/22. See DNB.
- 22 On John Williams, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, see Letter 3, note 37. He was 'neare the broad seale' while he was under consideration, by the Court, for the position of Lord Chancellor. He was made Chancellor (Lord Keeper) on 10 July 1621. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 11.
- 23 On Lewis Bayly, (d.1631), Bishop of Bangor, a puritan, see DNB.
- 24 A 'whot canvass' probably means a 'heated dispute':
'whot' - 'hot' (see under 'hot', OED, 16th century);
'canvass' - 'examination of the 'pros and cons': full discussion' (OED/4 obsolete).
Lewis Bayly's disagreement with the King rose from his objections to the 'Book of Sports' which gave approval to certain leisure pursuits being permitted on the Sabbath. His disagreement with the King took place on Sunday 24 June 1621. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 10.
- 25 On Schaumburg's country see Letter 21, note 12.
- 26 The division of Holstein was complicated. Part of the country was in the hands of the King of Denmark as a Duke of Holstein. See Calendar I.38 for reports of the king's action against the Earl of Schaumburg for 'selling him [the Emperor] his country' in return for the title Duke of Holst. The report is, possibly, a confused reference to

the exchange of money between the Emperor and Frederick III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (not Landgrave Ernst of Schaumburg). See a copy of an Imperial decree, dated Vienna, 28 July 1621, in Holstein-Schaumburg: Des Weyland Herrn Otten, Grafen zu Holstein etc., (Gluckstadt, 1700), p 321. Elsewhere it was said that Schaumburg had been granted the Electoral title of Brandenburg (see Calendar I.37). The report was incorrect.

- 27 On Thomas Young see Letter 8, note 1.
- 28 'Commencement': see Letter 19, note 7.
- 29 The prevaricator at Cambridge University was an orator who made a jocular or satirical speech at Commencement (OED/4). 'Fistulam Gondomari' puns on 'fistula' - a pipe-like ulcer (OED/1a). The Spanish ambassador had a visible fistula. This particular prevaricator was 'expelled the Universitie' for his satire because of the political implications of his remarks.

[14 July 1621]

Sir,

Notwithstanding that Sir James Lee (as I told you) hath married the Neice, yet contrary to some mens expectation he hath now mist the Lord Keeper-ship.¹ For it is the generall report now; That the purse and great mase were on Tuesday in the afternoone sent by his Majestie to Deane Williams² as he was sitting in Chapter with his prebends about Church affaires. The Bell is now ringing to a congregation and they say it is to send letters gratulatory from the University, according to our fashion.

5

I was told yesterday, that he had upon his knees petitioned the King, that no Officers might be putt upon him, but that himselfe might chuse them at his free libertie, that so, if any thing [---] were amisse he might not answere for the faults of those he could not do withall: which being granted him by his Majestie; it is sayd the Prince (as it seemes not knowing hereof) presently sent his letters, for one of his servants or some that he was moved to favour; to whom the Lord Keeper answered, That he desired his Highness would pardon him since he had upon his knees obtained the favour aforesayd of His Highnes Father. How true this, is I know not. but I heard above 10 days agoe, that he had petitioned his Majestie for the entertaining of many of the Lord Egertons³ (his old Lords) Officers, that by their experience he might at the first beginning be directed etc. which His Majestie should say was a very reasonable sute: whether the former report be not some mistake of this I know not.

10

15

20

25

It is sayd He is either to morrow or the Sunday following
to be consecrate Bishop of Lincolne.⁴

You have heard, I know, of the hot [---] encounter, betweene
Bayly Bishop of Bangor and the King concerning the matter of 30
the Sabbath⁵ by occasion of what he had written, in his book
called the Practise of Piety.⁶ Some now begin to talk as
though he were or should be restrained. But I think it is upon
no great ground they have who reported it.⁷

We talk here, as though the Earle of South Hampton should 35
refuse to answer the Commissioners assigned, unless they accused
him of Felony or treason, because he is a Parliament man. But
I have not heard much confirmation of it.⁸

The London newes I now send you (as you may see by the
date) should have been sent you last Saturday, but by default 40
of those into whose hands it fell, it came a week too late into
my hands viz not untill Saturday last but by chance it supplied
our want then, because that week from London fayled us
altogether, saving the Corranto's which heere I send you.⁹

I shewed Mr Boswell*, (who is now returned for France) the 45
French newes and he confirmes it to be true.¹⁰ He remembers
his service unto you, and desired to be confirmed in the good
opinion you have of him, as I assured him I had heard from your
owne mouth.

I hope to see Dalham as soone as St James tide¹¹ is past if 50
you please. Thus with my best respect remembred I rest.

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to

July 14 1621 be commanded

Joseph Mead.

They are come from the Congregation, and it was for the end 55
aforesayd. The letters were read (to be sent) in pomp as (Mr

Power¹² says) the Vice Chancellour¹³ ushering them with a speech.

The Chancellor of York (Dodsworth¹⁴) affirms he saw the purse and the mase carried before the Deane in his Surpliss coming from prayers on Tuesday at night etc. Now for the Clergie.

Dr Bainbridg¹⁵ told us at dinner even now, That Dr Price of Oxford was committed for a Sermon¹⁶ wherein he was too busie with Rochell, the Palatinate, and the Spanyard.¹⁷ Of Rochell he sayd that once before in like distress it was releived by miracle; but we must not always look for miracles, but were bound to use the meanes God enabled us with, for releife of that cause God approves etc. Of the Spanyard he related by way of application that of Baladan King of Babells Ambassadors to Ezekiah, 2 Kings cap 20. verses 13 14 15 16 17 18.¹⁸ It may this gave occasion to the report of the restraint of Bailly, Bishop of Bangor, seeing both are Welshmen. But they say the King sweres he will hang Price.

Textual Notes.

Line 6. In MS: 'about Church affair affairs'.

Line 17. In MS: 'to the whom'.

Line 21. In MS: 'had petiened petitioned'.

Line 29. In MS: 'of the whe hot ~~the~~ j'.

Line 34. In MS: 'no groud great ground'.

Line 40. 'been' inserted above line; 'you' inserted with caret.

Line 51. 'my' inserted above line with caret

Line 72. 'It may this': 'It may be this' probably intended.

Notes

- 1 On Sir James Lee see DNB and Letter 22, note 21. He did not become Lord-Keeper.

- 2 On Dr John Williams, Dean of Westminster, see Letter 3, note 37. On his becoming Lord-Keeper, see Letter 22, note 22.
- 3 Sir Thomas Egerton (1540-1617), Baron Ellesmere, Viscount Brackley, had been Lord Chancellor (Lord Keeper) until his death in 1617. John Williams, (see note 2), had lived in Egerton's household as chaplain.
- 4 Dr John Williams, elevated to the Bishopric of Lincoln in August 1621, was not consecrated until 11 November 1621.
- 5 On the Bishop of Bangor and his dispute see Letter 22, note 23.
- 6 The Practice of Piety: STC 1601.5. The opinions of the Bishop, expressed in the book, were considered to be 'false and erroneous ... in point of doctrine and religion'. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 10.
- 7 Lewis Bayly was sent to the Fleet prison by the Board of the Privy Council for his offensive speech to the King. The Board left his religious affections and opinions to be dealt with by the Court of High Commission (an ecclesiasticall court). See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 10.
- 8 Chamberlain confirms that 'Southampton refuseth to answer'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.385.
- 9 The reference is to Mead's letter from London of 28 June 1621; see Calendar I.38. See Editorial Preface for Mead's methods of passing on news received from London.
- 10 The French news which may have been shown to William Boswell included details of a quarrel between Sir Edward Herbert, English ambassador to France, and the Duke of Luynes, the favourite of Louis XIII. As a result of the quarrel, Sir Edward Herbert was recalled from his duties in

France in July 1621. See Calendar I.38.

- 11 St. James Day is 25 July.
- 12 William Power, Fellow of Christ's 1599-1646, Lady Margaret preacher 1613-1646, was head of the Anglican party in the College and a suspected papist. See Venn, Alumni; Peile, Register i.209; Peile, Christ's College, p 139.
- 13 The Vice-chancellor for 1620-21 was Leonard Mawe, Master of Peterhouse 1617-25, afterwards Master of Trinity and Bishop of Bath and Wells. See Venn, Alumni.
- 14 The Chancellor of a diocese is the chief representative of the Bishop or Archbishop in the administration of the temporal affairs of the diocese.

Matthew Dodsworth (1547? - 1628?) gained the degree of LL.B from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1573. Later he became Chancellor to Archbishop Tobie Matthew (Archbishop of York 1606 - 1628) at York Minster.
- 15 Dr Thomas Bainbrigge(d.1646), Fellow of Christ's 1599, DD 1616, was later Master of the College from 1622 to 1646. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Christ's College, pp 131-132.
- 16 Dr Theodore Price (1570?-1631), Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford, a prebendary of Leighton Buzzard, was a kinsman of John Williams, Dean of Westminster. By Williams's favour, Price acted as a sub-dean of the Westminster chapter. Chamberlain confirms that Price was in trouble 'for something in his sermon'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.387.
- 17 'Rochelle, the Palatinate and the Spanyard' were all politically sensitive topics.

Catholic Spain was still regarded as a potential aggressor in spite of the peace of 1604 between England and Spain.

Many Protestants in England wished that King James would be

more forceful in aiding the Protestants under attack in France and Germany ('Rochelle' and 'the Palatinate') but James was reluctant to become embroiled in wars in Europe.

- 18 The verses from 2 Kings record the visit of Baladan, son of the King of Babylon, to Judah, the kingdom of Hezekiah. Hezekiah's visitors were allowed to see all the riches and splendours of Judah. It was prophesied by Isaiah that the Babylonians would eventually carry off all Judah's riches and treasures, including Hezekiah's sons. The king foolishly thought this would be for the best as long as there was peace in his land in his days.

The application of the verses to 'the Spanyard' and King James was that, with their army already entrenched in the fertile land of the Rhine Palatinate, (James' son-in-law's hereditary territory), the Spaniards were likely to commandeer its treasures and attempt to banish the Protestant religion leaving the country and its inhabitants under Spanish domination. King James was inactive in the cause of the German Protestants against domination by the Emperor and Spain because, like Hezekiah, he desired peace in his kingdom in his day.

Letter 24 is out of order in MS Harl. 389. It has been mis-dated 2 July 1621 at the top by a hand other than Mead's.

[21 July 1621]

Sir,

It was true that I wrot last of the Bishop of Bangor.¹ On Thursday was sennight he was examined before my Lords of Canterbury, Durham Winchester, Lincolne, London and Sir J Bird Deane of the Arches,² and it was talkt at London then that he should be degraded, and some idly added, that he should be made incapable of any preferment save a Lecture as a reward of his Puritanisme.³ What is now I know not.

It was true also of Dr Price, for a sermon before the King on Sunday was fortnight,⁴ but he was not long restrained; he is the Princes Chaplein.

The Earle of South hamptons answere to the Commissioners sent from the King to take his answere, to certaine interrogationes was That if his offence were criminall, he was to answere in the Starchamber: if capitall, at the Kings Bench: if of lesser moment at the counsell table. Howsoever before he would give answere, he desired to be resolved in one question, viz. whether being a peere of the Parliament, he might not challeng⁵ that priviledge and libertie, by the lawes of the Kingdome, which every member of the Parliament was to have during the Parliament yea every one of their servants? etc. Whereunto when they gave him no answere, he sayd, That for his owne part he was resolved not to do any thing, which might prejudice the privelegde and freedome of the Parliament and the

members thereof; and therefore desired that he might make his
answere in Parliament and in the presence of his Majestie; 25
other answere he would not give any.⁶

About the end of last week The Earle of Oxford⁷ was
committed to Alderman Cockins:⁸ His fault was thought to be
too bold speach in behalfe of the Earle of South Hampton.⁹

It was also newes then, That our Navie was sent for to come 30
from the streights and lye in the narrow seas, to keep them from
piracies; but they talkt at London (as they use) that it was to
keep the Hollander from robbing the Spanyard.¹⁰

It was written from the Hague, That the Arminians began to
stirre againe, set a work as was thought by some undermining 35
instinct of Spaine and feared would disturbe all other
designes.¹¹

The King of Denmark had not dissolved his Army, though not
knowne whot he would do.

Confirmed That Bucqhoy had received a greate overthrow.¹² 40
Sayd the Turks were for Hungarie.¹³

Our Master from Court at Royston¹⁴ (on Thursday morning)
brought newes of a Jubilee at London, viz That most of these
restrained persons were sett free, The Earles of South hampton
Northumberland, Sir Ed Sands, Sir Henry Yelverton, and¹⁵ I 45
know not who besides. That the Lord Keeper¹⁶ came with the
Earle of South hampton to Theobalds,¹⁷ where the King had
private speach with [---] him an houre. We shall heare more
today. On Thursday and Friday at night, it is sayd, the King lay
at Haunes.¹⁸ I am in some busines, else would have written 50
more.

If I can come to Dalham the next week, you shall have word
of Tuesday, if not on Saturday. For I stay to speak with a

money-man to come from London: I thought he would have been
here by this. Thus with my best respect I rest

55

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

July. 21

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 48. 'We' is written above an illegible deletion.

Notes

- 1 On the Bishop of Bangor see Letter 22, n 23 and Letter 23, notes 6,7.
- 2 The Archbishop, the Bishops and the Dean of the Arches were members of a court of the High Commission (an ecclesiastical court).
The Archbishop of Canterbury was George Abbot (1562-1633); the Bishop of Durham, later Archbishop of York, Richard Neile, (1562-1640); the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626); the Bishop of Lincoln, later Archbishop of York, John Williams (1582-1650); the Bishop of London, George Mountaigne (1569-1628). The Dean of the Arches was a judge of the Archbishop's 'Court of Peculiars'. The Court of Arches was originally the Consistory Court of the province of Canterbury which met in Bow Church, Santa Maria de Arcubus. See ^{ODCC}[Oxford D. Chr. Ch]
- 3 On the records of the Court of High Commission see Letter 9, note 15. It was said of the Bishop of Bangor that, 'the high Commission had given him time till Thursday next to mend yt [his answer to the court]'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.393.
- 4 On Theodore Price and his sermon see Letter 23, notes 16. On his dangerous choice of subjects for a sermon see Letter 23, notes 17, 18.

- 5 Challenge: to demand as a right (OED/5d obsolete); to have a natural right or claim to (OED/6).
- 6 On the Earl of Southampton see Letter 3, note 36. His comments were apparently common knowledge in London. See Calendar I.37.
- 7 On Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, see Letter 4, note 31. He served in the English army in the Palatinate (under the command of Sir Horatio Vere) from June 1620 to November 1620. On his return he was appointed to the council of war to determine the amount of aid to be sent to the Palatinate. He was imprisoned in July 1621 (see note 9, below) and again from April 1622 to December 1623.
- 8 Sir William Cockayne (or Cockins) (d.1626), one of the most successful merchants of the period, was Lord Mayor of London 1619-1620. He and other members of the Merchant Adventurer's Company equipped ships for exploratory voyages to the North; a harbour in Greenland was named after him - Cockin's Sound. See DNB.
- 9 Oxford's 'too bold speach in behalfe of the Earle of South Hampton' probably stemmed from his experiences in the war. Southampton advocated urgent assistance to the German Protestants in their struggle against the Emperor's forces. King James was reluctant to make a decision to intervene actively in German affairs.
- 10 'Sir Robert Mounsell and his fleet are called home, some say to kepe the soveraigntie of the narrow seas'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.394.
- 11 The Synod of Dort in 1618 issued an edict forbidding Remonstrant (Arminian) conventicles. In the United Provinces the Military were ordered to keep Remonstrant

towns in order and to disperse open-air meetings. See Pieter Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century 1609-1648, Part I, (London 1961), pp 71-72.

The Remonstrants (Arminians) in the United Provinces were generally considered to favour continuing the truce with Spain while the Contra-Remonstrant party (i.e strict Calvinists) favoured the renewal of hostilities. The truce came to an end in April 1621.

Instinct: Instigation, prompting (OED/1, obsolete).

- 12 The reference is to the siege of Newhäusel (see letter 22, note 14). It was reported in '... Neues from Italy, Germany etc., 10 August 1621'; STC 18507.28, that 'Count Buchuoy, who was shot through the arm with a musket retired himself three miles from thence [Newhäusel]'.

Bucquoy died on 16/26 July 1621.

- 13 The Turkish army was on the march. It was thought its intention was to invade Hungary. See Calendar II.10. The Hungarians were in great fear of the Turks: 'when the Turkes looke upon us, they gnash their teeth together at us, like dogges, God be merciful unto us...'. See Calendar II.8.

- 14 On Valentine Carey see Letter 18, note 13.

Royston was a royal residence near Newmarket,

- 15 The orders for the release of the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Northampton, and Sir Edwin Sandys were issued on 18 July 1621, 17 July 1621, 20 July 1621 respectively.

See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 11. There are numerous references in Mead's letters to the arrests of Southampton and Sandys, see especially Letter 20.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was imprisoned in

1606 for alleged complicity in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Sir Henry Yelverton was arrested in December 1620 on charges relating to a charter, granted to the City of London, which had not been warranted by the crown. Yelverton was set at liberty on Thursday, 19 July 1621. See White, Grievances, p 160 and Chamberlain, Letters ii.390.

- 16 On the Lord Keeper, Dr John Williams, Dean of Westminster, Bishop-elect of Lincoln, see Letter 3, note 37.
- 17 Theobalds was a royal residence in Hertfordshire. Roy Strong, The Renaissance Garden in England, p 51.
- 18 Haunes: now Haynes in Bedfordshire.

25

(f 110r)

Mead added the following message to the addressed leaf (f 111r) of Letter 25: 'Leave this letter with Mr John Pollington. I pray let it be sent this night without faile'.

[1 August 1621]

Sir,

My heart misgives me, that either my letters on Saturday¹ miscarried, or that some worse accident hath befallen at Dalham. For I wrot on Saturday both unto your selfe and unto Mr Warner² signifying in both my purpose to see Dalham on Munday last, and my desire of an horse, according as you had emboldened me by your letters. I delivered the letters with mine owne hand to Parkers man* before he went out of my chamber; But Munday is past and Tuesday is gone and I heare nothing: What should I judge to be the reason? I send this letter by Mr Lany³, hoping it will come unto you this Wednesday at night and if I heare on Thursday (tomorrow) I shall be ready and glad to come: if I heare not; I will suppose that some hindrance hath disappointed me for this time and so rest till I have gone another journey, which I would have else deferred till I had sufficiently wearied you at Dalham.⁴ Yet would I faine know first how all things are with you, whether well or ill. Thus hoping the best, and renewing my wonted respect and service to your selfe and my Lady I rest

Christ Colledg

August

the first, Wednesday⁵

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 15. 'first' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 20. In MS: July August.

Notes

- 1 Mead's letter of 28 July 1621 is not in this collection (MS Harl. 389). Presumably it was not delivered to Dalham.
- 2 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.
- 3 Benjamin Lany (Matric. Christ's 1608-d 1674/5), Fellow (later Master) of Pembroke College, was Vicar at Madingley, Cambridgeshire from 1619 to 1624. He later became a chaplain to Charles I. After the Restoration he held various bishoprics. See Venn, Alumni.
- 4 Mead eventually spent some time at Dalham. His next letter (Letter 26) refers to 'Tuesday, the day after I came from Dalham'.
- 5 Wednesday, 1 August 1621.

[15 September 1621]

Sir,

That which hast made me forget the last time¹ shalbe the first I write at this. That Dr Cotton Bishop of Exceter² is dead and our Master³ shall succeed him. The meanes was reported unto me as followeth. My Lord of Hunsdon⁴ who is much favoured by the Marquesse* had together with him been with the King at Windsor to kisse his hand, and found him at that present very pleasantly and graciously disposed. It happened as he was gone out from him, that he mett the first message of the Bishops death arriving at Court: which opportunity and his Majesties gracious temper at his departure from him, moved him to returne, and acquainting the Marques: therewith they went both presently unto his Majestie and obtained it for our Master before others could heare of the vacancy. Some say that my Lord Keeper⁵ was by and putt in his good word. On tuesday, the day after I came from Dalham⁶ our Master went suddenly forth, being by Post went for to the court at Windsor by my Lord of Hunsdon to give thanks to his Majestie and those who had done so well for him. On Saturday at night he returned againe and was on Sunday dinner in our Hall, where he very kindly enquired how you did, and whether you would not be here this faire time expressing much desire to see you, before he went to London. I told him you were to come this way at Michaelmas⁷ etc.

A freind told me this faire time, that Ben Johnson was not knighted but scaped narrowly, for that his Majestie would have done it had there not beene meanes made (himselpe not unwilling) to avoyd it.⁸

The other reports remaine as before.

The generall report here is, That my Lord of Canterburyes
day of hearing was on Munday. But what is done the reports were
yesterday but uncertaine, though most that it went against him, 30
some, that he was deposed, others that he was persuaded to
resigne his Bishoprick of himselfe; and yet that the King much
graced him in the presence the day before.⁹ They say he shall
have a liberall pension for life, That my Lord Keeper shalbe
Canterbury; others that Winchester¹⁰ shalbe Archbishop, and my 35
Lord Keeper Bishop of Winchester. And some talke that my Lord
Treasurer shalbe Chancellour¹¹ and my Lord Cranfeild
Treasurer¹² if my Lord Keeper be Archbishop.

This afternone will bring us more certainty: I shall not
need tell you that my Lord Keepers refusing to be consecrated 40
by the ArchBishop (as having his hands in blood) was one meanes
if not the cheife of his affliction.¹³

The price of the new Turkish history¹⁴ is about 15^s if you
will have it, I shall heare.

We have report heare, that the Queene of Bohemia* is great 45
with child againe. Tis a brave lasse. She hath 5 already;
God make her happie with the sixt.

Some feare That the Spanyards will do with the Palatinate
as Bethlem Gabor* doth with Austria, namely sett the Villages
on fire.¹⁵ We shall heare more to day, as also whether Spinola 50
and the Prince of Orange have fought for the bridge as some
say.¹⁶

Thus with my best respect, I rest

Christ Colledg

September 15

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

55

My Lord Gerard is slayne
by my Lord Saintjohn upon
Callis Sands:as the report
is heare:though some say
in the North.¹⁷

60

Textual Notes.

Line 57. In MS: 'My Lord Gerard is slaine is the report here
My Lord'.

Notes

- 1 'hast'- Mead probably intends 'haste'. 'The last time' was perhaps 8 September 1621 (the previous Saturday) but the letter is not extant.
- 2 William Cotton was Bishop of Exeter from 1598 until he died in 1621.
- 3 On Valentine Carey see Letter 18, note 13. He had some family connection with the Careys, barons of Hunsdon, see n 4.
- 4 For Henry Carey (1580-1666), Lord Hunsdon, Viscount Rochford, later Earl of Dover, see DNB.
- 5 On the Lord Keeper, John Williams, see Letter 3, note 37 and Letter 20, notes 3, 15.
- 6 Mead appears to have been back in college by Saturday 8 September 1621 (see note 1). Thus, he probably returned from Dalham on the previous Monday, 3 September: in which case he evidently spent just over a month at Dalham Hall (compare Letter 25, note 5).
- 7 Michaelmas Day is 29 September.
- 8 Ben Jonson (1572-1637), playwright, poet, masque-maker to the King, was in high favour at court. His masque, The Gypsies Metamorphosed, recently performed before King

James, had been well received. There was talk of rewards for Jonson, including a knighthood, but none of them materialised. On Jonson see Herford and Simpson, Jonson.

- 9 On George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, see Letter 3, n 33. He had an unfortunate accident in July 1621 while he was hunting in Hampshire; he shot and killed a gamekeeper. There were legal ramifications: by Common Law, Abbot, by committing homicide, had forfeited his estates to the Crown; by Canon Law, he had committed an irregularity for which the penalty was suspension from all ecclesiastical functions. George Abbot retired from his duties temporarily but he retained his position as Archbishop. The King sympathised with his plight. A commission was appointed to decide on his case but it did not sit until October 1621. See P.A.Welsby, The Unwanted Archbishop (1562-1633), (1962), chapter 7.

Dr John Williams, Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln was not elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

- 10 Dr Lancelot Andrew(e)s (1555-1626), Master of Pembroke College 1589, a Privy Councillor for England and Scotland, was Bishop of Winchester from 1619 to 1626. See DNB.
- 11 On Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, see Letter 6, n 11. He was not made Lord Chancellor. He resigned his position as Treasurer in September 1621 to make way for Lionel Cranfi~~ld~~ld. Montague became President of the Privy Council. See DNB.
- 12 Lionel Cranfi~~ld~~ld (1575-1645), later Earl of Middlesex, a Privy Councillor, held many official appointments. After Lord Bacon's fall from the position of Lord Chancellor, it was expected that Cranfi~~ld~~ld would succeed him but the

position went to John Williams (see note 13). Cranfeild succeeded Montague as Treasurer. He was created Earl of Middlesex in 1622. See DNB.

13 The Lord Keeper, John Williams (see Letter 3, note 37 and Letter 20, notes 3, 15), Bishop-elect of Lincoln, refused to be consecrated by George Abbot because of the 'irregularity' of his shooting a game-keeper. Williams was eager for political and ecclesiastical power and may have seen the Archbishop's disgrace as a chance to seize the Archbishopric for himself.

14 The Generall Historie of the Turks by Richard Knolles, first published in 1603 was reissued in a third edition in 1621. See STC 15053.

15 In ... news from Italy and Germany, 24 September 1621 (STC 18507.29), it was said that 'Hungarians [led by Bethlen Gabor] had burnt and destroyed about 200 castles, villages and market towns'.

16 The armies of Spínola and of the Prince of Orange, encamped on opposite sides of the Rhine near Wesel, were both engaged in building bridges over the river. On 10/20 September 1621 Spinola crossed the bridge towards the Prince but 'attempted nothing'. See Corant or weekly newes from Italy etc., October 2 (1621); STC 18507.31.

17 I have found nothing to confirm this report.

(fos 121r,v; 122r)

[22 September 1621]

Sir,

How the world goes you may know by the enclosed:¹

Nevertheless my letters from France relate some thinges more particularly,² as That my Lord Doncaster³ the 5 of this month had not had audience of the French King⁴ by reason of a feaver which took him upon the very point of his going unto the King at or neare Tholouse from Mousac (where his Lordship lay.

5

That Mountaban is very furiously beseidged: and hath yet had good successe in her defence.⁵ and That one Capitaine Sauvage a Sergeant Majeur and a Cannonier in the Towne have bin discovered and executed for holding intelligence with some of the Kings army.⁶

10

Besides that Monsieur de Mayenne going to visit the Ordnance planted on his side to make new batteries, was in great danger of fire, which fell (no man knoweth how) amongst his powders.⁷ The Marques Villiers⁸ (the Duke de Mayennes demyfrere) and le Comte de Suze⁹ (the sayd Dukes nephew) being broyled to death or litle better, and many (some say above 20 gunners killed out right: But that which is most strange (sayth mine author) is that at the same time also the fire fell into the powder and amongst the Cannons upon another quarter of the Kings Army, (whence a battery was to be made) with losse of many Gunners likewise and other Souldiers.¹⁰

15

20

The Marques Temmines¹¹ Son of the Marshall de Temmines, a brave gentleman, is lately slayne on the Kings syde.

The Duke de Rohan* is expected with 10 or 12000 in behalfe of 25
the Towne¹² and the Towne seemeth resolute to endure the worst;
for worse then hath befallen their fellowes who yeilded upon
composition and upon promise of good usage can hardly befall
them.¹³

That the Carmelite Frier¹⁴ who prophesied unto the Duke 30
of Bavaria* the victory at Prague,¹⁵ is long since gone to the
Kings Army concerning the present matters there. And that he
passed through Paris whilst my author was there, and for a
weekes space shewed himselfe in saying of masse and preaching
in the Italian tongue and blessing of Idiots who were of an 35
incredible number coming to adore him. Also during his stay in
Paris the bigots+ cutt and rent his froque from his back to
keep the pieces thereof as reliques of his pature and holynes.

Thus farre my freind, who sent me also his pourtraict
which I send you to look upon , desiring upon all kindnes that 40
you would returne me it againe next week, because I promised it
to Dr Chadderton¹⁶ who was desirous to have it.

It is both written and reported for certaine at London that
on munday was sennight Gondomer* went forth to meet his
Majestie returning from Progresse¹⁷ and made complaint of Sir 45
Horatio Vere¹⁸ for that which is lately done in the Palatinate.
belike it greives him that some of the Dons were kild.¹⁹ I am
told, that there is an Apologie forth for Sir Horatio; but I
have not yet seene it. But they say that Sir Horatio layes
that which was done upon Obertrout,²⁰ whether it be that of the 50
conflict at Stein or invading the villages of Spirre or both²¹

+ so they call ye vulgar people of Paris as we those of
London, Cockneys.

I know not. but it was reported when I came home, that my Lord Digby in his passage had given Sir Horatio a strict charge not to meddle;²² to his no small greife, as having of his English and those he had trayned of the natives some 10 or 12/000, both ready and desirous at that instant to make some prooffe of their valour.

For my Lord of Canterbury²³ you see what the enclosed says and yet there is great feare of the event by those that wish him well. For though the King used him graciously the next day after his returne: yet when he sent to his Majestie as the wont is, to know where he should attend him, whether at Woodstock or elsewhere, it is sayd he was prohibited to come to him any where save at Whitehall.²⁴

So with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

September 22

Yours most ready to be

commanded

I pray Sir forgett not Joseph Mead

the Carmelites picture.

My Corrantoeer Archer²⁵ was layd

by the heales for making or

adding to Corrantoes etc. as

they say: But now there is

another who hath gott license to

print them and sell them

honestly translated out of Dutch.²⁶

I forgot to tell you, that my freind

writes, that the Frier is a Spanyard

by birth, brought up for the most part

at Rome, and of no learning.

Textual Notes.

Lines 18-19. In MS: 'most strange ~~is that~~ (sayth..)'.

Line 20. In MS: 'another syde quarter'.

Line 50. 'the' inserted with caret

Line 57. In MS. 'natives above some'.

Line 64. 'yet' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.42.
- 2 Mead's letters from France, from which he extracts much of the news sent in this letter, were evidently of an earlier date than the printed courantes which confirm most of his information. See notes 6,7,12.
- 3 On James Hay, Lord Doncaster, see Letter 5, n 10. He went as ambassador extraordinary to France in July 1621. His special mission was to attempt to make peace between the French King and the French Protestants. The Protestant (Huguenot) towns were under attack by the French royal forces.
- 4 Louis XIII, 1601-1643.
- 5 Mountauban, a Huguenot stronghold in southwest France, was besieged for eighty-six days but did not submit. The siege lasted from mid-August 1621 to November 1621. See Calendar I.42 and Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, pp 189-194.
- 6 The treachery of Sauvage and others is reported in Weekly newes from Italy, Germany etc., 2 October 1621 (STC 18507.29). See also Calendar I.42.
- 7 Henri, Duke of Mayenne (1578-1621), of the Guise family of France, died at the siege of Mountauban. He was fighting on the King's side against the Protestants. See Biographie Universelle.

For confirmation that 'gunpowder in his quarter was set on

fire' See Courante or newes from Italy etc. 24 September 1621 (STC 18507.29).

- 8 The 'Marques Villiers' who died at Montauban was the 'frere de mere' (uncle) of Henri, Duke of Mayenne, not his 'demi-frere' (half-brother), (see Mercure Francois, Tome 7, p 827). Henri's mother was a Villars from the house of Savoie-Villars. Her brother is not identified.
- 9 Louis, Comte de La Suze (d.1636), a Protestant of the Mayenne branch of the Champagne family, commanded an army in defence of Protestant strongholds against Louis XIII. In May 1621 he was defeated at Gergeau and retired to Sedan. See Biographie Francaise.
- 10 See Calendar I.42: 'The King ... hath had in two quarters his powder fired, burnt up, and many slayne and hurt'.
- 11 Marquis de Thémynes (Pons de), Lauziere (1552-1627), a Marshall of France, served in 1621 at the siege of Mountaban. He was given the task of suppressing all castles and towns held by the 'rebels' in Languedoc. He was made Governor of Brittany. See Biographie Universelle.
- 12 On Henri, Duke of Rohan (1579-1638), leader of the Huguenots in France, see Biographical Index.
On his approach towards Mountaban to relieve the siege see Weekly newes from Italy, Germany etc., October 11 1621 (STC 18507.34).
- 13 The reference is to the inhabitants of St. Jean d'Angély who yielded to the King (Louis XIII) on composition. Composition: a mutual agreement for cessation of hostilities (OED/23b).
- 14 On the friar see Letter 1, note 12. Mead refers to him in Letter 1 as an 'abominable sorcerer' and a 'Prophet of the

Devoll'.

- 15 It was on the prophesy of victory from the Carmelite Friar that Maximilian went into battle at that particular time. See Gindely, Thirty Years War i. Preface vii-ix and p 248. On the victory at Prague see Appendix 11.
- 16 On Dr Laurence Chadderton see Letter 14, note 1.
- 17 'Progresse': A state journey made by a royal or noble personage etc. (OED 2a).
- 18 On Horatio de Vere, commander of the English forces in the Lower Palatinate, see DNB and Letter 20, note 42.
- 19 The 'Dons', killed in the Palatinate, were nine Spanish captains. De Vere (n 18) had attempted to quarter his army in the Bishopric of Speyer against local opposition. Shots were fired and his troops forced their way in. Consequently, the commander of a Spanish army declared the truce at an end (an unofficial truce had been arranged pending the outcome of Digby's negotiations (see note 22)) and seized the castle of Stein. This gave rise to a skirmish between the Protestant forces and the Spanish army. See Gardiner, History iv. pp 214-5 and Calendar I.40.
- 20 Obertrout was a German Colonel fighting for the Protestants in the Palatinate. See Calendar I.40 for his involvement in the fighting in the Palatinate.
- 21 See note 19.
- 22 On John Digby see Letter 6, note 16 and Letter 20, note 29. Lord Digby was engaged in delicate peace-making efforts involving all the parties in the German war. The situation was finely balanced as to whether or not hostilities continued and no doubt it was for this reason that he had given Sir Horatio 'a strict charge not to meddle'.

-
- 23 On George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his current troubles, see Letter 26, note 9.
- 24 The 'enclosed' indicated that the Archbishop had received 'private gracious words [from the King], held his place at Counsell etc. ... though some seeme to doubt'. See Calendar I.42.
- 25 Thomas Archer was one of the first publishers of Courantes in England. None of his earliest publications from February 1620 to September 1621 has survived. Archer set up again in May 1622 as part of a news syndicate. See Dahl, Bibliography, p 1. On Archer's further career as a newsmonger see below, Letter 106, note 1.
- 26 Archer's work was taken over by Nicholas Bourne.

[29 September 1621]

Sir,

I have no other newes to speak of but what the enclosed¹ telles. Onely, that we talk heere, that the Duke de Mayenne² is slayne before Mountaban, and some talke as though my Lord Doncaster were dead: the truth of both will appeare hereafter.³

I shall not need to tell you that+ Jane Newcom⁴ is married 5
for this is newes a fortnight old: She stole hir marriage from
hir mother as it seemes, by the sorrow she expressed when she
heard of it. The place was Chesterton, the Bridechamber at
Magdalene Colledg, nor do I heare of any dinner unlesse it were
at a booth in the faire. They have now taken a Chamber or two 10
at a Cookes house in the Towne, I think he be the Cook of
Trinity Colledg.

I know not whether you are at home or not, because I heare
not of the picture of Father Dominick the Carmelite.⁵
Therefore with my best respect here I end resting 15

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready
Michaelmas Day	to be commanded
	Joseph Mead

Our Master is not yet come
home.⁶ We look for him 20
tonight. Dr Dun shalbe
Deane of Powles⁷, but who
shalbe our Master I know not

+ She married Adrian Scroope, fellow of Magdalene Colledg. 25

nor I care not.

P.S. Since my writing, I received
your letter with the picture
and I thank you.

Textual Notes.

Line 7. 'as' inserted above line with caret.

Line 14. In MS: 'picture of ~~Dominick~~ Father'.

Line 20. In MS: 'home ~~who~~ we'.

Notes

- 1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.43.
- 2 On the Duke of Mayenne see Letter 27, note 7.
- 3 Mead's news is partly correct. The Duke was killed at the siege of Mountaban but Lord Doncaster survived his illness.
- 4 Jane Newcom was the daughter of Dr Robert Newcom (Letter 3, note 48) who died in February 1620/21. On his deathbed he 'gave his daughter to Mr Scroop'. See Letter 4, note 4.
- 5 On Father Dominick see Letter 1, note 10.
- 6 On Valentine Carey, Master of Christ's College, see Letter 18, note 13.
- 7 On John Donne see Letter 20, note 2.

From October 1621 printed news was published in small volumes replacing the earlier broadsheets. See

' Editorial Preface' for the editorial method used to distinguish the different types of newsletters.

29

(f 127r)

[10 January 1621/22]

Sir,

After my heartiest thanks for all your late kindnesses I could not but in a word or two, let you understand what newes I found here currant viz

That the Parliament should have beene dissolved, and the Proclamations a printing,¹ but that the Earle of Pembrok² so vehemently interceeded with the King that it is yet suspended, and so hoped his Majestie wilbe pacified, though some feare the contrary. Some joyne the Prince for an Intercessor.

5

That Sir Edward Cook is lodged in the Tower in a roome that once was a kitchin: whereupon against he should come thither, one had written upon the dore This Roome wants a Cook, which himselfe read at his entry.³

10

Forraine newes there hath bin none (they say) since I went but onely that the French Favorites brother riding post to Amiens ([---] whereof the King had new made him Governour) broke his neck with a fall.⁴

15

For the Palatinate I heare nothing. Some say they heard newes, that the treaty for peace betweene the Emperour and Bethlem Gabor, will come to nothing (though the Emperour much seekes for it) because Bethlem demands no lesse now, then the restitution of all.⁵

20

My Lord our Mr⁶ ministred the communion on Christmas day in his Rotchets.⁷ and came into the Hall at dinner and

sitting downe in his chaire, Well(sayd he), in good time be it
 spoken, I think I am the first Bishop that ever sate in this
 place. He with my Lord of Salisbury⁸ were invited to St. Johns 25
 Colledg; where after supper, the 2 Bishops with Dr Richardson⁹
 and Dr Guin¹⁰ came downe into the Hall and playd at Cards.

I have sent Mr Thomas¹¹ the Urania¹²; it cost me . [---] 8
 shillings.

You see (Sir) in what penury I am, which have nothing else 30
 to write. Therefore heere I take my leave, with my best
 remembrance to your selfe and my Lady resting
 Christ Colledg Yours most ready
 January 10 to be commanded
 hora secunda Joseph Mead. 35

I am told that privie Seales are gone abroad.

Textual Notes.

- Line 7. In MS: 'so hoped with his'.
 Line 14. 'post' inserted with caret.
 Line 36. This is written in the left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 Parliament had been expected to reassemble on 8 February 1621/22 after the adjournment of 19 December 1621, but, it was dissolved by a Royal Proclamation issued on 6 January 1621/22. See LJs iii.200/201 and Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations i. number 223, p 527.
 Parliament did not sit again until February 1623/24.
- 2 On William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, see DNB and Letter 11, note 4.
- 3 On Sir Edward Coke see Letter 20, note 12. He was committed to the Tower on 27 December 1621 for his share in the Protestation of the Commons. For the Protestation,

which was entered in the Commons' Journals and subsequently torn out by King James, see Cobbett's Parliamentary History i.1361.

- 4 On Honoré d'Albert (d.1649), a Marshall of France, brother of Louis XIII's 'favourite', see Letter 4, note 43.

On the 'favourite', Charles d'Albert, Duke of Luynes, see below, Letter 30, note 4.

- 5 The peace conference between the Emperor, Ferdinand II, and Bethlen Gabor was held at Nikolsburg (now Mikulov). The conference was concluded on 27 December 1621 o.s./6 January 1621/22 n.s. For the agreed terms see Appendix 6. The treaty was not conclusive. See Gindely, Thirty Years War i.327/8.

- 6 On 'my Lord, our Master', Valentine Carey, see Letter 18, note 13.

- 7 'Rotchet': an obsolete form of 'rochet' - a vestment of linen, of the nature of a surplice, usually worn by bishops and abbots (OED/2).

- 8 On John Davenant, see Letter 15, note 12.

- 9 Dr John Richardson (...d 1625) was Master of Peterhouse 1609-15 and Master of Trinity 1615-25. See Venn, Alumni.

- 10 On Dr Owen Gwyn see Letter 21, note 9.

- 11 'Mr (Master) Thomas' was the son of Sir Martin Stuteville by his first wife, Katharine Holland. Thomas was born 2 March 1599/1600. See Dalham Parish Registers and Peile, Register i.303.

- 12 Urania: a romance published in London in 1621 under the title of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania by the Lady Mary Wroth (see STC 26051). The Countess of Montgomery was

the author's friend and neighbour. Chamberlain remarks that Lady Mary Wroth 'takes great libertie or rather licence to traduce whom she please'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.427.

[19 January 1621/22]

Sir,

Newes is now growne very geason¹, no man writes; I can
onely tell you what I heare. viz

That (as some say) Sir Horatio Vere² was come to the Hague.
because that Manheim was so strongly beseidged that it could
not long hold out, but must either resolve to dy bravely or 5
yeeld in time to composition; which their brave [---] Generall
scorning to do and resolving rather to dy then to staine his
honour with that basenes as he accounts it, he was partly by
the entreaty of his Souldiers, and partly by perswasion of the
States of the Lowcountries, advised to come to the Hague, and 10
leave his Souldiers in the Towne to take such a course [---] as
they should think fitt and necessary, either to hazard their
lives [---] or yeild the Fort without any act or consent of
his.³

That Luines the Favorite⁴ died in disfavour and miserably 15
as having scarce any body to attend him at his death. and That
his brother riding to Amiens gott a fall whereby he died.⁵

You know ere this of the certain dissolution of the
Parliament.⁶ it was proclaimed at London on the Wednesday the
week I came from Dalham; but not at Court till Saturday after, 20
which gave hope that it should have beene recalled. On that
Wednesday his Majestie fell into a water being throwne by his
horse neare Theobalds, but, God be thanked had no hurt.⁷

Sir Edward Cook⁸ was examined by the Earl of Arundell⁹ Lord
Chamberlaine,¹⁰ and Lord President¹¹ (as they call him), where 25

(they say) My Lord Arundell layd treason to his charge for speaking so in Parliament, as tended to stirre up the Subjects hearts against their Sovereigne.

Sir Rob Phillips¹² is likewise committed to the Tower being sent for by a Pursevant, in the midst of his jollitie and feasting of his freinds in the Country. but I heare of nothing yet layd to his charge. 30

The Earle of Somerset is let out of the Tower and at Liberty.¹³

Yesterday was fortnight The Marq[] Buckingham* and the old Countesse¹⁴ received¹⁵ [] from the Bishop of London.¹⁶ Mr Wilson¹⁷ [] is my author, who affirmes he was []. Amen. 35

Mr Bing of Grantchester¹⁸ his man for speaking seditious words about the dissolving of Parliament, was committed and hath beene they say rackt, others say had the Strapado.¹⁹ some say he is dead with racking, others that either he is or shalbe hang'd drawne and quartered. Some conceive he is rackt to learne whether he had heard anything at his Masters. For Mr Bing married Mr Clinches daughter²⁰ who since the last prorogation had [---] with another Parliament man [---] lyen at Mr Bings house.²¹ Thus they talk. But I heare nothing, but they are innocent. 40 45

They say that Dr White, Dr Westfeild, Mr Shute and some adde, Dr Day are suspended.²² Dr White for something delivered in his lectures: But some can not guesse what should be the fault of some of them unlesse it were want of zeale to a Breife new come out for a collection to repaire the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. for in Dr Westfeilds Parish, they say there was but £12 given, and in some other lesse, where in one of them (Dr Westfeilds) there was almost £80 gathered lately 50 55

for the French. They say one of the Friers of the Monastery
there comes for the Collection.

Some talk as though many Justices of Middlesex should be
putt out of the Commission etc.²³

Thus much in hast remembring my best respect I rest 60

Christ Colledg Yours ever to be

January 19 commanded

I send by this bearer Joseph Mead.

your Rolle-book.²⁴ it is

well done, I hope he will 65

bring it safe.

I forgot to tell you, that, they talke at the Court that
the King hath received not long since a very kind letter []m
Spaine; whereby they conclude The Palatinate be restored: but I
hope it is lawfull not to beleeve [] untill we see it.²⁵ 70

Textual Notes.

Lines 35-37: MS torn at corner and patched. Line 35 - 'Marquess'
Line 36 - perhaps 'confirmation', see note 15

Line 38. In MS: 'Mr Bing Bing.'

Line 40. In MS: 'they raked say'

Line 44. A line preceding line 44 is deleted completely:

'house whereupon he [---] he took so great boldnes to
speak'.

Line 45. In MS: 'the last adjeur prorogation'.

Line 59. In MS: 'putt frem out'.

Line 65. 'he' inserted above deleted 'you'.

Line 67. 'they' inserted above line with faint caret.

Lines 68-70. MS torn at corner and patched.

Line 68. Probably 'from'.

Notes

- 1 'Geason': rare, scarce, uncommon (OED/2).
- 2 On Sir Horatio Vere see Letter 20, note 42.
- 3 For comment on Sir Horatio Vere's presence in Mannheim 'the now residence of the Lord General Vere', see Calendar I.46. Reinforcements were approaching the city.
Earlier news in September 1621 indicated that Vere had no commission to fight... 'the people on promise of freedom of religion chusing rather an oncertain peace then to undergo any further molestations by the tyrannie of the Spanish souldiers' (see Calendar I.44).
- 4 Charles d'Albert (1578-1621), Duc de Luynes, was Constable of France, first Minister of Louis XIII. He died in camp at Longueville of a fever in December 1621.
- 5 On the Duke of Chaulnes, brother of Luynes, see Letter 29, note 4. He died in 1649.
- 6 On the dissolution of Parliament see Letter 29, note 1.
- 7 See Calendar I.45 for an account of the King's accident.
- 8 On Sir Edward Coke see Letter 20, note 12.
- 9 On Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel see Letter 15, note 15.
- 10 On William Herbert, Lord Chamberlain, see Letter 11, note 4
- 11 On Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, see Letter 6, note 11.
- 12 Sir Robert Phelps (Phillips) (1586-1638), a prominent member of Parliament, supported (November 1621) the Commons' petition against Catholics and the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to a Spanish Princess. (On the

proposed marriage, afterwards referred to as the 'Spanish match', see Appendix 4i). He was arrested on 1 January 1621/22. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 115.

- 13 The order for the release of the Earl of Somerset from the Tower was issued 15 January 1621/22. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 116.

He and his wife were discharged from the Tower on Wednesday evening, 16 January 1621/22. See Calendar I.46.

- 14 The 'old Countess', Mary Compton, née Beaumont (1570?-1632), three times married, was the mother of George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, by her first husband, Sir George Villiers. See DNB.

- 15 See Calendar I.45 for contemporary comment on the confirmation of the Marquis of Buckingham and various members of his family by the Bishop of London: 'and after they dyed with his Lordship'.

- 16 Dr George Montaigne (1569-1628), later Archbishop of York, was translated to the Bishopric of London in 1621.

- 17 Mr Wilson is not identified with certainty. Perhaps Christopher Wilson (M.A. 1604 at Christ's-d.1624). See Venn, Alumni.

- 18 Henry Bing was a counsellor of Gray's Inn. His 'man' was his servant and horse-keeper. Rumours were current about the reasons for his arrest. It was said that he used seditious words in favour of Sir Edward Coke and that he prophesied a rebellion.

See Calendar I.45 and SPD 1619-1623, note 26, p 336.

- 19 A 'strapado' was an instrument of torture used to extort confession (OED/1).

- 20 Catherine Clench, daughter of Thomas Clench of Holbrook,

Suffolk, married Henry Bing in 1610. See Additional MS 19123: Davy's Suffolk Collections, vol. xlvii.

- 21 The reference must be to Mr Clench, not to his daughter.
- 22 Dr Thomas Westfield (1573-1644), later Bishop of Bristol, was the vicar of Hornsey from 1615 until 1637. See Venn, Alumni.

Dr Thomas White (1550-1624), vicar of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Canon of Windsor, was a well-known preacher. He was the founder of Sion College, London and of White's Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Oxford. See Court and Times of James the First etc., compiler Thomas Birch, 2 vols., (London, 1848), ii.285 and DNB.

Mr Shute was probably Josiah Shute, rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth or his brother Nathaniel Shute, Rector of St. Mildred, Poultry from 1618-38.

- 23 Commission (of the Peace): Authority given under the Great Seal empowering certain persons to act as Justices of the Peace in a specified district (OED/2c).

'In 1621 the House of Commons in its general attack upon what appeared to be abuses in government found time to complain about the excessive size of the country benches. ...[Thereafter] most commissions were reduced'. J.H. Gleason, The Justice of the Peace in England 1558-1640 (Oxford, 1969), p 51.

- 24 The 'rolle-book' is probably Sir Martin Stuteville's court-roll which by law was a record kept in connection with a manorial court. It contained especially entries as to the rents and holdings, deaths, alienations and successions of the customary tenants or copyholders(OED).

25 See Calendar i.45. Mead's correspondent shares his doubts about the validity of the Spanish proposals concerning the restoration of the Lower and Upper Palatinates to the Elector Palatine. He doubts that 'Spain wilbe Enemy to the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria'. See also Chamberlain Letters ii.420.

[22 January 1621/22]

Sir,

The price for your book was so small, that I ment not to have troubled a letter with it, being like enough to make you pay for it some other way. It cost but 18^d. I send, 6 back. He would have had 2^s shilling but I told him I ment to bestow it.

5

I send the newes of last Saturday.¹ I am told besides, That All Justices are like to be discomissioned shortly and a new choise made.² Mr Ramsey³ told me from Court. and besides

That my Lord of Pembrok⁴ and Marquess Hammelton⁵ have spoken vehemently at the Counsell Table against dissolving of the Parliament, affirming that the day would come when this error would be imputed to the Counsell and not the King. and therefore they protested against it etc.

10

That My Lord of Arundell⁶ telling Sir Ed Cook,⁷ that he had heard him affirme, that by Law, He that should go about to withdraw the Subjects hearts from their King was a Traytor; Sir Edw answered; That he was so indeed: but he that went about to withdraw the Kings heart from his Subjects, he held to be an Archtraytor. etc. etc. Moreover My Lord told him, that though he were a close prisoner, yet his Majestie would allow to come unto him 8 of the best learned in the Law to advise him, for his [—] cause. He answered, He thanked the King for his Gracious favour, but he knew himselfe to be accounted to have as much skill in the Law as any man in England and therefore needed no such helpe, nor feared to be judged by the Law in that he was

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accused. He knew His Majestie might easily find in such a one as he, whereby to take away his head, but for this he feared not what could be sayd etc.

He told me more, That some Lawyier, who, he knew not, was brought to the Counsell Table, to demonstrate that if a Parliament were called, and through the default of those assembled, no Session made; his Majestie might then by his prerogative ordaine Lawes for the matters therein unconcluded, and besides dispose of many other thinges by a right the Lawes or Customes of the Kingdome gave unto him in such a case.⁸

And that some [---] of the Counsell undertook to shew the King a way, to furnish himself with money for the maintenance of 8000 men without any subsidies or help of Parliament.⁹

They say these ships go for the Infanta.¹⁰ That your Bishop shalbe privie Counsellor¹¹ etc. But heare I end, with my due respect resting,

Christ Colledge

Yours to command

January 22 in hast

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 11. In MS: 'day might would'.

Line 18. In MS: 'held also to be'.

Line 21. 'him' inserted above line with caret; In MS: 'best counsellors learned'.

Line 36. In MS: 'And seme that'.

Line 38. 'men' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 39-43. Written in the left-hand margin.

Notes

1 See Calendar I.46.

2 On the decommissioning of Justices see Letter 30, n 23.

3 George Ramsay was a Fellow of Christ's College 1613-24. He

was a near kinsman of John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness and brother to Sir James Ramsay (see Letter 33, note 5). These family connections gave George Ramsay access to the court and the latest London news.

- 4 On Lord Pembroke see Letter 11, note 4.
- 5 On James Hamilton (1589-1625), Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge, a Privy Councillor of Scotland and England, see Complete Peerage.
- 6 On the Earl of Arundel see Letter 15, note 15.
- 7 On Sir Edward Coke see Letter 20, note 12.
- 8 The extent of the King's prerogative was a subject of much debate in Parliament. For a discussion on the arguments of both King and parliament see Henry Hallam, Constitutional History of England, 3 vols., (Everyman Edition, 1913), i.297 ff; Russell, Parliaments, pp 267-269.
- 9 One suggestion was that the import taxes on French and Spanish wines should be doubled. Another, that 2 shillings in the pound should be levied on goods imported by strangers. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 114.
- 10 The Infanta, Isabella Clara Eugénie of Austria (1566-1633), ruled as governor of the ten southern provinces of the Netherlands on behalf of her nephew, Philip IV of Spain. There was consternation in the Dutch Republic over the possibility that England might supply ships to the Spanish Netherlands. The Venetian ambassador reported that 'they [the Dutch] had heard with astonishment a report that His Majestie's ships were to make reprisals upon theirs'. See SPV 1621-1623 note 300, p 220.
- 11 Dalham, Sir Martin Stuteville's home, was in the diocese of Ely. 'His' bishop, therefore, was Nicholas Felton (Fenton)

(1556 - 1626), Bishop of Ely since 1619, formerly Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, a widely respected scholar and theologian. Although King James held him in high regard Felton did not become a Privy Councillor. DNB.

[26 January 1621/22]

Sir,

This letter enclosed came to me on Wednesday afternoone. I suppose it is from my Lady Denton.¹ I have no other occasion of writing now, for all my store I sent you by Sir Tho:

Hollands man*; which I hope you received safe together with the surplus of the money you sent for binding the Court Rolls. 5

Some say Sir Ed Cook² was to answer yesterday and for life they thought. What is become of Mr Bings man,³ whether he be alive or dead, I heare nothing, The benevolence and borrowing of money goes about the Citty. Alderman Cockin⁴ gave the King 10

£300. The talke hath beene this week and more that your Bishop should be privie Counsellor.⁶ The great Clergie hath had a meeting for the Benevolence,⁷ and as they say have prescribed to the inferiour Clergie what they shall give, according to 15 their valuation, in the King's bookes etc. and that as is feared so heavie, as will make them grone.

This is all and so with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

January 26

Yours to command

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 1. In MS: 'enclosed enelosed came'.

Line 3. In MS: 'sent you last week by'.

Line 12. 'great' inserted above line with caret.

Notes.

1 Lady Elizabeth Denton (née Isham) (1578-1664), widow of Sir

Anthony Denton, was sister-in-law to Sir Martin Stuteville. See 'Northamptonshire Families' ed. in The Victoria History of the Counties of England, General editor, William Page, (London, 1906), p 157 (referred to below as Northamptonshire Families).

- 2 On Sir Edward Coke see Letter 20, note 12 and White, Grievances. Coke was sent to the Tower on 27 December 1621. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 106.
- 3 On Mr Bing's man see Letter 30, note 18.
- 4 On Sir William Cokayne see Letter 24, note 9.
- 5 See Letter 31, note 11.
- 6 The 'Benevolence' was a forced loan or contribution levied without legal authority by the Kings of England on their subjects (OED/4).

King James needed monetary contributions from his citizens (including the clergy), supposedly, in order to raise troops to fight in the Palatinate on behalf of his son-in-law Frederick, the Elector Palatine.

[2 February 1621/22]

Sir,

This week likewise, we had no intelligence from London by letters, but what we heare is as followeth.¹

It is certainly reported, that Gulick is lost, but by what meanes or stratageme I cannot yet heare.²

The States Ambassadors here, though tendring themselves and service with more then ordinary humilitie and subjection were yet (as the common talk is) entertained by our King with more disrespect then ever they had beene or others use to be; his Majestie not so much as vouchsafing to stand up, when they delivered their Ambassage: yet I cannot beleave, that which some talke, that when they desired him to be their Protector and promised to be as faithfull and serviceable to him as any subjects he had; he should call them Rebels, and bid them returne to their true and lawfull soveraigne the King of Spaine.³

The report that Mansfeild* hath taken those places in Alsatia;⁴ that his Army is very rich with spoile; and that he is like to have a wonderfull great Army against the Spring, yet holds.⁵ The first one told me from a letter to my Lord Duke, wherein was also written that at the taking of those townes Sir James Ramsey⁶ Liuetenant General to Colonell Gray,⁷ and our Mr Ramseys⁸ brother, was with some other commanders slaine, yet our Mr Ramsey hopes better. For the great army Mansfeild* is to have I [—] saw written by a Book marchants factor which came on Friday was sennight.

I saw this week the latin copie of the Emperours letter to Balthasor de [---] Juniga⁹ [sic] etc.

Wherein the Emperour says that if he should restore the Palatine,* now God hath give it into his hands to ruine him: it wilbe sayd unto him as the prophet sayd to Ahab 1 Kings c. 20 30

Because thou hast let goe out of thine hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life and thy people for his people.¹⁰

For he sayth that God hath given him those great victories and advantages that he might make use of them for rooting out 35 or pressing downe of heresies espiceally of Calvinisme. He says besides that the Hollanders when they rebelled drew their first [---] life and hope from the Palatines house,¹¹ and that the King of Spaine must never look to subdue his rebells in the Netherlands untill he be Lord and Master of the Palatinate. 40 These things I noted above what you heard before.

I saw a letter also from a Minister at Hambrough dated January 5 which speakes of bloudie warres like to be betweene the Polack and Sweden unless some Christian Princes interceed.¹² He says besides that by all signes this yeare now 45 coming is not like to pass without great and wofull calamities and prays God, that we feelee not a part, before we beleeeve it.

The Benevolence goes on;¹³ a marchant of London who had beene a cheesmonger, but now rich, was sent for by the Counsell and required to give the King 200 or else to go into the 50 Palatinate and serve the Army with cheese being a man of 80 years of age. he yeelded rather to pay; though he might better have given 9 subsidies according as he stands valued. This was

told me by one that heard it from his owne mouth. They talk
also of privy seales.

55

His Majestie at Theobalds¹⁴ discoursing [----] publickly
how he ment to governe, was heard to say. He would governe
according to the Good of the Commonweale, but not according to
the Common-Will.

It is sayd that the Prince interceeding lately for Sir Edw
Cook, His Majestie answered, he knew no such man, and when the
Prince interceeded by the name of []Cook, His Majestie still
answered he knew none by that name neither, but he swore there
was one Captain Cuke, the leader of the Faction in Parliament
etc.

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I have no more. Thus therefore with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

February 2

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

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Textual Notes.

Line 9. In MS: 'to stand up or rase up'.

Lines 24-25. In MS: 'I say saw'; 'factor dated since Friday'.

'say' and 'Friday' covered with ink-blot.

Line 25. In MS: 'on Thursday Friday was sennight'.

Lines 31-33. Partly written in a larger hand than usual.

Line 54. 'me' inserted above line with caret.

Line 56. A word inserted above line with caret is deleted.

Line 62. MS patched.

Line 63. In MS: 'knew not none'.

Notes

1 The newsletter had not been sent to Mead because of the
'ill-newes' it contained. See Letter 34, note 1 and
Calendar I.47.

2 'Gulick' is written for 'Jülich'. Jülich had been under
siege since September 1621. The town and its Dutch

garrison was compelled to surrender to Spinola in February 1622. The inhabitants held out bravely: 'they did eat up all their dogges and cattles and some horses till they had not any salt left ... they yeelded upon honourable conditions'. See Calendar I.48.

- 3 The Dutch Ambassadors arrived in England in November 1621 to negotiate terms for the restitution of the value of English goods which had been seized by Dutch ships in the East Indies. The Dutch had thrown off Spanish rule in the sixteenth century; thus, from King James's monarchical viewpoint they were classed as rebels.
- 4 The Austrian possessions in Alsace provided quarters for Mansfeld's famished troops. He had taken Hagenau and Sabrin. See Calendar I.46.
- 5 For a list of the forces of horse and foot levied in the name of Mansfeld (and for other Protestant commanders) see SPV 1621-1623, note 315, p 227.
- 6 Sir James Ramsay (1589-1638), a Scot related to the family of the Earl of Holderness, was not killed in Alsace. Later, he served with the army of Gustavus Adolphus where he was known as 'the black' to distinguish him from another Sir James Ramsay in the same army known as 'the fair'. See DNB.
- 7 Charles Gray commanded a regiment of 2000 foot under the Generalship of Count Mansfeld in the Palatinate. See SPV as in note 4.
- 8 On George Ramsay see Letter 31, note 3.
- 9 Don Balthasar de Zúñiga (d. 1622), formerly a soldier, then an ambassador to Brussels, Paris, Rome and Vienna, was from 1618 the chief minister in Spain. The letter from the

Emperor to Don Balthasar concerned the transfer of the Upper Palatinate from the Elector Frederick to Maximilian of Bavaria.

- 10 The Emperor, a zealous Catholic, feared God's punishment if he allowed Frederick to go unpunished for his transgressions against the Empire (compare Ahab, King of Israel: I Kings.xx.42).
- 11 The 'Palatine's house' is a reference to the Elector Palatine's descent from the House of Orange. William of Orange (1533-1584), (William the Silent), was the Elector's great-grandfather. William initiated the movement towards political independence which eventually freed the Dutch from Spanish control.
- 12 The Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden inherited a dynastic feud with Poland on his accession to the Swedish crown in 1611. In 1621 the Swedish king captured Riga, a great city fortress, and gateway to Polish-held Livonia.
- 13 On the Benevolence see Letter 32, note 7.
- 14 Theobalds was one of the royal residences. See Letter 2, note 32.

[9 February 1621/22]

Sir,

The newes inclosed is the very Funerall of all good hope,
and yet what it should be, I cannot understand.¹ Whatsoever it
be, it seemes if it prove true, like to undo all.

Notwithstanding Mr Ramsey² coming from the Court last night,
told me that the Talke there for the Restitution of the
Palatinate by treaty, is now againe turned cleane contrary; one
offering for a peece in hand, to give him ten peices for it, when
the Palatinate was either restored by a treaty or won by the
Sword.³ It should seeme then to be a very desperate case. He
told me besides, that his Majestie is sending My Lord
Chichester⁴ Ambassador to the Princes of Germany to reunite
them againe, promising both money to raise their Armies, and all
help and assistance possible.⁵ But whatsoever the reason is my
Lord Chichester makes all the meanes he [--] that he might not
be imployed in this service. T[---] is all I know for the
present; what this day will [-]ing I cannot yet tell. Thus
with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest

Christ Colledg

February 9

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Heliodorus⁶ is new come
forth in refined English

Joseph Mead.

translated according to
the Greek: If Mr Thomas⁷
be desirous of it, I can

send it him for his money.

I send you by this bearer

His Majesties Declaration touching

the Parliament.though you have

already the most of it, and some-

what more.for the Parliaments

letter and Petition are not here.

but here is the Proclamation for

the dissolution etc.⁸

30

Textual Notes.

Line 5. 'me' inserted above line with caret.

Line 10. Large blot, perhaps a word blotted out between 'is' and 'sending'.

Line 14. Ink faded: possibly 'can'.

Line 15. Ink faded: probably 'this'.

Line 16. Ink faded: probably 'bring'.

Line 32. In MS: 'Petition-~~are~~-are'.

Notes

- 1 The enclosed news contained the 'ill-newes' of the rumoured defection of two Protestant army commanders to the Emperor. It was feared that other Protestant commanders would follow their example. See Calendar I.47.
- 2 On George Ramsay see Letter 31, note 3.
- 3 It was not only at Court that doubts were entertained of the 'restitution of the Palatinate' by the Spaniards. (Compare Mead's comment, Letter 30, note 25).
- 4 Arthur, Lord Chichester of Belfast (1563-1625), Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1605 to 1614, later a Privy Councillor, was sent to the Palatinate on a useless mission in 1622. He had already left Ireland for the purpose of commanding 10,000 pressed men in January. See Calendar I.46.
- 5 On the Protestant Princes of Germany see Appendix 1. The Union had no desire to fight the Emperor on behalf of the Elector Palatine's illegal claim to the Bohemian throne.
- 6 Heliodorus (AD 220-250) was the author of Aethiopica, a Greek romance of the daughter of the queen of Aethiopia. An English edition 'done out of Greeke' by T. Underdowne,

edited by W. Barret, was issued in 1622 (STC 13041).

- 7 On Thomas Stuteville see Letter 29, note 11.
- 8 On the Declaration of 17 December 1621; petitions from the House of Commons; and letters and answers to and from the King and the Commons see Cobbett, Parliamentary History i.1323-1361. For the Proclamation of 6 January 1621/22 see Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations, number 223, p 527.

[16 February 1621/22]

Sir,

Dr Meddus* wrot not the last Saturday;neither can I heare
any thing at all, concerning the doubtfull newes I last sent
you, no not any thing either about the Palatine* himselfe,or
Gulick.¹ I hope,the Palatine* is well, though one or two askt
me suspiciously if I heard nothing,and because I had not,they
would not tell any thing. I have seene this week some foure
Corrantoës out of which,besides such thinges as you have heard
already, these are the most remarkable ²

That the Grisons Country³ is in a manner wholly taken in,
partly by the Spanish of Millaine and partly by Archduke
Leopolds forces:⁴ where though they promised liberty of
religion and other faire dealing to those which yeelded, yet
they treacherously broke promise cruelly misusing the people:
as in a Towne called Marinvelt⁵ which yeelded upon such like
composition, they not onely sett up their masses,and baptised
the children after the Popish fashion, but pillaged the whole
Citty,and took the Bayliffe or Consull [] man of 80 years of
age,whom because they could not perswade to be a Papist, they
cutt out his eyes, c[] his nose and eares,and in such manner
having mangled him,left him to dye in his owne bloud. To
increase this misery of those parts,it is written, That all the
Catholick Cantons of the Switzers have renounced both their
liberty and confederation, which they have enjoyed this 200
years, and subjected themselves under the Spanish goverment and
that of Austria,leaving the poore Protestant Cantons to shift

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for themselves.

Yet in one of the Corrantoes it is written that since Mansfeld* made such havock in Alsatia, That the Archduke Leopold sent some 15 men of worth in ambassage to him, promising if he would spare that country, he would restore Valtelina but all this is but to gaine time.⁶ 30

The Brunswickian Bishop of Halberstat* had some new forces. 2500 arrived with him and expected more and it was sayd in the Corrantoes, That the Bishoprick of Collen and those of Bergland were much afraid of him, and another says that he had received order from somebody to proclaime the Lantgrave of Darmstatt open enemy, but the Emperour threatens him.⁷ 35

The Corrantoes also confirme, That Mansfeild* encreases his forces dayly and very much and that his Army is very flowing with money, and that both his and Leopolds Captaines take up Souldiers in Lorraine though the Duke of Lorraine be sayd to keep his Fronteirs with a gard of Souldiers.⁸ 40

In Bohemia, Wittingaw, Klingenberg and Warbeck yet hold out,⁹ and the first being required by Don Balthasar¹⁰ to yeeld, they within answered, that they had given their oth to King Frederick*, andⁱⁿ it were resolved to persist unto the last man. 45
it is sayd to stand in a mote and so hard to be won.

There were banished out of Prage January 3 no less then 52 Hussitish ministers and others put in their Rome by the Archbishop of Prage.¹¹ The Emperours proclamation was that all Protestant ministers taken on about 1618 and since should within 3 days depart the Towne, within 8 days the Kingdome and Emperours dominions and [] at if any should entertaine any of them after th[] terme, to be executed for example to others; [] they likewise if they should stay. 55

There was a great deale of money carried from Tabor¹² when it yeelded; which being come to Balthasars eare he kept a great inquisition at Prage, to learne whose it was, and so to gett it into his owne hands.

About the agreement betweene the Emperour and Bethlem Gabor the Corrantoes speak as though it was not hoped to come to any conclusion,¹³ though they had bin long in treaty: but the Emperour had nevertheless sent Officers and money into Poland to gather up store of Cossacks against the Spring, and some yet doubted whether the Poland and Turk were surely agreed.¹⁴

One Corranto says that it was newes at Vienna that a great part of the Turkes Army was about Transylvania, there meaning to keep leager till the Spring and that thereupon Bethlem* and Yagersdorfe were gone back toward Transylvania.¹⁵

Another says that as soone as the Grand Senior was arrived at Constantinople, he degraded the Visier Bassa and proclaimed the house of Austria open Enemie.¹⁶

The Spanish fleet hath taken [Tun] an Iland neere Constantinople and pillaged it, and thought Prince Philibert should be the Governour thereof.¹⁸

The Duke of Saxon* continues still for the Emperour, in Silesia, and beseiges Glats¹⁹ which Jagersdorfe took the last Spring.

From Gulick: the Corranto says that the seige was reinforced, in such sort that Henry van den Berg²⁰ sent to the Governour²¹ to yeeld, who desired 3 days to consider what answer to give, and being sent to at 3 days end to know his answer, he sayd that the 3 days he ment were Christmas day, Easterday and Whitsunday.

My Lord of Oxford is gone to sea with 10 ships and it was thought his commission was to meet with the Hollanders as they cam[] from the West-Indies, because 2 Dutch ship[] []mmouth haven, had they not gone out in good time, [] []hought should have bin surprised.²² But some talk [] though he were come back againe, others talk some other things. the pretence against the Hollanders is for the wrong done to our marchants, which they have not yet fully satisfyed.²³

90

There hath beene a report at London and we have had it heere this fortnight, of a strange prodigie in the aire about some 10 miles from Plimmouth, which was (as they say and write) after this manner.

95

Three black clouds marched up one toward another and encountred together there being heard in the meane time the beating of drummes, sometimes striking a march, sometimes a treat and sometimes a retreat, and at the time of the encounter the noise of muskets and great ordnance till at length with a wonderfull and terrible thunderclap they parted and a stone of 27 pound weight fell out of the aire, of which some in London had peices sent them for tokens; and he that wrot this relation sayd he had it from one that had a piece. but beleave as you will.²⁴

100

105

There hath beene a report all this weeke of some hundreds of people gathered together to a rout, in Wiltshire or Devonshire or both; of [—] such as say they are undone by the decay of clothing and therefore will take, what is not given them. It is sayd that hereupon the Counsell would enjoyne the Cloth-marchants in London to buy the clothes in Blackwell Hall, but that they refused, alledging they could not sell them

110

again^e.²⁵

115

I will not tell you of the vulgar and improbable talk at London. That Gondomer* should have obtained of the King some thousands against ye Hollanders, That Toby Maskle²⁶ the younger should be the Princes Secretary: That there are Jesuites abroad who for theire liberty, that no man should touch them, have shown, I know not how many of the Counsell's hands and such like. For I beleieve them not yet.

120

On tues[] morning last dyed our Junior proctor Mr Parkin[]²⁷ he that acted Ignoramus.²⁸ There was none of [] Fellowes nor others that watcht with him, when he died. We had bid his sizer who lay in his chamber, to put out the candle about an eleven of the Clock and to go to bed; who once or twice called to him afterward asking him how he did; but about one a clock or 2 calling upon him againe, he found him dead, and then called in the Fellowes, who supposing he had beene in a sound²⁹ rubt him etc. but he came no more. Mr Mordent of Trinity Hall³⁰ is chosen for the remainder of the yeare and was admitted yesterday.

125

130

Our Orator also they say will not escape being at death's dore.³¹

135

Mr Parkinson had the advowson of Barton of the downes in Bedfordshire; the first and onely advow[] that the King hath given. There was an old man in it almost bedrid when the King came into England, and he hath now outlived some 3 or more who gott the advowson of the King against he should die. And yet our Mr Mor[] durst adventure upon it; and by the meanes of his Lord (we say) hath obtained it.

140

I heard last night, That my Lord Keeper³² was not well, but

swoln much. God send us good newes.

Thus with my best respect, I take my leave, resting
Christ Colledge Yours to command
February 16 1621/22 Joseph Mead.

145

Textual Notes.

The whole manuscript is very blotchy and worn in parts.

Line 14. In MS: 'which yeill yeelded'.

Line 17. Possibly 'a': MS worn.

Line 19. Possibly 'cutt off': 'utt off' missing; MS worn.

Lines 27-28. Probably 'one'; 'Mansfeild': hole in MS.

Line 28. In MS: 'A~~rch~~duke Archduke'.

Line 49. In MS: '52 Hussittish Hussitish'.

Lines 52-55. MS patched: the incomplete words are probably as
follows: 52-'within'; 53-'that'; 54-'this'; 55-'&';

Line 67. In MS: 'part' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 73. 'Tum': my reading of the word is 'Tum' but the name
of the island is perhaps Tine. See below, note 17.

Line 82/3. In MS: 'sayd ~~that~~ that'.

Line 88. Presumably 'came': 'e' missing; MS worn.

Lines 88-89. Presumably 'ships in Plimmouth': 's in Pli'
missing; MS worn.

Line 89-90. Probably 'it is thought': 'it is t' missing; MS
worn.

Line 90. Presumably 'as': word missing; MS worn.

Line 106. 'it' inserted with caret above the line.

Line 123. Presumably 'tuesday': 'day' missing; MS worn.

Line 124. Presumably 'Parkinson': 'son' missing; MS worn.

Line 124. Probably 'the': word missing; MS worn.

Line 132. 'chosen': 'en' in stuck edge of leaf.

Line 133. 'yesterday': 'terday' *on stuck edge of leaf*.
 Line 136. In MS: 'Barton Parish'; 'Parish' almost illegible.
 Line 137. Presumably 'advowson': 'on' missing' at edge of leaf.
 Line 139. 'hath' inserted with caret.
 Line 139. 'or more' inserted with caret.
 Line 141. Presumably 'Mordent' as in line 131; 'dent' missing
 at edge of leaf.
 Line 145. From 'Thus' to the end of the letter is written in
 the left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 On 'Gulick' (Jülich) see Letter 33, note 2.
- 2 The four corantos are not extant. Between October 1621 and March 1622 there are only two extant printed Newsbooks (STC 18507.36 and 18507.37).
- 3 On the Grisons, citizens of a Protestant Swiss canton, and their involvement in the conflict in the Valtelline see Appendix 5.
- 4 Milan was under Spanish control. The Tyrol and Alsace were ruled by Archduke Leopold (1586-1632), younger brother of the Emperor. On the interests of Spain and the Emperor in the Valtelline see Appendix 5.
- 5 Marinvelt: Mayenfeld in the north of the Grison s' country.
- 6 See Appendix 5.
- 7 On Duke Christian of Brunswick see Biographical Index. On his sacking of Darmstatt see Calendar I.45.
- 8 Mansfeld mustered men in Alsace in early 1622. He is said to have raised 35,000 men. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War, i.335. 'Leopold's captains': captains in the army of Archduke Leopold, brother to the Emperor.
- 9 Gradual capitulation of all towns in Bohemia garrisoned by

Mansfeld's troops took place in 1621-1622. Wittingau fell in March 1622.

- 10 On Balthasar de Zúñiga see Letter 33, note 8.
- 11 The Hussite ministers were members of the Bohemian reformed church which adhered to the teaching of Jan Hus (d. 1415). The lawful right of the Hussites to freedom of worship in Bohemia was quashed by the Emperor after the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620. (See Appendix 1).
- 12 Tabor, a city to the south of Prague, was an extreme Hussite stronghold. The city was under siege in August 1621; it capitulated November 1621.
- 13 On the peace agreement between Bethlen and the Emperor, see Appendix 6.
- 14 On the Polish-Ottoman war of 1620/21 (and Peace agreement of October 1621) see Letter 9, note 7.
- 15 John George, Margrave of Jägerndorf in Silesia (1577-1624), a military commander with the Protestant Bohemian estates, feared dispossession of his principality by the Emperor. Thus, he attached himself to those who were at war with the Emperor. He joined forces with Bethlen Gabor in 1621. See Gindely, Thirty Years War i.84.
- 16 The Grand Senior was the Sultan of Turkey, Osman II. In early use 'seignior' was synonymous with Lord, a ruler, a feudal superior (OED). Vizier: a high state official in the Turkish Empire (OED). Bassa: a variant of Turkish 'Basha' from 'Bashaw' (later Pasha). Pasha is a title held by officers of high rank especially military commanders (OED).
- 17 Mead perhaps refers to Tine (see textual note, Line 73), but the identification is uncertain.

Tine was one of three islands, of the Sporades and Cyclades which were inhabited by Christians. All the other islands in the group were under obedience to the Turk. In 1623 Tine was under Venetian (not Spanish) control: see SPV 1621-1623 note 853, p 632. See also Le Seigneur D.C., Voyage du Levant, (2nd edition, Paris 1629), p 339.

- 18 Prince Philibert of Savoy, Prince of Oneglia, cousin to Philip IV of Spain, was in Spanish service. He was Viceroy of Sicily: see Newsbook 1 (i); STC 18507.82.
- 19 On John George, Elector of Saxony, see Biographical Index. On his relations with the Empire and with Protestant States see Appendix 2i. Glatz: Klodzko in Poland.
- 20 Count Henry van den Berg was a General of the Spanish horse, Governor of Rhyneberg, in charge of the forces besieging Julich. See Calendar I.49. He was a Netherlander who had served in the Spanish army since 1589.
- 21 The Governor of Julich is named as Pithen in Courante, 9 July 1621: STC 18507.13.
- 22 Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford (Letter 4, note 31) was sent to intercept the Dutch ships in order to obtain redress for debts owed to England by Holland (see note 23) and Gardiner, History iv.274.
- 23 That which was 'not yet fully satisfyed' by the Dutch was their seizing of English goods in the East Indies. The Dutch position on the restitution of the goods' value was not satisfactory to King James and served as a pretext for hostile action against their ships (see note 22). For the English/Dutch situation see Gardiner, History iv.272-275.
- 24 For confirmation of the thunder see Calendar I.48. For another contemporary record of the thunder and thunderbolt

see STC 10599. The author, John Everard, gives the date (10 January 1622), the place (Tregnie in Cornwall) and size of the 'bolt' (3.5' by 2.5' by 1.5'). The 'wonderfull and terrible thunderclap' must have been caused by a supersonic bang as the meteorite entered earth's atmosphere.

- 25 For possible causes of the decay in the cloth trade

see SPD 1619-1623, note 67, p 362.

For reports of the decline in the sale of cloth from various areas of the country. See SPD 1619-1623, note 73-77, p 363.

- 26 Mead mistakes the name. Tobie Matthew (1577-1655), later knighted, was the son of Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York. He changed his religion to Roman Catholicism which caused him to lose the King's favour: after banishment and imprisonment he was restored to favour and was sent to Madrid in 1623 as adviser to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham. See DNB.

- 27 Thomas Parkinson (d. 1621/22), Fellow of Clare Hall, Junior Proctor, was Rector of Duxford St. Peter from 1617 - 1621/22. Venn, Alumni.

- 28 'Ignoramus' was a character in a play of the same name, written in 1615 by George Ruggle, Fellow of Clare Hall. See STC 21445. The comedy was written to expose the ignorance of common lawyers. For an outline of the plot

see J.B.Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, ii.529ff.

- 29 'soud': a swoon or fainting fit (OED sb.v).

- 30 Charles Mordaunt, Fellow of Trinity Hall 1616-1628, became a Junior Proctor 1621/22. See Venn, Alumni.

- 31 George Herbert (1593-1633), poet, later a priest, was public orator at Cambridge from 1619 to 1627.

- 32 On John Williams (Lord Keeper) see Letter 20, notes 3, 15.

[23 February 1621/22]

Sir,

Here you have the thundering Prodigie reported againe with
 some further circumstances then I told you in my last.¹ Some
 of them I had heard, but wrot them not least I might seeme to
 beleave too many strange thinges at once. But as for the
 appearing of three sunnes at the time of that thunder the like 5
 is [---] avouched so much from places farre distant from that
 part of England (though I cannot tell how farre from the sayd
 time) that it makes me a litle wonder.² On Saturday when I
 received this enclosed, A master of Art, in my chamber³ received
 at that very instant a letter from one Mr Brough⁴ living in 10
 Darbshire, and an acquaintance to us both, where he writes, That
 there were 3 sunnes seene at Darby and in the country
 thereabouts some 3 days before his writing.

On Tuesday I heard the like affirmed by two lately come out
 of Nottinghamshire one of them a Master of Art Commencer of our 15
 Colledg, who sayd they were seene about some 6 miles from
 Nottingham. The other I examined particularly who told me that
 he saw them not long before Sun going downe upon the 24 of
 January being at that time within halfe a mile of Southwell
 (where is a Minster and a Colledg of Prebends) and that to his 20
 thinking the 2 false suns were some 12 yards distant from the
 true, being one on one side and the other on the other side
 thereof. He affirmed that he saw the like in a manner at Sir
 Edw Hartups⁵ on the 26 day presently after sun-rising. Thus
 much I thought good to adde to the inclosed⁶ and besides 25

That my Lord Doncaster is returned from Fraunce and is to go back againe (they say) next week.⁷ Dr Balcanquell⁸ came with him, who is entring upon his advowson of the Savoy⁹, for Spalato¹⁰ wilbe gone. I heare no talke but of mighty warres like to be in France.¹¹ Sir Francis Nethersole (that was once our Orator) is dead in Germany.¹² 30

Also Sir Harry Savill is lately dead, and the mastership of Eaton and Merton Colledg void.¹³ Mr Murray the Princes tutor¹⁴ hath long had the advowson of the former and it is affirmed that our late Great Lord Chancellour Bacon* is an earnest sutor 35 for the other meaning it seemes to spend his remaining days in a retyred and scholasticall life.¹⁵

Today we Batchelors of Divinity are to choose Dr Ward Margaret Professor in Dr Davenants rome.¹⁶ 40

I forgot to tell you of a pretty complement betweene the Commander of Gullick, and Henry van den berg the General of the Leagher beseiging, them not long before the giving up of the towne.¹⁷ In the last frostie cold wether, the Commander of Gullick sent Count Henry a paire of warme mittens with a drumme who taking it very kindly, returned in recompence a moustrap for 45 a present to the Governour to catch some fresh victualls with either out of kindnes willing to supply, what he thought the other stood in most need of.

Thus with my best respects resting,

Christ Colledg Yours most ready 50

February 23 to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 6. 'the like is' inserted with caret.

Line 7. In MS: 'England, that the like was seen'.

Line 7. 'though' inserted with caret.

Line 12. In MS: 'sunnes at Derby at Derby'.

Line 24. In MS: '26 day about sun-rising'; 'presently after'
inserted with caret.

Line 34. In MS: 'affirmed that that'.

Line 34. MS patched: Probably 'I am'.

Notes

1 See Letter 35, note 23.

2 See Letter 35, note 24. Various phenomena were observed:
there was 'thunder like a battle'; three suns were observed
and two rainbows back to back; an earthquake occurred in
Towcester.

The solar phenomenon (a parheliion) occurs when ice crystals
refract sunlight under certain conditions.

3 Possibly Robert Gell, M.A. 1621, later a Fellow of
Christ's. Gell had some family connection with Derbyshire.
See Peile, Register i.301.

4 Mr Brough is not identified.

5 Possibly Sir Edward Hartopp (d.1652) of Freathby,
Leicestershire. Sir Edward was Sheriff of Leicester
1617-18 and member of parliament for Leicester in 1628-29.

6 See Calendar I.48.

7 On Lord Doncaster see Letter 27, note 3.

8 On Dr Balcanqual see Letter 16, note 6.

9 Savoy House in London, destroyed in 1381 by fire, was
rebuilt as 'an Hospitall'. The Chapel of the Hospital
became a Parish Church. See John Stow, A Survey of London,
1603, 2 vols., (Reprint, Oxford, 1908), ii.92-95.

10 Marco Antonio de Dominis, a native of Dalmatia, educated as
a Catholic, was made Archbishop of Spalatro (now Split in
Yugoslavia) in 1602. In 1616 he prepared to publish a work

setting forth the idea of an ideal Christian Church governed by reason. He believed that 'all Christendom would bow its head before his teaching ... the Pope would find no place'. See Gardiner, History iv.284.

De Dominis was well received in England. King James presented him to the Mastership of the Savoy and the Deanery of Windsor. However, De Dominis, having announced his intention to go to Rome in January 1621/22, was ordered out of England.

- 11 See Calendar I.45.
- 12 Sir Francis Nethersole, formerly public orator at Cambridge 1611-1619, replaced Albert Morton as secretary to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia in 1619. The news of his death was an error. He died in 1659. See DNB.
- 13 Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622) died on 19 February 1621/22. He had been the warden of Merton College from 1585 and Provost of Eton school since 1596. See DNB.
- 14 Thomas Murray (1564-1623), tutor and then secretary to Prince Charles, had been opposed for the provostship of Eton in 1617 because of his Puritanism. He was elected Provost in 1621/22 but died the following year. See DNB.
- 15 On Francis Bacon's career and fall from power see Gardiner, History iv.chapter xxxiv.
- 16 Dr Samuel Ward, formerly a scholar at Christ's and Fellow of Emmanuel, was Master of Sidney Sussex College from 1609-1643. He was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.195.
On John Davenant see Letter 15, note 12.
- 17 On Van den Berg, see Letter 35, note 20.

[2 March 1621/22]

Sir,

I heare not much besides the enclosed.¹ We have had a rumour this week, That the Princes of Germany were reuniting and besides the rest of the Lutherans,² some hope of Saxony*:³ Denmark* to be their head.⁴ I would it were true.

But I wonder what hath beene done in your quarters, which makes people talke so strangely? or are you too neere to heare?⁵ But let them take care whom it concernes; I with my best respect take my leave and rest.

Christ Colledg

Yours to be commanded

March 2

Joseph Mead.

I forgot to tell you out of a Corranto⁶

That Archduke Charles the Emperors Bishop- brother,⁷ would have shutt up the Lutheran Churches in Silesia, notwithstanding that Saxony is ingaged for the maintenance of their religion.⁸ But Yagerdorffes entring made him a litle hold his hand.⁹

It is also there reported, That the peace betweene the Turk and Polander is broken againe. the Turk pretending that he ayded the Emperor against Hungary. and that the Turk should send the Emperour word That he would come and see this Summer time, what goverment he kept.¹⁰

Textual Notes.

Line 15. 'him' inserted with caret.

Notes

1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.49.

2 On the Protestant Union see Appendix 1.

- 3 On the Elector of Saxony's actions on behalf of Protestants in Germany see Appendix 2i.
- 4 The King of Denmark would have liked to have led Protestant resistance to the Emperor but he decided to take no action at this date because England would take no decisive part in the war.
- 5 This is a reference to gossip which was circulating concerning the King and a near neighbour of Sir Martin's. See Letter 38, notes 18, 19, 20.
- 6 See The safe return of the King of Bohemia, 1612 [sic] [1622]: STC 18507.43.
- 7 See ibid, p 18.
- 8 See Appendix 2i.
- 9 On Jägerndorf of Silesia see Letter 35, note 15.
- 10 On Polish/Ottoman relations see Letter 35, note 14.
- For a copy of a threatening letter, written in 1621, purporting to be from the Sultan of Turkey to the King of Poland, see Calendar II.1.

[9 March 1621/22]

Sir,

Our last weeks neues from London was as followeth.

London March 1. 1621/22¹

That there was not any thing more from the Upper Countries
 since his last, nor from the Low countries save, That many
 Ambassadors are at the Hagh in consultation about these times; 5
 That Sluyse is blocked up by Spinola* on the land side and in
 part on the water side;² And that it is sayd, there are now at
 his Majesties pay 9 or 10/000 men in the Lower Palatinate;
 besides Count Mansfeild*,³ who is neare, and whom the Archduchess
 seeks to withdraw by most larg and ample offers.⁴ 10

The King at Paris causing Proclamation by drum to be made,
 That all who would serve him in his warres against his rebelles,
 should repaire to such a Captaines house and there be
 entertained: the common people rose in tumult, cutt the drumme,
 cryed No rebelles but good subjects, that they would have no 15
 warres but peace, or they would rifle all the great and rich
 mens houses, and rifled the Captaines house, which caused the
 King presently to remove thence to St Germanas.⁵

All speech still of the Spanish great Armado;⁶ and that our
 Lords Vaux and Windsor go to serve the Spanyard in Flanders 20
 under the command of the Earle of Argyle.⁷ God make them good
 members to this State.

In Spaine, all the French attendants on the Queene are
 banished the Court as Spyes; and so are the Spanyards in France,
 yet both will with Caiaphas and Pilate agree to crucify Christ 25

in his members.⁸ There is also (in Spaine) ordred, that none hereafter shall come to any office, till they have evidently shewed, what their owne proper estate is; and that afterwards yearly to discount what they gaine by it. And it is occasioned by reason That Don Rodrigo Calderon⁹ (lately executed for poysoning the late Queene) had in 16 years service gotten an estate of £20,000 land in yearly revenue, and 2 millions in goods besides. 30

All this week till yesterday was great speach, as if the match were dashed by Spaines unreasonable new demaunds: But now it is otherwisẽ sayd, and that the Lord Digby goes into Spaine speedily.¹⁰ 35

This week at Winchester was a poore silly fellow sollemly executed for saying; If the King should chang religion, he would be with the first one to cutt his Majesties throat.¹¹ God preserve his Majestie and give his subjects more grace and more honesty. 40

P . script

Now I understand that Count Mansfeild* sent his commissioner to the Hagh, to excuse his going into Alsatia, and to offer, if he might for their part have £3000 a month and £30,000 for present use; he would keep his men and officers together, till the next winter, otherwise he could not.¹² Which they having considered, granted it. 45

I hope ere long we shall heare of a greater and better and better resolved Union then was the last.¹³ 50

No more yet of Spalato,¹⁴ though some buzzing today as if were gone or should go to the Tower.

This much from London. Since, I heare besides, That the Rochellors¹⁵ being masters of the Sea and by reason of a strong 55

place they have gotten upon the mouth of Garonne, do lay an imposition on all wines that passe for maintenance of their warres.

An English ship with French collours serving the Rochellois, fought with another French ship of late so neare our shore, 60 that the Ordinance were heard at Winchester. The English conquered and carried his purchase to Rochell.

Other newes I have none, but that every one sends us newes of the Earthquake the 14 of February, all along Northamptonshire, Leycestershire toward Loughborrough, and 65 Lincolnshire about Grantham. Where else I know not, but from these place [sic] I have both seene and heard good information.¹⁶

Will you heare or beleeeve any more newes of the Sunnes. Our Sir Cook returning from his fathers Sir Francis Cookes¹⁷ on 70 Saturday telles us that being that day a coursing, he saw the 3 \$onnes from 12 a clock till three. which considering that the \$unne and cloudes do continually move, seemes so impossible in nature, that I for my part am loth to yeild him credite. his fathers house is 3 miles from Darby. 75

The Master of art who wrot the letter I mentioned in my last of Darbshire,¹⁸ is at this present in the Colledg, and telles me for a truth that the 3 sunnes were with them seene first on Munday the 28 of Januarie in the afternoone, and againe on the Saturday following in the morning it being as he 80 told me Loughborrough market day.

A gentleman an ancient divine of our house living in the confines of Hampshire and Wiltshire¹⁹ told me on Wednesday that by and by after the newes of the Sunnes and prodigie in Devonshire, there was newes of ~~the~~like apparition of Sunnes at a 85 place neere to his dwelling, whereupon he and ^{some} others went a purpose to learne and examine the truth of it, and found it to be so.

But the Leicestershire carrier yesterday told us of all
other the most unlikely tale, of 3 sunnes encircled in a 90
rainebow betweene a 11 and 12 a clock at night at Ashby de la
Zouch. I put this last least you should throw away my letter
before you read it through. The Master of Art whom I mentioned,
being present, living not far from thence, told ^{both} him and us, that
he heard no such matter, but some talk there was of moones which 95
he heard as he came, but what and where he knew not or remembred
not.²⁰

Thus with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

March 9.

be commanded

100

Joseph Mead.

It is strange to heare by those who come northward, what
talk there is of your Saxham wonder²¹ in those parts not onely
to be beleaved but to bring forth other effects according to
mens severall dispositions, some comforting themselves, that she 105
may prove another Esther²² others crying out in publick Lord
who should a man trust. The King hath married a stincking
Puritans daughter, and suchlike.²³ [^] O quantum est in rebus
inane.²⁴

Textual Notes.

Line 54. In MS: 'English Sp Ship'. 'collours' inserted with
caret.

Line 64. In MS: 'The Earth Earthquake'.

Lines 70, 71, 72. The words at the right-hand edge of these lines
are very faint: 'unlikely', 'at', 'throw'.

Line 104. In MS: 'bring forth both other'.

Notes

1 The newsletter of 2 March 1621/22 is not in MS Harl 389.

- 2 Sluys, on the border of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands, was besieged by General Spinola. See Calendar I.49 - 'Spinola is in Flanders, building Forts and beseiges Sluyse'.
- 3 The 10,000 men 'at his Majestie's pay' in the Palatinate were under the command of General de Vere. See SPV 1621-1623, note 315, p 228.
- 4 The Archduchess, Isabella, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, endeavoured to negotiate with Mansfeld on behalf of the Emperor. See SPV 1621-1623, note 359, p 256.
- 5 I have found no other reference to this event.
- 6 Several reports circulated about the preparation of a Spanish Armada. The supposed numbers of ships were put at 250 (Calendar I.49) and 80 (SPV 1621-1623, note 368, p 259). It was said that 'this fleet might be aimed against these realms'.
- 7 Edward, Lord Vaux (1588-1661), a Catholic, served as a colonel of an English regiment in the Spanish service in the Netherlands from April 1622 to July 1624. See Complete Peerage, pp 224/5.

Thomas, Lord Windsor (1591-1641) was later a Rear-admiral of the Fleet. See Bernard Burke, Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerages, (London, 1883), p 591.

Archibald Campbell (1576?-1638), Earl of Argyle, a convert to Catholicism, had been denounced as a traitor for having served the Spanish King in Flanders in 1618 but in November 1621 he was declared the King's free liege. See Complete Peerage. Later, he was allowed to levy soldiers in England to serve in the Spanish army which caused much

comment. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.428.

The Venetian ambassador, aware of the general hostility in England towards Spain, commented that 'The Spaniards are circulating reports that these troops of Argyle will be sent to Sicily to serve against the Turks, so that they may go more readily without fear of being employed in ways displeasing to this country'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 317, p 233.

- 8 Spain and France, in spite of their common zeal in persecuting Protestants ('Christ in his members'), mistrusted each other's political and territorial ambitions.

- 9 Don Rodrigo^{de} Calderon (1570-1621), had been a Minister of State in the court of Philip III of Spain. His rapacity was a manifestation of the normal corruption which existed in the court. See Enciclopedia de la Cultura España.

- 10 On the Spanish match and its political ramifications see Appendix 4 i. It was common talk in London that the negotiations had run into difficulties.

On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16.

- 11 Thomas Keppins of Kingswood was brought to Winchester assizes for 'vile and treasonable words' in January 1621/22 See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 121. His execution did not take place. The King showed clemency and ordered Keppins to be kept prisoner in Winchester and the execution to be stayed (APC July 1621-May 1623, p 161).

- 12 See SPV 1621-1623, note 312, p 226.

- 13 For comment on the Protestant Union see Appendix 1.

- 14 On the Archbishop of Spalatro see Letter 36, note 10.

- 15 The Rochellois were the inhabitants of La Rochelle who were

involved in war with Louis XIII of France over their rights to practise freely the Protestant religion in a Catholic country.

- 16 For the report of the earthquake see Calendar I.48.
- 17 On Francis Cooke (or Coke) (1600-1682), M. A. Christ's 1623, see Venn, Alumni, and Peile, Register i.311. Mead calls him Sir Cook in error. His father was Sir Francis of Trusley, Derbyshire.
- 18 See Letter 36, note 3.
- 19 The 'ancient divine' is not identified.
- 20 For the Master of Art see Letter 36, note 3.
- 21 The 'wonder' at Saxham Parva in Suffolk, the home of Sir John Crofts and his family of at least eight daughters, was no more than gossip concerning King James and one of Sir John's daughters. As early as March 1619/20, comment was made that the King took pleasure in the 'societie of those sisters' (Chamberlain, Letters ii.292). In February 1621 it was noted that 'That Lady [wife of Sir John Crofts] and her daughter Cecilie have ben much at Newmarket of late'. (The King spent much time at Newmarket). By March 1621/22 it was rumoured that the King was married to Sir John Croft's daughter, much to James's indignation. See Locke to Carleton, SPD 1619-1623, note 59, p 361.
- 22 On Esther, a Jewess married to Xerxes the Persian King, the saviour of her people, see Esther (O.T.), chapters iv-x. For Cecilie Crofts to 'prove another Esther' would she have to persuade King James to accept Puritanism?
- 23 Sir John Crofts was presumably a Puritan.
- 24 'O how much emptiness there is in mens' pursuits' (proverbial).

[16 March 1621/22]

Sir,

The newes from London this week was very litle namely as followeth

London March 8¹

No certainty of Germaine affaires, the wind hath beene so long contrary. Onely here is a speach, That it is expected, the Lower Palatinate was redelivered the 6th of this present,² but I know not whether it be. Here is likewise speach and much spoken, That the King of Bohemia* is gone up towards the Palatinate,³ but whether true or how he is gone, I can yet say nothing, till more certaine advertisements come.

Yesterday I heard a passenger espressly say (then come from Zeland) that they of Sluyse had cutt a Ditch and drowned the ground, where the Spanyards quartered.⁴ The truth we shall heare ere long, {others write they drowned 15 villages}.

From France it is affirmed that the King provides 60,000 men. In the meane time the Protestants have recovered Clerac, Moneur and Nerac with divers other Townes and Castles, and gotten therein great store of corne and wine. Some say also, That Monsieur le Force hath recovered Navarin the prime place of Navarre.⁵

On Wednesday my Lord Digby goes to Sherburne and so for Spaine.⁶ I heare not his Lady goeth, unlesse to Sherburne. My Lord Doncaster is shortly to go back into France⁷. and my Lord Chicester for the Palatinate.⁸

This week my Lord of London told us (the Clergie) That it

would have done us good at the heart, to have heard the pious
 declaration, His Majestie made before him and some other of the
 Bishops concerning his sincerity and constancy for the
 maintenance of the religion established; and How much it greived
 him that any should have a conceit to the contrary.⁹ 30

{Others write, That the Bishop chod the clergie, for their
 supposed babling of the likelyhood of the alteration of
 religion, and commanded them to signify his Majestie's
 Declaration to the people}¹⁰.

Thus much the Doctor* and other letters from London then . 35
 Besides I am told since, of a great falling out betweene my Lord
 Treasurer¹¹ and my Lord Digby, in so much that they came to
 pedlers brood and traytors blood. It was about some money,
 which my Lord Digby should have had, which my Lord Treasurer
 thought too much for the charge of his imployment, and sayd 40
 himselfe could go in as good a fashion for halfe the Summe.
 But my Lord Digby replies, That he could not pedle so well as
 his Lordship could etc etc.¹²

It is also here in our Towne reported all this week, That
 his Majestie lately gave the States a very Gracious 45
 entertainment and contentfull answere admitting them into his
 bedchamber etc.¹³

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady

I rest.

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

50

March 16 1621

be commanded

22

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 6. In MS: 'the Palat Lower Palatinate'.

Notes

- 1 There is no 'separate newsletter of 8 March 1621/22 in MS Harl. 389.
- 2 There was much activity and gathering of troops by the Palatine's allies in Germany (see Letter 33, note 5) but the Lower Palatinate was still mainly under the control of the Imperial forces.
- 3 Frederick, Elector Palatine, did not start out on his journey to the Palatinate until late March/early April 1622. It seems that the news of his intention to leave The Hague in great secrecy was already well-known.
- 4 See Calendar I.50 for news of the cutting of banks and flooding of ten parishes near Sluyse.
- 5 On the retaking of Nerac by the Huguenots see 'Historical Tracts 1590-1690', second letter, p 5 in 4th October 1622, A true relation of the affaires of Europe: STC 18507.81.
- 6 On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16.
Digby's home, Sherborne Castle in Dorset, was on the main route from London to Plymouth, the embarkation point for Spain. Sherborne Castle, once the home of Sir Walter Raleigh, passed to Digby by favour of the King.
- 7 On Lord Doncaster see Letter 5, note 10.
- 8 On Arthur, Lord Chichester of Belfast, see Letter 34, note 4.
- 9 Mead is quoting verbatim from his London correspondent, an unidentified clergyman.
- 10 See SPV 1621-1623 note 369, pp 261/2 for some other comment on the King's words on religion.
- 11 On Lord Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, see Letter 26, note 12.
- 12 For comment on the quarrel between the Lord Treasurer and

Lord Digby see SPD 1619/23, note 9, p 354.

- 13 The Dutch commissioners had been unsettled by the attempted interception of their ships in the narrow seas in February. (See Letter 35, note 21). Subsequently they attempted to make a settlement with England which would satisfy King James. Thus, following his previous animosity towards them (see Letter 33, note 2), he said that 'he wished for nothing better than to be on good terms with the Republic'. Gardiner, History iv.275. For further comment on the diplomatic relations between England and Holland see Gardiner, History i.

40
(f 159^r)

[20 March 1621/22]

Sir,

The opportunity of this messenger makes me send before my usuall time . If it findes you at home I shalbe glad. but I feare you are at the sizes.¹

I suppose your charge wilbe much like unto ours. The Kinges tendernes for Religion, and the greife he hath taken for the contrary conceit of his meaning.² What speaches are treason. Wearing the manufactures of the Kingdome.³ The imployment of the money to be gathered by the benevolence and such like. I had thought to have written some thing else, but my time is but short and the messenger stayes. Thus therefore with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

March 20

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Note

Line 11. In MS: 'with by my'.

Notes

- 1 'sizes' - presumably Assizes: Assizes - i) a sitting or session of a consultative or legislative body (OED/1, obs.); ii) the decree(s) or edict(s) made at such [an Assize] sitting (OED/2a, obs.).
- 2 On the King's tenderness for religion etc. see Letter 39, note 10.
- 3 Mead refers to the economic problems of the cloth-merchants (see Letter 35, note 27) whose products had suffered a decline in sales.

[30 March 1622]

Sir,

I hope my letter miscarried not, if it did, I am in a sweet pickle. I desired to heare from you of the receipt and extinction of it, but I have not yet received anything.¹

Mr Downham² was with me on Sunday new come from London; He told me, That it was 3 yeare agoe or more since those verses were delivered to the King in a dreame by his Master Buchanan³, who seemed to check him severely as he used to do; and his Majestie in his dreame seemed desirous to pacify him but he turning away with a frowning countenance should utter those verses, which his Majestie perfectly remembring repeated the next day, and many tooke notice of them. Now by occasion of the late soreness of his arme and the doubtfullnes what it would prove, especially having by mischance fallen into the fire with that arme etc. and the remembrance of the verses began to trouble him etc. {But they say it was but a former issue which had beene some 2 or 3 yeare stopped by the advice of physicians, and now being to break out againe, did somewhat paine and distemper his body. but now God be thanked, he is well and cheerfully.

He told me also, That the Prince gave the Lord Digby a commission subscribed with his owne hand, to consummate the marriage⁴, and that he was so eager to have him gone, that in my Lord Hubbards⁵ absence for hast they broke open his closet, where the Commission was.

At the States private audience with the King⁶ his Majestie

putt out the Marquess* himselfe; whereat he was observed to
express some discontent in his countenance as by biting his lip
etc.

He also told me what were those unreasonable demands of the
King of Spaine, whereupon the match for a while seemed to be 30
broken off; as you have heard. viz that 2 of them were: That His
Majestie and his son should reconcile to Rome and become
Catholicks. because that His Holiness without whose consent he
might do nothing in this case would not otherwise give way to
it, nevertheless he would still permitt his Subjects freely to 35
enjoy their religion if so be himselfe and his Son would
returne into the bosome of their mother. 2ly That his Majestie
should surrender unto the King of Spaine, Virginia and the
Bermuda's and altogether quitt the West Indies. He affirmed unto
me, that these were 2 of them for certaine. which if true, is very 40
strange.⁷

Here is againe very suspicious talke of the Huge Spanish
Armado. and of a Scottish Marchant lately arrived from Spaine,
who though a Catholick, yet out of tendernes to his country came
of purpose to enforme the King That upon his life, the Armado 45
intended either for England or Ireland. but who beleevd him I
know not.⁸

They talk also that our Catholicks in England are strangely
provided of armour, no man knowes to what purpose. Some talke
onely of some great secret concerning state lately discovered, 50
which others interpret to be the aforesayd.

What truth is in these we shall learne hereafter.

Thus with my best respect I rest.

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

March 30

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 5. 'or more' inserted with caret.
- Line 8. 'he' inserted above line.
- Line 20. In MS: Prince se gave'.
- Line 22. 'he' inserted with caret.
- Line 31/2. In MS: That since His Majestie'.
- Line 35. In MS: 'his subj subjects'.
- Line 36. In MS: 'Son returned would returne'.

Notes.

- 1 No letter of 23 March 1621/22 is in MS Harl. 389 so it was probably 'extinguished' as requested.
- 2 Dr George Downham (d.1634), Fellow of Christ's 1587-1596, Bishop of Derry 1616, was a chaplain to King James I. He was famous as a logician. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.166.
- 3 George Buchanan (1506-1582), a classical scholar of international reputation, was appointed in 1569, at the age of 63 years, as tutor to the four year old future King James I of England. Buchanan held strict Calvinist views with which he attempted to influence his student.
- 4 On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16 and Letter 38, note 10. Digby's commission concerned the Spanish match.
- 5 On Sir Henry Hobart see Letter 9, note 20.
- 6 The 'States' refers to the Dutch commissioners who were currently in England engaged in political negotiations with King James. See Letter 33, note 3 and Letter 39, note 13.
- 7 The Spaniards insisted that '[the English] must at once give liberty of conscience here, abandon the Dutch, ... renounce the Bermudas and Virginia with all the rest of America claimed by the Catholic'. See SPV 1621-1623,

note 369, p 260.

8 On the Armada, see Letter 38, note 6.

The 'Scottish Marchant' was Robert Thompson: a 'Scottish master of a ship with a wooden leg'. See Calendar I.52. He had come 'post from Spain ... to advise the King ...to stand on his guard and not to trust the Spaniards too much': SPV 1621-1623, note 398, p 282.

42
(166^r)

[6 April 1622]

Sir,

Though pickle be sweet while it is fresh, yet time will make it sowre, and though there be no danger in my letters whilest report is so rife, yet when it is forgotten they will not be so safe, but your danger is as great as mine.¹

If the wonder of Starlings be a fable, my greatest losse, is 5
but 3d which I payd for the book I sent you. I heard as much
before, but not so peremptorie as yours. For the Prince
enquiring of a Knight out of Ireland concerning the truth of
it, He assured him that as for any wonder or miracle it was a
meere tale. but there is in the suburbs of Cork an old house or 10
Abbey where Starlings in time of yeare use to build, and whether
they flocked (as their wont is) at the time mentioned, and being
many together fell to fighting, so that some were taken up upon
the ground either hurt or wearied, and this he affirmed was all
and the ground of that report.² But howsoever the very report 15
of strange things though false, in some mens judgment is not to
be condemned because it hath beene observed, that prodigious
reports are some times as ominous, and [sic] the truthes if they
were reall. it is sampled by the late King of France of whose
death, there was a report upon no ground some 2 yeares before 20
his death, whereof Owen³ hath an Epigramme, telling him that it
was a warning of his end not farre of..

My Lord Verulams* historie of Henry VII is come forth.⁴ I
have not read much of it but they say it is a pretty book who
have. I forgott to give you notice last week. If you desire 25

it I am at your service, the price is 6^s.

I thank my Lady for my cheese. I think I am to go to
Balsham to day to be a gossip⁵ which is such newes, to me, that I
am almost to learne how to behave my selfe, but my confidence in
Mr Warner⁶ will teach me.

Christ Colledg

April 6

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 1. In MS: 'it is ~~fr~~ fresh'.

Line 2. 'make it ~~sevre~~ sowre'.

Line 16. 'of strange things' inserted with caret.

Line 17. In MS: 'contemned ~~thouh~~ false because'.

Line 19. The sentence beginning 'it is sampled' starts with
lower-case 'i'.

Line 28. In MS: 'newes, ~~that~~ to me'.

Notes

- 1 The danger lay in Mead's comments on public affairs in his letters to Sir Martin. A Proclamation had been issued on 26 July 1621 forbidding discussion of State affairs. See Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations, i.number 218, p 519.
- 2 See The wonderfull battell of starelings ... Corke the 12 and 14 of October last 1621: STC 5767.
- 3 John Owen (1560-1622), Fellow of New College, Oxford (1584), was a popular Welsh epigrammist, an imitator of Martial. See Foster Alumni.
- 4 The historie of the raigne of king Henry the seventh, 1622: STC 1159.
- 5 A 'gossip': a Godfather or Godmother (OED/c. obs.).

Rose Warner, daughter of Thomas, was baptized on April 7
1622. See Balsham Parish Records.

6 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 21₄.

[13 April 1622]

Sir,

Dr Meddus* wrot not this last week, but I saw a letter from
a Dutch merchant in London which contains as followeth.

London Aprill 5.1622¹

That the newes of the Spanyard continued as yet: the
Scotchman² was committed to prison till further prooffe, or
disprooffe and to be hanged if it be not so as he affirmeth,
That Spalatto was banished, and to be gone before Easter which
troubleth him much.³

5

That on that present day (Aprill 5) arrived Coronell Gray⁴
as Ambassador from Count Mansfeild* to our King.⁵

10

On Wednesday before came the Emperours Ambassador with a
great traine, they say 20 Barrons : his lodging appointed by
the King in Sommerset House being sumptuously furnished and
hung with the richest hangings in the Kingdome attended by 30
of the tallest of his Majesties Guard, and statelie entertained
at the Kings charge: was appointed to have audience on Sunday.
His proposition not knowne⁶ but my Lord of Doncasters journey
for France delayed upon his coming.⁷

15

Newes this week that the yong Brunswicker* had brought
under his subjection the most part of the the Territorie of
Paterborne, and twise with his forces encountered the Enimie, so
fiercelie that he remained conquerour and Master of the feild,
though with losse of many of his owne men as well as the
Enimies.⁸ That he is certainly reported by them who have
received letters to be strong 10/000 foot and 2400 horse

20

25

besides those he hath lost, That he had sent to the States for
 armour and furniture for 15/000 men, which they granted and for
 the most part sayd to be already sent. That he is reported to
 be as resolute a Souldier as ever came in the feild of his
 age.+ In a postscript thus. That at that instant when he wrot, 30
 were arrived letters dated Aprill 5 new style, 10 days old
 which he had seene; confirming that the yong Brunswicker* had
 taken in a manner the whole land of Paterborne, there remaining
 but 2 Townes in that Bishoprick which were not under his
 subjection, and that he was now by the assistance of the King of 35
 Denmark and other Princes above 5000 horse and 12000 foot.⁹ The
 Post++ which His Majestie sent with a Commission under the
 broad seale to Sir Horatio Vere¹⁰ returned on Sunday last very
 sick and sore brused with a fall whereof he is now dead; who at
 his coming reported that he was in the Legher¹¹ of Count 40
 Mansfeild* being about Spiere where he saw Count Mansfeild* in
 his owne person, then being strong 40/000 foot and 16/000 horse
 brave and resolute men. That there had bin with him divers
 Ambassadors, some to perswade some to diswade etc. That it was
 moreover reported, That Mansfeild* had sent to the States and 45
 Prince of Orange for 50/000 pound sterling that is 5 tunne of
 gold which they have agreed to send him with the first
 opportunity.¹²

The King of Bohemia on thursday last a sennight (March 28)

+ He cannot be above 25 ~~years~~ old, for his Mother our 50
 Queens sister. second wife to his father Henricus
 Julius was married anno. 1596. The older brother is
 of a former wife of the house of Saxonie.

++ Balam.

at the Brill secretly in a man of warre took shipping for Breme; 55
where the Prince of Denmark and the yong Brunswicker* were to
meet him to consult about their affaires.¹³

Besides this letter I heare as followeth

That Colonell Gray should bring the same newes as
concerning the Spanyard, that the Scottish merchant did.¹⁴ Ben. 60
Lany¹⁵ told me he heard D Pask¹⁶ relate it at dinner, but how
likely it is to be true, his arrivall being but on Friday I know
not. It is talkt that Gondomer* would have beene gone but that
His Majestie will have him stay till my Lord Digbies returne.¹⁷

Some talk here that Sir Walter Ashton our Leiger¹⁸ in 65
Spaine, should send the King word, that the Infanta was gone, and
no more hope that way. Some say she is for the Emperours
son.¹⁹

Mr Wray is turned out of the Bedc[] for marrying the
late Earle of Barkshires daughter, whom Mr Kit Villiers looked 70
for.²⁰

Mr Warner, Mistris Warner and hir youngest daughter Rose²¹
were well on tuesday: when I came home, they told me heare newes
of a Paraline²² or a thing like unto the Sun, of bignes of the
moone when she is rising in the vapours, of colour as red as 75
bloud exactly round appearing on Saturday toward the north of
height, as the Sun halfe an houre high, from 7 a clock in the
evening till ten, but with intermission. A pupill of mine
assured me he saw the moone and it at the same time betweene 7
and 8, the moone being horned toward the west, and that being 80
round bending northward, of bignes and height aforesayd. Dr
Travers²³ who saw it about ten affirms it had a blaze or taile
like a comet, many who saw it took it to be the full moone,
neither considering the place, nor the moones age being then but

6 days old.

85

If I had not bin a gossiping²⁴, I should have seene what it had beene and better satisfyed myselfe and you which I now cannot.²⁵

The Gentleman who preaches to morrow at Dalham (Mr Hurst)²⁶ is of my entreating and procurement to take that paines. I hope he shalbe never the lesse welcome. He is a Master of Art of our house and if he knowes where he is, can talk desperatly if he list of newes or any thing. It may be he shalbe the bearer of this letter.

90

Thus with my best respect I rest.

95

Christ Colledg

Your faithfull

Aprill 13. 1622

Novellante

Joseph Mead.

You send me no word whether you will have my Lord Verulams book or no.²⁷

100

Postscript

You shall have a flash of this Saturdays newes out of a letter newly received from a freind that went to London but on Thursday and as it seemes hath improved his time well. He writes, (Lond. Aprill 12 1622)²⁸

105

If all exchange newes be true Oppenheim in the Palatinate is recovered. There is a speech as if the yong Duke of Brunswick* had given to the Imperialls a great overthrow loosing 5000 of his owne but slaying 10/000 of the Enimies. I suppose (saith my author) this is but the old newes new apparrelled.²⁹

110

I heard also, That the Emperors Ambassador hath had his answere, though not so full as hereafter, wherein contrary to his desire, (that Count Mansfeild* should lay downe armes)³⁰ his

Majestie signified the continuance of his neutralitie in those affaires.³¹ 115

A ship stealing out of the Thames with £1200 in her was taken and confiscate according to Law, but like an exposed bastard none dare father it.³²

Dr Winniph+++³³ (who for comparing in a Sermon the Surprizall of the Soule to M Spinola's usurping of the Palatinate was committed to the Tower) by petitioning unto the Emperors Ambassador (which was enjoyed him) is released.³⁴ 120

It is confidently reported here that B Gabor* has not made his peace with the Emperour³⁵ and tis talked as though the King of Bohemia* would be 160/000 next summer who is gone from the Hague, but whither no man knowes.³⁶ He went in a man of warre and disguised as a servant of Colonell Morgan.³⁷ The King is offended at it. 125

The Lantgrave of Hessens son with 20 gentl[] came hither on munday last, to what end time will s[].³⁸ 130

The Turk and Polack are like to differ againe.

There is a report now as if new warre had [] out the peace talked of in France.

The last Lord Deputie of Ireland³⁹ took away from Protestants their Armes, and caused a Minsters wife (in her husbands absence denyed his musket) though [] was great with child to be whipped; whereat his [] was much offended. 135

In Kent they say the Papists assemble toge[] neere the Sea side, for what end God knowes. 140

Our Masters Sermon (saith mine author) was touc[] the -

+++ He was the Princes chapleine: one whom the Oxford men use to sett against our Mr Senhouse.

necessitie of Confession to the Preist {but cert[] it was
but conveniencie and then no great hurt'.⁴⁰

145

Yours Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 38. In MS: 'Sunday night last'.

Line 61. 'D' presumably written for Doctor.

Line 69. Presumably 'Bedchamber': 'hamber' missing at edge of
leaf'.

Line 75. 'when she is' inserted with caret.

Line 76. 'exactly round' inserted with caret.

Line 80. 'being' inserted with caret.

Line 87. 'selfe' inserted with caret.

Lines 95-100 are written sideways in left-hand margin.

Line 126. 'be' inserted with caret.

Line 130. Presumably 'gentlemen': 'emen' missing at edge of
leaf.

Line 131. Presumably 'show': 'how' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 133. Complete word missing at edge of leaf.

Line 137. Presumably 'she': word missing at edge of leaf.

Line 138. Presumably 'Majesties': 'Ma^{ties}, missing at edge of
leaf.

Line 139. Presumably 'together': 'ther' missing at edge of
leaf.

Line 141. Presumably 'touching': 'hing' missing at edge of
leaf.

Line 144. Presumably 'certain': 'ain' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 145. In MS: 'was but but conveniencie'.

Notes

1 The letter is not in MS Harl. 389.

Lines 130-145
MS torn &
patched.

- 2 On the 'Scotchman' see Letter 41, note 9 and SPV 1621-23, note 406, p 288.
- 3 On the Archbishop of Spalatro see Letter 36, note 10.
- 4 On Charles Gray see Letter 33, note 7. His arrival in England is confirmed in SPV 1621-23, note 419, p 295.
- 5 It was suggested that Colonel Gray, in his role as an 'ambassador' from Mansfeld, was sent to England to counter the diplomatic representations of the Emperor's ambassador. See Calendar I.53.
- 6 The arrival of the Emperor's ambassador (the Count of Schwarzenburg) in England is confirmed by the Venetian ambassador. It was suspected that his mission was merely complimentary - the negotiations [for peace in the German war] to take place at Brussels afterwards, See SPV 1621-23, note 406, p 287, and Appendix 4.
- 7 Lord Doncaster (Letter 5, note 10), was to return to France with King James's instructions 'to do all in his power to bring about peace in that Kingdom'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 390, p 276.
- 8 The transfer of arms to Breame for 15000 men and Brunswick's taking of Paderborn are confirmed in letters from the Palatinate in 'Historical Tracts 1590-1690', pp 5, 15 in 4th October 1622, A true relation of the affaires of Europe: STC 18507.81.
- 9 Mead's figures for Brunswick's forces are possibly much exaggerated. Scaramelli (a Venetian Secretary in Zurich) lists Brunswick's forces in February 1621/22 (under the command of Count Mansfeld) as 4000 foot and 1000 horse. See SPV 1621-1623, note 315, p 227.
- 10 On Sir Horatio Vere see Letter 20, note 42.

- 11 Legher: a sixteenth century spelling (therefore oldfashioned for Mead) of leaguer - a military camp (OED).
- 12 Scaramelli (note 9) puts the total of Mansfeld's forces at 12,800 horse and 32,500 foot. The ambassadors at Mansfeld's camp were from Spain, France, Savoy and Lorraine See Calendar I.50. They were there 'all to negotiate in their own interests': SPV 1621-1623, note 384, p 271. The amount of money requested from Holland by Mansfeld was 50000 florins monthly, not pounds sterling. See Letter 38, note 12.
- 13 The reference is to the Elector Palatine. The starting date of his journey was Monday 25 March 1622 o.s/4 April 1622 n.s. See SPV 1621-1623, note 394, p 278. It was later reported that Frederick was driven back by a 'furious storm' and restarted his journey on Friday, embarking at Brill for France. See SPV 1621-1623, note 402, p 284.
- 14 On Robert Thompson, the Scottish merchant, see Letter 41, note 8.
- 15 On Benjamin Lany, see Letter 25, note 3.
- 16 Dr Thomas Pask(e) (d.1662), D.D.1621, Master of Clare 1621, was Vicar of Hendon in Middlesex 1611 - 1626 and chaplain to James, Marquis of Hamilton, through which connection he was well placed to hear the latest news from London. See Venn, Alumni.
- 17 Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, was shortly to be replaced. Lord Digby (see Letter 6, note 16) was currently in Spain negotiating the terms of the Spanish match (see Appendix 4 i).
- 18 Walter Aston (1584-1639), later Lord Aston of Forfar in the

Scottish Peerage, was sent as ambassador to Spain in 1620. Lieger (in this context) is an ordinary or resident ambassador (OED).

- 19 Philip IV of Spain stated openly in a letter of 5 November 1622 that his father's intent was always to delay the 'match' (with England) and finally to end negotiations for it. See 27 February 1623/24, LJs iii.226^r.

Philip III of Spain had promised his daughter, Maria, to the Archduke Ferdinand, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II.

The marriage took place after marriage negotiations between England and Spain came to an end. Gardiner, History iv.190.

- 20 Edward Wray, groom of the bedchamber to Prince Charles, married Elizabeth Norris, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, on 27 March 1622.

Christopher Villiers (1593-1630), later Earl of Anglesey, was a brother of the King's favourite, George Villiers.

- 21 Mead had lately been a Godfather to Rose Warner. See Letter 42, note 5. On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.

- 22 'Paraline': a seventeenth-century variation of 'parhelion' (see Letter 36, note 2).

- 23 Dr Elias Travers (d.1641), a Fellow of Emmanuel 1609-1621, was Rector of Thurcaston, Leicestershire from 1621 to 1641. See Venn, Alumni.

- 24 To 'gossip'; to be a sponsor to, to give a name to (OED 1 obs.). See Letter 42, note 5.

- 25 Reports of strange astronomical phenomena were widespread in Germany as well as England. See Letters 35 and 36.

- 26 Thomas Hurst (d 1679/80) of Christ's became M.A in 1620. Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.295.

- 27 For Francis Bacon's book see Letter 42, note 4.
- 28 See Calendar I.53
- 29 Count Mansfeld sent half his army to Oppenheim in March 1622. Reports that a bridge was to be built over the Rhine at Oppenheim may have given rise to rumours of its recovery to the Elector Palatine. See 'Historical Tracts 1590-1690', p 4 in 4th October, A true relation etc: STC 18507.81.
- See note 8 for the 'old newes'.
- 30 On the Emperor's ambassador, see note 6.
- The Imperial ambassador was not trusted in England: he had come 'upon a pretence that both the Palatinate should be restored to the King's son-in-law and he with his children be received into favour...' (Calendar I.53); it was thought that his real purpose was to urge King James to persuade the Protestant forces in Germany to disarm thus leaving the Imperial and Spanish parties unopposed. Chamberlain comments that 'There is great entercourse 'twixt him and the Spanish ambassador who no doubt doth embouch and tutor him every way'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.432.
- 31 King James's reasons for his 'neutrality' were that he had no wish to support Frederick's illegal claim to the crown of Bohemia and he had no wish to become involved in war with Spanish forces in Germany.
- 32 See Calendar I.52 for reference to a Flemish ship with £80,000/£100,000 worth of commodities brought into the Downs.
- 33 Dr Thomas Winiffe (1576-1654), later Bishop of Lincoln, was a chaplain to the King.
- 34 Dr Winiffe compared Spinola with the devil 'that as he

warreth and fighteth against the soule, so the other, like a greedie wolfe, seeketh to devour the innocent lambe, the Palatinat'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.432.

For Dr Winiffe's detention - (he was released the following day) see APC July 1621-May 1623, p 189. His imprisonment exemplifies King James's anxiety to emphasise his 'neutrality' in German affairs.

- 35 On Bethlen's negotiations for peace with the Emperor see Appendix 6.

Varying reports of the agreement between Bethlen and the Emperor were received from Germany. Some doubted the peace, others affirmed it. On 15 March 1621/22 Mead's correspondent wrote that Bethlen Gabor was not reconciled to the Emperor. See Calendar I.50.

- 36 See note 13. Frederick travelled to Mansfeld's camp at Germersheim where he arrived on 12 April 1622. See Gardiner, History iv.308.

- 37 Reports varied about Frederick's disguise and the identity of his companions. One report suggested that the King of Bohemia was shaved and disguised as servant to Sir Francis Nethersole (his wife's secretary). See Calendar I.53. Colonel Morgan was a commander of 600 horse in the Palatinate under General Vere.

- 38 Reports were confused as to the identity of the Landgrave of Hesse's son: 'The eldest son ... has arrived here' (SPV 1621-1623, note 432, p 307); London news had it that the visitor was the second son ('18 or 19 years') of the Landgrave (Calendar I.53).

- 39 On Lord Chichester of Belfast, see Letter 34, note 4.

- 40 On Valentine Carey see Letter 18, note 13.

[20 April 1622]

Sir,

My last weeks postscript, (as having received one of that days letters before Mr Hursts¹ departure) hath as good as prevented the newes I should now send you Dr Meddus* his letter containing litle more then that did.

Onely this I heare That the Imperiall Ambassador commending
our King from his Master for his endeavours for peace, and
desiring him to continue still to compound these troubles as he
had begun: His Majesties answere was That he had indeed
sincerely endeavoured peace when it would not be accepted; but
now he knew not whether the Time were not past, and the
accomplishing of it out of his power. If he could do any thing
he would not be wanting, etc.²

Some talk as though the yong Lantgrave of Hessens coming
were to make offer of one of his sisters for our Prince; in case
that of Spaine went not on He had a sister which waited long
for Prince H[] which was reputed the finest woman in Europe
but I doubt she is disposed of other where long ere this.³

Count Mansfeild* hath sett forth an Apologie of all his
proceedings.⁴ It is at London, and I shall have it to day. He
hath a devise for his ensigne, A Sun radiant in An Azure
field, dispelling as it were certaine cloudes and mistes into a
corner. He coineth for his armie great store of Ricks dollers
wherein is this devise, An arme coming out of a cloud holding
a sword with the point upward thrust through a Jesuites cap.
With this motto Amicus Dei et omnibus eius inimicis inimicus.⁵

This was shewed me just now in a new book of relations which a gentleman brought from London. Ile have one for you next week. There is in it also this newes.

That in the last feirce battell which Brunswick* fought, there were slayne on the Enimies 5000 men and 400 taken prisoners,whereof one, the Prince of Anholt⁶ (of a yonger house) a cheife commander there. How many of their owne they lost he mentions not.but certainly it was terrible. For the forward Duke had himselfe his horse twise slayne under him and was once blown of his horse with the wind of the bulletts, and had a bullet [---] rased upon his shoulder, and had not his owne courage beene such as made all his armie ashamed of cowardise, they had recoyled back a three or 4 severall times, and left the Enimie the victorie. But as soone as he gott up, he was the first and formost in danger exposing himselfe in the hottest encounters, etc.⁷

Whether the Spanyards coming be probable the event will show, if it be it is but the renewing of an old purpose which hath beene interrupted by the unlooked for busines in Bohemia this three yeare for about that time also the world rung of his huge preparation which was never heard how he disposed of.⁸ But some think it is a solemne policie in Spaine to make such a noise to scarre folkes, once in certaine yeares. Howsoever it is certaine that there was a great preparation this time three yeare, for to omitt Gallobelgicus;⁹ the raskall Jesuite Schoppius¹⁰ writ then a book called Classicum belli sacri . The alarum to the holy warre, wherein he encourages the King of Spaine to proceed and telles how the Herreticks are already startled at ye newes of his Armado, as fearing now they should suffer what they deserved. This I have read and seene.

I perceive you multiplie my newes to the utmost by counting that for twise which is but one weekes newes, for I sent you first the smack, and the next week the letter which was but one weekes newes and of one day; though sent in distance of time to you.

60

As I have a letter just now, the full whereof I must send you next week, onely this at this time.

That the Emperours Ambassador¹¹ was with Gondomer* in the Exchange on Monday The Emperours Ambassador took the upper hand they cheapened some commodities etc.

65

On Sunday he was feasted at Whitehall and had a banquet which in sugar workes represented a compleat army of horse and foot with drummes, ensignes etc. They say he was placed at the end of the bord above his Majestie. There was 6 cartlod^e of plate brought from the Tower to this banquet, wherewith 2 stately stages were furnished, one very large and spacious valued at £200/000 the other farre lesse but valued at £500/000. All was sent back to the Tower the next day.

70

On Tuesday it was noysed and of many beleevd in London that the King of Bohemia in his disguised travaile was discovered, taken and wounded or slayne at Amiens in France; till it was cried down by letters his Majestie received from him at Sedan certyfying him of his safe arrivall there with the Duke of Bullion.¹²

75

On Tuesday was the Earle of Oxford committed to the Tower; the reason not knowne.¹³

80

The Brunswicker is but 21 yeares of age.¹⁴ I told you a lye in my last for his older brother is also of the same mother our Queene's sister, who was married 1590. but my book cosened me which was false printed 96. The elder brother was born 1591.

85

Thus in hast least I run to farre in the next weeks newes I
rest with my best respect remembred to your selfe, and both my
Ladies.

Christ Colledg

Aprill 20

Your faithfull

Novellante

Joseph Mead.

My Lady Den[]s¹⁵

letter is not yet sent.

the carrier went

the same day before [---]

we had it. It shalbe

as soone as may be.

Textual Notes.

Line 16. Presumably 'Henry' and 'Europe': 'enry' and 'pe'
missing; MS worn.

Line 22. In MS: 'He eeiyneth coineth'.

Line 74. 'was' inserted with caret.

Line 79. 'Bullion' miswritten for 'Bouillon': 'of' inserted
with caret.

Line 93. Presumably 'Dentons': 'ton' missing; MS worn and patched.

Line 95. In MS: 'the your Carrier'.

Notes

- 1 On Thomas Hurst see Letter 43, note 26.
- 2 By the Spring of 1622 King James had made four attempts at
mediation in Germany: Gindely, Thirty Years War i.316.
Opinions varied on his efforts. The Emperor praised him
and recommended that the Elector Palatine should follow his
father-in-law's 'wise counsels'. The Emperor's ambassador
commented (hypocritically?) that the King's advice '... was

worthy of all praise and universally commended'. See SPV
1621-1623, note 419, p 294.

- 3 On the Landgrave's son see Letter 43, note 38.
- 4 Mansfeld's Apologie, written in 'Defence of the Illustrious Prince', sought to correct slanders which were in circulation concerning Mansfeld's duplicity. It was translated out of the original French, printed at Heidelberg in 1622. See STC 24915.
- 5 'The friend of God and the enemy of all his enemies'.
- 6 Christian, Prince of Anhalt-Bernberg (1568-1630), fought for Frederick at the battle of Prague in 1620. In June 1621 he renewed his allegiance to the Emperor and thereafter battled against the Protestant forces in Germany.
- 7 Mead's words on the valour of Christian of Brunswick are probably copied from The 2 of September, Two great batailles very lately fought [1622]: STC 18507.74.
- 8 This is a reference to the Armada being prepared by Spain supposedly for the purpose of invading England or Ireland. See Letter 38, note 6.
- 9 To 'omitt': to leave disregarded (OED/c).
'Gallobelgicus' refers to Mercurius Gallobelgicus: a Newsletter (in Latin) published regularly in Frankfurt from the beginning of the seventeenth century.
- 10 Schoppius, Caspar Schoppe, a cardinal at Rome, published Classicum Belli Sacri in Ticini in 1619. It was reprinted in 1622. It was intended as an aid to proselytism in foreign countries.
- 11 On the Emperor's ambassador see Letter 43, note 6.
- 12 The Elector Palatine's route from Holland to Germersheim lay from The Brill, in Holland, through Northern France

(south of the Spanish Netherlands) to Sedan and thence to the Palatinate.

Henri de La Tour D'Auvergne (1555-1623), Vicomte De Turenne, Duc de Bouillon (1591), uncle of the Elector Palatine, owned the principality of Sedan.

- 13 On Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, see Letter 4, note 31. Comment was that 'Reasons have not so far appeared [for the imprisonments] ... Apparently they said something too free of consequence'. See SPV 1621-1623 , note 432, p 307. See further, Letter 45, note 7.
- 14 For earlier comments on Christian of Brunswick's age see Letter 43, Mead's footnote.
- 15 On Lady Denton see Letter 32, note 1.

[27 April 1622]

Sir,

The newes I send you was partly prevented by my last. But I adffunto it, the Emperours Answ^r 3 given to the Popes Nuntio brought hither, as some report, by Colonell Gray.¹ Because it was in Latin I gott a Scribe this morning to write it in English according as I could read to him on the suddaine, by that meanes I endeavored to make it the more easie for you to communicate, but I send you the Latin copie too, desiring to have it againe if you have not much use of it.

I send you divers books and Corrantos, looking for none againe but Count Mansfeilds* Apologie.²

My Lord Vaux his Companies that were at London and else where levyed are some gone and some returned againe as utterly refusing to serve against the Hollander, complaining they were cousoned being taken up to serve in the Lowcountrie, which they conceived to be all under the Hollanders etc.³

My Lord of Oxfords imprisonment⁴ was first talkt to be for some high words spoken to my Lord Marquis* about Mr Wrays busines⁵. but now it is sayd to be for a worse matter for saying That his Majestie intended to make all the Nobilitie slaves (to whom Mr Hawley (if I mistake not his name) a gentleman and freind of his (who is also close prisoner in the Gatehouse) made answere, That if he did, he made them no worse then himselfe was to Spaine.⁶

On Thursday at night landed at Dover an Ambassador to be Leiger in Don Gondomers stead.⁷

On Wednesday a gentleman dwelling at London told us, that
 he had enquired of Thomson the Scotchman⁸ upon what grounds he
 brought the report of Spaine. and found it thus, That he having
 served the Spanyard as a Pilot for taking Kinsale, and there
 losing his leg, maintained since at the King of Spaines charge, 30
 was lately motioned to be a Pilot for conducting the Armado on
 the backside of Ireland, and great reward promised him
 therefore, who though a devout Catholi[] yet considering he
 was the kings borne Subject c[] not but steale away to make
 this discovery. [] inferre to more upon it, but that the 35
 Spanya[] [] the Lowcountries would compass about Ireland
 [] and thence fall downe into the River Ems in West Fri[]land
 about Emden, as having that way both more Sea roome, and so not
 so easily hindred, as also so to distract the States forces at
 y^t side whereon they have bin ever secure, and be ready also to 40
 fall into Westphalia and to amase the Germaine Princes for the
 Emperours behalfe.⁹

Thus having no more time, I rest remembring my best
 respect. I humbly thank both my Ladies for their gracious
 remembrance of me which I understood yesternight by Mr 45
 Honywood.¹⁰

Christ Colledg

Aprill 27

Your faithfull Novellante

1622

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 2. Hole in MS - 'adde'; patch at edge - 'Answere'.

Line 6. In MS: 'endeavoured I endeavoured to make'.

Lines 33-37. Corner torn and patched: 33 - 'Catholick';

34 - Probably 'could'; 36 - Presumably 'Spanyard';

Line 36. Complete word missing at edge of leaf: probably
'from'.

Line 37. In MS: 'and ~~thought~~ thence'.

Line 37. Presumably 'Friesland': 'es' missing; ~~Kolonia~~ MS.

Line 40. Abbreviation 'y^t' used at edge of leaf: probably
'that'.

Line 41. In MS: 'into Ge Westphalia'.

Notes

- 1 On Charles Gray see Letter 33, note 7.
For the Emperor's reply to the Pope's messenger see
Calendar I.57. For the Latin text see Calendar I.56.
- 2 For Mansfeld's 'apologie' see Letter 44, note 4.
- 3 On Lord Vaux see Letter 38, note 7. The troops he levied
in England were intended for the army in the Spanish
Netherlands. For Vaux's pass to serve the King of Spaine
and for a warrant for embarkation of troops for the King of
Spain under Vaux, see APC July 1621-May 1623, pp 213,191.
- 4 On the Earl of Oxford see Letter 4, note 31.
- 5 On Edward Wray see Letter 43, note 20.
- 6 The Earl of Oxford's imprisonment was for 'ydle and unfit
speaches touching the King and his government'.
Chamberlain, Letters ii.433 .
The Earl's words are quoted in Gardiner, History iv.275.
Mr Hawley was Oxford's 'minion' according to Chamberlain.
- 7 Don Carlos Coloma, Marques de la Espina, a distinguished
historian and soldier, was the new Spanish ambassador.
- 8 On Robert Thompson see Letter 41, note 8.
- 9 Mead's inference that the Spaniards would sail around
Ireland in order to make a surprise attack on West
Friesland seems hardly credible: on the other hand the

shorter sea-route from the Southern Netherlands would have taken them through enemy waters.

Emden, on the river Ems, was a gateway to Holland, and, thereafter, Germany.

- 10 Michael Honeywood, 1597-1681, M.A. Christ's 1618, was later Dean of Lincoln. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i. 283.

[4 May 1622]

Sir,

I send you the newes I had last Saturday. What this day will bring I yet know not but I hope good. For Mr Hurst¹ who came from London on Thursday telles us.

That on munday at night and all tuesday etc. the Exchange and Citty rung with newes. That as soone as King Frederick* was arrived with Mansfeild*² they presently marched for the Palatinate against Monsieur Tilly* and the other forces there, whom they gave so great an overthrow that they layd 7/000⁺ of their Enimies for dead and it was not known when the letters were written what was become of Tilly himselfe.³ It was sayd that at the Kings* arrivall Mansfeild was in some parley with Tilly, and then suddenly sends him word, that now he was no longer his owne man but must follow a higher direction and therefore bid him prepare to fight.⁴ And also that Leopold⁵ had many forces come into Alsasse, who would have joynded with Tilly, but that Mansfeild left so sufficient forces behind to watch him, that he could not come.

I pray god this newes be true. as I hope it is For Mr Hurst sayes he heard Dr Meddus* tell it in the open streat for joy. for he supped that night at one of the Doctors neighbours who

+ 7000

was also come from Exchange and had seene the letters.

Thus with my best respect I rest.

Christ Colledg

Your faithfull

May 4

Novellante

Joseph Mead.

25

Notes

- 1 On Thomas Hurst see Letter 43, note 26.
- 2 Frederick, Elector Palatine joined Count Mansfeld at Gemersheim on 2/12 April 1622.
- 3 The combined forces of Mansfeld and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach defeated Tilly at Wiesloch (17/27 April 1622). Rumours abounded on the numbers killed and on the fate of Tilly himself. It was reported that he lost 5000/6000 men in Three great overthrows ...etc, 4 May 1622: STC 18507.44. (See also 'A Letter from one of the Spanish Garrison in Creutsnach etc.', Calendar I.59). Mansfeld himself wrote that Tilly was either dead or injured. See Le Comte de Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeldt, (2 Vols. Brussels, 1865) ii. 8 (afterwards referred to as Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeldt).
- 4 Mansfeld was in discussion with an envoy from the Infanta at Brussels when Frederick joined him at Germersheim. See Gardiner, History iv.309. Mansfeld's comment was that 'he was now but a second person and must yeeld to a higher sovereignty, for the King of Bohemia was come in person into the field'.
See The King of Bohemia's welcome to Count Mansfield, 1622, p 14: STC 18507.42,
- 5 The Archduke Leopold (1586-1632) was the Emperor's brother, nominally Bishop of Passau.

[11 May 1622]

Sir,

I have nothing more to write besides this enclosed and printed.¹ Onely this, That I have seene Gallobelgicus² who tells us of 3 Sunnes seene in many places of Germainie especially at Strasburge, Heidelberg, Ulme, and Helvetia upon the day of the Conversion of St. Paul; the sun the evening before going downe as flaming with fire, and all that night the heavens seeming to be on fire. The 3 Sunnes appeared the morning after at nine a clock encircled with an elegant rainbow, and againe at 2 in the afternoone with lines like a paire of tonges embrasing or clasping them, and 2 rainbowes in the Southeast reversed and casting a shaddow to the northwest. This was on the 24 of Januarie, the same time they were seene in Darbeshire, and Nottinghamshire.³ Again saith Gallobelgicus on the 8 of Februarie following at Heidelberg, the moone being then new changed, were seene 3 moones; the true moone being incompassed with a Circle, and a long black Crosse struck through hir body: Of the other 2 moones the one blased as if it had the Sun beames about it (viz the right hand one) the other was somewhat dimmer, but had a blase from it like to a besome.⁴ Thus much I thought good to note, for the more credit of our reports in England. for because there is much vanitie in things of this kind, men are now growne to that diffidence, that they will beleeeve nothing. But it were a miracle, if we and Germaines should jumpe to lye together. Gallobelgicus, he that I saw, I know to be a good

Mathematician, and he spends his whole Epistle dedicatorie about the signification of these prodigies. God grant the event prove not so, as shall make us believe more was true than we were aware of.

Thus with my best respect, I rest.

Christ Colledg

May 11

Yours Joseph

Mead.

30

Textual Notes.

Line 25. In MS: 'Gallege Gallobelgicus'.

Notes

- 1 See Calendar I.60.
- 2 On 'Gallobelgicus' see Letter 44, note 9.
- 3 For similar reports in England see Letter 35, note 26; Letter 36, notes 1, 2, 3.
- 4 Reports of the astronomical phenomena in Germany were printed 'according to faithful and honest letters'. See 'Historical Tracts 1590-1690' in 4th October, A true relation etc. [1622]: STC 18507.81.

Letter 48 was was not dated by Mead.

For dating see note 4 and Letter 49, note 8.

[18 May 1622]?

Sir,

I know not whether these letters will find you at home or no and therefore I wilbe short.

There was very terrible newes at London on Saturday almost till night, that the Palatine* should be taken prisoner and Mansfeild* slaine with I know not, how many thousand men.¹ It was fathered upon the new Spanish Ambassador, and divulged in the Citty by one De La barre.² But at night and since came many letters cleane contrarie with very much newes and most good. the particulars whereof we look to heare to day from London. The Summe is, as I am told by such as come from thence, That in a second battell, Baron Tillie* the Bavarian Generall being wounded in the head is taken prisoner by Mansfeld and 5000 of his men slaine. It is written, but whether in this or another battell I know not, that the King himselfe was stricken with a musket bullet on the breast but his curace was so good, that God be thanked it did him no hurt worth speaking of.³ This a post brought to the Hague the 5th of our May.

There is much other newes. but what we look to heare to day.

For home newes, Our Mastership was resigned on Wednesday last, or our Election for a new appointed on Sunday come sennight.⁴ God send us a good one.

I was told last night, that Kit Villars was made Earle of

Barkshire.⁵

These letters enclosed from Northamptonshire I would have sent on Tuesday to Newmarket, but that I could find no messenger. They came to my hands on Saturday at night. Thus with my best respect, I rest.

25

Your faithfull

Novellante

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 18. 'is much': 'is not much' probably intended.

Notes.

- 1 The reference is probably to the Battle of Wimpfen (26 April/6 May 1622) (between Tilly and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach) of which reports were confused. There was 'no certaintie of the manner thereof'. Weekely newes from Italy etc. [23 May n.s.], p 5: STC 18507.46.

Frederick and Mansfeld were not at Wimpfen.

However, in a later skirmish, a Count of the German branch of the house of Mansfeld and a young Count Palatine of Birkenfeld were taken prisoner. See Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeldt.ii.69. A case of mistaken identity in the confusion?

- 2 On the new Spanish Ambassador see Letter 45, note 8. De la Barre is not identified. Gondomar is cited as reporting the death of Mansfeld and the capture of Frederick. See Calendar I.61.
- 3 The battle at Wiesloch in which Frederick, Mansfeld and Baden-Durlach defeated Tilly took place on 17/27 April 1622 and was therefore the first, not the second battle. See note 1.

On Tilly's injury see Calendar I.60. On the lucky escape from injury of Frederick, 'the King', see Calendar I.61.

- 4 Valentine Carey (see Letter 18, note 13) resigned the Mastership of Christ's College on his appointment to the Bishoprick of Exeter in 1621.

'The Election ... appointed on Sunday come sennight':

'Sunday come sennight' means 7 days after the next Sunday.

The election took place on Sunday 26 May 1622 (see Letter 49, note 8). Thus, the 'next' Sunday was 19 May 1622 and the date of Letter 48 is probably Saturday, 18 May 1622.

- 5 On Christopher Villiers see Letter 43, note 20. Mead's information was incorrect. Christopher Villiers was made Baron Villiers of Daventry and Earl of Anglesey in April 1623. See Complete Peerage i.132.

[25 May 1622]

Sir,

I have seene some of this Saturdays newes which speakes
 nothing more of the enclosed;¹ but is silent. Mr Ramsey² came
 from Court yesterday and affirmed, that there came letters
 thither on Wednesday confirming, that the Marquess of Baden,³ had
 cryed quit with Tilly*; and the rest as the enclosed reports
 but with some difference of numbers.⁴ He telles some other
 strange conversions of busines, upon these defeatures, concerning
 a composition.⁵ But Ile heare more afore, I beleeeve it.

5

The letters of this week tell, That if Count Henry⁶ when he
 made his inrode into Brabant had come to Scharffenhouen but one
 houre and an halfe sooner they had taken the Infanta the
 Archduchess* hir selfe prisoner, being at hir devotion;
 howsoever they tooke away hir silver Lady, with all offrings,
 jewells, riches and ornaments and brought them to the Hague so
 that if she go a pilgrimage hereafter, she must take a longer
 journey etc.⁷

10

15

To morrow at 8 in the morning we choose a new Master. We
 heare yet of no mandates no not competitors but Dr Bainbrige.⁸
 Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

20

May 25

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 13. In MS: 'all her offrings'; 'offrings' written above
 the deletion.

Notes.

- 1 For the probable 'enclosed' see Calendar I.61.
- 2 On George Ramsay see Letter 31, note 3.
- 3 Mead writes 'Marquess' in error. George-Frederick (1573-1638), Margrave of Baden-Durlach and his army fought for the Protestants in Germany.
- 4 The Margrave pursued Tilly to Wimpfen on 26 April/6 May 1622 where although he was defeated, he apparently the next day 'set on the enemy and recovered his baggage'. See Calendar I.61 and A true relation of all such batailles etc...24 May 1622, p 13: STC 18507.47.
- 5 Composition: a mutual agreement for cessation of hostilities; a truce; an agreement for submission or surrender on particular terms (OED/23b).
- 6 Frederick Henry of Nassau (1583-1647), youngest son of William of Orange, was half-brother to Maurice, Prince of Orange.
- 7 On the Archduchess Isabella see Biographical Index. The 'silver Lady' was reputedly a miraculous statue, 'the Goddesse of Scharffenhoven or Scharp-Hill... Hir chapel was neere Bruxelles'. See Calendar I.62.

For news of Count Henry's victorious return to the Hague, see A true relation of all such batailles etc. ...24 May 1622, p 19: STC 18507.47.
- 8 On Thomas Bainbridge see Letter 23, note 15.

This letter is dated, by Mead, 25 May (1622), a Saturday. 'Tomorrow at 8', therefore, must refer to Sunday, 26 May 1622. The reference is used to date Letter 48 (see Letter 48, note 14).

This letter is unsigned by Mead.

[1 June 1622]

Sir,

The days intelligence hath enabled me to adde somewhat to the enclosed, viz .

The battell betweene the King of Bohemia* and Tilly* is largely described in a printed book, out of his owne letters to the Prince of Orange.¹

5

The overthrow of the Duke of Wirtemberg² (for so it was and not Baden)³ wherein the yong Marquis of Baden was slayne,⁴ and 1500 men, of but 3000 in all, which were coming to Mansfeilds* army, after the defeat of Tilly, as supposing the coast cleare, and so were surprised by Cordova,⁵ who was speeding to Tillies releife.⁶

10

The confirmation of the notable overthrow given Cordova, presently after being himselfe mett withall by the Marquis of Baden⁺ who was pursuing after Tillie.⁷

The confirmation of the great overthrow given by the King and Mansfeild to Archduke Leopold neere Hagenaw where Leopold was faine to take a fisher boat in the Rhine or had himselfe beene taken prisoner.⁸

15

The confirmation of the greatest overthrow given lately by Brunswick* to Baron Anholt and Van der Berg his forces who were to intercept him going into the Palatinate. The sayd Duke

20

+ or Durlach of the elder ¶ 1e.⁹

being now fallen into Frankenland the Bishop of Wirtzburg or
Herbipolis his country.¹⁰

The great massacre, (a new Vesperiae Siculae) performed by
the Grisons upon the Spanish and Leopoldian garrisons on Palme
Sunday.¹¹ I saw it written from Basill by the Professor there
to Dr Cumber.¹² They were all disarmed and had nothing to play
this trick with but knives and clubbes of trees. 25

All this except the last was printed on thursday and 30
confirmed by new letters the same day, as our intelligence this
week signifies. I would have sent you the book; but that I
have never another, and had it but this morning. you shall
have it next week.

Yet I send you now an elder book though worth litle: and a 35
paper for Virginia¹³ which I must intreat you to divulge as was
injoynd me. I have some more for that purpose. [---] June .1.

Textual Notes.

Line 21. 'Duke' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 30. In MS: 'all this besides except'.

Lines 35-37. All these lines written in left-hand margin with
several blots.

Notes

- 1 On the battle, see Letter 48, note 3.
- 2 It was reported, falsely, that Wurtemberg had been taken
prisoner. See The safe return of the King of Bohemia, 1612
[sic] [1622], 1 May: STC 18507.43. See also A true
relation of all such battailes...²⁴ May 1622, p 13: STC
18507.47.
- 3 On George Frederick, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, see
Letter 49, note 3.

- 4 Reports of the death of George Frederick's son, the young Marquis of Baden (1603-1622), after the battle at Wiesloch, were insistent but false. See 23 May 1622, Weekly News etc., p 5 (STC 18507.46) where he is named as Marquis Charles [Karl]. See also More neues from the Palatinate June the 5 [1622]: STC 18507.50. Three of the Margrave's sons were in the war zone, - Frederick, who died 1659; Karl, who died 1625; Cristof, who died 1632.
- The Margrave, George Frederick, abdicated from the Margravate in April 1622 in favour of his son Frederick: this perhaps gave rise to rumours of a death in the Baden-Durlach house. See Genealogie de Gesammthausen Baden etc., von Eugen Von Chrismar, (Gotha, 1892).
- 5 Don Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba, (1585-1635) was a Spanish Commander in the Palatinate 1621-1623.
- 6 After the battle of Wiesloch, 17/27 April 1622, Tilly called on Cordoba for help. The skirmish with the Marquis of Baden (see note 4) took place while Cordoba was en route to join Tilly at Wimpfen.
- 7 The reference is to the Margrave of Baden-Durlach who 'collected together the scattered troops of Wurtemberg and encountered Cordova, slew 3000 and recovered the artillery'. See STC 18507.47 (as in note 2). This news was later confirmed from Antwerp, 'therefore we beleieve it true' (Calendar I.63).
- 8 For a report of 'the utter defeat of the Emperor's forces under Leopold' see Calendar I.63 and More neues from the Palatinate, June 5 [1622]: STC 18507.50.
- 9 For the Margrave of Baden-Durlach see note 3. 'The elder []e': 'The elder house'.

- 10 On Christian of Anhalt see Letter 44, note 8.
On Henry van den Berg see Letter 35, note 20.
See STC 18507.47 (as in note 2), p 15, where it is said that '... the Duke joyning battell with him [Baron Anholt], overthrew him, and made himselfe ... master of the field'. See also Calendar I.63.
- 11 On the massacre of the Spanish garrisons in the Valtelline by the Grisons see Calendar I.63 and Appendix 5.
Palm Sunday was 14 April 1622 s.v.
'A new Vesperiae Siculae' - a new 'Sicilian Vespers'.
The allusion is to a massacre of the French in 1282 in Sicily. The cruelties of the Angevin rulers of Sicily provoked the massacre, the signal for which was the ringing of bells for vespers.
- 12 Dr Thomas Cumber (d.1653), later Dean of Carlisle, Master of Trinity College and Vice-chancellor of the University, was a chaplain to James I.
- 13 For 'A Note of the shipping, men and provisions sent and provided for Virginia, 1621', see STC 24843. The note covers the period up to to May 1622.

[8 June 1622]

Sir,

I saw a book this week of the marriage of our Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria; which I took at the first to have bin an Epithalamium. The frontispiece was cutt in a large qto with many devises, and at the bottome The Prince and Lady in their robes, and Christlike a parson joyning their hands and marrying them.¹ The dedication was to Don Gondomar* and a whole leafe and a halfe spent in his Titles. The autor wrot himselfe Michael de Val.² It contained verses and those some of them in Spanish, with many discourses, both of the commendation of Spaine and Spanyards, especially for fidelitie above any nation. The praise of our King/ An historicall catalogue of all the marriages betweene us and Spaine heretofore and their happines, All objections against the match answered the enmitie of the nations, the difference of Religion and such like.³ The great advantages we on our part may expect thereby, and among others, that we shalbe in possibilitie of the Kingdomes of Spaine and the Indies etc if this King should die without issue,⁴ because the elder sister publicly renounced her right to succession when she was married to France, in regard that Spaine could not succeed there by the Salick law.⁵ I know not what it meanes, they say it is prohibited to be sold openly, and that the King was offended at it. It was translated into English, but they say, the printing was stayed.

All the Jesuites and Preists which were in prison at London

and else where were this week set at libertie. Mr Jermy⁶ on Thursday told me their number was 400, and that they went under baile to be forthcoming, when they should be called for.⁷

I doubt not but you have heard, that the Countesse of Buckingham⁸ was banished the Court, and that for professed Poperie. But it was not directly so, nor for that cause at least not onely. For she is not banished, but still stayes there till the progresse, and then to take occasion to go into the countrie and returne no more. The cheife reason is sayd to be this. When the Emperours Ambassador⁹ was departing, the King meaning to bestow some Jewell upon him caused one to be fetched. A chaine of Queene Annes of £3000 value was brought him, but refusing to bestow it being a womans chaine and of that value, upon him, and saying, where in had he deserved so much at his hands? another of lesser worth was brought and pleased him. Then some question being made what should be done with the Chaine; the Prince told his Majestie that neither of them both had yet bestowed anything upon the Duchess of Lennox¹⁰ since she was married. If his Majestie would dispose of it that way, himselfe would be the carrier to present it in his Majesties name, and so should they have both thanks. The King assented, the Prince carried it and putt it about her neck; which was taken by all for an extraordinarie and unusuall honour done unto hir. Which so greived the Countess, that such an honour should be done to any but her selfe, and that a thing of that value and qualitie should misse hir hands, that the next day, she took upon her as in the King's name to send for the chaine againe, pretending some use thereof and that it should be requited with as good a thing. The messenger who went in the

Kings name and not in hers, being sounded by the amased 55
Duchesse, whether himselfe had heard that order from the King,
or not, at last confessed he was sent by the Countesse, who had
it from his Majestie. Whereupon the Duchesse, bid him tell the
Countesse, that she would not so much dishonour the Prince who
brought it, to suffer it to be carried back by any hand but 60
his, or hir owne, for if his Majestie would have it she would
carried^{er} hir selfe. Which the next day she performed, desiring
to know wherein she had offended his Majestie etc. The King
understanding the busines, swore he was abused, and the Prince
told him that he took it for so great an affront, on his part; 65
that he would leave the Court if she stayd in it: with no small
expression of indignation. My autor for this was Sir William
Bourser¹¹ of Uppingham.

There hath ^{as} (the same Gentleman with others telles us) beene
a conference lately betweene Dr White and the Countesses 70
Jesuite in the Kings presence.¹²

They say the newes of France is not all so bad as it seemes
and that they are but in a treatie, and only made some offers;
I pray God it be true, then the French inconstancie may produce
some better effect.¹³ 75

But I begin to be weary with writing and therefore with my
best respect, I take my leave, resting

Christ Colledg

June 8. 1622

Yours most ready

to be commanded

It is sayd that ye Spanyard

Joseph Mead.

by the meanes of an English

man of warre, hath conveyed

above a million of treasure
 to Brussells, which the Hollanders
 watched for; and are much offended
 and say they will hereafter search all
 English ships.¹⁴ From Sir Will Bourser.

85

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'and hath at'.

Line 21. 'it is prohibited': 'is' is inserted above the
 line.

Line 26. 'where': inserted above line with caret.

Line 36. In MS: 'Jewell one be feteked him caused one': 'upon'
 inserted above the deletion.

Line 38. In MS: 'it being both a womans'.

Line 47. In MS: 'and putted it': 'it' inserted above the line.

Line 47. 'was' inserted above line with caret.

Line 48-49. In MS: 'an extraordinarie done unto him and
 unusuall'.

Line 60. 'back' inserted in the left-hand margin; 'any'
 inserted above the line with caret.

Line 62. 'day' inserted above the line.

Line 65. 'it' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 67. A large blot precedes 'My'.

Notes

1 The possibility of a marriage between Prince Charles and
 the Infanta Maria of Spain was a subject for much
 speculation. The marriage did not take place. On the
 negotiations for the marriage (referred to as the 'Spanish
 match') and its political ramifications see Appendix 4 i.

2 The book: Michael Duval, Rosa Hispani-Anglica seu Malum

punicum Angl'Hispanicum, (Paris, 1622). See STC 7376.

- 3 English objections to the 'match' (see note 1) were based on fears of the spread of Popery.

See Cobbett, Parliamentary History i.1323 for a Remonstrance on the match which the House of Commons prepared to send to King James. The King refused to receive it and it is not printed in the Commons' Journal.

- 4 'This king' is Philip IV of Spain, sister to the Infanta.

- 5 Anne of Austria, the 'elder sister' (of the Infanta Maria), wife of Louis XIII of France, had expressly renounced her claim to the crown of Spain upon her marriage. In France, the Salic law excluded females from succession to the crown (OED/1). However, on the death of Louis, Anne ruled as Regent during the minority of her son, the future Louis XIV.

- 6 This is possibly a reference to Francis Jermy, an undergraduate at Christ's in 1615. See Peile, Register i. 303. A large family of Jermys lived at Brightwell in Suffolk.

- 7 The writ for the enlargement of English Papists was not issued until 2 August 1622. See Lord Keeper to the Judges, SPD 1619-1623, p 436.

- 8 The Countess of Buckingham (Letter 30, note 14), mother of George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, was evidently 'sent from court and ... confined to her house ... in Leicestershire' at some time before 25 September 1622. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.451. Chamberlain suspects another reason for her banishment besides 'Poperie'.

- 9 On the Emperor's ambassador, see Letter 43, notes 6 and 29.

- 10 Frances, Duchess of Lennox (d.1639), third wife of Ludovick

Stuart, was the third wife and widow of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford.

- 11 Sir William Bourser is not identified.
- 12 Dr Francis White (1564?-1637/8), Dean of Carlisle, later Bishop of Carlisle, was a royal chaplain selected to argue the Protestant case against the Jesuit, John Percy (1569-1641), (known as John Fisher). 'The Countess's Jesuit' was famous for his dialectic skill. Conferences were held on several occasions, at times in the presence of in the presence of the King, the Lord Keeper, the Marquis, the Marchioness, and the Countess of Buckingham. Gardiner, History iv.279.
- 13 See Calendar I.63 for news from France (in May) that several leading French Protestants had defected from the Huguenot cause. However, the news from France in June was that 'There is not any great man yet fallen to the French king save onely old De La Force' (Calendar 1.64).
De La Force obtained the King's pardon in 1622 and was made a Marshall of France. Some nobility had defected to the King's side as early as 1621. See Parker, La Rochelle, p 99.
- 14 The Dutch ('the Hollanders') looked to England as an ally against the Spanish who controlled the Southern Netherlands. Thus the conveying of treasure to Brussels in an English ship caused them to suspect England's intentions.

[22 June 1622]

Sir,

Because I heare not what becomes of my letters: I find too late, that those I betrust with the deliverie of them make bold to keep them sometimes a week after they are out of my hands. How often I have bin served so I know not but of late I had given my sizer¹ a letter to Mr Warner² to leave it at Jeffery Finches³, as I do yours; It concerned some speciall busines that required hast. But speaking with Mr Warner and finding it and one more never came to his hand, by examination, I found both how I had bin abused my selfe, and you deprived, as I feare, not that time onely but divers others, notwithstanding the care I alwaies took not to misse. I pray send me word how often you have wanted my letters. For I am sure, that I never missed to write so much as one week since Christmas, and had my letter alwaies ready in time. I will teach somebody, what it is to deceive the trust I putt in them.

For neues I putt it into the book, I send you. It is not much besides the former.

Yesterday was Parsons his Commentaries, burnt in the Regent Walk.⁴

We are a choosing a Fellow and cannot agree; this is the 3rd day and the last in our power.

I would have written something of the Lantgrave of Darmstatts⁵ taking prisoner, of his submissee comming to the King*, of the Kings confounding him with a letter of his owne

hand to the Spanish partie, when he would make him beleeeve, that 25
 he had not bin his enimie; of his submission to the Kings mercy
 hereupon, of the Kings telling him, That he would make him know
 he was his vassall before he had done with him. For the
 Territorie of Darmstatt is a Feudum of the Prince Palatine*;
 which in professing thus against the Palatine's cause and
 ayding his enimies he hath forfeited etc⁶. But I have no time 30

Thus therefore with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours ready to be

June 22

commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'of' above line, with caret.

Line 11. In MS: 'send me word how how'.

Line 25. In MS: 'when he pu would'.

Notes

- 1 William Pulford, admitted at Christ's in 1619, was Mead's sizar. See Peile, Register i.332.
- 2 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.
- 3 On Jeffrey Finch see Letter 11, note 31.
- 4 David Pareus (1584-1622), Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, enraged King James by certain propositions in his commentary on Romans.xiii.1-5. For Pareus's propositions see Gardiner, History iv.297-8.

The Privy Council ordered that the books of Pareus should be burnt. See 31 May 1622, APC (1621-23), p 237.

The burning at Cambridge University followed a resolution of the Senate that the 'books of Dr Pareus ... [be] condemned to eternal infamy'. See SPD 1619-1623, note 48, p 427.

- 5 On the Landgrave of Darmstatt see Letter 10, n 22.
- 6 Frederick V, the exiled Elector Palatine, and some of his forces arrived before the gates of Darmstatt on May 23/2 June 1622. Frederick ordered the Landgrave to surrender one of his fortresses. The Landgrave refused, fled, was captured and still refused to surrender. He and his son were held prisoner at Mannheim. See The safe arrival of Christian, Duke of Brunswick, 3 July 1622, p 8: STC 18507.59, and Gardiner, History iv.314.
- 'Feudum'; fiefdom.

[29 June 1622]

Sir,

I received not your letter till mine was sent.yet you might perceive by what I wrot that it was not my fault you received two weeks newes together. I have made him fast a week that was in fault.

I send you now what last Saturday afforded. The written news is sewed into the book,which you shall herewith receive. 5
I can adde litle. But that I know not what to judge of Brunswickes* mishap,rumour is still so unconstant.¹ On Tuesday came a letter to Dr Senhouse² (being at his [aide?] support) from Court, assuring that the King received intelligence on Saturday, that Brunswick* and his whole army were strongly 10
joynded with Mansfeild*, and that his losse in the passage of the Maine was not worth the speaking of,yet on Thursday the same partie by other intelligence, began to misdoubt his newes, and I heare every body suspicious of the worst but upon what grounds I know not,nor can learne. Faine I would have seene this dayes 15
newes before I had written but I could not.³

There is a book of this strange burning of Cork,but it came not yet to my hands;but those that read it,say that in it the truth of the Battaille of Starlings is againe avouched. Lord, what should a man beleive: It is not yet 5 weeks since a 20
gentleman told me, that he had newly spoken with a gentleman living in Ireland, who avouched the same.and withall, as he told me shook his head, wherefore he knew not. But if this last of Cork be true it,will soone appeare,if the Citty be found no

more; whereas that of the battaile did depend but on one days 25
testimonie, and perhaps not of many mens sight. if so be it be
yet possible to believe it: which I know not.⁴

I shall tell you time enough, when it wilbe time for me to
make bold with you. Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready	30
June 29	to be commanded	
	Joseph Mead.	

Textual Notes.

Line 2. In MS: 'you would received'.

Notes

- 1 News sheets and letters from Europe reported both the success and defeat of Christian of Brunswick (see note 4).
- 2 On Richard Senhouse see Letter 21, note 10.
- 3 'this dayes newes': there is no copy of news of 28 June 1622 in MS Harl. 389 but some of its contents are included in Letter 54. Brunswick had had some success in taking Höchst on the river Main on 6/16 June 1622. The Duke later suffered a defeat by Tilly and Córdoba on 10/20 June 1622. His retreat from Höchst was described as a 'disordered disaster ... in passing the river of Maine... baggage lost and some men'. See The safe arrivall of Christian Duke of Brunswick, 3 July 1622: STC 18507.59 and The relation of all the last passages of the warres in the Palatinate, 18 July 1622: STC 18507.63.
- 4 On the battle of Starlings see Letter 42, note 2.

(fos 212r,v; 213r,v)

A misplaced letter, dated 5 July 1623, precedes Letter 54 in MS Harl 389. It has been transcribed as Letter 94, see below.

[6 July 1622]

Sir,

The troublesome time of our Commencement¹ gave me no leysure to write and marshall my newes, as I am wont; but I have deferred all till this morning, which I desire you to accept, as it followes out of my tablebooks

London June 28

5

Letters 7 days old from the Hague to which are agreeable . Others from the Palatinate, confirme the defeat given unto Brunswick* at Hoest as he was passing the river Mayne. His losse is still held to be about 1000 men, yet deplorable especially for that 4 brave Commandors, 3 Counts and one Baron were missing. Albeit at Brussells and Anwerp they glory of 9 some of 12, some of 16 yea some of 22,000 men lost, when as he had but 17 or 18 thousand in all.²

10

Before his going over he sent a Cornet of an 110 or 120 horse to see what enimies were neere, thinking they had beene before him and not behind him as it afterwards prooved. These horsemen mett with 2 cornetts of Crabatts and 25 musketiers, slue 70 of them took an 100 and put the rest to flight. In Hoest, Brunswick found of the Bishop of Mentz his provisions 5000 quarters of wheat, 1000 tunnes of wine. 500 loades of hay and oates, and a hundred barrells of powder.³

15

20

Moreover before his passage, he had thought of some

remembrance to the Queene his cosen and hir gentlewomen, and so
 sent the Queene for his young Goddaughter Lodovica Hollandina
 10/000 gold gilders in specie, which is £2500 sterling, and 6 25
 rich purses, in each an £100 Flemish (which is £60 Sterling), to
 6 of hir gentlewomen.⁴

Prince Henry* the Prince of Oranges* brother, was (when
 these letters were written from the Hague) encamped and
 entrenched with 10/000 men a litle above Rees,⁵ and Henry Van 30
 der Berg for the Spanyard lay betweene him and Wesell.⁶ The
 Enimie sent forth 6 cornetts of horse, pretending to go on a
 convoy, but indeed intending an Ambuscado, and to draw out some
 of the States men into danger. To this purpose there came a
 cornet or 2 neere to Prince Henries trenches upon a French 35
 Captaines quarter; who not enduring such boldnes rode out to
 check them and was at the first encounter shott in the thigh
 and his horse slayne; yet not hereby discouraged he pursued the
 Enimie, shott their cheifest leader Don Baptista Doria, Marques
 Spinola's* nephew above the gorget in the neck so that he 40
 tumbled downe dead, slue also another Captaine of horse and a
 Corporall, themselves loosing but one common souldier; yet had
 like to have beene all lost in pursuing the Enimie to ye Ambush
 but that it rising a litle to soone gave the States men time to
 retreat and recover their trenches.⁷ 45

It is written That 2000 men drawne from severall garrisons
 of the States on the Coast of Brabant, have taken and hold a
 strong Castle very neere unto Hertzogen bosh (or Boscum Ducis):
 Whether they entend to beseidge that strong garrison-Tower of
 the Enimies, is yet uncertaine.⁸ But the Prince of Orange was 50
 very shortly to go to the feild with the whole Armie
 somewhither; and a man of warre is come hither to fetch

Colonell Cecill,⁹ which is never done but when they are upon a marching.

It is confirmed from France, That the King shewed
extraordinarie crueltie upon Negropellise, a Towne of the Duke
of Bullions 3 leagues from Montauban. He took it by assault,
and slue not onely the garrison souldiers, but all the
Inhabitants likewise, some with the sword, hanging others and
burning the rest: yea the souldiers with an unheard of
Barbaritie among Cristians, taking the sucking infants from the
cradle or the mothers brest, on their swords points and pikes
heads.¹⁰

After this, he went to do the like with St Antonie: where
the souldiers and Townsmen desired parley, but the King
refused. Whereupon the garrison (being of 12 or 13 hundred
resolute men) sent to their neighbour garrisons, on a certaine
day and houre, all to issue out one to the releife of another,
and all to cry Negropelisse, and did so falling upon the Kings
regiment, which lay a good distance from the Battalions, slue
about 1500 of the Kings men, routed the rest, and forced the
King to fly not without danger to the Battalions.¹¹

During this fight 800 men and some store of oxen sent by
Prince Rohan* gott safe into Montauban; which so soone as the
King knew, he caused presently his owne Leutenantants Baron
Coutinants head to be [---] stricken off.¹² Monsieur Membrun¹³
La Deguires Son in law was on the Protestants side in this late
fight. And La Deguires himselfe¹⁴ (his Jesuited wife⁺ that
received an 100 thousand crownes to draw him at first to Paris
and thought to have held him by some inchauntment, being now
dead) is fully come to the Protestants side.¹⁵

A sea fight is there next expected.

+ She was a marchants wife, who he kept as his concubine
divers yeares, hir husband being [---] as was thought not
unwilling. At length hir husband being slaine by a
Pie-monger, (as was thought by hir procurement, y^t so she
might obtaine to be Deguires his wife) he married her.
and could never since do anything without her will nor
against hir mind, by any meanes could be used. It was
sayd he had bin excommunicate for this.

On Sunday was Paraus burnt in Poules churchyard by the
publick Hangman.¹⁶

His Majestie, the Prince etc were feasted on tuesday night
at Cobham Hall by the Lord Duke.¹⁷ On Wednesday early he went
to Chattam, viewed the navie, dined, came back to Greenwich
that night.

95

Thus much from London on Saturday.

I heare besides onely, That the King was enformed on
munday, that the 2 Armies in the Palatinate in their utmost
streth on both sides lay within 8 mile one of another, in such
manner, that if they joyne battaile, he that is overcome looses
all utterly and irrecoverably. God help our partie and be on
their side.¹⁸

100

On Sunday in the face of the whole Commencement assembled,
Mr Lucie⁺⁺¹⁹ preached a sermon totally for Arminianisme,²⁰
wonderfully boldly and peremptorily, styling some passages of
the contrary by the names of blasphemie etc. Yesterday a
combination gathered in the Towne, and went to the
Vicechancellor²¹ to have him censured. and yet the same day he
propounded his grace for Batchlor in divinitie in the Regent
house against the next yeare: and though the Faction was strong
against him, yet he carried it by maine force. though this be a
favour not ordinary for every one, to have his grace before his
yeare. What it meanes and what the event wilbe I know not.

105

110

++ My Lord Marquis his chapleine and Kinsman. he hath a
mandate for the Mastership of Trinitie Colledg in
Reversion, and yet scarce Batchelor in divinitie
standing.

115

Either he hath had some encouragement, or else he used not so
much discretion as he might, considering the place and time so
publick. 120

We talk heare, that there were a dozen or 14 Jesuites at
our Commencement, noted.

There arrived lately at Lynne²² one with trunkes and boxes,
whereof he was so nice, that he caused the searcher to see what 125
he had who found with him a wonderfull rich altar of Amber a
yeard long and three quarters wide with divers brave and
curious Saints finely layd in their beds etc. Fearing the
discovery of all, he gott what he could carry with him, and
slipped away from them downe the River to Cambridg But being 130
discovered which way he went, the searcher made after him, at
length gott sight of him and dogd him hither; he housed at
Hobsons,²³ would have hired a horse for London, but was
apprehended and brought before the ViceChancellor on munday
morning, who found with him, a wonderfull curious chalice with a 135
rich cover all of Amber, In the cover a picture of some yong
Prince, some say the King of France but others come more neere
to us at home. The ViceChancellor having then no leysure,
bestowed him till the Commencement was past; What they will do
with him I know not. 140

I have just now seene D Med:* his letter from London, which
is short but strange as followeth.

London July 5

Here is newes come and beleived, That the Janizaries have
strangled the Great Turke, his 2 yong sons of 4 months old, 5 145
of his Bashaws, and killed 2000 of their Fellow Janizaries,
that did adhere unto him; which being true may occasion great

alterations, especially if Mustapha the Uncle be also
strangled, (as some affirme; there being an end of the line of
Ottoman.²⁴

150

The French King hath taken St. Antonies by Composition, but
broken his faith, in causing 6 of the Captaines therein to be
hanged. It is constantly sayd, he hath beene shott in the
shoulder, by the anguish whereof and choller he fell into a
vehement burning fever; and as some say, is thereof since dead;
but I yet doubt of it.²⁵

155

The King of Bohemia* (having left the custody of
Heydelberg. Manheim and Frankendall unto our Sovereigns care
(who hath at his pay 8000 foot and 1500 horse in them) is
together with the Duke of Brunswick and Mansfeild gone into
Alasatia, either to ruine more there of that which Archduke
Leopold hath, (because he had caused a mine to be made at
Hagenaw, wherein 40 of his men were but slayne) or else with
purpose to fall downe thence into Bavaria as some think.²⁶

160

The rest you shall have the next week. Thus with my best
respect, I rest.

165

Christ Colledg
July 6

Yours to command
Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 28. 'when' inserted above line with caret.

Line 126. 'with him' inserted in left-hand margin.

Line 144. In MS: 'have slayne strangled'.

Notes

- 1 Commencement: see Letter 19, note 7.
- 2 The battle at Höchst (where Brunswick was defeated by Tilly and Cordoba) took place on 10/20 June 1622. Of Brunswick's 15,000 troops 7,000 were lost. The remainder retreated to Mannheim where they joined the forces of Mansfeld. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.339.
- 3 It was reported that Brunswick, on his taking of Hochst, 'found provision of the Spanish commissioner'.
See The safe arrival of the Duke of Brunswick, 3 July 1622: STC 18507.59.
- 4 Christian of Brunswick's cousin, Elizabeth of Bohemia, gave birth to a daughter, Louise Hollandina, in April 1622.
- 5 Frederick Henry's camp was at Emmerich. See The late proceedings etc....25 June 1622: STC 18507.57, p 10.
- 6 On Van Den Bergh see Letter 35, note 22. His position is confirmed elsewhere. See ibid.
- 7 No other source has been found for this news.
- 8 Hertogenbosch; a city in Brabant under Spanish control.
- 9 On Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, later Lord Marshal and General of the sea, see Letter 13, note 4.
- 10 In 1621 the royal garrison at Nègrepelisse was attacked and

400 soldiers slaughtered by Huguenots. See Castelnaut, in Mémoires de ... Duc De La Force etc., iv.319 and footnote.

In 1622 Negrepelisse was sacked, pillaged and burnt by Louis XIII's forces in retaliation for the slaughter. See Fontenay-Mareuil, Mémoires i.536/7.

- 11 After the ruin of Nègrepelisse the King went on to St. Antonin (see ibid) where the citizens were resolved to die in the defence of the town if necessary. See De la Force, Mémoires iii.261. However, St. Antonin suffered the same fate as Nègrepelisse.

In the skirmish 'between the King and Monsieur de Rohan ... 1500 of the King's men slain'. See 23 of May Weekly news from Italy [etc.], 1622, p 8: STC 18507.46.

- 12 The report of the rasing of St. Antonin and Nègrepelisse in 1622 appears to be confused with events of 1621. During the King's unsuccessful siege of Montauban in 1621, 700 men (Huguenots) were infiltrated into the city at night under the command of Beaufort. The action took place in October 1621; the siege was lifted in November 1621. See Duc de Rohan, Mémoires, p 194.

Henri de Couthenans (d 1633), made Lieutenant in 1615 and 'marechal de camp' in 1621, was fighting on the King's side in 1622. He was not executed. See Biographie Française. Mead's report of his execution is an example of the confused reports reaching England from France at this time.

- 13 Charles of Blanchefort and Créquy (1578-1638), later Duke of Lesdiguières, Marshall of France, 1626, was son-in-law to François De Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguières. Créquy married two of Lesdiguières' daughters: first (in 1595) Madeleine de Bonne; second (in 1623) Françoise de Bonne, an

illegitimate daughter. He served as an active soldier under his father-in-law and was made Lieutenant-general of Dauphine. He inherited the ducal title in 1626. Biographie Française.

- 14 François de Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguières (1543-1626), Lieutenant-General of the Huguenot province of Dauphine, Constable of France, believing that rebellion was unjustifiable in any circumstances, defected from the Huguenot party in April 1621. He did not return to the Protestant side and eventually adopted the Catholic faith in July 1622. See Parker, La Rochelle, pp 117, 118.
- 15 '... no better was ever thought of him since he matched himselfe with a Romish Catholike'. See 23 of August, The Certaine Newes of this present weeke...1622: STC 18507.72.
- 16 On David Pareus see Letter 52, note 4.
- 17 The reference is to Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, Earl (later Duke) of Richmond. The reversion of Cobham Hall in Kent was granted to him by King James, his cousin, after its previous owner (Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham) was imprisoned in 1603. The Complete Peerage iii. footnote, p 349.
- 18 The two armies in the Palatinate were the Imperial under the command of Cordoba and Tilly and the Palatine's forces under the command of Vere, Baden, Mansfeld and Brunswick.
- 19 William Lucy (d. 1677), later Bishop of St. David's, a chaplain to the Marquis of Buckingham, transferred to Caius College from Trinity, Oxford in 1615. In 1620 he was a University preacher; in 1622 he was made B.D. and later in 1623 he was made D.D. amidst controversy. See Venn Alumni (but Venn is doubtful about Lucy's Doctorate in Divinity).

For confirmation of Lucy's Doctorate see below, Letter 93.

- 20 On Arminianism see Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640, Oxford 1987.

Arminians in England, as in the Dutch Republic, were suspected of favouring the pro-Spanish party.

- 21 Dr Leonard Maw(e) (d.1629), Master of Peterhouse 1617-1625, later Master of Trinity and Bishop of Bath and Wells, was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge 1621-1622. See Venn, Alumni.

- 22 'Lynne' is King's Lynn in Norfolk.

- 23 Thomas Hobson (1544-1631), a carrier in Cambridge, allowed his horses to be hired only in their proper turn. Thus, Hobson's choice was 'this or none'. See Cooper, Annals iii.230-237. See also Milton's poems: On The University Carrier, Another on the Same.

- 24 'The great Turke' Osman II (1603-1622), Sultan of Turkey (1618) was deposed on May 19 1622 by the Janissaries and strangled the next day. His Uncle Mustafa, a former ruler deposed for incapability, (see below Letter 55, n 2), was re-appointed ruler in his place. See The strangling and death of the great Turke, 15 July 1622: STC 18507.62.

- 25 On the taking of St. Antonin by composition and on the French atrocities see Calendar I.65.

- 26 Contemporary opinion agreed that Heidelberg was now in King James's care. '... The King of England ... may call [Heidelberg] his own seeing that it is garrisoned by his troops, commanded by his captain and supported by his money'. SPV 1621-1623, note 529, p 372.

[13 July 1622]

Sir,

Besides what I exscribed in the end of my last, there was
 litle else of moment in the Doctors letter. Onely That the
 States beseidged Hertzogenbosh having sent 2000 men beforehand,
 who had built 5 Forts before it. That the Prince of Orange*
 was marching with the Army and Spinola* with all his power
 coming to releife.¹

5

But I received a letter from Mr Boswell* who writing of the
 Turkish busines, saith they had sett up Mustapha the Uncle⁺²
 againe, but others cannot tell so much.

Of the French he writes, that the King had an issue of blood
 upon his body. And of St Antony, that the King against his
 faith and promise hung up 17 burgers and slue all the
 souldiers. But later intelligence telles it yet worse, As that
 the King having given his faith for safety both of life and
 goods etc notwithstanding being entred, hung up some Captaines

10

15

+ Achmeds brother preserved from death against the custome
 of the Turkes, his brother attending it being afrighted
 with dreames and visions yea once drawing a bow in a
 gallery to shoot him in a garden, his arme was benumbed
 and ~~invisibly~~ restrayned as saith the newer Turkish
 History: yea for all this Achmet: dying designed him his
 successor, though he was deposed after a 4 or 5 months
 and hath since bin kept in a Cell all the time his
 nephew Osman raigned.³

20

and 17 burgers, permitted most dishonourably the women of the
Towne to be abused by the souldiers, and then upon pretence of
convoy of those which were left of the souldiers and
Inhabitants, out of danger, caused them to be led into an
Ambushment, where being left by their Conductors, they were
every man cutt of. Since which, Montauban is furiously
beseiged and Deguires now (if not to late) prepares with
resolution either to putt an end to these stirres or to
himsel⁴.

Of the Palatinate, Mr Boswell* calles the Kings and
Mansfeilds*, Brunswicks* and Badens going into Alsatia, a
retiring⁵, and addes that since their departure, Heidelberg was
beseiged, by some part of the Enimies forces, and that without
all hope of being releived, the rest of Tillies being gone
after the King* into Alsasse.⁶ There is a letter come out of
the Palatinate in the beginning of this week which relates, That
had not the King gone out of the Palatinate, when he did, he had
both famished it and himsel⁷. That in the truce time, My Lord
Chichester⁷, sett up our Kings standard in the Palatinate, in
token that so long, it was under his protection, for a cessation.
But the Bavarian souldiers shott it all to pieces, as wanting
other excercise. The same letter says also, That we shall
heare of bloody newes but he telles no particulars, but thanks
God it is so well as it is.⁸

There is also this week ill newes come from Virginia (which
every man reports that comes from London) of about 300, some
say 329 of our colonie there massacred by the Indians at the,
instigation as should seame, of their wicked God Ochee, and had
all perished in like manner, had not our God, who is the Best

God, had more care of them, then they had of themselves. The manner is thus related.

55

Our Colonies have used, to feast and make merry with the Indians their neighbours, and they likewise to feast ours. So the Indians, as they were wont, inviting our men to their Feasting and merriment, and ours preparing to go with them without all suspicion: it chanced in the place neere which the Governour himselfe lived, that an Indian youth asked another Indian youth, (who was baptised, and served an English Gentleman of the colonie and had bin in England) If he knew, what they must do at this Feast? What, saith the other? Why, quoth he, we must cutt all the English men[] throats, and I hope, thou wilt cutt thy Masters. The Christian Indian presently enformed his Master, and he the Governour, who presently with all the speed he could dispatched messengers to every place to give them warning. but it came to late to one place; the massacre being committed before it came; to all the rest God be thanked it came time enough; and to James Towne at the very instant, when the Indians betweene 3 or 400 where [*sic*] come to fetch them to their feast whereupon, in stead of other complements, they fell upon them and beat out their braines scarce any escaping; and so expiated in some sort the blood of their bretheren which they slew in other places as aforesayd. This lamentable mishap, was in May[†] last past. I hope they will not be so secure hereafter, as a long time they have beene. The Virginians are now, (either seeming or in earnest) sayd [---] to lament this accident, affirming that they loved the English above all men in the world, and that they never received any wrong from them, would faine live quietly with them and learne to do as they do. but that their God will not lett them alone but terrifies them and

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incites them against their wills to this wrong, which now they attempted. It seemes this God of theirs is something of kind 85
to him that manages the massacres now in France, and other parts
of Christendome. But our God, the God of Gods confounded them
quickly.⁹

It was reported at and written from London last week That
Don Gondomer*, after his arrivall in Spaine, having bin 3 days at 90
his own house, went then to the Court to Madrid, and comming
thence betook himselfe to a Monastery and put on a religious
habitt.¹⁰ And now this week it is and hath bin the generall
talk at London, that the Spanish Infanta shalbe given in
marriage to the great Duke of Tuscany or Florence and so our 95
match and hopes wholly dasht.¹¹ His Majestie sent a post this
week, through France, with all speed to my Lord Digby.¹² A litle
before I heard this, It was told me, That the King of Spaine
should answere my Lord Digby, that he would treat no further
with our King in this busines, untill he might heare what 100
joynture the Parliament of England would make her, which if
true, certainly, it pleased somebody very ill.

It is sayd that my Lord of Southhampton is quite put of the
Counsell.¹³

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest 105

Christ Colledg

July 13

Yours ever to command,

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes

Line 8.. 'the Uncle' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 65. Presumably 'mens': 's' - ink faded.

Line 67. In MS: 'Master, and ~~to~~ he the Governour'.

Line 74. In MS: 'scarcing': 'e' inserted above deletion.

Line 77. 'May' blotted.

Line 81. In MS: 'world, they and that'.

Line 85. In MS: 'they would attempted'.

Line 92. 'on' inserted above line.

Notes

- 1 On Hertogenbosch see Letter 54, note 8.
- 2 Mustafa was brother to the Sultan, Ahmed I (d 1617). On Ahmed's succession an exception was made to the law of fratricide and Mustafa's life was spared. He ruled for three months in 1617 but was found to be incapable and was replaced by his nephew, Osman II, in 1618. On Osman's deposition in the Ottoman Coup d'Etat and the reinstatement of Mustafa for a short period see Letter 54, note 24.
- 3 Mead's footnote: Mustafa's life was spared in order to safeguard the Ottoman succession. At the time of his accession, Ahmed I, Mustafa's brother, was childless.
- 4 For the atrocities at St. Antonin and the false report that Montauban was under siege see Calendar I.65.
On François de Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguières, see Letter 54, note 14.
- 5 The King: Frederick V, the exiled Elector Palatine*.
On the Margrave of Baden see Letter 49, note 3.
Frederick and the commanders 'retired' into Alsace on 13/23 June 1622. See Gardiner, History iv.319.
- 6 The siege of Heidelberg began on 20/30 June 1622 but was temporarily abandoned by the Imperial commanders who hesitated to undertake the siege while Mansfeld's army was at large.
It was remarked that Tilly 'hath only given a Bravado to Heidelberg and has marched forward to intercept Brunswick'.
See The surprisall of two imperial townes by Count

Mansfield, 19 July 1622, p 12: STC 18507.65.

- 7 On Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4.
- 8 Lord Chichester, in the Palatinate, had made unsuccessful efforts to negotiate a short armistice. See Gardiner, History iv.316.
- 9 On the massacre see Calendar I.65 and Hakluytas Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, 20 vols., (Hakluyt Society, Glasgow 1906), xix.143 ff, 157 ff.
- 10 Count Gondomar was made a member of the Council of War and later raised to the Council of State on his return to Spain. He did not become a monk. He never returned to England.
- 11 At the Spanish court simultaneous negotiations had been proceeding for the marriage of the Spanish Infanta to, either, the Duke of Tuscany, or, Prince Charles of England. Many contemporary observers were aware of Spanish duplicity. For example see SPV 1621-1623, note 382, p 270 - 'The Spaniards are playing with the King of Great Britain and are trying to profit by negotiation'; and, SPV 1621-1623, n 459, p 322 - '... the King [Philip IV] giving the grand duke the sister whom they are negotiating to give to England'.
- 12 On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16.
- 13 The Earl of Southampton was not 'put of the Counsell'. See 18 March 1622/3, APC July 1621-May 1623, p 442 where reference is made to him as 'a member of this Boord'.

[20 July 1622]

Sir,

That I now send you, affords some hope of better newes,
then we have had this 3 weekes, which have bin wholly spent
either in manifest disasters [--]or feares of as bad to ensue.¹

I can adde nothing to what I send, unlesse it be the Decree
of the Universitie of Oxford in full Congregation, etc It is
printed, but I am not owner of one.² 5

First it censures and condemnes 4 Propositions of Paraeus
upon the Romans,³ That they are false, seditious erroneus,
dangerous impious etc.

Afterward addes it owne sentence 10
in that point, in these words

Universitas Oxoniensis docet ac defendit: secundum Canonem
Sacrarum Scripturarum. Subditos nullo modo vi et armis Regi
vel Principi suo resistere debere, nec illis arma vel offensiva
vel defensiva in causa Religionis vel aliâ in re quacung contra 15
Regem vel Principem suum capessere licere.

+ The Universitie of Oxford teacheth and defendeth according
to the rule of holy Scripture, That Subjects ought in no case
to resist their King or Prince by force and armes. And That it
is not lawful for them to take armes against their King or 20
Prince, neither Offensive nor Defensive, whether in the cause
of Religion, or any other matter whatsoever.

Deinde celebris Coetus Convocationis Doctorum Procuratoꝝ,
Magistroꝝ Regentium et non Regentium etc decrevit ut singuli

+ English

25

Doctores et Magistri Universitatis Oxoniensis, una cum
Baccalaureis in Jurisprudentia et medicina subscriberent
Censuris et decretis praedictis.

++ Moreover the famous Assemblie of the Convocation of the
Doctors, Proctors, Masters, Regents and non-Regents etc. of the 30
Universitie aforesayd, hath decreed That all Doctors and
Masters of the Universitie of Oxford, together with the
Batchelors in Law and Physick shall subscribe to the Censures
and Decrees aforesayd.

Et ulterius celebris ille Coetus etc decrevit quod singuli 35
ad gradus in quacung facultate promovendi ante admissionem
primò subscribant veritati harum censurarum, deinde eodem
tempore suscipiat [sic] juramentum corporale se non solum
propositiones praedictas ex animo condemnare et detestari, sed
etiam condemnatos et detestatos in perpetuum. 40

Forma juramenti sequitur in haec verba

Tu jurabis, Te ex animo et bona fide consentire Decreto
Convocationis habitae die Martis 25 die Junii 1622 super
quibusdam propositionibus falsis, seditiosis, et ibidem
damnatis; et quod nullam praedictarum, conclusionum, earumq 45
sententiam docebis, defendes, vel tenebis publicè aut occulte;
neq aliquam hujusmodi doctorem vel defensorem ope, consilio,
vel favore, juvabis, sed quantum in te est impedies: ita te
Deus adjuvet tactis sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis.

+++ And furthermore the forsayd notable Assemblie etc hath 50
decreed, That all who are to take any Degree in what Facultie
soever, shall before their admission subscribe unto the truth
of these censures: and moreover at the same time shall take a

++ English this 55

+++ English this

Corporall oath, That they do not onely condemne and detest from
their heart the foresayd propositions, but also That they will
condemne and detest them for ever

The Forme of the Oth followes in these words

Thou shalt sweare, That thou doest from thy heart and 60
without dissimulation assent unto the Decree of the Convocation
held on tuesday the 25 of June 1622 concerning certaine
propositions false, and impious and there condemned; And that
thou wilt never teach, defend or hold publickly or secretly,
any of the aforesayd propositions, or the sense or meaning of 65
them; nor wilt assist with help, counsell or favour any such
Teacher or Defendour, but as farre as thou canst wilt hinder
them: So as God shall help the; laying thine hand upon Gods
holie Gospell.

Sir/ I had thought to have beene at Dalham this week 70
following. But I am [---] (being caught with a promise) to go
within 6 miles of Lyncolne to one Sir Hammond Whitchcoats. The
case is thus. Having bin sollicitated by the foresayd Gentleman
himselke and his Son⁺ very often to come to his house, with
promise of an horse when I would appoint the time, and my selfe 75
alledging⁺⁺ with other impediments, the want of one to carry my
cloak bag when I returned (which must be long before the rest
of my companie:) a Master of Art my freind⁵ offered if I would
promise to go, he would himselke be my serving-man and carry my
cloak bag, onely I should pay for his horse hire. I, Grounding 80
myselke upon the improbabilitie of this offer, promised to go,
yea at length in merriment, drew covenants and suscribed them,

+ Living in the Universitie. The Father I never saw.

++ at ye Commencement time.

where one covenant was, That he that started from the agreement 85
 should forfeit to the other 20s. etc. Alas! I thought, they
 had beene in jest; but it prooves in earnest. My man will
 needs go and the horse sent me comes this night, and on Munday,
 we sett forward to see Tom a Lyncolne.⁶ I am by covenant to
 stay but a week, and therefore shall begin to returne on 90
 tuesday come sennight and purpose Godwilling to be at Cambridge
 on thursday at night the First of August, And if you will
 vouchsafe to send Harry Law* on Saturday the 3^d of August
 (which is this day fortnight) I will be glad to see Dalham.
 The newes which comes this day, I will leave at Geffrey 95
 Finches⁷ before I go. that it may be sent you on Saturday or
 before.

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

July 20 1622

Yours most ready to

be commanded,

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes

Lines 15, 35, 44, 46: final 'q' abbreviates final 'que'.

Lines 23-24: The Arabic 'ꝛ' signifies Latin 'rum':

e.g. 'Procuratorum'; 'Magistrorum'.

Line 53. In MS: 'condemne and detest detest'.

Line 61. In MS: 'thou wiltt wilt'.

Line 65. In MS: 'pro' repeated.

Notes

- 1 Newsreports of the previous three weeks include: the defeat of Brunswick at Höchst, (Letter 54, notes 2, 12); the fate of the French Protestants; the 'retirement' of Mansfeld and Brunswick (into Alsace); the massacre of English settlers

in Virginia; the Imperial attack on Heidelberg.

The good news (from a Protestant viewpoint) included: the failure of the attack on Heidelberg – STC 18507.63 and STC 18507.70; the 'disappointment' of Spinola at Bergen-op-Zoom, (on this important event in the Dutch/Spanish war, see Calendar I.66 and below, Letter 61, note 6); partial restoration of the Protestant religion in Silesia (Calendar I.66); the occupation of two Imperial towns in Alsace by Mansfeld (*ibid*); the possibility of the Grisons 'recovery' (*ibid*).

- 2 For the Decree of the University of Oxford see STC 19014.
Mead's Latin varies in minor particulars from the printed version: accents are omitted by Mead on certain words e.g. 'Causâ' (line 15), 'eôdem' (line 36) and 'occultè' (line 45). See also Textual notes above.
- 3 On David Paraeus see Letter 52, note 4. His text: Romans.xiii. 1-5.
- 4 Sir Hamon Whichcot (d.1651), born at Dunston, Lincolnshire, entered Caius College 1593. He had six sons. Sir Hamon lived at Harpswell, Lincolnshire. See Lincolnshire Pedigrees, p 1072. His eldest son, Robert (d.1623), was a fellow-commoner at Christ's in 1620. He does not appear to have been under Mead's charge. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.333.
- 5 Mead's friend was possibly Thomas Hurst (Letter 43, note 26).
- 6 A jocular reference to 'Tom a Lyncolne', a character in a romance of the same name by R Johnson. STC: 14684.
- 7 On Geffrey Finch see Letter 11, note 31.

[7 September 1622]

Sir,

If your Commissioners have not prevented it, you shall
 herein receive the last neues from London.¹ I have not to adde
 to it, unless it be neues to you That Dr Gager² dyed on Sunday
 morning last, and Dr Eden Chancellour³ in his place. When I
 came home Dr Owen,⁴ he that wrote Herod and Pilate, was 5
 printing a book here against Paraus⁵, would, as they talk, have
 had the Doctors and ViceChancellor⁶ to present it to the King
 in the name of the whole University, when they should next goe
 to his Majestie at Michaelmas, as their wont is, but
 Dr Richardson⁷ grumbled and the rest would none of it etc. but 10
 now it is sayd that a Pursevant⁸ is come downe both for him and
 his bookes; he is well enough served; but it may be, he will at
 length, in regard of his good zeale to the cause obtaine leave
 to divulge them, though he brake one of the rules in the
 directions. Thus in hast with my best respect, I rest 15

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

September 7

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 6. 'here' inserted above line with caret.

Line 7. In MS: 'Drs to pres and Vicechancellor'.

Notes

1 See Calendar I.68.

2 Dr William Gager (d.1622), an eminent Latin poet and
 dramatic author, was incorporated from Oxford 1601; he

became Vicar-General of Ely and Chancellor of the diocese in 1606. See Venn, Alumni.

- 3 Dr Thomas Eden (d.1645), a Fellow of Trinity Hall (1599-1626), Professor of Law in Gresham College, became Chancellor of the diocese of Ely probably in 1622. Venn gives a later date. There is no complete record held at Ely of dates of their Chancellors.

- 4 Dr David Owen ((1583?-1623), chaplain to John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness, was a Fellow of Clare College and Rector of Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire from 1598-1623.

His book was entitled Herod and Pilate reconciled: or the concord of Papist and Puritan, (1610). See STC 18983.

- 5 On David Pareus see Letter 52, note 4.

Owen's book: Anti-Pareus; or a Treatise in the Defence of the Royall Right of Kings, (Cambridge, 1622).

- 6 On Dr Leonard Maw(e), Vice Chancellor see Letter 54, note 21.

- 7 On Dr John Richardson see Letter 29, note 9.

- 8 'Pursevant': see Letter 2, note 41.

[14 September 1622]

Sir,

I knew of the cutting of Brunswicks* arme as you shall see by the inclosed, but because we had newes also, That it [] beene twice cutt, we feared it had bin cutt above the elbow the second time, but the last Corranto of September 9 tells that both were beneath the elbow, and the second cutting happened by reason of a fall he had after the first cutting. So if it be true⁺, that he hath the use still of the elbow joint, men of skill say, he is not much the more unfitt for service then he was before.¹

We have had newes this faire time, of a great day the Protestants of Monpelliere have had against the Kings army by a stratageme or some unusuall advantage, so that many should be slayne, and amongst them 16 of the Princes of France. The more exact report we expect to day.²

I am told, that one condition of the Popes dispensation for the match, should be, That the Infanta should have what chapleines she would, and they to be exempted from all jurisdiction in England and only lyable to his Holines, whatsoever they should do or say, and some say hir Family in like manner. That the penall lawes also against Papists should be repealed by Parliament and such like stuffe.³

Heidelberg is besieged and battered with 40 pieces of Cannon and the Enimie laughes at the Palatine, simplicitie to be

+ But I doubt still

perswaded to dismisse his great Armie upon no better securitie 25
 from them but words.⁴ this newes comes now. I saw the copie of
 the letter from the Palatinate; the author whereof desired, it
 might be made known throughout England, to move some compassion
 and releife not by letters (as he speaks) but by deeds. I saw
 a copie of another written by a commander in the Bavarian 30
 Armie, laughing at the English Ambassador at Bruxells, who
 thought to catch the moone with his teeth as he sayes, etc
 Manheim and Frankendale are also blocked.⁵

There is another letter from the Archbishop to all the
 Bishops, containing both a complaint of the misund[]anding of 35
 the former Directions for preaching, and an explication and
 further Declaration both of the occasion, and his Majesties
 intendment by them; It should seeme by it, that there hath bin
 great talk and strang⁶ construction somewhere.⁷

Dr Dun⁸ preaches at Poules to morrow either to that purpose 40
 to give satisfaction, or as the Londoners talke to teach men
 how to preach there hereafter. because the 2 last, Mr Clayton of
 Fulham⁹ and Dr Sheldon¹⁰ went beyond the usuall limits as was
 thought, for which Clayton is in prison, but Sheldon was onely
 checked. Clayton told a tale of a great murraine of sheepe in 45
 Edward 4th his days (I think) the reason whereof was as he sayd
 the coming of a scabd sheep out of Spaine etc. bid them look
 it in Stowes Chronicle etc.¹¹

Sheldons text was, Revelat 14 / 9. If any man worship the
 Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead or 50
 his hand; The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God,
 which is powred out without mixture into the cup of his

indignation etc etc.¹²

Dr White was the last week made Deane of Carlisle,¹³ having 55
not above some 2 or 3 days before a living befaln him in
London.

[----] There is a Declaration by the Counsell of Virginia
of the State thereof and of the late massacre, which was most
barbarous and in the very midst of kindnes on our part etc.¹⁴ 60

They took some of our Ordnance and some barrells of
gunpowder which Opoehontano the King, caused to be sowne,
expecting a larg crop of gunpowder this summer, thinking it
would have growne. The mare Vermeio is discovered to lye
directly north and South, and California to lye in like manner 65
not bending west at all, and to be an Iland which the Hollandors
through the Mare Vermeio sayled round about, finding the sea
open to the north thereof, and have sent a map of the discovery
to Mr Brigges,¹⁵ whose discourse thereupon discovering the
Spanish knavery (in multiplying the number of leagues in those 70
parts, as for 7 making 70: for 7 skore 700 to encrease the
longitude of those parts, and to make the world not dreame of
any passage there) is annexed to the foresayd declaration. It
is sayd also that Captaine Button hath discovered Hudsons
passage so farre, as it is supposed, he came into the Virginian 75
bay.¹⁶

The word you could not read, I take to be (accuse)¹⁷ for his
letters use to come often long after their date.

Thus in hast with my best [---] respect, I rest

Christ Colledg	Yours ever to command	80
September 14	Joseph Mead.	

Textual Notes.

Line 2. ^{patched hole in MS: 'had'.}

Line 12. 'un' inserted above line with caret.

Line 12. 'many of the should be'.

Line 27. In MS: 'share of' inserted with caret.

Line 31. In MS: 'thought (as he ---) to catch'.

Notes

- 1 For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.68.
For details of Brunswick's injuries see 9 September 1622, Count Mansfield's proceedings etc...: STC 18507.76, p 14.
- 2 For details of the success of the French Protestants in Montpellier and the names of some of the nobility who were killed, see ibid.
- 3 For the articles of the dispensation see Gardiner, History iv.351/2.
- 4 Reports of the siege of Heidelberg had been current since July 1622. However, at that time, the enemy made only 'a feint of attacking Heidelberg'. The siege recommenced 15/25 August 1622: the town fell to the enemy on 6/16 September 1622 and the Castle on 9/19 September 1622.
- 5 For extracts of the letters see Calendar I.70.
- 6 'strang' - Probably Mead intends 'strange'.
- 7 The directions to the clergy, issued from Windsor on 4 August 1622, included orders that the clergy should not meddle with affairs of State and charged the Archbishop to use all possible care for the enforcement of the directions. See SPD 1619-1623, notes 85, 85₁, p 436. See also below Letter 59, note 23.

The king's letter was transmitted to the Bishop of Lincoln, (from the Archbishop) on 12 August 1622, with the explanation that the former directions to the clergy 'show

his [King James] princely care for the orderly preaching of Christ crucified'. See SPD 1619-1623, n 93, p 440. For the text of the letter and the 'directions' see Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 198-200.

- 8 On Dr John Donne see Letter 20, note 2.
- 9 Dr Clayton of Fulham was released from the Gatehouse 12 October 1622. See APC July 1621-May 1623, p 329.
- 10 Dr Richard Sheldon (d.1642?), a Doctor of Divinity from Cambridge, a royal chaplain, was converted to Protestantism in 1611. His extreme zealousness against his old faith, Catholicism, caused him to lose favour with King James.
- 11 The diseased sheep from Spain was brought to England in 1275 in the reign of Edward I. '[It] infected so the Country, that it spread over all the Realme'. See John Stow, The Chronicles of England etc., (1580), p 297.
- 12 See Revelation.ix.14.
- 13 On Dr Francis White see Letter 51, note 12.
- 14 See Letter 55, note 9.
- 15 Henry Briggs (d 1630/31), Fellow of St. John's, was a distinguished mathematician, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford 1619-31 and Professor of Geometry at Gresham College 1596-1620. See Venn, Alumni.
- 16 On Sir Thomas Button (Captain Button) see 'Voyage of Sir Thomas Button' in Narratives of Voyages towards the Northwest, 5 vols., ed.Burt Franklin, (Hakluyt Society, New York, reprint 1970), vol i.
- 17 Mead appears to write '(aceuse)': the meaning is unclear.

(fos 234r,v; 233r)

Folios of Letter 59 are collated in the wrong order in
MS Harl 89. 1st and 2nd pages: f 234r,v. 3rd page: f 233r.

[28 September 1622]

Sir,

The last Saturday through too much company and busines, I forgot to send till it was too late: But I had not much to send but onely the Extract of 3 letters from Frankford containing the miserable case of the poore Palatinate, which I now send you, though their misery we heare is now consummate.¹ You shall receive likewise the newes I had last Saturday which you may know by the date September 19.² Thirdly you shall receive what I had yesterday from Dr Meddus* by a freind that came from London which is as followeth

London September 25

Heidelberg was taken by forcible assault by the Enimie our 6 of this present. Sir Gerhard Harbert³ first brake 4 pykes in the mouth of the breach and face of the Enimie, and then being slaine with a shott through the body, the Enimie entered. It is written, that the Enimie committed therein horrible outrage, ravishing and murthering⁺ 3 days together.⁴

The Lord Belfast is gon on Embassie to the Imperiall Dyet, but may loose his labour, many of the Emperours owne freinds excusing their personall appearance, and therefore may be put of, till some other time.⁵

The Grysons likewise, that were in such good hope to have recovered their former libertie, are now againe cleane ruined and slayne by an Iberian treachery under pretence of a treaty

+ A printed book (as I heare) saith they putt to the sword all the souldiers.

for firme peace, whereby they gott all the Commanders into
Chur, and other ye cheife men, then imprisoned them, and slue
the people and souldiers being without leaders.⁶

Yet in France it seemes to goe otherwise. For letters from
Paris peremptorily say, they of Rochell have againe slayne 5 or 30
6000 or more of the Kings forces, took 4 pieces of ordnance,
nailed the rest, and taken many great prisoners; amongst which
are sayd to be the Popes Legat, and divers Cardinalls and
others.⁷

Spinola* is in great necessitie, many still run away from 35
him; a few days since ran away 80 Italians and 36 English.⁸ He
is speedily, if not already, like to be in farre more want.
For on thursday last (Sept 19) the Prince pitched between
Anwerp and Spinola with 15/000 foot and 6000 horse (Some write
18/000 foot and 7000 horse) 2000 waggons and 72 pieces of 40
Ordnance, leaving behind him neere Breda another Army of 4000
horse and 8 or 9000 foot, besides 1500 small vessells about
Williamstatt for some service. There were 600 waggons and a
good convoy with provisions on the way from Anwerp towards
Spinola's Camp; but when their skouts told them of the Princes 45
strength, back they turned to Anwerp.⁹

There came some forces of the Enemies, (the most written is
but of 5000) horse and foot into Freisland, but Count Ernestus
of Nassaw soone slew the most of them, the rest took Sanctuary
in a church, but were so environed, they could not escape.¹⁰ 50

Thus farre Dr Meddus letter.

Now I will tell you such thinges as I heare by word of mouth.
First I was told that at the hearing of this heavie taking of
Heidelberg, the Prince was observed to weep but His Majestie
expressed no heaviness but went a hunting presently etc. 55

I am told from London, That Sir Horatio Vere¹¹ sent to His Majestie to know whether he would have him and the rest to stay and suffer what those of Heidelberg had done. To whom His Majestie reported to send answere, That they should give up all and come their waies.

60

A captaine who was in the late battell of Mansfeilds*¹² was here lately with our Mr Ramsey, upon some busines from his brothers¹³ who were 2 of them in the same fight and are alive.

He told, That they were all unarmed, as not expecting Cordova,¹⁴ that they had no pikes, nor could their horse

65

through faintnes break the Enimies pikes, but sunk under their riders, That they first broak them by meanes of some of their foot who putt themselves behind them into the Enimies armie, That most of the battell was pell mell, hand to hand, that 3000 dutch mutined in ye beginning and would not fight unless they

70

had pay, yet Mansfeild with much perswasion entreated them to stand still in battell array and not stirre, which was one cheife cause of the Enimies retreat at night, who supposed them fresh men. He made question whether Mansfeild lost not the more men, and sayes if the Enimie had returned againe, (which he began to think of) they had all perished, as being not able to make further resistance through hunger and wearines.¹⁵ He

75

told us, That he was one of them which held Brunswick* whiles an Italian cut his arme. The Duke* when he was cutting cryed, Wilt thou leave [---] me so much arme as may hold a bridle?

80

The Surgeon having done answered I warrant you Sir, you shall hold a bridle. Well (sayd the Duke) If thou wilt find me an arme to hold a bridle, I shall find another to be revenged of my Enimies. He says it was cutt beneath the elbow, but so that he

will have no use of that joynt. the bullet went in at his wrist 85
and came out againe a litle beneathe the elbow on the outside
of the arme and that shivered the bone all to pieces.¹⁶

Mr Ramseys brother came to obtaine of our King to take up
some 3000 men as Collonell Gray¹⁷ had done before after a
longer stay. But I was told yesterday from London, that their 90
grant was now limited, with condition They should not serve
Mansfeild with them.¹⁸

Sir Albert Morton¹⁹ told his cosen Mr Honeywood²⁰ this week,
That he had a letter from the Queene of Bohemia, wherein she
wrott That the Duke of Brunswick* wrott into her That he had 95
already lost one arme in hir service, but yet had another arme
and a life left to spend in her quarrell.

Now for home newes

I am told, that the Bishop of London²¹ on Saturday sent to
him who was to preach on Sunday last for ye copie of his 100
sermon. He that was in the house told the messenger, that he
was then very private in his meditations, but he would take
opportunitie to tell him the Bishops pleasure. Yet it fell out
that he told him not, whereupon the Bishop growing thereby more
jealous sends for him on Sunday some houre before sermon. The 105
preacher came and having made his excuse, the Bishop began to
give him good counsell, That he should take heed that he spake
nothing which might be distastfull, or unfitt for the present
times etc.²² Then asks him, what his text was, who told him
Galat.1.ψ 6. 7. 8 etc. 110

I maruelle that you are so soone remooved from him that
called you into the grace of Christ unto another Gospell
etc. 7 But there are some that trouble you and would
pervert the Gospell of Christ. ψ 8. But though we or etc etc

Whereat the Bishop struck his hand upon his brest swearing That 115
that text was not allowable for these times, No (saith one of
his chapleines that stood by) my Lord, The verie *to ðæt*⁺ of
the text is not tollerable for the present times. Then the
[---] Bishop asked him if he could not change it. he answered
No. Well sayd the Bishop Look to thy selfe, for if thou 120
speakest any thing that shall not please I vow to break thy
neck and thy back too. The Preacher answered he had nothing to
speak what(sic) what he would stand to and so was dismissed
being sermon time. Yet by and by one of the Bishops Chapleins
comes after him and offers to preach for him. But he refused. 125
So taking a litle time to meditate, At length comes forth and
makes a preface relating the summe of the former passages, as
an excuse if he weare not so ready as he should have bin etc
which much displeased the Bishop; yet the whole sermon
contained nothing but in generall a discourse of the damnable 130
condition of those who should forsake the faith they had [---]
received etc. Onely he concluded That they might expect some
application but he was not ambitious of lying in prison and so
ended.²³

I was told yesternight by *an*^o gentleman out of Darbeshire, That 135
some Papists there in the borders of Lancashire, brought a
great beare into a church whilest the Minister was preaching,
but a neighbour Knight was so bold as to lay them all by the
heels for it.

My Lord Evers a Catholick is sayd to be confined to his 140
house upon complaint made to My Lord Keeper by some
gentlemen, for affirming confidently That His Majestie and the

+ The '*to ðæt*' is as much to say the Expresse letter.

Prince were both Papists, which God forbid.²⁴

On Sunday His Majestie remooved to Newhall in Essex to see 145
my Lord Marquess his new house but the unexamplednes of a
Sundays remoovall (as they sayd) gave not much content to our
people.²⁵

But now it is time to make an end, All this paines I have
taken to fill you with all sorts of newes, to expiate my last 150
weeks neglect. I wilbe more compendious, I warrant you,
hereafter when I have sufficiently punished my selfe.

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

September 28

Joseph Mead

155

I think you may do well to read of and burne this leafe
of my letter.²⁶

Textual Notes.

Line 63. In MS: 'are all alive'.

Line 67. In MS: 'broak them theyby means'.

Line 67. 'of some' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 80-84: Mead writes much of Brunswick's speech in a
slightly larger script than usual.

Line 88. In MS: 'King to gather up': 'take' written above
deletion.

Line 97. In MS: 'a life life left'.

Line 113. 'are' inserted above line with caret.

Line 129. In MS: 'But the whole which much displeased'.

Line 132. 'received' written above the deletion.

Line 135. Caret inserted between 'by' and 'gentleman': no
added word.

Lines 135-6. 'That the some Papists'.

Line 137. In MS: 'beare into the a church'.

Line 145. In MS: 'remooved from White Hall to New hall'.

Line 153. From here to the end of the letter written
vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 For a copy of the extract of three letters from Frankfurt see Calendar I.70. The second and third letters contain moving accounts of the siege of Heidelberg and other cities in the Palatinate and an eloquent plea for assistance from England.
- 2 See Calendar I.69.
- 3 Gerhard Herbert, a kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke, was governor of the Castle of Heidelberg. For an account of his bravery see SPV 1621-1623, note 611, p 467.
- 4 On the fall of Heidelberg see Newsbook The 25 of September, Neues from etc.... and the Lamentable Loss of Heidelberg (1622): STC 18507.79.
- 5 On Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4. He had instructions to attend the meeting at Ratisbon to protest against negotiations concerning the Palatinate which were to be held in the absence of the Elector Palatine himself. Only Saxony, Pomerania, Bavaria and Saltzburg had given notice of going to Ratisbon. See 27 September A Relation of Letters and other Advertisements of Neues, p 5: STC 18507.80
- 6 For the temporary successes of the Grisons see 4th September, neues from sundry places, pp 1,2,3.: STC 18507.75,
- 7 Elsewhere it was reported that 4000 of the French army were killed, ordnance was captured and letters from the Pope intercepted. See 4 October 1622, A true relation etc..., p 15: STC 18507.81.
- 8 On Ambrogio Spínola see Biographical Index. Ambrogio Spínola besieged Bergen-op-Zoom in August 1622. Englishmen, Scots and Walloons deserted from his army. See 20 September 1622, The neues which now arrive, p 17: STC 18507.78. The English and Scots members of his army were mainly Catholics under the command of the Duke of Argyle.
- 9 'The Prince' was Maurice of Nassau. Many printed newsbooks carried reports of the counteractions taken by him against Spínola. See for example, 23 August 1622, 'The certaine neues etc.': STC 18507.72.
- 10 By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, who were anxious to gain a foothold in Friesland and to keep

out the Spaniards, exploited the religious and political differences between the 'Earle', Count Enno, and the Estates of Friesland. They put garrisons into Emden and Leerort in Friesland and thereafter they virtually governed the country. See Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeldt 11.chapter xvii.

Ernest, Count of Nassau (1573-1632), a fieldmarshal, was governor of Friesland and Grönigen (1600-1632).

- 11 On Sir Horatio Vere see Letter 20, note 42.
- 12 'The late battle' took place at Fleurus on August 19/29 1622. See Gardiner, History iv.342.
- 13 On George Ramsey see Letter 31, note 3.
- 14 On Don Gonzalo de Córdoba see Letter 50, note 5.
- 15 On the battle see Gardiner, History, iv.342.
- 16 On Brunswick's arm see Letter 58, note 1.
- 17 On Colonel Gray see Letter 33, note 6.
- 18 King James had forbidden the levy of any more men from his kingdom. See SPV 1621-1623, note 585, p 409.
- 19 Sir Albert Morton (1584-1625), Fellow of King's College 1605-18, member of parliament for Cambridge University 1625, held various official appointments. He was, at one time, secretary to Elizabeth, wife of Frederick V, Elector Palatine. Those duties passed to Sir Francis Nethersole in 1619 but Morton held a formal grant of the office for life. See Venn Alumni and DNB.
- 20 On Michael Honeywood see Letter 45, note 10.
- 21 George Montaigne was appointed Bishop of London in 1621.
- 22 Directions had been issued concerning what was fit to be preached 'for the present times' and copies were sent from all Bishops to every Vicar, Curate, Lecturer and Minister in their dioceses.
The Directions included the instruction: '... none to presume to limit the power or jurisdiction of Sovereign Princes, or the condition between them and their people ... none to fall into invectives against either Puritans or Papists, but merely to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Church etc...' See St.P.D., note 85₁, p 436.
- 23 The Directions threatened suspension only but some preachers had been imprisoned for the contents of their sermons.

- 24 On William, Lord Eure (Evers) (1579?-1646), Baron of Witton, Durham, see The Complete Peerage, vol. V.
- 25 The Marquis of Buckingham purchased New Hall from the Earl of Sussex 'who likewise is to resigne to him the lieutenancie of Essex'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.446. The purchase was accounted a great bargain.
- 26 Although the leaf was not burnt it may have been hidden by Sir Martin. Its position in MS Harl. 389 suggests that it was not kept in order with the other leaves of this letter.

[5 October 1622]

Sir,

The newes we had since my last, you shall find in the book I send and leaves sewed in the end thereof. I can adde some Universitie newes, viz. That on Wednesday last in the forenoone Mr Preston¹ was chosen Master of Emmanuell Colledg; it being the 7th day after the vacatio agnita² by resignation of the old Doctor. Yet so secretly did they carrie their busines, that not any in the Towne, no, nor any of the Schollers of their owne Colledg, did so much as suspect any vacation or election, till all was done and finished. Dr Travers³ himselfe whom some might suppose likely to heare of such a matter, heard not the least jot till all was past; notwithstanding all the acquaintance and relations he left behind him. Never did I beleeeve, till now I see it experienced, that so many as 12 could keep counsell a week together and fellowes of a Colledg too? Who would have thought but there would have bin a Judas amongst 12! but they jest at Emmanuell, and tell us that Judas was gone, and they had but eleven. for one fellowship lyes voyd in regard of some suit about the maintenance for it. The new Master thus chosen was presently in the afternoone fetcht from Queenes by all the fellowes, and accompanied thence by some of the fellowes there and most of the Schollers almost to Emmanuell gates, where the Seminarie of Emmanuell stood to entertaine him.

You will perhaps, or some others may, wonder how this busines could be kept so close, since the vacation was to be published by a schedule sett up till the election.⁴ But this

circumstance is requisite onely if any of the Fellows be absent, thereby to signifie the vacation to them. to prevent which, they made choise of a time, when all their fellows were at home to call them together and make known the resignation to all present at once.

30

Thus remembring my best service to your selfe and my Lady I rest.

Christ Colledg
October 5.

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mead.

35

Notes

- 1 Dr John Preston (1587-1628), Fellow of Queens', Chaplain in ordinary to Prince Charles 1620, a preacher of Lincoln's Inn, was Master of Emmanuel College from 1622 to 1628. See Venn, Alumni; and J. Ball 'Life of Dr Preston' in The Lives of 32 English Divines etc., 3rd. edition, ed. S. Clarke, (1659), pp 75 ff.
- 2 'vacatio agnita': the vacation established by tradition.
- 3 Dr Elias Travers (d.1641), a fellow of Emmanuel 1609-1621, became Rector of Thurcaston, Leicestershire in 1621.
- 4 The Fellows of Emmanuel College were thought to be Puritans, non-conformists and averse to government. As John Preston was in favour with the king it was hoped that his election would overcome this reputation. It was thought that Travers would use influence at Court to get a mandate; therefore great care was taken to keep all secret. 'All knew that Dr Travers lay in wait' See ibid.

[12 October 1622]

Sir,

What I received the last Saturday in 2 letters from London,
I will comprise in one, as followeth

London October 4 1622

That the Popes Nuntio sent by his holines to present the
King of France with a Jewell worth 400/000 crownes was taken
(as you heard before) by those of the Religion, and carried
either to Montauban or Mompellier.¹

5

That the King hath made two fierce assaults upon Mompellier,
and was both times repulsed by those of the Towne with great
losse of his (some say of 6000 and more⁺) and a great part of
his remaining army are sayd to be fallen sick, and that he going
to gather men to repaire his army is much repined at by those
of his owne religion.²

10

From the Lowcountries, That Spinola* hath removed his army
from before Bergen; but whether forced thence by the valourous
endurance of those within, or by feare of famishment, is
uncertaine.³ Many feare it is for some further plott and
intendment. for it is reported, that the souldiers and others in
the Towne were very much toyled with mining and countermining
and making up breaches, so that they were almost wearied and
are now glad of his departure.⁴ The day of his departure he
shott very furiously into the Towne, still conveying his

15

20

+ This in your last (as I remember) was erroneously
written of those of Rochell, etc.

ordnance away in the smoke, as they were discharged: which done 25
 he sett fire on his tents, and most cruelly burnt his Lazaretto
 wherein very many of his maimed souldiers perished being unable
 to help themselves: and more had perished, had they not been
 saved by those of the Towne, who pittied them (though their
 Enimies) brought them into the Towne, where they were 30
 releived.⁵

Alias⁶

Spinola summon'd Bergen by an Herald on Sunday morning last
 was a sennight and threatened a present and generall assault;
 they refused to obey; that night following he raised his 35
 sedge, returned, as is sayd, to Antwerp without any encounter;
 his army being of 16,000 only.⁷

There are 24 great Spanish ships (most of them about 800 or
 900 tunne burthen) well manned, lying in Plimmouth Haven: their
 intent is unknowne, but said they meane for Holland. It is 40
 reported also, that there are 80 more in St. Georges Channell.⁺⁺
 Upon this report it is rumoured as though there were order gon
 downe for the furnishing of his Majesties ships at Chattam, and
 that the gunners etc etc.⁸

Alias

A Spanish Fleet first of 25, since supposed of 55 and more
 sailes of warre upon the point of Lizard coast of Plimmouth;
 their designe uncertaine but fact apparant contrary to the
 treaty of peace.⁹

Sir Rich Weston is returned from Brusells¹⁰ and landed 50

⁺⁺ The sea going up to Bristow, between Ireland, the south
 of Wales and England.(I think).

here on Saturday. They say he tells the King, that there is nothing intended, but the ruine of his Son in the first place, and of himselfe in the next place. Vox populi.¹¹ 55

The Lord Digby is sent for home.¹²

oliás

Endymion Porter parts this day towards Spaine; tis thought for present answeare [---] and satisfaction to all neglects.¹³

Sir Robert Naunton⁺⁺⁺ was sent for to the Court on Thursday and restored to favour.¹⁴ 60

The Counsell sit close and long and the Prince with them daily; in so much, that on Michaelmas day, it was 7 a clock at night before the King could have them to attend him to Chappell to the sollemne Offertory, which is usuall to be had on that day. 65

It is sayd to be in Equilibrio whether there shalbe a parliament or no. Speach fresh that way.¹⁵

There were 11 persons men and women cast away in Thames in the storme on Sunday night last.¹⁶ 70

Thus much from London then. I care not to adde any more, upon report because I find them commonly corrupted in the telling. Yet Dr Chad.¹⁷ told me on Thursday that he heard by one that came from Court, that Endymion Porter was to stay but 3 days in Spaine; and that it was thought, that part of his errand was, to desire leave of the King of Spaine for passage of 40/000 English and Scottish through Flanders and Braband to the Palatinate the next Spring. And, thought the Prince should lead them.¹⁸ 75

Yet some talk here, that the King says that he will not 80

+++ But I find not that any besides heare so.

believe what Sir Rich West: tells him, till my Lord Digby comes home.

I heard some say, but I know not how truly, that my Lord Belfast¹⁹ was very sick.

85

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

October 12

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 47. 'sailes' written above 'more' in right-hand margin:

In MS: 'sailes' deleted on following line.

Line 82. Presumably 'Sir Richard Weston'.

Notes

- 1 The Pope's Nuncio, travelling with Plate, Jewels and Money, was arrested between Avignon and Nimes. See Newsbook 1 (i), p 15: STC 18507.82.
- 2 On the fighting at Montpellier between Huguenots and the King's army see 4 October 1622, A true Relation of the affaires of Europe, p 15: STC 18507.81. 4000 were killed on the King's side.
- 3 On the removal of Spínola's army see n 6.
- 4 The siege of Bergen-op-Zoom (a town some twenty miles north of Antwerp) began in July/August 1622 and ended in October 1622. The mining was not effective because the Spaniards were unable to advance to the main walls of Bergen. See Israel, Dutch Republic, pp 100-2.
- 5 The burning of the injured men is reported elsewhere. See Calendar I.71.
- 6 'Alias' - Latin: 'at another time'.
- 7 The failure of the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom (lifted on 23 September/ 3 October 1622) was an important event in the Spanish/Dutch war. It brought into question the established Spanish policy of exerting pressure by means of short-term, expensive offensives (the execution of which had been left entirely to Spinola). See Israel, Dutch Republic, pp 100-3.

For contemporary reports of the events at Bergen see 20 September 1622, The newes which now arrive ...: STC 18507.78 and 'The Manner of the Raising of the Siege', p 32 in 4 October 1622, A true Relation etc.: STC 18507.81.

- 8 The number (approximate), nationality and suspected purpose of the fleet of ships is confirmed. See SPV 1621-1623, note 627, p 476.

- 9 The reference is to the peace treaty of 1604 between England and Spain.

Later news concerning the ships differs from that of Mead's correspondent. 'We heare no more of the Spanish fleet ... nor what is become of yt...I do rather thinck these violent windes have shaken and scattered them'. 12 October 1622, Chamberlain, Letters ii.458.

- 10 On Sir Richard Weston see Letter 20, note 20. Sir Richard was sent to Brussels in February 1621/22 to attend a conference on restoring the Palatinate to the Elector Palatine. He was recalled in September. A report of his mission is in the Inner Temple records (Volume xlviii). See DNB.

- 11 Vox Populi : 'the voice of the people', the title of a satirical pamphlet on Spanish affairs by Thomas Scott. See STC 22098.

The duplicity of the Spaniards was obvious to many of King James's contemporaries. For example: the Venetian Secretary in Germany pointed out the true intentions of the Spaniards in the Palatinate, see SPV 1621-1623, note 610, pp 466-7; and from the Netherlands comment was made on the 'manifest way Spain has been playing with him [James I]', see SPV 1621-1623, note 632, p 478.

- 12 On Sir John Digby see Letter 6, note 16. Digby had been sent to Spain in March 1622 to continue negotiations for the Spanish match. The negotiations were to include conditions for the restitution of the Palatinate. See Appendix 4.

- 13 Endymion Porter (1587-1649), a gentleman of Prince Charles's bedchamber, was entrusted with a dispatch to the Earl of Bristol in Spain from King James. He was also selected by the Prince and Buckingham as a confidential messenger concerning the proposed secret journey of the Prince to Spain. Gardiner, History iv.370/371.

- 14 Sir Robert Naunton (1563-1635), later Master of the Court of Wards, was created Secretary of State in 1617/18 but suspended from his duties in 1620/21. He was out of favour with the king. Naunton gave up his seals of office on 16 January 1622/23 (see Chamberlain, Letters ii.336,474). He remained a member of the Privy Council. See APC June 1623-March 1625, p 2.
- 15 Parliament was eventually summoned for 12 February 1623/24, prorogued to 16 February 1623/24 and prorogued again until 19 February 1623/24. See LJs iii.206.
- 16 The accident took place on Sunday 29 September 1622. Chamberlain writing on 5 October 1622 comments that '...on Sunday last 2 or 3 boats were lost in the Thames...ten persons were drowned, some Dutch some English'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.454.
- 17 On Dr Lawrence Chadderton see Letter 14, note 1.
- 18 King James and the English ambassador were under the impression that Spain would, under certain circumstances, take up arms against the Emperor. They were mistaken. Porter's instructions were that he was to allow the King of Spain seventy days to recover Heidelberg and to obtain restitution of the Palatinate from the Emperor to the Elector Palatine. See Gardiner, History iv.371. If the King of Spain should fail in this attempt he was to go to war with the Emperor or at least give permission for English forces to march through Flanders to the Palatinate. See ibid and SPV 1621-1623, note 634, p 479.
- 19 On Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4.

[19 October 1622]

Sir,

Dr Medd*. wrot not this 3 weeks till now; You may see by the enclosed, that he begins where he left last. I can adde onely, That the newes of the taking of Hulst in Flanders though much dispersed will not for ought I can heare prove to be true.¹

5

But this is certaine. That Endymion Porter² the messinger into Spaine, hath had such a mischance since he went, as will disenable him for his employment. Most say that the manner of it was, by reason that the Ship he went in was gravell'd neere to Callis and so being in danger, to save himselfe, he leaped out of the ship into the boat, but falling upon the side thereof brake one of his ribs: and his man leaping after him fell much shorter and so was drowned. Others say that in the tempest the Ship wherein he was fell foule with another in Companie in such sort that it was in danger being the smaller to be lost, whereupon when the ships were driven together he throwing himselfe with all his might into the greater, fell so that he brake his shoulder, besides other hurt, but his man following catched onely hold upon the ship side where he hung till the ships falling together he was crushed in pieces betweene them and fell dead into the sea.³ The Roman Augures would have taken this for an ominous signe of the successe of the busines. Since this newes came to Court, Mr Cottington is imployed to Spaine who came but lately from thence.⁴

10

15

20

To tell you how the Prince, before his Father came downe,

25

besought him upon his knees and with teares to take pitie upon
his poore and distressed sister, hir husband and children, and
to suffer himselfe no longer to be abused with treaties, etc
desiring him, that since himselfe was old and unfitt now for
actions of warre, that he would give him leave to raise a royall 30
armie and to be the Leader thereof himselfe not doubting but to
find the subjects ready etc. And that his Majestie should
answere, He would heare once more forth of Spaine first, and then
if he had not satisfaction, he would give him and the State
leave to do what they would. To tell you I say of these and 35
such like, I shall not need, knowing that they use to fly about
the Countrie, and you may know the truth as soone as I, for, I
think the event must make it appeare, before it wilbe credible
and yet it is affirmed the Prince sayd so, but I know not
whether to do so. 40

It was talked also that the King the last week on hunting,
both the Marquesses⁵ being with him and not above one or two of
the huntsmen else any thing neare him, should suddenly standing
still and pausing a while tell them, That he was shamefully
abused, and they were the causes thereof at having made him 45
beleieve, that all would be well by treaty, till now his Son had
lost all his inheritance . You my Lords, quoth he have much
abused me. to which they replied nothing. This our Cambridg
men brought from Roiston⁶ on Sunday, I leave you to judge of
the probabilitie especially seeing the one of them Marquess 50
Hamilton is no way guilty in this kind being knowne and taken
by all, to be of the Contrary faction: unless you would think,
that the King included them both, that he might charge
Buckingham directly. But these are all vulgar reports and
therefore suspicious either of falshood or corruption. 55

But I heard last night a more probable report from Court as was sayd viz That Manheim was taken and Sir Horatio Vere the Enimies prisoner the truth and particulars we expect today.⁷

I pray Sir if you have so much leisure do me the favour as to tell me, what colours in Heraldrie are ment by Diamond and Topaze.

60

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours ever to

October 19

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'of Hulst' inserted above line with caret.

Line 15. In MS: 'danger to be lost being'.

Line 20. In MS: 'falling togeth together'.

Line 29. In MS: 'treaties etc. & desiring that'.

Line 30. 'he would' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 Reports of the taking of Hulst by the Prince of Orange were uncertain. 'Some say ... they merely went to visit...and affrighted the place'. See Newsbook 2 (i), p 11: STC 18507.83. See also Calendar I.71.
- 3 On Endymion Porter see Letter 61, note 12.
- 4 Porter's mishap at sea is confirmed elsewhere. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.458.
- 5 Sir Francis Cottington (1578?-1662), former ambassador to Spain, was a secretary to Prince Charles. See DNB.
- 6 On the Marquis of Buckingham see Biographical Index.
On the Marquis of Hamilton see Letter 31, note 5.
- 7 Royston was a royal residence about 14 miles southwest of Cambridge.
- 8 On Sir Horace Vere see Letter 20, note 42.
The report of the fall of Mannheim was somewhat premature. Sir Horace Vere had retired into the castle at Mannheim with a shortage of provisions and enough gunpowder for only six days. Eventually a capitulation was signed which allowed the garrison to march out with the honours of war

on 28 October/7 November 1622. Gardiner quotes 'Vere to
Calvert', 30 October 1622, St.P.G (History iv.386).

[26 October 1622]

Sir,

The reason of my demand of those colours, you may better
 understand hereafter. It was by an occasion of a very pretty
 secret, (if a man could be sure it were not couterfeit) in
 manner of an Hieroglyphick sent in a letter from Frankford to a
 gentleman in London cutt in brasse with some Dutch relation of 5
 the discoverie thereof. A freind of mine procured it of the
 gentleman to send me but to have a sight of and pawned his
 credit that I should returne it safe the Wednesday after, which
 I did. It contains the fate of 6 yeares, under the
 Hieroglyphick of a Watch or Clock, whose Diall hath but 6 10
 parts. It begins at 1620 expressed by these letters CMDXVV and
 so the rest. Because it depends upon the knowledg of some
 Coats, it may be, my Curiositie to find the misterie of it,
 will make me halfe an Herald by the next time I see you. When
 I can satisfy my selfe sufficiently I will lend you a view. 15
 And in way of preparation I now blazon these coats¹ following
 The Armes of the Empire are
 Sol, an Eagle displayed with two heads,
 Saturne, armed and crowned Mars.
 Of Austria Arg: a fesse Gules 20
 Of Bohemia
 Gules, a Lyon with a forked taile Arg:
 crowned Or.
 Of Hungarie
 Barrewise of 8 peeces Gules and Argent 25

impaled with a double white crosse
But here I am afraid I misse the phrase of Blazoning for I am
somewhat beside my book

Of Transylvania
Gules, seven towers or hilles 30

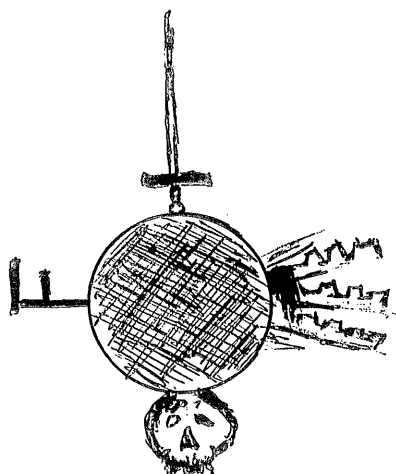
Of Flanders
Or a Lyon sable

The Lyon of Burgundy is sable also I think but the field
I know not.

Of the Prince Palatine of Rhine 35
Diamond and a Lyon Topaze armed and crowned Rubie.

All the rest save this last are apparent in the sayd
Hieroglyphican secret. and there is another Lyon, which I take to
be this, but the colour is not expressed in the dutch marginall
other then a darkish colour, which made me move the question 40
what Topaze was. As for the stone, it is of divers colours as
the gemmaries write. The Ancient Topaze of a greene. Another
of the same colour but with a golden fulgor and therefore
called the Chrysolite and Chrysopative. The vulgar Topaze is
somewhat dimmer then an Emerald, having some yellow admixt. This 45
vanity made me Non plus, not knowing which of these colours the
Heralds do follow.²

For a tast I show you here the Embleme of the next
yeare 1623.



I am a bad drawer and therefore must tell you that it is 50
the globe of the earth, with a sword on the top pointing upward;
at the lowest part, a dead man's head; on the right side a roman
F, on the left A threeforked thunderbolt.

My Lord³, (as I was told last night for a wonder) went 55
secretly away that morning I think letting none of the Colledg
know of it. And Mistris Carey goes to Belgrave⁴ I think on
munday.

I know not whether, he desired not, or whether he suspected
the Fellowes would not accomanie him out of the Towne but it
seemes an argument of some discontent. There went nobody with 60
him but his man, that I heare of.

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

October 26

Joseph Mead.

I remember my love to Mr Warner⁵ etc. 65

I send you beside the enclosed two Corraunto bookes.

Textual Notes.

- Line 6. In MS: 'A gentleman A freind'.
Line 16. 'I now' inserted above line with caret.
Line 39. 'marginall' inserted above line with caret.
Line 50. 'is' inserted above line.
Line 55. 'that morning I think' inserted above line with caret.
Line 56. In MS: 'goes after him': 'to Belgrave' written above deletion.

Notes

- 1 'Coats': coats of Arms (OED/4).
- 2 For Heraldic terms see Boutell's Heraldry, Revised J.P.Brooke-Little, (London 1983).
- 3 On Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter, see Letter 18, note 13.
- 4 'Belgrave' : the reference is obscure.
- 5 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 24.

[2 November 1622]

Sir,

What I have, as yet, last received I send you. But what is sayd of the French peace blowne into smoak, I know not what to beleeeve concerning it. For I had a letter the same day with the enclosed, wherein my freind writes, The newes of a peace from Fraunce is come unto me confirmed.¹

5

and addes besides

That a Captaine of Monsieur de Soubiez (who is still at Plimmouth)² Lately hath brought into the haven a Dunkerker, (whom he took at sea after 12 houres fight), with exceeding great treasure in her; but whether he shall enjoy the goods it is here yet doubtfull.³ This is, it seemes that ship which D: Med: * in the enclosed called a Portugall bound for Dunkerk.

10

I can adde no more unlesse, you will heare An Epitaph upon Sir Gerard Herbert⁴, which I read in a Curranto book, which sayes That after Heidelberg was so basely lost by the cowardise of the Dutch, and that the Enimie was entred the Towne, yet would not Sir Gerard yeeld himselfe prisoner, but dared to defend a house against them breaking three pikes untill they were faine to shoot him with a musket.

15

The Epitaph is this:

20

Brittaine bare thee, Belgia bredd thee,

Pembroke nam'd thee, Spanyards fled thee,

The Germans saw thee so behave thee,

All Tillyes power could not outbrave thee;

Three pikes thou broakst before they kild thee,

25

With th' fourth in hand both sides beheld thee.

Foes praise thy valour, waile thy death,

And Heidelberg dy'd with thy breath.⁵

Vita militia est; mors autem victoria.⁶

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady and my
best affection to Mr Warner⁷ and his wife , I rest

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to be

November 2 commanded

Joseph Mead.

Notes

- 1 The reference is to the Peace of Montpellier, 9/19 October 1622, between Louis XIII of France and the French Huguenots. For a contemporary record of the terms of the peace see November 12, A Relation of a sea-fight etc..: STC 5011.5.
It was suspected that the peace had dissolved into smoke because the protestants feared a trap. See Calendar I.73.
- 2 Benjamin de Rohan, Seigneur de Soubise (1583-1642), one of the Huguenot leaders; was brother to the Duke of Rohan. Soubise came to England in June 1622 in order to levy troops for the Protestant cause in France. See SPV 1621-1623, note 534, p 374 and SPV 1621-1623, note 604, p 462 where the number of recruited soldiers is put at 700.
- 3 The capture of a ship bound for Flanders is confirmed. See SPV 1621-1623, note 648, p 49
- 4 On Gerard Herbert see Letter 59, note 3.
- 5 The epitaph is quoted exactly from Newsbook 3 (i), p 10: STC 18507.84.
- 6 'Vita militia est: mors autem victoria' - Life is a battle: but death is the victory.
- 7 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 24.

[9 November 1622]

Sir,

John Holland¹ told me, you received not my last till
 thursday morning: It was no fault of mine, I am sure, who
 wrot, sealed and sent the letter before dinner; and I use now
 and have of long used to make my letter ready before I dine,
 least the messenger should be gone by twelve. These 5
 miscarriages do much discourage me; for Ile assure you, I
 account it a great part of my reward, to be sure you receive
 and are partaker of what I send, in time: which I know not by
 what meanes I am deprived of. If I were in commission it were
 hard to say, how I should handle such fellows and folkes, if I 10
 met them at Coolidge. I should some times lend you a view of
 some other things which come to my hands, but that I dare not
 adventure my credit with my freinds, upon the assurance of the
 messengers carefulne[---] to carrie and [---] returne [---] them
 in due time. 15

I now send besides the enclosed, a book [---] which hath not
 much what the letter hath not the summe of.

I heare since (even now) that the Articles of the peace in
 France are printed, (as I am told) the new ones, for I made a
 question whether they were not the old.² 20

It is talkt also (one tells me from London) That Mansfeld*
 hath rais'd the seige at Papenmuts, and lyes in Cullens
 Territories.³

But these and such as these we expect more certainty of

before night. Thus with my best respect, I rest

25

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to be

November 9

commanded

between 10 and 11 a clock

Joseph Mead

Dr Beale is our ViceChancellor.⁴

Textual Notes.

Line 14. In MS: 'messengers ~~carefulnes~~ carefulne[]': 'ss'
missing at edge of leaf.

Line 15. 'them' written above deletion.

Notes

- 1 John Holland (1603-1700/01), at Christ's 1620, was the son of Sir Thomas Holland (brother-in-law to Sir Martin Stuteville by his first wife, Katherine Holland). John Holland was later a member of Parliament for Norfolk. See Venn Alumni and Peile, Register, p 337.
- 2 On the peace of Montpellier see Letter 64, note 1.
- 3 The Elector of Cologne, Ferdinand of Bavaria (1577-1650), was brother to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, the leader of the Catholic League. By 1622 the Elector's territories included Cologne, Liege, Hildesheim, Munster, Paderborn.
- 4 On Dr Jerome Beale see Letter 19, note 6.

Letter 66 is out of order in MS Harl. 389. It is preceded by Letter 68 (f 256r) which is mis-dated 13 November 1622 (see note at head of Letter 68).

[16 November 1622]

Sir,

What the enclosed brings and what the neues of Manheim was then, you may quickly see.¹ But Mr Isaak Barrow² hath brought the neues from the Court, which he saith came to the King on Wednesday, That Manheim is now gone; but how, whether taken by force, or rendred by composition, and what manner of conditions, 5 either he knew not, or I heard not.³ I pray God Generall Vere himselfe be free; which I the more doubt because one of Trinity Colledg affirmes he had a letter from London dated on Thursday That he was a prisoner.⁴ This dayes letters from London would resolve all these doubts but I dare not deferre my sealing so. 10 long least the Carrier be gone. I must therefore referre you to the Court to which you are neare enough.

I spake with a gentleman this week, whose place and condition of life might enable him to know something who with such argument as he brought, hath in a manner perswaded me to 15 beleeve these conclusions. 1 That the match with Spaine will never be unlesse the times change so, that Spaine should do it for feare. 2 That there will never be a direct answer give from then~~ez~~ about the restitution of the Palatine, but alwaies such a one as may effect delay. 3 That the Palatinate will 20 never be restored; 4 That though it be not, Our King will never take armes in behalfe thereof. Blot out this when you have read it, for we must not prognosticate of the counsellis and events of State.⁵

We talk here, That, the Bishop of Bristow⁶ being dead, my 25
 Lady Lewins⁷ friends at Court, have moved the King to conferre
 it upon the Provost of Kings Colledge⁸ in recompense of his so
 much spoken of, slighting and neglect of their letters and
 personall mediation in hir behalfe, for renewing the Lease she
 holds of that Colledge. And as for his Provostship they have 30
 moved and obtained of the King to conferre it upon Sir Albert
 Morton⁹, not hitherto sufficiently rewarded for his services to
 the King and State etc. This was done, and licence procured for
 holding his livings, and a Commendam, as soone as it should fall
 in his Diocese of a £100 a yeare with his litle Bishoprick; 35
 before the Provost ever heard word of it, or had the least
 suspicion. Wherupon he is now so much amased and troubled that
 he vouchsafed to descend lower than himselfe, and to sue to Dr
 Travers¹⁰ to be his Mediator to our Master Dr Bainbridg¹¹, that
 she would write in his behalfe to Sir George Gorringe¹² whom he 40
 suppose~~th~~ the cheife in this busines. Our Master was intreated
 for him and hath written, but what wilbe the event or whether
 his comming of at length for the lease will yet make his peace
 time will tell us ere long.¹³

Mr Thomas¹⁴ hath a [--] greek Testament in duodecimo 45
 wherein you have seene me look sometimes. I would desire to
 borrow it of him, or if he will forgoe it, I will send him
 another for it, which wilbe every way as usefull for him. But
 there is something in that Edition in the Preface and elsewhere,
 which I could make some present use of, and it is not to be 50
 found in the after editions; nor do I know where to borrow this
 in the Towne.

Thus with my best remembrance to your selfe and my lady, Mr
 Thomas, with my Love to Mr Warner¹⁵ and [--] his wife wishing

you may all keep your selves so warme, that the coughing -
rheumatik cold seizes not upon you, as it hath done upon the
most of our Towne and Universitie, I take my leave, and am

Christ Colledg

November 16

hora decima

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

55

Textual Notes.

Line 15. 'me' inserted above line with caret.

Line 22. In MS: 'take am armes': 'behalf thereof'.

Line 32. In MS: 'not yet rewarded': 'hitherto sufficiently'
written above deletion.

Lines 40-44. These are six lines of MS partially smudged with
ink. Mead appears to have avoided the smudge by
writing either side of it.

Line 55. In MS: 'your selves selves'.

Notes

- 1 The 'enclosed' was probably a letter dated 8 November 1622,
(Calendar I.75).
- 2 Isaac Barrow, who matriculated from Trinity in 1584, was a
member of the Middle Temple in 1591. See Venn, Alumni.
- 3 Mannheim was taken by composition. For the conditions
imposed by General Tilly see SPV 1621-1623, note 673, p
507.
- 4 On Horace Vere see Letter 20, note 42.
- 5 The opinions of Mead's informant about the proposed
marriage treaty with Spain were widely shared by other
writers. Various Venetian ambassadors gave explicit
expression to them.
'Spain is determined to do nothing. Their only object being
to prevent the King from helping the Palatine'. See SPV
1621-1623, note 392, p 277.
'The States grieve to see that the King of Great Britain
does not perceive how ill the Spaniards treat him, feeding
him with empty hopes and deluding him with vain pretexts'.
SPV 1621-1623, note 553, p 387.
- 6 Rowland Searchfield (... 1622) became Bishop of Bristol in
1619.

- 7 Lady Lewin: the reference is probably to Elizabeth Lewin (née Capell), widow of Sir Justinian Lewin (d.1620). Lady Lewin was connected to the Stuteville family through Lady Stuteville. Elizabeth Lewin's sister-in-law, Judith Isham (née Lewin), was also sister-in-law to Susan Stuteville (née Isham). See Northamptonshire Families, Hertfordshire Families, and DNB.
- 8 Dr Samuel Collins (1575?-1651), Regius Professor of Divinity 1617-51, was Provost of King's College 1615-1644.
- 9 On Albert Morton see Letter 59, note 19.
- 10 On Dr Elias Travers see Letter 60, note 2.
- 11 On Dr Thomas Bainbridge see Letter 23, note 15.
- 12 George Goring (1585-1662/3), later Knight Marshal of the Household and Earl of Norwich, was member of Parliament for Lewes 1620-26. See DNB.
- 13 I have not unravelled the complications of this story.
- 14 On Thomas Stuteville see Letter 29, note 11.
- 15 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 24.

[23 November 1622]

Sir,

I am so out of tune that you must expect nothing more then
 the enclosed. I cannot get my head nor throat nor body right
 neither with pilles nor with fasting, So that I have no
 pleasure in the day nor sleep in the night. Mr Warner¹ was
 with me last night. I told him many thinges and showed him
 others: I had thought he would have beene heere againe this
 morning, but I yet heare not of him. So with my best respect, I
 rest.

5

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

November 23

Joseph Mead

10

Textual Notes.Line 2. In MS: 'throat a~~right~~ nor'.

Line 4. In MS: 'Mr Beswell Warner'.

Notes

1 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 24.

Letter 68 is dated '13 November 1622' in error. It includes an extract of news from London dated 22 November 1622 and refers to news of 15 November 1622, (see note 6).

Letters 66, 67 are dated 16 and 23 November 1622: thus, the probable date for Letter 68 (which is collated before Letter 66 in MS Harl 389) is 30 November 1622.

[30 November 1622]

Sir,

There was litle by letter last Saturday which this book I send containes not. In breife these are onely the specialties

London 22

That Generall Vere was not yet returned¹, nor knowne where he was: howsoever looked for some time the next week (which is now past) if the wind held easterly. That he was much censured by some there for yeilding up of Manheim; but (my author) hoped at his coming he would shew such reasons as would preserve his honour.²

That the French peace was now proclaimed everywhere and confirmed by all the Courts of Parliament and thought to be ment sincerely; especially if the King of Spaine had an eye to some more Townes in the Kingdome of Navarre yet under the French King, as some say, he hath.³

The King was at Lyons, and there his commissioners consulting and treating with the commissioners of the Signorie of Venice, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Lorraine, the States

of the Lowcountrie and the Commonwealths of the Switzers and
ye Grisons for a perpetuall league betweene them both defensive
and offensive.⁴

20

The States lately sent forth 70 or more men of warre, who
had a faire gale of wind to carry them upon the coasts of
Spaine. What is there designe, and wilbe their successe is dayly
expected.⁵

That week also (wherein the letter was written) came
another messinger from Spaine with newes that the match goes on
[---] apace and Palatinate shalbe restored; but God knowes when.⁶

25

That our King sent the King of Spaine a cast of haukes, and
some Spanielli for a present.⁷

Sir John Bennet had much foule matter opened against him in
Starre Chamber, which he spunged over with an answere as well as
he could.⁸

30

This is all written from London besides the book. But they
talke at London, That Generall Vere offended in preventing the
King of Spaine, who had he held out but 4 days longer, would have
caused a cessation of armes, etc I cannot understand this.⁹

35

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours

November 13

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes.

Lines 37-39 are written vertically in the left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 On General Horace Vere see Letter 20, note 42.
- 2 General Vere's reasons for yielding Mannheim were that he
had too few troops, no stores and was short of provisions
and fuel. He also had every reason to believe that his
German contingent would not fight. See Gardiner, History
iv.386.

In the Netherlands opinion was that 'The King of England ordered Vere to surrender the fortress'. SPV 1621-1623, note 672, p 505.

- 3 On the French Peace of Montpellier see Letter 64, note 1.
By the Peace of Vervins in May 1598 France added part of Navarre to its territory and Spain abandoned all interference in France.
- 4 Charles Emmanuel (1562-1630), Duke of Savoy, allied himself with the enemies of the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years War.
'In the autumn of 1622 ... Louis XIII held a series of ... meetings with the Duke of Savoy and a Venetian embassy, from which emerged the League of Lyons, 7 February 1623, pledged both to drive the Habsburgs out of the Grey Leagues lands and to enforce Savoy's claim over Genoa and Montferrat'. Parker, 30 Years War, p 66.
For a summary of the articles of the league (but not the number of troops) see SPV 1621-1623, note 791, p 580.
The Signorie of Venice - Antonio Pauli.
The Duke of Lorraine - Henri (1563-1624).
- 5 The burning and saving of the maimed soldiers is reported elsewhere (Calendar I.71).
- 6 The messenger from Spain was Walsingham Gresly, Lord Digby's steward. See Calendar I.76.
- 7 A present of hawks was a nice compliment to the King of Spain, a Habsburg. The ancient home of the Habsburg family was 'The Habichtsburg', the Castle of Hawks.
- 8 On Sir John Bennett see Letter 14, note 14.
- 9 Spain kept up a pretence of an intention to act as peacemaker in the Palatinate in order to keep on good terms with King James whose 'credulity is nothing but a show'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 677, p 509. The Venetian ambassador suspected that King James was mortally afraid of the Spaniards and therefore anxious to keep the peace. See ibid. (See Appendix 4).

[6 December 1622]

Sir,

Our last newes from London is not much; and therefore I committed it onely to my memorie and in breife it is this.

⁺That there was yet no newes from the Diet nor any thing concerning Germany or the Lowcountries, the winds having beene contrary.¹

That the newes of the French peace still held² and of the treaty at Lyons for a confederation to prevent the practises of Spaine and Austria, and added that the Ambassadors of Denmark and Sweden were either there or to come thither.³ Yet on Wednesday came a letter from Plimmouth That the Duke of Guyse had by subtiltie surprised the Island of Retz by Rochell whereby the Towne was in no small danger because that Island commands their haven.⁴ If this should be true the peace is deceitfull.⁵ Yet the French at London had on the same Wednesday a publick thanksgiving for the peace and many of them sett forward to returne homeward. Besides the Doctor* hath this postscript, viz (The newes of the taking of Reyse not of Retz is today confirmed) whereby it should seeme that Reyse is some other place, but whether Protestant or no I know not. There is an Island about Province called Eres.⁶

Still newes that our match goes forward in Spaine and that Grysley brought a commission to the here Spanish-Leiger-Ambassador to treat about the conditions of the restitution of

+ London, November 29.

the Palatinate but some will never beleave the success of
either.⁷

That upon Wednesday (if I remember well) at 2 of the clock
Sir John Bennet⁸ made a speech unto the Lords craving the Kings
mercy, and their Lordships favourable censure for these reasons. 30
First, because what he had offended was out of ignorance, as
thinking the extent of his offices would have borne him out to
do what he did; his predecessors having done the like before
him etc. but now he saw he was deceived: 2ly Because having
beene a long time Chancellor of York in the Queene's time he 35
was never attacked nor so much as questioned till now. 3ly For
that his estate was not so great as was supposed; 4 ly and
lastly, Because that whatsoever should be layd upon his estate,
would not light upon him alone, but upon a wife, 10 children, 12
grandchildren and 40 others besides depending upon him; where 40
fainting he ended. Nevertheless upon Friday forenoone he
received his censure, fined £20/000, restitution of whatsoever
he had gotten wrongfully from any man; disenabled for ever
bearing office any more and imprisonment during the Kings
pleasure. 45

If there be any court neues you know it better then we, and
therefore I leave it.

Your nephews the 2 Mr Hollands⁹ are leaving our Colledg,
whom, (because they shall not go without some testimoniall) I can
say thus much upon mine owne observation, That they have 50
carried themselves as well as any 2 gentlemen [--] I have
knowne in the Colledg, and as I think, of their owne accord,
which is so much the more commendable. None I think will say
otherwise especially of the elder. I would that the danger of
jealousie, and such like æmulous displeasing, had not hindred me 55

from doing them that good while they were here, which I would
willingly have afforded them, but durst not.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I
rest,

Christ Colledg

60

Yours most ready

December 6

to be commanded

Joseph Mead

I am afraid I shall
trouble you at Dalham
before St Thomas day.¹⁰

65

[--] The next time I
write I shall make bold
to pitch the time.

Dr Collins hath escaped
the Bishoprick.¹¹

70

I was told on
Wednesday, That Glatz was
yeelded for want of
powder¹² and Count Thurne coming
towards the Hage.¹³ he that told
me says he saw it in a Corranto
but I have not yet seene it.

75

Textual Notes.

Line 9. 'there' inserted at edge of leaf with caret.

Line 31. In MS: 'because he what he had'.

Line 41. In MS: 'Friday upon forenoone'.

Line 72|3 In MS: 'told yesterday on Wednesday'.

Notes

1 There is no letter of 29 November 1622 in MS Harl 389.

- 2 On the Treaty of Montpellier see Letter 64, note 1.
- 3 On the Treaty of Lyons see Letter 66, note 4.
- 4 Charles of Lorraine (1571-1640), Duke of Guise, governor of Provence, took the Ile de Ré close to La Rochelle, 'below St. Martins' in a naval battle with the Huguenots on 26 October 1622.
- 5 The naval battle (note 4) took place after the signing of the peace treaty between the Huguenots and Louis XIII. The peace of Montpellier was signed on 19 October 1622.
- 6 French place-names were obviously a source of some confusion: I'le de Riez in Poitou, a spit of land about 18 miles long, separated from the mainland by a strait less than two miles wide, was won for the king from the Huguenots in April 1622 (Parker, La Rochelle, p 102); 'Retz', presumably, is written for 'Ré' (note 4); 'Eres' refers to the Îles d'Hyères off Provence.
- 7 Wallingham Gresley, a steward of Lord Digby, was employed as a messenger between Spain and England. He brought cheerful news from Spain on 12 November 1622 (see Calendar I.76) but few were 'so strong faith'd as to beleeeve it'.
- 8 On John Bennett see Letter 14, note 14.
- 9 On John Holland and the relationship with the Stuteville family see Letter 65, note 1.
Edmund Holland, brother of John, matriculated from Christ's 1620/21, and joined the Middle Temple 1622/23. The brothers were pupils of either Mr Power or Mr Sidall. See Peile, Register i.337 and Venn, Alumni.
- 10 St. Thomas's day is 21 December.
- 11 On Dr Samuel Collins and the Bishopric of Bristol see Letter 66, note 8.

- 12 Glatz, (Klodzko in Poland), on the River Neisse, near the boundary of Silesia and Bohemia, had been under siege since August 1622. It was reported that '1000 soldiers, 6000 Cossaks hold Glatz'. See Neues from most parts ... 25 September 1622: STC 18507.79. It was thought that the Count of Thurn 'is come before Glatz to break the siege'. See Newsbook 4 (i): STC 18507.85
- 13 Heinrich Matthias (1567-1640), Count of Thurn, led the opponents of the Habsburgs in Bohemia from 1609. He was in exile from 1621. Later he became a commander in the Swedish army.

[14 December 1622]

Sir,

Our former neues was very litle, but that we had from London on Saturday last was almost nothing

As

That the Posts were not then come, and therefore no neues from Germany or the Lowecountries; nor in a manner from elsewhere. Onely there were at London some flying rumors and some such as were impossible to be true. As that the Switzer-commonwealths had yeelded themselves generally under Spaine and Austria for this without doubt is either a mistake, of the Switzers for the Grisons, or the reviving of an old report last yeare of the Catholick Switzers, which prooved false.¹

The rest are possible to be if we may heare them confirmed. As That the Diet in Germany was come to nothing.²

That the Prince of Orange having provided 2 ships of warre with souldiers and munition in them, they perished unfortunately by meanes of the ice.³

That Count Mansfeild* had taken in the Citty of Emden⁴ as they say by consent.⁵ It is a Hanse Citty⁶, standing upon the Embse which frontires Friesland and so a matter of great consequent to the States, whether they be held by an enemie, or live as their freinds. Not many years agoe in the last warres for securitie of their religion, they withdrew themselves from the subjection of their Earle and as it were putt themselves under the protection of the Hollander, who defends them as often as their Earle quarrells with them. It was thought that the Spanish fleet had at first some designe that way, but that it

was too soone discovered.⁷

That there was then no word at all of the match or Endymion
Porters returne, though his 6 weeks were expired.⁸

That Oxford University gott £1500 by Sir John Bennetts
busines. For being urged to give some account of his disposing
of so much money taken in pious uses, he named given £1500 to
the University of Oxford; which indeed was but lent them upon
good bonds and security, but understanding his intent was to be
their benefactor by his new profession, they demanded to have in
their bond etc.⁹

I heard twice or thrise by some Courtiere That Sir Francis
Nethersole, the Princesse Palatines Secretary, came to Court
about some busines for her, but had not in 3 weeks attendance, so
much as gott audience.¹⁰

I desire if you please that Thursday next may be the day,
when I shall trouble you at Dalham. You shall not need feare
the breaking of any more pummells. I have provided me a
saddle, a [---] soft one of mine owne and therefore would have
the horse you send come so much the lighter. I have all
furniture to it. Thus with my best respect to yourself and my
Lady I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

December 14

Jos Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 21. In MS: 'yeares a ge agoe'.

Line 32. 'uses' inserted above the line.

Line 37. Large ink stains above 'thrise by some'.

Lines 41-49 are written vertically in left-hand margin.

Line 42. In MS: 'I shall shall'

Line 44. 'therefore' inserted above line.

Notes.

1 On the Swiss and Grisons see Valtelline, Appendix 5.

- 2 The Assembly ('Diet') continued until February 1623. On the Assembly see Letter 20, note 29.
- 3 See Calendar 1.77.
- 4 Emden, on the River Ems, was a prosperous port on the boundary of East and West Friesland. The city was the leader of the Estates of East Friesland.
- 5 Mansfeld occupied Friesland in November 1622 with the secret connivance of Holland (see Letter 59, note 10). He took all the fortified towns and devastated the country. See Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeldt, ii.chapter xvii.
- 6 A 'Hanse' city was a member of the Hanseatic League which defended the trading interests of its members. Its economic and political influence was fading by the seventeenth century.
- 7 On the possible design of Spain on Emden see Letter 45, note 9.
- 8 On Endymion Porter and his six weeks in Spain see Letter 61, note 10.
- 9 On John Bennett see Letter 14, note 14.
- 10 Sir Francis Nethersole (1587-1659), formerly Public Orator at Cambridge University, was English agent to the Protestant Union in 1619, and secretary to Elizabeth, the Electress Palatine. He returned to England in 1623.

Letter 71 is undated by Mead. Another hand writes:
 'on ye back side ye 14 January'. The addressed
 leaf (folio 271^V) is dated 'January 14'.
 [14 January 1622/23]

Sir,

This Towne hath afforded no newes almost since the last we
 had. One writes from London, That Endymion Porter brought the
 match in his mouth but that it was not light.¹ Another talkes,
 from what information I know not, that the match should be
 concluded the dowrie 800 thousand pounds, 200 thousand whereof 5
 to be payd to the Emperour for restitution of the Palatinate
 (if he can be drawne to it) and other 200 thousand to the Duke
 of Bavaria for his charges.²

No newes here of the Kings sicknes, but that the enmitie
 between the Lord Treasurer³ and Lord Keeper⁴ still growes 10
 stronger. That my Lord Treasurer hath sent Mr Brett⁵ into
 France, to put the Marquesse* out of [---] jealousy.⁶

I told you I was no good Poet for as I came along
 ruminating of my verses I found a fault or two. I pray
 therefore blott them out quite least they shame me, and as farre 15
 as my present conceit suffers me take these in their stead.

Auster cum Boream, Boreas cum spectat Iberum

Tunc causas plaustro Carole magne tuo⁷

They are true now, but the sence leanes too much to Germany.
 Thus in hast with thanks, I rest Yours to command 20
 Joseph Mead

I pray blott out the verses I left.

Notes

- 1 On Endymion Porter see Letter 61, note 12.
Mead is punning on 'match' (wick) and on two meanings, both now obsolete, of 'light'. Light: i) to turn out well, (OED v¹, 10 f); ii) lighted, kindled, (OED v²).
- 2 In Spain the Infanta's dowry was thought to be two million ducats (£500,000). See SPV 1621-1623, note 732, p 545 and Gardiner, History iii.272.
- 3 On Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer see Letter 26, note 13.
- 4 On John Williams, Lord Keeper, see Letter 3, note 37.
- 5 Arthur Brett, later Sir Arthur, cousin to the Marquis of Buckingham, was brother to Cranfield's second wife, Anne.
See The Complete Peerage, under Middlesex, p 690.
- 6 Buckingham's jealousy of Arthur Brett sprang from some favour shown to the latter by the King. See SPV 1621-1623, note 708, pp 529/530.
- 7 Mead's verses are addressed to Prince Charles and refer figuratively to the political situation in Germany.
'Auster' - the South Wind and a pun on Austria - a reference to the Imperial, southern European states.
'Boream, Boreas' - the North Wind - a reference to the northern, Protestant German states opposed to the Emperor.
'Plaustro': 'Charles's wain' - a pun on the Prince's name.
'Iberum': of Spain; the affairs of Spain.

A loose translation follows:

As the South watches the North,
While the North observes Spain,
At this time, you, Great Charles,
Debate the question, in your wain.

[18 January 1622/23]

Sir,

You will perceive by the enclosed, That when I am from home my freinds have no success in purveying for newes. For they told me, they had send every whither and could heare of no letters, and complained they were almost starved, though it were Christmas time. But they had not the trick of it. As soone as ever I gott of my bootes you see what I found.

5

I spake with one or two that had read the last Corranto-book Number 12, but could not see it.¹ They tell me that it containes:

That the Diet at Regensburg still sitts in consultation,² But that neither of the 2 Electors of Saxony* and Brandenburg³ were there⁴; though not onely the Emperour, but when he could prevaile nothing, the Empress hir selfe with hir owne hand entreated Saxony to come; and sayd she had chosen it to be the first sute she would make of the Empire, but all in vaine.⁵ It is then also written, That these 2 Electors have appointed a meeting and that in the meane time Saxonie* raises forces.⁶ The book sayes moreover, That it is reported, That Saxony sends to Denmark and Brandenburg to Sweden, that they would joyne with them for defence of the Empire and Religion⁷ And that Sweden is now the more fitt for such a busines by reason of a 10 yeares peace newly made with the Polonian.⁸

10

15

20

That the French King is to maintaine 15/000, the Duke of Savoy 10/000, the Signorie of Venice as many, and the Switzers the rest to make an Army of 50/000 to recover the Valteline etc.⁹

25

That the plague begins in Hungarie.

Thus much out of the book. For home newes Here is much
talk of libells and dangerous books And that one this Christmas
time nayled up a libell upon the pulpitt of the Kings Chappell
in sight of all. which ~~bol~~ones, made them think he was sent by 30
authority and so he went his way and escaped. Another conveyed
into the Marquesse* Bedchamber, a villanous book.¹⁰

There is also sayd to be discovered in the Spanish
Ambassadors house a Book, intended to be dispersed, called the
King and the Prelate, as¹¹ opposite to God and the King for it 35
maintaineth Dialoguewise the deposing of Kings by the Prelacie
etc.¹¹ There is also a great paper of Verses in way of Answere
to these libells and State-medlars, vulgarly sayd to be the
Kings. but a gentleman told me that he will not owne it.¹²

It is sayd that the Emperour putts of the Restitution of 40
the Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria, who sayes he is possessed
of it by force of armes and meanes not to leave it untill he be
driven out by like force.¹³

Thus in hast with my best respect remembred to your selfe
and my Lady I rest, 45

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready
January 18	to be commanded
	Joseph Mead

The yong Gentleman Sir Hamond
Whitchcoats son who sent me the 50
Book and letter to Dalham hath bin

ever since dangerously sick and we are at this present very
fearfull of him.¹⁴

God help him.

Textual Notes.

Line 34. 'Sweden' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 Newsbook number 12 is not extant.
- 2 On the 'Diet' see Letter 70, note 2.
- 3 George William of Hohenzollern (1595- 1640), the Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg, was brother-in-law to the Elector Palatine.
- 4 The Elector of Saxony declined to attend the Assembly in person in protest against the Emperor's banishing of all non-Catholic clergy from Bohemia and Moravia (in 1621 and 1622) under the pretext that they were politically compromised in the Bohemian rebellion of 1619. The banishment was in violation of a general pardon published by the Emperor at Easter 1622. See Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.280 ff and Calendar I.85.
- 5 The Empress's letter to Saxony is quoted in part in A new survey of the Affaires of Europe, p 11-12: STC 18507.96.
- 6 Saxony raised forces to defend his frontiers against any aggressors (including the Emperor) at the conclusion of the Regensburg assembly of 1622-1623. The Emperor moved new forces to the borders of Saxony. It appeared likely that the Agreement of Mühlhausen was in jeopardy (Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.361). On the Mühlhausen Agreement see Appendix 2 i.
- 7 John George, Duke of Saxony; the Princes and States of Lower Saxony; the Elector of Brandenburg and others held meetings after Easter 1623. See Newsbook 30 (i), p 9,12: STC 18507.109 and Newsbook 34 (i), p 7: STC 18507.113.
For a summary of the Elector of Saxony's position in the

Empire as he saw it in 1626, see Parker, Thirty Years' War, p 94 ff.

- 8 The truce between Poland and Sweden was preliminarily agreed in August 1622. It was renewed in November 1622 and prolonged year after year until 1625. There was a report of a truce between Poland and Sweden for nine months 'to see if they can make absolute peace' in 25 September 1622, Neues from most Parts ...: STC 18507.79.

- 9 The reference is to the League of Lyons. See Letter 68, note 4.

The numbers of troops agreed to by participants in the League (from France, Venice and the Grisons are quoted in SPV 1621-1623, note 720, p 539. Mead's figures agree approximately with them.

On the importance of the Valtelline see Appendix 5..

- 10 There were many 'libells' in circulation. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.473. The reference is perhaps to Tom Tell-Troath: Directed to His Majestie etc., [1622?]. See Harleian Miscellany ii. STC 23868 [1630].

- 11 King James complained to the Spanish ambassador that a porter of his [the ambassador] had sold a book entitled The Prince Prelate. The book treated of the sovereignty of the Pope over the states of princes. See SPV 1621-1623, note 719, p 538.

- 12 For the King's verses (of more than 100 lines) in answer to a 'libell' see MS Lansdowne 498, folios 32-34.

- 13 The Duke of Bavaria was in possession of the Upper Palatinate. On the transfer of the Electorate of the Rhine Palatinate see Appendix 3.

- 14 On Robert Whitchcote see Letter 56, note 4.

[25 January 1622/23]

Sir,

I have had this week a share in a mourning for the funerall
 of that yong gentleman, whose danger I mentioned in my last.
 One, though not under my charge yet deere in my affection, and
 worthie to be beloved.¹ For whom I yesterday made the first
 funerall Sermon that ever I made in my life. But enough of
 this; though no occasion be unseasonable to put either our
 selves or our friends in remembrance of death, which was the
 reason I made this preface to my letter.

But for newes, I dayly heare and could tell some strange
 things, besides what is enclosed, if I could warrant the truth,
 when I had done. I will onely mention a two or three nearer
 home viz:

That a gentleman told me the last week that my Lady Herrick
 (whose Husband is keeper of the Kings Jewels)² told him his
 Majestie had newly received 3 letters and all in one houre,
 whereof one from the Signorie of Venice,³ another from Denmark,
 advising him with much vehemencie to provide him selfe and to
 stand upon his guard this Summer, for without doubt, the huge
 Spanish preparations would fall principally upon him, if he were
 found unprovided.⁴ Is not this a strange thing either to be, or
 to be written to be. But his Majestie swore an oth That these
 men wrott all out of malice. I can neither beleeeve nor not
 beleeeve, but mentioned it this week (which I did not last)
 because the enclosed hath That Denmark hath written to other
 States to that purpose.⁵ We have this 3 yeare or more bin
 troubled thus with rumors of the Spaniard, and yet nothing

answered report.⁶

The Liutenanant of Middle Temple⁷, played a game this
Christmas time, whereat his Majestie was highly displeased etc.
He made choise of some 30 of the civilest and best fashioned 30
gentlemen of the house to sup with him. And being at supper
took a cup of wine in one hand, and held his sword drawne in the
other, and so began a health to the distressed Lady Elizabeth
and having drunk, kissed his sword, and laying his hand upon it,
took an oth to live and die in hir service, then delivered the 35
cup and sword to the next, and so the health and cerimonie went
round.⁸

The gentlemen of Grayes Inne to make an end of Christmas on
Twelve night, in the dead time of the night shott off all the
chambers⁹ they had borrowed from the Tower, being as many as 40
filled 4 carts.

The King awakened with this noise start out of his bed, and
cryed Treason Treason etc and that the Cittie was in an
uprore; in such sort (as it is told) that the the whole court
was raised, and almost in armes; The Earle of Arundell¹⁰ running 45
to the Bed-chamber with his sword drawne as to rescue the Kings
Person, etc These are such things as I heard from Londoners,
and so I leave them.

Thus with my best respect remembred to your selfe and my
Lady I rest, 50

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

January 25

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 20. The second 'to be' inserted above line with caret.

Line 25. 'bin' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 49-52 are written verically in the left-hand margin. .

Notes

- 1 On Robert Whitchcoat see Letter 56, note 4.
- 2 Joan May of Sussex was the wife of Sir William Herrick (Hericke) (1557-1653), a goldsmith and moneylender of Leicester. He was three times Member of Parliament for Leicester. In 1603 he was appointed principal jeweller to King James. See DNB.
- 3 Antonio Priuli (d.1625) was the Doge of Venice from 1618-1623.

Venice, a Catholic republic, was eager to thwart any possible expansion of Spanish power in Italy and to retain her independence from Papal jurisdiction.
- 4 Christian IV of Denmark intended to take over certain secularized Bishoprics in Northern Germany. It was in his interest to encourage his allies, other Protestant countries, to arm themselves against the Spanish threat. Their forces would then be ready to assist Denmark's aims should the Spanish threat be a false alarm.
- 5 Letters from 'Frankford' (Frankfurt) of 28 December 1622 reported that the King of Denmark had written 'thither [Frankford] and to divers other good Citties and States to fortifie themselves well ... for that the Spanyard made everywhere the greatest warlike preparations and aimed directly that way'. See Calendar I.80.
- 6 See Calendar I.80 for a report from Spain (27 December 1622/7 January 1622/23) of 'great warlike preparations there'.

For earlier reports of Spanish preparations for an invasion of Britain see Letter 45, n 10; Letter 61, n 7 and Chamberlain, Letters ii.208.

- 7 The Lieutenant of the Middle Temple is identified as the son of Sir Richard Buller of Cornwall in Yonge, Diary, p 66. Presumably, therefore, he was Francis Buller of Shillingham, Cornwall, admitted to Middle Temple in November 1620.
- 8 There were several possible causes for the King's displeasure at the public demonstration of support for the Elector Palatine's cause: he had placed an embargo on the discussion of matters of state policy; he was attempting to appear neutral (in the eyes of other nations) in the affairs of Elizabeth's husband, the Elector Palatine; he was embarrassed (perhaps) by his apparent inability to take action in Germany on behalf of his family.
- 9 Chamber: the name given to a piece of ordnance, especially a small piece without a carriage ... used to fire salutes (OED/10b. obs.).
- 10 On the Earl of Arundel see Letter 15, note 15.

[1 February 1622/23]

Sir,

I had no newes written this last week, but 2 parcells from
Mr Boz which are these:

That Count Mansfeilt* hath sent a gentleman, expressly with
letters to our King, offering to his Majestie his service with
6000 horse and 14000 foot.¹ Now accepted, I should heare today
by his next, before when the messenger must by command of his
Master and would be gone hence.

In France the Jesuites having putt St. Germane² out of the
Almanack (in the end of October) to putt in Ignatius Loyola³,
(who was this yeare sollemly canonized for a Saint) were
complained of to the Lieutenant Civill (Judge in such causes at
Paris) by the Chanons of St. Germans church (in whose parish
the Kinges Palace is) and sentence was given, that the Fathers
should provide another place for Loyola, and their copies thus
printed should be confiscate and burnt.⁴

The book I send you containes very litle, but old newes,
scarce any letters of later date then the midle of December.

To requite your Laus et Vituperium Hispaniae⁵ I send you
this of Lawyers, to be read forward alwayes but in divers
pointing hath a cleane contrary sense.

Lawyers themselves uphold' the common-weale,
They punish' those that do offend and steale,
They save with cunning art' the Innocent,
From danger, losse and punishment;
They can but will not keep' the world in awe
with misexpounded and distorted Law:

They always have' great store of charitie,

And love they want' not, loving amitie.

Read it first with the pointing under (, ;)

Read it next with the upper point(').⁶

He give you another made upon my Lord Montacute⁷ when he 30
was put from the Treasur^eship.

In Dominum H Montacutum

Rege loco motum.

Mons et acutus erat; si mens et acuta fuisset, 35

Staret is antiquo mons meliore loco

Defensor Fidei Montem de sede removit,

Mira facit, montes ille⁺ movere facit.⁸

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg Yours ever to command

February 1 Joseph Mead. 40

+ some will have illa referring it to Fidos.⁹

Textual Notes.

Line 19. In MS: 'to be s read'.

Notes

1 Mansfeld's offer of his troops to King James (to relieve Frankendale in the Palatinate on behalf of the Elector Palatine) was conditional on financial maintenance of £500,000 per annum for his army. King James, however, had agreed that Frankendale should be sequestered to the Infanta Isabella (against the wishes of the Elector Palatine). See Gardiner, History v.406.

2 St. Germain (Germanus) (378-448), Bishop of Auxerre, came twice to Britain. In 429 he 'silenced the heretics at

Verlamium' and in 447 he led the British to victory over the Picts and Scots. His Feast day was 31 July. See D. H. Farmer, Oxford Dictionary of Saints (Oxford, 1978).

- 3 Ignatius Loyola (1491? 1495-1556), a soldier, later founder of the Society of Jesus, canonized in 1622, was granted the same feast day (31 July) as St. Germain. See ibid.
- 4 Germain of Auxerre is not listed as a saint in the Catholic Encyclopedia of 1967.
- 5 Laus et Vituperium Hispaniae: praise and censure of Spain. Presumably some verses were sent from Sir Martin to Mead. Mead uses a medieval Latin construction in 'vituperium'.
- 6 'Pointing' is punctuation (OED/2). The upper point (') indicates an alternative punctuation which, when used in place of normal commas, semi-colons and colons, changes the verses to satire against lawyers.
- 7 On Henry Montague see Letter 6, note 10.
- 8 The Latin verses pun on the latinised form of Montague's name. The 'poet' includes a compliment to King James (the Defender of the Faith) whether in jest or not is not clear. Title - Against Henry Montague who was removed by the King.

That mountain was sharp; if his mind had also been sharp,
That mountain would now be standing in its former, superior
position.

The Defender of the Faith removes the mountain from its
position

He works miracles; he moves mountains.

9. 'illa' with reference to 'Fidos' gives 'Faith moves mountains'.

[8 February 1622/23]

Sir,

I have added to the enclosed neues¹, some part of a letter of Mr Boswells*, concerning French affaires, because the Doctor* feared the contrary.² I must desire you alwayes to conceale Mr Boswell[] name from others; though I give a note whereby you may know it your selfe. For he often admonishes me, that when I write neues, I should not say it was his, and if you should tell it, he might quickly heare of it in Suffolk.³

He writes in the end of his letter that I am sure you heare great noise of changes in Officers here at London but do not suddenly beleieve.⁴

The great hubbub of the demolishing of Heydelberg was but of the subburbs, but what the Popes Nuntio hath done for the monuments I yet heare no more: nor whether any of it be new or old neues, for that of the demolishing the subburbs we heard long agoe, or that they should be.⁵

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

February 8

Yours ever to command

Joseph Mead.

I have sent you a Vision but esteeme it no further then it deserves.⁶ I have put my censure in the bottome of it.⁷ I heare say it is printed. but very ill translated.⁸ I had this from his hands, who translated the printed Dutch copie, of purpose for me. But he scarce speaks good English every where.⁹

1 Southwest is Flanders Brabant etc namely from 25
Osterzee in East Frizland where the Vision was.

2 North, must needs be Denmark, and the Scaffold some
confederation of 9 Princes with him.

3 The Eagle from Eastward must be either the Emperour
[--] or Poland. 30

4 The Lyon from the Southwest some Lyon from Flanders
and Brabant-ward but I know not who.

The Park garnisht with orange flowers may seeme to be
Eastfrizland it selfe, whither Mansfeild hath carried
many soldiers and much armes from the Low-countries. 35

The Wolves being 2 may be Van Der Berg and Cordova
and some such who shall goe against the confederation
in East Frizland.

The bloody wall, meanes grievous taxes upon the
Subjects, 40

This is as farre as I could conceive what he would that
publisht it, (if it be a devise) have us imagine by it.¹⁰

It putts me in mind of such another and I think a
counterfeit Vision, about the losse of the Kingdome of Bohemia,
of a battaill of a Southwest Dragon with a Northeast Dragon and 45
three litle dragons accompanying him. You remember it, and yet
by chance it proved too true but whether this will patt so
right I know not.¹¹

East Frizland contains the Countrie of Emden and Oldenberg,
where Mansfeild* now is.¹² It is not publickly reformed, and yet 50
hath not onely some Protestants but many Anabaptists and
Enthusiasts, and it may be he that saw the Vision was one of
them, for they use to brag of Visions, and depend much upon
them.¹³

Textual Notes.

Line 4. Presumably 'Boswells': 's' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 6. 'not' inserted with caret at edge of leaf.

Line 7. 'in' inserted above line with caret.

Line 30. 'or' written above deletion.

Line 19. 'it' inserted above line with caret.

Line 43. 'a' inserted above line with caret:

Line 44. In MS: 'counterfeit ~~prophecie~~ vision'; 'vision'
written above '~~prophecie~~'.

Notes

- 1 For the enclosed news see Calendar I.81.
- 2 Dr Meddus's fears that 'the French Peace is suspected: they are again by the eares' has been crossed through by Mead and 'not credible' written in the margin. See Calendar I.81. Mr Boswell's more optimistic comments were that, in spite of the slowness with which the articles of the peace of Montpellier were being put into practice, 'all will go well'. See Calendar I.82.
- 3 William Boswell was in danger of breaking the law by discussion of political affairs. See the Proclamation forbidding discussion of state affairs (Larkin, Royal Stuart Proclamations number 208, p 495.
He who 'might ... heare of it in Suffolk' refers to the king who frequently resided at Newmarket, near Sir Martin Stuteville's Suffolk home.
- 4 It was considered necessary (but proved to be difficult) to remove some officials from their duties because of their propensity to take bribes. 'They be better grounded then to be so easilie removed'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.476.
- 5 Heidelberg fell to the Emperor in September 1622. The Pope's nuntio at Heidelberg had caused the Elector's monuments to be broken down 'and sent the heads, Epitaphes and that famous Librarie to Rome'. See Calendar I.80.
- 6 For Mead's copy of the English translation of the Dutch 'Vision' see Calendar I.83.
- 7 Mead quotes Deuteronomy 18.xxi.22 as his 'censure', ibid.

'Censure' in this context means 'an expressed opinion' (OED/3).

8 For a printed English translation see 'An Admonition to All Christians' in Newsbook 19 (i), pp 35-40: STC 18507.98.

9 'This from his hands' refers to Mead's copy of the 'Vision' (see note 6).

10 The paragraphs numbered 1 to 4 are Mead's own exposition of the 'vision'. All the people and places named were involved in the conflict in Germany.

On Van den Bergh see Letter 35, note 20.

On Don Gonzalo de Cordoba see Letter 50, note 5.

11 See Letter 1 for an earlier reference to the 'dragon Vision'.

12 Mansfield and his troops made their way to East Friesland in November 1622. Mansfield took over the prosperous country, arrested the Count and confiscated his money to pay the army. See Gardiner, History iv.401 ff and Letter 70, note 5.

13 East Friesland was 'not publicly reformed' in that its ruler was a Roman Catholic, not an adherent of a Reformed Church. Therefore, by the practice of the times, the official religion was Roman Catholicism.

[14 February 1622/23]

Sir,

Mr Warner¹ hath my newes, promising it shalbe at Dalham [—]
 as this might. I send you heere inclosed, as they terme them
 in London, the Kings Verses; the first in answeare (as it
 seemes) to some libell,² the latter Good counsell to gentlewomen
 to leave the citty. This latter some say the King hath 5
 disclaimed expressly: But what he saith to the other I know
 not; but if it be not his, it is worse then a libell and not to
 be read: but till that appeares, I suppose there is no danger.
 I must request you to send it b[] on Saturday next at the
 farthest. For it is not mine but a freinds, whom I have 10
 promised it againe by that time.

I write this at dinner, where we much complaine that
 Parkers wife,³ hath sent no good cheese to our towne this month
 at least. I would she knew, that we would have of the best,
 since we give the best price. 15

I could send some other thinges, but that I want time to
 write them. Thus therefore I will rest at this and am

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

February 14

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 2. In MS: 'you yeare heare'.

Line 4. In MS: 'to wemen gentlewomen'.

Line 9. Possibly 'back': 'ack' missing at edge of leaf.

Notes

1 On Mr Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.24 .

- 2 For the King's verses on a 'libell' see Letter 72, note 12.
- 3 On Parker and his wife see Letter 1, note 2.

[22 February 1622/23]

Sir,

I have not at this present received the verses¹ I sent last Saturday, but hope I shall: otherwise I shall not keep touch with my freind.

The occurents of this last are litle different [] those of the former, as you shall see by the [] with which also I
5
send a corranto-book.

I know you have heard of a Commiss[] and censure of briberie in Officers.² My Lord of Winchester,³ St. Davids;⁴ My Lord Arun[]⁵ [] Buckingham* are cheife. Who the rest []
10
[].

We expect to know the ground of the [] Princes going over sea, whereof hath beene s[] at London on Tuesday or Wednesday though with others nothing neere to be beleaved as being never probable.⁶

I will tell you a pretty Cambridge accident as I am
15
enformed. On Ash-Wednesday there is a Comedie at Trinitie Colledg.⁷ Whereupon the Spanish Ambassador⁸ and the Ambassador of Bruxells⁹ being at Court His Majestie sent word, that they ment to come both to see the Comedie etc. The name of the Comedie is Ignatius Loyola and as I guess the argument
20
according.¹⁰ Hereupon the Seniors of Trinity have bin much pusled and have moved the Doctors to write to his Majestie how the case standes; and that either the Ambassadors must not come, or the Comedie must not be acted etc.¹¹ This I was told last
25
night.

Some say That Sir Christ. Villiers should be Earle of

Anglesey¹², and other Creations are talked of, but when or how true, time must enforme us.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

February 22

be commanded

Joseph Mead

30

Textual Notes. Lines 4-13: MS torn and patched.

Line 4. Presumably 'from': word missing at edge of leaf.

Line 5. In MS: 'of the last as': 'former' written above deletion.

Line 5. Probably 'enclosed': word missing at edge of leaf.

Line 6. Presumably 'commission': 'ion' missing at edge of leaf.

Line 9. Presumably 'Arundel and': 'del &' missing at edge of leaf.

Lines 9-10. Words to complete the sentence missing at edge of leaf: perhaps 'time will show'.

Line 11. Complete words missing at edge of leaf: perhaps 'report of the'.

Line 12. Perhaps 'seene letters': words missing at edge of leaf.

Line 13. 'to be' inserted above line with caret.

Line 13. In MS: 'His Majesty's Matie'.

Notes

1 The verses reputed to be the work of King James, see letter 76, note 2.

2 A Commission was appointed to sit weekly for redress of complaints of oppressions and grievances which were not amenable to the courts of law. See SPD 1619-1623, n 33, p 491. A proclamation to this effect was issued in February 1622/23. See Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations, number 239, p 568. The Proclamation specified 'exaction' and 'bribery' (among other things) as causes for complaint. Earlier attempts at removing unsatisfactory officials had proved unsuccessful. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.476

- 3 On Lancelot Andrewees see Letter 26, note 10.
- 4 On William Laud (1573-1645) see Letter 20, note 1.
- 5 On Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel see Letter 15, note 15.
- 6 Mead's incredulity was shared by others. The Venetian ambassador sent to Venice 'news which seems incredible ... The Prince ... proceeding in the direction of Spain'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 782, p 575.
- 7 Ash Wednesday was 26 February 1622/23.
Ignatius Loyola, a play in verse in five Acts, was written by John Hacket, Fellow of Trinity, later Bishop of Lichfield. Edmund Stubbs, Fellow of Trinity, is credited with part authorship. See SPD Addenda 1580-1623, note 1, p 649 and STC Wing H 170.
- 8 On Don Carlos Coloma (1567-1637), Spanish ambassador to England, see Letter 45, note 7.
- 9 Johann Baptist Boisschot (? - 1649) was the ambassador from the Archduchess Isabella, Regent of the Southern Netherlands.
- 10 On Ignatius Loyola, recently canonised in the Roman Catholic Church, see Letter 74, note 3.
- 11 'Seniors' probably refers to senior Fellows who hesitated to offend the ambassadors of two Catholic countries by a satire on a newly canonised Saint of their church. Younger Fellows, however, were eager for the play to be performed. The matter was referred to the Lord Keeper, then to King James 'and order given for the plays to go on'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.479/480.
The ambassadors, declined to attend the performance (on 28 February 1622/23) after learning of its content. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.483.

12 On Christopher Villiers (1593-1630) see Letter 43, n 20.
Preparations for his elevation to the Earldom of Anglesey
were put into effect on 9 April 1622. See SPD 1619-1623,
note 47, p 555.

[1 March 1622/23]

Sir,

When I wrot my last, I was not then fully perswaded of the
 Princes going to Spaine, though the report were frequent from
 London. But within an houre after I beleaved it, but it was to
 late to open my letter againe, being sealed and sent to Jeffery
 Finches¹ already. And Parkers man² delivered me youres sitting 5
 at table casting of commons. and himselfe going homeward. So I
 could not have leysure to perswade you nor thought it much
 needed, knowing that publick fame would soone affront you. The
 newes inclosed would faine hope, that he was gone somewhither
 else then to Spaine, but they have, that hope so, no ground but 10
 desire: the perswasion of most is otherwise. It was something
 strange; that when the Prince desired to go so concealedly, it
 should be publicly revealed and talked even by the Court,
 before almost he was out of the land. Sure I am that at London
 it came to Towne on tuesday night, and was generall all 15
 Wednesday; the morning of which day he took shipp.³ It may be,
 they will say that by occasion of Sir Rich. Mannerings⁴
 Lieutenant of Dover his stopping them, till they shewed the
 Kings warrant (though the Prince had intimated before who he
 was) the report of their going was spread. but how could it 20
 come from Dover to London so soone; or how could that discover
 they were for Spaine?

I shall not need tell you []ow we entertained the
 Ambassadors of Spaine and Bruxells,⁵ how the Vice-chancellor,⁶
 Doctors, Regents, non-Regents mett them at Trinity Colledg 25
 gate, how most of the Colledg was taken up for them, how they

had a Speach in every Colledge they came to see, how our
 Orators fatherd the foundation of our University upon the
 Spanyards out of the old legend of Cantaber, how happie we were
 not onely to see them here, but should be to have the Spanish 30
 blood come hither etc.⁷ How when they walked privately to
 Kings Chappel in the middle of prayers time, they presently
 broke off prayers in the middle to entertaine them. Every body
 thinkes not this hansome. How our Doctors pledged healths to
 the Infanta⁸ and the Arch-duchess⁹ and if any left too big a 35
 snuffe,¹⁰ Columbo would cry Supernaculum, Supernaculum.¹¹ How
 Columbo, the Spanish Ambassador; Ferdinando the Bruxells; A
 Lord Agent for the Archduchesse in ordinary,¹² The King of
 Spaines privat Secretary,¹³ and Sir Lewis Lewknor¹⁴ these five
 took the degree of Masters of Art in our Regent house.¹⁵ How 40
 they made sute for one Ogden¹⁶ a preist of their company (and
 once of St. Johns Colledg and borne in this Towne) for the like
 favour. and were denyed as a thing not in our power unless he
 would take the oth, which he would not. etc and how the sayd
 Ogden outfaced us all in our owne Dunghill and threatend us all 45
 openly, that the King should know of it: and such like. Fame
 will tell you of these thinges. I will not trouble you.

I send you a book where you shall find the Vision by way of
 confirmation reprinted, and enlarged by a more full translation
 so that you may spy the Palgrave in it.¹⁷ Let time proove or 50
 disprove it. But there is small hope of a Lyon from the
 Southwest.

Mr Thomas¹⁸ gave me these English verses to send; they are
 a translation of a Latin Epigramme made upon the Canonisation
 of Loyola and the French controversy for a Holy day for him.¹⁹ 55
 I send you the Latin, which was sent me by Mr Bosw.* a month

since (the author was a Doctor of Physick a Frenchman I have
forgott his name)²⁰

Thus with my best respect I rest,

March 1

60

Yours to command

Joseph Mead.

I send you other English

verses translatory by our

Mr Chappells brother.²¹

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'being ~~sent~~ sealed'.

Line 7. 'you' inserted above line with caret.

Line 23. Hole in MS: 'h' of 'how' missing.

Line 31. In MS: 'Chappel ~~betweene~~ in the middle'.

Line 34. In MS: 'if ~~th~~ any left'.

Line 50. 'hope' inserted aboveline with caret.

Lines 52-64 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Line 52. 'English' inserted with caret above line.

Notes

1 On Geoffrey Finch see Letter 11, note 30.

2 'Casting of commons' - reckoning charges for commons. 'commons' - victuals
On Parker's man see Biographical Index. ^{supplied from college buttery}
^{at a regular charge. OED II 36.}

3 The Prince set sail for Spain on Wednesday, 19 February
1622/23. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.480.

4 Sir Henry Mannering, Captain of Dover Castle, appears to
have been a naval commander. See SPD 1619-1623, passim.

5 On the Spanish ambassador see Letter 45, note 8. On the
Brussels ambassador see Letter 77, note 9.

6 On Dr Jerome Beale, Vice-Chancellor, see Letter 19, note 6.

7 For a contemporary account of the ceremonies at Cambridge
see True Copies of all the Latine Orations made and
pronounced on Tuesday and Thursday the 25 and 27 of
Februarie last past 1622 by the Vice Chancellor and others

(referred to below as True Copies).

It was said by Edmund Eade of Caius College that 'Cantaber, a most renowned Prince of Spaine, more then seventeen hundred yeeres since, ... first founded this Universitie etc.' See ibid, p 342 (verso).

8 The Infanta was the Spanish Princess expected (in Court circles) to marry Prince Charles.

9 On the Arch-duchess, Isabella, see Letter 31, note 10.

10 Snuffe: a heel-tap, a portion of a drink left at the bottom of a cup (OED/3).

11 'supernaculum': the modern Latin rendering of German 'auf den nagel' - 'on the nail'. This was used in reference to the practice of turning up the emptied cup or glass on to one's left thumb-nail, to show that all the liquor had been drunk (OED A).

12 The Archduchess Isabella's agent was Juan Baptista Van Male. See True Copies, p 334.

13 Records of the degree ceremony do not mention the King of Spain's private secretary. The fifth member of the party to receive a degree was Monsieur de Berty (Berry?), nephew to the Brussels ambassador. See True Copies, p 335.

14 Sir Lewis Lewknor (Middle Temple 1579 - d. 1626) sometime member of Parliament, was Master of the Ceremonies to James I. See Venn, Alumni.

15 University assemblies were held in the Regent House.

16 John Ogden, B.A. at St John's in 1608/9. See Venn, Alumni.

17 On the printed 'vision' see Letter 75, note 8.

18 On Thomas Stuteville, see Letter 29, note 11.

19 For the Latin verses on the apotheosis of Ignatius Loyola see MS Sloane 1768, f 87 b.

- 20 The French author of the verses (see note 19) was Raphael Thory (Raphaelis Thorii).
- 21 William Chappell, admitted at Christ's 1599/1600 (d.1649), Fellow of Christ's, later Bishop of Cork, was sometime tutor to John Milton. See Peile, Register i.232 and Venn, Alumni.
- John Chappell, B.A. Christ's 1606/7 (d.1649), Fellow of Emmanuel, was later Chancellor of Dublin. Peile, Register i.247 and Venn, Alumni.

79

(f 294r,v)

Letter 79 is unsigned.

[8 March 1622/23]

Sir,

I have no more newes to send you at this present then what
I enclose and you shall find in the book I send. If there be
any thing of the Prince more then was last week the Court is 5
neere to enforme you.¹ Will you give me leave, because you
love verses and him (as I have reason to think) that sends you
this, to fill my paper at this time with an Anagramme and
verses a freind hath made upon my name. I am newly eased of
much trouble and buisines which makes me somewhat merry. or if 10
you will idle, or much like unto your horse, when the great
trunk was taken off his back.

JOSEPH MEADE

Anagram

MI HOPED EASE!

EASE is the only thing can make me blest;
EASE is the only thing that I love best; 15
EASE I have sought, and wisht, but all in vaine,
The world yeelds nought, but trouble, greife and
paine:
Nor can I find the thing that doth me please;
But still I seek, yet want MI HOPED EASE. 20
MI HOPED EASE if I could once attaine,
I would despise all other earthly gaine.
Honour and greatnes are but toyes to this;
Who thinks not so, I think doth think omisse.

I pitty those themselves that use to please 25
With these fond toyes; give me MI HOPED EASE.

JOSEPH MEADE

MI EASE HOPED

MI EASE is HOPED, 'tis not yet attained;
Nor can it ever be, till Heav'n I've gain'd; 30
There shall I have MI EASE, & HOPE no more,
But be possess'd of what I HOP'D before.

I pray let me give the like in Latin too, from the same
hand and so with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady ,
commend: to Mr Warner,² 35

I am Yours most ready
Christ Colledg to be commanded
March 8 1622/23

JOSEPHUS MAEDUS

Anagram

Hodie sumus; sape 40
Admonet ut SAPIAS conversi nominis omen:
Si SAPIAS HODIE, nominis omen habes

Aliter

Cras alij sapiant, expectent crastina stulti;
Nos SUMUS hic HODIE, nunc Josephe SAPE.³ 45

Aliter

Si SUMUS hic HODIE tantum, nec crastina recte
Lux dici possit nostra, Josephe SAPE.⁴

Notes

- 1 The King and Court were at Newmarket in March 1623
- 2 On Mr Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 2.
- 3 The anagram of Josephus Maedus: Hodie, Sumus, Sape;

4. The Anagram does not translate easily into English.

Anagram

We are here today; Be wise

It is urged that you being wise,
Turn round the meaning of your name.

If you could be wise today
You have the omen of your name.

In another way
Tomorrow others would be wise:
Let fools wait for tomorrow.
We are here today,
Now, Joseph, be wise.

In another way
If we are only here today,
And the light of tomorrow
Could not rightly be declared ours
Joseph, be wise.

[15 March 1622/23]

Sir,

The last week in a manner failed us from London in our usuall intelligence; onely the partie you wott, who would not have his name publick, wrot on this wise ¹

That Monsieur de Rohan^{*} at Montpellier² comming into the sayd Towne to side with the Protestant Inhabitants in election of their Towne-magistrates all of the Religion,³ excluding the Roman Catholicks; was surrounded in his house (where he lay) with a guard by the appointment of Monsieur de Valancay.⁴ governour of the garrison there: Whilæt de Valancay sent word hereof to the King;⁵ who told Soubieze (having sent for him to Court in Paris) that his brother de Rohan was thus beguirt and kept without his advice or knowledge, and that his Majestie would sett him at liberty within 10 dayes⁺.⁶ But Soubieze fearing the worst soone after, as is thought, withdrew himselfe to see the event in safety. So the poore Protestants are againe in feare, the rather because nothing is done on the Kings part since the agreement and articles of peace.⁷

The Pope hath interrested himselfe in accommodating the busines of Valtelina before the last of this March; otherwise the French may still, if they will, thither.⁸

Our Archbishop of Spalato (they say) being heard by a

+ Mr Joh. Hollis⁹ wrot to me that Rohan and Soubiez were clapt up, and that hereupon those of Mompellier had slaine the Kings garrison, but the other is the more likely.

Consistory held for that purpose is confined to a Monastery at Monte Casin⁹ a daies journey from Rome.¹⁰

Thus the aforesayd.

But Mr J Hol. addes that Tilley* hath taken the Imperiall Towne of Stoad standing upon the Elbe in the way to Hambrough, of great trade and much importance. But I beleeeve it not to be true but a renewing of a former unconfirmed report. I hope so.¹¹

But newes out of High Germany hath bin of late woundrous slack, not any Corranto or other information yet reached beyond the end of January our style, nor scarce so farre, onely We had some fortnight or more since a letter from Hambrough of February 5th our style which brought nothing but the King of Denmarks passing the Elbe etc.¹² So I count we have full 6 weeks newes and more behind.

I sent you a Corranto, but it is nothing but an old repetition of the Holland conspiracie¹³ but because I am a customer I must refuse nothing they send me.

Dr Pemberton¹⁴ last commencement full merry in my chamber died on Munday last at 3 a clock, of the Black jaundies.

The King heard our comedie¹⁵ on Wednesday but expressed no remarkable mirth thereat: he laught once or twice toward the end. At dinner, before the comedy, there talke in the presence (as I heare) was most of the Prince. One present telles me that he heard the King say, he hoped he would bring the Lady with him, etc.¹⁶ Dr Richardson¹⁷ brought before the King a paper of verses in manner of a Epigrame which Bishop Neale¹⁸ read and others. a freind of mine over the Bishops shoulder gott two of them by heart, which were

Dum petit Infantem^α princeps, Grantamq^β Iacobus⁺⁺⁺ 55
 Cujusnam major sit dubitatur amor.¹⁹

The other two which resolve this doubt he could not tell me.
 perhaps I shall send you them hereafter.

On munday last Dr Mav²⁰ and Dr Wren²¹ had their dispatch at
 Newmarket for Spaine. They asked the Kings advise what they 60
 should do if they chanced to meet the Host carried in the
 streets as the manner is. who answered, that they should avoyd
 to meet it if they could; if not, they must doe as they did
 there, and so they should give no scandall. but I suppose they
 expected another answere for a better priviledge, as being his 65
 sons chapleins. but it is an hard case.

If there be any newes of the Prince you will have it before
 I can send it, and therefore I omitt anything that way. And so
 with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to 70
 March 15 be commanded
 Joseph Mead.

+++ Infanta. +++ Cambridge^β

Textual Notes.

- Line 18. In MS: 'in the accommodating'.
- Line 26. In MS: 'is by them confined'.
- Line 35. 'or other information' written above line with caret.
- Line 40. In MS: 'more to heare behind'.
- Line 55. 'Infantem' & 'Grantamq Iacobus' written in larger
 script than usual. Final 'q' abbreviates final 'que'.
- Line 63. 'it' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 65. 'a better' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 On the necessity of hiding William Boswell's identity see
 Letter 75, note 3.
- 2 Henri, Duke of Rohan, and Louis XIII of France had recently
 signed the Peace of Montpellier (19 October 1622).

See Letter 64, note 1.

- 3 The 'Religion' refers to the Calvinism of the Huguenots (La Religion Pretendue Reforme).

- 4 Estampes, Jacques d' (1579-1639), de Valançay, a Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry, was governor of Montpellier and Calais. See Biographie Française.

- 5 Louis XIII of France.

- 6 On Benjamin de Soubise see Letter 64, note 2.

Rohan's presence in Montpellier towards the end of February 1623, at the time of the council elections, had been requested by the citizens. His detention by Valençay displeased Louis XIII who ordered Rohan's release but warned him never to return to Montpellier without his (Louis's) permission. See Richelieu Mémoires ii.242.

- 7 See Letter 64, note 1.

- 8 On the importance of the Valtelline see Appendix 5.

Spain and France agreed to put the Valtelline into the Pope's trusteeship and Spain agreed to evacuate her forces from the Valtelline forts but failed to do so. The political manouevering of all the interested parties in the Valtelline led to the virtual nullification of the Treaty of Madrid. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, pp 247/8, 254/55.

- 9 Presumably John Hollis (1595-1666), later Earl of Clare, son of John Hollis (entered Christ's College 1579-d.1637), Baron Hollis of Houghton, Earl of Clare. See DNB.

- 10 On the Archbishop of Spalatro see Letter 36, note 10.

'They now have...thrust him into a Cloyster ... perswading him that the life of a Recluse or Penitent is fittest for him etc.' See Newsbook 30 (i), p 21: STC 18507.109.

- 11 Stade is a city on the Elbe to the northwest of Hamburg. Reports of Tilly's taking Stade were still current in October 1623. See Newsbook 50 (i): STC 18507.129.
- 12 The King of Denmark's forces were said to 'lie on the Elbe' and the King to be near Hamburg. See Newsbook 35 (i), p 14: STC 18507.114 and Newsbook 44 (i), p 7: STC 18507.122.
- 13 For an account of the Dutch conspiracy, (a thwarted attempt on the lives of the Elector Palatine Frederick, his wife Elizabeth, and the Prince of Orange), see Calendar I.82 and 'A relation of the late horrible treason' in Newsbook 19 (i), pp 1-9, 11-19: STC 18507.98.
- 14 William Pemberton (Christ's 1594-d 1622), Fellow of Christ's 1602-12, was Rector of High Ongar 1611-1622. See Peile, Register i.212.
- 15 Ignatius Loyola was acted before the King. On Ignatius Loyola see Letter 77, note 7.
- 16 The reference is to the return of Prince Charles from Spain. 'The Lady' is the Infanta Maria. See Appendix 4 i for the Spanish match.
- 17 On Dr John Richardson see Letter 29, note 9.
- 18 On Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham see Letter 3, note 42.
- 19 'While the Prince to Spain, and King to Cambridge goes
The question is, whose love the greater shows'.
- 20 On Dr Leonard Maw see Letter 54, note 21.
- 21 On Dr Matthew Wren see Letter 4, note 3.

THE LETTERS OF JOSEPH MEAD (1621-1625)

Volume 2

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2500000000

[22 March 1622/23]

Sir,

I send our letters of last Saturday and with them a book.
 But that I guess I am prevented by others I would have else
 sent you, the Kings Sonnet of Jack and Tom, and other such like
 tricks¹. Howsoever I will give you the Epigramme whole which
 our Orator made,² and Dr Richardson³ brought to be read before
 the King at dinner when he was here, the halfe of which I sent
 you before.

5

Dum petit Infantem^α princeps, Grantamq^β Iacobus
 Cujusnam major sit, dubitatur amor.⁴
 Vicit more suo noster; nam millibus^γ Infans
 Non tot abest, quot nos Regis ab Ingenio.

10

The King descended more miles to visit
 us at Cambridge, then the Prince is gone
 to see the Infanta. Ergo, the Kings love is
 the greater. Rex amore vincit principem.⁵

15

Lest I bestow too large a comment upon it; the reason is
 because I have nothing else to fill up my letter with. Here
 therefore with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady:
 commendat to Mr Warner⁶ (if he be at Dalham) I rest

Christ Colledg

20

March 22

Yours most ready
 to be commanded
 Joseph Mead.

^α The Infanta ^β Cambridg ^γ The King carries it from ye
 Prince ^δ .1. milliatibus, miles

Textual Note.

Certain words in the Latin verse are written in a larger hand than usual: 'Infantem'; 'Grantamq

line 8. 'Iacobus'; 'noster'; 'Infans'; 'Regis'.
Final 'q' abbreviates final 'que'.

Notes

- 1 For the King's verses on Jack and Tom see James Orchard Halliwell, ed. Letters of the Kings of England, 2 vols., (1848), ii.171-2.
Charles and Buckingham set off for Spain, to woo the Infanta, under the names of John and Tom. '[They] arrived here under the names of Browne and Smith'. See Calendar I.90.
- 2 On George Herbert (1593-1633), the Orator at Cambridge from 1619 to 1627, see Letter 35, note 33.
- 3 On Dr John Richardson see Letter 29, note 9.
- 4 For translation of the first two lines see Letter 80, note 19.
- 5 For another loose translation, differing from Mead's, of the lines 'Vincit ... Ingenio' see True Copies, p 350:
'Ours (like himselfe) orecomes; for his wit's more
Remote from ours, then Spaine from Britain's shore'.
'Rex amore vincit principem': 'the king's love is greater
than that of the Prince'.
- 6 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 24.

[29 March 1623]

Sir,

I came yesterday from Loftes¹, whither I went to
 congratulate my Cosens new dignity and call my young Lady
 Madam.² I met there 2 gentlemen newly come from Court who told
 me that on Tuesday His Majestie had letters from Madrid, of the
 Princes³ safe arrivall there and that he presently sent
 Gondamar⁴ to the King of Spaine, to tell him that howsoever he
 ment not yet to discover himselfe publickly yet thought fitt to
 make himselfe knowne unto him, and therefore desired some
 opportune place where without further discovery they might have
 an enterview, and that his sister the Infanta⁵ if he pleased
 might be there also. Hereupon the King⁶ taking his Sister and
 the Favorite⁷ in coach with him went out to take the aire
 privately, whom the Prince, our Ambassador⁸, and Gondemar, in
 another coach (as was appointed) encountred: where our Prince
 would have leapt out of the coach to salute the King of Spaine
 but that Gondamar held him, untill the King of Spaine came forth
 of his coach and talked with him at the coach side a quarter of
 an houre or more. The Infanta all that time presenting hir
 selfe unto his view. Since this, he hath bin twise or thrice at
 Court undiscovered to any save the aforesayd, and hath (as they
 told me) written to the King, that he is now better resolved
 then ever. But you cannot chuse but heare of this more perfectly
 perhaps then I can relate.

He tell you a jest. The Bishop of London⁹, you know, gave
 order from his Majestie to the Clergie not to prejudicate the
 Princes journey in their prayers etc. But onely to pray God to

returne him home in saftye againe unto us and no more.¹⁰ An
honest plaine preacher, being loth to transgresse the order
given desired in his prayer That God would returne our noble
Prince home in safety againe unto us and no more, supposing the 30
words (no more) to be a piece of the prayer enjoined whereas
the Bishops meaning was they should use no more words but that
forme onely.

I send you here, a metamorphosis of the 114, 115 psalmes
which are usually sung in every masse, but were thus transformed 35
by the Jesuites for their late massings for joy, of their
successe against the hereticke.¹¹ I putt unto it St
Hieromes translation, that so you might compare them.¹²

I send you also certaine verses, which I desire you would
returne me againe on Saturday, when you have read them. for I 40
take them not to be such as may safely be communicated. the
copie is not mine, nor do I meane ever to write them out.¹³

Thus in hast, with my due respect I rest

Christ Colledg Yours ever to command

March 29 Joseph Mead. 45

Textual Notes.

Line 9. In MS: 'opportune place whether where'.

Line 10. 'his sister' written above the line.

Line 19. 'or more' written above line.

Line 29. In MS: 'returne home our noble Prince'.

Notes

1 Wendon Lofts, Essex, was the home of Sir John Mead -
knighted 2 March 1622/23.

See Visitation of Essex, 1634.

2 My young lady - presumably Sir John Mead's wife, Catherine
Corbett.

3 The Prince of Wales, Charles, and the Marquis of Buckingham
arrived secretly in Madrid on 7 March 1622/23. On the

secret journey see Calendar I.88 and Gardiner, History v.chapter xliii.

4 Count Gondomar, recently returned to Spain, was party to the secret plans for the visit to Spain of the Prince and the Marquis.

5 The Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV of Spain.

6 Philip IV of Spain.

7 Olivares, Don Gaspar de Guzmán, known as the 'Count-Duke' (1587-1645), the Spanish 'favourite', nephew of Balthasar de Zúñiga, was chief minister of Philip IV from 1623 to 1643. Olivares' foreign policy was dictated by his dream of a joint European hegemony of Austrian and Spanish kingdoms. See J.H.Elliott, The Count-Duke of Olivares, (Yale UP, 1986).

8 The reference is to Lord Digby, Earl of Bristol (see Letter 6, note 16). Digby was King James's special envoy in Spain sent to negotiate the marriage plans and to seek Spanish co-operation in resolving the crisis in the Palatinate.

For a full account of the Prince's journey to Madrid, negotiations about the marriage contract and the political repercussions of the affair see Gardiner, History v. chapters xliii - xlvii. See also Appendix 4i.

For a contemporary account of the first few days in Spain see Calendar I.88.

9 On George Montaigne, Bishop of London see Letter 18, note 8.

10 Chamberlain confirms that the clergy were ordered to pray not for a successful outcome to the marriage negotiations but only for the Prince's prosperous journey and safe return. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.482.

- 11 A copy of the Jesuits' 'metamorphosis' of Psalms 114, 115 is included in MS Harl.389. See Calendar I.89 and Appendix 7.
- 12 The Vulgate, translated by St.Jerome, Eusebius Hieronymus, (c. 342-420). For a copy of Jerome's translation of Psalms 114, 115 see Calendar I.89 and Appendix 7.
- 13 The reference is possibly to satirical verses on the Spanish match. See Calendar I.99. There are two reasons against this identification: the poems are in Mead's handwriting (see his comment note 13); they are in this collection so were evidently kept by Sir Martin and not returned to Mead as requested.

83
(f 310r)

[5 April 1623]

Sir,

By the enclosed you shall have a more perfect relation of the Princes arrivall and entertainment at Madrid then I sent you upon report in my last.¹

Those who come from London tell us that on tuesday last the
L: of the Counsell by appointment from the King gave order for 5
a generall ringing of bells, and certaine number of bonefires
in every street of the Citty:² the Constables etc. being
commanded to see it performed for some good newes, that His
Majestie had lately received. Some say they knew not what it
was for, others say it was for the Princes safe arrivall and 10
good welcome at Madrid; though that newes came that day
sennight and was a week old.³ But it may be His Majestie
expected the Citty should have expressed their joy of their
owne accord: which because they forgott, they were thus
commanded. Yet some think they observed the bonefires very 15
thinnely, if at all attended, being sufferd to burne out
without company etc. but it may be they run not about a
bonefire in the Citty, as they do in the Country.

Other newes I heare none but that Gonsales⁴ and Mansfeild*
should have had a bloody knocking, though Mansfeild carried the 20

victory, but we look to heare the truth of this, by this dayes
letters.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest,

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

Aprill 5

to be commanded

25

paulo ante hor[] 10⁵

Joseph Mead.

I have not yet heard of the verses, I sent the last.⁶

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'on ~~tues~~ tuesday'.

Line 8. 'good' written above the line with caret.

Line 15. In MS: 'very ~~thinly~~ thinnely'.

Line 26. Presumably 'hora': ink faded.

Notes

- 1 'The enclosed' is the copy of a letter, from Sir Francis Cottington in Madrid to his wife, describing the events in Spain. See Calendar I.90.
- 2 See SPD 1619-1623, note 73 (³), p 544 for a note on the lighting of bonfires in London.
'By the King's express order the whole city has lighted bonfires to celebrate the Prince's arrival and his favourable reception in Spain'. See SPV 1621-1623, note 852, p 630.
- 3 The Prince arrived in Madrid on 7 March 1622/23.
- 4 On Don Gonzalo Fernandez de Córdoba see Letter 50, note 5.
- 5 'paulo ante hora 10': a little before 10 o'clock.
- 6 On the verses see Letter 82, note 13.

[14 April 1623]

Sir,

I went to London on wunday last week, onely for recreation,
 and returned not untill Saturday about two a clock, when I
 found lying in my chamber your letter, a cheese and another
 token in a paper (though brought after the former) as sent me
 by my Lady.¹ I paused a while till my bootes were of, and then 5
 opening it, found enclosed sundry sorts of seeds, which, not able
 to conceive that I should be capable of, I presently
 apprehended to be an error of the messenger: but he being gone,
 I sent to Mistris Newcoms,² then to Geffery Finch³ to know if
 they expected any such thing, or could tell me, to whom it was 10
 intended; but they knew not; so I am faine to keep it, till I
 shalbe further enformed how to dispose of it. As for the
 cheese, finding my selfe capable of that guift, I made no bones
 to owne it.

The verses.⁴ I thank you for vouchsafing to communicate 15
 them, and though I could not then, yet now I send them back by
 Wymark⁵, and would have sent with them such neues and bookes as
 I gott at London; but the opportunitie being suddaine, I could
 not recover them from those to whom they were lent. What I had
 at home, I send you, A book of the Princess Entertainment, as is 20
 [--] sayd, published by authority;⁶ the rest, if you please to
 have so much patience, you shall receive on Saturday. They
 containe nothing altogether new, but the continuing or
 encreasing of what you had formerly conerning the Germaine
 affaires etc. 25

I gather out of your verses 3 sorts of Puritans. First, A

Puritan in Politicks, or the Politicall Puritan, in matters of
 State, liberties of people, prerogatives of Soverainges etc.
 2dly An Ecclesiasticall Puritan, for the Church Hierarchie and
 ceremonies, who was at first the onely Puritan. 3ly A Puritan 30
 in Ethicks or morall Puritan, sayd to consist in singularity of
 living, and hypocrisie both civill and religious which may be
 called the vulgar Puritan, and was the second in birth, and hath
 made too many ashamed to be honest.⁷

I have not taken a copie of the verses, wanting time, but I 35
 hope you will; and that I shall request it hereafter [--] at
 more leysure. Thus with my best respect to your selfe, and my
 Lady I rest

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to be
Aprill 14	commanded
	Joseph Mead.

If you have not seene 40
 the Interpreter,⁸ let me know.

Textual Notes.

- Line 8. 'he' inserted with caret.
- Line 19. 'not' inserted with caret.
- Line 31. In MS: 'Puritan suppes sayd.'
- Line 33. In MS: 'Puritan, which and. . . .'
- Line 33. 'hath' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 36. 'shall' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 Lady Stuteville, (née Susan Isham) (1580/81-1652/53), of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, was the second wife of Sir Martin Stuteville. See Northamptonshire Families, p 157.
- 2 Mistress Newcome was probably Dionysia, widow of Robert Newcome (Letter 3, note 48). See Lincolnshire Pedigrees, p 713.
- 3 On Geffrey Finch see Letter 11, note 31.
- 4 On the verses see note 8.

5 On Wymark see Letter 4, note 43.

6 See STC 5031: 'A true relation and journall etc'.

7 The three kinds of Puritans are delineated in verse in Thomas Scot's Interpreter. See note 8.

The term 'Puritan' applied originally to those who called for further reformation and purification of the established church under Elizabeth I. Subsequently, 'Puritan' was applied to any who separated from the established church on points of ritual, polity or doctrine, held by them to be at variance with pure N.T.principles (OED/A¹).

Later the term came to be applied in ridicule to one who affected to be ... extremely strict, precise or scrupulous in religion or morals (OED/A2).

8 The Interpreter wherein three principall termes of state are clearly unfolded, published in Edinburgh in 1622, was attributed to Thomas Scot B.D. See STC 14115.

The three 'principall termes of state' are 'Puritan', 'Protestant' and 'Papist'.

It seems likely that Sir Martin had seen and sent to Mead some verses on Puritans copied from The Interpreter. Possibly neither Sir Martin nor Mead realised that they had been copied from The Interpreter.

[19 April 1623]

Sir,

Now I understand what error brought the seeds unto me, but being assured I have bin no usurper for the other, I thank my Lady for my cheese, which was all she must have lookt for, had it bin miscarried as the seeds were.¹ Before your letter, I began to think how my Lady might have ment some conceit² or Impresse³ 5 by the paper of seeds for I remembred Anadino⁴ and Candela Bianca⁵, and know well, that at St Maries⁶ we use to pray for ye seedplots of learning etc. but now I see my labour would have bin in vaine.

I enquired out last night my Lordships man⁷, and this 10 morning before 8. delivered him your letter with mine owne hands in my chamber.

As for newes I send you enclosed what the Doctor* both told me at London and rubd up my memorie with (as he sayd) in his letter to Dr Chadderton.⁸ Withal you shall receive a Corranto 15 Number 25.⁹ I heard other things at London, some of more some of less credit.

The Doctor told me That the Archduchess had made a motion to our King,¹⁰ that whereas the house of Austria was not yet out of danger of further seditions and commotions, unless they were 20 providently prevented,¹¹ it would please His Majestie¹² for their greater security from such dangers, and the more easy settling of Christendome in quietnes and peace, as also for a pledge of his sinceritie and good affection both to the one, and to the other, to cause his son-in-law, daughter, and 25 grandchildren¹³ to remove from [---] Hage to Altzei in the

Palatinate, to live there under the guard and protection of the King of Spaine.¹⁴

He told me also, that he had seene and read a Spanish book in manner of a Corranto printed about Christmas time at Lisbon¹⁵ with the oversight and approbation of the Colledge of Inquisitors¹⁶ there etc. wherein for English neues was related, That the Prince of Great Brittain was very shortly to come into Spaine, there to be instructed in the Catholick Religion, from thence to go to Rome to be reconciled by the Pope and so to returne and marry the Infanta. When I heard this, I wondred the lesse at the applause the people gave him at his comming and entertainment; for it is probable, that seeing the first part of their tale fulfilled they hoped for the rest also.¹⁷ But I hope they will be all deceived, and this printed tale prove as true, as the like did a yeare agoe or more,¹⁸ That the hereticks of England, because King James was thought to be a Catholick in hart, and so uncapable of reigning by the lawes of the Realme, and because he had suffered or consented to the despoiling of the Prince Palatine of his lands and dignities and lastly held so inward correspondence with Spaine, therefore they had deposed him, and sent secretly for the Palatine and sett him up etc. so that King James had sent to the King of Spaine for ayd.¹⁹ This the doctor showed me as it was printed, and most confidently avowed by a Don who wrot it from the Court at Madrid, as the neues brought the King by the last Post from England etc. This I relate, that you might the better judge of the likelihood of the former of ye Prince, otherwise it is old neues.²⁰

Others told me that the King desiring to borrow some more money of the Citty and being denyed, it was talked, that he was

about to appoint a commission of some (but not the cheife) of
the Citty to consult how the freedome thereof might be layed
open to all who should give the King a fine and pay him 40^l
shillings a yeare. But this they thought would vanish.

60

They talked also, That Mansfeilds* messenger brought a
letter from his Master, wherein he challenged his Majestie of a
promise last Spring, that if he would go out of the Palatinate
with his armie etc., if it were not restored before this yeare
began, he would send him 10/000 men and pay them, etc.²¹ Which
when Secretary Calvert²² began to read and the contents to
appeare, the King cryed. O my toe, my toe, and could heare
no more, but appointed the Secretary to answere That His
Majesties purposes would at length appeare to have then gone
most forward when the world took them to go most contrary to
his ends. How true this is I know not but this and other the
like I heard there which were tedious to relate.

65

70

But the newes from Germany hath bin very strangely frozen
since the newes of our Princes. journey. for the two last Posts
brought no newes from Hambrough and those parts nor the last of
any thing of those affaires. But I hope we shall have
something to day.

75

Thus with my old and best respect to your selfe and my Lady,
I rest.

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

80

Aprill 19

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 42. In MS: 'of England of England because'.

Line 58. In MS: 'the freedome therefore thereof'.

Notes

- 1 See Letter 84
- 2 A 'conceit' in this context is a fanciful, ingenious or witty notion or expression (OED/III 8).
- 3 'Impresse' is a variation of 'Imprese' which is a variation of 'Impresa' meaning 'motto' or 'maxim' (OED obs./2).
- 4 The meaning is obscure.
- 5 The meaning is obscure.
- 6 St. Mary the Great, principal parish church of Cambridge, was used by the university for religious ceremonies. The principal proceedings of the university took place there. See C.H.Cooper, Memorials of Cambridge greatly enlarged etc. 3 vols., (Cambridge 1860-1866), i.295 ff.
- 7 The reference is probably to a servant of Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter, lately Master of Christ's College (Letter 18, note 14) with whom Sir Martin Stuteville was on friendly terms.
- 8 On Dr Lawrence Chadderton see Letter 14, note 2.
- 9 See Newsbook 25 (i): STC 18507.104.
- 10 On the Archduchess Isabella of Brussels see Letter 31, note 10.
- 11 The 'House of Austria' refers to the Austrian and Spanish branches of the Habsburg family. The exiled Elector Palatine was seen as the possible focus of 'further seditions and commotions' i.e. the cause of further warmongering in Germany.
- 12 James I of England.
- 13 The reference is to King James's son-in-law and family: Frederick, the Elector Palatine, Elizabeth his wife and their children.

14 The Archduchess's scheme, put forward with the approval of Spain and England, was that the Elector Palatine should abdicate in favour of his son (aged seven) and that he (the Prince) should be educated in Vienna and eventually marry one of the Emperor's daughters. Meanwhile the Palatinate would be administered by Maximilian of Bavaria (now invested with the electoral title). The title would pass to Frederick's son on Maximilian's death.

The scheme foundered because Frederick demanded full restitution in his own right and refused to part with his son.

15 The Spanish book printed at Christmas 1622/23 is not identified.

16 The 'College of Inquisitors' is a reference to the Congregation of the Index who were put in charge of a list of books prohibited to Roman Catholics.

The Index was concerned with books likely to be contrary to faith or morals. It was abolished in 1966. See ODCC.

17 'The first part of their tale' was fulfilled in that the Prince of Wales had travelled to Spain to forward the marriage negotiations.

18 The book is not identified.

19 Rumours of the assassination of Prince Charles and the deposing of King James were current in Holland in 1623. See SPV 1621-1623, note 820, p 601.

20 The 'former of the Prince' appears to refer to the unidentified Spanish book published in Lisbon. See note 15.

21 Letters passed between Mansfeld and King James in late 1621 and early 1622. Mansfeld requested support from James for

his army, and suggested that he should be recompensed with territories if no money was forthcoming. See Villermont, Ernst de Mansfeldt ii. 411 .

- 22 George Calvert, Lord Baltimore (1580?-1632) was made Secretary of State in 1619. The conduct of foreign affairs was mainly in his hands. He resigned his position in 1625 on becoming a Roman Catholic.

(f 320r)

Letter 86 is dated 28 Aprill 1623 (erroneously) in
a hand other than Mead's at the top of the leaf.

[26 April 1623]

Sir,

I send you the enclosed and a book.¹

Here is a great rumour in our Towne, That the Prince is sent
for home, and the shippes and others going or gone, recalled and
stayd, because he shall not have need of them being to returne
before they come there.² For reason of this, some say, the 5
Popes dispensation³ coming much sooner then was expected,⁴ the
sollemnities of the marriage were within 4 dayes after
performed.⁵ Others on the contrarie that the match is dashed
by the Pope, and so the Princes busines ended:⁶ which of these
are true, I knowe not: this dayes letters will enforme us; and if 10
they come before I seale, you shall know.

The Germane busines, as you may perceive, is in a wonderfull
suspense; whether it hath any relation to our Princes journey
etc. I know not.⁷

Thus with my best respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

Aprill 26

Joseph Mead.

The newes, that the marriage

is consummate, comes from Dr Ward⁸ who had it in a letter
from a brother of ~~oae~~⁹ at London this week, Wednesday or 20
thursday. That of the dashing of it was reported in Towne by
some gentlemen of my Lord Keepers about thursday.¹⁰

Now judge if you can. I dare not stay to see this dayes
letters least Parker¹¹ be gone.

- 1 For 'The enclosed' see Calendar I.91.
The identity of the book is not known.
- 2 Rumours were abroad in London as well as at Cambridge.
'... matters are so forward there that the Prince desires his Majestie to hasten the sending of the fleet for he hopes to be with his Lady Infanta at the sea-side before yt arrive...' See Chamberlain, Letters ii.490.
However, the Prince did not return until October 1623.
- 3 The Pope's dispensation was a necessary prerequisite to the marriage of Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. Interest in and rumours about the dispensation were rife throughout Europe. For example see SPV 1621-1623, note 861, p 636.
- 4 The granting of the dispensation was not really expected at so early a stage because of the political ramifications which would ensue from it. See SPV 1623-1625, note 84, p 64.
- 5 Public interest in the 'match' led to rumour and counter-rumour. 'Newes was very uncertaine' but it was assumed (wrongly) in some places that the marriage had taken place on 21 April 1623. See Calendar I.92.
- 6 The Pope had the power to 'dash' the match by withholding the dispensation but the business was in fact ended already. Spain had no real intention of marrying the Infanta to Prince Charles; all further negotiations were meaningless. See Appendix 4 i.
- 7 The German news in the enclosed letters (see note 1) mainly concerned the Diet at Ratisbon (Regensburg) and the capture of a Friar. There was no report of any fighting in

Germany.

- 8 On Dr Samuel Ward see Letter 36, note 16.
- 9 ~~The informant~~ is not identified.
- 10 On the Lord Keeper, John Williams, see Letter 3, note 37.
- 11 On Parker see Letter 1, note 2.

[3 May 1623]

Sir,

The Germane newes is not yet new: though the books (which I send you) have store of particulars but most of thinges whereof we heard something before. And as I have examined it by the date of the letters there is no newes of anything that could be done so late as our Lady day;¹ I am sure not later, unlesse it be a litle parcell of Brabant and French newes.²

5

What grounds the report of the Princes marriage or the dispensation come, should have I know not yet.³ For our last Saturdays letters knew of no messenger but Mr Killigree⁴ who came from Spaine Aprill 7 and arrived here in 12 dayes Aprill 19 and seemes by the book new come forth (some [--] extracts of which I send you), that the Prince dispatches a messenger but once in 12 days or a fortnight.⁵ For the 2 messengers dispatched there, the one was on March 26 and the other and next Aprill 7. So that by this rule there should be another messenger dispatched the day the last arrived viz Aprill 19; who should arrive here as upon thursday last. If it be so we shall heare what newes he bringes by this dayes letters.

10

15

I was told last night, that Mr Johnsons⁶ Dr Chaddertons⁷ son in lawes, eldest [--] son. Isaack Johnson⁸ (by a former wife⁹) had married the Earle of Lincolnes sister¹⁰. that his Grandfather Archdeacon Johnson¹¹ had estated upon him a £1000 or £1200 per annum. that her portion was not much more the [sic] £2000.

20

But I am sure, that a freind of mine Mr Tomlinson¹² who of late lived in the Earle of Warwicks¹³ house, and by his favour

25

is inducted into the Living Mr.^{Dr}Pemberton¹⁴ had, hath since
gotten a widdow¹⁵, a good hansome woman, worth unto him £3,500
besides her childrens portions, which he may have in his
keeping too, if he wilbe a freeman of London, etc.

30

I pray Sir give me leave to tell you newes sometimes of
Clergie mens fortunes; and yet I have no mind to go a [--]
wooing.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

35

May 3

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 17. In MS: 'be so whe we shall'.

Line 19. In MS: 'Johnsons eldest Dr Chaddertons'.

Line 27. ^{Dr written above line with caret.}

Line 28. In MS: 'since gotten gotten a'.

Notes

- 1 Lady-Day is 25 March - the Feast of the Annunciation.
- 2 The newsbook is not extant.
- 3 On rumours about the granting of the dispensation and the marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta see Letter 86, notes 3, 5.
- 4 Peter Killigrew appears to be one of a number of men employed as 'posts' travelling backwards and forwards to Spain with news of events in Madrid concerning the prince and the Infanta. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.495, 507.
- 5 See Calendar I.92.
- 6 Abraham Johnson (d.1649), MA at Emmanuel in 1612/13, later High Sheriff of Rutland, was son-in-law to Dr Laurence Chadderton (note 7). Elizabeth Chadderton was Johnson's second wife. See Venn, Alumni.
- 7 On Dr Laurence Chadderton see Letter 14, note 2.

- 8 Isaack Johnson ((d 1630), MA at Emmanuel 1621, a member of Gray's Inn and a priest in the same year, was the son of Abraham Johnson (see note 6) by his first wife. See Venn, Alumni.
- 9 Abraham Johnson's first wife was Anne Meadows. See ibid.
- 10 Lady Arabella Clinton, sister of Theophilus Clinton (otherwise Fiennes), Earl of Lincoln, married Isaack Johnson (n 8). See Complete Peerage.vii.p 696. note c where Isaack is referred to as 'a Puritan gentleman'.
- 11 Robert Johnson (1540?-1625), Archdeacon of Leicester (1591-1625), founder of Oakham and Uppingham schools, disinherited his son, Abraham, and supported his grandson Isaack. See Venn, Alumni.
- 12 Josiah Tomlinson (d.1651), sizer at Christ's in 1606, BD 1620, was the Rector of High Ongar in Essex from 1623-43. Peile, Register i.260 and Venn, Alumni.
- 13 Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick (1587-1658), a member of the New England Council, later became a Puritan and opposed Laudian Church policy.
- 14 On William Pemberton see Letter 80, n 14.
- 15 Josiah Tomlinson's wife has not been identified.

[17 May 1623]

Sir,

I send you our letters of last Saturday, and with them 2
bookes one of them on Saturday, the other sent me since on
Thursday:¹ but there is not so much newes in them both as is
worth the money I payd for carriage. But being a customer, I
must take one with another and rest contented.

5

The newes of the Prince, as you may see by the letters, was
suspicious not to be good, and might not then be known, or at
least not thought fitt to be written.²

But I will tell you, what the Scottishmen³ told me on
Sunday as they had it at Court, and I have heard it seconded
since, and is with us commonly talked; though I will not
perswade you to beleave it further then you shall see cause.
But it is thus:

10

That the Copie of the Dispensation (as was promised) is
come;⁴ but two conditions besides expectation (as should seeme)
inserted. 1. A generall libertie of conscience to all
Catholicks in the Kings Dominions etc. 2. dly. One Colledge of
Jesuites to be permitted, for the education of Catholicks
children etc.⁵

15

That the King being much disquieted at the inserting of
these conditions, should in extremitie of passion utter these or
such like words. What would they have? Let them but suffer
me to have my ends, and they shall have my heart. What would
they have more? which speeches at Court were variously
construed.

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That the Nobilitie etc were so much incensed against the

Marquess, as to threaten but a bloody greeting if he ever returned againe.⁶

And the cheife reason alledged to be as followes: The Lord Digby⁷ had written to his Majestie, that things were so doubtfull in Spaine, that he could wish himselfe farre engaged, that the Prince were not sett forth upon his intended journey, or if he were, that he were back in England againe. and of this shewed many reasons etc. The Post which brought these letters the Prince mett withall when he was entred one station into Spaine and supposing they concerned himselfe made bold to break them open, and perceiving the contents, would have returned back againe, which the Lord Marquess* would by no meanes suffer him to do, but perswaded him to go on etc. etc.

They talk, that the King seizes upon all the marchants letters from Spaine, breakes them open, and burnes them etc.⁸

Other reports there are but without any probabilitie of truth and therefore I will not mention them. But desire God to turne all to a happie issue and send us our Prince home againe.

On Sunday morning presently after midnight, a fearfull and dangerous fire brake out amongst the thatcht barnes and houses right over [---] against our Master's house end, in Walles Lane.⁹ It was supposed to have bin kindled by lime etc. The wind brought the flame upon our Colledg, and a sedge-barne being on fire, the flame seemed to cover our Chappell. Yet God be thanked we received no hurt, though an old piece of timber lying close under the Chappell wall was fired at both ends and faine to be quenched, and our Colledg court full of burnt thatch and eazles¹⁰ etc. It was well for the Towne the wind lay as it did, every way besides, being full of combustible houses, as Barnes and Stables etc. as low as Sidney Colledg. The houses

burnt were Mr Fedling the bakers.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I am.

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

May 17

Joseph Mead

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Textual Notes.

Line 1. 'of' inserted above the line.

Line 9. 'me' inserted above line with caret.

Line 16. In MS: '1. That A generall'.

Line 34. In MS: 'shewed may many'.

Line 38. 'again, which the': these words are almost obliterated by inkstains.

Line 52. 'wall' is inserted above the line with caret

Notes

- 1 The books were probably Newsbook 29 (i), The continuation of our weekly newes: STC 18507.108 and Newsbook 30 (i), A relation of the Duke of Brunswick's march: STC 18507.109.

For the previous Saturday's letters see Calendar I.93.

- 2 The news from Spain was 'kept secret ... which occasions muttering'. See Calendar I.93.

- 3 The 'Scottishmen' were George Ramsay (Letter 31, note 3) and his brother James (Letter 33, note 5).

- 4 This presumably means the official copy from Rome.

- 5 From Spain it was written that an absolute dispensation had been granted upon the fulfilment of certain conditions additional to those already agreed: a) Charles to become a Catholic or b) to allow liberty of conscience in England; the education of children up to the age of 12 or 14 by the Queen and all attendants to be catholic. See SPV 1623-1625, pp 3, 16.

For a list of the articles of the dispensation see Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 212-214.

- 6 Buckingham was looked on as the King's counsellor on the

Spanish match and as such became the focus of anger at the exposing of the Prince to danger in Spain. 'For they look not upon the King in any miscarriage with an eye of anger ... but upon such intimate Ministers ... active in those things'. (Wilson, History of Great Britain, p 145).

7 On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16.

8 For confirmation that King James opened and burnt letters from Spain see SPV 1623-1625, note 35, p 23.

9 After the fire the Privy Council instructed officials at Cambridge to put into effect an order of June 1619 to prevent 'much hazard and mischeefe .. by casualtye of fyre..' See APC June 1623-March 1625, p 497.

In April 1623 two people had been bound over by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Mayor of Cambridge and others for neglecting to tile their roofs. See SPD 1619-1623, note 88, p 574.

10 'Eazles': 'easle'- obsolete dialect term for 'hot ashes or cinders' (OED).

[24 May 1623]

Sir,

Saturdayes newes by letter you have here enclosed.and
withall I send a book,which I received from London on Thursday
for it came out but on Saturday.¹ In all which you shall find
that all thinges yet remaine in suspense and [---] expectation
but yet sufficient probabilities;that the yeare will not close
without something extraordinary.

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For our Prince I would you had him at Dalham,for I doubt he
breathe no such aire in Spaine so coole,so open,and so free.
But for newes of him (sic) successe (which God grant to be good
for us and him) all meanes of learning ought is hindred. Yet
how and by what meanes I know not, these reports which follow,
are frequent,and told by such as come from Court and Citty.

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That Grisley the Post² at his returne for Spaine carried an
inhibition from our King that my Lord Digby (Earl of Bristol)³
should no more intermeddle in the Princes busines but to
permitt all to my Lord Marquess⁴, and neither he,nor any of the
Princes servants to come at him but onely the sayd Lord
Marquess*, Cottington⁵ and Porter.⁶ This is sayd to come from
some letter of the Marquess to the King wherein he should
complaine,that my Lord Digby should oppose or crosse him in
some particular. Some say My Lord Marquess, The Prince,and
Lord Digby,being in coach together The [---] Marquess commanded
my Lord Digby out of the coach as having somewhat to speak to
his Highnes which my Lord might not heare: but my Lord refused,
telling him that his authoritie in that place was as large and
good as his, as having the quality of an Ambassador etc. etc.⁷

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All the Princes servants, chapleins and all, are sayd to be
comming back, as having not onely no employment, but no
permission to come at their Master.

That an inhibition from our King is given to all the 30
English in Spaine, merchants or others, not to write any thing
into England, to their freinds about the Prince or his affaires,
upon penaltie etc.

My Lord Hayes⁸ is returned but telles nothing save onely,
That, because he would not loose his journey into Spaine, he made 35
meanes, to be honoured so much as but to see the Infanta⁹ and
kisse her hand afore his returne for England, which with much
difficultie and importunity at length he obtained, and was
brought into a roome where she was placed in a throne aloft,
divers steps from the ground, and gloriously sett forth with 40
her Ladyes about her. But my Lord with all his complementall
motions and approaches, could not draw so much from her as the
least nod or inclination of hir body, no, not when he ascended
up the degrees unto her, so much as to put out hir hand to him,
when he was to kiss it. Shee remaining all the while as 45
immoveable, as the Image of the Virgin Mary, when suppliants bow
to her on festivall dayes.

This they say is the Spanish state. My Lord complemented
with her but what she answered is not told etc. This I had
from Dr Balcanquells brother¹⁰ and he from him. 50

They say besides, That the Prince never yet saw the Infanta
the second time and others say, That he remaines pensive and sad
and thought scarce to be at full libertie etc. God send him us
again, if it be his will.

Here is also a currant rumour, that the King of Spaine 55
should demand besides other conditions, certaine of our

Sea-Townes, as cautions for her jointure, and amongst others
Plimmouth by name. But is this possible to be true?¹¹

The last week Moyle Lambert the famous Dutch Captaine,
having letters of mart from the States¹² and keeping the Seas, 60
with a Fleet of some 6 or 7 saile, having taken a Spanish ship,
and so much of her goods as he cared for (sinking her with the
remainder yet []ting her men ashore) came homeward with his
[] and putt in to Plimmouth haven with one ship, to []
his commodities, where affording very good peniworths;¹³ the 65
Governour¹⁴ suspecting what he had bin about, and wishing no ill
to the King of Spaine, arrested his ship; whereupon Moyle
comming unto him to know the reason, and being told it was upon
suspition of pyracie because he sold so good peniworthes, and
his answere (that the Lords the States would maintaine what he 70
had done, being juris gentium¹⁵ etc) not being sufficient with
the Governour to release his ship, he that night bringing the
rest of his Fleet to her rescue, carried her away by violence.
Whereat our King is sayd to have bin so much incensed, that he
went from Greenwich to Chattam thereupon, to see his navie, and 75
to give order for the scouring of the narrow seas, and keeping
all Hollanders from coming nere our havens or shores, and
threatened he would be their destruction etc.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I am
Christ Colledg Yours most ready 80
May 24 to be commanded
Joseph Mead.

Kit Villiers is made Earle
of Anglesey, and £2000 per annum
of Crowne land (as is sayd) given 85
him to maintaine his new honour.¹⁶

I send you besides; the rest of that whereof you had but
part before. desiring you to returne it me againe the next
Saturday that I may bestow it where I had it. I wonder it is 90
growne so common, and men so fearless in communicating it; but I
would not have every body do so nor is it fitting though to be
found so now at Court it selfe; who are, as it seemes, of late
grown too [--] open both in mouthes and hands. 95

Textual Notes.

- Line 16. In MS: 'Marquess and nothing neither'.
Line 22. In MS: 'Marquess' inserted above the deletion.
Line 30. In MS: 'given to the all the English'.
Line 63. Probably 'putting': 'put' missing at edge of leaf.
Line 64. Words missing at edge of leaf.
Line 95. 'grown' inserted above the line with caret.

Notes

- 1 The 'book' is Newsbook 32 (i): STC 18507.111.
 - 2 On Wall[s]ingham Gresley (Grisley) see Letter 69, n 7.
 - 3 On Lord Digby see Letter 6, note 16.
 - 4 The reference is to George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham.
 - 5 On Sir Francis Cottington (1578-1652), Secretary to the Prince of Wales, see Letter 62, note 5. He accompanied Prince Charles to Spain. On his return he was disgraced and deprived of office because of his original opposition to the secret journey to Madrid and because of his scepticism about Spain's intentions in the Palatinate.
 - 6 On Endymion Porter see Letter 61, note 12.
 - 7 On Digby's special role in Spain see Letter 82, note 8.
- The usurping of Lord Digby, Earl of Bristol, by Buckingham was noted elsewhere. See SPV 1623-1625, note 35, p 23: 'In Spain, the Marquis alone negotiates. Bristol ... is entirely excluded'.

- 8 On James Hay, Lord Doncaster, Earl of Carlisle, see Letter 5, note 10.

'... at his coming away the Infanta gave him leave to kneele to her above an houre which is thought to be more then needed either to be given or receved'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.499.

- 9 Princess Maria of Spain.

- 10 On Dr Walter Balcanquel, son of the minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, see Letter 36, note 5.

Samuel Balcanquel, MA Edinburgh 1611, Fellow of Pembroke 1619, was brother to Walter Balcanquel.

- 11 The rumour of Spain's demand for English towns was widespread.

'It is said ...that they [the Spaniards] want a fortress in England'. See SPV 1623-1625, note 52, p 36. See also Chamberlain, Letters ii.497.

The demand was not granted.

- 12 The 'states' refers to the States General of the United Provinces.

- 13 A 'peniworth': a good bargain; something obtained at a cheap rate (OED/3).

- 14 The Governor of Plymouth was Sir James Bagg. See SPD 1619-1623 passim.

- 15 Juris gentium: law binding the world at large. This is a reference to the sort of argument put forward by Grotius concerning the freedom of the seas in De Mare Liberum, (1608).

- 17 On Christopher Villiers, see Letter 43, note 20.

[31 May 1623]

Sir,

I received yours, just as I was sitting downe to write. I
 thank you for the returne of what I sent. And still I wonder
 at our Academians whom I observe more and more, to make no bones
 of communicating, copying repeating, of that I meane not shalbe
 ever found in my keeping; howsoever curiosity to understand the 5
 times makes me sometimes listen; but I hope that is a
 pardonable fault etc.¹ That which I received at severall times
 since Saturday, whether by letter, report, or printing, I now
 send you.² But for the petition you speake of; certainly he is
 not worthie to be called a Protestant that playd such an 10
 Idolatrous knaves part.³ And for the similitude of the
 argument, it puts me in mind of a Prophecie, shall I call it,
 or a Libell, which I lately saw: others say they saw it long
 since but I cannot say so: but judge of it, when you heare it;
 If it be but 7 yeares old, and I knew so much I should esteeme 15
 it more. But thus I had it:

A prophecie found in the Abbey
 of St Benedict in Norfolk.⁴

If Eightie eight^a be past, then thrive
 Thou mayst, till Fourty foure or five^b 20
 After the Mayd^c is dead, A Scott^d
 Shall governe then; and if a Plott^e
 Prevent him not, then sure his sway
 Continue shall full many a day.
 The Ninth^f shall die, and then the First^g 25
 Perhaps shall raigne; but, oh, accurst

Shalbe the Time, when as you see
 To Sixteene^d joyned, Twentie three:
 For then the Eagle^t shall have help
 By craft to catch the Lyons Whelp,^k 30
 And hurt him sore, except the same
 Be cur'd by one of the Mayds name.^l
 In Julies month the selfsame yeare
 Doth Saturne^m joyne with Jupiter.ⁿ
 Perhaps false Prophets shall arise, 35
 And Mahomet shall play his prise;
 But sure great alteration
 Shall happen in Religion.⁵
 Beleeve this true, when as you see
 Dat: 1585; A Spanyard Protestant to be. 40

I know not whether this date belongs to the whole prophecie
 or to the 2 last verses onely: nor whether they be part of the
 Prophecie or some addi[].⁶ Howsoever, I will make that good
 use of it, as to divide a book betweene your selfe and me;
 called Hispanus conversus or Texeda retextus.⁷ I have it both 45
 in Latin (wherein the autor writes it) and the translation into
 English, which I cutt of from the other, and here send it you:
 as I had thought to have done long agoe, but could never think
 of it till now, that this Prophecie putts me in mind, thereof.
 Mr Ramsey⁸ swears that he saw the prophecie afore 50
 Christmas at Court, and that they interpreted there the Lyons
 whelp of the Palatine*, the Eagle of the Emperour etc. But the
 Palatine is a Lyon but not a Lyons whelp; his father not
 living.⁹ Mr Warner¹⁰ was with me this week, and told me, that
 he had seene it halfe a yeare since: but when I expounded it to 55

him; he began to doubt whether he saw it before the Prince went or not.¹¹ This is all I know of it, and am sure the style is of no great antiquitie: yet you will not deny but my marginall notes guesse very neere his meaning,¹² whosoever he were that made it. For without doubt he had a meaning and some skill too in Astronomie, that he could point out the yeare and month of the great Conjunction to be in July next.¹³ Yet for all this, for any thing I know, he might be a libeller and perhaps he that made your [---] petition to Queene Eliz. had some litle acquaintance either with him or his poeme.¹⁴ If any man can say more for his credit let him.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my lady I rest, petitioning Almightye God to better the face of the times, and to look upon all that are either in feare or distress, whether amongst us or wheresoever else.

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to
May 31	be commanded
	Joseph Mead.

It is not yet time a yeare
to talke of comming to Dalham.
but I shall trouble you time enough.

Textual Notes.

Line 5. 'ever' inserted above line with caret.

Line 9. 'he' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 19-40. Several words are emphasised - i.e written in larger script than usual: 'Eightie eight'; 'Fourty foure or five'; 'Mayd'; 'A Scott'; 'a Plott'; 'Ninth'; 'First'; 'Sixteene'; 'Twentie three'; 'Eagle'; 'Lyons Whelp'; 'Mayds name'; 'Saturne'; 'Jupiter'; 'Prophets'; 'Mahomet'; 'Religion'.

Line 43. Probably 'additions' : several words very faint at the bottom of the leaf.

Line 44. In MS: 'divide a beek a book'.

Line 50. 'Ramsey' inserted above the line.

Line 50. In MS: 'saw afe~~re~~ the prophecie afore'.

Line 66. In MS: 'more let for his credit'.

Notes

- 1 An ironical comment?!
- 2 See Calendar I.95.
- 3 The petition is not identified.
- 4 The ruins of the abbey of St. Benedict stand at the junction of the rivers Bure and Ant near Ludham in Norfolk.
- 5 Mead's marginal comments are: α) Tilbury Camp etc;
β) Queene Elizabeths raigne; γ) Queene Elizabeth;
δ) King James; ε) Powderplott; ζ) Prince Henrie;
κ) Prince Charles; θ) 16:23 or Maria 16, Charles 23;
ι) Rome or Romish State; κ) God blesse ye Prince
[Frederick]; λ) Elizabeth [Frederick's wife]; μ) The
great conjunction of Saturne and Jupiter, Anno 1623, July 8
- 6 The two last lines are possibly a satirical comment on the whole prophecy but see below, note 7.
- 7 Ferdinando de Texeda, a Spaniard converted to Protestantism, was the author of Hispanus Conversus. The English version was called: Texeda Retextus or The Spanish Monke, his Bill of Divorce against the Church of Rome etc, (London, 1623). Texeda (under a pseudonym) translated the English liturgy into Spanish in 1623.
- 8 On George Ramsay see Letter 31, note 3.
- 9 The Elector Palatine, Frederick IV, of the Wittelsbach family, was the father of Frederick V.
- 10 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 2½.
- 11 The reference is to Prince Charles's visit to Spain; see Appendix 4 i.

12 See note 5.

13 The forthcoming conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter was fairly common knowledge and discussed in the printed newsbooks. See Newsbook 39 (i), p 1: STC 18507.118.

14 See note 3.

[7 June 1623]

Sir,

Besides this enclosed received last Saturday, I received upon a speciall occasion last night, another letter from the Doctor* where he intimated that there is [--] lesse newes stirring then usuall.¹ What there was, he writes, as followeth:

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London June 5

On Monday the Lord Duke of Richmond,² the Lord Treasurer³ the Earles of Arundell,⁴ Pembroke,⁵ Mountgomery,⁶ Carleile,⁷ if not others; all with Sir Thomas Edmonds Treasurer of the Household,⁸ Sir John Fearne,⁹ Allein (sometime a player, now) Squire of the Beares,¹⁰ Inigo Jones surveyor of the Kings works,¹¹ rode hence on Tuesday towards Winchester and Southampton to take order for his Majesties' entertainment, with the Princes and the Lady Maries;¹² whither its sayd, the King intends to go and meet them: which Lords are to be heere againe on Saturday. Howbeit I cannot learne, that his Majestie hath received any Post from Spaine these 3 weeks or more (I will not say hath not) which may seeme strange and occasion strange thoughts. God turne all to good and returne our Prince every way safe.

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They that came home with the Lord Carey¹³ affirme there is the likenes of a white dove with a yellow spott on it, that never departs the window leads, when his Highnes is within: When he is abroad it abydes on the Infantas window leads. And when the Prince rid to the Escuriall, being from Madrid 7 dayes, it abode where he lodged. That it eates no meat, nor feares a dog: which that people terme to be the Holy Ghost; but some may

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rather conceive it, to be some Devill by Magick etc.¹⁴

The Spanyard hath farre prevailed (it seemes) with us, as
to have a truce in the Palatinate 18 monthes, and a treaty at 30
Collen for restitution thereof (though but 15 months named
because to begin but in August).¹⁵ Where the Spanyard and
Bavarian, who have parted the Lower Palatinate betweene them,
shall gett much money, and utterly or neere ruine the people:
For they are to have a monthly contribution of 45000 Imperiall 35
dollers, which comes to neere £10/000 a month. Besides the
Spanyard is to have of the Citties Spire and Wormes (they being
in the Spanish part of the Palatinate) to discharge their
garrisons, 100/000 dollers which is about £22 or £23/000.¹⁶
Was this so poore a beggerly Country before the warres? 40

We have a ship come from Virginia with ill newes of a 2^d
slaughter of 24 of our men by the Indians through their owne
foolish confidence in them; and afterwards their pinnace was
burned. They of this Ship now come home, relate, they light 45
upon the Spanish West Indian Plate fleet being 26 saile, which
doubtless are safely ere this arrived in Spaine, if they have
escaped the Holland Fleet, which is sayd to hover on the coast
of Spaine.¹⁷

This is all: and for this, you must expect no newes next 50
Saturday; since you have it before the time.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest
and am

Christ Colledg

June 7

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

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Notes

- 1 See Calendar I.96 for the enclosed newsletter.
- 2 On Ludovick Stuart Lennox, recently made Duke of Richmond see Letter 11, note 3.
- 3 On Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer see Letter 26, n 12.
- 4 On the Earl of Arundell see Letter 11, note 5.
- 5 On William Herbert (1580-1630), Earl of Pembroke, see Letter 11, note 4.
- 6 Philip Herbert (1584-1650), brother of William (note 5), Earl of Montgomery, later Earl of Pembroke, was High Steward of Oxford. He succeeded his brother as Lord Chamberlain in 1626. See Complete Peerage.417/418
- 7 On James Hay, Earl of Carlisle see Letter 5, note 10.
- 8 On Sir Thomas Edmondes, Treasurer of the Royal Household see Letter 2, note 19.
- 9 Sir John Fearn was a Court secretary. See SPD 1619-1623, note 7, p 353.
- 10 Edward Alleyn (1566-1626), a well-known actor, was a joint master of the Royal Game of bears and mastiffs. He was the founder of Dulwich College and co-builder of the Fortune Theatre. See DNB.
- 11 Inigo Jones (1573-1652), an architect, well-known for his scenic designs for Court masques, was made surveyor-general of the works in 1615. His architectural designs included the Banqueting House in Whitehall (1619-1622). In 1623 he made ready two chapels (one at Denmark House, one at St.James's Palace) for the anticipated arrival of the Spanish Infanta. See DNB.
- 12 The 'Prince' and 'Lady Marie' refers to Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria of Spain.

- 13 Robert Carey (1560?-1639), Earl of Monmouth, Baron Leppington, chamberlain to Prince Charles, followed the prince to Spain. Lord Carey was in charge of the servants. See DNB.
- 14 For further details of the story of the dove, see Calendar I.96.
- 15 By the Treaty of Suspension of Arms, 21 April 1623, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, was to abstain from hostilities within the Empire for fifteen months during which time negotiations for a peace congress were to be held in Cologne. Three months were to be allowed for arrangements to be completed. The Treaty was arranged between King James of England and the ambassadors of Spain and Flanders. Frederick refused his agreement. See Gardiner, History v.74 ff. For contemporary comment see SPV 1623-1625, note 59, p 43. For the terms of the agreement see ibid, note 60, pp 44-45.
- 16 The tax on the Palatinate of 45,000 German dollars a month was levied by the new Governor of Frankendale for the upkeep of his troops. See Newsbook 38 (i), p 16: STC 18507.117. This was later reported reduced to 25,000 dollars for three months by the intercession of King James. See 22 July 1623, Newsbook 41 (i), p 4: STC 18507.120
The money extracted from Worms and Spier (between 80,000 and 100,000 dollars) was payment for the Imperial garrisons who would not leave without it. See 26 June 1623, Newsbook 36 (i), pp 12, 17: STC 18507.115.
- 17 16 ships of the West-Indian Plate fleet 'well and richly laden' were said to have arrived safely in Spain. See 19 February 1623, Newsbook 19 (i), p 32: STC 18507.

[21 June 1623]

Sir,

Much paper I send you this week, but not much newes, that is newes indeed.

I heard this week by mouth, that the Great Don¹ is at length come: looked for on Munday was sennight, and many coaches waiting for him at the Kings charge etc. but arrived not at Court till Munday last, had audience the same day at Greenwich.² What his busines is we must not know: but they say the Prince must stay till Michaelmas, if he comes then, and hereupon is the Fleet which hath layne windbound so long, now stayed altogether. We are told here also that Cottingon³ and Grisley⁴ about Friday or Saturday came to Court from Spaine, with letters, within 2 or 3 houres one of another, though the one came out the day after the other. but what they bring, no man knowes, not so much as to conjecture.

A Gentleman one Master James Eliot⁵ (as I remember) a servant of the Princes and lately returned from Spaine with my Lord Carey,⁶ about Thursday being in our Towne, reported, that afore his coming away, he desired to kisse his highnes hand and being admitted, desired his Highnes might not stay long in that place, saying it was a dangerous place to alter a man and turne him: for himselfe in a short time had perceived his owne weaknes and was almost turned. The Prince asked wherein he was turned, He answered, In his Religion: What motive had you had (quoth the Prince) or what hast thou seene which should turne thee. Marry (quoth he) When I was in England I turned the

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whole Bible over to find Purgatorie, and because I could not
find it there, I beleevd there was none; But now I am come into
Spaine I [--] have found it here and that your Highnes is in
it. Whence that you may be released and delivered we your
Highnes servants who are going to Paradise will offer unto God there 30
our utmost devotions. This Dr Travers told me who was with the
gentleman.⁷

Mr Wren⁸ writes, that we have great cause to thank God for
the Princes constancie in Religion whose livelynes and courage
therein they his Chapleins do admire. and that as he had ever a 35
worthy conceit of my Lord Marquess*, so he finds him likewise,
to be such in this respect etc.⁹

I hope all is so indeed yet not from the authoritie of his
letter, for a man may easily guess what letters they must write
who are in aw both there at their writing and here for 40
delivering. God send our Prince home againe.

For the forenamed Mr Eliot told sub sigillo¹⁰ some
suspicious passages. as that the Prince durst not farther then
by intimation afarre of express his desire or will to begon, as
fearing to be denyed; but passeth all by complements etc and 45
suchlike.

The Lord Marquess* (as is talked) hath had in the Spanish
Court some check of late for forgetting himselfe so farre, as
to intimate a dislike of the slownes of the dispatch, whereupon
Olivares¹¹ was sent to the Prince to tell him, that my Lord 50
Marquess* must consider better how great a Prince the King of
Spaine was, when he came to speake in his presence.

Mr Wren hath also this passage. There is no such matter
here, as you talk in England, that the marriage should be
finished, for there is not yet so much as a match concluded etc. 55

Mr French¹² this day 3 weeks dozed and married Mistris
 Bridget Cook,¹³ sister to Mistris Foxen,¹⁴ one of the two that
 the boyes at Sturbridge faire¹⁵ hooted at for being in mannish
 apparell some 2 yeare since. Some ten dayes after he falles
 sick and within a week dyed on thursday morning last £1500 60
 worse then men took him for. gave his house with moveables and
 appurtenances to his new wife and yonger son, omitting a
 limitation of his wives life, whereby the moity⁺ thereof
 passeth to her as inheritance from his children, whereas she
 brought him never a peny. to 2 daughters unmarried, and brought 65
 up like gentlewomen, to one he gave a lease of £10 per annum,
 and to the other some £8 also in a lease for their portions. to
 a Son at that present maintained Fellowcommoner in Magdalene
 Colledg, he hath given but £10 a yeare in all the world and to
 2 sons and 2 daughters already married nothing at all.¹⁶ But 70
 why doe I tell you Townes newes, but that it is sometimes
 profitable to consider the follies of men etc.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest
 Christ Colledg Yours most ready
 June 21 to be commanded 75
 Joseph Mead.

+ valued at £400

Textual Notes

- Line 43. 'not' inserted above line with caret.
 Line 51. 'better' inserted above line with caret.
 Line 70. In MS: 'nothing in the world at all'.

Notes

- 1 Don Juan de Mendoza, Marquis of Inojosa, San Germano, was
 sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to England from Spain to
 continue negotiations for the Spanish match.

- 2 Chamberlain confirms the date of Inojosa's arrival in England. See June 1623 (Chamberlain, Letters ii.504).
- 3 On Francis Cottington see Letter 62, note 5.
- 4 On Wall[s]ingham Grisley see Letter 69, note 7.
- 5 Mead mistook the name. See APC June 1623-March 1625, p 211 where George Ellyot is named as the Prince's servant.
- 6 On Robert Carey, see Letter 91, note 13.
- 7 On Dr Elias Travers see Letter 43, note 22.
- 8 On Dr Matthew Wren see Letter 4, note 3.
- 9 The reference is to George Villiers who was elevated from Marquis to Duke of Buckingham in May 1623. See Biographical Index.
- 10 'sub sigillo' - 'under the seal' i.e. 'highly secret'.
- 11 On Don Gaspar de Guzman (1587-1645), Duke of Sanlucar de Barrameda, Count of Olivares, see Letter 82, note 7.
- 12 Thomas French was Mayor of Cambridge from 1608-1610 and in 1614-1615.
- 13 Bridget Cook was probably sister to Jane Cooke (note 15).
- 14 Jane née Cooke (from Chiesell, Chessell?), widow of John Wisse of Hinton in Cambridgeshire, married Richard Foxen (Foxton) of Cambridge. See Visitation of Cambridgeshire 1575 and 1619.
Richard Foxton was Mayor of Cambridge 1619-21.
- 15 Stourbridge Fair held annually at Cambridge, started on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August and continued until after 14 September (Holy Cross Day). Stourbridge Fair was considered to be the greatest Fair in England. Profits went to the Mayor and corporation of Cambridge to maintain streets, ditches etc.

16 Gregory French, son of Thomas (note 13), was admitted (aged 16) to Pembroke College 1621/22. He migrated to Magdalene College where he matriculated in 1623. See Venn, Alumni.

[27 June 1623]

Sir,

I have no time, more then to wrappe up my newes. Mr Lucy¹ but newly admitted Batchelor in Divinity, was this week created Doctor as Filius Nobilis², with such distaste of the Regents³ that they hummed, when he came in. They say it was a stolne Congregation, and yett he gott his grace but by three voices.⁴ And the Regents have appealed, and protested against his Creation as against Statute: which hath heretofore bene expounded, that by Filius Nobilis, is such a one, who had either Parent Honorable.⁵ But Valebit Factum⁶ and all will come to nothing I thinke

So with my respect I rest,

Christ Colledg

June 27

Yours to command

Joseph Mead.

Notes

- 1 On William Lucy see Letter 54, note 19.
- 2 'Filius Nobilis': 'son of nobility'.
- 3 'Regents', originally, were Masters of Art who presided over disputations in the 'Schools' for one year, afterwards for five years. Later, the term 'Regent' signified a Master of Art of not more than five years' standing (OED/3a).
- 4 A 'Grace' was a statute of the University of Cambridge. In this context it means 'the leave of Congregation [of the University] to take a degree' (OED 9b).
- 5 William Lucy's parents were Sir Thomas (Kt.1593-d.1605) of

Charlecote, Warwickshire and his second wife, Constance,
daughter and heiress of Richard Kingsmill of Highclere,
Hants.

- 6 'Valebit Factum': the deed having been done, it will
prevail.

Letter 94, dated July 5 by Mead, is misplaced in MS Harl 389 among letters of July 1622. The contents refer to events of 1623 (see notes 2,4,18 in particular). '5 July 1623' is written at the top of the letter in a hand other than Mead's.

Mead's regular pattern of writing was disturbed in the summer of 1623, perhaps because he (unusually) went away from Cambridge for a holiday. He wrote (or misdated) on three Fridays: 27 June, 11 July, 18 July.

[5 July 1623]

Sir,

If you failed 2 weekes together, and it came home double the 3 week; twas not my fault but some knaves abused me, in not sending or not delivering my letters. This week hath bin so busy with me, that I have my newes still to write, and therefore must desire you to accept it scribled and abbreviated as followeth

London June 27

Our Spanish busines is so carried still in the cloudes that it is not possible to be yet discerned, what effect it is like to take. Some talk, as if the Prince were like re infecta¹ to returne shortly, whereof, we might, I think, be all glad; others are of opinion, we are not like to see his Highnes back till the next Spring.² Its sayd their conditions are much increased, and exceedingly augmented to our prejudice and their advantage.³ On Tuesday the new Spanish Ambassador had his second audience at Greenwich, but so private, (none being present but the King

and he) that there cannot anything be learned of it.⁴

Then followes a letter from Frankford June 1 our style

Tilly* was the 27 of May in the diocesse of Hurshfeild in
Hessen⁵ belonging to the Lantgrave of Cassells nere the 20
confines of Thuringia, where he placed his forces (being about
20/000 men) here and there without resistance neither the
Lantgrave Maurice nor his eldest son being in the Country, but
with the King of Denmark* and some other Princes.⁶ The designs
of Tilly* are yet unknowne⁷, some being of opinion, that he will 25
attempt upon Duke Christian of Brunswick*, before he can gett
his army together and in order:⁸ which if he do, then certainly
he hath as good intelligence in those parts, as Spinola* had in
the Palatinate before he came into it.⁹ The sayd Duke of
Brunswick* is mustering his men about 30/000, of which 7000 30
horse.¹⁰ Some think Tilly* will stay there to impeach
Brunswicks* marching into Bohemia, as tis thought he intends,
and Mansfeild* to follow and second him.¹¹ The Crabats or
Croatiens about Wormes continue still their committing of
outrages without distinction of age, sex, or freind.¹² It is 35
generally in the Palatinate every day worse and worse.
Verdugo the King of Spaines governour there,¹³ requires out of
such places as are in the possession of his Master 45/000
Imperiall dollars monthly for 18 monthes beginning with May;
which cannot but utterly undoe the [--] poore people.¹⁴ And in 40
Heydelberg they are yet worse used: for there they spare
neither Lay nor Clergie, men nor goods, having the week before
driven thence 5 preachers, though they lived privatly: where
also the midwives are examined strictly, that yong children be
baptized in the popish Churches.¹⁵ In conclusion the misery 45
in those places is so great as cannot be sufficiently

expressed: And yet some can think restitution wilbe gained by
a freindly treaty, but it is most like they will deceive
themselves therein, or else that it wilbe a restitution more
intollerable then death it selfe.¹⁶

50

Thus farre the letter from Frankfort.

Here is much speach, and strongly beleaved, that the King of
Bohemia* is gone unto one of the Armies of Mansfeild* or
Brunswick*; which is sayd not a litle to disquiet us here.¹⁷

There are to be 13 Seargeants at Law for £500 a man at
least.¹⁸ The old Lady Finch is also for stately Copthall by
Epping and £300 a yeare land of inheritance with the timber and
wood in the park, to be Vice-Countess of Maydstone to descend
unto her issue.¹⁹

55

Another: ditto

60

M. B.*

Dr Bishop²⁰ who wrot first against Perkins,²¹ then against
Abbots,²² is made by the Pope Bishop of Calcedon and withall by
speciall Bull from his Holines likewise Bishop Generall of all
our English Papists, whereby he hath under that title the same
power which the Archpreist had in that kind; which being done
without the Jesuites knowledg and consent, hath much vexed them,
because they had the goverment of the Archpreist heretofore.²³

65

The King of Bohemia* is departed from the Hague and seekes,
as seemes, occasions to putt of his assent unto the cessation
from armes, concluded by his Father for 15 monthes etc.²⁴

70

Thus farre the letters which came on Saturday.

But here is since newes in the Towne written on Tuesday.
That our King sent a messenger to the King of Bohemia* that he
should sitt still and not stirre during the time of the truce
he had concluded with the Archduchess,²⁵ who answered, That he

75

would rather not live at all then live still condescending and
 expecting the event of treatyes. Which answere being reported,
 another message was sent, but before it came, he was gone from 80
 the Hague as was thought, to Brunswicks* army.²⁶

And that Brunswick* with his Army [--- ---] was passed
 through the Duke of Saxonyes* Countrie, by leave from the Elector
 and that he would not suffer Tilly* to follow him. Which if
 true, is strange newes and argues the Elector is in earnest.²⁷ 85
 But we expect the confirmation or confutation of it to day.
 All mens eyes are now upon Bohemia etc. Thus with my best
 respect. I rest

Christ Colledg
 July 5

Yours most ready to
 be commanded 90
 Joseph Mead

I am going about St James^{side} to Lincolnshire, thence to
 Chesshire, where they say is a gold mine found in Molecop Hills,
 in pitts where they digged limestones, the [---] vaine is in
 the clift of the rock, as it were mixt of sand and pebles as big 95
 as a walnut, some lesse, all glistering, and being tryed some
 helde gold, some copper. The party that told me saw it, I
 meane the hoped mine. The gentlemans house Mr Morton,²⁸ to
 whom I goe is within 2 miles of it. I am like when I have
 seene that to come to Dalham and tell you what newes of it. 100

Textual Notes.

- Line 3. In MS: 'keeping or not delivering': 'not sending'
 inserted above deletion.
- Line 22. 'neither' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 46. In MS: 'expressed sufficiently expressed'.
- Line 78. 'at all' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 97. In MS: 'told me say saw it'.

Notes

- 1 're infecta': the deed not done.
- 2 The reference is to the Spanish match: see Appendix 4 i. See Letter 86, note 5 and Calendar I.98 for varying reports of the proceedings in Spain.
- 3 For the augmented conditions of the match see Letter 88, note 5.
- 4 On the new Spanish ambassador see Letter 92, note 1. His second audience at Greenwich took place on midsummer day (Tuesday 24 June). See 28 June 1623, Chamberlain, Letters ii.504.
- 5 Tilly was reported moving through Hersfeld before 24 May 1623/3 June 1623. See Newsbook 36 (i), p 18; STC 18507.115.

An earlier newsletter suggested that Tilly had taken the Abbey of Hersfeld in Hessen. See Newsbook 32 (i), p 11; STC 18507.111.
- 6 On Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel see Letter 3, note 16. The Landgrave and his son were in Saxony in April and May attending meetings called by the Elector of Saxony: first at Langen Salza with the Elector and the Margrave of Baden; next at Guttersboch (Cottbus?) with all the Princes and States of Lower Saxony and the Elector of Brandenburg. See 7 May 1623, Newsbook 30 (i), p 9; STC 18507.109; and Newsbook 34 (i), p 7; STC 18507.113).

The King of Denmark was said to be at a meeting with other Lutherans 'about the affairs of the Empire'. See Calendar I.95. The meetings were called partly to consider action to be taken in light of the Emperor's decisions concerning Hesse-Cassel (see note 7).

7 Tilly's intentions in Hesse-Cassel were either a) to claim Hesse-Cassel 'by force of arms' by order of the Emperor (who judged that Landgrave Maurice had forfeited all his land - 'to have utterly lost the benefit of his Uncle's legacy'), or, b) merely to pass through to attack Christian of Brunswick. See 7 May 1623, Newsbook 30 (i), pp 11-12: STC 18507.109 and June 16 1623, Newsbook 36 (i), p 18: STC 18507.115.

Later it was 'affirmed for a truth' that Tilly wished only to quarter his troops in Hesse before meeting Brunswick. See 18 July 1623, Newsbook 40 (i), p 15: STC 18507.119.

8 Christian of Brunswick was already 'very strong' in the Lower Saxon Circle by 7/17 May 1623 and his troops were encamped along the river Weser between Paderborn and Halberstadt. See Newsbook 34 (i): STC 18507.113.

9 The reference is to Ambrogio Spinola's occupation of part of the Rhine Palatinate in 1620. See Appendix 1.

10 See Calendar I.98 for references to Brunswick's forces of 30,000 men of which 7000 were cavalry. Earlier newsletters put the numbers at 20,000 and 21,000 foot, and 4000 horse. See Calendar I.96 and I.97.

11 Brunswick's intentions were to aid Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel (n 7) and to prevent the junction of the Catholic League army of Tilly and the Spanish army of Cordoba. See Newsbook 30 (i), p 17: STC 18507.109.

12 'Crabats' and 'Croations' are variations of 'Cravat', 'Croat', or 'Croation' (OED). All are inhabitants of Croatia but the term was used somewhat loosely as a name for a certain type of soldier in the seventeenth century. The 'Crabats' were said to be under the leadership of

Christian of Anhalt-Bernberg. See Newsbook 19 (i): STC 18507.

- 13 Verdugo: Don Guilielmo is referred to as the governor of Frankendale in Newsbook 41 (i), p 4: STC 18507.120.
- 14 On the exaction of money from the Palatinate see Letter 91, note 16.
- 15 The aim of the re-Catholization of the Rhine Palatinate was to reclaim all the Church lands which had been secularized and to root out Protestant worship and replace it with Catholicism. In February 1623 all Calvinist preachers East of the Rhine were ordered out of the Palatinate.

It was reported that in Heidelberg the Jesuits refused baptism to any child until the parents were reconciled to the Church of Rome. See Newsbook 47 (i), p 9: STC 18507.126.
- 16 This is a reference to the treaty of Suspension of Arms of 21 April 1623. See Letter 91, note 15.
- 17 The rumour came about through the absence from The Hague of the Elector Palatine and the Prince of Orange in May/June 1623. 'The Prince of Orange with some great personages' left the Hague 2/12 May 1623. See Newsbook 33 (i), p 16; STC 18507.112. Later news revealed that Frederick visited several Dutch towns, including Amsterdam, apparently in order to raise funds for Mansfeld's army. See Newsbook 40 (i), p 20; STC 18507.119.
- 18 Chamberlain confirms the creation of '... ten or twelve new sergeants-at-law at £500 a peece'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.505.
- 19 Elizabeth Finch (1557-1633/4), widow of Sir Moyle Finch, later Viscountess of Winchilsea, was created Viscountess of

Maidstone on 8 July 1623. See Complete Baronetage.i.35. Her son and Sir Arthur Ingram (an associate of Lord Treasurer Cranfield) agreed that, if she were made a Viscountess, Lady Finch's inherited property (Copt Hall in Essex) should be given to a certain unnamed person. See Complete Peerage under Winchilsea, note 'd'. Copt Hall then came into the hands of Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer. See Arthur Wilson, History of Great Britain, ii.787.

- 20 William Bishop (1554-1624), an English Roman Catholic priest, was consecrated Bishop for England (with the titular See of Chalcedon in Asia Minor) in June 1623. He returned to England from Paris in July and embarked on a major re-organisation of the Roman Church in England. See New Catholic Encyclopedia. His Reformation of a Catholic Deformed by W Perkins (2 parts, 1604, 1607) (STC 3096/7) was written against William Perkins's A Reformed Catholike (note 21).
- 21 William Perkins (1558-1602), Fellow of Christ's (1584-95), was a prolific theological author distinguished for his strong Calvinism. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.141. His work A Reformed Catholike (1597) (STC 19735.8 and STC 19741) was 'answered' by William Bishop (note 20).
- 22 Robert Abbot (1560-1617), brother to George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was Bishop of Salisbury. For his defence of the writings of William Perkins (note 21) see A Defence of the Reformed Catholike of M W Perkins against ... D.Bishop: STC 48, 49, 50.5.
- 23 'Archpriest' was the title given to the superior appointed by the Pope to govern the secular priests sent to England

from foreign seminaries between 1598 and 1621. The appointment of Dr Bishop as head of the English Catholics was 'strongly opposed by the Jesuits'. See SPV 1623-1625, note 130, p 103.

- 24 See note 17 for the Elector Palatine's departure from The Hague. Frederick had no intention of signing the articles of the agreement (see Letter 91, n 15). '... he would rather go and beg his bread'. See SPV 1623-1625, note 61, p 45.

However, he was to sign them later in the year after a further defeat of his allies.

- 25 On the Archduchess Isabella see Letter 31, note 10. On the truce see Letter 91, note 15.

- 26 On Frederick's destination see note 17.

For the full text of the Elector Palatine's reply sent to King James on the articles of the Armistice agreement see SPV 1623-1625, notes 66 and 67, pp 48-49. The copy was enclosed in a dispatch from the Netherlands to Venice.

- 27 Diverse reports were current about the Elector of Saxony's response to Brunswick's request for permission to march through Saxony. That permission was granted was confirmed from Leipzig and denied from Dresden. See Newsbook 38 (i), p 10: STC 18507.117.

Letters to England indicated that permission was refused (see 1 July 1623, Nethersole to Calvert, quoted in Gardiner, History v.77). In any case, Christian crossed the borders of Saxony (see note 8) and news from Frankford 8 June 1623 indicated that he did so three days before his ambassador was granted an audience with Saxony.

- 28 On William Morton of Morton (Moreton) (1577-1655) see

Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees 1663, p 85.

John Morton (Christ's 1614-d.1639), William's son, lived at Little Morton, Cheshire. He perhaps had been Mead's pupil but he is not mentioned in Mead's tutor books. See Peile, Register i.296.

Peter Morton, John's brother, entered Christ's College in 1619. See Peile, Register i.329.

[11 July 1623]

Sir,

What probable interpretation the Hussitish Watch may have for this yeare,¹ will appeare perhaps by the time that I shalbe at Dalham, which time I shall [---] more certainly designe by my next. The Sword hath stood long drawne in the North.²

Bavaria, it should seeme by the book I send, feares dead heads 5
in the South, in that he fortifies so much as his owne Court of Munchen, as though he feared a siege at his owne Castle.³ The Valteline busines not farre from thence may perhaps [---] make good, the Southes interpretation also. What is feared in Bohemia you may understand, by the large offers the Emperour 10
makes to Bethlem Gabor*.⁵ What shall betide F*⁶ in the weste God knowes, and it may be we shall, before the next Spring: But now I come to our letters the last Saturday, as followeth

London July 4th

For the Spanish busines things seeme still farre of. On 15
Saturday at ten in the forenoone, as our Fleet passed by Dover towards Portsmouth, there to revictuall, arrived there a gentleman of the Princes privy Chamber from Spaine, who sayd (either in truth or in jest to content the people) that the Prince would be here, before the Fleet could be in Spaine. and 20
wagers are layd here of his returne hither this month.⁷

Thare was, as is sayd, a Commission granted⁸ unto the Lord Duke,⁹ Marquess Hammliton,¹⁰ Lord Treasurer,¹¹ the Earle Marshall,¹² the Lord Chamberlaine,¹³ and Mr Secretary Calvert¹⁴ to treat with the two Spanish Ambassadors,¹⁵ a 25

Vicount,¹⁶ a Fryar¹⁷ and the Archduchesses Agent:¹⁸ but tis sayd, they excused it, not having power to treat with any besides his Majestie: whereupon last week, they sent their Post Rives¹⁹ toward Spaine for other instructions and more ample authority.

Here is nothing this week in the French letters. The 30
German letters shew that some of this Summers hopes are shed in the blossomes: in that Saxony* is turned to the Emperour againe, though not to be against the Princes,²⁰ and was in lieu thereof to receive our 16 June investiture to the Country of Lusatia and title of Prince of the same to himselfe and heires 35
male; and sayd, he hath drawne Brandenburg to be neutrall also.²¹

That the Emperour also offers unto Gab: Bethlem* a good, if not most part of Hungary;²² and like wise free pardon and great rewards and immunities to the Marquess of Yagerndorfe,²³ the 40
Count of Thurne²⁴ and those with them, to desist from armes: But twas hoped, they would not hearken unto it, as Brunswick* did not; who, though Saxony* denyed him passage through his Country, yet, resolved our 16 of June to march with full 28/000 men, to joyne with 12/000 more in Hessen,²⁵ and goe to seek 45
Tilly*,²⁶ who hath much ruined a part of Maurice the Lantgraves Country,²⁷ and was sayd to be removed into the Duke of Weymar Saxons lands.²⁸

Mansfeild* hath received 8/000 French foot, expects 600 French horse²⁹ commanded by de Vitres and Lavie:³⁰ Himselfe, is 50
sayd, meanwhile to be come to the Hague, there to take his oath and conferre with the Prince of Orange*,³¹ and afterwards to march.

The King of Bohemia* is also returned to the Hague; but will not come in to the 15 monthes treaty; partly for that by 55

the former treaties he hath lost; all he had, and partly for that he cannot do it unlesse he renounce the titles of King of Bohemia, and Prince Elector Palatine; which he [---] intends not to relinquish.³²

The Spanish forces gather head about Mastricht, and have such provisions, as if they ment to besiege one place or other: and are now encouraged; it being confirmed from all parts, that the West-Indian plate fleet is returned into Spaine.³³ 60

This day sennight was a conference begun at Sir Humfrey Lynes³⁴ in Shere Lane nere Temple-barre, where were many present of quality and some of honour. It began betweene Dr Featly³⁵ and Jesuite Fisher,³⁶ held 5 houres, but Fisher would not answer one argument. Dr Featly was to shew where our church was before Luther etc.³⁷ Fisher was wholly confounded, as well as confuted. Dr White³⁸ should have followed to prove the Pope not Head of the Church against Jesuite Sweet³⁹ but the Jesuites could not by any meanes be brought to buckle with him, although before they had given out, he durst not dispute with them: It should by consent have held today againe; but on Wednesday, it was from his Majestie for a while to be forborne.⁴⁰ Sir Georg Peter⁴¹ came in with the Jesuites to countenance them. 65 70 75

Sir, I have bin at Lofts this week at Sir John Meades,⁴² there to meet Mistris Corbet⁴³ the elder and Sir John Corbet⁴⁴ new Baronet and his Lady:⁴⁵ which the mother hath bin secretly working a good while and with much adoe, and in a manner without her sons knowledg, and now at length against all opposition compassed; to confront the Papists who caused him to be put out of Commission etc. etc.⁴⁶ 80

If I had time, I would have made some observations about this offer of Lusatia to Saxony,* and the supposed acceptance 85

etc.⁴⁷ These reasons might deterre him from acceptance;⁴⁸

1 It is an incorporat province of Bohemia: If that
Kingdome be elective, how can the Emperour passe it
for ever [--- ---] to Saxony and his heires, having 90
himselſe but title for life.^a

2 If the Kingdome be hereditary, yet how could he
alienate a member thereof, without a Parliament and
consent of the States etc.^b

3 Seeing Lusatia upper and Lower as 2 States hath 2 95
voices in the election of the King of Bohemia; how
will this Election be ordred henceforth.^c

4 If the Emperour shall hereafter by collusion suffer an
action against himselſe for passing it without power
so to do, and it be adjudged a nullity how will Saxony 100
mend himselſe.^d 49

What the Emperour may aime at in this action⁵⁰

1 To make Saxony forsake the party of his owne religion
for a private advantage and so to become hated of
them, which may be of consequence to change his 105
religion in time.ⁱ

2 To make Saxony to be alwayes in jealousy of the Prince
Palatines restitution to Bohemia least thereby this
guift might prove a nullity.ⁱⁱ

3 To ingage Saxony to maintaine and favour the Emperours 110
claime, under pretence of Conquest to be absolute King
of Bohemia, and so to dispose of all things as he
lists. for by this right or none will this donation be
good.ⁱⁱⁱ 51

We talk here much of a toleration caused by the King to be 115

propounded at Counsell Table,⁵² where all voices were against it, and the Judges being sent to by the Counsell, gave answer that the King could not do it by the Lawes and priviledges of the Kingdome. which being related to the King by the Bishop of Canterbury⁵³ he swore bitterly, and asked How he should gett 120 his Son home againe? etc.

In hast with my respect

Christ Colledg

Yours to command

July 11

Joseph Mead

I send you a book.⁵⁴

125

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'time' inserted above line with caret.

Line 89. 'it' inserted above line.

Line 90. 'to Saxony' inserted above line over deletion.

Line 109. In MS: 'this [---] might guift might'.

Line 113. In MS: 'this rather than or none': 'right' inserted above deletion.

Notes

- 1 The 'Hussitish Watch' - perhaps a periodical almanac.
- 2 The reference is probably to King Christian IV of Denmark (see Biographical Index). He had already loaned money for the defence of the Palatinate and was now expected to take an active role in the war.
- 3 On Maximilian of Bavaria see Letter 27, note 15.
- 4 For the Valtelline see Appendix 5.
- 5 The 'large offers' to Bethlen Gabor were intended to draw him away from the defence of the Protestants in Bohemia. The Emperor offered him territories in Hungary to no avail. See Newsbook 38 (i), pp 2, 8. STC: 18507.117. Bethlen was of the opinion that the agreement of the Peace of Nikolsburg of 1622 had not been adhered to by the Emperor.

- 6 The reference is to Frederick, Elector Palatine. See Biographical Index.
- 7 The Prince (Charles) did not return to England from Spain until October 5 1623.
- 8 Commissioners were appointed to advise James on his response to the proposed alterations of the Spanish conditions for the marriage. Further concessions required by Spain were added by a junta of theologians. For the original and amended conditions see Letter 88, note 5.
- 9 On Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox see Letter 11, note 3.
- 10 On the Marquis of Hamilton see Letter 31, note 5.
- 11 On Lord Treasurer Cranfield see Letter 26, note 12.
- 12 On the Earl of Arundel see Letter 11, note 5.
- 13 On the Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Pembroke, see Letter 11, note 4.
- 14 On Secretary Calvert see Letter 2, note 20.
- 15 The two Spanish ambassadors were Don Coloma, (see Letter 45, note 7) and the Marquis of Inojosa, ambassador extraordinary to England. See Letter 92, note 1.
- 16 The Viscount was perhaps Don Francisco Carondelet, secretary to the Marquis of Inojosa. See SPD 1623-1625, n 38, p 28 and John Hacket, Memoirs of the Life of Archbishop Williams, (abridged edition, London 1715), p 71.
- 17 The Friar was Fray Diego de Lafuente (known as Padre Maestro), confessor to Gondomar in England from 1618-1620. See ibid.
See also Chamberlain, Letters ii.p 549, footnote, for identification of Padre Maestro.
- 18 John Baptista Van Male, a visitor to Cambridge in February 1623, known as the Archduchess's agent, had evidently

remained in England. A pass was issued to 'the agent from the Infanta at Brussels' for his return home. See APC June 1623-March 1625, p 70.

19 Rives is not identified.

20 The Elector of Saxony was organising a series of meetings with Protestant Princes (see Letter 94, note 6). The Elector wavered between loyalty to the Emperor and support for German Protestantism. He attempted to safeguard his own territories by his neutral stance.

On his earlier apparent turning from the Emperor after the Regensburg Assembly see Letter 72, notes 6 and 7.

21 The administration of Upper and Lower Lusatia was already in the hands of the Duke of Saxony see Newsbook 7 (ii), p 7: STC 18507.89. Certain towns had been sequestered to him for reimbursement of his expenses in occupying Lusatia for the Emperor in 1620 (see further, Appendix 2). It was thought that Saxony's acceptance of the sovereignty of the country would not endanger his neutrality. 'He is no more engaged to the Emperor then he was before.... we heare no more .. then he stands neutrall upon his own guard'. Newsbook 40 (i), p 3: STC 18507.119.

22 See note 5.

23 On Jägerndorf see Letter 35, note 18.

24 On Heinrich Matthias, Count of Thurn, see Letter 69, note 14. Jägerndorf and Thurn were offered the Imperial pardon on condition of their laying down their arms. Both refused the offer.

25 On ^{the Duke of} Saxony's refusal to allow Christian of Brunswick through his territory, see Letter 94, note 27. On Brunswick's entering Saxony see Letter 94, note 8.

- 26 Tilly advanced into the territory of Hesse-Cassel, then into Brunswick in the Lower Saxon Circle in pursuit of Christian of Brunswick.
- 27 On Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel see Letter 3, note 16. On Tilly in Hesse-Cassel see Letter 94, note 7.
- 28 John Ernest (1594-1626), Duke of Weimar-Saxony, was a Calvinist, a supporter of the Elector Palatine. Tilly requested leave of the Elector of Saxony to quarter his troops in Weimar. The request was refused.
- 29 In April 1623, France authorised a levy by the Dutch for 3000 infantrymen to join forces with Mansfeld. In June 4000 men left France to go to Holland. See Villermont, Ernest de Mansfeld ii.134 and Newsbook 33 (i), p 13: STC 18507.112. France and the Netherlands intended to hinder the territorial ambitions of the Spanish Habsburgs.
- 30 Nicolas de l'Hospital (1581-1644), Marquis (later Duke) of Vitry, was Captain of the Guards of Louis XIII. He was created a Marshal of France in 1617. See Biographie Universelle.
- 31 Mansfeld was not at The Hague. His movements were subject to surmise in the newsletters. See Newsbook 38 (i), p 17 and Newsbook 39 (i), p 13: STC 18507.117 and STC 18507.118. By 30 June/10 July 1623 Mansfeld had left Emden and was marching towards Meppen.
- 32 On the Treaty for Suspension of Arms see Letter 91, note 15.
- 33 Spanish troops of horse were gathered about Maastricht and gave rise to uncertainty about Spínola's intentions. See Newsbook 42 (i), p 34; STC 18507.121. On the return of the Spanish Plate Fleet see Letter 91, note 17.

34 Sir Humfrey Lynes (Lynde) (1579-1636), later Member of Parliament for Brecknock, was a puritan. The public conference (on Protestantism and Roman Catholicism) was held at his home at the desire of his friend, Edward Buggs, who had been troubled by some Catholic arguments. After the debate 'Mr. Buggs ... rested fully satisfied and confirmed in the [Protestant] Truth'.

See Wilson, History of Great Britain, i.240.

35 Daniel Featly (Fairclough) (1582-1645), a theological writer, was at one time chaplain to the English ambassador in Paris, later domestic chaplain to Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury. In Paris he engaged in theological disputes with Jesuits and continued the practice on his return to England. See Athenae Oxonienses.iii.156 ff. Featly wrote two accounts of the 1623 debate; The Fisher Caught in his owne Net etc (referred to below as The Fisher): STC 10732; The Romish Fisher etc. or A True Relation of the Protestant Conference: STC 10738.

36 On John Fisher see letter 51, note 12. The question: 'Where was the Protestant Church before Luther?'

37 Sir Humfrey Lynes was first to set out the argument (in answer to John Fisher) showing where the Protestant Church was before Luther. See The Fisher, p 2.

Dr Featly commented at a further meeting on 27 June 1623 that the answer to the question required 'rather an Historicall large Volume then a Syllogical briefe dispute'.

38 On Dr Francis White see Letter 51, note 12.

39 Jesuit Sweet was 'A Jesuit well-knowne lodging at the upper end of Holbourn'. See John Gee, 'A Catalogue of Popish Priests' in A Foot out of the Snare, (1624).

- 40 It was his Majesty's pleasure 'that the truth of the late Conference should be certified to his Majestie and further meetings staid'. The Fisher, p 26.
- 41 Sir George Peter appears to have been a pro-Spanish Catholic. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.577.
- 42 Wendon Lofts, Essex, was the home of Sir John Meade (d.1638), cousin to Joseph Mead. John Meade married Catherine Corbett of Sprowston. See Visitation of Essex 1634 and Venn, Alumni.
- 43 Mistress Corbet the elder was presumably the mother of John Meade's wife, Catherine.
- 44 Sir John Corbet, of Sprowston, Norfolk (1591-1628), later Member of Parliament for Norfolk, was created a Baronet in 1623. He was brother to Catherine, wife of Sir John Meade. Complete Baronetage, i.219.
- 45 Anne Capell of Hadham, Hertfordshire (d.between September 1624 and Feb 1624/25) was the wife of John Corbet (note 44). See ibid.
- 46 This evidently refers to some local rivalry. There had been talk of debarring Puritans from being Justices of the Peace. 'There is a speech that all puritan justices of peace should be put off the commission'. See Yonge, Diary, (1621-1622), p 50. See also Letter 30, note 23 for reductions in the size of the commission.
- 47 See note 21.
- 48 Mead's points concerning Saxony's possible doubts about accepting Lusatia from the Emperor are all valid.
- 49 a Lusatia was an incorporate province of Bohemia. If Bohemia was an elective monarchical state, Lusatia was subject to the control of the elected king.

Therefore, it could be passed to Saxony only for the lifetime of the present king.

- b Lusatia was part of the Bohemian confederation by consent.

If the Bohemian crown were legally hereditary, it was not in the power of the king to dispose of part of his heirs' inheritance (i.e Lusatia) without the consent of the Federation.

- c The amalgamation of Upper and Lower Lusatia under the Elector of Saxony would reduce the number of votes of the confederate provinces of Bohemia in the election of their king.

- d Should the Electoral College of the Empire rule that the Emperor's transfer of Lusatia to Saxony was illegal, the Elector would forfeit his gift.

50 The Emperor was the legal king of Bohemia and therefore the ruler of Lusatia. His aims were:

- 51 i To bribe Saxony to announce publicly his change of religion to Roman Catholicism thus stirring up the disaffection of his subjects and causing a genuine (if expedient) change by Saxony;
- ii To persuade Saxony that should Frederick be established as King of Bohemia (of which Lusatia was a confederate part) Saxony would forfeit Lusatia and, therefore, it was in his own interest to aid the Emperor in keeping Frederick out of Bohemia;
- iii To encourage Saxony to support the Emperor's claim to Bohemia. Otherwise the Emperor's gift of Lusatia to Saxony would be illegal and null.

52 Toleration of Roman Catholicism in England was one of the

new concessions demanded by Spain in the negotiations for the match (see note 8). Toleration was considered dangerous by certain of the Privy Council. It was alleged that whereas the Protestant religion was compatible with 'the politick laws of any State', Roman Catholicism 'acknowledging a Supremacy in another... makes Papists intolerable in a Protestant Commonwealth'. See Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 237-238.

53 On George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury see Letter 3, note 33.

54 The 'book', perhaps a newsbook, is not identified.

[18 July 1623]

Sir,

This will [--] I think be the last time of my writing till I returne from my journey, unless I chance to leave this weeks newes to be sent after I am gone.¹

We intend to sett forth on Thursday; I shall hardly gett to Cambridg againe till the 16 day of August, If I goe my Chesshire journey. If I come home safe that Saturday you are like to heare from me to be at Dalham on Sunday August 19. If my Chesshire journey can be avoided I come sooner.² The reason why I would avoyd it is for a promise I have bin forced newly to make to go to Sir Hamond Stranges³, with all Sprouston families⁴ which I shall want time to do, If I stay long northward.

Mr Preston⁵ was yesterday created Doctor in the Regenthouse by Mandate from the King. They say he is to go with my Lord Belfast into Germany.⁶

They talk much of a prodigie of 3 Sunnes encircled in a rainebow seene the 14 of June at Garterlemore in Yorkshire and 20 miles about for 3 howere, together in the morning.⁷

Other newes I know of none but what you have heard. I send you a book and letter newes at the end thereof, wherein you shall find mention of a Comet⁺, but it is gone by this time. I heard it confirmed by others but it was but small, they say, and

+ by Mr. Bost.

with a short taile. I had not the luck to see it.

25

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest

July 18

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 19. 'have' inserted above line with caret.

Notes.

- 1 Mead incorporated news received on 19 July 1623 into his letter of 23 July 1623 (see Letter 97).
- 2 See postscript to Letter 94.
Mead confuses dates in August. 16 August 1623 was a Saturday; 18 August 1623 was Monday.
- 3 Sir Hamon Lestrange of Norfolk (admitted Queens' 1601), M.P. for Norfolk 1620/22, was the father of Hamon Lestrange, admitted to Christ's College in 1623. See Venn, Alumni.
- 4 On the Sprouston families see Letter 95, notes 43-45.
- 5 On John Preston see Letter 60, note 1. He had flattered and impressed the King in a debate held at Cambridge in 1615. The King ordered the University to confer the degree of Doctor on John Preston 'who goes with Lord Chichester to Germany' because he was 'wishful to favour him'. See SPD 1623-1625, n 110, p 18 and SPD 1623-1625, n 111, p 19.
- 6 On Arthur, Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4.
- 7 For similar astronomical phenomena of 1622 see Letters 35, 36, 38, 43.

[23 July 1623]

Sir,

I am yet at Cambridge but my horse is come, Howsoever[sic]
I go not till thursday morning early. Last Saturdays newes
from London was this

London July 18

On tuesday evening, from halfe an houre after 5 till 10 5
(save that there was between 7 and 8 three quarters of an hour
intermission) was the dreadfulest Tempest of raine lightening
and thunder, with terrible cracks, that ever I heard. Much
hurt is done by it, some slaine, some houses overthrowne, one
in Garden-Lane by King Street at Westminster; halfe the next 10
house to it taken away; within which sate a woman spinning, who
had no hurt, but hir wheele broken all to shivers. And the top
vane over St.James his gate with the Princes Armes on it all
writhen strangely, cast downe, the lead of the turret it stood
on all ript, and none of the other Vanes touched: The thunder 15
bolt was found on the Tower toppe.¹

This was the night before the great Counsell day at
Theobalds, [---] where [---] 17 of the Counsell mett² (going
thither a litle before this Tempest) but the Earle of Arundell³
was absent, being gone to meet his Lady (who in her returne 20
from Italy visited the Queene of Bohemia*.⁴ They sate from 11
till [---] 5; supposed to be about a Toleration, or rather not
executing the lawes against Papists; and what his Majestie is
to sweare unto in the Chappell next Lords day, to the Spanish
Ambassadors, before the feasting of them.⁵ What was done can 25

not be heard; onely divers of their countenances were noted to seeme much dejected, when they came forth. God yet dispose of all things for the best.

On Wednesday at the Barmuda Court⁶ Sir Edwin Sands* fell foule upon the Earle of Warwick:⁷ the Lord Candish⁸ seconded Sands,* and the Earle told the Lord by his favour, he beleaved he lyed. Hereupon it is sayd they rid out yesterday and ~~its~~ thought gone beyond Sea to fight. I wish they may be stayd⁺⁹. 30

It is sayd the Prince wrot to the Lord Duke,¹⁰ to be a meanes, to further the dispatching of the last weekes messenger Master Grimes,¹¹ who should no sooner arrive at Madrid then his Highnes would be ready to put foot in stirrup homewards. 35

Here is not any certainty of the French, Lowcountries and Germaine affaires; but expected by the first easterly wind to heare from them.⁺⁺ 40

Cambridge July 23

I am yet at home, and we [---] are all broken a pieces, and [---] the great journey like to come to nothing. For everybody hath his severall ends and conveniences which marres all the hoped content of our journey. If I can swallow, (as I am about it,) the imputation of discourtesie, in sending the horse emptie back, which upon my yeelding to goe, came so many miles for me, I will not goe att all: let the rest go if they will without me. If I goe not, you shall heare from me on Saturday for a horse to come to Dalham on munday. If I write not then you may suppose I am gone. Yet I have 2 houres to deliberate before I resolve. 45 50

+ It is sayd, there went out many posts after them.

++ Christ Colledg, July 22

Mr Dow¹² who came from London last night to go with us but
will not. telles me. 55

That letters came on Saturday at night from Magdeburg and
places thereabout dated July 5 and the 7. which affirme for
certaine, that which before there was some rumours of That
Brunswick* drawing neere to Tillies* Army and having sent by 60
trumpet to bid him battaile,¹³ Tillie perceiving his
resolution, and that himselfe was not able to encounter him,
made a retrait, which Brunswick having notice of, by an
Ambuscado¹⁴ cutt of some of his hinder quarters, slew 1500; as
many more either for love or feare revoulted to Brunswicks side 65
and 150 waggons laden with provision were taken,¹⁵ The busie
Grave of Holstein¹⁶ fell amongst the slayne, and the Duke
Saxen-Lawenburg¹⁷ hardly saved his life by flight. This was
related to him by the gentleman who had the letters and
confirmed by others.¹⁸ 70

That at the time of the great tempestuous storme on
tuesday, there fell wonderfull great hailestones in two or mo
severall places in Kent of the bignes some of them of tennis
Balles, as a gentleman affirmed to him who saw them. but I
beleeve not they were all so big. Fame will enlarge great 75
matters.

The Lords of the Counsell almost all save some 2 or 3.
stand stiffly against the proposition of a tolleration. My
Lord of Canterbury, affirmed, that he would loose his life
rather then ever give consent to it. Then the King was angrie 80
and sayd their obstinacie would make him do worse etc.¹⁹

I cannot learne what the King swore on Sunday to the
Spanish Ambassadors. some say he swore to do his best to
procure a disanulling of the Lawes against Papists by Act of

Parliament, some otherwise.²⁰

85

It is constantly reported, That the Colledg of English
Seminaries at Doway is broken up and all come into England
hoping to settle here.²¹ But God I hope will disease them.

There is talk of the Princes sending messages for
provisions for his hunting, when he returnes, as though he
would be heare before Winter. But some think they know the
meaning of such reports, and have but litle confidence in
them.²²

90

Mr Wren²³ is sayd to write, to the Vice-Chancellor that
their song in Spaine is Wo is me, that I am con[] to dwell
in Mesech and have my habitation in the tent [] Kedar etc,²⁴
but forbeares, to write any particul[] but intimates, that all
is not as should be.

95

Thus againe I take my leave,

Cambridg July 23.

100

I send you a book. Number July 18.²⁵

We are about to resolve for the first part of our journey
to Lincolne, and almost agreed: but I know not whether I and my
Companion shalbe for Chesshire. I doubt we shall not, nothing
will tempt us, but the Devilles etc. and Elden hole in the Peak.
but I see no great force in them.

105

Textual Notes.

Lines 21-22. In MS: 'till five 5'.

Line 24. In MS: 'Chappell near Lords': 'next' inserted
above deletion.

Line 42. 'are' inserted above deletion.

Line 42-43. 'and the the'.

Line 51. 'may' inserted above line with caret.

Line 55. 'last night' inserted above line with caret.

Line 62. In MS: 'and that was himselfe'.

Line 71. 'or mo' inserted at edge of leaf with caret.

Line 83. In MS: 'best ~~for~~ to procure'.
Line 92. In MS: 'reports & ~~give~~ have'.
Lines 95-97. MS torn and patched at corner: 95-presumably
'constrained'; 96-'of'; 97-'particulars'.
Line 104. In MS: I doubt ~~I~~ shall not': 'we' inserted above '~~I~~'.
Notes

- 1 The storm damage of 15 July 1623 is confirmed elsewhere.
See 26 July 1623, Chamberlain, Letters ii.509.
- 2 For a reference to the meeting of members of the Council on
16 July 1623 see ibid. Chamberlain, however, suggests that
twenty-nine members of the Council were present.
- 3 On the Earl of Arundel see Letter 11, note 5.
- 4 Alethea Howard (d 1654), daughter of the Earl of
Shrewsbury, married Arundel in 1606. See Complete Peerage.
- 5 For the proposals in the Spanish marriage articles
concerning 'Toleration' of the private practice of Roman
Catholicism and the annulling by Parliament of laws against
Catholics see Rushworth, Historical Collections i.86-88.
The King and those of the Council who signed the articles
were to swear privately that the favours granted to the
Catholics would never be withdrawn. Gardiner, History v.50.
- 6 A Great Court was held quarterly upon the last Wenesday of
every legal term - in this case, Trinity - to deal with
legal proceedings of the Bermudas or Somers Islands:
Ordinary Courts were held fortnightly. See J.H.Lefroy,
Memorials of the ... Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515-1685,
2vols., (Univ.of Toronto, 1981), pp 182-268.
- 7 On the Earl of Warwick see Letter 87, note 13.
- 8 William Cavendish (1590-1628), Earl of Devonshire, was
involved with the colonisation of the Bermudas. See
Complete Peerage.

- 9 Orders were sent out for the searching of all ports to prevent Warwick and Cavendish from going overseas. See 17 July 1623, APC June 1623-March 1625, p 59.
- 10 On the Lord Duke, see Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, Letter 11, note 3.
- 11 Mr Grimes was a gentleman of the horse to the Duke of Buckingham. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.507.
- 12 Mr Christopher Dow(e), later Doctor, Christ's College 1613, was incorporated at Oxford in 1621. Venn, Alumni.
- 13 Trumpet: a trumpeter (OED/4a).
Three trumpets were sent to Tilly's camp from the Landgrave Maurice of Hessen, from Ulrick, son of Christian IV of Denmark and from Christian of Brunswick. See Newsbook 40 (i), p 9: STC 18507.119. Brunswick advanced towards Tilly with 21000 foot and 7000 horse. See ibid p 18.
- 14 Ambuscado, a quasi-Spanish form of Ambuscade, 'ambush' (OED archaic).
- 15 For an account of Brunswick's successful ambush See Newsbook 41 (i), p 14; STC 18507.120 and Newsbook 42 (i), p 17; STC 18507.121. Numbers of dead from Tilly's forces are given as 700, prisoners 400 and the number of waggons captured as 160. Tilly's loss was put at 4000 with an admission that the figure was unlikely unless Brunswick had further support; Newsbook 40 (i), p 17: STC 18507.119.
- 16 Perhaps a reference to Landgrave Aldoph of Holstein/Schaumberg. Adolphus, known as Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, adjutant-general to General Tilly of the Catholic League, died in 1631. Adolphus was related to Christian IV of Denmark (who also claimed part of Holstein as his Dukedom) but alienated from him and the Protestant

cause by Christian's territorial ambitions in Holstein.

- 17 Franz Albrecht (1598-1642), Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, served the Elector Palatine until 1620. He changed his allegiance and served in the Imperial army from 1620-1632.

Troops of horse of Holstein and Saxe-Lauenburg were with Tilly's army.

- 18 See Newsbooks 40 (i), 41 (i), 42 (i); STC 18507.119, 120,121.

- 19 For the opinions of Council members about the oath for toleration of Catholicism see Gardiner, History v.68.

James himself objected strongly to the engagement that the penal laws against Catholics should never be re-imposed (see note 5) but he believed that if the articles were rejected the Prince of Wales would never be allowed to leave Spain. Gardiner, History v.64.

- 20 See note 5. The King swore to the public articles of the marriage treaty with Spain. Chamberlain, Letters ii.510.

- 21 The English seminary at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands was a college for the education of English Roman Catholic priests. The reports of the breakdown of the college were untrue.

- 22 The Prince returned to England from Spain in October 1623.

- 23 On Matthew Wren see Letter 4, note 3.

- 24 Psalms.120.v. 'A Song of Degrees'.

- 25 The 'book' of July 18 is Newsbook 40 (i); STC 18507.119.

[16 August 1623]

Sir,

I thank God I am gotten to Cambridge againe. My journey
 forward, to Stamford, to Lincolne, to Newark, to Darby through
 Nottingham thence to Buxton in the Peak where I cropt into
 Pool-hole; washt my selfe in the bath, drunk of St Annes Well,
 put one finger into very hot water another of the same hand 5
 into chill-cold at the same instant, in a fountaine by. thence
 to Castleton in Peak forrest neere which I saw Elden hole or
 Pitt whose depth for any thing I know, may go to Hell. I flung
 a great stone into it, but never heard it come to bottome etc.
 [—] Some mile further I ascended Mam-torre the highest and 10
 steepest rock in the Peak, then at Castleton townes end with a
 candle in my hand went to see the Devills Arse and entred into
 it as far as the first river. the mouth is a stately arch of
 natures making between 50 or 60 yards from side to side within
 which many poore people have erected boothes and dwell there. 15
 Thence clambring over mightie hilles in 7 houres I rode but 12
 mile to the Buttonmakers of Makesfeild in the edge of Cheshire
 [— —] where I payd for oates 16d a peck. thence next
 morning to Mr Mortons of Morton,¹ dined at Mr Rhodes of Rhode.
 his son in law,² after a dayes rest rode to Sir Will Briertons 20
 of Brierton,³ where I compassed (Mr Morton being my guide)
 Bagmere where is the floting Island, and blocks that rise at
 certaine times etc. From Chesshire I came homeward to Repton
 in Darbshire passing through Staffordshire; thence to
 Leycester, Harbrough, and so home, on Thursday at night; having 25
 beene out 22 dayes, and but 8 of them out of the saddle. so that

I am very faint and weary. Yet desire to refresh my selfe at Dalham on Munday⁶; if you please to send H Law* with an horse.

For newes, Dr Chadderton⁴ hath bin absent ever since I went, and so Dr Meddus* hath not written all this time. I doubt not but you have heard of the successe of Brunswick* against Tilley* retraitsing,⁵ where were lost one way or other on Tillies part 6000 men at least, and Brunswick* besides held the whole army of Tilley at such a bay, that he could hardly have escaped, without releife of more forces.⁶

But now the case is unexpectedly altered. For the Princes of the Lower Saxony, fearing either the Emperours displeasure or as they pretended, the settling of the warre in those parts, required Brunswick* to come of from Tilley*, and carrie his army some whither else, urging him with the love of his Countrey, and telling him that he had won honour enough etc and that themselves would nevertheless persist constant on behalfe of his cosens rightfull quarrell and hoped by more peaceable meanes to effect what they wished etc.⁷ Brunswick would have gone upward to meet with the forces coming from Bohemia, but the Princes would not suffer him. Whereupon he sends to the Prince of Orange* to be entertained, and to Mansfeild* to second him, and presently marched that way, Tilly* and Anholt⁸ etc. following after, ^{him} with what speed they could; When he came within a days march of Mansfeild, yet fearing he was not ready enough to second him, he turned toward Arnheim and Rees, and being come within some 6 houres march of the States Provinces. he sent Kniphousen⁹ to keep a passage, who either through cowardise or treachery as some say, hearing that Tilly* advanced, fell to plaine flight, not so much as throwing downe the bridge after him, to have stopped Tilley*. Which the rest of the armie

perceiving, and amased at, fell to rout ~~and~~. flight too, do what
the Commandors could to stay them.¹⁰ Brunswick* himselfe
arrived at Arnhem with 12/000. Next day after the rest coming
he mustered there 18/000 foot and 6000 horse.¹¹ It is now 60
affirmed there were but some 15 or 1200 slayne of such as
Tilly* could overtake. There was a noise at first of 15
thousand, then of 10/000, and that all his ordenance was taken.
but it is cryed downe, and written directly that his losse of
baggage and ordenance etc was litle or nothing. 65

This is all I have time, to write now. I hope on Munday to
tell you more. So with my best respect remembred I rest.

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

August 16

to be commanded

Joseph Mead

70

I pray let H Law* on Munday
remember that I have a saddle, with a pummell
of mine owne; lest he bring one with him.

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'bath ~~for~~ drunk'.

Line 19. In MS: 'Mr Rhodes of Rede Rhode'.

Line 28. In MS: 'myselfe at Dalham Dalham'

Line 45. 'have went upward': 'gone' inserted above deletion.

Line 51. In MS: 'toward Arnhem Arnheim'.

Line 55. In MS: 'asomuch as theugh throwing'.

Line 56. In MS: 'after to the him'.

Notes

1 On William Morton see Letter 94, note 28.

2 Randall Rode (1599-fl. 1628), son of Sir John Rode of
Odrode, married Elizabeth Morton, daughter of William
Norton (n 1). See Cheshire Visitation Pedigrees 1613 and
1663, pp 156, 94.

3 For Sir William Brereton (Brierton) of Brererton, Cheshire

see ibid, p 13.

- 4 On Dr Chadderton see Letter 14, note 1.
- 5 On Tilley's retreat see Letter 97, note 15.
- 6 On numbers of Tilley's men lost see ibid.
- 7 The Elector of Saxony and the Lower Saxon Circle were persuaded by letters from the Emperor that he would 'give sufficient satisfaction' for the restitution of the Palatinate. See Newsbook 44 (i), p 5: STC 18507.122. On this assurance they gave notice to Brunswick to withdraw from their territory. Their purpose was to comply better with the Emperor and remove the theatre of the war from Saxony.
- 8 On Christian of Anhalt-Bernburg see Letter 44, note 6.
- 9 Kniphuysen was a Sergeant Major-General in the army of the Prince of Orange.
- 10 On the supposed 'treachery' of Kniphuysen see Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 242-245. On the flight of Brunswick's army See Newsbook 44 (i), p 1: STC 18507.120. Kniphuysen was eventually exonerated from the charge of treachery. See Newsbook 45 (i): STC 18507.123.
- 11 Letters from Holland put numbers of survivors of Brunswick's army at 5,500 from an army of 20,000. See Gardiner, History v.78.

[13 September 1623]

Sir,

Though the Faire time¹ yet no sure opportunitie of sending
would offer it selfe all this week, till the old day came.

I send you 2 books, Corranto and Antichrist etc.² Our
written newes for 2 weekes (to putt you in order) you shall
have enclosed in this.³ Besides which I can adde nothing, but
that some say, there is a rumour at London as if our Fleet were
beaten back with the winds home againe; and the Prince if he
comes, like to come in the Spanish shippes,⁴ But how true this
is, we expect to heare today.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest.

Christ Colledg

September 13

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

I had thought to

have sent you a new

multiplying glasse⁵ in a

box, wherein you may

see a mite as big as a

sheepes louse with all her legges,

a louse like a Crevis,⁶

a flea like a yong lobster etc.

But I had no convenience

and knew not in this hast how

to describe the use of it.

Notes

- 1 On Stourbridge Fair see Letter 92, note 5.
- 2 For a copy of The True and Undoubted Newes of the Birth of Anti-Christ, by M.D.H. See Newsbook 50 (i), pp 20/21: STC 18507.129.
- 3 For '2 weeks' news' see Calendar I.100 and Calendar I.101.
- 4 The Venetian ambassador commented that the starting of the ships 'is constantly announced but never done'. See August 1623, SPV 1623-1625, note 130, p 102.
- 5 A 'multiplying glass' is a magnifying glass (OED 1).
- 6 'Crevis' is an obsolete written form of 'crayfish' (OED).

[20 September 1623]

Sir,

I shall not need tell you of what I suppose you have had some litle experience of as well as we, concerning the report of the Princes arrivall.¹ Sir Rob. Chester at Rayston² caused many bonefires to be made thereabouts, the belles to be rung, yea there was a Sermon preached etc. and all as they say upon the report of a Post passing through the Towne, to carrie (as he sayd) the newes to Scotland etc. but his newes was a lye.

5

We had at faire wagers layd: and the confident part could shew ballads of his arrivall, to the tune of Now Iet us to the warres againe. But all could not do, to make the report true. Yesternight a freind of mine a Minister, within some mile of Harbrough,³ came to Towne for no other end, but to know whether the report were true, and tells me that my Lord Montague,⁴ and by his example, most of the gentlemen in that part of the Countrie which is toward Kettering and Harbrough made bonefires for joy themselves, and caused others to do the like, and the belles to be rung in most Townes thereabouts, but alas, all was to no purpose, and some feare that Sir Francis Fane⁵ will go nigh to laugh at my Lords credulitie whereby he guld himselfe and others.

10

15

20

Neither can we by any meanes know the ground of this strong report. Some say that upon Thursday (September 11) a Fleet was discovered neere the shore and supposed to bring the Prince, which some hastie poast rode away with and gulled us all Court

25

and Countrie, for the Fleet by the Tempest arising on thursday
at night, was driven, God knowes whither.

One telles me this morning, that he heard by one come from
Chichester on Munday last, that at Brighthemston in Sussex or
between it and Shoreham was a Fleet of 16 great Spanish Ships
who on Friday in long boats landed some thousands of their men
upon that shore and putt the Country into a great affrightment
though pretending they were either driven thither by storme, or
flying from the Hollanders. What truth is in this, we shall
heare today and whether this fleet were an occasion of the
rumour, we shall then guesse.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest
Christ Colledg Yours most ready
September 20 to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes.

Line 21. In MS: 'and others for what I

Line 29. 'last' inserted above line with caret: In MS: Brigham
St Brighthemston'.

Line 32. 'upon that shore' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 37-40 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 The eagerly anticipated return of Prince Charles from Spain gave rise to many rumours. 'He seems ... to be expected hourly'. SPV 1623-1625, note 153, p 122.
- 2 On Sir Robert Chester (1566? - 1640?) of Roysdon (Royston?) Essex, see DNB.
- 3 Nicholas Estwicke (Eastwick) (1586?-1658), Fellow of Christ's in 1609, was Rector of Barnwell and Rector of Warkton, both in Northamptonshire.
Warkton is approximately 12 miles from Market Harborough.

See Peile, Register i.241/2.

4 On Henry Montague, see Letter 6, note 10.

5 Sir Francis Vane (Fane) (1579/80-1628/27), newly created Earl of Westmorland 1623, lived at Apethorpe. See Northamptonshire Families, p 97.

The feud between Vane and Montague was of long standing.

'There is a great controversie fallen out twixt Sir Francis Vane and the new Lord Montague, his neighbour ... The King hath taken yt into his owne handes...' 4 November 1622, Chamberlain, Letters ii.462.

Sir,

[4 October 1623]

I received nothing from London on Saturday last, but this
 Corranto onely. By the appendix at the end whereof,¹ you may
 perceive, that the newes which Sir Simon Digby² brought on
 tuesday sennight of the Princes having then bin 12 days at sea,
 was but grounded upon the Princes purpose and not upon his 5
 certaine knowledg who related it. For he parted from his
 Highnes the 10 of September being Wednesday who was then within
 a day and halfes journey of the Port, and resolved to embarque
 on friday [---] following which was September 12, and the very
 day whereon the newes was raised at London of his arrivall 10
 here.³

But a freind of mine, one of your wedding company at
 Barrow,⁴ who were met on thursday with 18 horse of the
 Bridegroomes⁵ parish, Londoners a litle on this side Ware,
 wrote to me yesterday, what was the freshest newes of the Citty, 15
 as he had learned of them, viz this.

That Sir Francis Nethersole (the Queene of Bohemias
 secretarie),⁶ was newly arrived here from Spaine, with certaine
 newes, that the Prince was imbarqued, and expected onely a
 faire wind. That he was in very great danger to have bin 20
 carried to Sea in his barge. And being with much difficultie
 gott aboard his Ship, was sent for back by the King of Spaine
 but he refused to go any more a shore: which may seeme to argue
 that the Sea was rough, and the Prince hastie to be off the
 Spanish ground. If he imbarqued on the supposed friday, it was 25
 in the midst of the storme.⁷

He writes besides That Bethlem Gabor* is 80 thousand strong, 25
 and threatens to destroy the Emperours dominions with fire and
 sword⁸, unlesse he presently deliver him those Dukedomes and
 dignities, which were promised in the last treaty, and restores
 Prince Frederick to his inheritance etc.⁹ That old Thurne¹⁰
 and Yagerndorfe¹¹ continue yet 18 thousand strong. I would 30
 these people would let us once see something done, we have
 expected long. They have yet time enough, for the latest newes
 the Corrant's bring of them reach but to the end of August at
 furthest.¹²

That Tilly* now begins to spoile the dominions of the Lower 35
 Saxon Circuit,¹³ whose Princes have written unto him a
 threatening letter unlesse he desist. But they are well enough
 served. And Souldiers glad to heare of it for their most foule
 and cowardly treachery to Brunswick* for so it is esteemed, and
 [---] wisht too that they might wade in blood without any to 40
 pitty or helpe them.¹⁴

Some say that Dr Whiting¹⁵ should preach a strange sermon
 afore the King (though the King was not himselfe at the
 hearing) and his Text Gen. 18 [---]xix. And Lots wife looked
 behind her and became a Pillar of Salt.¹⁶ 45

Of all this newes we shall I hope have by this days letters
 more punctually¹⁷ and certaine information. Here therefore
 with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest and am.

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

October 4

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

50

Textual Notes.

Line 2. . In MS: 'the end of whereof'.

Line 9. 'the' inserted above line with caret.

Line 44. 'xix' inserted above the deletion.

Notes

- 1 Mead refers to Newsbook 49 (i): STC 18507.128. For the Appendix see ibid, pp 21ff.
- 2 Sir Symon Digby was the brother of John Digby, Earl of Bristol, who was currently in Spain concerned with negotiations for the Spanish match. See under Digby, Complete Peerage, p 353.
- 3 Prince Charles arrived at Portsmouth on Sunday October 5 1623 having been seventeen days at sea (see Chamberlain, Letters ii.516); thus, he embarked on September 19 1623, one week later than anticipated by Sir Symon, if Mead's dates are correct.
- 4 The Heigham family, neighbours of Sir Martin Stuteville, lived at Barrow in Suffolk.
- 5 The bride and groom are not identified with certainty.
- 6 On Sir Francis Nethersole see Letter 36, note 12.
- 7 On Prince Charles's embarkation see note 3.
- 8 For Bethlen's threats to the Emperor and the Emperor's command that Bethlen dissolve his army of 80,000 men see 11 October 1623, Newsbook 1 (ii), p 3: STC 18507.130.
- 9 On the Nikolsburg agreement of 1622 between the Emperor and Bethlen Gabor see Letter 29, note 5.
- 10 On the Count of Thurn see Letter 69, note 14.
- 11 On Jägerndorf see Letter 35, note 18.
- 12 Newsbook 44-46 (i) report news to the end of August 1623: STC 18507.122-125.
- 13 The Empire had been divided into circles in 1512 for the purpose of military defence. The Lower Saxon Circle

comprised Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Bremen and Magdeburg.

After leaving Hesse Tilly continued northward into the Lower Saxon Circle in pursuit of Christian of Brunswick.

- 14 On Saxony's 'treachery' (his instruction to Brunswick to withdraw his forces from the Lower Saxon Circle) see Letter 98, note 7.
- 15 Dr John Whiting was the Prebend of Ealdstreet in London (1615-1625) and Rector of St. Martin Vintry. See Le Neve (ed Horn), vol i.
- 16 Genesis xix.26.
- 17 Punctually: to the point (OED/2 obs.).

[11 October 1623]

Sir,

I shall not need tell you the Prince is come and at
Royston.¹ The newes came to our ViceChancellor² Monday
forenoone, our Belles rung all that day, and the Towne made
bonefires at night. Tuesday, the belles continued ringing;
every Colledg had a speech, and one dish more at supper and
bonefires and squibbes in their Courts, the Townsmen still
continuing to warme their streets in every corner also with
bonefires, least they should not be merry when we were.
Wednesday the Universitie assembled; in the forenoone to a
gratulatorie sermon at St. Maries; in the afternoone to a
publick oration; the close at night was with bonefires.
drummes, gunnes, fireworks till past midnight all the Towne
about.³

I can tell you no more yet, for we have not received this
days letters from London, and the Court will tell us nothing.
The Prince hath gott a beard and is cheerfull; The Marquess*,
(some conceive) not so. We heare nothing of the match at all
but we are sure yet, the Infanta is not come. How the King and
the new-come-home guests greeted at their meeting it is not yet
publick, and it seemes it was performed in private. To morrow
all our Doctors and many besides of our University go to Court,
to present our book of Verses.⁴

Good Sir, let me request, you would send one of your men to
Saxam⁵ with this letter tomorrow morning. It comes from Mr
Boswell*, and should have bin delivered me on Saturday to have
given to the Bury Carrier⁶ on Tuesday. But I had it not till

Wednesday afternoone. I know not by what gentlemans fault, who
it seemes was trusted with it, but was not trustie. It may
containe some matter of moment to which an [---] answere may yet
be sent on Munday to London; if it be delivered tomorrow on
Sunday time enough.

30

Thus with my best respect I rest and am
Christ Colledg

Yours to be commanded

October 11

Joseph Mead.

35

Textual Notes.

Line 9. In MS: 'Universitie in the assembled'.

Line 26. In MS: 'on tuesday By Jek But I'.

Line 30. In MS: 'delivered on Sunday tomorrow'.

Notes

- 1 Royston, a small market town, partly in Cambridgeshire and partly in Hertfordshire, was the seat of a royal residence. On the arrival of the Prince see Letter 101, note 3.
- 2 On the vice-chancellor Dr Jerome Beale see Letter 19, note 6.
- 3 St. Mary the Great, the principal parish church in Cambridge, was used by the University for the principal proceedings of the university.
- 4 Cambridge verses: 'Gratulatio Academiae Cantabrigiensis de Serenissimi Principis redita ex Hispanii exoptatissimo etc.' in Ex Officina Cantrelli Legge Almae Matris Cantabrigiae Typographia (1623): STC 4487.
- 5 Saxham Parva in Suffolk, near Dalham, was the home of Sir John Crofts.
- 6 The Bury Carrier is a reference to the carriage service (of letters etc.) from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

[25 October 1623]

Sir,

The former week brought us nothing and the last but litle or nothing. Such as it is here followeth.

London October 17

The match againe filles us with uncertainty, some affirming and some not beleaving.¹ Howsoever, the Chappell goeth on 5
 amaine, and Denmark house is sayd to be making ready for the Prince to keep Court in.² And Letters from Madrid (shewed me yesterday) telle us that the King of Spaine hath now explained his late pragmatick Publication [---] given some toleration for the sale of our Country commodities.³ Beside they tell, as 10
 though there should be a consultation in Spaine for preparation to send the Infanta to the Sea Coast about the beginning of March; at what time (say those letters) our Princes Fleet comes againe to fetch her.⁴

Yesterdays letters from Germany peremptorily affirme, That 15
 Bethlem Gabor* is now at last in action, taking and [---] besieging Townes and Forts in Hungarie etc.⁵ For the better resisting of whom, the Emperour hath remanded Tilly* and Cordova, and some say Anholt.⁶

The Emperours Ambassador being at the Hage, the States 20
 deputed some of themselves to go to his Lodging to see his letters of credence; which they did, and made relation that the Emperour gave them not their due style and titles of Honour. Whereupon the Ambassador was dismissed without Audience.

It is sayd there is great preparations for warres in France 25
 against the next yeare, sayd to be for the reestablishment of

the Valteline and Grisons, though some are jealous least it be intended against his owne Protestants.⁷

Dr Whiting is not yet at liberty, but I hope all will end well.⁸

30

Thus London Letters

There is a book set forth of the Princes returne; wherein the Spanish courtisie is farre better then they talked when they came home with our Prince.⁹ But so many Jewells given away to one Don or other, as would make a mans hart ake to read the catalogue. And yet some conceive that some of the Dons wel deserved them, or perhaps our Prince had not been at home so soone. Every one believes that the Catalogue of Jewells is true;¹⁰ but the rest, some humme and shak head at. If all men were honest, I had sent you the book; which now I cannot though I lent it on Sunday to have it next day.

35

40

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest,

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

October 25

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 20. 'Ambassador' inserted above line with caret.

Line 25. In MS: 'great preparat preparations'.

Line 39. In MS: 'the rest they humme': 'some' inserted above deletion.

Lines 42-45 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

1 'Matters are still kept so secret that we know not what to judge of the match' (Chamberlain, Letters ii.516).

2 On the Chapel and Denmark House see Letter 91, note 11.

3 Philip IV of Spain issued an 'Order of Reformation concerning trading....to be kept throughout his Kingdome'.

The order was proclaimed with 'drummes and trumpets'. See 10 March 1622/23, Stationers' Register, iv.55.

- 4 It was believed that the Prince intended to send ships to Spain to fetch the Infanta. See SPV 1623-1625, note 184, p 143.
- 5 See 'The Proceedings of Bethlen Gabor in Hungary'; Newsbook 50: STC 18507.134.
- 6 On Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba see Letter 50, note 5. On Christian of Anhalt see Letter 44, note 6.
- 7 The warlike preparations in France were seen and feared in England to be intended against the Huguenots. The French ambassador's assurance (to the Venetian ambassador) that they were not so intended was taken to mean that the preparations were 'to keep them in obedience' through intimidation. See SPV 1623-1625, note 202, p 154. France was committed to raising troops as part of the defensive and offensive League of Lyons. See Letter 68, note 4.
- 9 On Dr John Whiting see Letter 101, note 15. He was imprisoned in October 1623 by order of the Council because his offence required 'exemplary justice'. See SPD 1623-1625, note 20, p 89. He was 'restored to his preaching' on 3 January 1623/24. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.536.
- 10 For the book on the Prince's return see STC 5024.5: The high and mighty prince Charles ... The manner of his arrivall at the Spanish court, his happy returne, 5 October 1623.
- 11 For a list of the jewels given away by the Prince in Spain. See SPV 1623-1625, note 175, p 137.

[1 November 1623]

Sir,

You see what I enclose, I onely adde to it as true as a
can learne by report, (for I have not yet my letters) the
fearfull accident at Blackfriars on Sunday last.¹

In a chappell there belonging to the French Ambassadors² 5
house⁺ were assembled to a masse or a Jesuites sermon or both a
great number of Papists; where presently the rooffe of the
chappell overwhelmed them. Fourscore and 16 are sayd to have
miserably perished besides many hurt. Many of them persons of
qualitie, some Ladies, some say 3, some more thus overwhelmed 10
and dashed in peeces. Mr Goodg³ was then preaching in his
Church⁺⁺ when the noise of the fall and the schrike of the
people so amased his hearers, that they ran out of the Church
and left him alone. The Jesuite which should have preached was
one Drewry.⁴ I dare adde no more particulars (though I have 15
heard many) till I see the Doctors letter.

Thus with my best respect I rest

Christ Colledg

November 1

Yours ever

to command

Joseph Mead.

20

+ The French Ambassador and his family were a litle before
gone out.

++ hard by.

Textual Notes

Line 1. 'as true as I' probably intended. It is unlikely
that Mead used archaic third-person 'a' in error.

Line 11. illegible delation: 'peeces' written above.

Notes

- 1 The accident at Blackfriars occurred on 26 October 1623.
See further, below (Letters 105 and 106).
- 2 Tanneguy Leveneur, Count of Tillières, was the French ambassador extraordinary to England.
- 3 William Gouge (Gough), (1574?-1653), later Dr Googe, Fellow of King's 1598-1604, was Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars from 1621-1653. See Venn, Alumni under Googe.
- 4 Robert Drury (1587-1623) spent fourteen years at the English College at Douai. In 1620 he was Rector of the College at St. Omer from whence he was sent on a mission to England. See John Stowe, Survey of London, (London 1633), p 380.

[8 November 1623]

Sir,

I send you today besides the Corranto, a double Novella, one our ordinary intelligence, the other a speciall and particular narration of the lamentable Accident at Blackfriars.¹

I have seen a two or three letters written this week since Tuesday, all constantly affirming, That at the time the Floore fell, The Preist being to speake of Gods mercy in forbearing the debts of Sinners, took us hereticks for an example whose horrible blasphemies and persecutions, sufficiently might argue the long suffering of God and here (as it seemes) by way of amplification fell into an Invective against us, not a whit forbearing to raile, where God (he thought) forbore to punish. But the particular Relation I send you, speaks no word of it or of his Sermon discourse, but onely says he was about the second point, speaking of Gods mercy, when the floore fell. And indeed the author of that Relation, as he is very accurate in every circumstance, so seemes to affect an historicall ingenuitie in relating all things so, as not any way by any speach or passage, to censure the accident, or give judgment one way or other so much as by intimation.⁺ Onely by his dating the time in the old and new style, he seemes to intimate something to be marked, if it were not added to it by another.² I know not the Author, It was sent me from Mistris Chadderton³ whom since I spake not with.

+ yet may this omission cause some doubt till we heare more

I saw a letter this week from Madrid dated September 30. which telles, that the great joy and acclamations in Spaine at our Princes first coming proceeded not onely from a delight they took, in so rare an adventure of a Prince of his quality, but from a hope they conceived of his coming to offer himselfe to be made a Catholick. But having caused many sollemne processions and other such publick ceremonies to win and allure him to a liking, when they saw no alteration at all in him or his [—] yea and that the English scarce carryed themselves reverently at these sights nor in, their Churches could conceale, the derision of the hearts, the case was much altered, and they much troubled. So that whereat at his comming all things were ready save the coming of the dispensation which was also looked for; yet they fell againe [—] into new delays out of new scruples and questions, to the Princes no small discontent, who was very eager of a Contract and dispatch and very impatient at these [—] new delays. till at length, the Junta of Divines coming to agreement, the marriage was declared.⁴ After which the Prince had often accesse to the presence of the Infanta but always in publick, and the King of Spaine present. Neverthelesse, because through the death of one Pope and sicknes of another,⁵ the dispensation came not, it was no contract, neither (saith myne author) did his Highnes seeme to desire it. Onely the King of Spaine at the parting, took an oth to some matrimoniall capitulations At which his Highnes seemed well satisfied.⁶

The author in the beginning of his letter, sayd, that some things he would relate, others put point at, and some onely intimate, having not as he sayd that freedome to write, which his freind might with more security and liberty enquire of

those who returned with the Prince. Now what intimation this first eagernes and impatience of the Prince, but after his often accesse to the Infanta, a contrary coldnes, to be content with further delays, you may try whether you can espy it. I read the letter once over (after the first time) to see where the intimation might lye, but could find none but what I have related, where the Author likewise is very quick onely speaking and no more.

60

He tells also that my Lord Digby yet treats but very closely having often accesse to the Infanta.⁷

65

That Sir Fr: Cottington⁸ is recovered not onely of his sicknes, but of his relapse.

That there is a Junta apointed to consult about the Infanta's affaires, and (saith myne author) we hope all wilbe made ready for her coming away at the Spring.⁹ The letter by the complements should be written to one of some place and it is very [---] well contrived for words, manner, and brevity.

70

This is all.⁺⁺ And so I take my leave remembring my best service to your selfe and my Lady, and am.

Christ Colledg

Yours ever to

75

November 8

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

The King we say came from Royston to Theobalds on Thursday night.

++ He tells that my Lord Marques Buckingham* and Olivares¹¹ parted very harshly, and is something long in the particulars. He tells the Prince gave the Queene the greatest Crowne-perle in the world.

80

Textual Notes.

Lines 12-13. 'it or of' inserted above line with caret.

Line 27. 'joy' inserted above line.

Line 50. 'capitulations' squeezed in at bottom of page.

Line 66. In MS: 'Mr Getting Sir Fr: Cottingham'.

Line 72. 'well' written above deletion.

Notes

- 1 For the 'ordinary intelligence' see (probably) Calendar I.106. For Mead's copy of the 'narration' of the Blackfriar's accident see Calendar I.107.
- 2 The 'narration' (note 1) is dated (according to Mead's copy) 'Anno 1623 October 26 stylo veteri; November 5 stylo novo'.

The 'intimation' is the new style date, 5 November, the date of the Gunpowder Plot.
- 3 Mistress Chadderton was presumably the widow, Cecilia, of Dr Lawrence Chadderton, on whom see Letter 14, note 1.
- 4 The theological junta pronounced its verdict on 23 May 1623. For the new strict conditions to which the English party to the Spanish match were expected to agree, see Gardiner History v.50.
- 5 Pope Gregory XV died in July 1623. The new Pope was Maffeo Barberini.
- 6 Philip IV 'swore to the articles apparantly with the intention of observing them'. SPV 1623-1625, note 147, p 116.
- 7 Sir John Digby, Earl of Bristol, remained in Spain to carry out the somewhat deceitful instructions of Prince Charles concerning the match. See Gardiner, History v.113.
- 8 On Francis Cottingham see Letter 62, note 5.

Cottingham, in Spain as a member of the Prince's party, had

become reconciled to the Roman Catholic church when he had believed himself to be dying. As soon as he began to recover he declared himself a Protestant again. See Gardiner, History v.102.

9 The junta of theologians (see note 6) had been dissolved. Another (secular) junta was appointed to treat on all things connected with the marriage. See Gardiner, History v.122.

10 See Letter 82, note 7.

[15 November 1623]

Sir,

I send you our last and a Corranto whose newes, as himselfe confesses is not very new.¹ Our old Corrantoer when he had continued a yeare and came to Number 52, gave over the trade : whereupon wanting one to marshall the newes, the Corranto and Gazetter came barely out as they were wont, with Number 1.² By the next time they had gotten a new man to take in hand the busines, whose first prooffe I sent you last Number 2.³ But he was not liked and therefore they have gotten [---] another which now I send Number 3. And I think in time he will do well.⁴

There is a book of the Blackfriars accident entitled The Fatall Vespers, which is affirmed to have bin penned by a Catholik and for want of licence was at first call'd in.⁵ When I read it, it seemed strange to me, that a Catholik should make so full a narration; yea to mention some things, which if he had left out, he could not have bin blamed as being not necessarie to a full narration: as that it was November 5th new style; that the Preacher was inveighing against the Protestants, which yet, he says he knowes not how true it is, that a Protestant minister escaped very strangely without hurt, being conducted thither by a Catholik, whom the minister in the forenoone had drawne with him to a sermon at Paules crosse; that the minister having gotten breath after his affrightment, fell among the first to pull off the timber from the rest when a yong wench of 10 yeares old comes crying unto him, O Sir, my

Father and Mother are both under the timber and slayne. The 25
minister comforting her as well as he thought her capable, That
it was the will of God and she must be patient, she replied
presently, But oh Sir, It will be a great Scandall to our
religion. Which he says and truly, was a very strange thing in
one of her age, next to the apprehension of the losse of parents, 30
to be carefull for hir religion. All these are in that book,
which at length concludes very largely with an admonition, not to
judge least we be judged and other the like.

I am told, there is another book since it which discovers
him, but I have not seene it.⁶ I understand that the strangest 35
thing in the fall is accounted the breaking of the second
floore, whereupon the upper floore being broken into 2 halfes,
and the second floore forsaking them they both turned over just
as the 2 parts of a larking net, and so overwhelmed those which
till then [---] were upon the floore and not under it. 40

On Wednesday betweene 9 and 10 at night, began a lamentable
fire at Sir Will. Cockins⁷ house upon the back side of Gresham
Colledg.⁸ When my freind took horse at the bull by
Bishopsgate⁹ at 2 a clock on Thursday afternoone, it was still
burning, though mastered. All Sir Will Cockins houses, 45
warehouses infinitely stored and rich utterly consumed, and
nothing in a manner saved, and some 30 houses more, many of them
of the richest merchants in the Citty. The blame is layd
upon Sir Will. Cockin who when the fire began, rudely forbad
and shutt out those who came to help, thinking by those of his 50
owne house to have mastered the fire, and saved his goods from
filching hands, [---] till all was undone and no man able to
come neare. The people make a judgment of God upon him, for

undoing the City as they say, but others are burnt as well as
he.¹⁰

55

Thus in hast I rest

Christ Colledg

November 15

Yours to command

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 4. 'out' inserted above line with caret.

Line 6. In MS: 'busines which I sent you whose'.

Line 15. 'had' inserted above line.

Line 37. In MS: 'upper ~~fleere~~ floore'.

Notes

- 1 Newsbook 3 (ii): STC 18507.132.
- 2 The old 'corrantoer' was Thomas Archer (see Letter 27, note 25). The numbered series of newsbooks, which he had issued with other printers since October 1622, finished in October 1623 with number 52. Archer co-operated in the production of the first newsbook of the second numbered series (11 October 1623; number 1(ii); STC 18507.130) and he then appears to have left the syndicate.
'Gazetteer' is an allusion to Italian news reported in Newsbook 1 (ii): compare 'ridiculous Italian Gazetts' (newsbooks from Rome and Milan etc.) in Something Written by Occasion of that Fatall and Memorable Accident, (1623).
- 3 Newsbook number 2, (2nd series) October 28 1623, was edited by N. Butter and W. Sheffard. See STC 18507.131.
- 4 Newsbook number 3, (2nd series) November 11 1623, was edited by Butter and N. Bourne. See STC 18507.132. Both Butter and Sheffard had been active for some time.
- 5 The Fatall Vesper (London, 1623) is initialled W.C in the Dedicatory Epistle and again after the address to the

reader; see STC 6015. Chamberlain surmises that the author was William Crashaw (a Puritan).

- 6 Several other accounts of the accident at Blackfriars were published. See STC 3101; 11118; 20961.5.

- 7 On William Cokayne see Letter 24, note 8.

On the fire and comment on Cokayne's loss estimated at £30,000/40,000 see Calendar I.110.

Chamberlain confirms the outbreak of fire at Cokayne's London house. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.523.

- 8 On Gresham College, bequeathed by Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-1579), as a 'place for readings' see Stow, London i.113-114.

- 9 The reference is to the Bull Inn at Bishopsgate in London - a pick-up point for the return journey to Cambridge with Thomas Hobson (on whom see Letter 54, note 23).

- 10 Cokayne was unpopular with London citizens. 'I have seldome knowne a man less pitied'. His methods of business 'procured him many a curse from poore people'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.524

Mead appears to have misdated this letter.

21 November 1623 was a Friday.

[21 November 1623]

Sir,

Our last weekes newes you will find here enclosed.¹

Besides I have litle unlesse I should tell you, That on munday
one of my Lady Capells men,² having bin here in Towne upon some
occasion gott so much drink before he went (they say at Q
Colledg,) that going out of Towne in the Evening (though some 5
seeing his case would have stayed him) he fell from his horse
not farre from the Towne end beyond Newenham, and as it seemed
into a ditch of water, but though he had made a shift to crawle
thence, and go some distance from it, yet partly with the hurt
of his fall and partly with the extremity of the cold, being as 10
it seemes either not able or not knowing where to find better
lodging then in the feilds, was next morning there found dead
with £17 most gold in his pocket. He had bin, some say, to
gather up rents this way for his Lady etc.³

There hath bin with me after the last week and some of 15
this, a Dutch Doctor of Law, once a Conciliis to the Prince
Frederick⁴ as the Germans call it. He was commended to Dr
Meddus,* by a noble Counsellor (as he calles him) of the Prince
Palatines* at the Hage,⁵ and by him with like Testimony
directed to Dr Chadderton⁶ and my selfe to show him convenient 20
favour in the University which he came to visit etc.

He affirmed to me with much assuaration, That the Hussian
Watch was found by Selanitz before Prage was lost, That

himselfe was present when it was brought to the Prince of Anhalt that he had it in his hand, and that he saw the first opening of it and the taking out of the book by the Prince etc. That they lyed who printed the portraiture of it, in saying it was found in the yeare 1621 after the battell at Prage.⁷

25

I desired him, because he seemed skillfull in such matters to expound it to me and shewed him [—] my copie. Which he did after his fashion, but by his leave I liked mine owne interpretation better, and made him halfe think so before we parted; I asked the meaning of this yeare. He expounded the F

30

Fames, the sword Bellum*, the dead head Pestilentia, the triple-thunderbolt of thundor and lightening litterally, which he sayd had bin extraordinary this yeare in Germany. but he had no regard of the points of the globe whereon they stood. Afterward I told him mine, and the grounds of it, and That unless yet before March, Some-thing or other should befall Frederick* in or from the West, unless Bavaria [—] or some other great one should dye in the South or the Bohemians fall into rebellion in the East (except the Hungaries revolt will excuse them,) The watch would hardly maintaine his credit this yeare.⁸

35

40

Though we could not altogether agree about the Watch, Yet was he wonderfull confident, that their would presently be an admirable change of his Masters and the Germaine affaires. That his Master should be Emperour and within a few yeares after, sack Rome, and bring the Vatican Librarie, together with his owne to Heidelberg.⁹ That Beth. Gabor* as he had destroyed Dampier¹⁰ and Bucqhoy,¹¹ so he should destroy Tilly* etc. yea and the Emperour himselfe and such like which I could much better wish, then beleewe.

45

50

He told me he had bin twice imployed from his Master to
Beth Gab.* before the losse of Prague, that in that time he had 55
thrice seene him receive the Communion after the Calvinists
forme, etc.¹²

I talkt much with him about his Master, our opinion of his
want of courage, and other imputations. He stuck not to tell
me, that we in England had some sett on work of purpose to 60
disparage him, and told me that they thought no where so of
him, but where Cowards etc. and told me som such things of
Letters and other passages, which I dare not lett this paper
know of. I may tell you hereafter what conceits the Germans
have, for I gott much out of him, [---] if he told me all true, 65
whereof I doubt.

In the meane time with my wonted respect to yourselfe and
my Lady, I rest

Christ Colledg

Yours ever
to be commanded

November 21

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 32. 'interpretation' inserted above line.
Line 39. In MS: 'some good thing'.
Line 42. In MS: 'unlesse Hungaries revolt': 'except the'
inserted above the deletion.
Line 42. 'will' inserted above line with caret.
Line 51. 'should' inserted above line.
Line 54. 'me' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 For the probable 'enclosed' see Calendar I.110.
2 Possibly Lady Elizabeth Capell (nee Lawrence) (d.1624/25),
second wife of Sir Arthur Capell of Little Hadham,
Hertfordshire. See Hertfordshire Families, p 93.
3 I have not been able to confirm the event described in this

excellent sentence.

- 4 The reference is to an unidentified councillor of Frederick, Elector Palatine.
- 5 Ludwig Camerarius (1573-1651), principal councillor to the Elector Palatine and director of the Palatine Council's foreign policy, followed Frederick V into exile in 1620. Dr Meddus, Mead's friend, who had previously lived for some time in Heidelberg, presumably had met Camerarius there.
- 6 On Dr Laurence Chadderton see Letter 14, note 1.
- 7 'Assuaration': a rare substantive, not in OED, probably connected with the obsolete rare verb 'assuade' - to urge persuasively (OED).
- For earlier reference to the 'Hussian Watch' see Letter 95, note 1.
- 'Selanitz' - perhaps 'Selz' a town near Prague.
- Christian of Anhalt was encamped at Rakonitz, very near to Selz, before the battle of Prague (Appendix 1 i).
- On Christian of Anhalt see Letter 44, note 6.
- 8 'Fames': Famine; 'Bellum': War; 'Pestilentia': plague.
- 9 The reference is to the Elector Palatine, Frederick V.
- For earlier prophecies and comment on the possibility of his becoming Emperor see Letter 4, note 12.
- The Heidelberg Library was transported to the Vatican after the occupation of the Palatinate by Spanish forces in 1620. See Appendix 1.
- 10 Henri du Val, Count of Dampierre (1580-1620), a commander in the Imperial army, Governor of Moravia, General in Chief of Cavalry, was killed by a musket shot in battle at Pressburg in 1620. See Biographie Universelle.
- 11 On Bucquoy see Letter 3, note 6.

12 Calvinists receive communion in both kinds; that is with both bread and wine with the congregation partaking in the celebration.. (In the Roman Catholic church only the priest partakes of the wine).

[29 November 1623]

Sir,

Through occasion of other employment I have my newes now to write, when I should be ready to send. But I will endeavour to lett you understand that we had from London as followeth.

London November 21. 1623

On tuesday last at night My Lord Duke of Buckingham* feasted the King, the Prince and the Spanyards Ambassadors at York house, where, as is sayd, were 3000 dishes of meat and a stately mase, in which they say the Duke* and Prince themselves were.¹ They were up till 3 a clock in the morning, at what time His Majestie went to bed there.

The Prince whilest he was in Spaine was so well entertained by the King and his Confessor that they both called him heretick to his face, which he bravely disproved. And being granted to see a Church in Madrid, though he entred bareheaded, yet because he would not bow downe to the Host, where they sayd Christ was, they forced him againe out of the Church and if he had not made the better hast back, they would have thrust him out by head and shoulders. This and much more the Prince told Deane White² on Saturday night, as he since told me⁺.³

On the same Saturday as also againe on Munday, the Deane was with the King about his book, which he is to sett forth,⁴

+ saith mine author

the Bishop of St. Davids⁵ being present, who, [—] as also the
Bishop of Winchester⁶, had perused it over and not altered a
word: but the King, as he was turning over the leaves, by chance 25
espied the word Idolatrie, which by all meanes he would have
put out, but the Deane would not; the King sayd it should, the
Deane still persisted etc. untill the Bishop of St. Davids
humbly besought his Majestie it might stand, and so it doth.
And if no new impediments come, we shall have the book ere long. 30

Our letters this week from Holland confirme all of Bethlem
Gabors* prevailings, and adde that Tylly* hath taken in all
Hessenland except Cassells, and a Towne or 2 more, which will not
be able long to endure the brunt.⁷ Letters from Hambrough of 35
November 8, say that the Lantgrave retyred himselfe and left his
Country to the Enimy's mercy, because they would not joyne with
him to resist.⁸ And that in the meantime, Yagerndorfe and old
Thurne were entered Moravia and Bohemia, under^{the} conduct of
Stephen Bethlem, Gabors brother, that they went one(sic) in
those parts without resistance.⁹ Yet they heard, that the 40
Emperour had recalled Tilly out of Hessenland to go thitherward;
but thought, he would leave men enough behind him to overlay the
Country.¹⁰

The same letters from Hambrough, tell, there had lately bin a
mutinie at Vienna betweene the disconted souldiers wanting pay, 45
and the Protestants, who are not suffered to buy either bread or,
meat in the markets without license from the Jesuites but
hereupon they are disarmed, and feared will be a pray to their
enimies.¹¹

Brunswick* is gone to Mansfeild* (saith both letters) and 50
they are together 16000 strong .what they will attempt is not

yet knowne.¹²

Thus our London Intelligence

I send you herewith a Corranto but doubt where they are
like to find you, whether at Dalham or Quiddenham: for I heare
some newes that wayes also, which I pray God you may have joy
of.¹³ Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady, I
rest and am

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

November 29

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

55

60

Textual Notes.

Line 33. In MS: 'in all Hessele Hessenland'.

Line 56. In MS: 'that wayes ~~to~~ me which': 'also' written above
deletion.

Notes

- 1 The extravagance of the feast at York House is confirmed somewhat disapprovingly by Chamberlain. 'superabundant plentie', 'fortie dousen of partridges', 'ostentation of magnificence', '... and as yt were to trample God's goode blessings underfoot'. Chamberlain, Letters ii.527.
- 2 On Dr Francis White (1564?-1638), see Letter 51, note 12.
- 3 See Mead's footnote where it is made clear that Mead is quoting verbatim from his London letter.
- 4 Dr White's book: A replie to Jesuit Fisher's answere to certain questions propounded by King James, 1624: STC 25382.
- 5 On William Laud, the Bishop of St. David's, see Letter 20, note 1.
- 6 On Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), Bishop of Winchester, see Letter 26, note 10.

-
- 7 Bethlen Gabor had taken all Hungary north of the Danube except Pressburg (now Bratislava) which he put under siege. He cut off all help of relief. By October 1623 Bethlen had taken three towns in Hungary. See Newsbook 2 (ii), p 10: STC 18507.131.

Tilly's taking of towns in Hessen is confirmed in Newsbook 40 (i), p 9: STC 18507.119.

However it was claimed that Tilly wished only to quarter troops in Hesse as he marched towards Christian of Brunswick.

- 8 The confederates of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel broke their promise to aid him against his enemies. See Calendar I.110.

- 9 On Jagerndorf see Letter 35, note 18. On Thurn see Letter 69, note 14.

Newsletters opined that Bethlen and his forces were to march into Silesia and Moravia. It was thought the invasion would take place through the mountains to the north and northwest of Hungary. See Newsbook 45 (i), p 2: STC 18507.123 and Newsbook 48 (i), p 5: STC 18507.127. Bethlen's army consisted of three divisions one of which was under the command of Stephen Bethlen, his brother. Another was under the joint command of Jagerndorf and Thurn. See Newsbook 47 (i), p 1: STC 18507.126.

- 10 Tilly was on the move to the north of Hessen to cut off Christian of Brunswick's passage. He left some forces behind him in Hesse. See Newsbook 41 (i), p 8: STC 18507.120. After leaving the Lower Saxon Circle Tilly marched towards the frontiers of East Friesland. Newsbook 48 (i), p 9: STC 18507.127.

11 Discontent in Vienna was stirred up by Bethlen Gabor. Bethlen, within five miles of Vienna, laid the blame for the war in the Empire on the adherents to the Imperial cause and on the Emperor himself. Among other 'evils' he named 'the mischievous sect of Jesuits admitted in every place to disturb the Commonwealth'. Bethlen's opinions were circulated in two letters. See Newsbook 4 (ii), p 9: STC 18507.133.

'This apologie prevailed so farre and so well that many people revolted'. See Newsbook 6 (ii): STC 18507.135.

12 On the meeting of Christian of Brunswick with Mansfeld see 26 November 1623, Newbook 5 (ii), p 3: STC 18507.134.

13 Quiddenham was the home of Sir Thomas Holland (brother -in-law to Sir Martin by his first wife Katherine Holland).

There are no letters in MS Harl. 389 for
1624, new style. The letters continue from
January 1624/25.

[15 January 1624/25]

Worthie Sir,

I have that happines that I can once a week make amends, if
 I forgett ought at Dalham. Whether I have done so, now or no;
 for surenes, I remember my best service to my Lady of whom I
 took no leave, as likewise my best love to Mr Webbe¹ (with most
 kind thanks for his horse) and to Mistris Webbe;² I was too
 early to see either of them this morning, but I hope they will
 forgive me as your selfe will, that I am no wayes able to
 requite your exceeding kindnes not onely to beare with, but
 [—] almost to reward my troublesomnes to your house.

The last weeks newes I heare send you, if you can read the
 hand so full of abbreviations, as w^r is where/ o^r is our/ c^rtain
 - certain/ y^r is there/ y^t is they/ y^r is there/ and/ their, y^m
 is them/ o^t is over.³ The rest I hope you will guesse at.

What newes this day brings I yet know not. I sent to the
 Doctor but he hath not received his letter. I desire you
 therefore to accept of this and so with my best respect I rest
 and am,

Christ Colledg
 January 15 1624/25

Yours most ready
 to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 8. In MS: 'kindnes to beare not onely': 'to' inserted
 above the line.

Notes

- 1 Gardiner Webbe (of Stocking Pelham, Hertfordshire?), was
 related through marriage to the Stuteville family. See

Venn, Alumni (but Venn mistakes the connection with the Stutevilles).

- 2 Mary Webbe (1598- ?) née Isham, was cousin to Lady Stuteville (nee Isham). For details of the relationship see Northamptonshire Families, pp 156/157.
- 3 For 'last week's newes' written with abbreviations in a different hand from Mead's see Calendar I.111.

110
(f 393r)

[29 January 1624/25]

Sir,

By the enclosed you shall know what newes we had last of Mansfeilds* setting forward.¹ Me thinks by this time he should be gone and yet, Armies take not their journeys with such expedition as we doe. Some say he stayed the longer because there was no money to be had.

5

I send you by this bearer a New book, the price 6s/6d.² It is something deare I confesse, but the Argument I know is to your Genius. Ladies are costly, and you shall find a brave one in the beginning of the book, and you must think you pay something for that. I send you also a Corrauto, such a one as it is.³

10

I heard some whispering lately, as if my Lord of Exceter were like to be Primate of Armagh.⁴ I told you more then was true last week. My pupil is not absolutely married but contracted to Mr. Penningtons daughter,⁵ and lives in the house. but when they marry I know not.

15

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my good Lady I rest and am,

Christ Colledg
January 29

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mead.

20

Notes

- 1 In 1624 Count Mansfeld came to England to negotiate terms with King James I for raising an army to recover the Palatinate. (On the Palatinate see Appendix 1).

Throughout November and December 1624 preparations were in hand. Mansfeld (with Christian of Brunswick) was expected to leave for France or Holland early in 1625. Political considerations involving England, France, Holland and Spain contributed to the delay in his leaving England. Contradictory reports of his movements were circulated.

For the enclosed see Calendar I.112.

- 2 The book is not identified.
- 3 'Corrantos' (newsbooks) were designated Mercurius Britannicus from January 1624/25.
- 4 On Valentine Cary, Bishop of Exeter, see Letter 18, note 13. He was not translated to Armagh.
- 5 'My Pupill' refers to William Huddleston (see Letter 5, note 14) who originated from Cumberland. He married Bridget, daughter of Joseph Pennington of Muncaster in Cumberland. See Peile, Register i.332.

[5 February 1624/25]

Worthy Sir,

I send you here, as much as we have yet received.¹ I cannot yet heere that Mansfeild* is gone. But this delay causes strange conceits,² yea and makes men talk wildly, that all our preparations will come to nothing; which they imagine at London the rather, for that there having beene now lately a speedy presse in Surrey, when the Lieutenant came to the counsell to know how to dispose of his men, they asked him, who bid him make such hast, he shewing his warrant, where was written Hast Hast for life, they were silent, but bad him dismissee them till further order.³ This I was told by one that came out of London on thursday; who added withall that they talk there, that the Counsell of warre is made acquainted with nothing. But I suppose these tales are gathered up in the Streets and therefore I will yet, till I see the Contrary, hope better. Some say there went a Commission downe to Mansfeild* on Wednesday; whether they meane his Commission for the landing and imploying his forces I know not, but I think so.⁴ Me thinks, you should be better informed of these matters at the Court, which is so neere you, then we can be from London.⁵

Thus with my best respect and service to yourselfe and my lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg

February 5

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead

I had almost last week sent you a shell without the

kernell! Had you my newes? It was enclosed in a second paper,
and sent after my letter.

Mr Strange⁶ is desirous to borrow Mr Stutevilles⁷ Viol-book
to take out a lesson or two, he saw in it. If it be not so
unreasonable a request, but that he and my selfe may be so farre 30
beholding unto him, I will undertake to send it back with the
next returne after it comes.

I heare now -

Mansfeild* with our forces is gone. Landed about Lille
neere Anwerp, if I mistake not the place, but first came before 35
Callis, where they discharged their ordnance for a warning as
is thought.⁸

Textual Notes.

Line 5. 'that' inserted above line with caret.

Line 7. 'him' inserted above line with caret.

Line 11. In MS: 'on Wednesday thursday': 'that' inserted above
line with caret

Line 29. In MS: 'If if net it be not'.

Lines 33-37 written on addressed leaf; f 397v.

Notes

- 1 See Calendar I.113.
- 2 See Letter 110, note 1 and lines 33-37 above. As early as November 1624 it was rumoured that Mansfeld was about to leave England. He left eventually on 30 January 1624/5.
- 3 A warrant was issued for a press of 2000 men in the City and suburbs. See Calendar I.113.
- 4 On Mansfeld's arrangements for leaving England see Letter 110, note 1. The commission of 26 January 1624/25 attempted to persuade him to sail to and land in France in spite of French reluctance to accept his army on their shores. (The French government feared that Mansfeld's army would give support to the Huguenots). Mansfeld was to go by way of Holland if landing in France should prove to be impossible.

Instructions were sent to English colonels with Mansfeld at Dover that nothing was to be attempted against the King of Spain's dominions. See SPD 1623-1625, note 50 p 459.

- 5 Mead refers to Sir Martin's nearness to Newmarket where the King was in residence.
- 6 Hamon Lestrange of Hunstanton (1605?-1660), later a theological and historical author, was admitted Fellow-Commoner at Christ's in 1623. See Venn, Alumni.
- 7 John Stuteville (1609-), second son and fifth child of Sir Martin Stuteville, was admitted at Christ's College in 1625 and at Middle Temple in 1626. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.366.
- 8 The postscript (lines 33-37) was added after the letter was sealed: see MS Harl 389, f 397^V.

112
(f 398r)

[12 February 1624/25]

Sir,

I received yours, as I came out of the Hall from dinner
after I had sealed and sent to Geffery Finches;¹ This was the
reason I replied not; I sent ~~no~~ Tho: Dictionarie²; but your new
Parkerizer³ was in a great chafe, that it cost him a great deale
of trouble and running up and downe and threatened, he would
carrie no more bookes nor letters. I hope he is not a man of
his word, else I must give over or gett a new Carrier.

5

I wrote a Postscript upon my last, a naturall Postscript
But I erred in the place, but it was such as was then brought
from Court. Within an houre after and ever since it hath held
that he is landed at Sluys in Flanders, but if this wether
holdes, he will have but cold doings.⁴

10

I send you herewith a Corranto, though somewhat old, and
Epithalamium Gallobritannicum.⁵ It is written by a Frenchman
as I guesse, and is nothing almost but Vapours. Had I read it
before I bought it I think I should have lett it alone, but now
it is to late and the price is not great. But being a Symptome
of the time, it may in that respect be worth the money and your
acceptance; and the Marriages and genealogies may be usefull
upon some other occasion. I send the picture to my Lady upon
free guift and desire it may be acceptable; as it will be, if

15

20

tendered by your selfe.

Thus with my best respect and service, I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

25

February 12

be commanded

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'new ~~Parkeriser~~ Parkerizer'.

Notes

1 On Geffrey Finch see Letter 11, note 31.

2

The dictionary is possibly Dictionary Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae, ed. Thomas. Mead lists the Thomas Dictionary more frequently than other dictionaries in the book purchases listed in his account books. See Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, 2 vols., (Univ. Illinois, 1961), ii.618.

3 The 'new Parkerizer' was presumably a replacement for the earlier 'incorrigible' Parker's man.

4 For confirmation of the landing at Sluys on Wednesday 2 February 1624/25 see Calendar I.114. The news was contradicted in later reports.

For a report of Mansfeld's landing at Flushing see SPV 1623-1625, note 807, p 581.

5 G.Marcelline, Epithalamium Gallobritannicum, (London 1625): STC: 17308.

[19 February 1624/25]

Sir,

I received both yours but not the first till after I had sealed.

Xenophon in English I have not yet seene, but I hope to gett you one by the next and to send it with the Violl book.¹

Our newes from London by letter last week was but litle and compounded of contrary reports; something I have heard and read since, which I will putt together and make one relation of all.

For Mansfeild* some (saith our London letter) sayd he had not then landed his forces but that they still lay on ship-board betweene Flushing and Rammikins expecting the coming of the Duke of Brunswick* with the French horse from Callis.² But others affirmed they were landed in the Iland of Cassant by Sluyse in Flanders, which is now the common fame and avouched in the Corranto in a letter from Flushing February 4, which saith that the most of his men were quarterd in the townes of Cassant and some (those that were sick) at Rammekins.³ Otherwise or Tuesday men from Court had made us beleieve, that he was gone farre up the Rhine I know not whither.

Some of the Kings ships (they sayd at London) were gone to waft the Duke of Brunswick* from Callis to Mansfeild*.⁴

Concerning Breda, the water-workers, had so well plyed their busines, that once they had sett Spinola* in the water, drowned a good part of his quarters, overthrowne some of his works; but in the top of their hope to have washt him, the bank broak, which they are againe repairing as fast as they can.⁵ In January they made a new visitation of victuall in the Towne and

found some store which before they knew not, and among the rest
a secret Magazin, which the Catholicks of the Towne (such many
of y^e Burgers are) had provided for their owne use which they
have brought to the Common stock, and suppose the Towne is now
well able to hold out 4 monthes longer, some say more; onely
their men are somewhat with the least by reason of the
sickness.⁶

30

Sir Charles Morgan⁷ (say the Corrantos one after another)
bravely assaulted Spinola's quarter at Ginnikin,⁸ slew 600
hundred [sic], took a great many (they say 17) of his cheifest
commanders; and himselfe⁺⁺ skaped but narrowly for they once
thought they had gotten him. Some say they were at that time
at a Councell of warre, and taken napping. Sir Charles himselfe
was wounded in the shoulder but (saith ye letters) hath by this
service won eternall honour to the English.⁹ Some adde that
Don Loyse de Valasco was slayne in this fray.¹⁰

35

40

The honour also of the taking of Goch is due to the English
for it was performed by Sir Charles Lambert (an Englishman, and
commander of Nimmigen with a 1000 English souldiers, and some 3
companies of horse.¹¹

45

The former part of the last week it continued newes at
London, that Soubieze with 23 ships and some 1000 or 1500
gentlemen voluntaries putt to sea from Rochell, and attempted to
surprise the Castle of Blavet or Bluet in Bretaine,¹² but his
purpose being revealed by one of his owne company, was
prevented.¹³ On Thursday and Friday the newes was altogether
That the Spanish Ambassador at Paris¹⁴ having dealt with him to

50

+ 6 monthes

++ Spinola

55

make some insurrection and commotion to distract his Kings .
affaires, and he having received of him 40000 double pistolets
for this service¹⁵ (first acquainting the King therewith)¹⁶ did
and attempted as aforesayd, and is now either come, in or
formally taken.¹⁷

60

The 3 Leaguers French. Savoy and Venice make mightie
preparations (sayes the Corranto) for the recoverie of Millaine;
and that there are upon their march from France 21,000^{foot}, and
2,000 horse, from Savoy 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, from
Venice 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse; Savoy himselfe, as is
thought to be Generall.¹⁸

65

It is sayd likewise that the King of France is to have 8 of
our ships for some service, (thought against Genoi) and that the
writings betweene our merchants and the French are already
drawne.¹⁹

70

One of the Queene of Bohemies yonger sons is dead, either he
that was borne at Prague, or that she fledde with in hir belly;
I know not which.²⁰

It is sayd, the Duke* shortly goes for France to carrie
something to be confirmed, and bring at his return the
conditions to be confirmed by Parla^{ment}. But he goes not till
the end of the French Lent which wilbe about the 20 of our
March.²¹ Some think the Parla^{ment} wilbe adjourned till after
Easter.²²

75

Archduke Charles, the Emperours brother, is sayd to be dead
in Spaine, whither he went upon some great buisines.²³

80

I send you a Rime out of Breda, I am afrayd you have seene
it already, for it came from Court from Sir Albert Morton, whose
brother is the author.²⁴

Thus with my best respect and service to your selfe and my

85

good Lady I rest and am.

Christ Colledg

February 19,

the day the Prince

embarqued for Spaine

and the Parliament began on the last yeare.²⁵

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

90

Textual Notes

Line 21. In MS: 'Concerning the Breda'.

Line 36. In MS: 'a great may many'.

Line 61. In MS: 'Savoy & Hella Venice'.

Line 72. In MS: 'she with fledde'.

Lines 85-91 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 The Historie of Xenophon contayning the ascent of Cyrus etc., Translated J. Bingham, London 1623: STC 26064.
- 2 Christian, Duke of Brunswick, sailed from Dover with Mansfeld but went ashore at Calais on 31 January 1624/25 in order to oversee preparations of the French Cavalry. See February 1624/25, SPV 1623-1625, note 807, p 581.
- 3 It had proved impossible for Mansfeld to land at Calais (see Letter 111, note 4) and therefore the army had removed to Rammekins to await the French Horse. See SPD 1623-1625, note 67, p 461.
- 4 English ships were at sea to escort the French ships but were temporarily delayed by foul weather. See letters from Sir R Bingley and Captain Thomas Wilbraham in SPD 1623-1625 note 63, p 476 and note 69, p 477.
- 5 Breda, a key fortress on the frontier of Brabant, was besieged by Spinola* in the summer of 1624. The city surrendered in May 1625. Spínola's siege works came to be universally admired as a masterpiece of military art but

the siege did not form part of any wider offensive against the Dutch. See Israel, Dutch Republic, pp 106 ff.

Maurice, Prince of Orange, attempted to divert the River Mark in order to flood the Spanish camp and to cut the supply route of the Spaniards. See SPV 1623-1625, note 788, p 570.

- 6 Letters from the Hague of 14 February 1624/25 confirmed that food was still in plentiful supply in Breda and the bakers still baking. See Calendar I.116.

- 7 Sir Charles Morgan (1575?-1642) served in the Netherlands under the command of de Vere. In 1622 he commanded the English troops at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. The Venetian ambassador in the Netherlands referred to him as 'the best commander of them all'. SPV 1623-1625, note 650, p 478.

- 8 For an account of Morgan's attack on Ginneken, a position just south of Breda, see Mercurius Britannicus number 7 (iii), p 21: STC 18507.162.

- 9 See ibid.

- 10 Don Luis de Velasco, Marques de Beldever, was a Spanish General serving under Spínola in Flanders.

- 11 Sir Charles Lambert, Governor of Nijmegen, took the city in January at the head of 5000 men. See Israel, Dutch Republic, p 108.

- 12 On Benjamin de Soubise see Letter 64, note 2.

Reports in England of Soubise's attempt on the fortress of Blavet were confused; French recollections of the event vary.

Soubise sailed with five ships, three hundred soldiers, and one hundred sailors from l'Ile de Ré on 6 January 1625 n.s./

27 December 1624 o.s. He captured the ships in the port of Blavet but his attempt to take the fort failed. Two thousand foot soldiers and two hundred 'gentlemen' were assembled to resist him. See Rohan, Mémoires i.252.

Richelieu put the number of Soubise's ships at a dozen. Richelieu, Mémoires ii.415.

- 13 The Duke of Rohan named the 'traitor' as Noailles'. See Rohan, Mémoires i.252.

Francois de Noailles (1584-1645), governor of Auvergne and Rouerge, was distinguished in the war against the French Protestants. See Biographie Universelle. However, the reference may be to another member of the Noailles family. Soubise's plans were known to Louis XIII one month in advance of their being put into action. See Richelieu, Mémoires ii.415.

- 14 Don Antonio Davila y Zúñiga, Marquis of Mirabel was the Spanish ambassador in France.

- 15 The Spaniards and Louis XIII appear to have been involved in political bluff and counter-bluff with Soubise. It would have been to the Spaniards' advantage for French royal troops to be occupied against the Huguenots, thus reducing the numbers of French soldiers available to attack Genoa. (France in league with Savoy etc. was about to attack Spanish Italian territory).

On the other hand it was to Louis's advantage for Spain to be under the mistaken impression that French troops were moving against Soubise.

The Venetians were certain of Spanish involvement in the affair: 'The Spaniards ... have given a well-timed push to this stone'. See SPV 1623-1625, note 775, p 560.

- 16 Louis XIII was certainly informed of Soubise's intention to raid Blavet (see above note 13) and there would seem to have been some 'understanding' between him and Soubise. By 7 February 1625, new style, it was known in England that the business between the King and Soubise was 'well and quietly accommodated, they as seemes, understanding one another at the first'. See 28 January 1624/25 (7 February 1625, n.s), Calendar I.113.
- On the political complications of this event see J.H. Elliott, The Count-Duke, p 227.
- 17 By 21 January 1624/25 old style (30 January 1625 new style) Blavet was held for the French King and Soubise detained in port as if besieged. See SPV 1623-1625, note 808, p 582. However, by 6 February 1625 new style Soubise had broken the 'filets' (nets?, boom?) which had prevented him from leaving Blavet and had passed through the port in spite of opposition. See Bassompierre, Mémoires iii.18.
- 18 In July 1624 an agreement had been made between France, Savoy and Venice to intervene in the Valtelline (see Appendix 5). The aim of France was to cut communications between Genoa and Milan in order to hinder the movement of Spanish troops into the Valtelline, Germany and the Netherlands.
- 19 On the twenty ships promised to the French King by England for aid against the Spaniards see Gardiner, History v.302. Louis XIII requested eight of the ships for use against Soubise and the Huguenots when he discovered that Soubise had fresh designs against Blavet (see above notes 15, 16, 17) and 'he resolved to punish the culprits'. See SPV 1623-1625, note 787, p 567.

The eight ships eventually sailed for France in June 1625 but see below Letter 142, note 17.

- 20 The news of the death of one of the Palatine's sons was current in France in January 1624/25. See SPV 1623-1625, note 795, p 576.
- 21 Negotiations were in hand between England and France for a marriage between Prince Charles and Princess Henrietta Maria of France. It was anticipated that the Duke of Buckingham would be in Paris on Good Friday 18 March 1624/25 old style (to stand proxy for Prince Charles) and that the Princess would arrive in England on St. George's day (23 April 1625 old style). See Calendar I.115. However, the death of King James in March 1625 delayed the proceedings. Buckingham eventually went to Paris in May 1625 after the 'betrothals'.
- 22 No Parliament was held until 18 June 1625. See LJs iii.435.
- 23 Charles Joseph (1590-1624) brother to Emperor Ferdinand II, was Bishop of Passau.
- 24 On Sir Albert Morton see Letter 59, note 19.
Albert Morton's brother is not identified.
There are no verses attributed to Mr Morton in MS Harl 389. However, see Calendar I.129 for verses on Breda headed 'Mr. Scot to a freind in Norfolk'.
- 25 On 19 February 1623 Prince Charles left England to woo the Infanta in Spain. On 19 February 1624 Parliament opened. See LJs iii.208/9.

[26 February 1624/25]

Sir,

This much I have to adde to the enclosed. That it is now constant newes from Court and elsewhere, That Mansfeild* with our forces is landed about Gertrudenberg in the edge of Brabant but under the command of the States, some 8 English miles to the Northeast of Breda. That they are thereabouts dispersed into severall garrisons, the Rhine when this newes was brought to the Court being frozen.¹

5

Breda they say will do well enough for 5 monthes at the least, and imagined by some, that Spinola's 6000 Wallons come unto him, are but to fitt him to rise, being before very weak with the death and partly running away of his men.²

10

I heard in a letter from London yesterday That my Lord Belfast was dangerously, and as most say, irrecoverably sick.³

About the beginning of this month was a man found slayne by Grantchester, his throat cutt and one of his fingers cutt off and old clothes, not his owne putt upon him. His horse also being supposed worth 20 nobles or £7 slayne by him. It cannot yet be knowne what he was, nor who they were that did this villainie; but vengeance, I trow, will hunt them out.

15

I suppose you have had both frost and snow at Dalham as we have here. But a Courtier on Wednesday told me, That he heard the Earle of Arran⁴ new come out of Scotland tell the King and Prince to their admiration, that he in all his journey had seene never a handfull of snow till he came at Doncaster, my author added, nor frost neither; but I cannot beleieve that. Moreover that the plague was very rife at Edenburgh, so that the

20

25

Counsell⁵ was removed thence.

Mr Strange⁶ remembers his best service and thanks; and hath
sent home the Violl book, and promises, if it lyes in his power 30
to be ready for requitall.

I have bin out of Corrantos this month, but now I hope
again to supply you next week and forward.

I had thought to have sent you Xenophon today;⁷ the
bookbinder promises me within this howre; the Carrier (the 35
tuesday Carrier, as we call him) is either but new come or not
to be found. If it comes in time I send it you. Thus with my
best respect and service to your selfe and my Lady I rest and
am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready	40
February 26	to be commanded	
	Joseph Mead.	

Textual Notes.

Line 6 'Rhine' inserted above line with caret.

Line 14. In MS: 'beginning was of': 'was on a man'.

Notes

- 1 Mansfeld had arrived at Gertruidenberg by 21 February 1624/25. See Contarini, SPV 1623-1625, n 834, p 597.
- 2 Spínola was reinforced with '6000 good fresh Walloons'. See Calendar I.115.
- 3 On Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4.
- 4 On James, Marquess of Hamilton and Earl of Arran see Letter 31, note 5.
- 5 The Scottish Privy Council was accustomed to meet in Holyrood House in Edinburgh.
- 6 On Hamon Lestrangle see Letter 111, note 6.
- 7 On Xenophon see Letter 113, note 1.

[5 March 1624/25]

Sir,

The enclosed will tell you, that my Lord Belfast is gone.¹
 And I saw a letter from London last night, which sayes directly,
 that Marquis Hammilton is also dead and addes that they talke
 also the same of the Bishop of Winchester.² What a number of
 great ones and I think of the best have we lost within a 12 5
 month; the 2 Dukes,³ Lennox, Dorset, Southampton and his son,
 Belfast Hammilton.³ The same letter telles us, That Gondomar*
 coming for England hath already sent his Secretary to the King
 for a safe conduct.⁴ Great talk is of him; and some mens
 diffidence so great that they think there is no bulwark strong 10
 enough against him, but that he will marre all.

The drumme beates at London for Voluntaries⁵ to reinforce
 our Companies that went last summer.

I send you a Corranto and the Processe against Spalato⁶
 sent in a letter from Rome to my Lord Archbishop,⁷ But 15
 something more then is there; A frend of mine had a letter
 from [—] ~~Relie~~ of the same busines which telles That
 Spalato being putt into the Inquisition and expecting his
 tryall, which, would have gone very hard with him,⁸ par gratia
preveniente e stato ajutato da morire-by a preventing grace he 20
 was helped to die, that is was poysoned by way of a favour.⁹

I sent for your Xenophon from London in lether, but it is
 come in Vellum; Thus he must be served that deales with knaves.
 Indeed it is but a thinne book, being but a translation onely of
 the Ascent of Cyrus junior, whereas I had thought it had beene 25
 at least of all his Historicall works.¹⁰ I send it you; If

you like it not, pray send it back and I will provide you one in leather.

I was this week in a place where a gentleman had a breife of the Articles of the league between the Kings of England, France, the Duke of Savoy and Signory of Venice:¹¹ But so nice he was of them, that I might by no meanes either handle them or read them my selfe, but onely heare him read them. He pretended a promise made to that purpose, to one that would not have his trust betrayed; as I guess being a clark to a Secretary of State or it may be it was just a Court trick, to make his freind the more highly to value his kindnes, in communicating forsooth such a secret unto him. Howsoever (having obtained the favour to heare them twice read) I hope my memory was not so bad but I can repeat them very neere to the words themselves I am sure without any difference in the sense. Onely the order I may misse in some of them, but thus they are.

1. That there be a league both offensive and defensive between England, France Savoy and Venice for the libertie of the Palatinate, Italy and the Valteline.
2. That this league be intimated by the Ambassadors of the severall Potentates to the Emperour and the King of Spaine That unlesse the Palatinate, Italie and the Valteline be restored to their former estate, they shalbe constrained to seeke the restitution of them by force of arms.
3. That the league be intimated also unto the Pope, that he may enter into it for the recovery of the lands of the Church, and also unto the Duke of Florence for the freeing of the Ports of Tuscanie,

- and that 2 monthes be given them after the warre shall break out, to enter into the sayd league.
4. That the King of France shall send into Italie 25000 foot and 4000 horse; the Duke of Savoy. 5000 foot and 1500 horse; the Seignorie of Venice 10000 foot and 2000 horse. 60
 5. That the King of England shall maintaine 12000 foot and 1.000 horse for the Palatinate till it be recovered. 65
 6. That the Switzers together with the Grisons fall downe with an Armie to Como; 2 thirds thereof to be payd by France, and a third by the Seignory of Venice.
 7. That the King of England shall maintaine at sea a Fleet of an 100 sayle of ships⁺. 70
 8. That the King of France have a fleet of 24 gallies and 40 ships to defend the coasts of Genoa, that the Spanyard send neither money thither nor land any men. 75
 9. That the Seignory of Venice have an Armie to infest and take the coast of Apulia⁺⁺.
 10. That if the State of Millane be recovered it shalbe disposed according to the order made by Henry 4 late King of France⁺⁺⁺. 80

+ To secure his owne and the coasts of France.

++ or Puglia in ye Kingdome of Naples upon the Adriatick sea.

+++ viz. to be exchanged for Savoy, as was the Marquisate of Saluzzo; for the County of Bresse. 85

11. That the Controversie betweene the Duke of Savoy
and Mantua about Monserrat be compromitted to the
league, and all hostile acts to cease till the warre
be done.

12. That France and Venice concurre both with men and
money for the recovery of the Palatinate, till it be
recovered.¹² 90

When our King is once in action, there is expected another
league to break out between the Kings of Denmark, Sweden and
some Princes of Germany for the libertie of the Empire wherein
we also are a partie, and the King of Denmark hath promised to
come in person into the feild etc.¹³ But yet (which is
strange) we are not able to find credit untill our blood be
spilt.¹⁴ 95

I know not whether the French match goes foreward or
backward some say the latter, because of the dispensation.¹⁵ 100

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest,
and am

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to
March 5 be commanded 105
Joseph Mead.

They talk as if there were some inquisition
upon some discovery about the Duke of Buckingham
sicknes the last yeare etc.

Textual Notes.

Line 18. In MS: 'expecting that his tryall'.

Line 19. 'have' inserted above line with caret.

Line 34. 'not' inserted above line with caret.

Line 97. 'come' inserted above line.

Notes

1 On Lord Chichester of Belfast see Letter 34, note 4.

For the 'enclosed' see Calendar I.116 in which was reported the death of Lord Belfast.

- 2 On James, Marquess of Hamilton see Letter 31, note 5. The swelling of his body after death occasioned rumours of poisoning. See Calendar I.117.

On Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, see Letter 26, note 10. He died in 1626.

- 3 On Ludovick Stuart (1574-1624), Duke of Lennox and Duke of Richmond see Letter 11, note 3.

Esme Stuart (1579-1624), Lord Aubigny and Earl of March, brother to Ludovick (above), succeeded to the Dukedom of Lennox in 1624 but died within a year. See Complete Peerage.

On Richard Sackville (1589-1624) Earl of Dorset see ibid. He was said to have died on Easter day 'of a surfet of potatoes'. See Chamberlain, Letters ii.551

On Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, see Letter 3, n 36. Southampton, engaged in military action in Holland against the Spaniards, died of pestilence in November 1624 at Bergen-op-Zoom.

James Wriothesley (1604/5-1624), son of Henry (above), a captain in his father's regiment, died in Holland of pestilence five days before his father's death. See Complete Peerage.

- 4 The Count of Gondomar did not return again to England after leaving his post as Spanish ambassador in 1622.

- 5 See Calendar I.117. In June 1624 England agreed to pay for 6000 volunteers for two years to aid the United Provinces. See Gardiner, History v.244

- 6 Mead writes 'Spalato' for 'Spalatro'.

On Marcus Antonius De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro (now

Split in Yugoslavia) see Letter 36, note 10.

- 7 On Archbishop George Abbot see Letter 3, note 33.
- 8 Marcus Antonius De Dominis was imprisoned by order of the Inquisition for heretical opinions, confined in April 1624 to the castle of Sant'Angelo in Rome and died soon after.
- 9 Mead provides the translation from Italian - 'By a preventing grace he was helped to die'. The rumour of poison administered to De Dominis is not confirmed by other sources.
- 10 On Xenophon see Letter 113, note 1.
- 11 On Treaties signed between France, Venice and Savoy see Letter 113, note 18. No League was formed between England, France, Venice and Savoy. The 'breife of the Articles' appears to be the draft for an anti-Habsburg alliance which came to nothing (but see further note 13). Confident reports of such an alliance were prevalent in contemporary Newsletters. See, for example, Mercurius Britannicus number 17 (iii), pp 9,10,11: STC 18507.166.
- 12 The draft articles listed by Mead are similar to those in a shortened copy of 42 articles of the league listed in the Venetian State Papers. See SPV 1623-1625, note 857, p 613.
- 13 Hopes for an anti-Habsburg league comprising England, the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, France and German Protestant States came to nothing in 1624/25. The Swedish terms for participation were rejected and those of Denmark accepted by King James. However, Swedish participation was sought again in 1625 and caused Denmark to break off negotiations. Sweden deserted the coalition in the summer of 1625 and pursued the war against Poland. See Parker, 30

Years' War pp 74 ff; Gindely, Thirty Years' War i.373 ff.

An alliance (which included only England, Denmark and the United Provinces) was not definitely concluded until December 1625.

- 14 See 4 August 1625, LJs iii.471 for comment that Denmark and Sweden refused to join the alliance unless 'they did first see his Majestie in the Field'.
- 15 A dispensation from the Pope was needed before the marriage (between Charles, Prince of Wales and Princess Henrietta Maria of France) could take place. When the dispensation was granted it was beset with 'cautions and limitations'. See a letter from Paris; Calendar I.117.

116

(f 414r)

[12 March 1624/25]

Sir,

I send you our last received and a new Corranto which I had but yesterday.¹ I can adde nothing to them, but onely my best service and respect remembred to your selfe and my Lady, I rest and am

Christ Colledg

March 12

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

5

Notes

1 For the enclosed see Calendar I.117.

117

(f 416r)

[19 March 1624/25]

Sir,

I have no more yet, then I send you, viz A letter¹, and a Corrant that came since, as you will perceive by the date.

Thus with my best respect and service to your selfe and my Good Lady, I rest and am.

Christ Colledg

March 19

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

5

Notes

1 See Calendar I.118.

[26 March 1625]

Worthie Sir,

Your letter written March 14, I received not till Munday
last March 21. It was delivered me by an Hostler, who told me
before I could well read it, that he must have 2d for it, and
that he had payd for it to the Burie Carrier.¹ It seemes it
came the furthest way about.

5

The reckoning for books is

Xenophon3s ... 0

French Epithalamium }
besides the picture }1s ... 0²

The picture I bestowed upon my Lady who hath abundantly
requited me, for which I humbly thank her.

10

Concerning Mr John,³ I shalbe alwayes ready to performe
some part of that service I ow unto your selfe, in any good
office unto him. For the disposing of his Admission, it is to
be considered, if you admitt him in two Colledges, whether his
stay in the first be like to be of so long continuance as may
carrie him through some one piece of Study. Otherwise, that
time wilbe in a manner lost, because every tutor hath his way,
and one cannot conveniently build upon anothers foundation.

15

2dly, Whether the uncertaintie of his stay, if it be like to be
but short, may not make him irresolved and unsettled, etc. For
my acquaintance in St. Johns it is in a manner none at all. So
that I shall not easily judge of your second requisite of a
Tutor which would require a more private knowledg. I know no
fellow of those who are Tutors but Mr Wright,⁴ Mr Fretvilles⁵

20

25

tutor; And I have heard and have a litle experience, that he is
 very carefull. and yet have no familiar acquaintance with him.
 By the next week I shall have time to enquire out some other
 and to informe you. For their Schollerships, they are no more 30
 then their Commons as ours are, as I take it. Yet [--] of
 greater allowance then ours because of a greater charge under
 that name of Commons though I know not whether any more comes
 in the belly then elsewhere. This I write ex tempore. If I
 can be furnished by the next you shall heare of it. For his 35
 apparrell it is best he should be furnisht like a gentleman,
 both in respect of yourselfe and the better to cover any other
 defect. His gowne therefore would be stuffe etc.

I send you our last weeks news and a Corrant come on
 Thursday since.⁶ 50

I heare that the Corrant news of taking 300 waggons, is
 received as a truth.⁷

That at London Wednesday and Thursday was rife intelligence
 that the King of Spaine was dead.⁸ That the Duke* goes not
 into France till next week.⁹ 55

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest
 and am

Christ Colledg

March 26

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

60

Textual Notes.

Line 2. In MS: 'And It was'.

Line 13. 'un' inserted above line with caret.

Line 28. In MS: 'familiar aqu acquaintance'.

Line 33. 'not' inserted above line with caret.

Line 51. In MS: 'of taken taking 300'.

Lines 53-60 written verically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 The Carrier from Bury St. Edmunds.
- 2 On Xenophon see Letter 113, note 1.
On Epithalamium Gallobrittanicum see Letter 112, note 5.
- 3 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.
- 4 William Wright (MA St. John's 1613-d.1658), Fellow in 1610, was Rector of Benefield in Northamptonshire. See Venn, Alumni.
- 5 John Fretville (?)entered St. John's at Easter 1624. See Venn, Alumni.
- 6 For the latest news see Calendar I.119.
- 7 300 wagons of Victualls were received at Spinola's camp. See Calendar I.125 and Mercurius Britannicus 20 (iii), p 20: STC 18507.169.
- 8 The news of the death of Philip IV of Spain was false. He died in 1665.
- 9 On the Duke of Buckingham's journey to France see Letter 113, note 21.

[9 April 1625]

Sir,

I am sorry I must send so poore a pittance to welcome Mr Doctor Warner to Dalham.¹ Our Doctors* letters failed us on Saturday and since we have no letters but such as tell us there is no newes stirring.

My last relation of his late Majesties sicknes and death,² 5
 though I heare not for the generall contradicted, yet by some many of the particulars are for circumstance diminished. I am told for certaine that after Friday at night till the houre of his death his tongue was swolne so big in his mouth, that either he could not speak at all or not be understood. He desired, 10
 when he first understood that death was neere him to have received the communion at the hands of the Bishop of Winchester,³ but he was so sick, when he sent for, that he could not come. He had 3 houres private talk with the Prince, all being commanded from him a 2 or 3 roomes off, to be out of hearing. 15

When his body was opened by the Physitions, they found his heart of an extraordinary bignes, all his vitalls sound, as also his head, which was very full of braines; but his blood was wonderfully tainted with melancholy and the corruption thereof supposed the cause of his death. 20

The Countess of Buckingham⁴ the Tuesday before he died would needes make triall of some receipt she had approved; but being without the privitie of the physitions, occasioned so much discontent in Dr Cragge⁵ that he uttered some plaine speaches for which he was commanded out of the Court; the Duke himselfe* 25

(as some say) complaining to the sick King of the words he
spake.

King Charles was on Tuesday at the Sermon in the Chapell at
WhiteMall, having till then bin retyred.

Our great Fleet goes still forward amaine of above an 100 30
saile of shippes, some say 120; whereof 13 the Kings. The
Proclamation renewed since the Kings death for taking up of all
the best marriners(as I am told by one that saw it) and
thereupon,all ships in the Thames are stayed etc.⁶ Whither or
what it meanes no man knowes, but say it is one of the greatest 35
preparations for sea that ever was made in England. I suppose
they meane in ours or our fathers memorie.

The Dukes* journey for France is layd downe and yet they
say the busines goeth still on in a sort, but some think the
Prince will stand upon evener conditions, now he is King, then 40
his Father did or would.⁷

It is sayd the Parliament shalbe the 17 of May. the
Funerall and Coronation betweene that and Mayday.⁸

It is thought by some; that there will appeare a great
change in the carriage of the affaires of State in respect of 45
what was in the former Kings time. I know not what groundes
they have or whether it be conjecture.

Dr Preston⁹ sayes he heard the Duke* himselfe more then
once or twise afffirme for certaine the taking of Great Lyma in
Peru.¹⁰ 50

The Dunkirkes lately took 3 of our merchants ships, which
the Spanish Leiger came presently to excuse to our new King,
offering full satisfaction to a penny. The King answered he
desired none, but should find time to make himselfe amends.¹¹

We are here very busie about our Burgesses afore the writ
be come. I doubt the heades and body will not agree. The
Heades would prick whom we should chuse saying they made such
an order. But the body think themselves free and will go nigh
to choose as I heare some which they prick not, as Sir Simeon
Steward etc.¹²

I have no more unless I tell you a Colledge jest. Our
boyes were so confounded with the feare of missing when they
changed in the Grace Carolum Regem for Jacobum Regem that a
Batchelor this week being Lector Biblioz, as he was readingⁱⁿ the
Psalmos at dinner lighting there upon Deus Jacobi afore he was
aware, corrected himselfe and read Deus Caroli, and presently
apprehending his error sayd againe Deus Jacobi, but could
scarce go on he was so amased.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my good Lady, I
rest and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to
Aprill 9.	be commanded
	Joseph Mead

I remember my love to Dr Warner.

They say that the Prince of Orange* is now well,
who was sayd to be dead.

That Breda is able to hold out 3 monthes
but I heare no more.¹³

Textual Notes.

Line 6. 'not' inserted above line with caret.

Line 10. In MS: 'could not speake speake'.

Line 39. 'say' inserted above line with caret.

Line 63. 'in the Grace' inserted above line with caret.

Line 69. In MS: 'respect I rest to yourselfe'.

Line 64. 'Biblioz': 'z' is an Arabic symbol used as an
(Bibliorum) abbreviation for Latin 'rum'.

Notes

- 1 On Dr Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.
- 2 King James died on 27 March 1625.
- 3 On Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester see Letter 26, note 10.
- 4 On Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, Mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham see Letter 30, note 14.
- 5 Dr John Craig (Cragge) (d.1654/5) was physician to King James I and to King Charles I. He used extremely strong language on the death of King James which led to suspicion of poisoning. He was ordered to leave the Court. See Gardiner, History v.314.
- 6 See Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations i.number 267, p 634; ii.number 4, p 6.
- 7 On Buckingham's journey to France see Letter 113, note 21.
Charles, on his accession, did not hold out for better terms from France but wrote to Louis XIII to hasten on the marriage. See Richelieu, Mémoires ii.418-421.
Charles secretly agreed to grant absolute freedom to Catholics in England. See further on the French match: Gardiner, History v.passim.
For a copy of the marriage articles agreed by King James see SPV 1623-1625, note 724, p 525.
- 8 Parliament was opened eventually (after several prorogations) on 18 June 1625. See LJs iii.435. King James's funeral, arranged for 10 May 1625, was brought forward to 7 May 1625. See Chamberlain Letters ii.616.
The coronation was deferred until February 1626.
- 9 On Dr John Preston see Letter 60, note 1.
- 10 French news reported a naval combat between Holland and

Spain before Lima in Peru. See Mercure François, Tome 10, p 231. It was reported (falsely) in England that the Holland-Nassau fleet had taken Lima from the Spaniards after two repulses. See Calendar I.115.

- 11 The Dunkirkers took four English merchant ships in the Downs according to the Venetian ambassador. See SPV 1625-1626, p 6, note 6. He commented that 'if this prove true it will rouse his Majestie's wrath'.
- 12 Sir Simeon Steward (d.1629), graduate of Trinity Hall Cambridge, was returned to Parliament as member for Cambridgeshire in 1624 but his election was declared void upon petition. He became member for Aldeburgh in 1627. See Venn, Alumni.
- 13 Breda (see Letter 113, note 5) had provisions for seven to eight weeks. See SPV 1623-1625, note 858, p 614.

[16 April 1625]

Sir,

The Doctor* failed us againe the last week, but such as we have the most of it received this week I will impart and first our new Kings coines both of gold and silver.¹

Gold	{	fine	{	30s	Amor civium Regis praesidium ^a	5			
			{	15s					
			{	10s					
Silver	{	crowne	{	20s piece	Florent concordia Regna ^b	10			
			{	10s					
			{	5s					
		{		{	5s	Christo auspice regno ^d	15		
				{	1s				
				{	6d				
				{				{	2d
								{	1d
								Justitia thronum firmat ^e	

London Aprill 9 1625

Tis sayd that Spinola's* Magazin is fired. Both letters and passengers affirme it, some that it was done by a boore, who having received some injurie from Spinola's* souldiers thus adventured to revenge himselfe; Others, that it was done by three English souldiers who attired like boores brought hay into the Campe, and so cast fire therein, which the Towne, as soone as the espied the smoke (it seemes privie to the plott) so plyed with their ordnance that it could not be quenched. They sat there was burned therein 30000 bushells of meale etc.²

The King of Denmark* in the feild with 23000 foot and 7000

horse, Sevenberg the Rendezvous.³ Sir Rob. Anstrudder is come this day.⁴

Breda able to hold out till August.⁵ Mansfeild* in the field with 8000 of our English well recovered, and as many of Dutch and French as make up 22000; that he is pitched on one side of Breda, and the States forces 50/000 strong marching toward an other; That the Prince of Orange*⁺ went to the Camp on thursday. [---] All the rest of the Enimies forces draw thitherward; supposed there wilbe a pitcht battaile.⁶

Of our domestick newes we must judge by the event, for every [---] one talkes as thay would have it. Tis sayd, Sir John Walter⁷ and Sir Tho. Trever⁸ (who were the Princes Atturney and Sollicitour) are the Kings Serjeants at law.⁹ Sir Edw. Conway, Lord Deputy of Ireland,¹⁰ and Sir Edwin Sandis* Secretary.¹¹ That the King will pay his Fathers, Mothers, and brothers debts by sale of Parkes.

Sir Edw. Cook* in good favour with the King. The High Sheriffe of Nottingham⁺⁺ putt out for a Papist;¹² The Lord Scroop chekt for the same fault.¹³

They talk also of a proposition that those who will not come to Church shall have no black at their Funeralls.

Thus they talk with us at London

I gott no Corranto this week, but saw one, wherein is but litle newes if it be newes. There was a Catalogue of I know not how many men to be raised in Spaine in the severall provinces thereof; above an 100 thousand. but I suppose it is but a

+ I think the old one.

++ He would not go to Church with the juges these last Assises. [] therefore fined him a £100

bragg, or at most, but a survey of what serviceable men, each province could afford, if need were.¹⁴

Cleve in the Valteline. Castle and all, is now taken and so the whole Valteline recovered.¹⁵

Bethlem Gabor* made by the Turk Waywod of Walachia and Moldavia for giving the Pollack there a great overthrow.¹⁶ 60

Those of Breda upon the 4th of March (I think) made bonfires and other triumphes, it being the day whereon Breda was surprised by the turfe-boat.¹⁷

I think our Cambridgeshire hath no luck. They say the Countrey was here mett on Thursday for the choise of their Knights and when all came to all, the Sheriffe in the writt was called by a wrong name, and so they went home again.¹⁸ 65

Our Towne hath chosen for Burgesses one Mr Mutas¹⁹ and Mr Peapes²⁰ their newe Recorder, but it is like to prove litigious. 70

Thus with my best and wonted respect to your selfe and my good Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Aprill 16

Yours most ready to be

commanded

Joseph Mead.

75

Textual Notes.

Line 26. In MS: 'bushells of meale meale'.

Line 34. In MS: 'toward the an other'.

Line 38. 'one' inserted above the deletion.

Line 56. Presumably 'They'.

Line 62. In MS: '(I think) kept made'.

Notes

- 1 a The love of the citizens is the King's protection.
- b United kingdoms flourish.
- c God protects his worshippers.
- d I reign under the auspices of Christ

e Justice strengthens the throne.

On coinage of Charles I see J.J.North, English Hammered Coinage, (1960), p 123 ff.

- 2 Spfnola's 'magazin' or storehouse (which supplied the troops besieging Breda) was burned 'by a notable strategeme': the citizens of Breda then 'played so hotly upon the Magazin ... none could come neare to quench it'. See Calendar I.120. For a list of the amount of provision lost Calendar I.121.
- 3 Christian IV entered the war on his own in May 1625 with 20,000 troops. (See below, note 4).
- 4 Sir Robert Anstruther was sent in 1624 to Holland, Denmark and certain German states in an attempt to gain support for an anti-Habsburg alliance (including France and Sweden) to recover the Palatinate. Optimistic reports on the alliance were current in Europe (see Mercurius Britannicus number 17 (iii), p 9 and Mercurius Britannicus number 20 (iii), p 18: STC 18507.166 and STC 18507.169). However, difficulties arose among the allies and the plans came to nothing at this date.
- 5 See Letter 119, note 13.
- 6 For the numbers of troops of the United Provinces and of Count Mansfeld see Mercurius Britannicus number 17 (iii), pp 9,10,11: STC 18507.166 and Calendar I.120; 124.
- 7 Sir John Walter (1566-1630), judge, a graduate of Brasenose, Oxford, was called to the Bar in 1590. In 1613 he was appointed Attorney-General to Charles, Prince of Wales. See Foster Alumni.
- 8 Sir Thomas Trever (Trevor) (1568-1656), judge, was appointed solicitor to Charles, Prince of Wales in 1619.

- 9 Neither John Walter or Thomas Trevor was made made Sergeant at Law. See Chamberlain Letters ii.606.
- 10 Sir Edward Conway (d.1631), appointed a principal Secretary of State in 1622/3, was Lord President of the Council and Ambassador to Prague from 1623-25. He continued as Secretary after the accession of Charles. He was not made Lord Deputy of Ireland: Mead's information was incorrect.
- 11 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 28.
- 12 Sir Edward Golding(e), of Colston Basset in Nottinghamshire, was High Sheriff of the county in 1624. He was replaced as Sheriff in the same year and later became a Capuchin Friar at Rouen. See Visitation of Nottinghamshire 1662-1664, p 8.
- 13 Lord Scrope of Bolton (b.1584), later Earl of Sunderland, was Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire and Lord President of the Council in the North 1618/18-1628. See Complete Peerage.
- 14 For numbers of troops raised in Spain see Mercurius Britannicus number 17 (iii), pp 12-13: STC 18507.166.
- 15 On the Valtelline see Appendix 5. On the success of French troops in taking Cleve and recovering the Valtelline from papal garrisons see Mercurius Britannicus number 16 (iii), pp 3, 19: STC 18507.165.
- 16 Bethlen Gabor was said to be made governor of Moldavia and Walachia by the 'Grand Signior' because he gained a victory over the Polish army. See Mercurius Britannicus number 16 (iii), p 9: STC 18507.165.
- 17 Mead refers to a successful Dutch stratagem of February 1590 by which Breda was recovered from the Spaniards by the Dutch. The recovery involved seventy brave men and a turf boat taking fuel to the castle of Breda. See Motley, The

United Netherlands (9 vols.), (London, 1904), iii.7-16.

- 18 James Reynolds of Fen-Ditton was Sheriff of Cambridgeshire 1624-1625 (Carter, Annals, p 90). The election was declared void because of 'a misdemeanor in the Sheriff' (CJs i.802).
- 19 Probably 'Multas' see Coope', Annals, p136.
- 20 Talbot Peapes (King's College c.1595, d.1665/6), was called to the bar in 1613. He was member of Parliament for Cambridge in 1625 and Recorder of Cambridge from 1624-60. See Venn, Alumni.

[23 April 1625]

Sir,

I send you our last, being 2 severall letters of differing dates. You will find something in them, you heard of before. but I could not leave it out, my Copie being to be exscribed of others to be sent to those who knew not so much.¹

I heard this week, that the Spanish Ambassador being over eger to know the designe of our great fleet from our King, and not being satisfyed with the first and 2 denyall, but must needes have something to write unto his Master as an answere from his Majestie The King bad him write this, That his Sister had now a King to hir brother.²

There was talke here, that the Earle of Anglesey (Kitt Villars)³ was banished the Court: the ground of the report, as I heard yesterday, was That when there was sute made by some great ones, that he might be againe sworne of the Bedchamber the King denyed it saying He would have no drunkards of his Bedchamber etc.

They say the French and Savoyard are entred very farre into the territories of Genoa.⁴

Those who come from Ipswich and other parts of your coasts tell us of a great noise of ordnance heard; which some suppose to be out of the Low-countries, others some seafight etc.⁵

Letters of mart are granted against the Archduchesse* and hir subjects.⁶

Sir Maurice Abbot, the Archbishops brother, the first knight the King hath made.⁷

Mansfeild* hath done or is doing something, but we are not assured of the particular.⁸

Mr Withers⁹ is come to Cambridge to print his Psalmes; whereof he shewed the old King a 100 in Christmastime who then told him, himselfe had done 50 but meant not now to go on etc. 30

Dr Richardson¹⁰ dyed on Wednesday morning about 9 a clock; he was in his sicknes so stupid that he seemed to give no entertainment to those that came to do him offices of pietie in that case, and was hardly gotten after much urging to answere those who spake unto him concerning his faith and asking 35
forgivenes of such as he had wronged, and then sayd no more but I I: yet when they asked him about an election of Schollers which was to be at that time, he rouzed himselfe and spake to purpose, walking the length of his chamber without holding etc. I heard it of one present, that went with others to do him that 40
charitable office upon munday. They gott him on Saturday to make a will but with some adoe first. He bequeathed his land being a £100 a yeare with all the furniture and plate at Linton to a Nephew whose father was dead. He bequeathed his land to a Nephew whose father was dead. He gave the Colledge £300 and 20 of the Seniors 40s a piece for a ring; they say £20 to 45
Peterhouse and all his folio bookes to Emmanuel; [--- ---] Old Harry but £10.¹¹

All the rest he gave his brother whom he made Executor, which was £400 in gold and a bag of silver found in his study and a morgage valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ 1800 with all the furniture and plate 50
at Trinitie Colledg and the remaindor of $\frac{1}{2}$ 600 he had lent the Colledg, when the other legacies are taken out.

I know not yet who wilbe their Master:¹² it is in the Kings sole power to bestow; there are many Competitors, but thought it will go between Dr Lucie¹³ (whose wife is dead) and Dr 55

Preston,* a man in special favour with the King.

For Mr John¹⁴ I will take order (if you send money) that his
gowne shalbe sutable every way to his condition. But I must
desire you to give him a 11s in his purse to pay for his
admission 10s to the Colledg and the Lecturer, 12d that I may 60
keep my promise, that it should never be payd out of my hand,
for this is all left me, to have my will in. For John Higham¹⁵ I
find him of nature ingenuous, facile and applyable and as farre
as I can guesse in more danger thereby to receive hurt from
others, than himselfe to corrupt any. He hath bin drawne⁺ into 65
some companie since he came which I liked not: but (that I know
of) he fell into no miscarriage, and was as willing to confesse
and aske pardon for his offending, as I was ready to charge him,
and as farre as I think carefull not to offend the second time.
But your intimation shall encrease my care and watchfulnes and 70
then I think there wilbe no danger in their companying
together; For his Chamber, the best I have in my power is that
John Higham keepes in, hath 4 Studies. and neere me, and I had
thought to have devised some change that they mought keep
together. Otherwise I must dispose of your Son in the new 75
building,¹⁶ ++ where I have a study voyd in one of the best
chambers. But a Master of art is the Chamberfellow, and makes
it thereby inconvenient for my use. I have no way but to gett
one of my batchelors (March)¹⁷ who keepes in the same building
to keep with the Master of art, and let yours have ye use of 80
his Study, though it be not in so good a chamber.

+ by Mr Power¹⁸ and a favourite pupil of his. You see
our miserie.

++ The new building hath but 2 studies in Chamber, and 2 beds.

For bedding we shall make a shift perhaps for a week till we 85
 know better what is needfull. [--- ---] If he keeps in the
 new-building he must have a whole bedding because he lyes [---]
 alone: if in another chamber where he hath a bedfellow, they
 must make a bed betwen them, and his part wilbe more or lesse
 according as his bedfellow is furnished. 90

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest
 and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to	
April 23, St. Georges day	be commanded	
	Joseph Mead.	95

We had here on Wednesday
 between 4 and 6 at night, together
 with thunder and lightening
 the greatest storme of raine and haile for above halfe an
 heure that ever I saw. It was so thick it obscured the [---] 100
 aire, made our Court like a pond and some stones rebounded
 in at my chamber window as big as my thumb.

Textual Notes.

- Line 10. In MS: 'now a brother King'.
- Line 33. 'that' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 43. In MS: 'furniture of and plate'.
- Line 45. In MS: '£20 to Emmanuel Co Peterhouse'.
- Line 51. In MS: 'Trinitie Colledg with the and the'.
- Line 60. 'to the Colledg' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 62. 'is' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 63. 'ingenuous' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 64. In MS: 'guesse more in more': 'danger' inserted above
 line with caret.
- Line 66. 'he came' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 72. In MS: 'For his chamber'.
- Lines 96-102. Writing is cramped; squeezed into left-hand
 margin and bottom of leaf.
- Line 96. In MS: 'here on Thurs Wednesday'.

Line 101. 'stones' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 For the two letters see Calendar I.120, 121.
- 2 On the Spanish ambassador see Letter 45, note 8.

This appears to be a veiled reference (threat?) to the likelihood of English intervention in the Palatinate now that Charles had succeeded to the throne. Was it also an indication to Philip IV that Charles was now his equal with greater freedom of action than he had had previously?
- 3 On Christopher Villiers, Earl of Anglesey, see Letter 43, note 20.
- 4 On France and Savoy see Letter 113, note 18. French and Savoyard forces marched into Northern Italy at the beginning of February 1625 to create a diversion while French and Swiss troops were engaged in the Valtelline. (On the Valtelline see Appendix 5). They attempted to cut the link between Genoa and Milan. They took several small towns but laid siege to Genoa without success. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, p 277; Richelieu, Memoires ii.448; and Bassompierre, Memoires iii.20.
- 5 I have found no other reference to a battle at this date.
- 6 See April? 1625, SPD 1625-1626, note 112, p 16 for orders to issue letters of marque (or reprisal) against ships and goods of the king of Spain and his subjects.
- 7 Sir Maurice Abbot (1565-1642), later Sherriff then Lord Mayor of London, brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a merchant of great wealth. He was a governor of the East India Company and in 1623 was empowered to administer oaths to persons leaving or entering the country. See DNB

-
- 8 Mansfeld was 'scarce in the field as yet'. See Calendar I.122.
- 9 On George Wither see Letter 22, note 21. King James granted a patent to Wither in 1623 for 51 years for Hymns and Songs of the Church. This favour was resented by the Stationers' Company (see Stationers' Register, iv.12-20) but his psalms were printed in London in 1623: STC 25908.
- 10 Dr John Richardson (1564-1625), Fellow of Emmanuel 1585, Master of Peterhouse 1609-15, was Master of Trinity 1615-25. He held various livings in Norfolk and Lincolnshire. He was one of the translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible of 1611. See Venn, Alumni.
- 11 John Richardson's will is held in Cambridge University Library.
- 12 Leonard Maw (Letter 54, note 21) became the new Master of Trinity College.
- 13 On Dr William Lucie see Letter 54, note 19.
- 14 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.
- 15 John Higham (Heigham) (1606-1658), son of a neighbour and relation of Sir Martin Stuteville's, was admitted to Christ's in 1624. He transferred to Magdalene in 1627. See Peile, Register i.357.
- 16 The 'new building', erected before 1613, was situated east of the kitchen and extended northwards 90' from the boundary wall. It was a timber building of two stories with garrets known as a 'Pensionary'. Pensionaries were built to accommodate increasing numbers of students. It was known at various times as 'the little building'; 'the little old building - Rats' Hall'; 'the new building'.

It was pulled down in 1730.

- 17 For William March, BA Christs 1624-5, MA 1628, see Mead's account books, book ii.p 46.
- 18 William Power B.D. (d.1646), a Fellow of Christ's 1599-1645, was Lady Margaret Preacher 1613-1646. He was the leader of the Anglican party in Christ's College. He was later suspected of being a Roman Catholic and formally ejected from the College in 1643/44. However he appears to have continued until 1646, the probable year of his death. See Peile, Register i.209 and Peile, Christ's College, pp 139, 164.

122

(f 429r)

[25 April 1625]

Sir,

I will do all you would have done; but what I have already performed it is not yet ripe enough to tell you. I think his name wilbe in the tables, by that time my letter is done. I have sent for stuffe for a gowne and for a sute. The Taylor hath taken measure etc.¹

I send you the neues I have ready as ready as I have it. And thus with my best respects to your selfe and my Lady (who I know, will now enquire of Cambridge neues) I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Aprill 25

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Notes

- 1 The reference is to John Stuteville (Letter 111, note 7) lately entered at Christ's College as a pupil of Mead.

A postscript to Letter 123, headed 'Correct', is misplaced in MS Harl 389 (f 430^r): see below Lines 52-64.

[30 April 1625]

Sir,

The more I sent you in the beginning of the weeke, the lesse I have now.

The sollemnization of the nuptialls of our King and the Madam of France are supposed to have bin performed on Sunday last,¹ the Duke of Anjow hir brother being proxey.² She is to be at Bullein upon the 10th of May, whence the Duke and other Lords are to fetch her with 20 shippes. Herupon the Funerall which was formerly appointed to be on that day is anticipated and shalbe on Thursday the 5th of May and on the day following our King setts forward toward Dover.³

She hath desired (saith mine author) of our King to forbear her 2 dayes after hir landing, till she be recovered of hir Sea-sicknes; but I wonder, how such secrets come to be known.

Sir Georg Goringe⁴ hath sent her divers of our Common prayer-books, in French which some suppose to give hope of hir Conversion: but others much doubt it, she having a Bishop and 28 Preists resolute Papists, as are all hir servants. Some apprehend, That our English Preists and Jesuites wilbe severely dealt withall upon pretence the Queen hath so many etc.⁵

The Savoyard and the French are by this supposed neere Genoa and we have a pretty report That the Pope had sent unto them to desist till he had propounded conditions of peace to the King of France etc.⁶ otherwise he would excommunicate the

whole Army: but they answered, If he did, they would come to Rome to be absolved.

25

It is yet talked that Mansfeild* hath gotten and holdeth the Sconce of Panhausen, though with the losse of 1600 men and that Vanderberg or somebody is come with the forces out of Flanders to block him up, unlesse the States forces releive him.⁷ It was also talked in Easter Holydayes at London that Breda was in want and could not hold out long and had hung out a black flagge in signe thereof: but it was not beleevd, and for the flagge if there were any such matter, it might be an ensigne of mourning for the death of the Prince of Orange*, the Lord of the Towne.⁸

30

Dr Maw they say is Master of Trinity Colledge.⁹ We had a very great floud this week.

35

Barkleys Argenis¹⁰ is come in English: the price 6s will you have it? I saw also an old book but faire Sleydans Historie⁺ in English printed anno 1566.¹¹ I never saw it before, it comes out of a library: will you have it? it is in q^{to}, much of the same price.

40

Your son is gowned.but we are not yet settled to our studyes: We will begin the next week. for this he had to look about him to know where he was.

45

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg
Aprill.30

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mead.

50

+ e rebus Imperii, Religionis Carolo Cesare.¹²

(f 430r)

Correct

The Duke* with his retinue setts forward on Friday: The King not till Munday following⁺⁺. The Madam [---] accompanied with the King hir brother and the 2 Queenes setts forward toward Bullein [---] on thursday⁺⁺⁺ [---] the day of the Funerall.¹³

55

We have a Congregation new called to be at one a clock: they say to chuse our Burgesses; but the Bedle¹⁴ mentions not wherefore: and we shall not know till we come there. Is this faire play? Sir Albert Morton¹⁵ will be in the first place, the second will go between Sir R. Naunton¹⁶ and Sir Sym. Steward¹⁷ but the first is most likely to carry it.¹⁸

60

++ May 9. +++ May 5 1625.

Textual Notes.

Line 6. In MS: '10th of May which where'.

Line 8. 'that': a blot resembles a deletion; probable reading 'that'.

Line 22. In MS: 'to desist from till'.

Line 59. 'Bedle' inserted above the line possibly with caret'.

Notes

- 1 The 'sollemnization of the nuptialls' (the marriage by proxy of Charles I and Henriette Marie of France) took place on Sunday, 1 May 1625 at Notre-Dame in Paris. See Chamberlain Letters ii.614.
- 2 Claude de Lorraine (1578-1657), Duke of Chevreuse 1606, stood proxy for Charles I at the solemnization of the marriage to Henriette Marie of France. Her brothers, Louis XIII and Gaston, Duke of Anjou (later of Orleans), supported their sister at the wedding. Mead's

- misinformation about the marriage was supplied by John Stuteville from London. See Calendar I.122.
- 3 All royal business was delayed in the summer of 1625: the funeral of King James took place on Saturday 7 May; Buckingham left for France on 11 May ; the king, Charles I, set off for Dover on 31 May to greet the queen; the queen arrived at Dover on 12 June; the king and queen met for the first time on 13 June 1625. See SPD 1625-1626 passim, and SPV 1625-1626 passim.
 - 4 Sir George Goring(e), (see Letter 66, note 12) was engaged in the negotiations for the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.
 - 5 On the number of the Queen's priests see Lockyer, Buckingham, p 251.
 - 6 On the situation in Genoa see Letter 121, note 4.
The Pope sent his legat to France in an attempt to reach an accommodation in Italy but to no avail. See Bassompierre, Mémoires iii.21.
 - 7 On Mansfeld's attack on Panheusen sconce where 'Spinola brews his beer' see Mercurius Britannicus number 18 (iii), p 21: STC 18507.167.
 - 8 On Breda see Letter 113, note 5. On the supplies see Letter 120, note 2.
Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, died 13 April 1625, old style.
It was denied that the black flag signified a desire for parley seeing that Mansfeld was 'scarce in the field as yet'. Calendar I.122.
 - 9 On Leonard Maw see Letter 54, note 21.
 - 10 Barclay John, Barclay his Argenis: or the loves of

Poliarchus and Argenis: translated out of Latin by K.Long and T.May, (London 1625): STC 1392.

- 11 Mead probably refers to a publication of 1560: Philipppson Joannes (Sleidanus), A famous Chronicle of oure time called Sleidanes Commentaries, concerning the raigne of the Emperor Charles the fift: translated by J. Daus, (1560). STC 19848.
- 12 Concerning affairs in the Empire and of religion in the time of the Emperor Charles.
- 13 See note 3.
- 14 Bedle; Bedell: this archaic spelling of Beadle is still in use at Oxford and Cambridge. A Bedell is an executive officer of the University (OED).
- 15 On Albert Morton see Letter 59, note 19.
- 16 On Robert Naunton see Letter 61, note 13.
- 17 On Sir Simeon Steward see Letter 119, note 12.
- 18 The University was allowed to elect two burgesses to sit in the House of Commons. Sir Robert Naunton and Sir Albert Morton were elected in 1625. See Cooper, Annals iii.464.

[7 May 1625]

Sir,

You tell me newes, that much perplexes me. I suppose that
disordered shopkeeper occasioned also that which your son
confessed to you of his once miscarrying at the Parsonage:
whereby I feare they have bin too long acquainted. If I had
known this sooner (as I enquired) I should have refused to
admitt him. For we have much adoe to keep those who come free 5
from learning ill here, but if they were corrupted before they
came, the case is almost desperate. His father is not onely to
blame in what you speak of but also in that he cares not how
long he keepes him at home to runne up and downe idle. It cost
me some trouble to read to him almost alone by reason of his 10
long stay after admission. Yet his Father would needs have had
him home in Lent to make me a new buisines, and though I gave
expresse charge he should now returne, as soone as Easter week
was past, yet I heare not of him after a fortnight. I would
faine know how I should so acquaint his Father with this 15
misorder, that he may not suspect whence I had my information.¹
I placed him in the most convenient chamber which I have to
dispose of; nor can I otherwise place your Son, with halfe the
like convenience or his owne contentment in any other chamber
in the Colledg, it being the next unto me. And if this 20
disorder continue, [--] my best remedie is to give his Father
full leave to keep him at home altogether or to dispose of him
otherwhere. I have not shown so much kindnes unto any pupill I
have; and if this be the meritt of it, I see it was ill bestowed.

You see heere what newes I send you but the Funerall 25
intended once upon [--] Thursday is not till today, and we at
Cambridg hold correspondence.² The Bell now ringes, Dr
Collins³ is to preach etc.

On Wednesday at night were bonefires at London by command,
for newes come of the sollemnization of the Nuptialls by Proxy 30
the Sunday before.⁴ They say now, the Kings journey is the 11th
of this month.⁵ Yet that the Coronation is differed till the
beginning of September, whereat we wonder if it be true; the
rather because we heare nothing yet of adjourning the
Parlament. Can there be a Session, before the King be crown'd?⁶ 35

Denmark* is thought for Bavaria:⁷ Breda still holds good
but we can heare no more.⁸ They talk much of a presse of
20/000 men, one halfe for the Navy; the other, they say, for the
Lowcountrys.⁹

Thus with my best respect to yourself and my Lady (who I 40
hope is well after this tempestuous night) I rest and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready
May 7 1625	to be commanded
	Joseph Mead.

I send you Sleydan.¹⁰ 45

Textual Notes.

Line 2. 'which' inserted above the line.

Line 17. In MS: 'chamber whieh I have'.

Notes

- 1 The 'disordered shopkeeper', evidently one of Mead's pupils,
is not identified. By his previous acquaintance with John
Stuteville ('miscarrying at the Parsonage') he would appear
to be the son of a local tradesman.

- 2 The funeral of King James was held on 7 May 1625.
- 3 On Dr Samuel Collins see Letter 67, note 8.
- 4 On the 'nuptialls' see Letter 123, note 2.
- 5 See Letter 123, note 2.
- 6 On Parliament and the coronation see Letter 119, note 8.
- 7 The reference is to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. In July 1625, Maximilian sent for military help from General Tilly.
- 8 On the siege at Breda see Letter 113, note 5. The city was thought to be holding out. See Calendar I.125.
- 9 See APC June 1623-March 1625, p 48 for instructions on the levy of soldiers to be employed in the service of Frederick, Elector Palatine and Elizabeth. They were to rendezvous at Plymouth.
- 10 For Sleydon see Letter 123, note 11.

[14 May 1625]

Sir,

My written newes Mr Stuteville¹ took away on Wednesday. I hope it is with you. But if I had known Sir Robert which came with him had been Ruckwood I would have bin nice and not have exposed our intelligence to the Catholick geere.²

The Parlament holds, but thought not above some 20 dayes
and that to settle the house and devise some allowable and
parlamentary way (though not in the nature of a subsidie for
defect of Coronation) to supply the present necessities of our
warlike preparation. The Judges they say sate about it; but
what they resolved the King I heare not. Yet some talk of a
Parlamentary Contribution if not in the full nature, yet in the
name of a benevolence; which may be agreed upon without a
Session or Royall assent as not having the nature of a
compulsive statute etc.³

Why the Coronation is deferred so long we know not but some
imagine some mysterie in it, besides the present businesses and
the danger of infection, for withall the confirmation of Madams
joynture is also necessarily deferred.⁴ Yet tis supposed she
will come sooner then was expected and that the King goes to
meet her on Munday at the furthest.⁵

The Kings Closet Counsell I heare to be .1. Archbishop of
Canterb[ur] ⁶ 2 Duke Buckingham* 3 Earle Pembroke ⁷ 4
Lord Brooke, ⁸ 5 Lo: Treasurer Lee. ⁹ 6. Secretary Conway. ¹⁰

The latest newes from London ^{yet} I heare is That Mansfeild*

made an assault upon Spinola's* trenches won two halfemoones¹¹ 25
and held them six howres, but the French falling back, was faine
to quitt them againe with the losse of 84 of his men.¹² The
last upon them was the Earle of Oxford who received 5 or 6
musket shott without hurt by reason of his armour and came off
safe etc.¹³ 30

There dyed of the plague this week 45 and 13 parishes
infected.¹⁴

My pupill is well and followes his study.¹⁵ Thus with my
best respect to yourselfe and my lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready	35
May 14,	to be commanded	
	Joseph Mead.	

There is 60 saile of Hollanders to joyne with our great
Fleet.¹⁶

Textual Notes.

Line 21. 'Kings' (written 'Ks') inserted above the line with
caret'.

Line 22. Presumably 'Canterburie': letters missing at edge of
leaf.

Line 23. Presumably 'Lord': letters missing at edge of leaf.

Line 34. In MS: 'best respect I æe to your selfe'.

Notes

1 On Thomas Stuteville see Letter 29, note 11.

2 'Geere' is an obsolete form of jeer; a scoff, gibe, flout
or taunt (OED sb² I).

Sir Robert Rookwood (d.1679), knighted 1624, of a Suffolk
family, was the son of Ambrose Rookwood who was involved in
the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

3 A 'benevolence' was a forced loan - a tax without

parliamentary assent. Benevolences had been declared illegal in Richard III's reign. It was possible for the king to raise a benevolence if not too often and not for unpopular causes. See Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments: English History 1509-1660, (Oxford, 1971).

- 4 On the coronation see Letter 119, note 8. The 'infection' refers to the plague, see below note 13.
- 5 For the Queen's arrival and her meeting with the King see Letter 123, note 3.
- 6 On George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury see Letter 3, note 33.
- 7 On William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, see Letter 11, note 4.
- 8 Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brook (1554-1628), a poet and statesman, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1614-21, was a member of the Council of War in 1624 and a member of the Council for Foreign Affairs in 1625. See Complete Peerage.
- 9 On James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, see Letter 8, note 10.
- 10 On George Conway see Letter 120, note 10.
- 11 A 'halfe-moone' was a fortification in a crescent shape: an outlook resembling a bastion with a crescent-shaped gorge, constructed to protect a bastion (OED 'Demi-lune'/2).
- 12 General Horace Vere (Letter 20, note 42), not Count Mansfeld, won two of Spinola's half-moons but lost 84 men. See Calendar I.127.

On Horace Vere's attempts to relieve Breda (under siege by Spinola) see Sir Clements R. Markham, The Fighting Veres, (1888), pp 425/427.
- 13 On Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, see Letter 4, n 31.

Oxford was shot in the arm during the siege of Breda and

died in June 1625 of the wound. See Complete Peerage.

- 14 Plague was endemic in London for much of the early seventeenth-century and is said to have killed one-fifth of the inhabitants of London. See Paul Slack, The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England, (1985), pp 147, 151.

Mead first refers to the Plague of 1625 in Letter 125: thereafter, in several following letters, he supplies detailed figures of deaths in London parishes in the city and in the liberties. Weekly bills of mortality were issued in London during epidemics; for 1625 only three bills are extant (STC 16744, series 4). Mead's figures therefore are a useful supplement to the official publications as are his comments on the pattern of the progress of the Plague and his comparisons with earlier outbreaks. *Mead's figures are usually re-formatted in this edition.*

- 15 The reference is to John Stuteville. See Letter 111, note 7.
- 16 The United Provinces were to supply 20 ships of a fleet of 70. Gardiner, History v.406.

[21 May 1625]

Sir,

I can adde litle to what I send. The Parlament, they say is adjournd till tuesday come sennight.¹ I cannot heare the King is yet on his journey to meet the Queene though it was sayd, it should be before this. Some sayd the Madam was sick others the King hir brother but there is no certainty of either report.² 5

The Pageants howsoever go forward at London, where thered dyed of the plague this last week seventie and one whereof 10 within the walles, and 17 Parishes infected.³ This is a great increase for one week. Lord have mercy upon them.

That of the cutting off of Generall Veres men is diversly 10 reported. Some say they were betrayed with a promise off surrendring a Fort by some of the enimie and that all that came within the snare (which were about 80) were cutt off who yet fought so valiantly that had not they who were appointed to second them, went back upon discovery of treachery they had 15 nevertheless won the Place by force. We shall heare more certainly of the manner today.⁴

I would have sent you my Lord Keepers⁵ Funerall Sermon for the King, but that I feared to be prevented by [] Tho:⁶ Holland⁶ or some other. 20

I was told yesterday, that there was now some hope the Elector of Saxony would come into the League.⁷

They say our ships are ready.⁸

Me thinks we have had strange wether this 10 dayes for this

time a yeare. Yet I heare say a gentleman come from London' 25
yesterday should affirme, they had had no raine about London
above one shower this week, and that the wayes were dustie till
he came at Hoddesdon. I am sure we have scarce had day nor
night without.

Thus with my best and wonted respect to your selfe and my 30
Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

May 21

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes. Line 19. *ink faded*: presumably 'Sir Thomas'.

Line 26. 'Yesterday' inserted above the line with caret .

Notes

- 1 On Parliament see Letter 119, note 9.
- 2 See Letter 123, note 3.
- 3 On the plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 4 On Horatio de Vere see Letter 20, 42. For his actions at Breda see Letter 125, note 11.
- 5 On John Williams, Lord Keeper, see Letter 3, note 37.
For his sermon see STC 25723.
- 6 On Sir Thomas Holland see Letter 15, note 10.
- 7 On the League see Letter 115, note 13. Comments on the possibility of the Elector of Saxony's joining the League were confused. In April it had been reported that he would not join it. See Calendar I.120.
- 8 The reference is to eight ships requested by France for use against the Huguenots. See Letter 113, note 19.

[25 May 1625]

Sir,

When your letter was delivered me, I was paying the Draper for your sons gowne and sute.¹ The Bill, to save a labour in booking the particulars I make use of the opportunitie to send you. The bedding etc. was safely delivered.

5

For the Steeple busines, I have sent Mr Atkinson above to seek.² He makes no doubt of workmen beyond compare nor of their diligence and honestie, such as he dare undertake for: but stumbles much at the wages. And I doubt you will find our Cambridg men generally more costly then others. They demand 20d wages, which Mr Atkinson [--] gives them all the yeare long and never lesse. And one of them he told me he gave once 2s a day when he was cheife workman. They say they cannot in reason, go out of Towne to work for lesse, then they have at home. I told them I would informe you and expect your answere on Saturday wherewith they were content.

10

15

The names of those commended are: William Merrick⁺ John Bletham, the third we are not yet certain of, but shall be by Saturday.³

If I can gett my newes before I seale, you shall find it here enclosed. Thus with my best respect and service to

20

+ This Merrick was with me. and is the Cheife.

yourselfe and my Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg

May 25

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead

25

On Saturday (unlesse you prohibit me) I will send you my Lord Bacons Essays⁴, newly enlarged both in the manner of handling and number of the heads in a faire print in quarto.

The play called The Game At Chests⁵ is also in print, but because I have no skill in the game I understand it not.

30

I send you my last Saturdays newes; but Master Lisles⁶ letter from one Mr Morgan⁷ of the Earle of Pembrokes house was peremptory,⁸ That our Armies had won the water passage to the Towne of Breda with the losse of 1500 men, amongst whom was Sir Walter Devoreaux⁹, but that the Enimies losse should be 2 or 3000 and more. But I beleeve it is false; and the same which the Doctors letter questioneth of uncertaintie; and I heare noise is now downe at London.¹⁰ I would the plague were so too.

35

Textual Notes.

Line 36. In MS: 'But I doubt it is false': 'beleeve' inserted above the deletion.

Notes

- 1 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.
- 2 Mr Thomas Atkinson, perhaps a master builder, was Mayor of Cambridge 1623-24.
- 3 Sir Martin Stuteville contributed generously towards the restoration of the tower and the construction of a wooden steeple for Dalham Church. He also presented two new bells. A notice testifying to his generosity is painted on

the wall of the church.

- 4 Bacon, Sir Francis, The essayes or counsels civill and morall. Newly enlarged, (London, 1625). STC: 1147.
- 5 Thomas Middleton, A Game at Chaess, as it was acted, published anonymously 1625. STC: 17882.
The play can be seen as an allegory on the contemporary political manouevering between Spain and England over the possession of the Palatinate.
- 6 William Lisle or L'Isle (d.1637) Lord of the Manor of De Lisl's, Cambridgeshire, was a fellow of King's College. See Venn, Alumni.
- 7 Mr Morgan has not been identified.
- 8 On William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, see Letter 11, note 4
- 9 Perhaps Sir Walter Devoreaux (1578-1659), Viscount Hereford, Sheriff of Worcester 1625-1626. See Complete Peerage. Or perhaps Walter Devereux, a member of the Middle Temple in 1617-18. See Middle Temple Register, i.108.
- 10 Mariners were employed to rescue Breda. See Mercurius Britannicus 20 (iii), p 20: STC 18507.169. One hundred men of Prince Frederick-Henry were reported lost in the attempt to win control of a 'water-passage' to Breda. Mercurius Britannicus 24 (iii), pp 20: STC 18507.172.

[28 May 1625]

Sir,

I heare nothing from you today. Whereby I gather you will none of our Masons. I thought they would prove too costly.

I can tell you yet no certaine news of Breda, nor of any thing done there.¹ For all we say one day, is unsayd againe the next. One while it is releived; another while it is lost, one while neither. 5

But is talked now that Mansfeild* is gone from thence into Brabant where he destroyes and spoiles all before him.² I know not whether this will hold long.

It is beleevd now that that our King is sett forth to meet his Queene and that he lay the last night at Rochester etc.³ 10

I saw one of the peeces of money flung about at the marriage. On one side is Cupid, holding in one hand Lillies, in the other Roses: the motto Fundit amor Lolia mixta Rosis.⁴ On the other side the pictures of the King and Queene with this. 15
Carolus Mag. et Henr^{ica} Maria, Rex et Regina Magnae Britanniae.⁵ There was no jollitie at the marriage nor any of the French save the King himselfe and the proxie in gay clothes, but our ambassador were very rich and gallant.⁶

There died of the sicknes this weeke in all 78 whereof within the walles 14. Parishes infected 17 within the walles 9.⁷ 20

I send you a Corrant but the most part of the newes is elder then the 2 last told us of.⁸ Thus the knaves plague us.

So with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest and 25
am

Christ Colledg Yours most ready
May 28 to be commanded
Joseph Mead.

My pupil is well and gives me yett good content and I hope 30
will continue.⁹

Textual Notes.

- Line 7. 'But is': 'But it is' probably intended.
Line 13. 'is' inserted above the line with caret'.
Line 20. In MS: 'The enelesed' is written on line above new
paragraph beginning 'There died'.

Notes

- 1 On Breda see Letter 113, note 5.
- 2 Mansfeld marched into Brabant with 12,000 foot and 5,000
horse. See Calendar I.131.
- 3 On the journey of Charles I to Dover see Letter 123, note
3.
- 4 'Love [of the king for the people] scatters lilies mixed
with roses'.
- 5 'Great Charles and Henrietta Maria: King and Queen of Great
Britain'.
- 6 For an account of the festivities at the marriage see SPV
1625-1626, note 61, p 44.

There were two ceremonies: the 'betrothal' - the signing of
the contract on 29 April/9 May 1625 and the wedding by
proxy on 1/11 May 1625.

'Our ambassador' was Henry Rich (1590-1649), Earl of
Holland.

- 7 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 8 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[4 June 1625]

Sir,

My last letter was written before I received yours - that was the reason I answered not. I spake since with Merrick¹ but found him not plyable to the bargaine, though I told him what you had written. He told me he would think of it farther, but he never came at me since.

5

I heare H Law* is in Towne but I have not spoke with him, though I deferred my writing of purpose till now, which is neere 12 a clock.

All that came from London on Wednesday and Thursday told us ill newes of 20 or 30 thousand pounds worth of beife lost in our Navie through the default and carelessness of those who were betrusted with the pouldring² and barrelling it; it being all putrified and at first, suspicion of some treacherous practise, but afterward the fault was layd upon the vessells where in oyle had bin, etc. But I heard even now, that it was a false alarum (at least for the most part) by one who sayes he enquired of some of the Commissioners, which I would be glad to heare confirmed.

10

15

On Wednesday were 18 letters upon the Exchange that Breda was surrendred, and yet the partie aforementioned sayth it was

20

not beleeeved on thursday.³

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

June 4

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

25

John Higham⁴ sollicitates me for one Tracey of Moulton,⁵ an
Attorneys Son to be my Pupill. I would faine first be informed
what he is etc.

Count Henry, Prince of Orange,

hath drawne out an Army of 20/000 men

30

and is gone into Flanders.as

Mansfeild* is gone into Brabant.⁶

Textual Notes.

Line 3. 'him' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 10. 'newes' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 11. In MS: 'Navie though through'.

Notes

1 On William Merrick see Letter 127, note 3.

2 'Fouldring' is an obsolete form of 'powdering': to sprinkle
the flesh of animals with salt or powdered spice,
especially for preserving (OED 2a. obs.).

3 On Breda see Letter 113, note 5.

4 On John Heigham see Letter 121, note 15.

6 John Tracey (Christ's 1625-d 1661/2), was the son of an
attorney of Suffolk. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register
i.368.

7 For the movements of the Prince of Orange see Mercurius
Britannicus 23 (iii) p 15: STC 18507.171.

[7 June 1625]

Worthy Sir,

I am sorry to hear of your ague. I would these enclosed might procure you any refreshing. I had not time to exscribe them, and therefore I send you the originalls, but so as I hope you shall not know the authors.¹ Thus with my best respect and prayers for your health, with my service to my Lady I rest and am.

5

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

June 7

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

I forgett not to remember my love to Dr Warner.²

10

I forgott a postscript of the last weekes letter, That the Popes Legat should have excommunicated the Colledg of Sorbon for determining that the King of France might marry his sister to ours without the Popes dispensation.³ I could wish it were true.

15

Textual Notes.Line 1. In MS: 'your ~~feavoux~~ ague'.

Line 12. In MS: ''That the Colledg of Sor Popes Legat'.

Notes

1 The 'enclosed' sent with Letter 130 have not been found. The authors' identities would presumably have been concealed to protect them from prosecution for illegal discussions on affairs of state.

2 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 21.

3 The Pope's legat was Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a nephew

of Pope Urban VIII.

The Sorbonne gave theological advice to the French king.

'The Pope's legat ...enjoyed the French king ... not to proceed any further in the buisnes of the marriage.... The Kingheld himselfe bound ...to send her to hir husband. Which act being done then let the Nuntio say what he pleased'. See Calendar I.130.

[14 June 1625]

Sir,

I am sorry to heare your ague still continueth; I pray God
soone to deliver you from it and restore you to your wonted
health. In the meantime it is a good meditation of your
frailtie, which is the use, I doubt not, but you make thereof.
Our newes on Saturday was as followeth.

5

London June 10

We have from Vienna that the Emperour hath concluded a 12
yeares peace with the Turk; but that Bethlem* will not be
comprehended therein,¹ whom they write to be 36/000 strong
(besides his brothers Army who stands to be Palatine of
Hungary) and hath summoned an Assembly at Cassovia of all the
Estates of Upper Hungary, upon paine of losse of life and
estates, to appeare.²

10

And that Tilly* hath writt unto the Emperour for ayd,
because the King of Denmark had sent him word to abandon the
Land of Hessen, or he would personally come and shew him the way
out of it.³

15

We heare not any thing this week yet, how it fares with the
Armies in Italy, but that the Duc de Guerres the French
Constable and Generall there dyed in his bed above 80 yeares
old.⁴

20

At Anwerp they have greatly triumphed for the gayning of
Breda,⁵ and there printed a [---] Scornefull, insolent Picture
with French verses upon Breda's Funeralls, making Count
Mansfeild* riding before the Coffin bareheaded on an Asse, the

25

English Forces vanishing in smoke, and all the Kings Princes
and States of this new league riding after in mournfull [---]
heaviness, bearing their severall Armes on pennants.⁶

Its thence also written, That Spinola* hath since taken
Steinbergen a small weake Towne but 3 English miles from 30
Bergen up Zome which argues, he meanes to besiege it.⁷

We know nothing by the last French Post, how the busines yet
stands betweene the King and his Protestant Subjects. We can
heare yet no certainty of our Queenes arrivall,⁸ nor was the
wind for our Ships to go to Bullen till yesterday.⁹ The Earle 35
of Montgomery¹⁰ was in great danger to have bin cast away, the
Ship splitting on a Rock and a litle after sinking, but he is
safely come to Dover; where his Majestie hath stayed ever since
yesterday sennight.

Who on Saturday was aboard divers of his Ships in Dover 40
Road, and feasted aboard the Prince.¹¹ On Sunday he rode into
the Downes and viewed the Castles and Sandwich, the Ladyes
remayning at Canterbury; where Orlando Gibbon¹² the Kings
Organist, coming on Saturday from Service at Christchurch fell
downe dead, but no signe of plague on him, but is thought to 45
have dyed of wind. I had a letter from Canterbury that [--]
the King would returne hither tomorrow.

Its sayd, Sir Francis Steward¹³ hath brought an English ship
of 300 tunnes from the Cowes, that came from Spaine, [--- ---
---] with £200/000 besides other merchandise belonging to the 50
Spanyard (but pretended to appertaine to English and Scottish
merchants) into the Downes, which his Majestie justly makes
stay of.¹⁴

Another: London the same day

but some houres later written

We hope our Queene is arrived at Dover this morning, which 55
we shalbe more assured of by our bonefires and ringing of Bells
at night.¹⁵

It is sayd also The Queene Mother is dead at Amiens since the
parting but of this I have no certainty.¹⁶

But it is more boldly and constantly affirmed, That the 60
French Constable is dead before Genoa, being 84 yeares old,¹⁷ and
Monsieur Creguy his Son in Law, Generall in his rome.¹⁸

There is a Rumour, as if the French had lately there
received a great overthrow, and lost their Standard Royall, but
of this I will yet suspend my beleefe, though I somewhat feare 65
it.¹⁹

The Earle of Oxfords death in the Lowcountries, is here more
lamented then doubted of.²⁰

Count Mansfeild*, went through Brabant toward the Palatinate
some 20 dayes agoe with 15/000 foot and 6/000 horse.²¹ 70

The Prince Tomaso the Duke of Savoyes second son, hath
routed 1000 Spanish horse in revenge of the losse of his 60.²²

An English and a Scottish merchant, bringing some treasure
from Spaine to carry to Dunkirk, were arrested in the Downes, and
the treasure (whether more or lesse, brought (as I heare) to 75
our mint.²³

I heard one tell a Privy Counsellor, that on Munday at Dover,
the Earle of Pembrok²⁴ was sworne High Steward of the house, and
the Earle of Montgomery Chamberlaine.

Our Parliament is againe deferred till Thursday.²⁵ 80

Out of all this, it is hard to guesse whether the Queene be
yet arrived or not. If she be, certainly the newes came after

the writing of the first letter. It was indeed on Friday
afternoone reported she arrived at Dover at 2 a clock in the 85
night that morning. Mr. Bosw:* writes onely this which
followes

Whitehall is providing for his Majestie, St James for our
Queene, Denmark-house for the Duke of Chevreuse and his Lady,²⁶
who intends to lye in there; all are expected upon Tuesday next, 90
at least his Majestie,²⁷ so that I suppose the Parliament wilbe
prorogued unto Thursday.

Whether this presupposes the arrivall of the Queene or not
I leave you to judge.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady praying 95
the Almighty to restore you to your health, I rest and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to
June 14	be commanded
	Joseph Mead.

H Law* desires me in your name for 100
Mr Tracyes son.²⁸

Your request I take for a
testimoniall. Let him come some week
before the commencement.

Textual Notes.

- Line 3. 'a' inserted above the line with caret.
Line 15. In MS: 'King of Denmark had had'.
Line 24. Mead (unusually) inserts an apostrophe: 'Breda's'.
Line 72. In MS: 'hath route routed'.
Line 80. In MS: 'is agi againe'.
Line 84. 'on' inserted with caret.
Notes

1 Before 4/14 June 1625 the Turks and the Imperial
commissioners reached a conclusion of peace by the Treaty
of Gyarmat. See SPV 1625-1626, note 129, p 92.

Vienna's involvement in the German war and Ottoman involvement in conflict with Persia meant that neither side could envisage a serious confrontation on the Danube. Gabor Bethlen attempted to hinder Turkish/Imperial negotiations.

- 2 On Bethlen's brother Stephen see Letter 108, note 9.

I have found no other reference to an Assembly at Cassovia (Kaschau).

- 3 On the King of Denmark's preparations and threats to Tilly see SPV note 114, p 82 and SPV 1625-1626, note 37, p 26.

- 4 On François de Bonne, Duc de Lesdiguières see Letter 54, note 14.

The report of his death was false. He died in 1626.

On the armies in Italy see Letter 121, note 4.

- 5 On Breda see Letter 113, note 5.

- 6 The picture and French verses are not identified.

- 7 Steinbergen was not occupied by Spinola at this date. Thirty companies of soldiers had been sent there to make bulwarks against the designs of their enemies. See Mercurius Britannicus 32 (iii), p 30: STC 18507.175.

- 8 The Queen had already arrived in England. See Letter 123, note 3.

- 9 A fleet of ships had been ready for some time (under the leadership of the Duke of Buckingham as Admiral) to fetch the Queen (Henrietta Maria) from Boulogne. See Calendar I.131.

The fleet was dispersed by a storm and merchant ships were dispatched to Boulogne in its stead. See SPD 1625-1626, p 42.

- 10 On Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery see Letter 91, note 6.

- 11 The 'Prince' - one of the ships made ready to fetch the Queen from France.
- 12 Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) was organist of the Chapel Royal and of Westminster Abbey. See Grove's Dictionary.
- 13 On Sir Francis Stewart (Hepburn) (1584-1639), distantly related to James I, an official in shipping, see SPD 1625-1626, passim.
- 14 The detention of a ship laden with coin and bullion, in the custody of Sir Francis Stewart, was held to be the lawful possession of the king. See SPD 1625-1626, note 1, p 33.
- 15 See note 8. For details of the Queen's arrival and first meeting with King Charles see Calendar I.132.
- 16 The Queen Mother, Marie de Medicis (1573-1642), mother of Louis XIII and Henriette Marie, second wife of Henry IV of France, Regent of France from 1610-1614, survived until 1642.
- 17 See note 4.
- 18 On Charles of Blanchefort and Créquy see Letter 54, note 13
- 19 I have found no confirmation of this incident.
- 20 On Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, see Letter 4, note 31.
- 21 It was reported that Mansfield marched towards the Rhine to pass over it with 10 or 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse. See Calendar I.132.
- 22 Prince Tomaso of Savoy, in action near Asti, lost 60 horsemen through a deceitful stratagem of the Spaniards. The horsemen were cut to pieces after they had dismounted and disarmed. Tomaso then took daily revenge on the Spaniards. See Calendar I.131.
- 23 On the two ships laden with specie for Flanders see SPV 1625-1626, n 125, p 89. £100,000 sterling was taken to the

mint. For legal action against the 'Orange Tree', a Flemish-built ship containing Spanish bullion, see APC March 1625-May 1626, p 124.

- 24 On William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke see Letter 11, note 4.
- 25 Parliament was prorogued three times probably because of the arrival in England of Henrietta Maria of France. Parliament began on Saturday, 18 June 1625. See LJs iii.435.
- 26 Claude de Lorraine (1578-1657), Duke of Chevreuse, was the second son of Henri, Duke of Guise and Catherine of Cleves. Marie de Rohan (1600-1679), of the Huguenot Rohan family, Duchess of Chevreuse, was, formerly, the widow of the Duke of Luynes, Constable of France.
- 27 The royal party arrived in London on Thursday 16 June 1625. They travelled in the royal barge through London Bridge to Whitehall. See Calendar I.132.
- 28 On John Tracey see Letter 129, note 6.

[18 June 1625]

Worthie Sir,

Of your health I understood nothing since Tuesday, I pray
 God, it may be bettered, and that with patience you may endure
 his pleasure. It hath not impaired your body more then I hope
 it hath added improvement to your Soule by raising it to
 Godward, and filling it rich motions and pretious desires.

5

The Queene arrived at Dover on Sunday betweene 6 and 7 a
 clock afternoone. On Munday his Majestie met and entertained
 her there at dinner and brought to bed at Canterbury.¹

On Thursday about 6 a clock at night she came with his
 Majestie to London by water, all the Thames being in their
 gallantrie.² The Parlament deferred on Munday begins to day
 certainly.³

10

The Plague which in the former week was 91 and 25 Parishes
 is this week risen to an 165 and 31 parishes.⁴ Lord have mercy
 upon them and us all.

15

All this I either had or saw written from London this week.

But it is generally talked, that the lett⁵ of the Queenes
 coming on, after she came to Amiens, was the importunitie of the
 Popes Legat who came thither to impose upon her I know not what
 penitentiall Confession, for 16 (some say 26) days for
 consenting to marry our King without the Popes dispensation and
 that finished, to absolve her.⁶ Hereof she informed his
 Majestie by letter of hir owne hand, who wrott back that
 unlesse she came speedily by such a day he must and would
 returne to London upon great buisines; Whereupon shee

20

25

presently came away without Confession, leaving, the Legat at Amiens.

This is all I have yet and so with my best respect and prayers, I rest and am

Christ Colledg

June 18

Yours most ready to

be commended

Joseph Mead.

30

Sir,

I had written my letter and was about to seale when I received yours: I am heartily glad to understand by your selfe, that your fitt hath left you, but be not too venturous to come abroad for fear of a relapse. For this is unseasonable and odde wether for this time a yeare. For the Saw and file, Mr Atkinson⁷ sends me word at this instant, that he hath bought them, but that I can not have them till within this houre and halfe, and now it is 12 a clock And I know not whether Parkers man* will stay, so long. You shall see by the event. My pupill⁸ is, and does well.

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Textual Notes.

Line 5. 'it rich motions': 'it with rich motions' probably intended.

Line 16. In MS: 'All this I ha either'.

Line 26. 'presently' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 36. 'too' inserted above the line with caret.

Line 40. 'not inserted above the line with caret.

Line 41. In MS: 'houre and alf halfe'.

Notes

1 On the arrival of the Queen in England see Letter 123, note 3.

2 On the arrival of the King and Queen in London see Letter 131, note 28.

3 See LJs iii.435.

-
- 4 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
 - 5 'Lett', now archaic: a hindrance, stoppage or obstruction (OED: let).
 - 6 'Some mutter as if the Spanish instruments and the Pope's two legats played their pranks to hinder her coming'. Calendar I.130. See also Letter 130, note 3.
 - 7 On Thomas Atkinson see Letter 127, note 2.
 - 8 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[25 June 1625]

Sir,

I had not time last week to send you the price of your comodities, because I saw them not till I had sealed.

The Hagsaw is 6s.

The File 2s - 6d.

The Towne would not afford one for that use, so Mr Atkinson¹ let me have that he had provided for himselfe.

5

For newes, There dyed at London this week in all 640 whereof of the plague 239: Parishes, 32 infected. There dyed within the walles but 30. But in Shoreditch, Whitechappell, and 2 Parishes in Southwork 115. of y^e Plague.²

10

They say, The Parlament holds a Fast this day³ and have appointed Dr Preston⁴ and Master Shute⁵ their Preachers. -- But there is nothing thereof in the letters, I have yet seene this week.

The Kings speach is in the Towne, but I have not yet light upon it. The Copie is unperfect and very short and the Relaters tell it, as imperfectly. It concernes these 2 particulars: First Religion. Of his sincerity wherein, and resolution to persist Constant, he assured them. Secondly [--] the great Businesse whereof he sayd, they formerly had made him the Instrument to his Father to sett on foot, And therefore being their owne work, the dishonour would ly upon them if it were not supplied and followed.⁶ They say there came some English Papists to the Queenes Masse on Sunday, whom shee rebuked, and caused to be sent out.⁷

15

20

25

The great Feast at Whitehall was on Tuesday, where ^{his} unspeakable bravery, but the Duke of Chevreuse putt down ours.⁸

On Friday was sennight at night, the King was much dejected by a letter received from Denmark, which having opened, the first words he mett withall being Christianus V Rex Dania et Norvegia 30 etc made him verily beleeeve, His Uncle Christian the IIII had bin dead. So that he flung away the letter and would read no more, but retired himselfe till some of the Nobilitie perusing it, perceived his error. For the Kingdome being Elective, the Kings son being chosen successor in his Fathers lifetime, and 35 now ruling in his absence, beares the Title of King etc and wrote this complementall letter to ours.⁹

They talk at London of an Ambassador come from the States, to our King to complaine of the New Prince of Orange*, as favouring the Arminians,¹⁰ and feared not to be loyall to their 40 State, and therefore desiring ours to take the Protection of them.¹¹ But I beleeeve it not, though I know they will do much to maintaine an opinion.

We are yet here free of the Plague: God grant we speed well after this Faire.¹² We watch and ward, but I am afrayd to no 45 great purpose.

Thus with my best and wonted respect to your selfe and my Lady, I rest and am

Christ Colledg

June 25

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

There is come a great Pilgrimage of Purchas of some 4 big volumes, and about £3 price. It containes all the discoveries and travailles, that ever were made by any nation or recorded in any language whether printed or any waye preserved 55

in Manuscripts and Journalls. All in English and marshalled in a good order, with arguments and notes.¹³ Have you any mind to it?

Textual Notes.

Line 42. In MS: 'though I --- I know'.

Lines 47-58 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 On Thomas Atkinson see Letter 127, note 2.
- 2 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 3 Both Houses of Parliament petitioned the king for a general fast throughout the kingdom. See 23 June 1625, LJs iii.441. A fast of the Lords and Commons (to precede the general fast) was arranged for 2nd July 1625.
- 4 On John Preston see Letter 60, note 1.
- 5 Nathaniel Shute (d.1638), BA Christ's College 1603/4, Rector of St.Mildred, Poultry 1618-1638, was a famous preacher. See Venn, Alumni and Peile, Register i.235.
- 6 For King Charles's speech to Parliament see LJs iii.435
For a copy of the speech see Calendar I.133.
The king promised to maintain Protestantism - 'no Man ... shall be ever more desirous to maintain the Religion that I now profess, then I shall be'; he also attempted to persuade Parliament to subsidise assistance to Protestantism in Germany - 'I pray you remember ... what a great Dishonour it were, both to you and me, if this Action, so begun, should fail for that Assistance you are able to give me...'
- 7 English Catholics were forbidden to attend the Queen's mass: 'individuals stand at the doors ... who stop the entry'. See SPV 1625-1626, note 139, p 98.

- 8 The reference is to the king's wedding feast. See Calendar I.133.
- 9 Christian V of Denmark was crowned as king for fear that his father, Christian IV, should die in the German wars.
- 10 On the 'new Prince of Orange', Frederick Henry, see Biographical Index.
- On Dutch Arminianism see Pieter Geyl, The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, Part I chapter 1 B.
- 11 The Calvinist majority in the Dutch Republic suspected Arminians to be politically pro-Spanish and thus a danger to the State. They were opposed to Frederick-Henry's relaxation of persecution of Arminians.
- 12 The reference is probably to the annual Midsummer Fair held in Cambridge for which the University had oversight of the weights and measures. See E. Carter, History of the County of Cambridgeshire, (Upcott edition 1819), p 29.
- 13 Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes, 4 vols., (London 1625): STC 20509.

[2 July 1625]

Worthie Sir,

Our newes on Saturday last you have here enclosed.¹ For
 what I have heard since, I saw the Bill² last night for London
 wherein the totall summe of Burialls this week+ is 942 whereof of
 the Plague 390; which is a strange reckoning; the whole summe
 being encreased 302 since the former week, and the encrease of 5
 the Plague to be but just halfe that summe. Is there some
 other disease as bad and as spreading as the plague? Or is
 there untrue dealing in the accompt? Parishes infected 50+
 Within the walles dyed of the plague 57; but within walles and
 liberties together 126.³ Lord have mercy upon them and upon us 10
 all. I am told, that my Lord Russell⁴ being to go to Parliament
 had his shoemaker to pull on his bootes, who fell downe dead of
 the plague in his presence. Whereupon he abstaines from that
 Honourable Assembly and hath sent the Lords word of this
 accident. 15

Whereas in the enclosed, it is sayd That the House of
 Commons held a Fast on Saturday last: Now I understand, it is not
 till today when the Lords also joyne in the like devotion and
 have 2 Bishops to preach.⁵ But the House of Commons retaine
 their 3 forenamed ministers. This same day also there is a 20
 Generall Fast throughout the Citty by order from the Bishop, who
 on Thursday at 4 clock conve[] the Clergie of the Citty, to
 give them direction.⁶

+ The bills are made up on Thursdays.

There shalbe a Fast weekly on Wednesdays amd Fridays 25
throughout the Kingdome and a Book of more then a dozen sheets
is coming out with prayers and directions.⁷ God grant we may
so performe it as it may obtain a blessing from his mercifull
hand.

They talk of divers Billes in the Parlament House^{as} against 30
the Universities, Pluralities of Benefices; about Disposition of
Prebends to such as want other Preferment and mending of
Vicaridges out of the Impropriations;⁸ Against Montagu. and
his late Book etc.⁹

But some say they will grant no subsidies till the King 35
hath given his assent to a further suppression of all Popish
Recusants and disinheriting of them, which his Majestie for the
present distastes.

The Friars so frequent the Queenes private Chamber th[]
the King is much offended, and so tould them, having (as he [--] 40
sayd) granted them more then sufficient libertie in publick.
This Mr Mordant¹⁰ writes to me and besides, that which followes

" The Queene (sayth he), howsoever very litle of stature yet
" of a pleasing countenance (if she be pleased) but full of spirit
" and vigor and seemes of a more then ordinary resolution. With 45
" one frown (divers of us being at Whitehall to see her being at
" dinner, and the roome somewhat overheated with the fire and
" companie) she drave us all out of the Chamber. I suppose none
" but a Queene could have cast such a scowle.

Sir James Ramsay¹¹ and Coronell Gray¹² have letters of 50
exchange. take up £10/000 and with it to levy 4000 Scotts
whom Mansfeild* seemes more to like then the English because
more hardy; the English which he took at Christmas, being for y^e

[---] greatest part dead.^{++ 13}

The Duke Chevreuse¹⁴ will shortly go away with the French 55
troop, they standing the King in 240 a day. There is no good
newes out of France betweene the Protestants and their king.

(This is such newes as I have by anticipation, and by
under-intelligence: Will you heare what Cambridge affords on
the other side of the leafe? 60

Our Faire is broken up¹⁵ and yet (thanks be to God) we
heare nothing of the Plague, God grant we may not but we are
fearfull till the Full-moone be past.

On Munday Durrant the Tanners Son kild a man cowardly and
basely in revenge of being a witnes in some sute or 65
controversie, first against his Father deceased, and since
brought to confirme it against the son. Who had bin watching
and seeking for him to act this villainie, when at length
having unhappily found him, the Fellow suspecting his intent
upon former threats, and unprovided to resist as having no 70
weapon, made hast to gett into an house neere Queenes Colledg,
but not able to open the dore soone enough, Durrant stabd him
in the brest [---] on the left side and then tumbling him dead
into the house gave him 6 wounds more. When he had done he
betook him to his owne house, which he maintained awhile 75
against the Mayor and Officers with musket, etc but at length
was taken by a Stratageme and remaines yet unpenitent in prison,
onely greived that he killed but one man. He is a recusant.
The Fellow kild dwelt about Huntingdon, and upon even termes
would have made his part good.¹⁶ 80

⁺⁺ They say our fleet goes not out till the beginning of
August.

The same night a woman in litle St. Maries at the same end
of the Towne cutt hir throat, whereof she dyed on thursday
night.

85

On Wednesday after supper Sir Tho. Granthams¹⁷ son and heire
of St Johns Colledg some 13 yeares of age, as he was runnning
after a Ball without their tennis court [] himselfe into the
River. His playfellows missing him [] and found him at
length drowned at a ditch mouth falling into the River, and
crying to a boteman coming by he with his oare raisd him, and
took him out, dead swolne and black without any hope to recover
life, and some say it was 3 or 4 houres before he came to
himselfe: and yet God be thanked is now like to outlive it.

90

Thus I have vented my store, and with my best and wonted
respect to yourselfe and my Lady, I rest and am

95

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready

July 2

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

My pupill is well, and plyes his book.¹⁸

100

I heare not yet, how you like my Hagsaw?

Textual Notes.

Line 14. In MS: 'sent them Lords': 'Lords' inserted above the
line.

Line 21. In MS: 'by the order'.

Line 22. Perhaps 'convened': letters missing at edge of leaf.

Line 27. 'is' inserted above line with caret.

Line 30. 'as' inserted above line with caret.

Line 31. 'about' inserted above line with caret.

Line 37. In MS: 'and dish disinheriting'.

Line 39. Presumably 'that': letters missing at edge of leaf.

Lines 43-49. Each line is preceded by quotation marks - ".

Line 44-45. In MS: 'spirit ef and vigor': 'and' inserted above
the line.

Line 54. 'greatest' - 'est' written above the line.
 Line 67. 'bin' inserted above the line with caret.
 Line 79. 'kild' inserted above the line with caret.
 Line 83. In MS: 'in little little St Maries'.
 Lines 88-89. Part of these two lines are worn and the words illegible.
 Line 90. In MS: 'at the a ditch'.
 Line 95. 'with' inserted above the line with caret.

Notes

- 1 See Calendar I.133.
- 2 A 'Bill' was a list of the numbers of deaths from plague. Bills were published weekly in London. See London: Bills of Mortality: STC 16744.
- 3 On the plague see Letter 125, note 14.
 'Liberties': the district extending beyond the bounds of the city subject to the control of the municipal authorities (OED/7c).
- 4 Francis Russell (1593-1641), Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, later Earl of Bedford, was Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire and of the city of Exeter. See DNB.
- 5 On the fast of both houses of parliament see Letter 133, note 3.
 The Bishop of Bath and Wells, Arthur Lake (Bp.1616-1626), and the Bishop of Salisbury, John Davenant (Bp.1621-1641) were chosen to preach at the Parliament fast.
- 6 The dates agreed upon for the fasts were: Saturday, 2 July 1625 for the City of London; Monday, 4 July 1625 for Westminster; Saturday, 16 July 1625 for the whole kingdom.
 See 28 June 1625, LJs iii.448.
- 7 A forme of common prayer, together with an order for fasting; for the averting of God's heavy visitation ... and

for the drawing downe of his blessings upon us and our
armies..(London 1625): STC 16540.

8 The reform of pluralities of benefices for Universities and of impropriations of Vicarages was a long-running concern of the House of Commons. The issues had been under discussion in the House of Commons in 1604 . See Cobbett, Parliamentary History, i. 1023-24.

9 Lord Richard Montagu (1577-1641), later Bishop of Norwich, was suspected of a leaning to Papistry by certain Puritans in the House of Commons. They complained that Montague had 'committed a great Contempt against this House'. See CJs i.805/806 . His 'late book', Appello Caesarem: A just appeale from two unjust informers: STC 18038, was a vindication of his teaching from the charge of Arminianism. For a short summary of its content see Cobbett, Parliamentary History ii.6 /7 .

See also Gardiner, History v.352; 372-3.

11 On Sir James Ramsey see Letter 33, note 5.

12 On Colonel Gray see Letter 33, note 7.

13 Mansfeld was given permission to raise Scottish regiments at his own cost. By August he was asking for four months' pay and offering to levy 4000 Scots. See SPV 1625-1626, note 210, p 140.

14 On the Duke of Chevreuse see Letter 131, note 28.

15 See Letter 133, note 12.

16 I have been unable to confirm this story.

17 For Sir Thomas Grantham (d.1630), Sherriff of Lincoln 1603, of St. Katharine's, near Lincoln, see Lincolnshire Pedigrees (G-O), p 423.

Sir Thomas's second son and heir, Sherriff of Lincoln in

1639, was Thomas Grantham (1612-165?).

18 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[9 July 1625]

Sir,

Mr Howlett¹ I hope delivered our intelligence on Wednesday,
both what was written, and what I told him upon newer relation.

Henceforth you must not look to be supplied as you were
wont. The plague is in the Doctors* parish and the rest of our
intelligence is fled and it growes very dangerous on both sides 5
to continue an entercourse of letters not knowing what hands
they passe through before they come to those to whom they are
sent. Our Hobson⁺ 2 should have bin forbidden this week but
that the message came too late, howsoever it is his last.

The Billes are this week for London 3 10

All Burialls 1222

Whereof of the Plague	593	of which,		
		within y ^e walles	109	
		walles and	}	
		liberties together		221

Parishes infected 57

Tis true that the Plague was broken out in the Pantry the
Kings Bakers son dying thereof on Sunday and another (a woman)
then sick and sent away dyed next day. The bread was all given
away. Mr Boswell* told me yesterday, That he was informed That 20
one of the Kings Schollers of Westminster schoole was dead
thereof, but carried thence sick some 2 or 3 dayes before he

+ and the rest

dyed. That my Lord Keeper⁴ hereupon had broke up house using
always to dine and sup in the same roome the schollers did. 25

We suppose also here that the Parlament is ere this broken
up, and we talk since yesterday, That the King should have given
them extraordinary content especially for matter of Religion.⁵

Mansfeild* they say, is now gotten over the Rhine and gone
beyond Collen. [— —] That it will not be long now before 30
our Ships goe forth; and talk of a new presse immediatly
thereupon.⁶

On Wednesday Mr Blomfeild of Trinity Hall⁷ having the
evening before at supertime, bin a while in the Hall with the
Fellowes but not staying, and the same morning betweene 8 and 9 35
was seene walking to the garden, about eleven hang'd himselfe
in his chamber. After he came in from the garden that morning.
Dr Eden⁸ had sent to invite him to dinner but he promised not.
When the woman which dressed and help him in his Chamber came
much about the same time to make his bed, he bad her fetch him 40
some water and come no more at him for 3 houres for he would be
private. Neverthelesse shee came often in that interim, found
the inmost dore bolted on the inside knockt and called to him,
but he answered not. About dinner Dr Eden sent againe to know
whether he would come, but he made no answere to the messengers 45
knocking. As soone as the messenger was gone one that keeps
under him heard him remove and jumble the stooles. But the
woman suspecting he was not well, and wondering he answered not,
when she knew he was within (his outmost dore being open and
the inmost bolted on the inside) after dinner desired the 50
Fellowes see what the matter was, who coming about 3 a clock ,

when none answered, broke open the dore, and found him hanging
 upon a Swinging-tag a joyn-stoole⁹ being under him, whereon one
 leg rested and the other hung downe a great way beside it.
 That wherein he hung himselfe was a small bend as it were 55
 twisted of the threds of whipcord, which had much cutt and
 wounded his neck. the tag was so high he could not reach it
 possible with his hands or by any thing in his chamber but a
 pike staffe. He had bin long feeble and languishing of a
 Consumption, and often near dead, [---] so that it was a wonder 60
 how he gott up upon the stoole being not able [---] without his
 womans help to undresse or help himselfe to bed. The cause is
 supposed some discontent for want [] meanes although not a
 week or 2 before he had drawen writings to passe the land he
 had to a brother to pay his debts and allow him £60 per annum 65
 during life.¹⁰ They wanted but sealing. A freind of mine, one
 that I loved well, which since Christmas went from our Colledg
 thither to meritt the possibilitie of good hopes, is chosen
 Fellow in his roome,¹¹ one of the best natures they have in
 their house: if they marre him not with their Jovialitie. 70
 We are yet God be thanked free of the plague here nay fewer
 burialls and tolling of Belles then all this yeare before: God
 grant we may so continue.
 I shall not stirre from Cambridg (unlesse a day or 2 to Sir
 John Meedes)¹² till after St James day.¹³ Then I shall trouble 75
 you, and would willingly spend my cheifest stay at Dalham if
 Norfolk would let me alone that I might not hoit¹⁴ up and downe
 further then Quaddenham¹⁵ but I cannot be at quiet though God
 knowse, I have but litle joy in it. I wonder what they aile¹⁶
 to make a fatt man take such journeyes to eat rost 80

meat.

Thus with my best respect and service to your selfe and my
Lady and my good Lady Denton,¹⁷ I rest and am

Yours most ready to be
commanded
Joseph Mead.

I heartily thank my Lady for my cheeses.
Christ Colledg
July 9

Textual Notes.

Line 5. In MS: 'very en beth sides dangerous'.

Line 63. MS worn; letters missing; probably 'of'.

Notes

- 1 Thomas Howlett, at one time at Trinity College, was Rector of Lyng (1617-1653) in Norfolk.
- 2 On Thomas Hobson see Letter 54, note 23
- 3 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
On Plague Bills (of mortality) see Letter 125, note 14.
- 4 On John Williams, Lord Keeper see Letter 3, note 37.
- 5 A Petition 'touching religion' was delivered to the king on 8 July 1625 to which the king promised a speedy answer. Parliament received an assurance that the king would perform every part of the petition. See LJs iii.462 and

LJs iii.465^V. Parliament was adjourned (LJs iii.466).

- 6 Mansfeld was reported approaching the Rhine with 10 or 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse to join the king of Denmark. See Calendar 1.132

On levies for troops see May 1625, Letter 124, note 9 and 23 August 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626, p 135.

- 7 On John Bloomfield, LL.B., a Fellow of Trinity Hall 1591-1625, see Venn, Alumni. Venn gives 1622 in error for the date of Bloomfield's death. See below , note 10.

- 8 Dr Thomas Eden (1577?-1645), LL.D, later Chancellor of the diocese of Ely, Fellow of Trinity Hall 1599-1626, Professor of Law at Gresham College 1613-40, was Master of Trinity Hall 1626-45.

- 9 A 'joyn-stoole' is a 'joint-stool': a stool made ... by a joiner as distinguished from one of more clumsy workmanship (OED/1, obs.).

- 10 John Bloomfield's will was drawn up and dated in 1622 (perhaps the cause of Venn's error, note 7). He bequeathed all his land to his brother. Probate was granted in September 1625. Bloomfield's will is held in Cambridge University Library.

- 11 Robert King (1600?-1676), M.A.Christ's 1624, later Master of Trinity Hall and Chancellor of Ely Cathedral, migrated to Trinity Hall and was made a Fellow in 1625. See Peile, Register, 318.

- 12 On Sir John Meades see Letter 82, note 1

- 13 The Feast day of St.James the Great is 25 July.

- 14 'Hoit' : to move clumsily and with difficulty (OED 2, obs.).

- 15 Quiddenham in Norfolk was the home of the Holland family,

in-laws to Sir Martin Stuteville through his first wife,
Katharine Holland.

- 16 'I wonder what they aile': either, 'I wonder what troubles them?'; see 'aile' - 'to be in trouble; to be affected mentally' (OED 4b, obs.); or, 'I wonder what cause of dissatisfaction they have with me?'; see example under 'to aile at' (OED 2b modern Scots).

- 17 On Lady Denton see Letter 32, note 1.

[16 July 1625]

Worthy Sir,

I signified in my last that I should be henceforth but slenderly provided of intelligence, howsoever you will accept of such as we have.

The Parliament on Monday morning was adjourned till the first of August, then to be held at Oxford.¹

5

To 4 Lawes the King (saith mine author) hath sett to his hand, namely 1. To that for observation of the Sabbath. To a 2. for a reasonable and sett fee for alienations of Land. To a 3 concerning petty larceny And to a 4th That all killing in Innes, Alehouses and Taverns shalbe construed wilfull murder.²

10

To their petition against Recusants his Majestie answered That how great and how singular care, he will have thereof, shall appeare by his strict putting the Lawes in execution.³

Thus much by letter

Sir Jo. Corbet⁴ told me at Sir John Meads⁵ on Monday That this meeting was no Session, and that an Act passed to that purpose.⁶

15

That they^{had} granted 2 subsidies (before any such^{thing} was propounded from the King) and that freely without condition of bestowing it but all Recusants to pay 4 subsidies or double to Protestants.⁷

20

That the last day he was there, which was Friday. The King of his owne accord sent them a particular account of the Expence of the last money, about the navie and payment of Souldiers, signified unto them that though the Navie had cost him much, yet had it cost the King of Spaine 5 times as much to

25

provide for it.⁸ Also cleered Mansfeild* from any fault in the losse of our men, most of them dying of sicknes: and some of them perishing by default of others who failed to perform what was agreed and expected.⁹

30

He signified moreover unto them, That the French according to the imputation of levitie layd upon them by their neighbours began to grow weary of Italy.¹⁰ That the Emperour with the Holy League were about an Assembly at Ulme, there to deprive the Prince Palatines posterity utterly of all claime in the Empire and to root out our Religion therein.¹¹

35

Our Fleet now falles downe apace into the Downe and makes all hast possible to be gone.¹²

[— — —] I send you a Bill of the Plague the more to kindle your devotions on Wednesday.¹³

40

We are yet at Cambridg (God be thanked) free. Yesterday Mr Atkinson the Colemans man¹⁴ fell downe dead in the street to our no smalle feare. But being searched proved no such matter. He had had some stopping (they say) of his urine, and by somebodys advise had bin drinking so much new wort¹⁵ that he dyed thereof. The same day about 8 or 9 a clock at night came (as I now heare) a Frenchman well apparreld on horseback and being denyed lodging by our orders, he rode towards Newenham milles, and as it seemes would have passed the River to go to some other place, but there was drowned.¹⁶ On Sunday also a Scholler at Caius Colledg was drowned at Paradise as they call it. And on Tuesday, One of Barnwell having his wife brought a bed, came to the River, where some Schollers were not farre of, and [—] threw himselfe in, making as though he would drowne himselfe, but was dragd out by the Schollers etc.

45

50

55

You see what I send you herewith, and would have sent more
had not Sir John Corbets clerk cousoned me; as a Copie of the
grievances and the Kings gracious answeere to them all. A
Relation, of the whole proceedings about Montagu and his
[].¹⁷ But we must be content with these. 60

So with my best respect to your selfe [] Lady, I rest and
am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready	
July 16.	to be commanded	65
	Joseph Mead.	

My pupill is well. I
have given him charge to take heed of the River.¹⁸

Textual Notes.

- Line 8. In MS: 'To a 3 ~~fer~~ concerning'.
- Line 60. 'whole' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 61. MS patched: probably 'book'.
- Line 62. MS patched: probably 'and my'.

Notes

- 1 On the adjournment of Parliament see 11 July 1625, LJs iii.466.
- 2 See 11 July 1625, LJs iii.465^r for the Royal Assent to Bills. These do not agree in every particular with Mead's four laws.
- 3 See LJs iii.465^v.
- 4 On Sir John Corbet see Letter 95, note 45.
- 5 On Sir John Meades see Letter 82, note 1.
- 6 See 11 July 1625, LJs iii.465.
- 7 On the passing of two subsidies see 8 July 1625, CJs i. 806^r.
- 8 On the expenses of the Navy see 9 August 1625, LJs iii. 484^r. The King when Prince gave £20,000 to the Navy; now as King, out of his own coffers, £300,000 and a further £100,000.

9 The reference is to the transport of troops from England to Holland in January/February 1625 under the command of Count Mansfeld. See Letter 110, note 1. Disease swept through the troops and many died.

There is no reference to this in the Journals of the House of Lords until August 1625.

10 On French troops in Italy see Letter 121, note 4. French forces were instructed to withdraw from Italy to deal with Huguenot disturbances in France. However, their commander Lesdiguières, preferred to remain in Italy to make 'an honourable peace'. See Clarke, Huguenot Warrior, p 121.

11 Efforts were made by Protestants to prevent the meeting at Ulme. It was feared that, if it was convened, its decisions would be only to the advantage of the Habsburgs and the Catholic League.

12 A fleet of 20 ships with provisions for eight months was made ready. Rumours circulated about its destination. Eventually, when it seemed it 'had become a myth', it left England at the end of October 1625 and sailed to the Bay of Cadiz. See SPV 1625-1626, July-November passim for comment and rumours.

13 On Plague Bills see Letter 125, note 14.

14 Possibly a different Mr. Atkinson from Letter 127, note 2. Atkinson families lived in St. Edward's and St. Michael's parishes in Cambridge.

15 Wort: a plant, herb or vegetable, used for food or medicine (OED 1, the word not in use after mid seventeenth-century).

16 Attempts were made to stop the spread of the Plague by curtailing movements of people. See (for example) APC 1625-1626, pp 109, 122-3. It was probably for this reason

that the stranger was denied admittance to the College.

See further, Letter 137, note 2, for identification of the drowned man

17 On Richard Montagu and his books see Letter 134, note 9.

18 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[17 July 1625]

Sir,

The letter enclosed, and the book etc were ready yesterday before 11 a clock, but through my Sizers negligence the cheesman was gone before he delivered them. but the opportunity of this messenger unexpected, hath somewhat asswaged my choler.¹

5

The gentleman which (I tell you in the enclosed) was drowned friday evening at Newenham mill, is proved to be Dr Beales brother² (a merchant) mistaken for that gentleman (supposed a Frenchman) who was denyed lodging by our watch immediatly before; and not knowen to be the man he was till after 8 next morning. The Doctor is a very heavy man.

10

We had a letter yesterday⁺ from Dr Meddus* unexpected which contained nothing almost but Lamentation and desire of our prayers; himselfe being left alone with one man and a mayd resolved to abide by it, though already 5 houses infected in his litle parish.³ Whereupon he relates 2 particulars in these words following

15

One (saith he) in Leaden-Hall Street removed into the Country with his 7 children, but having buried them all there, is come againe hither.

20

And old Mr Bamford^{++ 4} (saith he) told me yester- evening, as Sundry others have, That a woman neare old Swan removing

+ July 15

++ A silenced Minister and Novellante but I doubt somewhat credulous.

25

into Surrey for feare of the plague, when She was come on the Hill neare Stretham in the way to Croydon, turned back, lookt on the Citty, sayd, Farewell London and Farewell Plague: But soone after was taken sick, had the tokens on hir brest and these words to be distinctly read⁺⁺⁺

30

It is in vaine to flee from God, for he is everywhere

The Parliament is adjourned to Oxford, where the Students are to be dismissed, that both Houses of Parliament and the Convocation may be lodged and dieted in the Colledges.⁵

The French Duke goes hence today (July 15) from Richmond for France, his Dutchesse to abide there still to be delivered.⁶

35

It is no time now to enquire of forraine occurrents; onely the States have here advise, that at the beginning of May the Bay of Todos los Santos was yet theirs.⁷

40

Thus the Dr: But I saw another letter as followeth:

It is written from Anwerp and all parts, That the Dutch have had excellent successe at the Bay. Some Spanyards came first and those prime ones, but by the Dutch Inhabitants were most slayne. Then came in the Dutch Fleet, which vanquisht reliquias Danaum: Last of all arrived the maine Armado of Spaine and Portugall, which by the Dutch are miserably spoiled, beaten from port to port, that (saith a brave merchant my intelligencer) if this be true, the Indians are like to revolt universally to the gold-thirsty Hollanders.⁸

45

50

Its sayd the Dutch have made such skonses and so fortified the River of Breda that a 2 penny boat cannot passe thither;

+++ you may judge of this or suspend as you shall see cause

whereby the Burgers have all forsaken the Towne which is like
to be naught worth to Spinola*.⁹ Thus he. 55

For France we have had some such newes as you speake of
this week or more. That they are rather like to joyne
themselves to the Holy League then to continue in ours,++++¹⁰
That there was a treaty of marriage for the Kings brother [--]
with the Infanta¹¹ That the Duke of Onate¹² (not Gondemar*) was 60
coming out of France (where he and Gondomar are) into England
to congratulate and condole. But I cannot gett certaine
intelligence of any of these, but onely that our King should
signifie to the Parliament, That the French according to the[]
wonted levity began to grow weary of the warres of Italy, and 65
some think and say that the unexpected shortnes of adjourning
the Parliament is upon some strange intelligence from France.¹³

We have another piece of strange newes in Towne That the
King should have sent 5 pursevants (of those that attend the
Court) to carry away 27 of the Queenes Preists and to see them 70
shipped for France will they, nill they.¹⁴ Mr Ives¹⁵ a servant
or purveyor to the Comptroller or Surveyor of the Kings works¹⁶
affirmes to our Mr Atkinson,¹⁷ that one of the pursevants
themselves told him so much at London. He came hither from
Royston, about some timber bargain with Mr Atkinson. 75

This is the last day of our Sermons at St Maries and on
Wednesday, the publick fast of the whole University is held at
King Colledg chappell, thenceforth both it and Sunday sermons
to be severall and private in each Colledge, which will

++++ All this should be wrought by the Popes Legat etc. The 80
head of the other Faction was the Constable who how he will now
fare (if he be alive) I know not.

somewhat abridg my liberty this vacation time.

We have this morning some suspicion as though there were
one dead of the Plague in the Towne, who came hither but last 85
night. but I hope it is not true. For we suspect almost
everybody that dyes. The University is yet very full of
Schollers whereat I much wonder.

I will chose the last time you sett (if God give me life)
to come to Dalham, viz August 1 being munday come fortnight. 90

Thus with my best respect^{and service} to yourselfe my Lady and my Lady
Denton¹⁸ (if she be at Dalham) I rest and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready
July [--]17	to be commanded
	Jos. Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 1. 'ready' inserted above line with caret.
Line 26. In MS: 'into Surrey Surrey'.
Line 28 and Line 31: Mead writes in larger script than usual.
Line 57. In MS: 'that are the rather like'.
Line 64. 'the' inserted above line with caret; presumably
'their': MS patched.

Notes

- 1 This letter was evidently written on Sunday 17 July 1625.
It is headed 'Read the enclosed first'.
- 2 The 'enclosed' was Letter 136 written on 16 July 1625..
On Dr Jerome Beale see Letter 19, note 6.
His brother was probably Thomas Beale of Berrow, Worcestershire.
See Foster, Alumni and Peile, Register i. 204.
- 3 Dr Meddus's parish was St.Gabriel, Fenchurch Street,
London. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of
London in 1666 and never rebuilt.
- 4 Possibly Robert Bamford, Rector of Tachbrook in the diocese
of Lichfield in 1597. See Le Neve i.269.
There is no reference to Bamford's London parish in Le
Neve: presumably many London parish records were destroyed
in the fire of 1666.

5 On the adjournment of Parliament to Oxford see LJs iii.466.
Christ-Church College was to be especially prepared for
Lords and members of the Privy Council.

For the instructions sent to Oxford about accommodation for
members of Parliament see 11 July 1625, APC p 118.

6 On the Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse see Letter 131, note
28.

7 The Bay of Todos Santos in Portugese-held territory in
Bahia, Brazil, was taken by the Dutch West India Company in
May 1624.

8 'Reliquias Danaum': literally 'the remnant left by the
Greeks' (Virgil).

The report of Dutch success at Todos Santos was based on
events of 1624 (see note 7).

Bahia was eventually lost to a combined Spanish-Portugese
fleet in May 1625. The capitulation of the Dutch garrison
at Todos Santos resulted in a damaging and costly defeat
for Holland. See Israel, Dutch Republic, pp 131/2.

9 Skonse: a small fort, especially one built to defend a
ford, pass or castle-gate etc (OED/1).

After the fall of Breda to Spanish forces (see Letter 113,
note 5) many people left the city. The population remained
low, smaller than the garrison of 3000. See Israel, Dutch
Republic, p 109.

10 This refers to the Valtelline question (see Appendix 5).
French and Swiss troops had occupied the valley at the
beginning of 1625 but internal disturbances at home led
France to seek an accommodation with Spain which led to the
Treaty of Monzón in 1626.

In England it was rumoured in July 1625 that the French

King had concluded a league with Spain. (Calendar 1.135). But, according to other sources, 'absolutely secret negotiations began at the end of 1625'. See Lublinskaya, French Absolutism, p 279.

- 11 The 'king's brother' was the Duke of Orleans. The Infanta of Spain married the son of Emperor Ferdinand II, later Ferdinand III.
- 12 Don Inigo Velez de Guevara, Count of Oñate, Spanish ambassador in Vienna 1617-25, was a councillor of Philip IV until the 1640s.
- 13 See Letter 136, note 10. Parliament was adjourned to Oxford for fear of the Plague which was raging in London.
- 14 For King Charles's intention to dismiss the queen's priests in November 1625 see Ellis, Original Letters, series 3, vol i. pp 210-211.

The dismissal eventually took place in August 1626. The priests departed after being threatened by the king with the Yeomen of the Guard - 'they decided to go by the next tide'. See MS Harl. 383, f 37.
- 15 Mr Ives is unidentified.
- 16 On Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the King's Works, see Letter 91, note 11.
- 17 On Thomas Atkinson see Letter 127, note 2.
- 18 On Lady Denton see Letter 32, note 1.

Letter 138, not dated by Mead, is misplaced in MS Harl. 389 among letters for May and June 1625. By the context the date appears to be later than 17 July 1625 (see note 6). The likely date is 23 July 1625. An addressed leaf (MS Harl. 389, f 454^v) of that date is misplaced among letters of May 1625.

[23 July 1625?]

Worthy Sir,

This litle neues enclosed comes from Mr Scott the author of Vox Populi.¹ The date I know not. If you desire the English of the Inscription, it is this.

Phillip King of Spaine, Isabella Clara Eugenia
the Infanta being Governesse, Spinola the Beseidger
Foure Kings in Vaine conspiring, victoriously
conquered Breda.

5

The other:

Breda overcome by the vigilancie of Ambrosius
Spinola*.²

10

I send you the wofull Bill of London.³ It is the generall
or the Kings Bill, that you may see the fashion of both if you
know it not before. The whole number is within a 150 of 3000.
Whereof they bring of the plague but 1819, leaving above a 1000
for other diseases which is a strange reckoning, or they are
strange diseases. The whole Bill increased this week above
1200; that is as much as was the summe of all [--] Burialls for
this very same week in the last great plague. Lord have mercy
upon them, and upon us all.

15

We are yet at Cambridg well. God be ever blessed for it.
Yet on Sunday a widdow woman my sempster entertained a Son of
hirs, a journey man Taylor from London, notwithstanding she had

20

12 yong girles⁴ hir schollers then in hir house. It was
instantly known, hir son sent forth of Towne, hir schollers
taken from hir, and she commanded to keep private. She was in 25
my chamber not an houre before, and I gave hir a good shirt to
mend a fault in, which yet I have no mind to send for home, but
I hope I shall not loose it. We are wonderfully troubled to
keep out Londoners, who come sometimes 30 horse in company.⁵

I am told, That most of the Queenes preists are discovered 30
to be Irish and Scottish and some English, which under the
counterfaist of Frenchmen come, it seemes, to be saucie with
their Soveraigne. Whether this hath any relation, to that
report of shipping away some of the Queenes Preists, or be the
ground of it, I know not.⁶ 35

I send you the proceedings against Montagu⁷ having gott
them from Sir John Corbetts.⁸

I send you likewise the book of orders for the Infection
not knowing, whether you have it or not. I had thought to have
sent it a fortnight ago, but I forgott it. 40

I send you a corranto not for the goodnes, but because it
is like to be your last.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest
and am,

Yours most ready 45

to be commanded

Joseph Mead.

Mr Dr Warner⁹ sent today for my pupill¹⁰ to be at his
christening: I gave him leave to go, so he returned on Sunday.

Textual Notes.

Line 22. In MS: 'journeyman prentise Taylor': 'Taylor'
inserted above the deletion.

Line 30. In MS: 'Preists are Irish discovered'.

Lines 48-49 are written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 On Thomas Scot see Letter 2, note 49. On Vox Populi see Letter 2, note 50.
- 2 For the inscription 'in the great church of Breda' in Latin with an English translation see Calendar I.129. The heading is: 'Mr. Scott to a freind in Norfolk'.
- 3 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 4 Girles: a child or young person of either sex (OED/I); in this case, probably, boys.
- 5 See Letter 136, note 16 for comment on restrictions of movements of people.
- 6 See Letter 137, note 14 on the shipping away of priests. 'That report' implies that an earlier reference had been made about the priests and therefore it is likely that Letter 138 was written after Sunday, 17 July 1625 (the date of Letter 137).
- 7 On Richard Montagu see Letter 134, note 9.
- 8 On Sir John Corbet see Letter 95, note 45.
- 9 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.
- 10 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[30 July 1625]

Sir,

Hoping to be at Dalham on Sunday I shall need write the lesse. Blessed be God, we are yet well at Cambridg.

The Burialls at London are this week 3583 whereof they bring of the plague 2471 so that there remaines 1112 for other diseases, that is, for the invisible plague, for so I take
 5
 neare a 1000 of that summe to be. You may see by the note I sent you at the Commencement, how much the plague for the time and number surpasses that 1603. August is called the month of corruption, which is not yet come. Lord what will become of the distressed Citty then? Remember, O Lord, thy wonted
 10
 mercies and take pittie upon their affliction. I send you the clerks Bill. You shall not ^{need} be afrayd of it.¹ It hath layne by me this 3 weeks, I had a sheet of them, this is the last wher^einto I transcribed with mine owne hand, the numbers out of the Kings Bill at the Bookbinders.²
 15

Concerning the former week, we are here certainly informed That there dyed in Westminster, Stepney and Lambeth (places never counted in the Bill) neere 800 and 40. Whereby we may guesse, what number is like to have dyed in the same place this week.
 20

I send you a Corrant brought me besides expectation and almost against my will, but it was well aired and [--] smokt before I received it as our letters all use to be, nor was the plague then in Paules Churchyard, whence it came.³

Old Mr Balmford⁴ he that told the Doctor* that strange
 25
 newes of the Gentlewoman of the Old Swan that fled for the

plague, is since dead (and is thought) of the infection. He was with the Doctor well the Saturday before and was buried on the Wednesday following, as the Doctor wrot to us himselfe.

The Duchesse of Chevreuse is brought to bed at Richmond of a daughter^{and} a French Countesse of a Son.⁵ 30

The Dunkirks arrest our Shipps and imprison our men, for those shipps Sir Francis Steward took in the Downes.⁶

Tis true that the Masters, Fellowes Heads and Principalls and Students at Oxford are by the letters of the Councell commanded away, for the better accommodating the Parliament.⁷ 35

One of the Kings Guard died of the plague at [--] Windsore about last Saterday. Whereupon the King being not farre thence returned no more thither as he was purposed.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest and am 40

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready
July 30	to be commanded
	Joseph Mead.

I will make bold to look for horses on Munday as Sir John Corbet⁸ told me from yourself at Bury. 45

Textual Notes.

Line 17. In MS: 'dyed in W then in Westminster, Sp Stepney'.

Line 26. In MS: 'gentlewoman of the plague blaek Old Swan'.

Line 28. 'well' and 'on' inserted with carets.

Notes

- 1 On Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 On Plague Bills see Letter 125, note 14.
- 3 The 'Coranto' (newsbook) is not extant as far as I know.
- 4 On Robert Bamford see Letter 137, note 4
- 5 On the Duchess of Chevreuse see Letter 131, note 28.

For confirmation of the birth of her daughter see SPV

1625-1626, note 188, p 130.

On the birth of a son to the Countess of Tillières, wife to the French ambassador extraordinary to England, see ibid.

6 On Sir Francis Steward see Letter 131, note 14.

See SPD 1625-1626, note 104, p 50 for evidence of ships 'stayed' at Dover on suspicion of their carrying Dunkirk goods. See SPD 1625-1626, note 57, p 61 for evidence of seamen captured by 'Dunkirkers'.

7 On accommodation at Oxford for members of Parliament see 11 July 1625 APC March 1625- May 1626, p 118.

8 On Sir John Corbet see Letter 95, note 45.

This letter is not dated by Mead but was evidently written after his summer visit to Dalham (see line 2). He had returned to Cambridge before 4 September 1625 (Letter 141, below). Thus, a likely date for this is Saturday 27 August 1625.

[27 August 1625?]

Worthy Sir,

I cannot chuse but write though I have litle yea nothing to write of. I thank you for my late entertainment. Did H. Law* gett well home, and betimes? He promised to come to me within halfe an houre. I stayd three and heard not of him. At length (I having beene in Towne) he came [--- ---] about 5 a clock but I thinking he had bin gone long before, had written no letter as I had purposed. Yet I made even payments with him, but could he remember it?⁸

5

I send you the Bill where you shall find the sicknes abated 364. It is strange, to see it thus answere the former plague, which abided the selfe same week, and neere the selfe same number. But it encreased the next week after to the highest summe. If this should do so too it would be more wonderfull. For I feere the abatement is rather for want of matter then otherwise, for it is onely without the walles. But within the walles it is encreased about 160 as I guesse.¹ You shall know by comparing the Billes. Mr Shute² Mr Squire³, and Mr Holdsworth⁴ are sayd to be dead.

10

15

The last newes of the King, was that he was at Beaully not farre from the Isle of Wight, and that he stays in those West parts till the Fleet be gone.

20

I mett upon Quy-causie⁵ some halfe a dozen souldiers which

sayd they came from Plimmouth, and were discharged as being
unserviceable and they seemed no lesse. I asked how they would
do then to make up the number or whether they should all
disband! They answered, that there was a presse in those
Countries, to make their numbers full 12/000.⁶ 25

Tis generall talk here, That Spinola* lyes at Dunkirk and
marvailles wherefore. Some imagine a designe upon Callice
others a feare our Fleet will not go farre from home.⁷ 30

Of Denmark*, Mansfeild* Bethlem*, no newes so much as of
their being, nor any Intelligence at all from Germany this
month.

Our Scottishman told me when I came home that he heard
there dyed of the plague in Paris 14 thousand weekly. It may
be 14 hundred, untill I heare more.⁸ 35

Mr Honeywood⁹ at supper on Thursday asked me if my pupill
(Mr John)¹⁰ were well againe. I wondering at the question he
told me that he had heard that upon the newes of the shutting
up of the Wrestlers¹¹ he fell sick upon a conceit,¹² and that it
was generally feared he had had the plague and affirmed That Mr
Will: Higham¹³ told him so at Bury. I am afrayd the sending
away your dayrie-mayd, will give them further occasion to talk,
if a litle head-ach wrought so much. 40

Thus with my best respect and prayers to the Almightye to
preserve and blesse you, I rest and am 45

+ I cannot gett the Proclamation Yours most ready to
to send you. be commanded

Joseph Mead.

As I came home I mett the Norwich Carrier who told me that
the number of Burialls in Norwich the last week was 77 whereof
67 of the plague. and but 14 of the plague the week before.¹⁴ 50

Textual Notes.

Lines 46-53 written vertically in left-hand margin.

Notes

- 1 The comparison between the numbers of sufferers from plague in the first year of King James's reign and those in the first year of Charles's reign was generally noted.
'The number of deaths for 4 weeks was answerable to those in the first year of the late king'. 16 July 1625, SPD 1625-1626, note 61, p 61.
- 2 The reference is possibly to Nathaniel Shute (d.1638), Rector of St. Mildred, Poultry, London (see Letter 133, note 5). However, Nathaniel, one of five brothers, died in 1638. See Venn, Alumni.
- 3 John Squire, Jesus College Cambridge 1608, was Vicar of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. See Venn, Alumni.
- 4 Possibly William Holdsworth (d.1625), admitted to Emmanuel College (Cambridge) 1590, Vicar of Tilbury, Essex 1603. See Venn, Alumni.
- 5 Quay-causie: 'Quay' is quay (OED); 'causie' is 'causeway' (OED/2). The quay, where goods transported to Cambridge by river were landed, was near the 'Great Bridge' which joins the two parts of Cambridge divided by the river Cam.
- 6 It was intended to levy 12000 men from all parts of the country to meet at Plymouth. See 27 August 1625, SPD 1625-1626, note 89, p 90.
Complaint was made by the Privy Council that some of the soldiers levied were 'very ill-chosen'. See 'A Letter to the Mayor of Plymouth etc.', APC March 1625-May 1626, p 99.
- 7 40 ships and 3,000 men were due to come out of Dunkirk at the next spring-tide. See SPD 1625-1626, note 73, p 88.

The Archduchess and Spínola* were there 'to see them sail'.

See also 1 September 1625, SPD 1625-1626, n 1_i, p 95.

8 Walter Yonge refers to plague in France but not specifically in Paris. See Yonge, Diary, p 86.

9 On Michael Honeywood see Letter 45, note 11.

10 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

11 The Wrestlers: a hostelry in Petty Cury, now demolished.

12 Conceit: in this context, a (morbid) affection or seizure of the body or mind (OED IV/11).

13 William Heigham, perhaps father of John Heigham (Letter 121, note 15) of Barrow, Suffolk. See under John Heigham in Venn, Alumni.

14 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.

[4 September 1625]

Sir,

I cannot but continue my wonted course, though my provision be not as it was wont.

Blessed be God, the plague this week at London abated neere a 1000. and the abatement generall, which argues the strength of the infection asswaged. I had no mind to send you a Bill¹ 5
finding of late, that there is danger in them. I know a Father at London, whose eldest Son in the Great week dyed in his armes of the plague, though not in his owne house who hath yet ever since continued to send to a Son of his in our Colledg weekly a Bill enclosed in a Letter, and yesterday wrot to him he had a 10
child died and his wife fallen sick. Whereupon the poore boy (a Batchelor) suspects his Fathers house is infected, though he expressed not so much in his letter. I advised him to be wary; howsoever the Carrier perfumes all. But we have many Billes stirring from what hands God knowes, the particulars whereof 15
are these.

From August 25 to September 1

Buried within all the 97 Parishes	}	1360 {whereof Plague} 1144	20
within the walles			
Buried in the 16 Parishes	}	1688 (whereof Plague) 1439	25
without the walles, part within,			
part without liberties etc.			
Buried in the .9. Outparishes	—	846 (whereof Plague) 761	
Totall Summe of all the Burialls		<u>3897 (whereof Plague) 3344</u>	
Parishes cleere but .5. Christenings. 117. ²			

We have some here make an observation, That the first

abatement of the Plague was the week next Following that wherein came out the Proclamation against Papists, and it is true by the date thereof.³

But let me adde my observation too That as the Walles of Jericho then fell downe, when the Preists with the Ark of God had compassed it blowing trumpets seven dayes or times;⁴ so is the Fall of the Sicknes after the seventh Generall Fast, accounting that generall representative one of the whole Parlament for one.⁵

It is talked here, that the Plague rages extremely in Spaine that in one Citty of Portugall (I suppose Lisbone) die 2000 a day: some such intelligence I suppose made them talk there dyed at Paris 14/000 a week, as though every day had bin a like, yet Plague is very rife there and that there hath dyed 8000 a week and it is not impossible considering the bignes of the Citty.⁶

There hath bin a breife by order of Parlament read in our Churches for the releife of the Distressed poore in London and the Townes by it. It is like that for Redemption of the Captives at Argiers - signifying the example of the Parlament, where every one above the degree of a Baron gave 40^s, the rest 20.⁷ It orders the rates for the Poore in London should be doubled and the houses charged whose Inhabitants are fled. The treasurer of the Chamber of London to lay out a £1,000 at least till it can be gathered. A collection through the whole Kingdome, that which is gathered being written upon the back of the breife to be published by the Church-wardens in the open Congregation. The Minister to carrie it to ye Deane to be appointed in every Deanry, the Deane to his Ordinary so at length to the Bishop of London who shall appoint the

proportioning of the distribution of it by the advise of
another Bishop and 2 Lords of Parliament.⁸

It holds, that Spinola* is at Dunkirk with an Army and a
Fleet of 50 sayle made ready and riding before it, which makes
our vulgar maritime people afrayd he intends (if our Fleet goes
out of these Seas) to transport his Army into England.⁹ But
they are more afrayd then hurt. It may be he is somewhat
jealous¹⁰ of our Fleet. And I could wish he might have just
cause.

For now it is generally talked and beleevd the the Fleet
is gone; that it went out in the beginning of Bartlemew week;¹¹
The Bishop of London¹² sending expresse order to his Chaplain
Dr Worrall¹³ to pray for it, from whom Dr Wren¹⁴ had
intelligence and prayed for the good successe thereof Last
Sunday at [--] Teversham, as we did in our Chappell on Wednesday
at the Fast.

One of our Fellowes telles me a strange tale, That he had
received a letter out of Devonshire (his owne Country) That the
Turkish Pyrats had taken the Isle of Lundey in the mouth of
Severne Sea by treason of an English Renegade.¹⁵ I heare that
they have taken a place neerer the Straights on the Coast of
Barbary, and there erected a new seat of Pyracie, divided from
that of Argiers, with whom they pretend to have nought to doe,
and so our league with the Argierians is frusterate.¹⁶

Whilest the King lay at Beaully in Newforrest the Queene lay
at Tichfeild some 14 miles of at an House of the Earles of
Southampton.¹⁷ Mr Croftes the Courtier¹⁸ came hither on
Tuesday night, and told some Fellowes of Trinity Hall that he
had letters from Court, that the King was to be at Woodstock on
Thursday whither he was going to meet him. It is sayd he will

lye in Northamptonshire this winter.

Agues grow wonderfull rife both here and everywhere, so
that (one told me yesterday)^{that} about Royston and Barkway they
wanted^{help,} to gather their harvest out of the feilds.

90

I received your letter, as I was writing; H Law* waited
not for me a quarter of an houre, I stayd for him 3. houres but
I pray no worde of it. Let it sleep.

I desire to be at Dalham Munday come sennight which wilbe
soone heere; a week is soone gone. I cannot sooner. I have
performed twise, and must againe tomorrow sennight.¹⁹ But I
think I shall think the time long, and be forced to you for want
of victuall. All our market today could not supplie us commons
for night. I am steward and am faine to appoint egges
Applepyes and custards, for [---] want of other fare. They will
suffer nothing to come from Ely. Beles are absolutely
forbidden to bee brought to our market; so are Rootes. You see
what tis, to have a Physitian among the Heads.²⁰

95

100

We cannot have leave scarce to take the aire. We have but
one ^{Master} of Art in our Colledg and this week he was punisht¹⁰ for
giving the Porters boy a box on the eare because he would not
let him out at the gates.

105

You may by this gather, I have small solace with being here
and therefore will hast all I can to be in a place of more
libertie and society, For I have never a pupill at home. And
yet God be thanked our Towne is free so much of the very
suspicion of Infection. This with my best respect and service
to yourselfe and my lady I rest and am,

110

Cambridg

September 4

Yours most ready to

be commanded

John Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 42. In MS: 'by e order'.

Line 49. 'out' inserted above line.

Line 53. 'to carrie it' inserted above line with caret.

Lines 54-55. 'at length' inserted above line.

Line 76. In MS: 'Renegado. That the Pyrats have I hear'.

Line 85. 'the King' inserted above line.

Line 92. 'notes' inserted above line.

Line 103. In MS: 'to have f a Physitian'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague bills see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 3 A Proclamation for the laws against Papists to be put into execution was issued 14 August 1625. See Larkin, Stuart Royal Proclamations ii.number 23, p 52.
- 4 Joshua 6, xiii-xvi, xx.
- 5 The Parliament fast was held on 2 July 1625; public (general) fasts were held weekly on Wednesdays from 20 July 1625. The sickness began to abate after Wednesday 24 August which was the date of the seventh fast by Mead's reckoning.
- 6 Plague was widespread in Europe according to Yonge. See Yonge, Diary, p 86.
- 7 See 10 August 1625, CJs i.815^r; 11 August 1625, LJs iii.488 for reports on Parliamentary collections for the poor.
- 8 For suggested rates of tax payable for poor relief see 6 August 1625, LJs iii.475^v.
- 9 See Letter 140, note 8. On the English fleet see Letter 136, note 12.
- 10 'Jealous', in this context, means apprehensive of evil, fearful (OED 5).
- 11 Bartholomew week begins 24 August. On the English fleet see Letter 136, note 12.

- 12 On George Mountain, Bishop of London see Letter 18, note 8.
- 13 Dr Thomas Worrall (d.1639), later a Canon of St.Paul's, incorporated into Cambridge from Brasenose, Oxford, was Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate 1624-39. See Venn, Alumni.
- 14 On Dr Matthew Wren see Letter 4, note 3.
- 15 Probably John Alsop (Christ's 1617-1645/6), Fellow 1623-1640, a Somersetshire man. See Peile, Register i.315.
- Turkish pirates took 60 prisoners, men, women and children, from the Island of Lundy. See 18 August 1625, SPD 1625-1626, note 55, p 86 and SPD 1625-1626, note 81₁
- 16 An agreement was made between England and Algiers for the exchange of captives. See note 31, p 24. Letters Patent were granted in May 1624 for a collection to ransom English captives. LJs iii.413.
- 17 On Thomas Wriothesley (1607/8-1667), Earl of Southampton (1624) and Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield, see Complete Peerage.
- 18 Mr Croftes is not identified.
- 19 Mead refers to his duties of preaching. See Peile, Christ's College, p 143.
- 20 John Gostlin M.D. (d 1626), Mr of Gonville and Caius, M.D. 1602, Vice-Chancellor 1618/19 and 1625/26, was Regius Professor of Physic. See Venn, Alumni.

[10 September 1625]

Worthy Sir,

I may write the lesse now hoping on Monday to be again at Dalham to see how forward the steeple is.

For the Bill of the sicknes at London; it is thus

Burialls in y ^e 97 Parishes within the walles	}	1216, {whereof plague}	859	5

Burialls in y ^e 16 without the walls, partly in, partly out of the liberties	}	1305, {whereof plague}	1055	10
Burialls in the 9 out- Parishes				
Summe totall of Burialls		3157, whereof plague	2550	

So it is fallen since the last, within the walls 234. In the whole number 740. For which God be blessed. I have gathered a Bill of 20 weeks, which here I send you. The totall whereof is almost 40/000 (39/569) that is 2000 for every week.¹ 15

I saw the last week a letter from the Doctor* dated September 1. wherein he signifies his preservation hitherto, and wonderfully deplores the state of the Citty. Whereof one passage is this viz.

The want and miserie is the greatest here, that ever any man living knew; no trading at all, the rich all gone; houskeepers and apprentices of manuell trades begging in the streets, and that in such lamentable manner, as will make the strongest heart to yearne.² 20

A gentleman, who on Thursday was sennight, came through the Citty at one a clock afternoone resembled the face thereof at 25

that time, to the appearance it useth to have at 3 a clock in the morning in the month of June. No more people stirring, no more shops open.

I shall not need tell you of the suddaine march of our train-men in Essex on Munday morning to Harwich and Tilbury, the Warrants coming to the most, but on Saturday morning. We heare the like was done in Suffolk at least about Ipswich.etc ³ On Tuesday the Justices came hither to see our provision here and of 90 barrells of powder found never a graine of armes for a 100 men, scarce for twenty, and that altogether unserviceable, The pikes all without heads, and the Keeper one Day run away against their coming and is not heard of yet.⁴

What the reason of this hurliburly was, they talked diversly most agreed upon feare of an Invasion by Spinola*. 40 ships (some say 25 and 60 Frigates etc.) being discovered neere our shore to whom a pinnace or 2 being sent to know what they intended, returnd not againe and suchlike.⁵ In Essex it was added, all the Country over, that our King (whom God blesse) was dead, the woman crying and houting as if Tilbury camp were to come againe. The Earle of Warwick⁶ rode 120 miles that Saturday and neere Harwich his horse fell with him and hurt his shoulder.

With us it hath bin a wondrous rumour all this week that his Majestie was sick of the Plague, had a sore but by the mercifull favour of God and the diligence of his Chirurgions⁷ and Physitians was now past danger and well recovered. Till yesterday I thought it a thing incredible and laught at it as an idle rumour till I heard that Mr Crane,⁸ Reading,⁹ Tabor,¹⁰ Dr Ward¹¹ by name, and other of our heads averred it as true which made me stagger in my unbeleefe.

It is added that when he first began to be sick, (which they say was three weekes since) Spinola* had notice given of his danger by some ill patriots, and thereupon was encouraged to adventure our shores, if it were but to intercept the successor. 60 And by this meanes and discovery of false [---] play was this commotion and likewise his Majesties sicknes knowne otherwise intended to have bin kept se[]t. If this should be true it were not fitt it should passe through our thoughts as a light matter and would cause us to reckon the cause of this great 65 Plague amongst us: and that t[] rather because I heare not those reports of plagues in France and Spaine confirmed. And asked some whom I thought should know whom I found to have heard nothing, but of Constantinople, where it is no great wonder. 70

They write from Dantzik (saith the Doctor*) That the good King of Sweden* hath taken from the Polander, Churland and the Southerne part of Livonia, having taken the rest some 2 yeares since when he took Riga, so that now he is Ma^{ster} of the whole. 12

The French are retyred if not driven out of Italy having 75 lost all they had gotten, and some say the Valteline too. 13

Mr Pory¹⁴ told me this week, That Denmark* lay in Westphalia, Tilly* within 2 miles of him, one daring the other. 15

That Mansfeild* with some 14/000 men was about Cullenland, 80 but so besett and the passages stopped by Baron Anholt and other forces, that its thought he cannot gett to joyne with Denmark, if that were his aime as some think. Of Bethlem* I heare nothing. 16

The storie of our 8 ships which went returned and all save 85 one sent back againe to serve the French, I shall tell you on

munday.¹⁷ But the Hollanders have certainly served against
 Soubiez and were soundly beaten for their labour.¹⁸ Captain
 Pennington, Commander in ours,¹⁹ told them he would be hanged
 7 times over afore he would serve aga[] his owne religion. 90
 and so stayd at home. and since had the command of 12 ships to
 watch Spinola and his Dunkirke, which putt in at Harwich upon
 friday or Saturday.²⁰

Kendale men keep Sturbridge Faire at the Beare.²¹ I see
 also divers loads of hops come in. I will learne the price if 95
 I can.

I pray let he that goes to Bury on munday make stay of the
 yard and halfe of my new Cassock stufte. else I must not have 2
 P of sleeves. For 6 yards would not serve. as I thought. for
 sleeves and all. 100

If H Law* bring the Gray Horse on munday I will ride upon
 him, and trouble you a litle more at Dalham.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest
 and am

Christ Colledg	Yours most ready to	105
September 10	be commanded	
	Joseph Mead	

Pscript 10 September 1625

I heare that a gentleman come to Towne last night wondered
 at this report of the Kings sicknes, affirming he had bin at 110
 Court within this week, and was sure that for 3 weekes before,
 the King went almost every day on hunting. I heare also that
 Mr Tabor now confessest he received a letter newly, That the
 King was never sick. That a Post came to Towne from the King
 last night, for 10 Ministers for the Navy. 115

Textual Notes.

Lines 49-50. In MS: 'That ~~that~~ His Ma^{tie},'.

Line 61. 'play' inserted above deletion.

Line 63. Presumably 'secret': ink faded.

Line 66. Presumably 'the': letters missing at edge of leaf.

Line 90. Presumably 'against': MS worn.

Line 113. In MS: 'received by a letter'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 Dr Meddus refers to the effect of the plague in the City of London.
- 3 Train-men: trained men, soldiers belonging to a trainband (OED/obs.)

Trainband [abbrev. of trainedband]: a trained company of citizen soldiery organized in London and other parts in 16th and 17th centuries (OED obs.).

For orders sent to County Lieutenants to muster the trained bands see 28 August 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626, p 141.
- 4 Instructions were issued from Court for the checking of all defensive munitions held in the counties. Any defective supplies were to be put in order ready to use for the defence of the Kingdom. See 28 August 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626, pp 141/2. (Cambridge was not specifically mentioned but instructions were issued to the Lord-Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, the Earl of Suffolk, in connection with Dorset and Suffolk).
- 5 On 40 ships and 3000 men in readiness at Dunkirk see Letter 140, note 8.
- 6 On Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick see Letter 87, note 13.
- 7 'Chirurgions' are surgeons (OED).

- 8 The reference is probably either to Felix Crane, (MA 1599 from Corpus Christi) or to Henry Crane (Cranshaw) of Queens' who would seem to have been aged 83 in 1625. See Venn, Alumni.
- 9 Richard Ridding (Reading) (?-1626) of St. John's was Esquire Bedell from 1596-1626. See Venn, Alumni.
- 10 James Tabor (Talbor) (d.1645), Corpus Christi 1593, was the University Registrary 1600-1645 and Clerk of the Sewers for the town of Cambridge. See Venn, Alumni.
- 11 On Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex, see Letter 4, note 3.
- 12 Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, involved in a dynastic struggle with the Polish branch of the Vasa family, took the city of Riga in 1621. In 1625 he was succesful in gaining control of part of Polish-held Courland and Livonia. See further F. Nowak, 'Sigismund iii.1587-1632' in The Cambridge History of Poland to 1696, ed. W.F.Reddaway et al, (Cambridge, 1950).
- 13 On the Italian campaign see Letter 136, note 10. On the Valtelline agreement see Letter 137, note 10.
- 14 John Pory (Caius 1588-d 1635), traveller and geographer, Member of Parliament 1605-11, Secretary of State for Virginia 1619-22, returned to London from Virginia in 1624. He was a prolific correspondent. See Venn, Alumni and DNB.
- 15 See Calendar 1.136: the armies of Christian IV and Tilly were lying close to each other; Christian IV was reported as giving an 'overthrow' to Tilly. See also Mercurius Britannicus 32 (iii), pp 10-11:STC 18507.175.
- 16 Mansfeld was prevented from joining Denmark's forces because of the blocking of all passages by Imperial troops

(see Calendar 1.136): however, by 10 September 1625 Mansfeld (with the assistance of two Dutch regiments) was reported to be nearing the King of Denmark's position. Bethlen Gabor was reported to be marching with 40,000 troops with unknown intentions. See *ibid.*

- 17 On the eight English ships lent to France see Letter 113, note 17. Negotiations between England and France were not straightforward. The ships set sail in June 1625 but returned quickly to England for clarification of their orders. Seven ships were then sent back to France. After much vacillation, on the 3rd of August, the ships were handed over to French captains and crews. However, English troops were reluctant to fight against French Protestants and all except one returned home. See Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p 253 for details of the complicated political manoeuvrings.
- 18 Dutch ships had joined the French fleet and exchanged hostages with Soubise (Letter 64, note 2) against the outcome of peace negotiations between the French Government and the Huguenots. However, Soubise fired without warning on the Dutch ships and set fire to their flagship. See Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, pp 127-129. See further below, Letter 145, note 9.
- 19 Captain John Pennington (1568-1646) was in command in 1625 of 'The Vanguard' and seven merchant ships which were to serve the King of France against Benjamin de Soubise. See above note 17.
- 20 A warrant was issued for Pennington to be in command of 'The Garland' to be employed as Admiral of the Fleet in the Narrow Seas against the Dunkirkers. See *SPD 1625-1626*,

note 21, p 98 and SPD 1625-1626, note 27, p 99.

- 21 On Stourbridge Fair see Letter 92, note 16. The Fair was cancelled in 1625 by a Royal Proclamation (4 August) for fear of the Plague. See J.F.Larkin, Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625-1646, number 22, p 51.

[3 October 1625]

Sir,

After my best thanks and service remembred, I found a letter here written to a freind of mine, Fell of Bennet Colledg,¹ and from a brother of his² then at the Court at Tichfeild³ whose contents are as followeth

Tichfeild in Hantshire September 24

5

On Sunday the 18 of this instant, there preached at the Queenes Court before the Officers-Protestants the Minister of that Towne.⁴ In the middle of his Sermon, the Queene with the Lord Chamberlaine⁵ and Ladies of honor came through that Congregation, and made such a noise as was admired, in so much that the Preacher was at a stand, and demanded whether he might proceede or no, but still went on; and they passed through the Hall where the Sermon was preaching and went to the Court gates; and before the Sermon was ended returned the same way back againe with a greater noise and disorder then before. Its sayd the Queene was sett on to do it by hir Bishop, Confessor and Preists.⁶

10

15

Upon Tuesday following, the Minister walking in his garden was shott at with haile-shott, which did misse him miraculously, it all lighting round about him; The party who shott at him is taken, but they know not what will come of it, till the King returne back from Plymouth to them.⁷

20

There are brought into Plymouth 3 great long boats full of Dunkirks who were upon the coasts of Sussex found sounding the depth of our Channell; yet they would excuse it, by saying they

25

were chased by Hollanders and fled thither for releife. But they are all in prison and lye at the Kings mercy.⁸

Is not this a strange piece?

The last week ending September 29 was the Bill for London;

All Burialls	1236	30
--------------	------	----

Plague	852	
--------	-----	--

So it fell of the former - In all 758, Plague 699⁹

All here I find well (God be thanked). But our St. Mary sermons and Terme in Towne are adjourned a month longer. They of the Lower House say, least the Doctors out of custome and decencie might be forced to preach at the Fast, as it was the wont, while it was publick.¹⁰ But the Bedells¹¹ desired they might have notwithstanding their fees for Disses¹², as if they were kept; but the Senior Regent (being of ~~W~~ Colledge) stopt that Grace in the Head, saying it was no reason, but the Bedells should beare their part in the Common Calamatie as well as others.¹³

My pupill(it seemes) hath lost his Bill of Expenses, but he shall find the paines to renew it, against Saturday, and adde likewise this broken quarter since Midsommer.¹⁴

I heare just now that 2 houses were shutt up at Roiston on Thursday for the plague; and the infected translated into the feilds. One of those that died was a child, and neere had all the neighbours bin present (sent for by the Father), but that the spots suddainly appeared and so the danger prevented by a countermessage.

- 8 Fourteen seafaring men were set on the shore in Sussex on 13 September 1625. They claimed to be Portugese taken to Brazil by a Dutch ship. They had neither money nor weapons. See SPD 1625-1626, note 64, p 105.
- 9 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 10 On the Public fast see Letter 134, note 6. 'They of the Lower House' refers to the Regents (Masters of Art).
- 11 Bedells: see Letter 123, note 13.
- 12 'Dis': abbreviation of Latin 'disputabilis' (disputation) (OED). OED quotes from Cambridge Statutes: 'One of the Bedels must ... proclayme the order of their standynge... upon the Dis Dayes'.
- 13 Presumably the Beadles were paid for 'Dis' days.
- 14 The reference is to Sir Martin Stuteville's son, John. See Letter 111, note 7.
- 15 Nicholas Pecke died 14 September 1625: Susan Pecke died 28 September 1625. See Trumpington Parish Registers.
- 16 Isaac Barrow, Trinity 1584, Middle Temple 1591, or his son, Isaac, Trinity 1615, Lincoln's Inn 1618, Justice of the Peace for Cambridge.
- 17 Possibly Sir John Pooley (Poley) (B.A.? Queens' 1576) of Suffolk or Sir John Pooley (d.1638) of Wrongey, Norfolk.
- 18 Reports of the numbers of Tilly's losses were inconsistent: on 3 September, 2000 dead and 600 injured; on 4 September, 4000 dead. See Calendar 1.136.

[8 October 1625]

Sir,

We are yet well here, God be thanked. The Bill from London is as followeth.

October 6

The 97 Parishes within walls	{ Burialls	288,	Plague	199	
The 6 Parishes without walls	{	Burialls	299	Plague	174
part in, part out of Liberties					
The 9 out Parishes	{ Burialls	251	Plague	165	
The totall summe of all Burialls		838	Plague	538	

5

So it is decreased since last week 400 wanting 2. God be blessed; Parishes cleare 23. Infected 99. St John Evangelist yet escapes. St. Martin in the feilds is the greatest number, being of plague 41.¹

10

Yesterday was fortnight dyed Sir John Leventhorpe of Shingle Hall.² On Tuesday he was well at a meeting of Justices; On Wednesday went on hauking; Thursday morning took pills according to his custome Spring and Fall but trusting to Tending the Apothecary of Stortford³ without advise of the Physitian. The Pills wrought not; yet he was well at Supper and so went to bed. A litle before midnight he began to be ill. In the morning betimes came Doctor Sir Will. Paddy⁴ sent for from Sir Rich: Lucy;⁵ who finding he had taken pilles enquired how his body was disposed before the taking them, and [--] being informed he was troubled with wind, told him presently that the Spirituall Physitian was more needfull then himselfe, for he could not live. Whereupon Dr Elmer⁶ and others

15

20

25

being sent for, he prayed devoutly with them etc. and sending for his children that were at home, he blessed them and having no great sense of paine and sense continuing almost to the last, he dyed about one a clock that day.

For the King of Denmarks* busines: the dangerous Fall they talk of was about the beginning of August, as appeares by the Corranto⁶. But at the end of that month he had had no skirmish with Tilly* So that if it be true It must be in September.⁷ Sir John Pooly⁸ is returned from Court with a satisfactory answere; was this week in our Towne, dined at Mr Cranes⁹ where Dr Weemes¹⁰ was present and telles me from his mouth That the Fall was nothing so dangerous as report hath made it, That he never fought battell with Tilley But only skirmished in defence of a Towne (in the Frontires of Lunenburg called I think Rodenburg) which Tilly assaulted, but was repulsed with the slaughter one way or other of some 5000 of his men and not much above so many hundred losse on the Kings part. For otherwise Tilly was much the stronger being 40/000, Denmark but 30/000 at the most.¹¹

There is a Fresh report of Ships with treasure taken at Plymouth.¹² Our Chapleins Sumpsterman¹³ returned from Plymouth with letters on munday from them to the Vice-Chancellor,¹⁴ with news of 9 such ships taken bound for Dunkirk, and that they saw and handled the treasure etc. But as farre as I have examined the buisnes it is nothing but the 7 Ships Mr Styles¹⁵ wrot of, which have bin kept untouched (it seemes) till the Kings comming to Plymouth, and the treasure then brought forth to go at least to our mint. But whether it shalbe made prise (as they affirme) time will tell us better. But the neues is everywhere as of a thing lately done, some valuing the treasure

at 250 thousand pound, but Sir John Pooley almost an hundred
lesse.¹⁶

The Returne from the East Indies so much as arrived safe is
valued at £300/000.¹⁷

The Sweden slew of the Polacks in Liveland (as Dr Weemes
telles me from his Ambassadors owne mouth⁺ 17/000 men.¹⁸ That
King offereth by his Ambassador to come in person into the
Empire with 30/000 men, if our King will pay the third part of
them. To which they say he hath yeilded, and the Ambassador
dispatched before his going to Plymouth.¹⁹ Another sute of the
King of Sweden* to ours was in behalfe of Mr Ruthen²⁰ that he
might be restored to the honours of his predecessors.

Besides that pretty buisines of the Preacher at Tichfeild Dr
Weemes telles me another like it, which happened whilest he was
at Court there some 6 weeke since, viz That the King and Queene
dining together in the Presence, Mr Hacket²¹ being then to say
Grace, the Confessor would have prevented him, but that Hacket
shoved him away. Whereupon the Confessor²² went to the
Queenes side and [---] was about to say Grace againe but^{that} the
the King pulling the dishes unto him and the Carvers falling to
their buisnes hindred him. When Dinner was done he thought
(standing by the Queene) to have bin before Mr Hacket. But Mr
Hacket againe gott the start but the Confessor nevertheless
begins his Grace as loud as Mr Hacket with such a confusion
that the King in great passion instantly rose from the table
and taking the Queene by the hand retyred into the Bedchamber.
(Was not this a Preistly discretion?

I pray tell my Lady, That Mr Cradocks²³ son in Law, Mr

+ Sir James Spence, a Scottishman borne.

Baker^{++ 24} was well and preached his Lecture on Sunday last and 85
went againe to Thistleworth (or Icklesworth) on munday, where
he remains all the week till Sunday comes etc.

The summe of the first quarters Bill is £13. 0. 4d.

I send you now the second compleat 4. 11. 3 25

Attica Bellaria²⁶ is a Book so called being of 3 parts. It 90
was pricked in my book as a signe the Bookbinder was not then
payd for it, which I suppose my pupill without cause imitated.
I received the money tyed up by Parkers man* but it wanted 1^s
being but £4 14s 11d.

Thus with my best respect to yourselfe and my Lady I rest 95
and am Yours most ready to be commanded
Christ Colledg. October 8 Joseph Mead
You sent me a 2 or 3 Charles-coines in your money.

++ with his wife.

Textual Notes.

Line 29. In MS: 'one that a clock'.

Line 74. 'was' written above deletion.

Line 83. In MS: 'That Mr Gha Cradocks'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 Sir John Leventhorpe of Shingay Hall, Hertfordshire.
- 3 Mr Tendring is not identified.
- 4 Sir William Paddie (d.1634), M.D at Leyden 1589, President
of the College of Physicians in 1618, had been a physician
to James I. See Foster, Alumni
- 5 Sir Richard Lucy (1592-1667), of the Charlecote,
Warwickshire family, became life-owner of Broxbourne,
Hertfordshire, through marriage. See DNB & Visitation of
Hertfordshire 1634.

- 6 Dr Theophilus Elmer (Ailmer) (D.D 1598-d 1625/26) was Rector of Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, a parish very near to Broxbourne. See Venn, Alumni.
- 7 On the King of Denmark's fall from a horse see 9 September 1625, SPV 1625-1626, note 230, p 158.
- 8 On Sir John Pooley see Letter 143, note 17.
- 9 On Felix Crane or Henry Crane see Letter 142, note 8.
- 10 Dr Lewis Weemes (Wemys) (d.1659), was made a Fellow of Queens' 1618-24 by Royal Mandate. He held various ecclesiastical livings. See Venn, Alumni.
- 11 See Letter 142, note 15 and Letter 143, note 18.
- 12 On September 16 1625 various French ships 'laden with Dunkirk goods' were apprehended and taken in to Plymouth. See SPD 1625-1626, n 67, p 105 and SPD 1625-1626, n 118, p 112.
- 13 Sumpterman: the driver of a packhorse (OED/4).
- 14 Dr John Mansell (sizar at Queens' 1594-d 1631), Rector of St. Botolph, Cambridge 1611-15, President of Queens' 1622-31, was Vice-chancellor 1624-25.
- 15 On Thomas Style, student at Christ's in 1611, see Peile, Register i.299 under Jonas Style.
- 16 The king was in Plymouth in September 1625. The reference is perhaps to the ships in note 12.
- 17 On the return of the East India ships see SPD 1625-1626, note 94, p 109.
- 18 On Sweden and Livonia (Liveland) see Letter 142, note 12.
- 19 On the anti-Habsburg league and Sweden see Letter 115, note 13.
- 20 Patrick Ruthven (1573?-1651), later Earl of Forth and Earl of Brentford, Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, distinguished

himself in the Swedish army. He was made Colonel of a regiment in 1618 and was known for his 'extraordinary power to withstand the effects of intoxicating liquor'. He returned to England in 1638. See DNB.

21 John Hacket (1592-1670), later Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, author of Ignatius Loyola (see Letter 77, note 7) was a royal chaplain. See DNB.

22 The Queen's confessor, Achille de Harlay (1581-1646), Baron de Sancy, a scholar, formerly a soldier, was, at this date, a brother of the Oratorian order. He was at the head of a dozen priests who comprised the chapel of Henrietta Maria in England.

23 Richard Cradock (Clare College 1580-d.1630), was Rector of Barrow in Suffolk 1608-30. The Heigham family of Barrow had family connections, dating back to the fifteenth century, with the Stutevilles of Dalham.

24 Possibly Robert Baker, admitted at Christ's in December 1615, a contemporary of Thomas Stuteville (see Letter 29, note 11). The reason for Lady Stuteville's interest in him is not known.

25 Mead refers to John Stuteville's bill of expenses.

26 Attica Bellaria is included in the books listed in Mead's account books. It was 'a banquet of odds and ends culled from a wide reading in classical literature'. See Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, Appendix 1., p 608.

Jakob Spanmuller Pontanus, S.J., (1542-1626), Attica Bellaria, (1615-20).

[15 October 1625]

Sir,

I received a letter from Mr Pory¹ since his returne from Harwich. He desired me to write the content thereof to Sir Rob. Cotton² in his name. I wrot this which followeth, but without a preface, till I should be sure of the opportunity of a messenger, whereof having fayled in due time, I send that to you which should have gone to him being glad my Providence was such as to leave a blank in ye beginning though otherwise you should have had the originall itselife. But here what he says.

5

Thus he writes October 8

That coming to Harwich to see my Lord of Warwick³ and to kisse his hands; no sooner had he done his dutie to his Lordship, but he told him peremptorily that upon Saturday October .1. he must goe with all possible speed to the Court for him. Which he did finding it at Wilton on Sunday and Salisbury on Munday where he left it viz:

10

15

Their Majesties and the Lords etc. On Wednesday morning before day he was returned to the Campe with letters to dissolve it:⁴ But what joy and acclamation there was, he had rather I should imagine, then he exp[].

At his being at Court he understood, his Majestie had [] my Lord Duke* at Plymouth to order the going forth of the [] etc.⁵ to ransack the eleven ships sent in by Sir Samuel Ar[]⁶ who was then pursuing the wafters whereof one was a D[] of

20

40 pieces of ordnance who being hailed, sayd he would rather
burne or sinke then yeeld; but they will have him or sinke by 25
him, if tempest or some other accident do not hinder. The
value of these ships was at [---] his being at Salisbury
estimated but at 100 thousand pound, and therefore it was a
disputable question, whether they should be made prize or no.
Yet so[] said there were heavy packs of wooll, which were 30
thought to [] rich qutrailles.⁷

Sir Edw. Cecill, (now Vicount Wimbleton)⁸ is Generall both
by sea and land and hath the greatest command, that any subject
hath had (he supposeth) these hundred yeares.

Monsieur de Soubize being beaten by the French Kings forces 35
at Sea (whereof the prime were those seaven English ships
manned wholly with French whose countenance carried the
victory) retyred into Plymouth with 4 sayle, while his Majestie
was there, but he came not to the speach of his Majestie; onely
he spake with the Lords, who imparted the Kings mind.⁹ Upon 40
this overthrow Rochell is now beseidged both by sea and land
and [] in worse case, then either when Henry the 3d lay
before it, [] formerly in this Kings time. and yet wise men
are of opinion that the French King wilbe drawn to^o composition;
they of the Towne being victualled for 2 yeares.¹⁰ 45

The King of Denmark* hath had the better of Tylly* in []
skirmishes and enterprises whatsoever; so that now at Length
[...] seemeth vict[...] to our side.¹¹

That my Lord Duke* and my Lord of Holland¹² at their
returne were presently to goe Ambassadors into Holland to 50
ratify the League offensive and defensive betweene his Majestie
and that Common-wealth lately agreed upon at Southampton, which

they say, is the strictest that ever was concluded between us
and them.¹³

That Spinola* having brought his Ships without ye haven and 55
Towne of Dunkirk into the Road, under the favour of the Skonce,
hath made three attempts to gett out but hath bin beaten back
by the Hollanders, they being extreame jelous of him for their
Ile of Casant, which being lost Sluys cannot hold out.¹⁴

At Langer-Point on the Suffolck side of Harwich harbour, 60
there shall ride in the narrows of the Channell 2 or 3 of the
Kings ships for the guard of those places. Two Enginers are
come out of Holland to fortify Harwich which by their art might
be made very strong.¹⁵ But the Kings wanting money (he thinketh)
that other more compendious course by ships of warre wilbe 65
taken.

That the Court (if the Plague enter not) will continue a long
time at Salisbury. The Terme (was sayd) should be kept at
Reading.

He remembreth his humble service to yourselfe and my Lady. 70
and says he vanisht at Dalham but appeares at Norwich etc
etc.¹⁶

The sicknes at London this week stands at a stay.

The Totall. 815. The Plague 511.

So the Totall is abated but 23, the Plague 27. Yet I saw a 75
letter from London making very glad it was so much whereas they
feared an encrease by reason of the wonderfull numbers of
people in the Citty.¹⁷ Mr Pory writes also that in his passing
twice through he found the streets full of people and the
Highways of Passengers, horse and Foot. 80

Soubieze (I am told) was committed to Mr Pawletts¹⁸ house
in Sommersttshire, with what liberty I know not. But there is

a French Ambassador a coming and most men think to move our
King to deliver him into the French Kings hands as a Rebell. but
I hope he will be so wise as to gett away before that. For 85
they say His Majestie told him at first that he was a Rebell to
his King and if he sent he must deliver him.¹⁹

Mansfeild* is up againe and marching, all say. Nor was he
ever downe the second time as we understo~~od~~²⁰, Sir John Pooley.
but continued in his first disaster without new supplyes 90
(though sooner promised) till now suddenly he is sett up by the
garrisons of the Lowcountrie by the procurement of our King.²¹

These 11 ships so much talked of, I perceive now are none of
those 7 whereof Mr Styles²² wrot in the end of July. but others
since. They talk everywhere of a mighty value 2 or 3, some 95
more hundred thousands but Fama vires acquirit eundo.²³ I had
rather beleieve Mr Pory, then such Hyperboles.*

Thus with my best and wonted respect and service I rest and
am, Yours most ready to
Christ Colledg be commanded 100
October 15 Joseph Mead.

I received the money of Parkers man*.

It is true the Study is not yet reckoned
for, but it will come in time.

I wonder what Mr Higham meanes; he sends not his Son.²⁴ 105

Yours is already as forward as he though nigh a yeare his
junior. And I think will much out goe him though he should
be more diligent then he hath bin by much.

+ Nor doth the Inventory which goeth abroad promise neere
so much though the autor sayes it was extemporary and 110
upon the first search.

My pupill Bell²⁵ comes not neither.

I send you the extracts of 2 Corrantōs - there
was nothing in them besides worth much observation.²⁶

Textual Notes.

- Line 19. Probably 'expresse': letters missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 20. Perhaps 'joined': word missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 21. Probably 'Fleet': word missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 22. 'Argoll': letters missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 23. Probably 'Dunkerker': letters missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 27. 'his' is written above the deletion
- Line 30. Presumably 'some': letters missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 31. Perhaps 'be': word missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 42. Presumably 'is': word missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Line 43. Perhaps 'or'.
- Line 46. Perhaps 'no': word missing at worn edge of leaf.
- Lines 47-48. Words between 'at length' to 'to our side' are illegible at the side and bottom of worn leaf.

Notes

- 1 On John Pory see Letter 142, note 14.
- 2 Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) was an antiquary and collector of manuscripts and coins. His library was left to the nation by his grandson in 1753.
- 3 On Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick see Letter 87, note 13.
- 4 Orders were given for the assembled trained men at Harwich to be dismissed but to be ready to reassemble in case of threat from any enemy. See 2 October 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626, p 182.
- 5 King Charles was in Plymouth on 12 September 1625. See SPV 1625-1626, note 244, p 165.

- 6 Sir Samuel Argoll was appointed Admiral of 24 English and 4 Dutch ships. He was sent to search for eighteen 'Dunkirkers'. They were not found but Argoll made prize of other ships laden with goods for Dunkirk. See SPD 1625-1626, note 67, p 105.
- 7 The number of French ships taken was put at fourteen. See SPD 1625-1626, note 118, p 112.
- 'Outraillies' perhaps 'quadrilles' : a chequered material (OED).
- 8 On Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon see Letter 13, note 4.
- 9 In September the French fleet with Dutch reinforcements and the ships lent from England (Letter 142, n 17) forced Soubise (Letter 64, note 2) to a sea-battle which lasted two days. The Huguenots were defeated. The islands of Re and Oleron were lost. Soubise reassembled the debris of his army and sailed to England.
- See Parker, La Rochelle, pp 14,77; Rohan, Mémoires i.267-270.
- 10 The battle destroyed the strength of the 'Rochelais' navy. La Rochelle itself was cut off by land and sea from communication with fellow-protestants. See Clarke, Huguenot Warrior, p 130.
- A peace agreement, the Peace of Paris, was not ratified until 21 March 1626. It comprised two separate acts: (i) between the French government and the Reformed Churches; (ii) between the French Government and La Rochelle.
- 11 On Christian IV and the alliance see Letter 115, note 13.
- 12 Henry Rich (1590-1649), Earl of Holland, was sent to Paris in 1625 in an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate peace between Louis XIII and the Huguenots. He later (in the

same year) accompanied Buckingham to Holland to ratify the Treaty of Southampton (see below, note 13).

13 By the Treaty of Southampton (8 September 1625) a close alliance was formed between Holland and England.

15 On preparations for the defence of Harwich see APC March 1625-May 1626, pp 146-236, passim.

16 The reference is to John Pory, see note 1.

17 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.

18 John Poulett, (1585-1648/9), later Sir John of Hinton St. George, Somerset, sometime member of Parliament for Somerset was High Sherriff of the County in 1616. He 'entertained' Soubise at Hinton. See Complete Peerage.

19 Jean de Warignies (1581-1628), Siegneur de Blainville, a Councillor of State in France, the King's Lieutenant in Normandy, was sent to England in an attempt to re-establish harmony between King Charles and his wife, to protect English Catholics and to prevent an English alliance with the Huguenot rebels. Biographie Française.

20 On Sir John Pooley see Letter 143, note 17.

21 See Letter 142, note 16. For details of a proposed loan of £40,000 for two months for Mansfeld see SPD 1625-1626, note 26, p 130.

22 On Thomas Styles see Letter 144, note 15.

23 Report gathers strength as it goes along. Mead paraphrases Virgil - 'Vires acquirit eundo', Aeneid, IV.

24 On John Heigham and his father see Letter 121, note 15.

25 On Robert Bell of Norfolk, scholar at Christ's, see Peile, Register i.359.

26 For the extracts from 2 'corantos' dated September 1625, see Calendar I.136.

146
(f 500r,v)

[22 October 1625]

Worthie Sir,

I will begin with the sicknes at London, whereof the bill
gives us this account.

+	{	In the 97 Parishes	}	in all {181}	Plague {98	5
		within the walles				
	{	In y ^e 16 Parishes	}	in all {270	Plague {107	
		without walles part				
		in, part out of Lib.				
	{	In y ^e 9 outParishes	}	in all {200	Plague {126	
The Totall of all						10
Burialls -----						651
Plague -----						331

Parishes cleere 46; Christenings 91.

		Bu.	Pl	
The greatest numbers are	{ Andrew Holborne	33	22	15
	{ Brides Parish	24	16	
	{ Saviour Southw	32	10	
	{ Mary Whitechap	42	30	1
	{ Clement Templebar	53	43	
	{ Martin Feilds	36	22	

The Doctor* wrot from Lond. last week. That our Fleet putt
to Sea in 3 Companies on Saturday Sunday and munday the 1. 2.
and 3 of this moneth. But by others reports and letters it was
not out of sight of Land and so not accounted gone till
Wednesday following.² Howsoever it is here generall newes this

+ Week ending October 20

25

week both written from Lond. and told from Court That the great
Tempest on thursday October 13. brought many of them back again
to Plymouth, if not the most: and that the Vice-Admirall the
Lyon,⁺ where Sir Francis Steward commanded, sprung a leak, and
was with very great difficultie saved;³ yea others (but I think 30
it not true) that shee struck on ground and splitt, yet so that
all the men, Ordinance etc were saved. That notwithstanding
the Fleet putt againe to Sea, leaving Sir Francis Steward
behind, to accomodate a merchants Ship and so to Follow them.

Besides, That of the Ships which lay before Dunkirk, 4 of 35
the Hollanders sunk downe right, and our 6 were scattered and
so greivously handled, that they cutt all their masts and yet
hardly escaped.⁴ I pray God send them all hereafter better
wether.

Letters from Hambrough (sayd the Doctor) relate, That the 40
King of Denmark* suffered his souldiers to Pillage the Duke of
Lunenburges⁵ Country for supplying Tilly's Campe with victualls
and provendar. He is next Cosen and heire male to the 2 Dukes
of Brunswick, if they die without issue.

That the King and Queene were then at Salisbury. That 45
there was a French Ambassador come to sollicite to have and see
the Queenes house established.⁶

Sir John Barker⁷ reported here That some ships of ours had
taken a great Carrick⁸ with whom 6 of them had fought so long
till their powder and shott fayled, but by the coming in of 50
other Ships at length took hwr and brought hwr into the Downes
about thursday was sennight.

We have much talk here of change of great officers Viscount

+ In this ship Sir Francis went to fetch the Queen.

Andover to be Master of the Horse:⁹ Sir James Lee Lord 55
 Keeper:¹⁰ Lord Conway Lord Treasurer:¹¹ Earle Pembrok, High
 Steward:¹² Earle Montgomery. Chamberlaine.¹³ But there is yet
 no such thing done (for ought I can learne) whatsoever is like
 to be.

Sir Tho: Gerard of the Brin in Lancashire, a great 60
 Recusant ¹⁴ chosen a Burgesse the last Parliament of King James
 but could not be found, though the house made much search for
 him, because he had not taken the oth of Allegiance: etc was
 lately [---] by mandate from the Councell attached by the
 Sheriffe of the Countie (Mr Holland of Heaton)¹⁵ and in 65
 Custodie. The occasion. Two mayds of his washing clothes at a
 pitt, fell a talking together of the brave times, that would be
 shortly for their Religion; when Mr Turner (a busie Justice of
 Peace etc) should be turned out of Office, Mr Horne (Parson of
 Winnick)¹⁶ should have hornes sett upon his head, and the 70
 Bishop of Chester¹⁷ that bore himselfe so high, should be
 hoisted a peg higher then he was to his litle ease. And my
 brother Rob: (Sir Thomas his Grome)¹⁸ sayth one to the other is
 one of those that must kill the King.

This discourse being overheard by a Pedlar or some 75
 such like fellow who was lying a sunning behind a hedge, he
 goes presently to a honest and substantiall man of the Towne
 by (Prescod) and telles [---] him what he heard Sir Tho: Gerards
 mayds talking at the Pitt, He presently informes the Parson
 (Mr Aldin).¹⁹ The Parson writes to the Bishop of Chester, He to 80
 the Lords of the Counsell. They send a mandate to the Sheriffe
 to apprehend him, which he did on munday was sennight but
 upon his request for .2.days respite, he took baile of £2000
 that he should yeeld himselfe at the Bull in Manchester the

tuesday night following but he repent him; for Sir Tho borrowed 85
 2 days more and came not in till thursday night; to the
 Sheriffes no small perplexity. He is now in the Sheriffes
 custody witha guard, least he should escape or be rescued.
 Related to me by one⁺⁺ who was then present and understood the
 whole from the Sheriffes owne mouth. Yet the grounds are so 90
 feeble, that I think it will prove no great matter. I tell you
 this circumstantially, because there goes stranger reports
 abroad, but all false.

I send the Ointment and Playster. price 3s - 6d. Thus with
 my best and wonted respect I rest and am 95
 Christ Colledg Yours most ready to be commanded
 October 22 Joseph Mead.

²⁰
 ++ Mr. Moseleys tutor.

Textual Notes. The Plague Bill: In MS, lines 17, 18, 19, 20 are adjacent to
 Line 13. Written at right edge of leaf. lines 14, 15, 16.

Line 48. In MS: 'Carrick with wth whom'.

Line 59. 'to be' inserted above line with caret.

Line 63. In MS: 'etc. ~~is~~ lately'; 'was' written above deletion

Line 76. In MS: 'who was ~~like~~ lying'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague and Plague bills see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 See 8 October 1625, SPD 1625-1626, note 47, p 121 for a
 note of the list of ships which put to sea for Spain. The
 fleet sailed to Falmouth and awaited the arrival of the
 Admiral. See ibid, note 41, p 120.
- 3 On Sir Francis Stewart see Letter 131, note 13. For the
 leaky condition of his ship - 'The Lion' - see SPD
1625-1626, note 40, p 120.

Sea as well as in the Channel. 3 English men-of-war were lost with 240 men; a fourth was dismasted; of 3 ships in the Downes, off Dover, two were without captains, Masters or gunners and all three were without food. See SPD 1625-1626, note 5, p 127.

- 5 Christian of Brunswick-Luneburg, was at one time Director of the Lower Saxon Circle until ousted by Christian IV of Denmark early in 1625.

Mercurius Britannicus 49 (iii), pp 4,14 refers to the King of Denmark at Lunenburg and to the hindrance to Tilly's supply of victuals. See STC 18507.177.

- 6 On Sieugneur de Blainville see Letter 145, note 18.
- 7 Sir John Barker is not identified with certainty.
- 8 'Carrick' is an obsolete form of 'carrack': a large ship of burden which is fitted for warfare (OED).
- 9 Thomas Howard of Charlton, Wiltshire (1590-1669), Viscount Andover, later Earl of Berkshire, was Master of King Charles's Horse until 1628. See Complete Peerage, under Berkshire.
- 10 On Sir James Ley (Lee) see Letter 8, note 10. He kept his position as Lord High Treasurer. He was not promoted to Lord Keeper.
- 11 On Sir Edward Conway see Letter 120, note 10. Conway remained as Secretary of State.
- 12 On William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke see Letter 11, note 4. Pembroke temporarily acted as High Steward at the opening of Parliament in 1626. He eventually became High Steward in August 1626. See 3 August 1626, SPD note 30, p 396.
- 13 On Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery see Letter 91, note 6. Montgomery succeeded his brother as Lord Chamberlain in

August 1626. See ibid.

- 14 Sir Thomas Gerard (1584-1630) of Boyne, Lancaster, was the member of Parliament for Liverpool 1624-25. See Complete Baronetage, p 22. Information concerning his misdeeds was sent to the Privy Council by the Bishop of Chester on 25 September 1625. See SPD 1625-1626, note 69, p 122. He was held in custody, then committed to the Tower on 17 October 1625. See APC March 1625-May 1626, p 205.
- 15 Edward Holland of Winwick, Lancashire, was High Sherriff of the county. See APC, April 1625 p 205.
- 16 Josiah Horne (d 1626), B.A. from Trinity College 1596, a priest in 1597-8, was Rector of Winwick, Lancashire 1616-1626.
- 17 On John Bridgman, Bishop of Chester see Letter 18, note 7.
- 18 Sir Thomas's groom is not identified.
- 19 For Mr Aldwin, see 24 November 1625, APC p 247.
- 20 Richard Moseley (1608-1642), admitted at Emmanuel 1624, Lincoln's Inn 1626, lived near the Stuteville family in Suffolk. See Venn, Alumni.

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(f 502r,v)

[29 October 1625]

Sir,

I hope you received the things I sent last Saturday. I will begin with the best newes first, the great decrease of the plague in respect of the proportion, and in a week that gave no reason to expect it. God almightie be ever praised for his mercy. The particulars are these

5

In the 97 Parishes within the walles	{ Burialls .132 Plague .44.
In the 16 Parishes without walles but part within Liberties	{ Burialls .130. Plague .32.
In the .9 Out-Parishes	{ Burialls 113 Plague 58
The Totall of	{ Burialls 375 Plague 134

10

Parishes of the greatest number

Christenings	77	15
Parishes cleere	75	
Parishes infected	47.	

	Bu.	Pl.	
{ Clement Templebar	[32?]	[24?]	
{ Mary Whitechapel	31.	.20.	20
{ Martin in Feilds	31.	.22.	

No Parishes besides of the Plague above 9. 1

For other newes, A Doctor in Towne this week shewed me a letter he newly had received from Salisbury from Sir Ro . Carre of ye Bedchamber^{his} Secretarie:² The contents and date were as followeth in the very words.

25

Salisbury October 18

Not much newes here but that our Fleet is gone on Saturday
the 8 of this month⁺. ³

There is talking here, that there is a ship come home, 30
which assures the King, that the Northwest Passage is now
found, which wilbe no small benefitt to this Nation.⁴

The Lord Keeper⁵ is to give up his Office and my Lord
Treasurer⁶ shall succeed him. My Lord Chamberlaine shalbe
Treasurer,⁺⁺ ⁷The Earle of Carleile Chamberlaine:⁸ The Duke*, 35
Lord Steward;⁹ and Marques Hammilton Master of the horse.¹⁰
His Majestie is to remove hence on Wednesday October 26, and the
Queene on munday before (being the 24) towards Hampton Court.

Thus that letter

But of my Lord Keeper though some say it is already done, 40
yet others say that Sir George Goring¹¹ is a vehement sutor to
the Duke* in his behalfe, and my Lord himself hath condescended
much more to the Duke, then was expected, whereupon some
conceive there is yet some pause, though litle hope.¹²

The Duke went from Walden yesterday was sennight by my Lord 45
of Warwicks¹³ toward Harwich, where it is sayd Sir Georg Goring
met him to be a Sutor as aforesayd. The day before (as one
present telles me) the Drumme was beat at Walden to give notice
to Capt. Mordaunts¹⁴ band to be ready at an houres warning for 50
Harwich; the like I heare was done in other parts of Essex. I
heard talk yesterday of some feare of an Invasion about
Yorkshire.¹⁵

Some ships come lately from Newfound Land were presently

+ All newes till this was of Saturday the .1. of October. 55

++ This differs much from our former reports.

marked for his Majesties service.

It is a generall report in Towne all this week, that my Lord Bishop
of Exceters¹⁶ house is visited with the plague, that 3. of his
servants are dead, amongst them Mr Fowlers¹⁷ son one. That 60
himself removed a while into his garden and dispatched buisines
at a window, and [---] is since removed 4 miles out of Towne. I
heard of it last week, but then I wrot not of it, as taking it
for an idle rumour. What grounds they have since for it I know
not, though it be true, the plague is grievous at Exceter. 65

I send you a Corranto, that you might consider whether the
King of Denmarks Victory, there so often mentioned, can be that
which Sir Jo. Pooly¹⁸ told, for this was our 15 their 25 of
September at the soonest; which was the Thursday before St.
Mathews day: was not Sir John Pooly on St Mathews day at 70
Chidderly?

Thus with my best and wonted respect to your selfe and my
Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to be commanded

October 29 Joseph Mead. 75

Post-script

Mr Reading¹⁹ since told me, that it is true of my Lord of
Exceters house, and that 6 were dead, whereof Fowler one. That
the Bishop himselfe and Mistriss Carey were removed out of the
Citty, & That Dr Burnells man²⁰ (but as he thought by his Masters 80
direction wrot so unto St Johns Colledg, since the first
report. The Doctor was at Salisbury and intended to have gone
to my Lords, but for this accident.

I saw another Corrant which continues the great feare of
Bethlem Gabor* in Austria and staying of some forces going to 85
Tilly*. The King of Sweden* prevailles in his victories.

Mansfeilds* horse and 3000 of the States horse already with
Denmark*; but his foot expected. Brunswick* was in the late
victory of Denmark against Tilly.²¹

90

Textual Notes.

Line 42/43 'hath' and 'much' inserted very faintly above line
with caret.

Line 58. In MS: 'it is is a generall'.

Line 60. 'them' inserted above line with caret.

Line 68. In MS: 'our 15 of November their 25'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 The reference is possibly to Robert Carr (d.1645), Earl of Somerset, ex-favourite of King James, who had been released from the Tower in 1622.
- 3 On the departure of the fleet see Letter 146, note 2.
- 4 There was talk in London of equipping a ship to attempt the discovery of the North-West passage. See 25 June 1625, SPD 1625-1626, p 542.
- 5 On John Williams, Lord Keeper see Letter 3, note 37.
He was replaced as Lord Keeper by Sir Thomas Coventry on 30 October 1625. See APC March 1625-May 1626 p 223.
- 6 On James Lee see Letter 9, n 10 and Letter 146, note 10.
- 7 On the Earl of Pembroke see Letter 11, note 4 and
Letter 146, note 12.
- 8 On James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, see Letter 5, note 10.
On the post of Lord Chamberlain see Letter 146, note 13.
- 9 The Duke of Buckingham was not made Lord Steward.
- 10 On James Hamilton (1606-1648/9), Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, see Letter 31, note 5. Hamilton was made Master of the Horse in 1628. He held the position until 1644.
See Complete Peerage.

- 11 On George Goring see Letter 66, note 12
- 12 See note 5.
- 13 On Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick see Letter 87, note 13.
- 14 On John Mordaunt (1598/9-1643), later Earl of Peterborough, see Complete Peerage under Peterborough.
- 15 Fifteen ships from Dunkirk and eight Dutch ships were seen off Scarborough. The 'Dunkirkers' 'made spoil' of 70 Holland fishing boats and put 140 fisherman on an English ship bound for Newcastle. See a letter from the Mayor and Alderman of Newcastle to Secretary Conway, SPD 1625-1626, note 57, p 135.
- 16 On Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter, see Letter 18, note 13.
- 17 Probably Daniel Fowler, of Corpus Christi in 1613, son of George Fowler (d.1608) of Christ's. George Fowler was University Preacher in 1585. See Venn, Alumni.
- 18 On Sir John Pooley see Letter 143, note 17.
- 19 On Richard Ridding see Letter 142, note 8.
- 20 Dr Laurence Burnwell (Burnell) (1578-1647), a graduate of St.John's, was a canon and Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral from 1624. See Venn, Alumni; Foster, Alumni.
- 21 No printed English newsbooks are extant for the relevant dates. For Mead's extracts from newsbooks of September 1625 see Calendar I.136.
The defeat of Tilly reported earlier (^{newsbook} ~~newsbook~~ not extant) was later denied. The editor claimed to have been misled by 'a passenger' who reported the death of a certain 'Dilly' as that of Tilly. It was not the fault of 'our translator'. See Mercurius Britannicus 49 (iii), pp 4, 13: STC 18507.177.

It was reported in Mercure François that, in October/November 1625, the King of Denmark rejoined his army where he was joined by Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick (Halberstadt).

[5 November 1625]

Sir,

I am very barren this week. The Totall of Burialls at London 357. Of the Plague 89.¹

They say my Lord Duke* besides his buisnes at the Hague hath a generall Commission to treat with all Princes for a League offensive and defensive against the House of Austria.²

5

On Sunday last were brought up the Thames to the Towre some 20 of the Ships which had bin taken which caused the citty to assemble in infinite numbers and all the Ordinance at the Tower to be discharged for joy.³

10

Sir Tho: Coventry is Lord Keeper,⁴ Sir Rob Heath the Sollicitor is or shalbe Atturney,⁵ Sir Heneage Finch the Recorder,⁶ Sollicitor, and Mr Sheldon (not Selden) Recorder.⁷

A Company of Dunkirks they say ly before Scarborough in Yorkshire.⁸

15

Whither our Fleet aimes, we yet heare not. Some will needs have it go to Lisbone or that way.⁹

My Pupill had wrot last week but sent too late. It will not be so easy for a Child to find continual invention for a meere expression of dutie and thankfullnes, unlesse you appoint him some materiall to write of, whereout he might pick somewhat,

20

and offer it with sutable expressions.¹⁰

Thus with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest
and am .

Christ Colledg

November 5

Yours most ready to

be commanded

Joseph Mead

Mr Pory¹¹ delivered me your letter etc.

Textual Notes.

Line 4. In MS: 'to treat ~~for~~ with all'.
Line 17. 'not' written above line
Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 On the league with Holland see Letter 145, note 13.
On the hoped-for anti-Habsburg league see Letter 115, note 13.
- 3 All ships suspected of trafficking with Flanders were arrested, detained and ordered to London for inspection.
See SPV 1625-1626, n 310, p 214.
- 4 On Sir Thomas Coventry see Letter 11, note 10. On his appointment as Lord Keeper see 30 October 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626 p 223.
- 5 Sir Robert Heath (1575-1649), a judge, Recorder of London 1618, Solicitor-General 1620-21, was made Treasurer of the Inner Temple and Attorney-General in 1625.
- 6 On Sir Heneage Finch see Letter 3, note 21. He was chosen as Speaker of the House of Commons in 1626. See 8 February 1626, CJs i.p 816. On the position of Solicitor-General see below (note 7).
- 7 Sir Richard Sheldon (?) was made Solicitor-General, not Recorder of London.

On John Selden see Letter 20, note 9.

8 On the ships from Dunkirk see Letter 147, note 15.

9 Orders to the fleet were to destroy the King of Spain's shipping and take possession of a Spanish port. San Lucar was suggested as a target (Lockyer, Buckingham, 274) but the (unsuccessful) attack took place against Cadiz.

10 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

11 On John Pory see Letter 145, note 1.

[12 November 1625]

Sir,

I have seene yet no letter from London of this week. I must therefore fill up which [sic] such relations as I have.

The Burialls at London are fall. this week in the whole summe 38. but the Plague is risen 3. That you may understand the better where is the rise, I will compare the last and this weeks Bill together.

5

November 3

97 Parishes within walles	98 . Pl. 29 -	
16 Parishes part in part out of the Liberties	} — 152 . Pl. 25 -	
9 Outparishes		107 Pl. 35 -
Totall	357 Pl 89	

10

November 10

8 . 78 . Pl 26	
135. Pl 34 risen 9	
106 Pl 32	

15

Totall	319	92
--------	-----	----

Thus you see it is fallen everywhere saving in the 16 Parishes, where the number of the Plague (and that onely) is risen 9.

20

The Parishes are Andrew Holborne (where it is risen 5) Dunstane West and Gyles Cripplegate in each of which it is risen 2. But the Parishes infected are but 35, which is 6 lesse then was the former.¹

25

On Friday at night (October 29), The Duke of Buck: came to
 Ipswich, was mett with their traine band,² the Captaine being
 one of the Portmen, a proper fellow but not skilfull in Court
 cerimonies as appeared when he took the Duke by the hand when
 he should have kissed it, and told his Grace, That here he might
 see, how they were provided to entertaine Spinola*, if he came. 30
 Yet the Duke sent him 20 pieces to make him and his men merry
 withall. On Saturday and Sunday the Duke was private and heard
 Mr Ward³ preach, but on Munday for 4 dayes [---] was very royall
 [--] at his Inne, his reckoning came to £370 which he made up 35
 £400 and payd it all in Spanish Pistolets of 14^s.⁴ He that
 told me saw 400 of them. The Towne sent him a banquet; the
 messenger he rewarded with 10 pieces. There was with him the
 Earle of Warwick,⁵ Marq: Hammilton,⁶ Lord Feilding⁷ etc. On
 Thursday he went to Harwich meaning to have taken ship the next 40
 day, but the wind served not till Saturday when he went. There
 was an Engener with him while he was at Ipswich to see how
 Langer point might be fortified. Thus much for Suffolk, I if
 [sic] bring not Owles to Athens.⁸
 Here hath bin almost ever since the beginning of this month. 45
 a most impossible rumour That our Fleet should have taken
 Lisbone. I was told by one that came from Court at Theobalds
 on Thursday, that the occasion of the report was this. A
 Gentleman of the Queenes familie hath a brother in France, who 50
 being at Madrid, there came neues thither, That the Citty of
 Lisbone was revolted and yeelded to the English; whereupon, he
 being desirous his brother might me [sic] the first messenger
 of so good neues to our King, returned post into France, and
 presently dispatched letters hereof to his brother in England. 55
 Which though it be impossible to be true at least at that time,

yet it is certaine That his Majestie, both in the beginning of
the former week, and also againe on Saturday, Sunday and ~~on~~unday+
last received packets from the Fleet; the Contents whereof
though all kept secret are thought to be good, and pleasing by 60
the Kings behavior after the receipt of them.⁹ The Duke also
at Ipswich received a packet, whereof so much he was pleased
(they say) to make knowne; That the Fleet was come safe unto
the Place it intended. A merchant of Newcastle reports he met
it within 40 leagues of Lisbone, and that one of our ships going 65
out as a Skout farre before the rest of the Fleet encountered 3
tall Spanish men of Warre, who sett upon her and distressed her
so much that she was faine to blow up one of hir decks yet some
other ships of the Fleet comming at length in rescued her and
as some will have it surprised the 3 Spanish ships. This comes 70
from Lynne.¹⁰

The Holland men of Warre in revenge of their Fishermen have
terribly dispersed the Dunkerks, sunk divers of them driven
some aground, beaten others into creeks where they will not
easily gett out. When they had nearly made their massacre of 75
the Fishermen, a Lynne ship bound for Newcastle came by; whom,
they haled, boarded and took away some of their provision and
told them withall that if they ever came in their walks any
more they would serve them, as they had done the Hollanders, but
for the present they gave them 52 Holland boyes whom their good 80
natures had till then spared, and bid them carry them to
Newcastle, as they did.¹¹

To your list of the Fleet, you must adde 5 victuallers and
as many horse-ships having onely seamen in them. The

+ at 3 in the morning

85

Hollanders with them are 23 saile.¹²

I heare no forraine newes that is new; Mansfeild* is come
to Denmark*; who was presently to march with all his and his
owne forces upon some designe. There is (they say) an Italian
come to have the cheife command over the Imperiallists, Tilly* 90
being discouraged by the coming of Mansfeild as one against
whom fortune never favoured him.¹³

The King of France makes great levyes, they say for
Millaine.¹⁴

Thus with my best and wonted respect to your selfe and my 95
Lady I rest and am

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

November 12

be commanded

Jos. Mead.

Textual Notes. Line 4 'may' inserted above line

Line 34. 'was' written below an illegible deleted insertion.

Line 45. In MS: 'Here hath bin neare all this month almost
ever since'.

Line 53. 'might me': 'might be' obviously intended.

Line 58. In MS: 'of the last former'.

Line 63. In MS: 'was come safe safe'.

Line 64. In MS: 'reports he saw it': 'met' inserted above the
deletion.

Line 73. In MS: 'have disper terribly dispersed'.

Line 87. In MS: 'But Mansfeild'.

Lines 88-89. '& his owne' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 'Traineband': see Letter 142, note 3.
- 3 On Samuel Ward of Ipswich see Letter 2, note 38.
- 4 Pistolet: synonymous with 'pistole'; a name given to a
Spanish gold coin worth from 16/6d to 18s (OED).
- 5 On Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick see letter 87, note 13.

- 6 On James, Marquis of Hamilton, see Letter 147, note 10.
- 7 Lord Fielding (ante 1582-1643), Earl of Denbigh, scholar of Emmanuel College, held various important military commands in spite of having no military experience. He married a sister of the Duke of Buckingham.
- 8 'Owls to Athens' - See Cicero, Epistulae Familiares, II.194. An owl was a symbol of Athena, goddess of Athens, war, wisdom and the liberal arts.
- 9 It was reported from a French ship which sailed into Penryn harbour that Lisbon was taken by the English fleet. A letter purporting to be from the King of France to the French Admiral, Montmorency, confirmed the rumour. See SPD 1625-1626, note 72, p 138. However, the news was untrue. Portugal remained a Spanish possession until 1640.
- 10 On the capture of three Spanish ships see SPV 1625-1626, note 378, p 253.
- 11 See Letter 147, note 15.
- 12 A list of all Royal ships, with tonnage, men, guns and other particulars is held in volume xiii of the Domestic State Papers. For a note on the list see SPD 1625-1626, note 58, p 199.
- 13 Christian of Brunswick and Mansfeld were approaching Christian IV with 10,000 men. See Calendar I.136.
- 14 French military activity was directed towards putting pressure on Spain's military base in Northern Italy in the Duchy of Milan.
- 10,000 Swiss soldiers were to be levied by France 'to penetrate to the centre of the State of Milan ...'. See SPV 1625-1626, n 349, p 236 and Bassompierre, Mémoires, pp 28-29.

(f 498r,v)

Mead misdated this letter '19 October 1625'. By the content it was written after 9 November 1625 (see note 13). The correct date appears to be 19 November 1625. See the addressed leaf (MS Harl. 389, f 499v).

[19 November 1625]

Sir,

Parkers man* was gone last day too early. I committed my letter to Dr Warner¹, and I hope it came to you at length. The Doctor* (whatsoever the matter is) hath not written this month. So our newes is very scant. I sent you a bill of the plague.²

Sir Francis Steward³ is still behind, and went not after the Fleet. He is now presently to have another command over some 40 saile for some other service. His ship drew 24 foot water in 24 houres all was not right. The seames of the ship unkaulked in some places a yard together, and no okam etc. The Fleet will have great want of him being the onely man of skill and experience almost who could give direction at sea for such a Navie. The companies for land were not full; there went but 7000 foot. The Cole Carvells but weakly man'd; victualled when they went out, but for 3 monthes, and for want of drink beverage to make supply of beere. The under Captaines knew not at the going out, where they were to have their rendezvous, so that if they be cast off or loose the Fleet, they know not where to find it. 2 ships cast of 8 dayes went againe from Falmouth to seek them. One a horseship stayd behind which had some 20 horses, 3 whereof they had cast overboard, they could not follow having received some hurt, but their want (the Fleet

having had in all but some 40 horse) may prove a disadvantage.
They were forced to goe out in a mistie evening when they could
not see halfe a stones cast from them. The sea men much
discontented,^{that} they were urged thus against the usuall advise at 25
sea in the very beginning. You must not aske me whence I had
this; but of one that was an eyewitness of all, so it is like
to be more true, then I wish it were.⁴

The King hath had no such packets from the Fleet as was
supposed and talked. Onely last tuesday at night [--- ---] a 30
~~masker~~ of a Dutch skipper came to court, and told the King that as
he came from the Straights he saw his Fleet plying to and
againie over against the mouth of Lisbone river, but it is feared
to be too strong for them. Their designe was either for it, or
Caliz, [sic] St Maryport or St. Lucas [sic]. 35

The latter may be more easily taken, if it be worth the
charge of such a fleet, as some say it is not etc.⁵

Forraine newes none. The Imperialls intend, if they could,
to take in the land of Brunswick, whereupon some say the Ruling
Duke would resigne to his brother Christian*.⁶ 40

Mansfeild* and Brunswick* are both with Denmark, if we may
beleeve the Corranter, very strong.⁷

I doubt you will heare, that some part of the Dukes*
businies is to dispose of some Jewells, I will not say of the
Crowne; but you know want of money will do much.⁸ 45

There was lately a search in Northamptonshire, in Papists
houses for armes.⁹ Mr Knightley¹⁰ with some other and
a Constable came to my Lord Vaux¹¹ his house, would have
every trunk and box opened. One my Lord was very loth should
be and fell to expostulation and therein swore 2 oaths 50
for which Mr Knightley demands 2¹ shillings. Mr William Vaux¹²

(whose the trunk was) was by this time come in, and
 had his part in defence of his trunk. And when my Lord
 refusing to pay the 2s Mr Knightley charged the Constable
 to strayne 2s worth of goods, Mr William Vaux took Mr Knightly 55
 a blow on the face. A freind of Mr Knightley, seeing this,
 and preparing to defend him, my Lord struck him on the
 head with a hauking staffe, and after some more scuffling,
 Mr Knightley etc departed, complained to the Counsell¹³ where
 my Lord and his brother were on Sunday at night last, (the 60
 King himselfe present) censured to [--- ---] the Fleet and
 accordingly committed to so base a prison, and besides Mr
 Knightly shall enter an action against him in the
 Starre-chamber.¹⁴ The King as he rose from the Counsell Table
 sayd Now he shall have work enough & meaning he should not 65
 need seek imployment at Bergen.¹⁵ Mr Knightly is to be
 sheriffe.¹⁶

John Higham¹⁷ is sick of a Fever, I pray send his Father
 word he hath taken some Physick, and I think I must remove him
 to some house in the Towne which wilbe chargeable. 70

Thus in hast with my best respect, I rest and am

Christ Colledg Yours most ready to

October 19 be commanded

Joseph Mead.

My pupill declaimed in the Hall today.¹⁸ 75

Textual Notes

- Line 30. The deletions are one above the other.
- Line 52. In MS: 'way by this time': 's' written above 'y'.
- Line 53. 'when' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 57. 'him' inserted above line with caret.
- Line 58. 'more' inserted above line.
- Line 59. In MS: 'Mr Knightley departed etc. departed'.
- Line 61. An insertion with caret has been deleted.

Line 65. 'sayd' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 On Thomas Warner see Letter 8, note 25.
- 2 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 3 On Sir Francis Stewart see Letter 131, note 14.
- 4 Mead's correspondent is possibly Thomas Styles (Letter 144, note 15) his ex-pupil, who wrote letters to Secretary Coke on naval matters during 1625. See SPD 1625-1626, note 94, p 109; note 110, p 111.
The 'cole carvells' were 40 Newcastle colliers (Lockyer, Buckingham, 274).
- 5 On the fleet see Letter 148, note 9.
- 6 Frederick-Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, joined the King of Denmark's forces. His brother, Christian of Brunswick, took over the government of the duchy. See SPV 1625-1626, note 487, p 342.
- 7 See Calendar I.136.
- 8 In October 1625 it was considered necessary to pawn the crown jewels in order to raise money for the king. On 12 October 1625 the keeper of the jewels suggested transporting them abroad for the sake of secrecy. See SPD 1625-1626, note 73, p 123. Negotiations were begun with the United Provinces. In May 1626 £39,400 was raised and £43,644.5s.0d paid. See SPD 1625-1626, note 59, p 330.
- 9 Legislation had been recently passed for the disarming of Recusants (Roman Catholics). See October 1625, APC March 1625-May 1626, p 226. For a 'minute' of letters directed to noble Recusants commanding that they surrender their arms, see APC March 1625-May 1626, p 228,

- 10 On Richard Knightly of Fawsley (158?-1650), later member of parliament and Sherriff of Northamptonshire, see Northamptonshire Families, pp 188 and 370.
- 11 On Edward, Lord Vaux, see Letter 38, note 6. Lord Vaux's house was at Boughton in Northamptonshire.
- 12 William Vaux (1590?-1635?), educated at St.Omer, the English Catholic College in France, was brother to Edward, Lord Vaux. See Complete Peerage, under Vaux, Henry, note 'e'.
- 13 Warrants were issued on 9 November 1625 to bring the Vaux brothers before their Lordships of the Privy Council. See APC March 1625-May 1626, p 231.
- 14 The Privy Council ordered that further evidence should be heard in Star Chamber in order to ascertain the truth of the charges against Lord Vaux. As Lord Vaux left the Council Chamber he was heard to use insolent language to the deputy-lieutenant of Northamptonshire. Consequently he was committed to the 'Fleet' prison 'during his Majestie's pleasure'.
- His brother, William, was also committed. See APC March 1625-May 1626, pp 237-238.
- 15 Bergen-op-Zoom was the scene of a major defeat of the Spanish army in Flanders in 1622. Vaux, as a Catholic, was evidently suspected of Spanish sympathies.
- 16 On John Heigham see Letter 121, note 15.
- 14 On John Stuteville see Letter 111, note 7.

[26 November 1625]

Sir,

We have but litle newes this week neither. I have not yet
seene any letter of the Doctors.

The Burialls in London were
in all, this week } 231.

Of the Plague ——— 27

5

so it has fallen since last week 21

Parishes Cleere 106.

Christenings ——— 88

The highest Parishes are:

{	Andrew Holborn	.p. 5	10
	Clement Templebar	p 3	
	Mary Whitechap	p. 3	

1

Many of the Sticklers in the last Parlements are made
Sherriffes.² Sir Edwin Sands³ Sir Rob. Phillips,⁴ Mr Aldred⁵
and others. Yea Sir Edw. Cook himselfe as they talk. To whom
it is a peece of dishonour,⁶ to the rest none at all.

15

Sir Tho. Gerard of Lancashire is in the Tower (as they
write from London). And I am told as a truth from him that
heard it from an eyewitnes That on friday was sennight came
through Banbury from the Northparts 16 men with their hands
tyed behind them and their legs under the horse feet, which are
supposed to belong to that buisnes.⁷

20

It is told for certaine, That a Commission hath bin read in
all the Courts at Reading for the strict Execution of all Lawes

+ Alured

25

against Recusants.⁸ My Lord Vaux and his brother remaine in
the Fleet.⁹ At Court they begin to long¹⁰ strangely at a
Papist.

The newes talked this week at London (since Lisbon went
downe) is That our Fleet hath taken Cadiz with the losse of 400 30
men.¹¹ That the King received a packet which made him jocund,
That Sir Joh. Worsnam had letters thereof.¹² All I say is, I
would it were true.

The Plate Fleet was to come home about the end of this
month, which Ferdinando de Toledo is to guard.¹³ But I wish 35
ours could meet them. For our best provision is for sea.

The Emperours new Generall the Duke of Freidland* will
needs winter his men in Brunswick-Land. The Boores and he have
had some bickerings.¹⁴ The Elder Duke¹⁵ seeing warres a
comming hath resigned his Dukedome to Christian* his warlik 40
brother, who gathers great forces there, and the Subjects very
glad and Couragious that they have gotten a warriour to their
Lord. Denmark* sends some of his forces to his ayd.
Mansfeild* was bravely welcomed to the King of Denmark who yet
keeps Tilly* at a Bay at Minden and intercepts his victuals 45
etc.¹⁶

Thus in hast with my best respect to your selfe and my Lady,
I rest and am,

November 26

Yours most ready
to be commanded
Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

Line 18-19. In MS: 'from him that was heard it'.

Line 37. In MS: Freidland against will needs'.

Line 41. In MS: 'gathers all great forces'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 A 'stickler' either, 'a wrangler, one who stirs up strife' (OED/2b, obsolete), or, 'one who fights or contends against a ...cause; one who makes difficulties' (OED/3 obsolete).
In this context - contentious members of parliament.
Sheriffs were not eligible for election to parliament.
- 3 On Sir Edwin Sandys see Letter 2, note 27.
- 4 On Robert Phelips see Letter 30, note 12.
- 5 Probably a reference to Mr Alford, a lawyer, an active Member of Parliament for Old Sarum in 1614.
- 6 On Sir Edward Cook see Letter 5, note 3.
- 7 On Sir Thomas Gerard see Letter 146, note 14. For various people suspected as participants in the plot see APC March 1625-May 1626, p 247.
- 8 For the commission on laws against Recusants see SPD 1625-1626, note 18₂, p 142.
- 9 On Edward Vaux see Letter 38, note 7. On his release from the Fleet prison see APC March 1625-May 1626, p 248.
On William Vaux see Letter 150, note 12. On his release from the Fleet prison see APC March 1625-May 1626, p 249.
On their imprisonments see Letter 150, note 14.
- 10 'long': no relevant definition in OED. To look at?
- 11 In October 1625 the fleet sailed into Cadiz Bay with 80 ships and took Fort Puntal. It was decided to attack Cadiz itself but the English soldiers were in no condition to fight. When they became drunk and unmanageable on Spanish wine the fleet retreated from the bay. See SPD 1625-26, note 39, p 146.
- 12 The reference is presumably to Sir John Wolstenholme, a

Commissioner of the Navy.

- 13 Federigo de Toledo, Commander of the Brazil fleet, had been eagerly awaited in Spain with the treasure ships. Now that the English fleet was off the Spanish coast the Spaniards were thankful that the wind had made them change course. See SPV 1625-1626, note 303, p 209.
- 14 Albrecht von Wallenstein (Waldstein), Duke of Friedland (1581-1634), raised an army for the Emperor in the Spring of 1625. Of the numerous biographies of Wallenstein the following (among others) are recommended in Parker, Thirty Years' War: Golo Mann, Wallenstein, His Life Narrated, (Trans. London 1976); A. Gindely, Waldstein Wahrend Seines Ersten Generalats, 2 vols. (Prague, 1886).
- 15 See Letter 150, note 6.
- 16 On the King of Denmark at Minden see Mercurius Britannicus, 32 (iii), p 10: STC 18507.175.

[3 December 1625]

Sir,

The times are still barren but you must take what we have.
 The whole number of Burialls at London this last week 190. Of
 the Plague .15. God be thanked.¹

The Duke* arrived at the Hagh but with very much danger at
 Sea; 2 dayes after his arrivall 3 of our ships were missing, 5
 could not be heard of, and one feard to be cast away upon
 report of a ship seene swimming with the keele upward. Is not
 this strange, that we can at no time crosse the Seas without
 tempests? There mett him at the Hagh 2 Ambassadors from the 2
 Kings of Denmark* and Sweden* and others.² 10

The wicked Dunkerks are at length returned home after a
 great measure of mischeife done; they having destroyed since
 they gott out a 100 Fishing busses with all yt was in them,
 sunk 6 men of warre of the Hollanders, but lost 2 of their
 owne. Some esteeme the hurt they have done the Hollanders at a 15
 million sterling but me thinks they over reckon. Howsoever the
 Dunkerks gott nothing to themselves but destroyed all.³

The demand of the French Ambassador,⁴ besides the delivering
 of Soubieze was that his Majestie would send home, the 14
 Holland ships which pursued him to Falmouth, and were there 20
 stayed by us. What he answered for Soubieze you have heard;
 but for the ships his answere was That when his brother of

France should send home his 7 shippes hither, he would send them
thither.⁵ Thus much the Doctor*. But that you may not wonder
why the Hollanders so eagerly pursued him: It was thus. When 25
our men refused that service against Rochell, the Hollanders
likewise paused, and sent to them and Soubieze that they
resolved not to fight against them, but bad them be secure of
them onely they would ride [--] there till they had order from
the States how to be disposed. Thus the Hollanders supposing 30
they had bin trusted rode securely fearing no enimie; but some
jealousy comming into the French mens heads they suddenly put
it into Action, and in the dead time of the night, when the
others thought no harme, sett fire on their Admirall and burnt
hir up intending the rest should have had their share, if they 35
had not delivered themselves by cutting their cables and
loosing their anchors with much danger and confusion.⁶ The
Hollanders hereupon enraged, offered their service to the
French King to be revenged, and so they were and yet persued
Soubieze flying to have taken him and some of them comming to 40
Plymouth openly threaten further revenge yet, as being nothing
neere satisfied. This was told me by him that was present and
heard them.⁷

Of the taking of Caliz [sic] the Doctor hath not a word but
onely That on Tuesday was sennight, arrived the first messenger 45
(saith he) from the Fleet, and presently rode to Court, and
relates that he left the Fleet at Caliz [sic] where they had
landed 4000 men. He writes no more. But I heare, it is feared
they have had the repulse because there seemes no great
willingnes at Court to talke either of the messenger or what he 50
brought, unlesse they know nothing and therefore say litle. I
heare some afayrd they have bin disappointed, and found the

Spanyard better provided then they looked for; because it is
 sayd they were first upon the Coast of Gallicia then came
 downe the shore to Lisbone, and now are come to Caliz, but they 55
 had bin but 10 days sooner they had mett the 5 great Carracks
 come from the East Indies to Lisbone and esteemed worth
 £1500/000.⁸

They have had newes at London of some defeat lately
 received by some forces of the King of Denmark*, by Tilly*, 60
 being surprised as they lay in a village, and 3 of his best
 Captaines slayne and amongst them Colonell Obertrout⁹, valiantly
 fighting, because he would not be taken, as fearing to be putt to
 an ignominious death by the Emperour, having once bin a prisoner
 and sett free upon condition not to beare armes against the 65
 House of Austria. They talk of neere 2000 men slayne in all;
 but that the King hath indifferently revenged himselfe since, by
 doing the like upon Tilly, yet the whole newes is doubted of,
 [--] as not knowne from whence it comes.¹⁰

It is true of the Commission read openly and audibly⁺ at 70
 Reading in all the Courts of Justice by Sir Rob. Heath the
 Attorney Generall,¹¹ for the strict execution of all lawes in
 force against Papists and taking their fines to be spent only
 in powder shott, fortifications of Castles, repairing of
 blockhouses and the navy. And some Lawyers are already sayd 75
 to be called upon either to bring certificats of their
 communicating, or to pay their fines and give over their
 practise.¹²

+ November 15

I think I have now emptied my budget, and have no more that 80
will come into my mind. Thus, therefore with my best and
wonted respect to yourselfe and my Lady, I rest and am,
Christ Colledg Yours most ready to
December 3 be commanded
Joseph Mead. 85

Textual Notes.

- Line 19. 'was' inserted above line with caret.
Line 34. 'others' inserted above line with caret.
Line 41. In MS: 'as being gett nothing neere'.
Line 46. In MS: 'to Court, whe after & relates'.
Line 64. 'bin' inserted above line with caret.
Lines 65-66. 'against the Empe House'.
Line 66. In MS: 'of neere 3 2000'.
Line 69. 'as' inserted above line with caret.
Line 70. 'openly & audibly' inserted above line with caret.
Line 75. In MS: 'And many some Lawyiers'.
Line 81. 'therefore' inserted above line with caret.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 The Duke of Buckingham's business in Holland was the negotiating of the Anglo-Dutch alliance, see Letter 148, note 2. He was also to attempt to raise money on the crown jewels (Letter 150, note 8).
The two ambassadors from Denmark were James Ulefelt and Christian Thomassen. See footnote, SPV 1625-1626, p 226.
- 3 The Venetian ambassador in England put the amount of damage to Dutch fishing 'busses' at 2,000,000 florins.
- 4 On the extraordinary French ambassador see Letter 145, note 18. He requested the return of the Royal ship captured by Soubise (Letter 64, note 2). King Charles hesitated; he had no wish to bind himself to give up the rest of Soubise's ships. SPV 1625-1626, note 278, p 191.

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- 5 On the seven English ships lent to France see Letter 113, note 17.
- 6 On the Dutch and Soubise see Letter 142, note 18.
- 7 See Letter 145, notes 9 and 10.
- 8 On the action at Cadiz see Letter 151, note 11.
- 9 On Colonel Obertrout see Letter 27, note 20.
- 10 Very few English newsbooks are extant for this period; it is difficult to confirm or refute details of particular battles at this time.
- 11 On Robert Heath see Letter 148, note 5.
- 12 See SPD 1625-1626, note 18, p 142 for the Commission to the Lord Keeper et al. The laws against Popish recusants were to be put into execution according to the petition of Parliament and the fines to be set apart for specified public services.

[10 December 1625]

Sir,

With that I have, I will continue my wonted course. The number of the Plague is this week (December 8) the same it was the last viz 15, and but 2 within the walles. The generall summe of all burialls is fallen 5, viz 185.¹

The last Saturday brought us nothing of the Fleet, but that the State was not then (as seemed) fully informed concerning it, which occasioned all the letters which Anwerp Post brought the week before to be intercepted at Dover and brought to the King to see what they advertised and was thought that the next letters would be so served. Yet then, there was a rumour in London (since putt in the Corranter) That our men at Caliz [sic] at the first indeed were put back with some losse, but after recharging they won the Out-Fort of the Towne, and slew all they found therein.² But there is some other newes come since by a Pinnace, the particulars as yet we know not, but a Germane gentleman and freind of mine telles me from the mouth of the Prince Palatines* Resident, Secretary³ That St. Lucars is taken.⁴ The Sub-Amner wrot to Peterhouse that the King sayd, he had as good newes from the Fleet as ever he could have expected or hoped for, but he mentions no particular.

The Duke* expedited his negotiation very well, they say this day 3 weeks at the Hague in a full Assembly of the States, and was expected with the first faire wind, to be at the Christening of his yong son the Earle of Coventry, borne upon the 17 of the last month.⁵ I have bin told by a stranger but sub sigillo a strange motion of the Dukes and something besides, which I had

rather tell you at Dalham then write now.⁶

It is true That brave Colonell Obertrout⁷ is slayne and
with him Bernard Duke of Weymar.⁸ The manner thus: there was
4000 foot and 2000 horse of them, which lay separate from the 30
rest of the King of Denmarks* Army on the other side of a
River, having a bridge to passe from one to another as occasion
served; This bridge Tilly* having broken by a stratageme, ment
to have utterly extinguished those 6000 when the maine Army could
not releive them. They made a bloody fight, yet Tilly was at 35
length willing to give them over having received almost equall
losse on both sides, had not the one lost a 2 or 3 of the best
Captaines the Kings army had. The King threatened to revenge
the death of Obertrout with the hazard of his whole Army etc.

The Marquess of Baden or Durlach⁹ (that played the man so 40
well when Mansfeild* was in the Palatinate when [--] King James
dissolved them) sent his Son lately Ambassador to our King who
dyed by the way at Bollion¹⁰ but his letters were sent and
contained that the Good Marquesse would adventure once more to
be in the feild with a [sic] Army, to see what might be done. 45
Our King in his answere commended him for his noble and
generous resolution promising all the favour, encouragement and
assistance he could afford him etc.

[--] I heare that Sir Edw. Cook refused to take the
Sheriffes Oath, because of the clause against Lollards.¹¹ 50

I had heard in the beginning of the last week by a
gentleman of Bedfordshire a strange story of a murder in
Lancashire, which because I had not heard of before, and because
it seemed very improbable I mentioned it not either in my last
to you, or by mouth to any other, but on munday last I saw a 55
letter to Mr Chappell¹² written from a worthy Knight in

Darbishire, the contents whereof I exscribed as followeth

Sir Walt Knyveton¹³

Smythesby Darbishire, December 1

We heare there was at the last Assises⁺ at Lancaster one 60
executed then: who confessed, that he being under [] of his
Ghoastly Father, and revealing I know not wh[] was enjoyned by
him to bring the hearts of 2 heretics (not naming them)
Whereupon he went instantly to a mans house (such a one as the
Preist had charactered to him before) and finding opportunity, 65
when there was none in the house but the man and his wife, with
a knife, which he had provided of purpose, first stabbed the man
to death, as he thought, and then went presently to his wife and
cutt hir throat so barbarously, that he thought to have taken
forth hir heart there, but not finding that way so ready, 70
ripped up hir belly and took it forth: then going to the place
where he left the man dead, as he thought, he being a litle
recovered, had tumbled himselfe something from thence, and some
company comming by then by chance and espying him, apprehended
the devout Murderer, who was hang'd at Manchester. And it is 75
sayd, a Jesuite the Author as is thought of this devilish plott
is now taken and was to receive judgment (at least to be
arraigned) at Reading, at the end of this passed terme. Thus
he.

If there be no remedy, but you will have the golden number,¹⁴ 80

+ About the beginning of October

I will do what I can to make me ready though sooner then I
lookt for: Yet we might have taken measure here.

Thus with my best and wonted respect I rest and am

85

Christ Colledg

Yours most ready to

December 10

be commanded

Joseph Mead.

This is good handsome Winter Wether.

Textual Notes.

- Line 5. In MS: 'The Fleet the but that'.
Line 31. 'rest of the' inserted above line with caret.
Line 34. Possibly 'nearly': illegible.
Line 44. In MS: 'sent eontained & contained'.
Line 61. Word illegible at edge of leaf.
Line 62. Probably 'what': letters illegible at edge of leaf.
Line 70. In MS: 'so easy ready'.
Line 75. In MS: 'at Manehester Manchester'.

Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 On the Cadiz expedition see Letter 151, note 11.
- 3 On Ludwig Camerarius see Letter 107, note 5.
- 4 San Lucar, a port to the north of Cadiz, was considered too difficult of access to be attacked. See SPD 1625-1626, note 30, p 145. 'Sub-amner': obsolete form of 'sub-almoner' an office held by a clergyman in the Royal Household (OED).
- 5 Charles Villiers (1625-1626/7), son of the Duke of Buckingham, was buried as Marquis of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry. See Complete Peerage.
- 6 'sub sigillo': under the seal (in strictest confidence).
The Duke of Buckingham had conceived a plan, in great secrecy, to marry his daughter to the Elector Palatine's eldest son. He apparently had consent from the Electress Palatine without the knowledge of her husband. For the

possible political repercussions of such a match see SPV
1625-1626, note 341, p 230.

- 7 On Colonel Obertrout see Letter 27, note 20.
- 8 This was a false report. Bernard (1604-1639), of the House of Saxe-Weimar, was Duke of Franconia. He was a General in the Thirty Years' War and died in 1639.
- 9 On the Margrave of Baden-Durlach see Letter 49, note 3.
- 10 Margrave Karl (1598-1625), son of the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, died at Boulogne in July 1625 en route to England. On Karl's life and exploits see Genealogie de Gesamthausen Baden vom 16 Jahrhundert bis Heute, ed. Eugen Von Chrismar, (Gotha, 1892).
- 11 On Sir Edward Cook see Letter 5, note 3.

Lollards were the fore-runners of congregational dissenters of the seventeenth-century. They allowed only the Scriptures as a source of authority in religion.
- 12 On William Chappell see Letter 78, note 22.
- 13 Sir William Knyveton (d 1632) of Myrcaston, Derbyshire, was Sherriff 1587-88, and member of Parliament 1604-11.
- 14 The 'golden number' is the number of any year in the Metonic lunar cycle of 19 years. These numbers are retained in the ecclesiastical calendar in connection with the computation of date of Easter. The golden number is found by adding 1 to the remainder left after dividing the number of the year by 19 (OED 6).

[17 December 1625]

Worthy Sir,

Though I think I shall not now be long absent but come and tell my tale at Dalham, yet I will say something now if but to save telling it over again.

The Summe of Burialls at London this last week 168 Of the plague 6 ; whereof but 2 within the walles The former 5 week I gave you the generall summe wrong: It was but 181, the Plague as I wrot 15.¹

Concerning the Fleet I received a letter from Hampton Court whose relation is thus.: That upon friday the second of this month, there came a Poast to Court from Plymouth, with newes, 10 That upon the 19 of October the Fleet came to the Bay of Caliz; [sic] where the Earle of Essex² in the Swiftsure a good saylor, gave a loose from the Fleet and came into the Bay a mile before them. Five Gallies and some few small Spanish Ships entertained him, but he unwilling to spend his shott to small 15 purpose contained till he came in the midst of them, and then let fly amongst them so thick, that the ships ranne themselves on ground under the castle of Poyntall and the Gallies rowed quite away. Then came the Fleet in and fell to batter the Castell with their Ordnance whilest the Landmen assaulted it by 20 Land and after some few hovers fight, the Castle hung out a Flagge of truce and yeilded.³ They talked but of one Land-captaine slayne (Ferriman)⁴ and Mr Georg Raymund⁵ by Sea who in a merchants ship the great Saphire, at night, when the castle was ready to yeeld [---] embracing his Master in congratulation 25 for their good dayes work, a bullet (the last which the Enemy

shott) came in at their Forecastle and slew both him and his Master in their Embraces. They landed but 6000 men and had no more able men to land, what numbers soever the lists have.

But no good it seemes was to be done upon the Isle of Caliz, and therefore they had not so soone taken the Castle but they quitted it againe, and all betook themselves to their ships and came away to the Southerne Cape St. Vincent and from thence sent a ship homeward with this newes and [--- ---] that 12 or 14 more were to follow her. The rest of the Fleet were coming to the Isles of Bayon⁺ for fresh water: and so it was to be feared the market was almost done.⁶

But 12 of the Kings Ships are preparing for the next, The Honour, The Triumph (of 1000 tunnes) The Lyon, The Nonpareil, The Garland, The Warrespight, Victory Happy Entrance etc. but whatsoever men talk and think, it will be March before they can be all ready.

Thus my Author.

Others (Lord Conways Secretary)⁷ told us That the rest of the F[] would stay a while to watch the Plate-Fleet not yet come []. That when we quitted the Castle, some 60 or 80 of our men []yd so long there to drink sack that the Spanyards came upon them and cutt all their throats. That some 3 of our Ships have perished in this voyage one having 150 men all of them lost. That we lost one way or other 5 or 600 men, at Caliz [sic].⁸

Since we heare (and tis true) That the Earle of Essex is come home with 14 ships and that he came to Court on Sunday; the Duke* came thither on the friday before him and some talke

+ ouer Gallicia gs 42 and halfe.

it was good for him, he came to the King before the Earle.⁹

The King will keep his Christmas (they say) at WhiteHa[]
and removes on tuesday. On tuesday last (I am told) the Queene
was in the Exchange and went very nimbly from shop to shop and
bought some knacks till being discovered she made away with all
the hast she could and went that night to Hampton Court. This
was a French trick, like to washing in the Thames last summer.

60

They say we shall have a Parlament in February.¹⁰ Thus with
my best respect to your selfe and my Lady I rest [---] till
munday at night and am

65

Christ Colledg
December 17

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mead.

Textual Notes.

- Line 2. 'if but' inserted above line with caret.
Line 5-6. In MS: 'former \pm g week'.
Line 24. 'at night' inserted above line with caret.
Line 37. In MS: 'market was done almost'.
Line 38. In MS: 'ships were are preparing'.
Line 45. Probably 'Fleet': letters missing at edge of leaf.
Line 46. Presumably 'back' letters missing at edge of leaf.
Line 47. Word partly illegible at edge: perhaps 'stayd'.
Line 55. 'gs' written after Gallicia. Perhaps a symbol.
Line 56. In MS: 'for him he did as came'.
Line 57. 'Whitehall': Letters missing at edge of leaf.
Line 58/59 In MS: 'Queene was upon the Exchange': 'in' inserted
above the deletion.
Line 61/62 In MS: 'This is a French': 'was' written above 'is'.
Notes

- 1 On the Plague see Letter 125, note 14.
- 2 On Robert Devereaux (1591-1646), Earl of Essex, see Letter 20, note 41.
- 3 On events at Cadiz see Letter 151, note 11. For a letter with details of the battle and complaints on the condition of the fleet and men see SPD 1625-1626, note 32, p 171.

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- 4 Possibly Captain Bromicham. See SPD 1625-1626, note 30, p 145.
 - 5 On the death of George Raymond, see ibid.
 - 6 For a reasonably comprehensive account of the Cadiz expedition see Lockyer, Buckingham, pp 281-285.
 - 7 On Lord Edward Conway see Letter 120, note 9.
His secretary was Mr William Wyld (Wild). See SPD 1625-26, note 44, p 259.
 - 8 See note 6.
 - 9 The Duke and Earl both arrived at Court on 7 December 1625, the Duke one hour before Essex. See SPD 1625-1626, note 32, p 171.
 - 10 Parliament was opened 6 February 1626. See LJs iii.492.

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Persons listed below (except Ferdinand II, the Emperor) are marked in the transcripts of letters 1-154 with an asterisk. Information is taken from several sources: biographies, encyclopedias, DNB, parish records etc. Where a specific biography has proved exceptionally useful its reference is given at the end of the biographical note.

Bacon, Sir Francis (1561-1626), Baron Verulam, created Viscount St. Albans in 1621, Lord Chancellor, was eminent not only in law but also in literature. He was impeached in 1621 for corruption in the discharge of his legal duties, fined and removed from office. See The Works of Francis Bacon, eds. Spedding, Ellis and Heath, 9 vols., (1874).

Bethlen, Gabor (1580-1629), a Calvinist prince of Transylvania from 1613, was feared in Europe because of his alliance with the Turks. In 1619, with Turkish aid, he gained control of most of Northern Hungary. Bethlen waged war against the Habsburgs and offered help to the Elector Palatine 1619-21. He opposed the Emperor again in 1623-4 and 1626.

Boswell, William (1587?-1649), later Sir William, Fellow of Jesus College 1606-1629, was a diplomat, a man of letters and a scholar who introduced Mead's theological writings to Continental scholars. Boswell was chief secretary in France to the ambassador Sir Edward Herbert from 1619 to 1621. Later he was secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, and eventually himself became ambassador. In his role as secretary to the Privy Council (from November 1622) he was a most fruitful source of information on current events for Mead. Their friendship was enduring; in 1633 Boswell wrote from the Hague 'For I shall ever love Joseph Mede as an honest old Friend'.

Buckingham, Duke of, see Villiers.

Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1599 -1626), brother

to the reigning duke Frederick Ulrich, Protestant administrator of the diocese of Halberstadt from 1616 to 1623, commanded an army on his own account which he put at the disposal of the Palatine Elector in 1621-22 and 1623-25. His successes persuaded the Dutch to keep his army in being after his discharge from the service of the Palatine in 1622. His exploits gained him the name of 'the mad Brunswicker' or 'mad Halberstadter'.

Christian IV, King of Denmark (1577-1648), succeeded his father, Frederick II, in 1588. His personal rule began in 1596. Christian's strong domestic position made him an important international figure. He was a Lutheran, ambitious for power and territory for himself and his sons. He was influential in the Lower Saxon Circle through his claim to part of the Duchy of Holstein and he was a long-term rival of Sweden for domination of the Baltic.

For Denmark's role in the war see E. Ludewig Petersen, 'The Danish Intermezzo', in Geoffrey Parker, The Thirty Years' War, chapter II, iii, pp 71-81.

Digby, Sir John (1580-1654), Earl of Bristol (1622), was a diplomat. He travelled widely and often in Europe, on behalf of King James, attempting to secure a peaceful settlement of the war in Germany. See S. R. Gardiner, History of England, iv. chapters xxxviii, xxxvix, xli.

Elizabeth Stuart, (1596-1662), Electress Palatine from 1613, was the daughter of James VI of Scotland (I of England) and Anne of Denmark. She was nominal Queen of Bohemia from 1619; in exile with her husband at The Hague from 1621.

Ferdinand II, (1578-1637), of the Austrian Habsburg family, was the son of Archduke Charles of Styria and Maria of Bavaria.

Ferdinand was Archduke of Inner Austria 1590; king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1617; ruler of Austria and the Holy Roman Emperor from 1619. He was linked by family marriages to Spain, Poland, Bavaria, Mantua and Tuscany.

Ferdinand's Catholic convictions 'amounted to a

consuming passion ... ascetic faith lies at the root of all the Emperor's political activity'. Ferdinand, educated by Jesuits at the University of Ingoldstadt, set out to eradicate Protestantism in the Empire.

Frederick V (1596-1632), son of Frederick IV of the Wittelsbach family, and Louise Juliana of the House of Orange, was Elector Palatine from 1610 until stripped of his title by Imperial ban in 1621. Frederick V, son-in-law to King James I of England, was the leader of the Protestant Union in Europe. He accepted election as the King of Bohemia in 1619. After his enforced exile in 1620 he remained the focal point of opposition to the Habsburgs in the Empire until he died. On his role in Bohemia see Appendix 1. He is referred to in Mead's letters variously as 'The King', 'King of Bohemia', 'The Palatine', 'The Prince', 'Our Prince', 'their King', 'the Palsgrave', 'His Majestie', 'Frederick' and 'King Frederick'.

Gondomar, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567-1626), count of Gondomar, was Spanish ambassador to England 1613-1618 and 1620-1622.

He appeared to exercise great influence on King James I and his policies. He was greatly disliked by the general public in England.

Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632), Lutheran son of Charles IX of Sweden, succeeded as king in 1611. His personal rule began in 1614. Conflicts with neighbouring states kept him too busy to offer help to the Protestant cause in Germany in the early stages of the war. Gustavus eventually entered the conflict in the Empire in 1630. He was a great war-leader, gained a series of victories and was thought invincible. He died in battle at Lutzen in 1632. See M. R. Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus, A History of Sweden, 1611-1632, 2 vols., (1953).

Henry of Nassau (Frederick Henry) (1583-1647), was half-brother to Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Frederick Henry succeeded Maurice as Prince and Captain-General of the Dutch Republic in 1625.

Holland, Sir Thomas of Quiddendenham, Norfolk, was brother-in-law

to Sir Martin Stuteville. His sister, Katherine (d.1603), was Sir Martin's first wife. The two families remained in close contact.

John George (1585-1656), Elector of Saxony (1611), a Lutheran, was torn between support for Protestantism and loyal adherence to the Emperor. He disapproved of the seizure of the Bohemian crown by the Elector Palatine. Following the Mühlhausen Agreement (Appendix 2i), John George agreed to intervene militarily in Lusatia in 1620 and was rewarded with the sovereignty of that country.

John George's policy statement issued in 1626 sums up his views. See Parker, Thirty Years' War, pp 94-95.

Law, Harry, a servant, perhaps a groom, of Sir Martin Stuteville, was frequently entrusted with messages and sometimes with horses from Dalham to Cambridge.

Mansfeld, Ernst (1580-1626), Count of Mansfeld, was a mercenary soldier, who, after serving the Habsburgs in Hungary, changed sides to serve the Bohemian cause in 1618. He fought for the Elector Palatine in 1621. In 1622 he took service with the Dutch and continued to fight on the Protestant side thereafter.

Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), Prince of Orange, considered to be the military architect of the Dutch Republic, was a son of William the Silent, Prince of Orange. Maurice became Stadtholder of the Northern Netherlands on the death of his father in 1584. He inherited the principality of Orange in 1618 on the death of his half-brother, Philip William.

Maximilian of Bavaria (1573-1651), Duke, then Elector, was the head of the Catholic League. The Emperor, in return for Maximilian's expenses incurred in the war, promised to confer the Palatine Electoral title on him and to leave in pledge to Maximilian any territories taken by him from the enemy. Maximilian was granted the Palatine Electorship in 1623 and obtained possession of the Upper Palatinate. Ratification of the title awaited the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. See Appendix 3.

Meddus James, (Meddowes, Medowes, or Medusius), Dr. Dr

Meddus was a Cheshire man, and became a member of Gray's Inn in 1612. He studied in Basle and Heidelberg and was a Doctor of Divinity of Basle University. He was a chaplain to James I and held various livings in London and Kent. Alumni Oxonienses. Mead refers to him variously as 'Dr Meddus', 'the Doctor', 'D.M.', Dr Med.'

'Parker's man': Mead's weekly letters to Dalham were usually collected from Christ's College by 'Parker's man' whose 'incurrigible stubbornness' seems to have been a constant source of irritation to Mead. Parker himself took produce, cheeses etc., into Cambridge, evidently from the vicinity of Dalham in Suffolk.

Rohan, Henry (1579-1638), Duke of Rohan, a soldier, was the leader of the French Huguenots from 1621 to 1629. He retired to Venetian service in 1629. From 1635 he campaigned for France in the Valtelline. See Clarke, Huguenot Warrior, (The Hague, 1966).

Spínola, Ambrogio de, (1567-1630), Marquis of Los Balbases, was a Genoese General in the Spanish army. He commanded the Army of Flanders, troops levied in Italy and in the Spanish Netherlands by Philip III of Spain. In September 1620 he invaded and seized most of the Lower Palatinate and thus removed a Protestant-held barrier on the land route by which money and men reached the Spanish armies in the Netherlands.

Tilly, Tserclaes (1559-1632), Count Tilly, commanded the army of the Catholic League from 1610. He joined forces with Imperialist armies for the attack on Prague in 1620. Thereafter he had many military successes in the war.

Villiers, George (1592-1628), Duke of Buckingham (1623) was King James's favourite at Court and rose rapidly in status and power. He became extremely unpopular in the country because of his interference in affairs of state. Buckingham was assassinated in 1628.

Mead's early letters refer to him as 'the Marques'.

See Roger Lockyer, Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628, (London, 1981).

APPENDIX 1

AN OUTLINE OF THE SITUATION IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1619 TO 1621 WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO BOHEMIA.

a) Events in Bohemia leading to the loss of Prague at the Battle of the White Hill in November 1620.

Events in the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1618 are usually considered to be the starting point of the Thirty Years' War in the German Empire and neighbouring countries. Bohemian unrest was aggravated after 1608 by the course taken on behalf of the Catholic king by the Bohemian government (Regents selected to govern in the king's absence). Bohemian Protestants had secured a 'Letter of Majesty' in 1608 from the Emperor. The main concession granted by the 'Letter of Majesty' was that freedom of individual conscience in matters of religion should be permitted to Lutherans and Catholics. Both Catholics and Protestants were given the freedom to build churches in royal towns and domains but the rights of Protestants living on ecclesiastical lands (which were in Catholic ownership) were in some doubt. At the time of the election of Archduke Ferdinand of Styria (later Emperor Ferdinand II) as king-designate of Bohemia in 1617 the concessions of the charter had already been violated and Ferdinand, who had taken a vow to 'extinguish all sects and heresy in his hereditary lands', exacerbated the situation. He was committed to a systematic policy of Catholic reaction and determined to root out heresy. In spite of Ferdinand's promise to confirm the 'Letter of Majesty' he decided to restore all royal cities to the Catholic Church (making the first attempt in Prague) and to drive Protestants from territory conceded to them in 1609. Already by the end of 1616 Catholic incumbents were preventing Protestants from attending worship outside their parishes. In December 1617 the Protestant church at Klöstergrab was forcibly destroyed and bitterness and resentment spread throughout Bohemia.

In May 1618, Protestant Defensors (officials appointed to look after Protestant interests in Bohemia), angry at violations of the 'Letter of Majesty', marched to the palace in Prague, and

amongst great excitement threw two Regents and their secretary from the windows into the moat. (They escaped without injury). After the defenestration, Protestant Bohemians, now in open revolt against the Emperor, erected a provisional government. In 1619 a federal union was created with the neighbouring states of Silesia, Lusatia and Moravia and a treaty of alliance was entered into with the Estates of Upper and Lower Austria. (The nobility in Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria and Hungary were almost entirely Protestant). On 22 August 1619 n.s., in the same month that Ferdinand II was elected Holy Roman Emperor, the Bohemian confederation deposed him as their king and offered the crown to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, in the hope that Frederick (a Calvinist) would rally Protestant support. Frederick accepted and was crowned in November 1619. On 30 April 1620 an Imperial mandate ordered the Elector Palatine to quit the Emperor's dominions and threatened him with the ban of the Empire but Frederick was intransigent. (He was subsequently placed under the Imperial ban in 1621).

Such tensions in Bohemia led eventually to military opposition between the Imperial, Catholic parties and the Protestants. The Emperor was supported by the forces of the Catholic League (see below, section 's'); money and troops from Spain; Electoral Saxony; Poland and Tuscany and the Pope. The Protestant forces led by Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Prince Christian of Anhalt-Bernburg were mobilised from Bohemia and its confederates, the non-Catholic areas of Austria and Hungary, Calvinist Transylvania and the Protestant Union (see below, section 'c'). Certain Protestant Landgraves were deterred from mobilising in support of Frederick V for fear of Imperial reprisals on their territories and titles. The Protestant Union, a defensive alliance, was not prepared to support Frederick in Bohemia in an offensive rebellion against the Emperor.

In 1619 and 1620 the Bohemian army (which included troops from the confederated States) laid unsuccessful siege to Vienna, the capital of the Empire; by mid-1620 the army was in disarray and began the withdrawal to Bohemia. In September

the Catholic League army and an Imperial force under General Bucquoy marched into the country. In November 1620, at the Battle of the White Hill, Prague was attacked and taken by Imperial forces. Frederick V and his family were forced into exile. Efforts at mediation by King James I of England and other interested parties failed and the revolt spread and escalated into a war which engulfed most of Germany and involved Spain, Venice, Switzerland, the Papacy and France.

Two key points at issue in the Bohemian affair were:

i) the doubtful legality of Frederick's usurpation of the Bohemian throne; ii) the change in the balance of the Imperial Electoral College caused by Protestant possession of the throne (see below, section 'c'). For these reasons among others Ferdinand II was determined to oust Frederick from Bohemia.

The Elector Palatine's reasons for accepting the throne are set out in a statement issued from 'Our Royall Castle at Prague, 7 day of November 1619'. In it he declared his aim 'to provide for peace in Bohemia ... that diversity of religion might not wholly alter or disturb a general and peaceable humane Society'. He condemned the intentions of Jesuits to 'frustrate Concessions of liberty' ... 'to shut up Evangelical Churches, to persecute the Subjects'. He protested 'before God' that he never aspired to the throne but that he 'perceived in all this proceeding the miraculous assistance and providence of God'.¹

b) The Rhine Palatinate.

After Frederick's usurpation of the Bohemian crown his hereditary possessions in the Rhine Palatinate were attacked and part-occupied in August 1620 by a Spanish army under the command of General Spinola. The occupation served the interests of three parties - the Emperor, the Spaniards, and Maximilian of Bavaria. The Emperor saw the occupation as a

¹ A Declaration of the Causes for ... Acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia, (Middleburg, 1622).

diversionary tactic to weaken Frederick's chances of defending Bohemia. The Spaniards coveted the Rhine Palatinate as a land link between their armies in Northern Italy and the Netherlands. Maximilian of Bavaria, the Emperor's cousin, had hopes of adding the Palatinate (Upper and Lower) to his own dominions.

Three Palatine cities resisted attack: Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. Heidelberg and Mannheim fell in 1622. At the sack of Heidelberg the library was looted and its contents sent in many wagons to the Vatican where much of it remains. Frankenthal was ceded to Flanders (Spain's possession) in 1623.

c) Legal and Political Aspects of the Empire before 1621.

In the seventeenth century the situation in Germany preceding the outbreak of the Bohemian rebellion was very complicated. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (the Empire) comprised about 1,000 semi-autonomous political units which, in the early sixteenth century, had been divided into 'Circles' for local defence. The Austrian Habsburgs ruled over vast territories within the Empire and also held the Imperial throne. Their patrimonial provinces included the Tyrol, parts of Alsace, Inner Austria in the South-east, and the Upper and Lower Duchies of Austria. Since 1526 the Habsburgs claimed the elective kingdoms of Bohemia (including Moravia, Lusatia and Silesia) and Hungary.

Imperial legalities were settled at Diets where all sections of the Empire were represented in one of three Colleges and all decisions depended on consensus. The three Colleges comprised 1) the Princes at the head of independent governments, either ecclesiastical or secular; 2) the Deputies of the free cities of the Hanseatic League and Imperial cities and villages; 3) the Electoral College (see below). It became increasingly difficult to reach a consensus on matters of religious equality for Protestants and Catholics and after 1608 the Diet ceased to function effectively.

The Electoral College.

The Electoral College (the most influential of the three divisions of the Imperial Diet) consisted of seven Electors: the three Catholic Archbishops of Mainz, Treves and Cologne; three Protestant Electors - the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine; and the King of Bohemia. With Catholic Habsburg Emperors retaining the Bohemian throne a Catholic majority was assured in the decisions of the Electoral College. With the election of Frederick, the Protestant Elector Palatine to the Bohemian throne in 1619 (see above, section 'a') the Catholic majority in the Imperial Electoral College was in jeopardy. The possibility then existed that a Protestant could be elected as the next Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

Divisions in the Empire.

The spread of Protestantism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a major source of tension in the Empire. Since the Peace of Augsburg (1555) each secular territorial ruler was allowed by the principle of cuius regio, eius religio (i.e. stipulation by the ruler of the religious practice in his domains) to dictate his subjects' religion, either Catholicism or Lutheranism. Calvinism was not included in the religious peace but the rights of Protestant states in the Empire seemed assured. In Bohemia and Silesia, Protestant rights were confirmed by the Letter of Majesty granted in 1608 (see section 'a').

Catholic reaction attributed Imperial divisions to heresy and to the desire of Calvinists to share in the religious peace agreed between Catholics and Lutherans. Religious differences polarised in the formation of two defensive military organisations - the Protestant Union (see below) and the Catholic League (see below).

Further causes of tension existed on the borders of the Empire. In the Netherlands a Spanish army was based in Flanders. Spain and the Dutch Republic had negotiated a truce in 1609 which was due to end in 1621 when it was generally expected that war would be renewed. In 1619 Spain became involved in Imperial affairs by the despatch of troops from Flanders to Vienna to assist the Emperor's cause. Major

military alliances in the Empire now included Imperial armies, the Catholic League, a Spanish army, and the armies of the confederation of Bohemia and of the Protestant Union.

To the Southwest of the Empire, France was intolerant of the idea of further Habsburg extension of territory.

In the East, the Prince of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, claimed part of Hungary and allied himself to the Turks.

The Turks were a constant threat to the Empire.

The Protestant Union.

The Protestant Union was led by the Palatine party, nominally Frederick V but in effect by Christian of Anhalt-Bernburg. To the Palatine leaders a major religious war seemed inevitable. They were convinced of the existence of an international Catholic alliance led by the Habsburgs and the Papacy which was planning to extirpate heresy in the Empire. To defend the Protestant cause the Catholic revival would have to be combated through the creation of an international Protestant alliance. The Lutheran Princes of Germany were suspicious of the Calvinist Palatine party but an alliance was formed in 1608 for defence of Protestantism in the Empire. Not all Protestant princes joined. The Union limited the extent of the alliance to ten years and agreed to discourage theological controversy between Lutherans and Calvinists. By implication it was committed to mutual defence against the expansionist aims of Maximilian of Bavaria (Appendix 3). In 1610 the presidency of the Union was offered to James I of England. James refused the offer but entered into a six-year defensive alliance in 1611. The Union formed a similar alliance with the Dutch Republic.

In 1617 the Union met at Heilbronn to formulate terms for the renewal of the original treaty. It was decided to extend the alliance until May 1621, to continue the policy of non-aggression and to raise troops for defence against the forces of the Catholic League.

In 1618 Bohemia requested admittance to the Union and military assistance but the Union was not prepared to support rebellion against the Emperor. Union forces attempted some resistance to Spinola in the Rhine Palatinate in 1620. No help was forthcoming for the Elector Palatine in Bohemia in 1620 and

the Union dissolved in 1621.

The Catholic League.

In 1609, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, formed the Catholic League, for military defence against Protestantism. He did not intend originally to allow the armies of the League to be used in defence of Habsburg interests. The League, created from German catholic states other than those of the Habsburg hereditary dominions, was disbanded in 1617. Maximilian almost immediately created a new defence pact for protection against the Protestant Union. In 1619, in return for military assistance to be rendered by the League to the Emperor, Maximilian demanded a cash indemnity and non-interference by the Habsburgs in League affairs. He also demanded possession of any part of the Palatinate conquered by the League and a promise that the Electoral dignity would be transferred to Bavaria from Frederick V. His demands were granted by the Emperor.

APPENDIX 1, i.

THE BATTLE OF WHITE HILL AND THE FALL OF PRAGUE TO THE EMPEROR
ON 8 NOVEMBER 1620 n.s.

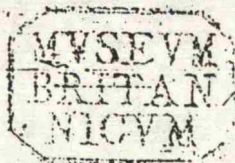
A Relation of the manner of the losse of
Prague by an English Gentleman there &
then present. Dated Novemb 21
1620. veteris 1620.

The losse of Prague was & is the last wonder of that
This matter coming to Court on the Saturday at 3 of the clock with
a countenance of glee told his Queen, that the Enemie was come
within 2 Dutch miles of the City, which is 8 English, but his Army
of 28000 was bewixt them & it. That night we slept secure
as free from doubt, as we supposed our selves quit from danger.
On the Sunday the Lords dined at Court, with whom the Queen
had taken resolution to go into the Army. But while we were
at our cuppes, the Enemie was upon a march towards us, and
when they were approached within 2 English miles, they per-
ceived our Army to ly in plaine not entrenched or any way with
advantage against them. When this was discovered the Duke
of Bavaria enquired of a Dominicon Frier (who all these warres
hath bene his Oracle) whether he should fight or no. He going
a ceremonious time apart returned with an encouragement to
them to fight, assuring them, a troupe of Angels were over
for their defence. With this superstition & their owne private
necessitie (for the Enemie had had no bread in 4 dayes before
& hardly any water) they put on a resolution to bring things
an exigent. For the better effecting of which they came to
booth array up an hill on which the Kings Cannon were placed
but so to our small advantage, as that they did disadvantage
them nothing. At the foot of this ill-defended hill stood the
Kings force, but nearer the City, and from the topp of the
6000 Hungarians put towards the Enemie, the which were
encountred by a young man of 30 yeares old called the great
nephew to the Bishop of Metz, who onely had some 3 com-
mes of horse not surmounting the number of 500, & put them
to so base a flight, as that in lesse then halfe an houre all the
Kingdome of Bohemie was lost. Our foot seeing such a dis-
routed & seald their owne unworthines with their blood
Hungarians like men of their owne mould, forsook their hor-
their pistolls, their swords, leapt downe headlong to their on-
ruine, took rivers that served to choake them, and all this
ceeding from their first apprehension, for in all this pursuit there
was not a pistoll shot at them, nor did the Enemie well know
whether their flight were fained. For as soon as many of them had
protested, had we but made a stand, their Army had runne. But
when they perceived it real, then fell they to execution & cut
to pieces 4200 Hungarians, & by this time the Enemies foot
gott our Cannon & taken all the Kings carriadges, amongst which
they found a garter of his order of St George.
The unanswerable & unparalleled unworthines of the Prussians

21 November 1620

of Anhalt General of the foot & of Count Hollock General of the horse must not to their perpetual shame be left untold, who at the first appearance of danger left the field & came running into the City, more pale then death could have made them. & never returned to try if they could again rally some troops which were but disordered & had not as yet felt the danger of a bullet or sword. None of any worth, none of any worth forsook the City, but the Prince of Anhalt son, who to with a (as I conceive) his fathers leprosie of cowardize shed much blood, fought gallantly & is now the Enemies wounded prisoner with him stayed the Grave van-Tour an old & gallant noble man, who till the day shut in, shut not himself into the City. At this discomfortable Feast the people of Moravia gave worth entertainment to their unwelcome guests, for they have the honour of their deaths carved upon their bodies in great character. In this slaughter there dyed on the conquered part about 4000 & on the Conquering not a 1000 confest & all done in as short a time as so many throats could be cut.

But to add to this strange tale a relation scarce to be believed, is that 4000 being but lost of 20000, we could never hear what became of the saved multitude, nor as yet where they are. For those who felt not this furie, had they been reinforced, had been enough to have kept the City from being so many as the Enemy was, who was but 26000 strong.



APPENDIX 2

BOHEMIA AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF LUSATIA, MORAVIA AND SILESIA.

Bohemia.

By 1617 the elective kingdom of Bohemia, which included the Estates of Lusatia, Moravia and Silesia, was ruled as king-designate by Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria, later the Emperor, Ferdinand II. On his accession Ferdinand promised to adhere to the 'Letter of Majesty' granted to Bohemia and Silesia in 1608 (see Appendix 1).

The Bohemian rebellion of 1618 against the rule of Catholic Habsburgs was joined by Lusatia and Silesia in 1618 and by Moravia in 1619. The confederation was confident enough of its strength to besiege Vienna in 1619 and 1620 but the attempt at intimidation was abortive and the armies retreated to Bohemia with nothing accomplished.

After the Imperial victory at the Battle of White Hill in 1620 (Appendix 1,i) a deputation of the Estates submitted in detail the conditions under which they were willing to acknowledge the Emperor as sovereign. But the Emperor demanded unconditional surrender and savage reprisals were inflicted on Bohemia. These included a revision of the privileges granted by the 'Letter of Majesty'; banishment of non-Catholic sects except Lutherans; future confiscation of the property of known insurgents, on whom, in some cases, the death penalty was imposed. In June 1621 executions of leading insurgents took place and atrocities were committed against prisoners. It was decided to expel any clergymen and professors who had assisted the rebellion in any way but this was not immediately put into effect for fear of a new uprising. The clergy (except Lutherans) were ordered to leave in December 1621.

At Easter 1622, faced with the growing strength of protestant armies, the Emperor issued a general pardon in Bohemia but when Imperial forces began to inflict defeat on protestant armies, the persecutions continued. Lutheran clergy were banished from Prague; Lutheran rectors and professors were banished from the University and replaced by Jesuits; the confiscation of property was begun and within two years the Protestant nobility was reduced to beggary. The Protestant

faith was proscribed; the Jesuits were in control of Bohemian religion.

Lusatia.

Lusatia was invaded in 1620 by the Elector, John George, Duke of Saxony. The Elector, whose territories bordered Bohemia and Lusatia, feared molestation by the rebellious provinces. The Estates were encouraged to resistance by John George, Landgrave of Jägerndorf, but by September 1620 both Lower and Upper Lusatia had submitted. By October capitulation was complete. The Lusatians, therefore, took no part in the battle of Prague (Appendix 1,i) in November 1620.

The invasion followed an agreement reached at Mühlhausen in March 1620 between the Emperor and the Saxon Elector. The Elector had pledged his loyalty to the Emperor in return for a promise that secularized territory in the Saxon circles would not be regained by Imperial force. In addition the Emperor pledged Lusatia to Saxony if he would raise an army and capture it from the rebels.

After the fall of Prague, Lusatia indicated its willingness to submit to the Emperor on condition that religious and political liberties were secured. Because of Saxony's hold on Lusatia the Estates were spared reprisals similar to those inflicted in Bohemia.

Moravia.

Moravia was at first reluctant to join the Bohemian rebellion of 1618. However, after the Bohemian army, led by Count Thurn, entered the country with 8000 men, part of the Moravian army joined forces with Bohemia in 1619. (Part left the country and went to Austria). After the battle of the White Hill the country was overrun by Imperial forces. In December 1620 Moravia seceded from the Bohemian federation in spite of encouragement to further resistance by Count Thurn. The Estates resolved to submit to Imperial authority and craved pardon from the Emperor and preservation of their political and religious liberties. However, the Moravian nobility was divided in its loyalties. It was reported from Vienna that only part of the Lords craved mercy; others joined Thurn's resistance.

The Emperor appointed a Viceroy in Moravia and ordered the disbanding of Moravian troops. An Imperial commission recommended that the Emperor ignore the rights of the Estates for which they had no specific charter. Reforms as in Bohemia were recommended. These were delayed until 1622 when an investigation was ordered into all those who had taken part in the insurrection. The penalties were confiscation of property, life imprisonment, and banishment of all non-catholic clergy.

Silesia.

The Silesians had no desire to continue the fight after the defeat of Frederick V, the king of Bohemia, in November 1620. Frederick fled into Silesia and exhorted the armies to further resistance until reinforcements arrived. Some resistance continued under the leadership of John George of Jägerndorf. But the Estates offered their submission to the Elector of Saxony in January 1621. By February 1621 Saxony and the Silesians had come to an agreement (the Silesian Accord) whereby Silesia was promised pardon and the retention of its political and religious liberties granted under the terms of the 'Letter of Majesty'. Heavy taxes were part of the settlement. The 'Accord' was taken into consideration when the Duke of Saxony interceded with the Emperor on behalf of Silesia. Imperial reprisals were less savage than those imposed eventually in Bohemia and Moravia.

APPENDIX 2, i.

JOHN GEORGE (1585-1656), ELECTOR AND DUKE OF SAXONY AND HIS ROLE AS MEDIATOR IN THE BOHEMIAN CRISIS.

John George, Duke of Saxony, a Lutheran, was a loyal subject of the Emperor. He was well-placed to mediate between the Emperor and his protestant opponents. As a Lutheran Imperialist, Saxony was allied by religion to one party and by politics to the other. As a Prince of the Empire he was well acquainted with leaders on both sides. His influence was increased by his ability to levy troops for his own interests. Saxony feared the rise of Calvinism and was distressed by the elevation of a Calvinist prince, the Elector Palatine, to the

Bohemian throne. On the other hand, he feared for the future of Lutheranism if the Catholics were totally victorious. The Elector, although in alliance with the Emperor, 'never lost sight of Protestant interests' and was 'unwilling to drive the people to desperation'.²

In 1626 Saxony set out his views on the Empire and religion in a policy statement. He argued that the Emperor was waging a just war against rebels not a religious war of conquest; that fears of Spanish and Habsburg domination of Germany were exaggerated; that conspiracy theory of Jesuit reconversion of Lutherans was disproved by Ferdinand's 'moderate' actions and that Luther's injunction to 'obey the powers that be' applied to Ferdinand since he had given no cause for resistance. What the Emperor chose to do in Austria and Bohemia (i.e. to force Catholicism on the state) was justified by the principle of the ruler stipulating religious practise in his territory. Saxony's argument amounted to a conservative plea for peace and unity with loyalty to the elected Emperor. The statement was issued just before Imperial militaristic policies forced Saxony to consider opposition.

² Gindely, Thirty Years War i.266-269 and passim.

APPENDIX 3

MAXIMILIAN OF BAVARIA AND THE PALATINATE.

Maximilian of Bavaria, the Emperor's cousin and brother-in-law, a staunch Catholic, was leader of the Catholic League (see Appendix 1).

It was Maximilian's intention not to involve the League in Imperial affairs. But, after Frederick V's acceptance of the Bohemian throne in 1619, the Emperor, in need of military support, promised Maximilian great rewards in return for his assistance against Frederick. He was promised a cash indemnity, a guarantee that the Habsburgs would play no part in League affairs, possession of any part of the Palatinate (Lower or Upper) which was conquered by the League and the transfer of the Palatine Electoral dignity from the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbach family to the Bavarian branch (to which Maximilian belonged).

After the battle of the White Hill in 1620, Maximilian increasingly demanded his reward. In the late summer of 1621 the League army occupied the Upper Palatinate and Ferdinand II had to agree that it should be held by Maximilian as a pledge until his expenses in the war were reimbursed. The secret plans for conferring the Electorship on a Catholic Prince were encouraged by the Papacy which saw an opportunity to secure the Empire for ever with the house of Austria. In September 1621 Ferdinand secretly conferred the Electorship on his cousin.

At the Assembly of Princes at Ratisbon in late 1622, early 1623, Ferdinand attempted to gain official sanction for his actions. Spain, England and the Protestant princes strongly objected. A compromise was reached: on 25 February 1623 Maximilian was invested with the electorship but on his death the electoral dignity was to be invested in Frederick V's descendants.

At the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 it was agreed that the Upper Palatinate which had been transferred in 1623 should remain with the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbach family, while the Lower Palatinate, with a newly created 8th electorate, should be assigned to the son of Frederick V.

APPENDIX 4

KING JAMES'S ROLE IN THE WAR IN GERMANY AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN.

King James I was prepared to lend his weight to a purely defensive Protestant alliance (the Protestant Union) in Germany but he was not prepared to become involved in a war of religion, nor on any account to support rebellion against a lawful ruler. James hoped to settle the affairs of Germany by mediation rather than bloodshed. This was in accordance with his profession that 'I am a king who loves peace. I do not delight in shedding blood and therefore I strain every nerve to avert it if it be possible'.³

With the King of Spain's encouragement James first offered to mediate between the Emperor and the Bohemian insurgents in 1618 but England's request for a cessation of arms was rejected by the Emperor and by the rebels at Prague. The Bohemians had hoped for support of men and money from England but James, who considered them to be engaged in unlawful rebellion, would not engage in a war which he believed was unjustifiable. The king's genuine attempts at benevolent neutrality were not matched by the King of Spain who sent troops to assist his cousin, the Emperor, against a Bohemian army.

When Spanish troops occupied the Rhine Palatinate in 1620 King James convinced himself that the occupation (Appendix 1) was the prelude to a peaceful settlement of the Bohemian question: that the possible restitution of the Palatinate to the Elector was to be an inducement to make him [Frederick, Elector Palatine] give up the Bohemian throne. Spain, however, had no intention of giving up the Palatinate.

But Spain had every intention of preserving peace with England for as long as possible in order to leave Spanish troops free to remain in Flanders and Spain free to intervene in affairs in Germany. To this end the Spaniards kept up a pretence of negotiating for a marriage between Prince Charles and a

Spanish Infanta (Appendix 4,i) and prolonged the negotiations indefinitely. The truth was that Spain had no intention of allowing a marriage of the Infanta with Charles (see Appendix 4 i). James, influenced by the machinations of the Spanish ambassador in London, remained convinced that an alliance with Spain would be the best preservation of peace and that a marriage treaty would persuade the Spanish king to use his influence with the Emperor to bring about the Elector Palatine's restitution.

At Frederick's request, after his defeat at the Battle of the White Hill in Bohemia, King James allowed troops to be levied in England, gave £25,000 for the defence of the Palatinate and persuaded the King of Denmark to loan money for the same purpose. But, in spite of all attempts to persuade him to intervene with an English army in the cause of his son-in-law, James's policy was dictated by his desire for a negotiated peaceful settlement. His faith in Spain and his aversion to bloodshed caused James to reject Parliament's demand for military intervention in Germany in 1621.

In early 1621, during a suspension of operations, the Protestant Union (Appendix 1), with James's concurrence, sent an embassy to the Emperor promising that Frederick would renounce the Bohemian throne in return for the full possession of his hereditary estates. But, in effect, Frederick had lost the legal rights to his territories and Electoral dignity since the imposition of the Imperial Ban in January 1621. In any case attempts at mediation were almost bound to fail because the Emperor had already promised the Electorship and possession of the Electoral territory to his cousin, Maximilian of Bavaria.

These well-intentioned attempts by King James and the Protestant Union at negotiation resulted in an armistice for some weeks (the Mainz Accord) during which time Frederick attempted to gain the support of Denmark and the Protestant German Princes in the north. At the expiration of the time fixed by the Accord the Protestant Union dissolved itself, King James declined to enter the war and, consequently,

Denmark and the Princes abandoned their preparations.

King James then made a third attempt at reconciliation. Sir John Digby was sent to Vienna in June 1621 to offer terms once again to the Emperor for the restitution of the Elector Palatine. James himself would be security that the Elector should render satisfaction to the Emperor. The Emperor demanded that Frederick should dismiss the leaders of his army in Bohemia (which Frederick refused to do). The Emperor deferred his decision until the forthcoming Diet to be held at Regensburg and terminated the armistice. The English king, angered by the defeat of his attempts at a settlement, went so far as to threaten war against the Emperor who eventually in early 1622 sent an ambassador (Schwarzenberg) to London with instructions to deal only in evasions (Gindely, Thirty Years' War.i.348). By the Spring of 1622 when Catholics possessed overwhelming superiority in the Rhineland, James attempted to assemble all parties to a general peace conference in Brussels. But, following their military successes, the Catholics had lost interest in negotiations and the conference broke up. James then stated his determination to make war on behalf of Frederick but he needed money for the purpose and to this end, Sir John Digby was sent to Spain in the hope of making a settlement there. Digby was well received in Spain. A Spanish solution was put forward: the Elector Palatine's oldest son should marry the Emperor's daughter; the young prince should first receive a Catholic education in Vienna; he should then inherit the Electoral dignity. This solution was not acceptable to King James or to Frederick.

King James's hopes remained fixed on Spanish cooperation to restore Frederick to his rights. He was convinced that he had promises from the Spanish king pledging restitution of the Palatinate on 'his royal word ... if the Palatine makes up his mind to give up the kingdom and his domains in Bohemia'.⁴ By September 1622 (with the war continuing and negotiations for the Spanish match at a standstill) James appeared to believe that English forces would join with Imperial forces against

Frederick, or, in the event of the Emperor's refusal to cooperate, the King of Spain would assist England against the Emperor in the recovery of the Palatinate and Electoral dignity 'as it hath been often times intimated from Spain'.⁵ The king persisted in looking to Spain as the only hope for Frederick. To this end he pursued the Spanish match in seeming ignorance of Spain's deliberate policy of delaying the negotiations. But Spanish tactics were obvious to contemporary observers. Were they obvious also to James? At least one observer was convinced that James was playing the Spaniards at their own game 'to derive advantage with Parliament'. In any event James's attempts at a negotiated settlement of the German affairs failed.

Appendix 4 i.
The Spanish Match

The protracted negotiations for a marriage between Prince Charles of England and the Infanta Maria, sister of King Philip IV of Spain, caused uneasiness in England. The spread of 'popery' was greatly feared but King James persisted in his efforts in spite of popular fears. James's laudable reason for desiring the match was the hope that the union would secure the peace of Europe. This was evidently more important to him that the fact that the English people (or the great majority of them) would not care to have Roman Catholicism introduced into the Royal Family. In fact, neither Philip III (d.1621) or Philip IV had the least intention of allowing the match to take place. The King of Spain's letter of 5 November 1622 stated fully his intention (like his father's) of never marrying Maria to Charles.⁶ In effect, all James's efforts and Charles's hopes were totally unrealistic.

By 1617 it was decided to open formal negotiations for a marriage treaty after Spanish assurances that no alteration would be required in the Prince's religion and no toleration of Roman Catholicism in England would be expected. When the

⁵ Wilson, History of Great Britain, pp 205-206

⁶ LJs iii.226

Spanish terms were received in England it was seen that James was expected to repeal penal laws against Catholics. The negotiations were suspended.

In 1622 on the resumption of negotiations the articles of the Papal dispensation required King James's agreement to the toleration of the private practise of Roman Catholicism and the annulling of laws against Catholics by Parliament. This was incompatible with King James's notions of granting favours to his Roman Catholic subjects of his own free grace.

The marriage articles could not be concluded until the dispensation from Rome was available. In February 1623 Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham set off secretly in disguise for Madrid in the hope that by their presence in Spain the negotiations would be hurried along. An extremely detailed account of their journey and sojourn in Spain is recorded in Gardiner, History, vol 5.

The Spaniards appear to have been under the impression that Charles's visit was the precursor of a change in his religion to Roman Catholicism but Charles had no intention of changing. He saw the visit as a compliment to Philip which would impose on him an obligation to effect the restoration of the Palatinate to Charles's brother-in-law in Germany.

The Dispensation

Charles and Buckingham had gone to Spain on the understanding that the original marriage articles were to form the basis of the treaty but during their visit to Spain attempts were made to add more and more stringent conditions.

In April 1623 the pope's dispensation was granted.

Two conditions of the granting of the dispensation were that the King of Spain should swear that the King of England would obtain consent of the Privy Council and parliament to the articles and that he [Philip IV] should keep the Spanish fleet in readiness to enforce the treaty if necessary. Furthermore, the English king and Council were to swear privately that favours to Roman Catholics would never be withdrawn. James greatly objected to this clause but accepted for fear that his son would be held indefinitely in Spain.

James's idea in entering the treaty had been to offer a full

guarantee for the free exercise by the Infanta of her own religion and to offer to alleviate the position of English Roman Catholics. He had never intended to bargain for the opening of a public church nor to discuss the abolition of the penal laws. What the Spaniards wanted to accomplish by intrigue was to make England once more a Roman Catholic country.

In May 1623 a junta of theologians imposed further conditions. The Infanta was to stay in Spain for a year after the marriage; within that time the suspension of penal laws and concession to Catholic of the free exercise of their religion was to be proclaimed.

In spite of all difficulties, preparations for the Infanta's arrival in England went ahead while delay, argument and counter argument continued in Spain. In September 1623 Charles left Spain. No settlement had been reached and no binding agreement had been made, in the event of the marriage taking place, to reestablish Frederick V in the Palatinate. In 1624 the treaty was dissolved by Parliament and King James.

Appendix 5
The Valtelline

The Valtelline, a corridor through the Alps connecting Lake Como and the River Inn, was of strategic importance to Austria, Spain, the Grey Leagues, France, Savoy and Venice. The Protestant Grey Leagues (or Grisons) were the rulers of south-east Switzerland (not part of the neutral Swiss confederation). The Grey Leagues controlled the Alpine passes and included the Catholic corridor of the Valtelline in their territory. The neighbouring mountain passes in the West were controlled by Savoy; the Central passes were controlled by neutral Swiss Cantons.

The Valtelline was important to the Austrian Habsburgs and Spain as a military corridor to move troops and supplies from Spanish Italy (Milan) to the Tyrol. Its importance to France and Northern Italy was as a traditional recruiting ground. Venice looked on the Valtelline as a supply route in the event of hostilities with Spanish Milan which threatened Venice to the East and Savoy to the West.

In 1618 a Catholic uprising was savagely repressed by the Grey Leagues. Catholic leaders fled to Innsbruck and Milan and convinced both branches of the Habsburg family that Catholic restoration was in their interest. In 1620 Habsburg troops sealed both ends of the Valtelline. Protestants were massacred. The governor of Spanish Milan (Feria) took advantage of the conflict in the Valtelline to occupy the valley and the Alpine passes and thus gained control of the land route between Spanish Lombardy and Habsburg Tyrol.

Switzerland, Venice and the Grey Leagues asked France to intervene on their behalf. Domestic problems in France prohibited Louis from sending assistance but a compromise was reached in the Treaty of Madrid in April 1621.

Treaty of Madrid.

The Treaty was negotiated in April 1621 by France and Spain. An amnesty was put into practice; the Valtelline was restored to the Grey Leagues; permission was granted for the exercise of Protestantism in the Valtelline; the passes were open to France; France and the Swiss confederation were to act as

guarantors. Neither the Grey Leagues nor the Valtelliners were consulted on the terms of the treaty. The Grey Leagues were satisfied: they had regained suzerainty over the Valtelline and toleration for Protestants. On the other hand, the Valtelliners objected to religious toleration in the valley and refused to accept the overlordship of the Grey Leagues. Protests were made in Rome, Madrid, Milan and Paris and unrest between Protestants and Catholics continued. By June 1621 the Valtelline was in the possession of Spain again. The Grey Leagues took action alone, and they were defeated. By the end of 1621 they were forced to renounce suzerainty, open the passes to Spain, admit the exercise of Catholicism, cede the Lower Engadine to Austria and cede the Valtelline to Milan.

In April 1622 the Grey Leagues once more attempted to oust the Austrians and Spaniards from the passes and the valley. They attacked with wooden clubs and cleared the territory except for the Valtelline. But by the end of September they were defeated and once again the Valtelline was occupied and the and the Habsburgs gained unimpeded communication between Italy and Austria. It seemed that discontent was at an end following the Treaty of Lindau (1622) but Venice and Savoy were not satisfied.

With the French peace with the Huguenots in October 1622, France was free of internal difficulties. France, Savoy and Venice entered into a defensive and offensive alliance in February 1623 (the League of Lyons) and agreed to remove the Spaniards from the Valtelline by force. Spain, anxious to avoid confrontation, suggested the Valtelline should be placed in neutral hands.

Treaty of Paris

By the Treaty of Paris, February 1623, it was agreed that Papal troops should take over Valtelline control to allow Spanish forces to withdraw. France agreed on condition that the forts were razed and papal troops evacuated the valley after four months. The Treaty of Madrid of 1621 was to be the basis for negotiations. In May 1623 the forts were handed over to papal troops but the Spaniards dissuaded the new Pope (July 1623) from evacuating his troops. But France was

dissatisfied and threatened war. In November French troops took all the forts except two.

In November 1624 French and Swiss troops marched into the lands of the Grey Leagues where they were welcomed joyously. They joined up with Venetian soldiers and expelled the Papal troops from the Valtelline. Thus, France had control of the valley but Spain still held some strategic places in the lands of the Grey Leagues. In 1625 a further Huguenot uprising compelled France to abandon the war and come to terms with Spain on the question of the Valtelline.

Treaty of Monzon

An ambiguous treaty was ratified at Monzon in 1626 between France and Spain without consultation with the Grey Leagues, Venice or Savoy.

An amnesty was granted and the forts were returned to the guardianship of the Pope; in the Valtelline only Catholicism was to be practised and the Valtelliners were to be responsible for their own civil and criminal jurisdiction; an annual tribute was to be paid by the Valtelline to the Grey Leagues; the Grey Leagues were to refrain from all aggression or forfeit their rights. Spain and France were the guarantors of the treaty.

The Treaty was acceptable to the Valtelline.

The Grey Leagues were not satisfied. They had hoped for toleration of Protestantism in the Catholic Valtelline.

APPENDIX 6

The Peace of Nikolsburg

The Peace of Nikolsburg between the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, was agreed on 27 December 1621 o.s; 6 January 1622 n.s.

The terms included the return of the crown of Hungary from Bethlen to the Emperor (literally), and Bethlen's renunciation of his occupation of part of Western Hungary.

The Emperor promised to respect the rights of the Protestants in Western Hungary and granted Bethlen seven Hungarian counties with the reversion to his son of the Silesian duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor. Bethlen was granted the right to two titles: Prince of Transylvania and Hungary; and Duke of the German Empire.

Letter 7: 17 March 1620/21

17 March 1962

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[illegible]

Psalm 114: Jerome's Translation

Translatio B. Hieronymi

In Exitu Israe.
Psalm 114

1. In exitu Israe de Egypto, domus Jacob de populo
barbaro.
2. Facta est Iudaea sanctificatio eius; Israel potestas
eius.
3. Mare vidit & fugit: Jordanis conversus est retrorsum.
4. Montes exultaverunt ut arietes, & colles sicut ovium.
5. Quid est tibi mare, quod fugisti, & tu Jordanis, quia
conversus es retrorsum?
6. Montes exultaverunt ut arietes, & colles sicut agni ovium.
7. A facie Domini nota est terra, a facie Dei Jacob.
8. Qui convertit petram in stagna aquarum, & rupem
in fontes aquarum.

Non nobis Domine.
Psalm 115

1. Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo la
gloriam, super misericordia tua & veritate tua.
2. Ne quando dicant Gentēs, ubi est Deus eorum.
3. Deus autem noster in caelo, omnia quaecumque voluit
fecit.
4. Simulachra Gentium argentum & aurum, opera
manuum hominum.
5. Os habent & non loquuntur, oculos habent & non
videbunt.
6. Aures habent & non audiunt, nares habent & non
odorabunt.
7. Plantae habent & non baldebunt, pedes habent &
non ambulabunt, non clamabunt in gutture suo.
8. Similes illis fiunt qui faciunt ea, & omnes qui confidunt
in eis.
9. Domus Israe speravit in Domino, adiutor eorum
& protector eorum est.
10. Domus Aaron speravit in Domino, adiutor eorum
& protector eorum est.
11. Qui timent Dominum speraverunt in Domino, adju
torum & protector eorum est.
12. Dominus memor fuit nostri & benedixit nobis. Bene
dixit domui Israe, benedixit domui Aaron.
13. Benedixit omnibus qui timent Dominum, perfelis cum
majoribus.
14. Adjiciat Dominus super vos, super vos & super
filios vestros.
15. Benedixi vos a Domino, qui fecit caelum & terram.

Trans. B Hieronymi

autem Dominus

ne; neq omnes qui

aut Dominum ex hoc

16. Caelum caeli Domino; terram autem dedit filijs hominum

17. Non mortui laudabunt te Domine, neq omnes qui
descendunt in infernum

18. Sed nos qui vivimus, benedicimus Domino ex hoc nunc
et in saeculum



Psalm 114: Jesuits' Metamorphosis

The Jesuits' metamorphosis of the Psalm usually
 sung at matins
 In exitu Israel
 Psal. 114

1. In exitu Spinola de Brabantia, dominus Martin de po-
 pulo florido.

2. Facta est Judaea glorificatio eius, Palatinatus potestas

3. Hansbach vidit, et fugit, Wittenberg conversus
 est retrorsum,

4. Electores ausculturunt ut Ariste et Catholici sint
 Agni ovium.

5. A facie Spinola mota est terra, a facie Ducum
 Casari

Holland & Zeloni

6. Qui convertit gladium in stagna Calvinistarum &
 arma in fortes rebelium.

Non nobis Domine
 Psal. 114.

1. Non Palatino, Domine, sed Ferdinando la gloriam
 super misericordia & veritate tua.

2. Qui quando dicunt Comes vbi est Caesar eorum?

3. Caesar autem noster in Austria, omnia quaecumq; oravit,
 obtinuit.

4. Simulachra Hollandorum aurum & argentum, opera
 Civitatum Imperialium.

5. Os habent Spiranse & non loquentur, oculos habent
 Wormarienses, & non videbunt.

6. Manus habent & imanes et non palpebant, pedes habent
 Florenti & non ambulebunt, non cantabunt in officinis suis.

7. Similes his fiunt, qui faciunt ea, et omnes qui confidunt
 in eis.

8. Domus Austriae speravit in Domino: adjutor eorum
 et protector eorum est.

9. Domus Bavaria speravit in Domino: adjutor eorum
 & protector eorum est.

10. Qui honoraverunt Pontificem, speraverunt in Domino:
 adjutor eorum & protector eorum est.

11. Dominus memor fuit Spinola & benedixit ei: benedixit
 Domini Austriae benedixit Domini Bavariae.

12. Benedixit Dominus his qui honorant Pontificem, seculari-
 bus, & Ecclesiasticis.

13. Augetur Spinola super vos & filios vestros.

14. Benedixit vos Casarei & Domino, qui vicistis Turcas
 & Calvinistas.

Unions & confederations of States are images of the United Hebrew & Hollon: den of the like & strength consist in moral, which the for- periality is afford.

The Refuted m. r. p. 6. 1. 1. 1.

16. Electorum Bavaria Domino; terram autem dominus
habet, Caesari

17. Non Calvinista laudabunt te, Domine; reg omnes qui
descendunt in infernum

18. Sed nos, qui triumphamus, benedicimus Dominum ex no-
mine & vlg in seculum.



CALENDARS

Material in MS Harleian 389 enclosed with Mead's letters 1621-1625

Calendar I: Handwritten extracts copied by Mead and others from manuscripts and printed material.

Calendar II: Printed material.

CALENDAR I

<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Folios</u>	<u>Description or Heading</u>	<u>Source or Author</u>	<u>Copyist</u>
1	2 November 1620. s.v	1r,v	Relation ... of losse of Prague	English Gentleman there and then present.	Mead
2	26 January 1620/21	2r,v	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
3	29 January 1620/21. s.n.	3r,v;4r,v	Letter: Cologne	Unknown	"
4	30 January 1620/21.	5r,v;6r,v	Extract: His Majestie's Speech in Parliament.	—	unknown
5	2 February 1620/21	7r,v;8r	Letter: London	Unknown	"

6	_____	Between 13r&13v	Representation in words of 'Picture of 1588'.	Samuel Ward	Mead
7	_____	Preceding 14r	Verses as 6 above	Unknown	Mead
8	12, 19 February 1620/21n.s	16r,v;17r	Letter: Cologne etc.	Unknown	"
9	February 1620/21	17v	Letter: Palatinat	Unknown	"
10	2 February 1620/21 n.s.	17v	Letter: Venice	Mr Pettie	"
11	23 February 1620/21	18r,18v	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
12	23 February 1620/21	18v,19r	Another Letter: London	Mr Fr...	"
13	23 February 1620/21	19r	Another Letter: London	Mr Eg...	"
14	26 February 1620/21	19v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
15	26 February 1620	24r,v	Letter: Frankendale	Dr Burgess	"
16	26 February 1620/21	25r,v;26r	Letter: Frankendale	Mr Heape	"
17	2 March 1620/21	28r,v;29r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
18	4 March 1620/21s.n.	32r,v	Letter: Cologne	Unknown	"
19	4 March 1620	33r	Letter: Holland	Unknown	Mead

20	9 March 1620/21	34r,v;35r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
21	16 March 1620/21	f 27 & 27r,v (mis-collated)	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
22	30 March 1621	43r,v;44r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
23	1621	46r,v	Copy of Acts of Parliament	—	Mead & Another
24	6 April 1621	50r,v;51r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
25	13 April 1621	54r,v;55r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
26	20 April 1621	57r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
27	29 April 1621 s.n. 1 May 1621 s.n.	63r,v;64r	Letter: Cologne Letter: Amsterdam	Unknown	"
28	4 May 1621	65r,v;66r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
29	1621	70r,v;71r,v	Speech: Sir Edward Cecil in Parliament	—	Mead & Another.
30	11 May 1621	72r,v;73r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
31	11 May 1621	73v	Out of a Printed Courante.	—	Mead
32	18 May 1621	74r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	Unknown

33	24 May 1621 s.n.	75r	More: Corranto Amsterdam		Mead
34	25 May 1621	77r,v; 78r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
35	1 June 1621	88r,v; 89r	Letter: London	"	"
36	8 June 1621	92r,v	Letter: London	"	"
37	22 June 1621	96r,v;97r,v	Letter: London	"	"
38	28 June 1621	80r,v	Letter: London	"	"
39	2 August 1622	112r,v	Letter: London	"	"
40	7 September 1621	114r,v	Letter: London	"	"
41	10 September 1621	116r	Letter: London	"	"
42	14 September 1621	116r,v;117r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
43	21 September 1621	120r,v	Letter: London	"	"
44	28 September 1621	123r,v;124r	Letter: London	"	"
45	11 January 1621/22	129r,v;130r	Letter: London	"	"

46	18 January 1621/22	131r,v;132r	Letter: London	"	Mead
47	1 February 1621/22	139r,v	Letter: London	"	"
48	15 February 1621/22	144r,v	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
49	22 February 1621/22	149r,v;150r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
50	15 March 1621/22	155r,v;155v 156r,v	Letter: London Another: London	" "	" "
51	21 March 1621/22	161r 161v	Letter: London Another: London	" "	" "
52	29 March 1622	162r,v;163	Two Letters: London	"	"
53	12 April 1622	168r,v	Letter: London	"	"
54	19 April 1622	172r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
55	26 April 1622	175r,v	Letter: London	"	"
56	February 1621/22	178r,v	Resolutio Caesaris ... <u>Nuntio Papali</u> etc.	_____	"

57	February 1621/22	180r,v 181r	<u>Resolution of the</u> <u>Emperor...etc.</u>	—	"
58	3 May 1622	182r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
59	1622	183r,v	Letter from one of Spanish Garrison in Creutsnach, Palatinate	Printed News SIC:	"
60	10 May 1622	186r,v;187r	Letter: London	Unknown	"
61	17 May 1622	190r,v;191	Letter: London	"	"
62	24 May 1622	194r,v;195r	Letter: London	"	"
63	31 May 1622	198r,v;199r 199r	Letter: London Another: London	" "	" "
64	7 June 1622	202r,v 203r	Letter: London Another: London	Unknown "	Wead "
65	12 July 1622	214r,v;215r	Letter: London	"	"
66	19 July 1622	218r,v 218v;219r 219r	Letter: London Out of Printed News Part printed;part letters	" " "	" " "
67	30 August 1622	222r,v 223r,v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"

68	6 September 1622	224r,v;225r	Letter: London	"	"
69	19 September 1622	230r,v;231r	Letter: London Another: London	Mr Boswell	"
70	Aug/Sept 1622	232r,v 233r,v	Extracts of 3 Letters from Frankfurt.	1: A Bavarian commander 2,3: Civilian observers	Meddus? /Mead
71	11 October 1622	237r,v;238r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
72	18 October 1622	241r,v 241v;242r 242v	Letter: London Tilly to Vere Another: London	" Printed? Unknown	" Mead Mead
73	25 October 1622	245r,v;246r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
74	1 November 1622	249r,v	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
75	8 November 1622	252r,v 252v 253r	Letter: London Printed: 7 Nov Printed: 5 Nov	Unknown	"
76	15 November 1622	258r,v;259r	Letter: London	"	"
77	13 December 1622	265r,v	Letter: London	"	"
78	3 January 1622/23	268r	Letter: London	"	"

79	10 January 1622/23)	between 268r and 269r	Letter: London 1623/24[sic]	"	"
80	17 January 1622/23	271r, 271v	Letter: London	"	"
81	31 January 1622/23	276r, v; 277r, v	Letter: London Letter: Frankfurt Letter: London Letter: London Another: London	" Mr Boswell Unknown Probably/Boswell	" " " "
82	7 February 1622/23	280r, v; 281r			
83	Enclosed with 8 February 1622/23	284r, v; 285r, v	A Vision from East-Frizland 8 December 1622	Translator of Dutch Original by Juthic Jans	Mead
84	14 February 1622/23	286r, v	Letter: London	Unknown	"
85	28 February 1622/23	291r	Letter: London	"	:
86	14 March 1622/23	296r, v; 297r, v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
87	21 March 1622/23	302r, v	Letter: London	"	"
88	28 March 1623	303r, v	Letter: London	"	"

89		306r,v	Jesuits' metamorphosis Psalms 114, 115; & Jerome's Translation	"	"
90	4 April 1623	308r,v;309r,v	Letter: London Letter: Cottingham 2 Others: London Letter: Spain, 18/28 March Letter: London Another: London Letter: London Another: London Letter: London Another: London Entertainment of Prince in Spain	"	"
91	11 April 1623	312r,v;313r		"	"
92	25 April 1623	318r,v;319r,v		"	Mead
93	9 May 1623	324r,v;325r	Letter: London Another: London	Unknown	"
94	16 May 1623	328r,v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
95	23 May 1623	329r,v;330r	Letter: London 2 others: London	"	"
96	30 May 1623	333r,v	Letter: London	"	"
97	13 June 1623	339r,v	Letter: London	"	"

98	20 June 1623	340r,v;341r	Letter: London	"	"
99	-----	345v, r	Verses on Spanish 'Watch'	"	"
100	29 August 1623	354r,v	Letter: London	"	"
101	5 September 1623	355r,v	Letter: London (by the same)	"	"
102	12 September 1623	356r	Another: ditto Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
103	17 September 1623	356v, 357	Letter: London	"	"
104	24 September 1623	362r,v;363r	Letter: London	"	"
105	3 October 1623	363r,v	Letter: London	"	"
106	24 October 1623	368r,v;369	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
107	26 October s.v. 5 November s.n.	372r,v;373r	Blackfriars Disaster	Unknown Author/ Mrs Chadderton	"
108	October 1623	373v	Catalogue of Dead in Blackfriars Disaster	As 107	"
109	29 October 1623	374r,v	Letter: London	Unknown	"

110	14 November 1623	379r,v;380r,v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
111	6 January 1624/25	387r,v	Letter: London	"	Student?
112	21 January 1624/25	390r,v	Letter: London	"	Mead
113	28 January 1624/25	391r,v;392r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
114	4 February 1624/25	395r,v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
115	18 February 1624/25	400r,v;401r	Letter: London	"	"
116	25 February 1624/25	404r,v;405r	Letter: London	"	"
117	4 March 1624/25	408r,v 409r,v	Letter: London Letter: Paris (14 Feb)	" Original from Paris	"
118	11 March 1624/25	412r,v (mis-collated)	Letter: London	Unknown	"
119	18 March 1624/25	413r,v (mis-collated)	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
120	13 April 1625	422r	Letter: London	"	"

121	15 April 1625	422v, 423r	Loss by fire of Spinola's magazine	"	"
122	22 April 1625	426r, v	Letter (mis-collated)	John Stuteville	Original
123	27 April 1625	432r	Letter: London	Unknown	Mead
124	29 April 1625	432v; 433r	Four Inscriptions for King James' Hearse		
		433v	Another: London	"	"
125	6 May 1625	436r, v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
126	6 May 1625	437r	Late design and Employment of Prince of Poland	Translated from High Dutch	"
		437v	List: Privy Council		
127	13 May 1625	440r, v	Letter: London	Dr Meddus	"
128	13 May 1625	441r, v	Another: London, including News from camp of Prince of Orange.	Unknown	"
		Folio nos duplicated			
129	20 May 1625	454r, v	Letter: London	"	"

130	27 May 1625	453r,v[<i>sic</i>]	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
131	17 June 1625	460r,v;461r,v	Letter: London Another: London	Unknown	Mead
132	24 June 1625	464r,v;465r,v	Letter: London Another: London	"	"
133	30 June 1625	468r,v	Letter: London	"	"
134	1 July 1625	469r,v	Letter: London	"	"
135	3 September 1625	496r,v;497r	Extracts: Courantes Various dates & Locations	"	"

CALENDAR II

<u>Number</u>	<u>Date Printed</u>	<u>Folios</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>STC</u>
1	9 April 1621	56r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany	18507.6
2	22 April 1621	68r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany	18507.19
3	25 May 1621	79r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany etc.	18507.7
4	6 June 1621	87r,v (duplicated)	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany	18507.4
5	9 June 1621	81r,v	Translation of Letters Patent granted by United Netherlands to W.I. Coy.	-----
6	20 June 1621	106r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany	18507.9
7	25 June 1621	82r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany etc.	18507.21
8	3 July 1621	83r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany etc.	18507.22
9	9 July 1621	84r,v (duplicated)	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany etc	18507.23
10	20 July 1621	104r,v	Courante:Newes Italy/Germany etc.	18507.24
11	28 July 1625	479r	Bill of Plague/London 21 July/28 July 1625	

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