Anti-Popery in Early Modern England: Religion, War and Print, *c.* 1617-1635

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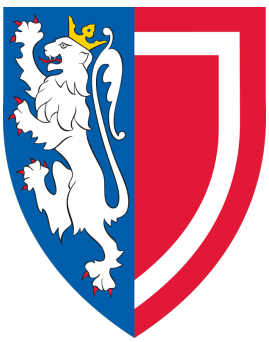

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Short Abstract

This thesis is about anti-popery in early modern England, how its meanings and political uses in printed literature changed in response to the dramatic developments of the Thirty Years' War. I contend that the languages of anti-popery, though structured by binary oppositions, were being used to express complex, multifaceted views about Catholic states in the 1620s and 1630s.

The new perspective that this research offers is two-fold. Firstly, it asserts that anti-popery was an active and flexible tool of English Protestant debate about foreign affairs. 'Popish' tyranny, variously embodied in the Counter-Reformation papacy or Habsburg imperialism, was a malleable concept that adapted its meanings and associations with the political circumstances. Our early modern subjects were capable of separating anti-Catholic beliefs about idolatrous worship from political questions of how to identify, and combat, the threat of papal tyranny. Thus, this thesis argues that a greater range of irenic attitudes towards relations with Catholic powers were circulating than previously thought.

Secondly, this thesis argues that several different anti-papal languages were operating alongside, and in competition with, one another in early Stuart political culture. As a fluid set of tropes, associations and prejudices, anti-popery had different meanings for different authors and incorporated a range of political and religious agendas. Anti-popery, therefore, was not simply a tool of Puritan opposition to the non-interventionist policy of the Stuarts, but, I argue, was also compatible with a more moderate or conciliatory attitude to Catholic states, including Habsburg Spain.

The printed debates of the 1620s and 1630s expose the tensions that existed between competing ideas about the nature of the external popish threat. By 1635 and the reversal of Protestant fortunes on the Continent, these competing anti-papal ideas were exposing the tensions within England about the nature of its Protestantism, and thus helped precipitate the Civil Wars.

Long Abstract

This thesis examines English perceptions of foreign Catholic states during the opening years of the Thirty Years' War, with a particular focus on how the languages of anti-popery were used in printed literature to justify or criticise English foreign policy. This was a time in which English foreign policy, under the Stuart kings, James I (1603-25) and Charles I (1625-49), faltered uncertainly between neutrality and aggression. Whether to reconcile with or attack Europe's dominant Catholic powers, most notably Spain, became a key point of division.

At the heart of this thesis are the rich and pervasive languages of anti-popery. Anti-popery was, on one level, a critique of Catholic religious practice, employed by Protestant writers in theological controversy with the Church of Rome. At its centre was the identification of the pope as Antichrist, as described in the Book of Revelation, and the idea that Catholic worship was idolatrous and a perversion of the true religion of the Gospel. But anti-popery also had political connotations. In the late sixteenth century, Spain's expansionist goals had become a direct challenge to England's Protestant church and state. The Habsburgs were seen as conspiring with the pope to build a universal monarchy, which would subject the Protestant nation to foreign, tyrannical and popish rule and forcibly convert the people to Catholicism. In the concept of universal monarchy, ideas about Catholic religious practice were intimately bound up with ideas about tyranny, and particularly the tyranny of states whose rulers claimed a strong association with the Catholic Church. This is known to scholars as the 'Black Legend of Spain'. The 'Black Legend' model of anti-papal thought continued to influence English attitudes long after the peace with Spain of 1604 was concluded.

There has been a tendency in recent scholarship to stress the dominance of a certain strand of anti-papal discourse, one steeped in assumptions about the idolatrous nature of Catholic religion. English Protestant concerns about the political tyranny of the papacy and the major Catholic powers have been seen as largely derivative of this core aversion to all things Catholic. Although anti-Catholic thought was pervasive, in literature about foreign affairs ideas about 'popish' superstition and ideas about the pope's temporal ambitions interacted and competed in intricate ways. I contend that the

relationship between Catholic religion and 'popish' tyranny in English thought was complex and relatively flexible, and therefore warrants closer investigation.

One of the consequences of analysing anti-popery as a mindset or ideology has been to reduce the space for individual initiative and deviation from the fixed meanings of the discourse. By recognising the capacity of writers and commentators to manipulate such themes to fit their circumstances and objectives, this thesis will demonstrate how malleable anti-papal idea were in practice. In early seventeenth-century England, the nature and extent of the external popish threat was far from fixed. But whilst anti-papal languages could be deployed to discuss both internal and external threats to the English Protestant state, this thesis is predominantly concerned with the latter. Its focus is on English perceptions of the external threat posed by the papacy and the major Catholic states, such as Spain and France. Consequently, it does not directly address debates around English priests and recusants and how to deal with them, other than their relation to Catholic activities on the Continent. The principal aim of the thesis, then, is to explore how these complex languages of anti-popery were used in printed literature to debate England's alliances and rivalries with Catholic powers.

Print is a fertile way to investigate English anti-papal attitudes. The historiography of early Stuart England is replete with examples of printed works objecting to the pro-Catholic foreign policy of James I and Charles I. Less attention, however, has been paid to the representation of moderate or irenic attitudes to Catholicism within this print culture. One of the aims of my thesis is to address this gap. Were there individuals prepared to defend the Stuarts' conciliatory foreign policy, and, if so, how did they use anti-popery to construct their arguments?

Printed sources are also more likely to have had wider reach than manuscript material. Although identifying the audience for individual texts is difficult, historians of early modern print have demonstrated the diversity and scale of print readership. While I have used manuscript material where it is germane to my argument, the bulk of the sources in this thesis are printed texts.

The aim of the first chapter is to place the anti-papal worldview of George Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury within the context of the different perspectives available on England's relations with Catholic powers. The chapter focuses specifically on Abbot's popular geography textbook, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* (particularly the enlarged editions of 1608 and 1617). It will

demonstrate that Abbot used the language of anti-popery to surprisingly flexible ends in order to construct a conception of a broad anti-Spanish coalition. The chapter goes on to argue that unlike other English Protestants, such as the Puritan pamphleteer Thomas Gainsford and the travel writer Fynes Moryson, Abbot made distinctions between different types of Catholics, and was prepared, like James I, to focus his efforts on resisting popish tyranny rather than idolatrous worship. Abbot's anti-popery, I argue, was considerably closer to the king's own distinctive attitude towards Catholicism than has previously been appreciated.

The second chapter examines arguments made in defence of the proposed Spanish Match between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria in the early 1620s. Whilst it may have been expected that supporters of the match were largely Catholic or crypto-Catholic in their religious leanings, I show that there was a wider spectrum of support for James I's pacific policy. Printed literature argued variously for the Spanish marriage policy on the basis of security and commercial interests, and historical amity between the nations. By contextualising these pro-marriage texts within the wider public discourse about the threat of popish tyranny, the Spanish Match emerges as a strategy with diverse appeal among James's Protestant and Catholic subjects.

Among my sources are the pamphlets of the theologian Peter Heylyn, the poetry of the near-insolvent courtier Sir Henry Goodere, as well as works by 'Edmund Garrard' and 'Michael Du Val', whose identities are unknown. Heylyn is perhaps best known to scholars of seventeenth-century England as a strong royalist and clericalist writer, who actively defended the religious programme of his former patron, William Laud, in the 1650s. However, as a young geography lecturer in the 1620s, Heylyn's religious views were in transition. He was able to reconcile his anti-papal opinions with a more conciliatory attitude to Spain, and this flexibility, I argue, was key to his support for James's marriage policy. Anti-popery, therefore, was a catalyst of the Spanish Match crisis because it heightened what was at stake for both sides: on the one hand, opponents prioritised religious and political independence from post-Tridentine Catholic Spain, but on the other hand, supporters prioritised friendship with Spain as the means to assist the Protestant cause in Germany. I argue that supporters of the marriage policy conceived of the Catholic threat according to a different anti-papal geopolitics that enabled them to separate Spain from the Counter-Reformation assault on Protestant states.

Chapter three explores the debate surrounding the Caroline war with France in the late 1620s, particularly the anti-papal language used to justify the French campaign. Literature issued in defence of Charles's policy saw the transference of anti-papal enmity onto the French king, Louis XIII. The impact of this shift is analysed in the printed works of several writers, including the Stuart apologist George Marcelline, the merchant and pamphleteer John Reynolds, and the Calvinist episcopalian Bishop Joseph Hall. In the new conditions of warfare against both Spain and France, it was necessary to adapt anti-papal discourse away from its heavily anti-Habsburg orientation. But by presenting the young French king as a puppet of Spain and the papacy, I argue, these works reinforced the predominance of the threat posed by the king of Spain. Printed support for the French war also failed to alleviate concerns about the authenticity of Charles's claims to be acting for the protection of French Calvinists. Hence, these debates reveal that anti-popery was an active tool of debate over the direction of foreign policy.

The fourth chapter analyses the role anti-popery played in articulating the hopes and expectations of English Protestants after Sweden's intervention in Germany in 1630. William Watts, a Laudian cleric and editor of *The Swedish Intelligencer* news periodical is key here. A keen champion of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Watts also authored a treatise defending clerical use of the surplice against Puritan attack. By teasing out the relationship between Watts's religious convictions and his political support for the Swedish campaigns, the chapter argues that Gustavus Adolphus was operating in a less polarised and confessionally rigid public discourse than has previously been assumed. In fact, the Swedish king was being used in the early 1630s to represent a range of different religious and political ideals. The chapter then contrasts these positive depictions with texts expressing doubts about the Swedish intervention, including newsbooks published after 1633 and the poetry of Thomas Carew and Richard Fanshawe. In analysing Carew's and Fanshawe's poems as political contributions to the debate raging about England's role in the European conflict, it is possible to see Gustavus Adolphus reconstructed as a warning of what peace might bring. My key argument, therefore, is that moderate or conciliatory views towards relations with Catholic states were expressed more stridently in important printed works by 1635 than has previously been recognised.

This thesis complicates our understanding of English Protestant attitudes to Catholicism – the church and its influence. It argues that, according to circumstance, individuals were capable of

expressing attitudes to Catholic religion with greater fluidity. This flexibility opened up opportunities for individuals, including James and Charles, to make arguments for moderate or conciliatory foreign policy ventures that were rooted in anti-papal assumptions. In foreign policy debate, anti-popery was more than just the vehicle of militant Protestantism. It was a set of complex, overlapping languages through which the English reconstructed the threat of popish tyranny in the new conditions of waning Spanish influence, or at least, dwindling Spanish involvement in the central battleground of the Protestant cause. From Sir Henry Goodere's vision of Spain detached from the union of Emperor and Pope to John Reynolds's image of a triumvirate of papal opponents, many of the English writers analysed here share a tendency to depart from the dominant tropes of the Black Legend. But there were also some strong limitations to this flexibility. Throughout the period covered by this thesis, the Stuarts and their supporters struggled to imprint their conciliatory views onto the political culture. There was a certain security for writers, knowing how popular hispanophobic feelings were throughout the nation, in churning out formulaic attacks on Spanish influence over the English state. This thesis thus tells a story of continuity, of the continued relevance of old patterns of thought, as well as one of change.

This research has significance for the wider field of early modern political and religious history. First, the thesis offers greater insight into the way theories of confessional division were compromised and challenged on a regular basis in the course of analysing national security. Events overseas sharpened English people's engagement with questions of religion, allegiance and authority. Debates about war and peace are thus an important prism for understanding the wider political culture. English political attitudes were rooted in anti-papal stereotypes but, conversely, as this thesis argues, they were also peculiarly responsive and adaptive to international events. Fears of Spanish tyranny and universal monarchy, though widespread, were not unchanging. It is misleading to think of hispanophobia as forming the bedrock of the early Stuart Protestant worldview. Rather, this thesis presents anti-Spanish sentiment as one discourse among several different anti-papal languages that were operating simultaneously in English Protestant print.

Second, it raises important questions about how these debates about Catholicism played out in domestic politics. How the English conceptualised the relationship between tyranny and superstition was potentially crucial in domestic struggles, such as the debate about ceremony and doctrine (or

Laudianism and Calvinism) within the Church of England, or the issue of the king's authority in relation to Parliament and the law. Interrogating the way anti-papal language was used and adapted within these domestic disputes, and how widely these ideas circulated, could help us tease out the processes by which early modern people chose between competing political and religious priorities. The study of domestic anti-popery, where anti-papal views are broadly defined, thus offers an important way of reassessing the complex relationship between religion and politics in early Stuart public thought.

Time and again anti-popery was relied on by English people as a tool of persuasion. It offered a malleable framework upon which to hang a range of complex ideas about power in the spiritual and temporal realms. In the turbulent decades of the 1620s and 1630s, anti-papal rhetorics provided writers with a set of variable attitudes and assumptions around which to debate the merits and limits of aligning with foreign Catholic powers in nuanced, religiously-ambiguous ways. Anti-popery was not simply a tool for expressing a highly polarised confessional viewpoint. The range of anti-papal languages identified here suggests a new way of approaching the political and religious tensions that characterised the early Stuart period, one that moves away from overly schematic approaches and embraces the messy multiplicities of printed debate. This thesis complements scholarship that is challenging established historiographical binaries and suggests that the anti-popery as a set of multiple language would be a fruitful concept for future studies of early modern political change.

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List of Abbreviations

Add. MS	Additional Manuscript, British Library
Arber	*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, ed. E. Arber (5 vols., London, 1875-77)
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CJ	Commons' Journals
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Harl. MS	Harleian Manuscript, British Library
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HR	*Historical Research*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
MS	Manuscript
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
PC	Privy Council Papers
P&P	*Past and Present*
Proclamations	*Stuart Royal Proclamations*, edited by P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (2 vols., Oxford, 1973-83)
PRO	Public Record Office
SP	State Papers
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave; edited by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer (London, 2nd edn., 1991)
TNA	The National Archives, London
Wing	*Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, ed. D. G. Wing (London, 2nd edn., 1994)

Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

For dates I have used the Old Style, current in England in the early seventeenth century, unless otherwise stated, except that I have taken the year to begin on 1 January and not 25 March.

Original spelling and italicisation is preserved throughout, except for short-hand contractions which have been expanded in square brackets [ ].

Introduction

> Then shall they couer themselues with confusion, as with a cloake. And truly these fiery and furious Iesuited Roman Catholickes, maske and shroud their faction and treason vnder the cloake of Religion, as the Dominicans lurke vnder our Ladies frock; crying out, The Catholicke Cause, and for the good of the Church; so that we may say, as once wittily Erasmus demanded, VVhat is Charity? answered, It is a Monkes cloake, for it couers a multitude of sinnes: So what is Popery? It is a cloake to couer a multitude of sinnes; and (as they say) Puritan schismes are sowen together with Sisters-threed, so Popish schismes are patched together out of the cloake of Rebellion, yet vnder the mantle of Religion:[1]
>
> Samuel Garey, *Great Brittans little calendar: or, Triple diarie* (1618).

> Amongst the countrie people there is much feare and doubt conceiued, the Pope in his power and prerogatiue, being so predominant both in *Spaine*, and with other forraine Princes, by them as States we may be drawne into that net.
>
> The King, that doth so much insist vpon his prerogatiue here in his owne kingdome, that will not admit any dyminution therein; that he should now giue way to haue it subiected to such a dangerous forraine power; there is no manner of likelyhood.
>
> There haue beene many of our Kings of *England*, that were Roman Catholiques, and other Forraine Princes, yea, and *Spaine* it selfe (which I will here make bold to tell them) wearied and tyred out with the insupportable pressures of the Pope, haue beene at great difference with him, at mortall enmity and open warre ...
>
> Edmund Garrard, *The Covntrie Gentleman Moderator* (1624).

> But you that waking through transported zeale,
> Doe whisper daungers to the Churches weale,
> O tame your spiritts with that charity
> That soe becomes a Christian piety;
> For though each soule here answerable is,
> For his owne way to heauen, yet hee's amiss
> That doth condemn all others vnto hell,
> Who doe concurr in creede, and liuing well,
> Though in their outward forms they differing bee,
> And in some points of doctrine dis-agree:
>
> Sir Henry Goodere, 'An Eulogie and admiration on his Jorney into Spaine' (1623).

In his commemorative tract, *Great Brittans little calendar: or, Triple diarie* (1618), the Norfolk preacher, Samuel Garey, constructed a highly evocative image of 'Popery'. Popery is represented as a cloak: it has all the outward appearance of religion but this only serves to conceal its true purpose as a mantle of treachery, sin and rebellion. Garey was one of many Protestant writers who vehemently rejected papal authority, and particularly the pope's claim of the power to depose a temporal ruler, in

[1] S. Garey, *Great Brittans little calendar: or, Triple diarie, in remembrance of three daies Diuided into three treatises* (1618), STC 11597, p. 219. For the quotation from Erasmus, see *Responsio at Albertum Pium* (1529) in *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Le Clerc (Leiden, 1706), pp. 1093-1196.

the wake of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Taken more broadly, Garey's description of popish corruption and ambition for temporal power captures a sense of the deep Protestant anxiety that existed in early Stuart England about Catholicism as a foreign institution. Catholicism represented for Garey a hidden, amorphous menace but also a potent enemy, which threatened England's temporal ruler with deposition and religiously-motivated subversion. *Great Brittans little calendar* thus neatly encapsulates an aspect of the anti-papal mentality that historians agree was a dominant part of English Protestant thought and identity. It is widely accepted that English Protestant culture in the early seventeenth century was shaped by a strong rejection of the Church of Rome and the power vested in the pope as supreme head.

But although the symbol of the cloak or mask was widely used, it was not the only way of imagining the threat of popery. In a 1624 tract written by one 'Edmund Garrard' in support of the proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage union, the author disputed the zeal and unity of the Catholic cause. Instead, Garrard drew attention to the present and historical divisions between Rome and other Catholic rulers in order to persuade his readers of the weakness of the papacy and the pope's isolation from mainstream Catholic opinion. Implicit here is a distinction drawn between the pope's interference in temporal affairs and his authority over matters purely spiritual. Garrard did not dismiss Garey's vision of wicked Romanists scheming to bring in a foreign popish tyranny, but he sought to marginalise this group of Catholics as a fanatical, Jesuit-inspired fringe and to strengthen Protestant confidence in the royal prerogative.

Whilst Garrard was prepared to discriminate between different types of Catholics, some English Protestants went even further in their efforts to bridge the religious divide. Sir Henry Goodere, a gentleman of the privy chamber, had a life-long friendship with John Donne, but was also associated with prominent Catholic converts, such as Toby Matthew and Henry Constable, at the time of Gunpowder Plot. This has led several scholars to include Goodere among a list of possible Catholic sympathisers who could be linked to the plotters.[2] This irenic attitude comes across strongly in his poem to Prince Charles of 1623. Goodere maintains that both Catholic and Protestant churches share a

[2] D. Flynn, M. T. Hester and M. Maurer, 'Goodere at Court, 1603-1610: The Early Jacobean Decline of a Catholic Sympathizer and Its Bearing on Donne's Letters', *John Donne Journal*, 31 (2012), pp. 61-98; D. S. Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 201-2.

common Christian 'creede', despite being divided over the 'outward forms' of religion. Therefore, Catholic neighbours, both at home and overseas, deserved to be treated according to the Christian values of charity and peace. For Goodere, this shared Christianity was an important caveat to confessional warfare, and a reason to support the proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage.

These examples demonstrate how varied were Protestant attitudes to Catholics in Jacobean England, and how a spectrum of anti-Catholic views existed within a spectrum of Protestant opinion. The languages of anti-popery could take on a range of different meanings, depending on circumstance. The relationship between anti-popery and foreign affairs is at the heart of this study. Anti-popery was a critique of Catholic religious practice, employed by Protestant writers in theological controversy with the Church of Rome. At its centre was the identification of the pope as Antichrist, as described in the Book of Revelation, and the idea that papal authority was the means by which a corrupt Roman Catholic Church had kept God's Word in thrall for a thousand years. This Protestant attack on the papacy emerged as part of the intellectual and cultural changes wrought by the Reformation. From the early sixteenth century, evangelical reformers began to criticise Catholicism as a superstitious religion. The two main elements of Protestant attack were papal authority and the doctrinal content of Catholic religion, based on corrupt readings of Scriptures. The nature of papal authority somewhat complicates this picture: it can refer to both the power of the institutional church throughout Christendom, and the relations this inevitably entailed with temporal rulers; and the direct monarchy of the papacy over the papal states. By Elizabeth I's reign, English Protestant divines strongly rejected the spiritual supremacy claimed by the papacy, on the grounds that it falsely limited the invisible workings of grace to one visible Church, with a single episcopal succession. Apologists for the English Church, as with their continental and Scottish Reforming counterparts, sought to counter the Roman emphasis on the authority of the church and the papacy with their own insistence on the authority of God's Word, unmediated by human agencies.[3]

The newly re-established Church of England sought to root out Catholic religion, though not as heresy. The authorities banned the mass, fined individuals who failed to attend Protestant

[3] P. Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist', *JEH*, 31 (1980), pp. 161-78.

communion, and executed priests and their most conspicuous lay supporters. The Protestants conceived their actions as part of an assault on superstition – the suppression of erroneous acts of religious devotion that did not have God as their object. Many tangible components of early modern Catholic practice, such as the mass, the repetition of prayers for the dead, or worship of saints, were suppressed on these grounds.

Opposition to Catholic religious practice was, therefore, an important dimension of anti-papal thought, and was specifically framed to undermine the Roman Church's claims to truth and legitimacy. Yet, as this thesis contends, there was also an important dimension of anti-popery that was less concerned with Catholic superstition and much more alert to the dangers of papal tyranny. This has been described by Anthony Milton as 'papophobic', a pronounced fear of the supreme and universal powers claimed by the papacy.[4] The doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, although acknowledged to have evolved from early Christian tradition, were ultimately judged by Elizabethan Protestant divines to be the product of a corrupt modern papacy. The Church of Rome was therefore denounced as popish, as upholding the false authority of the papacy.[5] Anti-popery thus had important political connotations.

The continued claims of the papacy to direct spiritual supremacy, and indirect political authority, posed not only an intellectual challenge to the Stuart royal supremacy, but also coloured English reactions to Spanish imperialism. In the late sixteenth century, Spain's expansionist goals became a direct challenge to England's Protestant church and state. The Habsburgs were seen as conspiring with the pope to build a universal monarchy. In the concept of universal monarchy, ideas about Catholic religious practice were intimately bound up with ideas about papal authority: the tyranny of the pope over the church as an institution, and his spiritual tyranny over the Word and repression of its true meaning. The Habsburgs were accused, in England, Germany and the Netherlands, of grand ambitions to conquer all nations and subject their inhabitants to the pope. A 'black legend' of Spanish

[4] For 'papophobic' sentiment, see A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. p. 234; A. Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism' in A. F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 85-115.
[5] S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion 1558-1603* (1994); D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England* (Basingstoke, 1990).

atrocity – fuelled reports of brutal Spanish treatment of the Dutch rebels and the native peoples of the Americas – emphasised the global reach of Spain's ambitions. These features of anti-papal thought continued to influence English attitudes long after James I ended Elizabeth's war with Catholic Spain in 1604.[6]

By analysing a range of different English reactions to the key events and conflicts of the 1620s and 1630s, the thesis aims to reveal a more nuanced picture of the ways in which English Protestants thought about the threat of popish tyranny, both the papacy directly, and more particularly the relationship between the religion and temporal rule. This study argues that such attitudes must be analysed in relation to their international political contexts in order for the subtle and complex divergences of opinion to be fully recoverable. By doing so, it will draw attention to the contingency of English papophobia, and complicate our understanding of anti-popery as a set of distinct, but often overlapping discourses. These languages could act as malleable agents of political debate because they were inflected by the changing circumstances at home and abroad.

Historians have tended to treat the religious and political aspects of anti-popery separately. The former has been analysed as a theology related to popular anti-Catholic prejudices and the latter with reference to the politics of the 'Protestant cause'.[7] Whilst this work is important, it separates religion and politics in a way that our early modern subjects did not. English Protestant understanding of the nature of Catholicism sat between these two traditions. Throughout Europe, between the outbreak of the Bohemia crisis (1618) and Charles's withdrawal from the Thirty Years' War (1635) the relationship between the temporal and the spiritual was vigorously contested.[8] In England, this contest found

[6] W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, NC, 1971); C. Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York, 1971); J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, 2000); I. Silverblatt, 'The Black Legend and Global Conspiracies: Spain, the Inquisition, and the Emerging Modern World', in M. R. Greer, W. D. Mignolo, M. Quilligan (eds), *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago and London, 2007), pp. 99-116; E. V. Campos, 'West of Eden: American gold, Spanish greed, and the discourses of English imperialism', in Greer, Mignolo, Quilligan (eds), *Rereading the Black Legend*, pp. 247-69.

[7] For early modern anti-Catholic studies, see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*; A. F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999). For the 'Protestant cause', see S. L. Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630' (Univ. of Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1973); D. S. Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause: Elizabethan Foreign Policy and Pan-Protestantism* (2013).

[8] G. Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 19-26; P. H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), esp. pp. 284-

expression in debates about the nation's diplomatic and military relations with foreign Catholic powers. In determining whether to maintain peace or declare war, concerns about popish superstition and concerns about the papal deposing power and imperial might of Spain converged and competed. Thus, there remains a need for a systematic approach to early Stuart anti-popery as a set of overlapping political and spiritual languages. The principal aim of the thesis is to explore how these complex languages of anti-popery were used in printed literature to debate England's alliances and rivalries with Catholic states.

By interrogating the link between anti-popery and political crisis, especially the confessional challenge unleashed by the Thirty Years' War, this thesis seeks to uncover the different ways in which anti-popery was used and understood. Was anti-popery inherently a language of confessional warfare, or could it also be mobilised to support a range of alternative foreign policy positions? The printed material these debates produced will be the focus of this study, which explores how the uses of anti-popery in political discourse changed over the period. Building on the work of Anthony Milton and Peter Lake among others, this thesis will demonstrate the complexity and flexibility of anti-popery as an instrument of politics. In contextualising printed uses of anti-popery, it will question the utility in approaching anti-popery as a language simply of Puritan opposition and suggest an alternative, more nuanced relationship between early Stuart religious and political thought.

I

This thesis builds on, and is indebted to, a wealth of recent scholarship on early modern anti-popery. Robin Clifton argued in the early 1970s that intolerance of Catholics and Catholicism in seventeenth-century England has been more presumed than analysed. In 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution' (1971), Clifton sought to rectify this by arguing that fear and hatred of Catholics played an important role in post-Reformation England. Stretching through all ranks of society, Clifton argued, was a Catholic/anti-Catholic dichotomy, a framework through which major events in national politics were interpreted. The domination of English religion and culture by secret networks of

310; G. Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (1984); J. P. Cooper (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History Volume IV: The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years' War 1609-1648* (Cambridge, 1970).

Catholics was a powerful fear. A further fear was of an international conspiracy, in which English Catholics colluded with the Spanish, French, or Irish for the overthrow of the Protestant church and state. These assumptions were reinforced sporadically by news stories of Protestant defeats on the Continent, particularly after 1618. The result, Clifton maintains, was that Catholicism was most often imagined with a foreign face – of the pope, the king of Spain, a Jesuit priest or an Irish rebel – rather than as an English fifth column.[9]

The study of early modern perceptions of Catholicism was further energised in the late 1980s by Peter Lake's seminal essay, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' (1989). In this essay, Lake challenged revisionist assumptions about the limited historical value of analysing religious prejudices. Lake established the importance of fears and perceptions about popery in revealing the self-image and consciousness of Protestants in the early Stuart period. These prejudices were not random or simply the expressions of collective hysteria, Lake argued, but had a structure and therefore a logic that could be analysed by historians.[10] Influenced by structuralist anthropology and the works of Natalie Zemon Davies and Robert Scribner on systems of symbolic inversion, Lake identified the importance of binary opposition to religious conflict in early modern England.[11] For Lake, English Protestants saw popery as the inverse of true religion. As the anti-religion, Catholicism became associated with idolatry, superstition, and devil-worship. The Church of Rome was a corrupt, tyrannical institution, no longer devoted to true worship as set out in God's Scriptures. Evangelists and polemicists constructed an imaginative portrait of Catholicism as a living embodiment of evil and its spiritual leader, the pope, as the Antichrist prophesied in the Book of Revelation. As Lake explains, anti-popery was a way of 'dividing up the world between positive and negative characteristics' and a 'symbolic means of labelling, expelling trends and tendencies which seemed to threaten the integrity of Protestant England'.[12]

[9] R. Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', *P&P*, 52 (1971), pp. 23-56.
[10] P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), pp. 72-106.
[11] N. Z. Davies, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *P&P*, 59 (1973), pp. 51-91; R. Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Social History*, 3 (1978), pp. 303-29.
[12] Lake, 'Anti-popery', p. 74.

Anti-popery thus served important political and polemical functions: in the early stages of the Reformation, it fuelled animosity towards the 'old religion' and thus paved the way for the overhaul of papal institutions and the radical transformation of doctrine and worship. Later, in the seventeenth century, it could also provide defenders of the status quo with powerful arguments against further reformation – if Protestant England could triumph against the mighty armada of Spain in 1588 and popish conspiracy in 1605 then clearly the Church of England, as it stood, was beloved of God.[13]

Lake's explanation of how anti-popery operated as an ideological system, and why it was so plausible and persuasive, is compelling. He locates the power of anti-popery residing in its simple binary oppositions. Popery, with its associations with idolatry, deception and tyranny became the unifying 'other' around which positive images of Protestantism as a rational religion of the Word coalesced. According to Lake, this anti-papal ideology was effective in smearing religious enemies as foreign, perverse and popish. Opposition to popery was thus a powerful force within the Elizabethan and early Stuart state. Although a tradition built upon prejudice, it nevertheless helped to alleviate social discord by providing a foreign, corrupt explanation for disunity. As political crisis took root in the 1620s, however, the unifying power of anti-popery began to dissipate and, according to Lake, an 'alternative conspiracy theory' was constructed, centring on the threat of puritanism. Lake argues that this shift in the political purposes to which anti-popery was put shows that it was part of a dialectic, a set of religious, social and political assumptions competing against other rivals.[14]

Alexandra Walsham's *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999) also argued that anti-popery was a powerful unifying force within the established church under Elizabeth and James I, but that, by the late 1620s and 1630s, commemorative anti-papal rituals became the sites of political controversy. As Walsham explains, under Charles I the bonfires, ales and bell-ringing that celebrated English deliverance from popery were deeply embarrassing to a government committed to diplomatic rapprochement with the major European Catholic powers. In 1635 the liturgy marking the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot was altered so that it exhorted a general message against rebellion rather than

[13] Lake, 'Anti-popery', pp. 79-83.
[14] Ibid., p. 82; R. Cust, 'The "public man" in late Tudor and early Stuart England', in P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 116-43, p. 136.

specifically denouncing popery and Catholics. This incident provoked hostile reaction from Puritans like Henry Burton and William Prynne and, Walsham argues, it highlights how anti-papal providentialism 'contributed to the development of a dangerously polarized and potentially explosive political scene'. In positioning providentialism at the centre of her analysis, Walsham demonstrates the integral role anti-popery played in catalysing political change in the early Stuart period. She has argued convincingly that by the late 1620s, rather than uniting disparate elements with the ecclesiastical and political establishments, providentialism and anti-popery increasingly served to exacerbate the tensions and fissions developing in church and state.[15]

While there is broad consensus that anti-Catholic language was fundamentally political and its use rose dramatically in times of political uncertainty, there is less agreement over the type of Catholicism which provoked the most alarm, and the type of people who invoked fears of 'popery'. For Lake and Walsham, anti-popery was largely the tool of the godly and other Calvinists to explain changes to the Jacobean and Caroline Church. Anti-popery has, therefore, helped both historians explain the rise of Arminianism and opposition to it, at a time when the influence of Catholics at court was evidently growing. Though Lake acknowledges that anti-popery cannot be reduced to puritanism, there has been a tendency to focus on the writings of the godly and, hence, the association between anti-popery and political popularism, rather than its uses by conformists or Arminian-leaning individuals. These arguments, therefore, have not fully accounted for the processes by which anti-popery went from a unifying to a destabilising force in English politics.

For all the strong language deployed, early modern English men and women did not view political matters in wholly inflexible confessional terms.[16] The Manichean extremes described by post-revisionists do not tell the entire story of Protestant interactions with Catholics. Catholic influence on English Protestant nation, culture and religion should not be underestimated. The 'sceptred isle' was neither isolated from nor unreceptive to the ideas, books, art and fashion of Catholic Europe.[17] As Anthony Milton has argued, English writers, even clerical writers, were able to offer more complex and

[15] A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), esp. p. 225.
[16] This point is made by Anthony Milton in his 'A Qualified Intolerance', p. 86.
[17] W. Shakespeare, *King Richard II* [*c.*1595], ed. A. Gurr (Cambridge, 2003), p. 96 [II.i.40].

potentially ambiguous attitudes towards Catholicism than historians have once assumed. The 'structure' of anti-popery, for Milton, was not an ideological straitjacket from which English men and women were unable to escape but a polemical construction of heightening political significance in particular circumstances. In the process of reviving the importance of religion to early Stuart politics, there has been a tendency, he argues, to impose a new schism on the early modern English: a rigid mentality of opposition to all things Catholic. This is highly reductive and has limited our ability to handle nuance, complexity and interaction between Protestant England and the Catholic Continent.[18]

Anti-popery has become an ideological straitjacket, not only in the way that Milton described, but also in the sense that it has restricted imaginative historical engagement with a variety of Protestant texts. Rather than concentrating solely on formulaic expression of anti-popery, there is a need to broaden our scope and look at the full spectrum of possible opinions of international Catholicism. Only by placing virulent anti-papal discourse in its appropriate national and international contexts can we gain a true sense of its significance.

Anthony Milton has already begun the work of qualifying this emphasis, by highlighting the nuanced political function of confessional principles in the early Stuart church. In his ground-breaking monograph, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (1995), Milton argued that we need to move away from a dualistic model of a Church of England divided theologically between 'anti-Calvinist' successors of Hooker, on the one hand, and 'Puritan' or evangelical Calvinists, on the other. Milton urged that we need to turn to the mechanics of theological controversy to understand the tensions within the Church of England, and consequently the religious divisions that contributed to the Civil War. According to Milton, by the 1630s anti-popery, which had served to unite English Protestants, was now a 'channel through which the church's own internal conflicts found expression'. Milton's explanation for this shift emphasises the changing value of anti-popery in the religious priorities of the Laudian church, which was increasingly orientating itself to appeal to potential and confirmed Catholic converts. Anti-popery was considered an obstacle to these sorts of people resuming communion in the Church of England.[19]

[18] Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance', p. 86.
[19] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, esp. pp. 4, 6-8, 20-2, 92, 103, 130.

I want to push our understanding of these tensions further by shifting the focus of analysis. This thesis asks whether the changing role for anti-popery in religious debate played out in the more explicitly political, and especially the international, tensions of the period. How did anti-papal attitudes and assumptions colour English people's understanding of and engagement with the Thirty Years' War? How integral was anti-papal language to English writers' perceptions of European Catholic states? What type of anti-papal arguments were used to justify or attack England's foreign policy? I contend that a major thrust of the debate about anti-popery was not primarily about Catholic religious worship *per se* but about England's interactions with foreign Catholic powers. English Protestants were divided over whether a bulwark needed to be maintained between themselves and the Counter-Reformation imperialism embodied by the Habsburgs. In the 1620s and 1630s this debate centred around the Habsburg challenge to the Calvinist United Provinces and Germany: whether it should be understood as a religious conflict, and, what England's response ought to be.

Even if the confessional positions were closer than previous generations of historians have stressed, Milton also posits that early modern people had a perception of difference that contributed significantly to the emergence of opposing factions or groups in church and state. This thesis aims to nuance this assumption, by demonstrating not only how widespread but also how diverse were the applications of anti-papal ideas in printed discussion of foreign affairs. By examining a range of English Protestant writings, this thesis reveals that Stuart 'apologists or 'loyalists' were manipulating anti-papal language to support and justify a much wider range of political positions than we have come to expect.

This study intends to problematise our understanding of anti-popery as a set of overlapping languages, by examining its role and agency in the printed coverage of key foreign policy concerns in the 1620s and early 1630s. By doing so, I hope to move the focus of the scholarship beyond anti-popery as a religious ideology – how it was structured, and how credible and persuasive were its assumptions – to its uses in the political sphere. Did anti-popery serve a unifying or polarising function; why did it come to the fore in moments of political crisis; and was it flexible enough to be utilised in support of a range of different political agendas and positions? I want to move away from the internal religious politics of anti-popery to scrutinise how English people understood the external threat posed by

Catholicism. How and why did concerns about popish religion and tyranny come to feature in printed debates about foreign affairs?

The impact of the Thirty Years' War on English political culture has received disparate attention. Malcolm Smuts has contested the revisionist notion that English politics and religion were being 'pushed from behind' by the business of an unfinished Reformation. Instead, Smuts argues that a 'sense of impending danger' gripped the political rhetoric from the Stuart succession onwards and consequently soured domestic relationships whenever Spain loomed on the diplomatic horizon. Smuts's work demonstrates how the immediate pressures of the Thirty Years' War influenced the way the English government and court were perceived as aligning England dangerously close with Spain.[20] Similarly, Jonathan Scott has argued that the English were absorbed in the affairs of their European neighbours because its troubles 'were part of, and cannot be understood apart from, the historical experience of Europe'. English fear of popery, which extended beyond social and political boundaries and endured throughout the century, can only be properly understood in this pan-European context.[21] What studies of English responses to the Thirty Years' War make clear, is that English politics was tuned in to the pitch and rhythms of the international conflict. In the printed literature that these debates produced the language of anti-popery was particularly prominent. It provided an important interpretative filter, translating sporadic news into recognisable themes and patterns.

But, as this thesis will argue, anti-popery was also changing through time, in relation to fast moving events. One of the aims of this thesis is to complicate our current picture, and firmly establish that the godly did not have an uncontested monopoly of the language of anti-popery. I contend that a key feature of early Stuart anti-popery was its flexibility. As will be shown, it was used in the early 1620s by Calvinist conformists to justify the Anglo-Spanish Match, as well as in the early 1630s by Laudian writers celebrating the victories of the Lutheran king of Sweden.

Just as anti-popery was not the preserve of one particular religious group, neither was it monopolised by any single political party or faction. As recent research on the Civil War and

[20] R. M. Smuts, *Culture and Politics in England 1585-1685* (1999), pp. 5, 42, 48.
[21] J. Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Contexts* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 15, 21, 27-9, 51, 54.

Interregnum has demonstrated, both sides accused the other of 'popery'. Nicole Greenspan has shown that royalist writers did make polemical use of anti-popery, even if it often proved an awkward weapon in the royalist arsenal. Royalists were conscious of the need to counter the republican equation of monarchy with popery. They defended the Church of England as a bulwark against popish tyranny, and after the regicide hailed Charles I as a Protestant martyr and labelled the Puritans as truly 'popish' in putting a Protestant to death. Thus, anti-popery was not only a tool of Puritan opposition but had a far greater purchase across a wide spectrum of English Protestantism. The present study aims to demonstrate that this pattern of varied and competing anti-papal arguments was not unique to the political environment of the Civil War, it also characterised the period between the early 1620s and early 1630s. Anti-papal languages were used by a broad range of writers to conceive and justify many different stances towards the external threat of Catholicism.[22]

II

English Protestant anti-popery, in its anti-Spanish form, was part of a wider contest about the nature and legitimacy of authority in church and state. These concerns were at the heart of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation contests of the sixteenth century, and were continuing to have an impact on European politics in the generations that followed. As a discourse sensitive to the location of spiritual and temporal power, English anti-popery therefore was connected to another important early modern concept of power, that of universal monarchy.

The ideal of universal monarchy dates from ancient Rome, but it re-emerged in the Middle Ages in the writings of Dante. It was also taken up in the fifteenth-century works of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. It held that the universal monarch would be the supreme political authority, with all kings and other rulers of nations subordinate to him. The authority of the universal monarchy would extend across the whole of Christendom. From the beginning, the universal monarch also had a strong spiritual function, especially that of becoming pope. In the sixteenth century, the concept began to be associated with the Habsburgs of Spain. Indeed Emperor Charles V's chancellor Mercurino Gattinara actively

[22] N. Greenspan, *Selling Cromwell's Wars: Media, Empire and Godly Warfare, 1650–1658* (2012), pp. 25-30; J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 85-6.

promoted the comparison in the 1520s, as a way of justifying the meteoric growth of Habsburg power and presenting it as working for the interests of Christian peace and unity.[23]

Yet the polemical potential of the universal monarchy idea was seized upon by opponents of the Spanish monarchy under Charles V and his son Philip II. From the outbreak of the Dutch revolt in the 1560s onwards, Protestant tracts in Dutch and English accused the Habsburgs of presiding over a foreign tyrannical regime oppressive of Dutch liberties. Fulke Greville's *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*, composed in the early 1610s and published in 1651 as *The Life of Sidney*, argued that 'Popish and Spanish invisible arts and counsels' aimed to 'undermine the greatness and freedom both of secular and ecclesiastical Princes ... and by their insensible fall, a raising up of the House of Austria many steps towards her long affected Monarchy over the West'. In Protestant eyes, Philip II's imperial policy aimed to construct a universal monarchy with the ecclesiastical support of the Church of Rome. Not only had the papacy upheld the legitimacy of Spanish rule in the Netherlands, it continued to offer financial and military support to the Spanish war effort. The persecution of Protestantism, even its elimination, was increasingly emphasised as one of the central goals of universal monarchy.[24]

In the concept of universal monarchy, then, tyranny and Catholicism coincided. For Protestant writers, Catholicism was an ideal vehicle for universal monarchy. The aspirations of the Habsburgs were deemed to mirror the papacy's own desires to convert all nations and govern over a papal universal monarchy. At certain moments, then, the association with Catholicism could be used to sharpen religious divisions. For example, Spanish intervention in the French succession crisis was denounced in Huguenot propaganda which flooded the English presses in the late 1580s. Writers blamed Philip II's ambitions to become 'Monarch of the World', and described the Catholic Church as a tool of Spanish tyranny, which Philip subordinated to his own desires and Spain's imperial goals.[25]

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[23] G. B. Ladner, 'The Medieval in Austrian Tradition: Problems of an Imperial and Paternalistic Ideology', *Viator*, 3 (1972), pp. 433-62; J. M. Headley, 'Gattinara, Erasmus and the Imperial Configuration of Humanism' *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 71 (1980), pp. 64-98.

[24] A. Phillips, War, *Religion and Empire: The Transformation of International Orders* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 85, 96, 105; C. L. Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 74-5; F. Greville, Baron Brooke, *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (1651), pp. 29-30.

[25] L. F. Parmelee, *Good newes from Fraunce: French anti-league propaganda in late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY, 2012).

But universal monarchy was also a language with a cross-confessional appeal, which was capable of exposing tensions between different types of Catholics. There were times when universal monarchy was operating as an ideological bridge, designed to build up a cross-confessional anti-Spanish consensus. One such moment was initiated by Henry IV's conversion in 1593, after which the enemies of Spain were no longer bound together by a common religion. Henry's conversion had a significant impact on relations between England, the Netherlands and France, forcing a redefinition of their joint efforts against Spain. As Alexandra Gajda has shown, there was a sharp decline of overtly anti-Catholic language to describe the common cause and in its place the broader, cross-confessional concept of Christendom gained greater traction.[26] This turning point demonstrates the contingent nature of the discourses of anti-popery and universal monarchy. It also shows how the evolution of the language was not always slow and incremental, but could be quick and reactive to events.

Julian Lock has also offered a more complicated account of the role anti-popery played in escalating the political crisis of the 1590s. In '"How Many Tercios Has the Pope?" The Spanish War and the Sublimation of Elizabethan Anti-Popery', Lock argues that a major shift in the language of anti-popery occurred as a result of Elizabeth's war with Spain.[27] At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the dominant target of English hostility was Rome. The Roman pontiff, who had excommunicated the English queen in 1570, was repeatedly proclaimed to be the head of an international conspiracy against the Protestant religion. Sixtus V – renewer of the *Regnans in excelsis* bull in 1588 – was seen to be the mastermind behind Spain's war effort. By contrast, Philip II, Lock argues, was widely perceived as the pope's dupe. Writing in 1588 as the threat of a conquering Spanish armada grew more viable, Anthony Marten saw Philip II as 'but deputy therein to the Pope, and should have taken possession but of that which he gave unto him and have held the same of him'.[28] Yet soon after the failure of the Armada,

[26] As Alexandra Gajda has argued, Henry's conversion powerfully altered the tone of the political debate. Pro-war tracts, such as *The Anatomie of Spayne* (1598), strongly rejected the possibility of peace with Spain. The author of *The Anatomie* described the 'great and never before hard of tiranies' that were caused by Philip II's 'ambition together with his power and usurpation', and urged European rulers to 'bynde yourselfes together' in opposition to Spain. See A. Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 81-2, 93-8, 139.

[27] J. Lock, '"How Many Tercios Has the Pope?" The Spanish War and the Sublimation of Elizabethan Anti-Popery', *History*, 81 (1996), pp. 197-214.

[28] A. Marten, *Exhortation to Stirre up the Mindes of all Her Majesty's Faithfull Subjectes to Defend their Countrey* (1588), STC 17489, sigs. A2-3, B, quoted in Lock, 'How many Tercios', p. 200.

Lock argues, the emphasis of English anti-popery began to change. The stature of the king of Spain began to overtake that of the pope. Commentators after 1590, such as Laurence Deios, began to separate attacks on the seductions of the papal religion from denigratory remarks about Philip II. This reflected the fact that many of Philip II's opponents were Catholic, including the Portuguese and the French. Greater autonomy was attributed to the Spanish king, who acted not simply to advance a papal agenda but 'in hope of a Monarchie under his title'. Indeed, in some polemic Philip was even accused of using anti-papal language as a veil to conceal his corruption. These works translated a traditional trope in anti-papal discourse, that the pope used religion to conceal his temporal ambitions, and applied it to Philip. The arrival into England of Dutch and French Calvinist polemic escalated the perception of bloodthirsty Spanish martialism. The fiercely anti-Spanish bent of late Elizabethan anti-popery, Lock maintains, altered the pure apocalyptic tone of much of the traditional discourse. It was no longer necessary or politic to blame the pope for religious conflict within England when Spain seemed increasingly to be playing the part of ambitious imperialist nation seeking dominion over Protestant Europe.[29]

These arguments for the redirection of Protestant polemic towards Philip II's Spain in the 1590s have significant implications for our understanding of how English anti-popery was operating at the turn of the seventeenth century. Firstly, we must, as Lock suggests, continue to acknowledge the complexity of English anti-papal discourses. The apparently unitary picture of godly rejection of papal Catholicism was subject to alteration and addition in response to the changing fortunes of international reformations and counter-reformations. But instead of simply projecting consensus back into the first half of Elizabeth's reign, in the manner of Lock, there remains a need to challenge our accepted notion that the origin of all anti-papal and anti-Catholic discourse lay in the identification of the pope as Antichrist. The ability of Elizabethan writers to envisage Spanish imperialism as a form of political tyranny demonstrates the potential for alternative political arguments to become entangled with religious antipathy. Rather than take apocalypticism as the starting-point for antipathy to Catholic states and people, it is important to step outside of the controversial literature and give agency to alternative

[29] L. Deios, *That the Pope is That Antichrist* (1590), STC 6475, pp. 14, 75, quoted in Lock, 'How many Tercios', p. 204.

narratives. The political dimension of English anti-popery should not be lost within the more historiographically-prominent language of Antichrist and apocalypse.

Relating to this is a second implication, that Jacobean England inherited a heavily politicised anti-papal language. If over the 1590s the focus of Protestant enmity had been realigned towards the king of Spain, then the type of anti-papal public discourse James encountered in 1603 was one peculiarly adapted to justify political conflict with Spain. The Scottish king's desire for peace with Spain necessitated a shift of anti-papal discourse away from these popular anti-Spanish tropes. But Jacobean writers did not simply revert back to an older pattern of duality between the pope and the Turk (rather than Spain). Indeed, James continued to portray the modern papacy as Antichrist, even as he sought to distance himself from the religious divisions of the previous decade. The persistence of anti-Spanish rhetoric in James's reign, and its prominence throughout the 1620s, as this thesis will demonstrate, suggests that the meanings attached to anti-papal concepts were highly contingent. Anti-popery, and the printed debates about England's relations with Catholic states, reflected both the continued purchase of images and tropes from the 1580s and 1590s to early Stuart anti-popery and also the dynamic ways in which these images were assigned new meanings in response to the changing political realities at home and abroad.[30]

The political contexts in which early Stuart anti-papal rhetoric was articulated thus need to be examined in light of Lock's argument for the close association of anti-popery with political developments. In so doing, this thesis will continue to expand our understanding of the nuanced and changing composition of English anti-popery. As Lock has shown, foreign policy appeals provide us with the opportunity to investigate how ideas about popish superstition and popish tyranny interacted. Rather than assume a symbiotic conjunction of the two, this thesis will explore the dynamics between the religious and political languages of anti-popery, their relative frequency and resonance within printed debate about foreign policy. It will thereby expose the complex dynamics that underscored English relations with Catholic states.

[30] W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 94-6.

III

It is now widely recognised that English Protestant thought in the years between 1606 and 1618 was informed by, and responsive to, a major European intellectual debate. This was the controversy regarding the doctrine of the *potestas indirectas*, the indirect power of the papacy to intervene in temporal affairs usually governed by monarchs or civil authorities. This doctrine became closely associated with the Jesuits because prominent members of the Society, such as Francisco Suárez and Robert Bellarmine, were using it to justify resistance to ungodly or heretical monarchs.[31]

William Patterson has demonstrated that from England James I made repeated interventions against the doctrine of the pope's indirect power. In 1606, James defended the Venetian republic in its campaign against the curia and expulsion of the Jesuits, in what has become known as the Venetian Interdict crisis. The controversy escalated when James introduced an oath of allegiance for English Catholics in 1606. As part of his defence of the oath, James circulated several treatises condemning the papal deposing power, whilst distinguishing it from mainstream Catholic theology. One of these was Lancelot Andrewes's *Tortura Torti: sive, ad Matthaei Torti librum responsio* (1609). At the heart of Andrewes's argument was the claim that

> Only the true obedience to the King is contained in the Oath in every word: not a sacred obedience, because it is only temporal, even the faith towards the King is not Catholic, because it is only political.[32]

This passage encapsulates the English Protestant perception, in these debates, of the proper relationship between religion and politics. James and his polemicists maintained that the oath did not touch upon the spiritual authority of the pope, it was only concerned to establish the temporal obedience that James was rightfully owed as king.

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[31] For some of the extensive historiography on this topic, see H. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 314-38; Patterson, *King James VI and I*, pp. 75-123; J. P. Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought', in E. H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (2005), pp. 162-84; S. Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 128-53; S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience Catholicism in early modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 118-37, 161-93; King James I, *The Political Works of James I: Reprinted from the 1616 Edition*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge and London, 1918), introduction.

[32] L. Andrewes, *Tortura Torti: sive, ad Matthaei Torti librum responsio* (1609), STC 626, p. 6.

But the oath was making a spiritual claim as well as a temporal one. As Michael Questier has demonstrated, in its complex interplay of religious and political ideas, the oath of allegiance expressed the king's claim, as the sovereign prince, to control consciences. It, therefore, presented English Catholics with a fundamental dilemma and severely divided the community as a result.[33] Catholic reactions to the oath of allegiance have been sensitively examined by J. H. M. Salmon, Stefania Tutino and Harro Höpfl. Their work has shown that for papalists, such as Suárez, the oath represented an unacceptable rejection of the pope's *potestas indirecta*. In his *Defensio fidei Catholicae* (1613), directed against James I's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, Suárez declared that it was legitimate for a pope to depose a heretical monarch, for 'the tyrannical rule of a temporal prince always presents the gravest danger to the salvation of souls'.[34]

But whilst prominent Jesuits endorsed the papal deposing power, the Catholic world was divided over this doctrine. In France, the ultramontanist threat had taken on new immediacy following the assassination of Henry IV by a would-be Jesuit in 1610. Protestant Europe recoiled at France's Jesuit-inspired tyrannicide, and the news invariably increased James's determination to defeat the destabilising doctrine of papal indirect power. But, as recent studies have stressed, the dispute over the deposing power was more than a confessional conflict. It tapped into broader anxieties about church and state relations, and what the role of the pontiff would be in the new post-Reformation era. In Catholic France, for instance, it divided the hardcore ultramontanes of the League from Gallicans who found defences of the papal deposing power deeply disturbing.[35]

It is widely maintained that these debates were linked together in the minds of contemporaries.[36] Not only did they involve key individuals such as James and Bellarmine, they reflected a Europe-wide concern about the balance of temporal and spiritual authority, and the nature of religious and political

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[33] M. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *HJ*, 40 (1997), pp. 311-29 and 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', *EHR*, 123 (2008), pp. 1132-65.

[34] F. Suárez, *Defensio fidei Catholicae* (1613), (Coimbra, 1613), in H. David (ed.), *Natural Law Paper: Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suarez* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 2013), pp. 753-828. See also J. H. M. Salmon, 'Catholic Resistance Theory, Ultramontanism, and the Royalist Response, 1580-1620', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 219-253, p. 239.

[35] F. Oakley, 'Bronze-Age Conciliarism: Edmond Richer's Encounters with Cajetan and Bellarmine', *History of Political Thought*, 20 (1999), pp. 65-86 and *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300-1870* (Oxford and New York, 2003), pp. 146-55.

[36] For the widespread scholarship on the European religious controversy, see note 1 above.

obedience. The debate about the oath thus politicised what it meant to be a Catholic in Protestant England, and simultaneously theologised what it meant to be one of James's subjects. It demonstrates that in the period immediately prior to that explored by this study, English anti-popery was already a complex mechanism, which could be used to categorise different types of Catholics.

At stake for English Protestants was, firstly, the obedience of English Catholics to a temporal governor, in the face of papalist claims that Catholics owed their allegiance to the Roman head of the Catholic Church. Secondly, the Catholic challenge impelled James to marshal a defence of the political authority he wielded as a Protestant monarch. English Protestant thought developed, in response to Jesuit critics, a self-conscious understanding of the legitimacy of the monarch's control of the Church of England and over a political system in which Parliament also asserted a religious role. Through these debates, English people were alerted to the potential vulnerability of the Protestant establishment, and increasingly conceived the threat of popery as that of a foreign, tyrannical political system.[37]

This brings us to the important role of the Jesuits in early modern English conceptions of the external popish threat. The Society of Jesus was a Roman Catholic order founded by a Spanish nobleman Ignatius Loyola in 1533, and sanctioned by Pope Paul IV in 1540. Its primary function was to serve the Catholic Church in its struggle against the Protestant reformers, as well as to propagate the faith among non-Christians. Through Jesuit efforts Catholicism was restored to parts of Germany and eastern Europe, including Poland from 1564. The Society was thus widely feared by Protestant theologians for its missionary zeal in fighting Protestantism. The strict authoritarian government of the order, including certain censorship practices, was also blasted by critics.[38]

By the late sixteenth century, then, the Jesuits had become associated with a series of unfavourable, even toxic images, which, according to Peter Burke, effectively operated as its own 'Black Legend'. The core strands of this Black Legend were Jesuit morality, politics and association with Spain. Concerning morality, the Jesuits were notoriously connected with the practical ethics of casuistry, often simplified as the belief that the end justifies the means. Protestant writers were

[37] Salmon, 'Catholic Resistance Theory'. For more on the political philosophy of Suárez, see J. Gordley, 'Suárez and Natural Law' in B. Hill and H. Lagerlund (eds), *The Philosophy of Suárez* (2012).
[38] D. Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle, 2001), pp. 214-8.

especially alert to the dangerous consequences of Jesuit equivocation: the ability of Jesuits to infiltrate Protestant society and poison it from within. For example, the Protestant controversialist Lewis Owen envisaged the Jesuits in 1629 as part of a sinister papal conspiracy to uphold Satan's 'tottering Antichristian kingdome' and cunningly scheme for 'the increase of his infernall dominion'.[39]

Such attacks on Jesuit morality thus overlapped with criticisms of the politics of the order. Crucially, the Jesuits were perceived to be puppets of the Counter-Reformation papacy. This was in large part because the Jesuits actively championed the papacy's claims to authority in the temporal sphere as well as its ambition to extend the Catholic Church across the entire globe. Many denounced Suárez, and the Society as a whole, for justifying resistance to divinely appointed monarchs and thus seeking to subvert the authority of the state. The Jesuit mission to England of 1580, for example, was perceived as part of the papacy's political enterprise against the Protestant church and state. It was organised in the aftermath of Pope Pius V's 1570 papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated Queen Elizabeth. In response, Protestant writers denounced the Jesuit mission and characterised its priests as both politically and spiritually devious. John Keltridge, a Suffolk clergyman, in a sermon preached to Catholic prisoners in the Tower in May 1581, lambasted the Jesuits as 'instruments of Satan' and sneered at how they 'looue the Pope' as a '*Terrestriall God*'. In November 1581, the Jesuit Edmund Campion, was convicted of treason and executed at Tyburn alongside two other Catholic priests.[40]

These negative perceptions of the Society of Jesus crystallised in the 1590s, when many Jesuits participated in the wars of religion on the side of the Catholic League. The fact that Philip II's Spain was also a major supporter of the League convinced many Catholic *politiques* that the Jesuits were a

[39] P. Burke, 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes', in S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 165-82; L. Owen, *Speculum Iesuiticum. Or, The Iesuites looking-glasse* (1629), STC 18997, pp. 21-2. See also, M. Edwards, 'Intellectual Culture', in A. Bamji, G. H. Janssen, M. Laven (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, 2013), chap. 16, p. 314; J. W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (2006), pp. 53-5.

[40] Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, p. 324; J. Keltridge, *Two Godlie and Learned Sermons* (1581), STC 14921, sigs. Aiiv, Eivr. See also E. Nelson, 'The Jesuit Legend', in H. L. Parish and W. G. Naphy (eds.), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 94-115; J. Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Mysteries* (2004), ch. 5.

Machiavellians, working to expand Spanish influence in France prior to an invasion.[41] The Jesuits were also widely held responsible for the assassinations of William the Silent, as well as the Catholic kings Henry III and Henry IV. The 'Black Legend' thus helped consolidate the Jesuits, Spain and the papacy as harbouring popish ambitions in the temporal sphere.[42]

The Society of Jesus was, therefore, perceived to have a strong connection with Spain. Their founder Ignatius Loyala was a Spaniard, as were his two subsequent successors as the head of the order, Diego Lainez and Francisco Borja. The Jesuits were also major participants in the expansion of the Spanish empire. The Jesuits were believed to have supported Philip II's claim to Portugal in 1578, as well as the claims of Philip's daughter Isabella to the succeed both Elizabeth and Henry III. Their notorious involvement with the Catholic League in France and with the Gunpowder Plot in England solidified an impression of the Jesuits as 'altogether Hispaniolated' and working for the king of Spain.[43]

These negative associations meant that the Jesuits were a common enemy to moderate Catholics and militant Protestants alike. The Jesuits were therefore a useful focalpoint for the wider anti-Habsburg cause, which from the 1590s included Catholic France as Spain's nearest and most powerful European rival. Literature written in support of this anti-Spanish coalition emphasised Jesuit duplicity and Machiavellian scheming for the Catholic League in France. The Jesuits were accused of atheism and loyalty to the Spanish king, as well as the pope. This reflected the Catholic audience and indeed authorship of this anti-Jesuit material. Such writers were largely unconcerned about the Jesuits' propagation of Catholic religion, but ferociously attacked their support of what they perceived to be the tyrannical governments of Spain and the papacy.

It was also well-known that all members of the Society took a special vow of absolute obedience to the papacy. According to Lewis Owen, this vow 'freed and exempted [the Jesuits] from al temporal & Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, sentence, censure or authority whatsoeuer' and gave members of the order

[41] T. Bluet [an English Catholic], *Important considerations, vvhich ought to moue all true and sound Catholikes who are not wholly Iesuited* (1601), STC 25125, p. 42, cited in S. Anglo, 'More Machiavellian than Machiavel: A Study of the Context of John Donne's *Conclaves*' in A. J. Smith (ed.), *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* (1972), pp. 349-84, esp. p. 372.
[42] A. Walsham, 'This New Army of Satan: the Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion' in her *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 315-40.
[43] Burke, 'Black Legend, pp. 175-7.

licence to conspire and organise against the state without scruple. Owen also noted the Jesuits obedience to the will of the king of Spain. Consequently, Owen blasted: 'what security hath any King of Prince in the world' when 'these *Romane* spaniolized furrets', who have 'vowed and bequeathed themselues, bodies and soules, as loyall subiects to the *Pope*', still 'lurke within their territories'. Owen was writing in 1629 long after the discovery of regicidal plots against Queen Elizabeth and King James. This underscores the resilience of anti-Jesuit stereotypes and, as Burke has argued, the potential for their reactivation.[44]

We know that at certain moments anti-papal images were being recycled in the 1620s and 1630s. But more could be done to analyse the change of anti-popery over time and how closely the use of certain tropes, such as anti-Jesuit images, reflected the shifting international circumstances. How far were the anti-papal concepts of the 1580s and 1590s relevant to the political situation in the early seventeenth century; were they fluid and adaptable to new political problems? This study aims to investigate the range of anti-papal views that existed within the large spectrum of early Stuart Protestantism. In doing so, it intends to shed new light on how anti-popery operated as a catalyst for political debate.[45]

IV

The fundamental question of where temporal power resided in a confessionally divided continent therefore fed into debates about England's relations with the Catholic powers of Europe. By the beginning of James I's reign in England, whether a Catholic nation such as Spain could become a trusted ally of the Protestant nation, or whether Spain's Catholicism, with its attendant hatred of the Reformed religion, was a barrier to peaceful relations, were key points of division. The role of confessional identity as guiding principle of foreign affairs would be repeatedly tested by the pressure of events.

Simon Adams, in his ground-breaking doctoral thesis 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630' (1973), argued that there were two political ideologies competing to influence James I's foreign policy.

[44] Owen, *Speculum Iesuiticum*, p. 27; Burke, 'Black Legend', p. 180.
[45] Jonathan Scott argues that anti-popery became a 'destabilising political force' after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, in Scott, *England's Troubles*, p. 125.

On the one hand, there was a 'pro-Spanish' position which took an irenic attitude to Catholic religion whilst distancing Spain from accusations of universal monarchy, and, on the other hand, there was a 'pro-Dutch' position that prioritised friendship with the Protestant Dutch and Germans tyrannised by the Habsburgs in pursuit of a popish universal monarchy. Adams argued that the collapse of support in the 1620s for an active, confessionally-driven foreign policy, what is commonly referred to as the 'Protestant cause', was part of a wider collapse of consensus over religion caused by the Arminian challenge to English Calvinism. This division over the place of religious identity in determining questions of war and peace has thus been characterised as one of the major dividing lines of the Civil War.[46]

Historians of post-Restoration England have echoed the importance of religious ideology in shaping the emergence of two opposed foreign policy positions. Steven Pincus has argued that the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1664 was motivated by an Anglican Royalist political ideology in which the Dutch had pretensions to a 'papist-style universal monarchy'. Over time these fears were superseded by the Presbyterians' inclination to suspect the pretensions of Louis XIV of France. Fears of universal monarchy could be applied to both Protestant and Catholic powers, Pincus suggests, because its assumptions were not fundamentally attached to Catholic religion. These essential tropes of self-aggrandisement, greed and, importantly, atheism were malleable enough to be applied simultaneously, though by different individuals, to two distinct foreign threats.[47]

Pincus's argument is important for demonstrating that superstitious religion and loyalty to the Church of Rome were not the prerequisites for English fears of universal monarchy. These Reformation critiques of the papacy resurfaced in moments of political crisis, blending with other political and economic concerns to sharpen perceptions of what was a stake. They are, therefore, fundamental to any historical study of English Protestant debate on foreign policy.

However, Pincus's interpretation of universal monarchy has been recently questioned by Jonathan Scott in his important monograph, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political*

[46] Adams, 'The Protestant Cause'; see also S. Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy' in H. Tomlinson (ed.), *Before the English Civil War* (London/Basingstoke, 1983), pp. 79-102.
[47] S. A. Pincus, 'Popery, Trade and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War', *EHR*, 107 (1992), pp. 1-29.

Instability in European Contexts (2000). According to Scott, by isolating universal monarchy as a political ideology, Pincus failed to account for its important religious meanings. Without analysing the religious politics of the post-Restoration period in their European context, Scott believes it is impossible to understand the changing significance of older concepts such as universal monarchy. So whilst the language of universal monarchy tends to be framed by Pincus as secular or political, it was not operating purely as such. An important binding agent was, as Scott identifies, opposition or reaction to the Counter Reformation. As Scott stresses, English men and women were using religious *and* political languages, the two were mutually reinforcing and indeed interdependent.[48]

Although Scott rightly emphasises the interdependence of political and religious thought in domestic and foreign policy decision-making, there is more work to do to tease out the contours of the relationship between the two elements. Despite their obvious differences of perspective, both Pincus and Scott leave Adams's narrative of contest between two polarised groups largely intact; indeed, they have effectively extended his categories into the Restoration era.

I believe there was much greater fluidity between these ideological positions, and intend to demonstrate this by analysing the uses of anti-popery in the printed debate about early Stuart foreign policy. I want to argue, at least for the early Stuart period, that these political and religious languages were operating in a less polarising way than we have usually assumed. Between 1617 and 1635 there were not ideologically coherent parties or factions of opinion with fixed, competing positions on foreign policy. In printed debate, attitudes were a lot less rigid and more responsive to events as they unfolded at home and abroad. The language of anti-popery was important in these printed discussions because it formed a common reference point through which different views and positions could be articulated and negotiated. Likewise, the rhetoric of universal monarchy created a common framework for discussion, rather than the dominant accepted norm.

This thesis focuses on the apparently paradoxical examples in which fear of Habsburg universal monarchy aligned with a more irenic attitude to Catholic religion, and firm anti-popery combined with support for an Anglo-Spanish marriage. In this account, then, anti-popery and universal monarchy are

[48] Scott, *England's Troubles*, pp. 351-4.

concepts which can be used and harnessed in multiple, competing and, occasionally, contradictory ways. They were the processes by which English people reflected on their global position and responsibility as a Protestant nation, but were also active modes of criticising and challenging one's opponents.

A further problem that neither Pincus, Scott nor Adams have drawn out, and in my view is important, is why in moments of domestic political crisis the language of universal monarchy was such a popular and compelling narrative. This thesis will suggest that the underlying appeal of the universal monarchy trope, the reason that it was being used and adapted by people on both sides of foreign policy debates in the late 1620s as well as the 1660s and 1670s, was its simplicity. It identified a single enemy where there were actually many, and it abbreviated complex political and religious preoccupations into a straightforward, easily repeatable formula. It was, in essence, a compelling worldview that both sides wanted to harness to support their agendas.

V

The nuanced way some English Protestants thought about Catholics that I have found is also reflected in recent scholarship on everyday life in early modern England. In recent years, there has been a noticeable shift away from narratives of conflict. Rather than analysing the causes of division, historians are now asking why in a society where the language of religion was so violent was actual sectarian violence so rare. In examining communities that were divided between different religious groupings, historians have begun to disentangle lived experience and practice from the structures and discourses of power.

William Sheils has been highly influential in this field by emphasising a phenemonon he calls the 'ecumenicity of everyday life'. Sheils argued that in many circumstances early modern people were motivated by a desire to seek compromise. In a range of everyday, mundane interactions, he observed, the impulse to get-along or keep-the-peace could overtake powerful precedents for pursuing confessional conflict. These acts of 'getting along' did not require an intellectual commitment to religious diversity and thus, according to Sheils, are best understood not as toleration but in terms of

the social values of neighbourliness.[49] Alexandra Walsham's *Charitable Hatred* (2005) has unpacked this mentality still further. Walsham argues that early modern acts of toleration should be seen as morally unsettling instruments of political necessity. Toleration and persecution were not mutually exclusive categories, located at opposite ends of the ethical spectrum, but were symbiotically linked. The cyclical nature of Walsham's model places toleration as a consequence of persecution, and vice versa. Everyday acts of ecumenicalism, therefore, did not require the suspension of religious hostility or confessional competition but acknowledgement of their practical limitations as guides to daily interactions.[50] Walsham has recently reaffirmed the importance of everyday interfaith interactions to processes of confessionalisation, arguing that 'boundary-building was a pre-requisite for peaceful coexistence and that toleration depended, counter-intuitively, on the erection of literal and figurative barriers between those who practiced it at grassroots'.[51]

There is also growing evidence that early Stuart political and religious writers were adept at harnessing and tolerating a range of differing positions. In her essay '"When he was in France he was a Papist and when he was in England…he was a Protestant?": Negotiating Religious Identities in the Later Sixteenth Century'(2012), Katy Gibbons argues that in spite of official pressure English Catholics were able to sustain relationships with Catholic friends on the Continent, practising their faith openly during trips abroad while remaining church papists – or outward conformists – at home. Yet she also shows that it was in the interests of the Elizabethan and Stuart governments to perpetuate the perception of Catholicism as foreign and, therefore, that travel to Catholic nations remained a potentially dangerous and treasonable act.[52]

The issue of Catholic toleration, or, more precisely, the perception that the Stuarts' showed greater tolerance of Catholics and their religion, lurks just beneath the surface of these debates. During

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[49] W. Sheils, '"Getting On" and "Getting Along" in Parish and Town: Catholics and their Neighbours in England', in B. Kaplan, B. Moore, H. Van Nierop, and J. Pollman (eds), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 67-83, esp. pp. 67, 81.

[50] A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester and New York, 2006), pp. 1-5, 132-35.

[51] Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, p. 24; see also her 'Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration', *Seventeenth Century*, 28 (2013), pp. 115-137.

[52] K. Gibbons, '"When he was in France he was a Papist and when he was in England…he was a Protestant?": Negotiating Religious Identities in the Later Sixteenth Century', in N. Lewycky and A. Morton (eds), *Getting Along?: Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in Honour of Professor W. J. Sheils* (Farnham, 2012)., pp. 169-84.

the early 1620s, by relaxing the enforcement of the penal laws, James gave the impression of *de facto* tolerance of Catholic religious practice. The frenzied reaction of the Protestant press and pulpit to these measures, in the context of the negotiations for a Spanish royal bride for Prince Charles, has been well-documented. As Thomas Cogswell has demonstrated, the panic over the Spanish Match exposed wider concerns about the potential impact of the Infanta's Catholic religion on the English church and state. Many Protestants were convinced that the Jesuits still planned to strike at England's stability and, therefore, that a Spanish queen consort would be a magnet for political plots to put a Catholic on the throne.[53]

This perceived lenience towards Catholics would be a recurring problem for James's son. Charles I's first parliament of 1625 petitioned for the strict enforcement of the penal laws. Charles responded by issuing a proclamation ordering 'Judges, Justices and others' that the laws 'be put in due execution against all Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and others, having taken Orders by any authority from the Sea of Rome' and also against those who 'receive, harbour, entertaine, relieve, or conceale any of the said Jesuites, Seminary Priests, or other Popish Priests'. But the king caveated these instructions, by making it known that he preferred the imposition of large fines on recusants and the imprisonment or deportation of priests to the death penalty.

As Charles's reign developed, the king frequently dropped cases against recusants and periodically released Jesuits from prison. Indeed, in 1635 Gregorio Panzani wrote following a private conversation with the king that 'as to the Catholics, he [Charles] was resolved, none of their blood should be spilt during this reign'. As Caroline Hibbard has argued, the revitalisation of English Catholicism as an evangelical movement in the later of 1630s, following a flurry of court conversions and the arrival of George Conn as resident papal envoy in 1637, gave momentum to the idea that Charles and his court were at the centre of a 'Popish Plot' to suppress the Protestant establishment. Yet precisely when the perception of tolerance of Catholicism at court was rising, the king was imposing the full weight of financial exactions on Catholic recusants, as a means of raising royal revenues. This scholarship has demonstrated not only the value of taking hostile religious perceptions seriously, but

[53] T. Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in Cust and Hughes, *Conflict*, pp. 107-33.

also that situating our analysis at the disjuncture between perception and reality can yield surprising and fruitful new perspectives about interfaith relations and divisions.[54]

In stepping outside the logic of strict binary opposition, these historians have left greater space for situating anti-popery at the heart of *political* events and culture. Fluidity and agency has been restored to those writers who used and manipulated negative confessionally-divisive themes and tropes, because this worldview is now viewed as one among many rather than the default Protestant polemical position. In emphasising the choice that individual writers and readers made, this historiographical trend has thus seen more potential for blurred, less rigid relationships and interactions between Protestants and Catholics.

The value of analysing religious mentality within the other complex social and political demands on individuals pertains just as much to the world of print and political discussion as it does to civic life. How people responded to competing pressures and sentiments is as relevant to the circulations of ideas in pamphlets as it is to community relations. Thinking about print culture as a space for everyday interaction, mediation and exchange between different perspectives and materials offers an opportunity to analyse the full diversity of the ideas represented within it. This thesis seeks to harness the new perspective offered by the 'getting along' tradition. It seeks to restore the agency of individual writers and publishers over the type of anti-papal language they used as well as over the response to international events they recommended. By moving away from a binary model, this study aims to complicate our understanding of the relationship between anti-popery and political thought and demonstrate how closely reactive English printed debates were to the dynamics of the Thirty Years' War.

VI

This thesis also responds to recent developments in the history of public opinion, political participation and news. Historians of the early Stuart period have rejected claims that a proto-Habermasian public sphere was operating in the pre-civil war era, one characterised by Jürgen Habermas as socially-

[54] G. Panzani, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani giving an account of his agency in England*, trans. J. Berington (Birmingham, 1793), p. 162; C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983).

inclusive political discussion and the free exchange of ideas in a manner governed by reason. However, there has been a significant expansion of interest in defining the political and social structure of public opinion, in response to Habermas. For example, Peter Lake and Steven Pincus have characterised an 'occasional' public sphere generated by the Reformation, which by the early 1620s was harnessing the polarising dichotomies of anti-Catholic religious thought to mount a serious political opposition to Stuart foreign policy.[55]

There is also widespread acceptance of a causal link between the expansion of early modern printing and the development of public or popular politics. Cheap, ephemeral tracts informed people about international events and affairs of state, teaching individuals without any public office the languages of statecraft. Political consciousness, as Jason Peacey has argued, was an exercise in competency, whereby individuals developed skills for understanding events, interpreting cause and effect, and hence for making political choices.[56]

Alastair Bellany has called for a new 'ethnography of early Stuart political culture' characterised by 'a broad definition of the political, a willingness to read new sources in multiple ways, an openness to the possibility that serious, meaningful politics happened in surprising places, in curious forms and in unfamiliar languages'. Bellany's work on early Stuart news culture has shown how an elite courtly scandal could generate a range of reactions in manuscript libel, public acts of execution or mercy, and cheap print. In emphasising the remarkable variety of printed representations of the Overbury affair, Bellany revealed an audience for early Stuart politics far bigger and socially broader than previously thought.[57]

Recent studies of the impact of the Thirty Years' War on England have focused heavily on the circulation of newsletters and printed newsbooks. From 1620 English versions of the coranto, a printed news sheet in folio form based on Dutch originals and printed in Amsterdam, were available in London. By 1622 a syndicate of London publishers, headed by Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, were

[55] P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), esp. p. 19.
[56] J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 392.
[57] A. Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 23, 114-5.

given a license to print foreign news stories, and in October the first of a numbered series of small quarto newsbooks was issued.[58] The genre of news reporting and publishing developed in a period of warfare and stimulated, and was in turn stimulated by, a growing national appetite for stories and gossip from overseas.

Yet this news culture also matured alongside a political situation which was increasingly fraught and confused. Jayne E. E. Boys has argued that the significance of the Thirty Years' War grew as Charles I's policies – ship money, dalliances and co-operation with Spain, greater tolerance of Catholics, and efforts to beautify Anglican liturgy – 'changed the tone of the debate'.[59] The Stuart regime began to take published news seriously as a politically dangerous media. On 17 October 1632 a Star Chamber decree revoked the license of Butter and Bourne and all other 'Stationers, Printers and Booke Sellers', who were prohibited from printing or publishing 'the ordinary Gazetts and Pamphletts of newes from forraigne partes'.[60] One of the consequences of this act, as Boys argues, was that Charles's policies increasingly seemed to resemble the Catholic cause on the Continent to an extent that they had not under James I.

Yet there are important implications of the rise of a foreign-news market that this recent scholarship has left unexplored. The role of anti-popery in English political discussion, as we have already seen, was experiencing a process of augmentation in this period. As the political and confessional divisions of the Thirty Years' War became known and debated in England, traditional anti-Spanish rhetoric had to be reworked to reflect the complexity of the conflict. There remains a need, therefore, for close attention to the nuances of news discourse in order to achieve comprehensive insight into the place of anti-popery in the intricate web of developing political tensions. By situating newsbooks such as *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632-3) within their appropriate religio-political contexts, this thesis will reassess the oppositional nature of the anti-papal news culture.

In expanding the definition of the 'political', historians of political culture have raised new questions about the nature and dynamics of the political sphere. Drawing on Keith Wrightson, Noah

[58] F. Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620-1640* (1952), p. 18.
[59] J. E. E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 8.
[60] Cited in Dahl, *English Corantos*, p. 19.

Millstone has recently cautioned against an approach that defines the political as anything relating to power. A large, amorphous category deprives politics of meaning and is therefore ahistorical. Millstone reiterates the range of political narratives, perceptions, and actions available to our early modern subjects, as well as the importance of analysing how these systems of meaning were put in practice by individuals. Millstone also argues firmly that manuscript circulation was the dominant and therefore most significant means by which early modern ideas developed. He argues that, unlike printed pamphlets which were often severed from from the circumstances of their production and circulation, manuscript material remained embedded in archives. Such manuscripts, for Millstone, are far better tools for understanding the construction, transmission and reception of political ideas than surviving printed sources, which are often divorced from their original contexts of production and circulation.[61]

But this argument seems seriously to undervalue the role of print in political culture. As the recent wealth of scholarship on the early modern print industry has demonstrated, the proliferation of affordable print increased not only the quantity of political information, but, more importantly, the variety of voices being expressed.[62] The heterogeneity of early modern print has been widely recognised, but in practice scholarship on print has tended to cluster around a relatively small number of marginal or heterodox writers. The works of Puritans, such as Thomas Scott, and other critics of Stuart foreign policy have been studied in detail.[63] But far less is known about the moderate, irenic, or even loyalist voices that perceived English interests in a different way. Only by diversifying our print sources will we be able to assess the full variety of ideas expressed in early seventeenth-century print, and the extent of the political innovation contained therein. Millstone's study is an important reminder,

[61] N. Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 8-12. Cf. K. Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996).
[62] Ibid., p. 4; Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 22-4; K. Sharpe and P. Lake, 'Introduction', in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 1993), pp. 1-20.
[63] For some of the large scholarship on Thomas Scott, see: P. Lake, 'Constitutional consensus and puritan opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish match', *HJ*, 25 (1982), pp. 805-25; D. Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 102-19; L. Álvarez Recio, 'Pamphlet literature the Anglo-Spanish match: Thomas Scott's "Vox Populi" (1620)', *Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies Yearbook* (hereafter *SEDERI*), 19 (2009), pp. 5-22; M. Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), chap. 5; L. B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 6 (1943), pp. 149-72.

then, that print was operating within a wide and multifaceted political culture; it did not singularly constitute the political sphere.

This thesis intends to contribute to this debate about the nature of early Stuart politics by focusing on interactions between anti-papal attitudes (meaning) and advocacy of specific foreign policy options (practice). It suggests that, though many individuals internalised anti-papal narratives, they utilised them variously in support of different priorities. The political function of anti-popery was also intimately bound up in other processes, of responding to national and international news and interpreting the motives and actions of the Stuart kings.

VII

Print is a rich way to tap into arguments about anti-popery. Printed sources are more likely to reflect the views available to a larger body of people than manuscript material. Historians of early modern print have demonstrated the diversity and scale of print readership. According to Bellany, the commercial imperatives of print culture made print a far-reaching agent of political communication.[64] The value of early modern print lies in its capacity both to forge, and to reflect, a broader public opinion than manuscript. I have, therefore, used manuscript material only where it is particularly germane to my argument, the bulk of the sources in this thesis are printed books or tracts.

Identifying the readership for individual texts, however, is a difficult and often impossible task. Some early modern readers wrote about their reading in diaries, letters and commonplace books. These were intimate spaces in which men and women recorded book purchases, recommended a title to a friend, or set out their objections to a particular pamphlet. This material, where it survives, is scattered among private collections, county record offices and foreign archives. It has not been within the parameters of this study to conduct a thorough search for reception material. Where possible, I have attempted to identify who was reading my sources, but it has not been possible to do so for all of them.

Another principle guiding my source selection is historiographical. The historiography of early Stuart England, particularly the works of Cogswell and Lake, is replete with examples of printed works

[64] Bellany, *Politics*, p. 121.

objecting to the pro-Catholic foreign policy of James and Charles.[65] Less attention, however, has been paid to the representation of moderate or irenic attitudes to Catholicism within this print culture. My thesis aims to address this gap. How central was anti-popery to printed texts which supported the Stuarts' conciliatory approach to relations with Catholic powers? What sort of anti-papal ideas and themes were commonly used by these writers, and consequently, what types of Protestant can be found endorsing a more nuanced, confessionally ambiguous response to foreign affairs?

Early Stuart print is large and diverse category and I decided to exclude theatrical texts and works of academic theology from my study. Performance as a vehicle for political messages and encounters has been the focus of New Historicism. Literary scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt and historians of literature such as Kevin Sharpe have demonstrated that early modern drama was far from frivolous; it appealed to shared ideals and values, elucidated structures of power, but at times also magnified social divisions and anxieties.[66] Similarly, theological works have been well-studied by historians interested in the fluctuating fortunes of Calvinists within the established church. The early modern sermon has been analysed as an instrument for preachers to express their opinions on political affairs, as well as to promote a particular soteriology or ecclesiology within the church.[67] Sermons, as both theological and performance texts, have also been largely excluded from my study. I have only made an exception of sermons that were explicitly framed as a political intervention and made a substantial comment upon foreign affairs. This material, used sparingly, can further exemplify the heterogeneity of early Stuart political culture.

It is hoped that by undertaking close contextualised readings of political print, where political is broadly defined, this thesis will demonstrate the flexibility and dynamism of anti-popery as a political language. This thesis contends that analysing printed texts offers the best way to assess how widespread

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[65] See, esp., T. Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989); P. Lake with M. Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London, 2002).

[66] S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago, 1980); S. Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion' in his *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), pp. 21-65; K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987).

[67] P. E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998); M. Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011); J. Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge, 2003); P. E. McCullough, H. Adlington, E. Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011).

were irenic and confessional views about the threat of popery. As the era's only genuinely mass media, print had the capacity to reach wide audiences and therefore provides a suitable lens through which to reassess the popularity of anti-papal ideology. And by situating English anti-popery firmly in the printed debates about foreign policy, this thesis intends to strengthen the case for the interconnectedness of early Stuart politics with political and religious developments in Europe and further afield.

VIII

This thesis is divided into four chronologically-structured chapters, which span four important political moments from the eve of the Thirty Years' War (*c*. 1617) to the French entry into the conflict (1635), from which point all serious discussion of English intervention in Germany ended.

Chapter One examines the anti-Spanish worldview of George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, as expressed in his popular geography book, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* (particularly comparing the 1608 and 1617 editions). Like many of his contemporaries, the historical scholarship on Abbot has tended to present him as virulently anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish and an unwavering sceptic of Jacobean foreign policy.[68] Indeed, Abbot is purported to have begged James I to abandon his conciliatory policy towards Spain and 'tolleration' of the 'superstitious Idolatrous and detestable' Church of Rome in a Privy Council meeting of 1623.[69] But by positioning Abbot's anti-Spanish views within the wider theological debate about the limits of temporal and spiritual authority, I argue that Abbot was capable of more complex and nuanced views about Catholics and about popery than the current historiography allows.

The chapter then goes on to compare Abbot's views about the external popish threat to a range of different Protestant perspectives. These include: Thomas Gainsford's *The Glory of England* (1618), Fynes Moryson's *An Itinerary* (1617) and the anonymous pamphlet, *Prosopopeia. Or, a Conference*

[68] K. Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's Defence of Protestant Orthodoxy', *HR*, 61 (1988), pp. 36-64.
[69] BL, Add. MS 72276, fo. 54v [John Castle to William Trumbull, 8 August 1623], fo. 56r [Castle to Trumbull, 15 August 1623]; posthumously printed as G. Abbot, *His Grace the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury's address to His Majesty for the suppression of monasteries, fryeries, nunneries, and other popish seminaries, or allowing any general tolleration to the Roman Catholicks of England* (1689), Wing A59A; see Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, p. 134.

held at Angelo Castle (*c.*1619). Through close contextualised readings, I demonstrate that the worldview Abbot was advancing in his geography book differed substantially from these other Calvinist writers and was in several important respects closer to the political outlook of King James. In particular, Abbot shared with James an ability to separate Catholic religion from his political assessment of the threat of popery. By focusing his enmity on Spanish imperialism and the political views of the Jesuits rather than Catholicism as a whole, Abbot constructed a broader, cross-confessional conception of the anti-Spanish or 'Protestant' cause. In Abbot's *Briefe Description*, then, anti-popery is revealed to be a highly malleable language, capable of being deployed in a largely political manner as well as in pursuit of confessionally-orientated objectives.

The extent of opposition to Stuart foreign policy is further reassessed in chapter two, which analyses the role of anti-popery in the public debate surrounding the proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage in the years 1620-4. The chapter provides a survey of the main arguments for the marriage policy that were circulating in English print. Arguments for the Spanish Match have been relatively neglected in recent scholarship. Thomas Cogswell, in his seminal monograph *The Blessed Revolution*, has significantly extended our understanding of the opposition to the marriage negotiations. This opposition, he argues, constituted a 'serious outbreak of anti-Catholicism'.[70] Other historians have also explained conflict in early Stuart England as a product of this same chaotic but dynamic mingling of politics and religion. In his analysis of parliamentary elections in the 1620s, for instance, Richard Cust maintained that there was a strong current of godly opinion that placed religious and political principle ahead of the maintenance of unity.[71]

But in these and other accounts of the early 1620s supporters of the marriage project have received little sustained analysis. The post-revisionist emphasis on division has often come at the expense of analysing diversity. Without analysing the full range of political positions, including arguments made in favour of Stuart policies, the current scholarship is unable to articulate fully the scope and limits of English Protestant thought. The second chapter of this thesis aims to redress this imbalance, by demonstrating that anti-popery was a prism through which political arguments on both

[70] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p. 51.
[71] Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate in the 1620s', in Cust and Hughes, *Conflict*, pp. 134-67.

sides of the debate were refracted. How English writers justified the Spanish marriage negotiations offers an important barometer for measuring not only changing Protestant self-consciousness in the period, but also for scrutinising the problematic relationship between religion and politics. This problem was at the very heart of the debate about the Spanish Match: the consequences of a Protestant prince marrying a practising Catholic, for the church, the monarchy and on relations with other Catholic states, were uncertain and a source of much anxiety.

The chapter surveys a range of different arguments made in favour of the Spanish Match across a variety of texts. Some of these texts defended the policy on the basis of commercial interests and security. Two notable works also rejected the idea that a Catholic queen consort might endanger the Protestant religion of England. These were the pamphlets of Michael Du Val and Edmund Garrard, whose identities are uncertain. Both works argue that the Infanta was likely to convert to Protestantism and hence that her Spanish Catholicism posed no threat.

Another alternative perspective of English interests was offered in the writings of Peter Heylyn, most especially his geography book, *Microcosmus, Or, A Little Description of the Great World* (1621). Heylyn is best known to scholars of seventeenth-century England as a confident Laudian cleric and later a prominent royalist, who defended tithes and episcopacy during the 1650s. Heylyn rose to prominence at court in the early 1630s under the patronage of William Laud and became associated with the 'Laudian' programme of church reforms; for example, he composed a set of visitation articles of 1640, which called for greater observance of the king's Accession Day. But in the early 1620s Heylyn was at the very start of his career and the extent to which he held the distinctive religious views of his later years is uncertain. Anthony Milton has characterised Heylyn in 1621 as holding conventional anti-Catholic and Calvinist views.[72] And yet the pro-Spanish atmosphere of English foreign relations undoubtedly had an impact on the young geography lecturer, who was on a quest for patronage. By analysing Heylyn's published works of the late Jacobean period in the context of debates about the Spanish Match, this chapter will seek to demonstrate that Heylyn was already quite flexible in his

[72] A. Milton, *Laudian and Royalist polemic in seventeenth-century England: the career and writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 14-15.

application of standard Calvinist anti-papal views to the international political situation and was therefore able to argue in support of the marriage policy.

Whilst acknowledging that fear of foreign Catholics was widespread, this chapter argues that supporters of the marriage policy conceived of the external popish threat according to a different anti-papal geopolitics. This alternative ideology led them not to vilify Spain but to admire its conciliatory attitude towards England and its independence from Rome. It is argued, therefore, that passionate support for helping a Protestant prince regain the Palatinate were compatible with pacific tendencies towards Catholic Spain. By analysing pro-Spanish Match texts in detail, this chapter suggests that the Spanish alliance had a stronger voice in the debate in Protestant England than we have come to expect.

Chapter three investigates how anti-popery was used to debate and, notably, defend the Caroline wars with France in the late 1620s. This research builds on the seminal work of Thomas Cogswell, who has described how Charles I and George Villiers, duke of Buckingham shifted Stuart foreign policy towards a vigorous anti-Spanish axis, thereby initiating a 'blessed revolution' of domestic political stability. This 'patriotic coalition', forged upon the collapse of the Spanish Match, became noticeably strained in the later 1620s when the English suffered two spectacular naval losses, first at Cadiz (1626) and second at the Île de Ré (1627). Cogswell has recently argued that Charles and Buckingham attempted to control news reporting of the Île de Ré expedition and thereby minimise the public reaction. In a series of articles, Cogswell has shown how the expedition was a 'full-scale media event'. The king and his ministers used an array of resources, such as proclamations, sermons and corantos, to shape popular politics. Though dynastic causes of the conflict were mentioned, according to Cogswell, the cause of religion remained foremost. In spite of these efforts to stimulate sympathetic popular understanding, the diarist John Rous observed that the motives for the expedition still baffled his parishioners.[73]

[73] T. Cogswell, 'Prelude to Ré: The Anglo-French Struggle for La Rochelle, 1624-1627', *History*, 71 (1986), pp. 1-21; 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *JBS*, 29 (1990), pp. 187-215; 'The path to Elizium "Lately Discovered": Drayton and the early Stuart court', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 (1991), pp. 207-233; 'The People's Love: The Duke of Buckingham and Popularity', in T. Cogswell, R. Cust, and P. Lake (eds), *Politics, Religion and Popularity: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 211–34; '"Published by authoritie": Newsbooks and the Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Ile of Rhé', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), pp. 1-25.

The war in France, thus, represented an opportunity for the language of anti-popery to be employed in defence of the government's policy. It was an advantageous way to gloss over the sticky issue that the Huguenots, who Charles was defending, were rebels.[74] It was also a way to plaster over the fact that attacking the French state was also an assault on the queen's family. But one of the problems with this language, I argue, was that it had been so heavily associated with an anti-Spanish, not an anti-French, orientation. The result was a set of arguments that did not look like traditional anti-popery, and therefore, failed to produce convincing arguments in support of the war.

The chapter demonstrates this limitation by analysing a range of sources. A few select manuscript sources are used to complement the arguments found in print. These include the writings of the merchant John Reynolds and a well-known tract by Bishop Joseph Hall, entitled *An ansvver to Pope Vrban his inurbanity* (1629). It is argued that anti-popery remained in the late 1620s a political language still peculiarly rooted in older apocalyptic and anti-Spanish associations, in spite of efforts to stretch and adapt the discourse to align with the Caroline government's enmity with France. This, I will suggest, was at the heart of why the Caroline government's case for the war failed.

The fourth chapter analyses the role anti-popery played in articulating the hopes and expectations of English Protestants after Sweden's intervention in Germany in 1630. Gustavus Adolphus, the Lutheran king of Sweden, had strong anti-papal credentials: he was the leader of armies that were defeating Catholics in Germany. But his German campaign also posed questions about the relationship of temporal to spiritual authority. English polemics justified Gustavus's actions by mingling attacks on popish superstition with defences of German liberties. In spite of hostility from the licensers, news publication continued surreptitiously in the mid-1630s under the guise of contemporary history, with English readers hearing of the Swedish intervention in Germany in the pages of *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its continuation *The German History*. What scholarship on the news press has not considered, however, is how the depictions of the rival Catholic and Protestant forces changed in the early 1630s.[75]

[74] This challenge was not, of course, unique to supporters of the Huguenots. The status of the Dutch as rebels against Spanish rule had a significant impact on Elizabethan and early Stuart foreign policy; see, H. Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560-1700* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 181-6.
[75] See Boys, *London's News*, esp. p. 221.

This chapter examines how the language of anti-popery was used to project contrasting images of England's place as defenders of Protestantism. It does so, firstly, by analysing the representation of Gustavus Adolphus as a Protestant champion in London corantos, a periodical called *The Swedish Intelligencer* and other newsbooks, against the background of Henry Vane's (failed) embassy to the Swedish camp. William Watts, the Laudian cleric, will be a key figure here. Watts was an enthusiastic adopter of many of the 'Laudian' innovations of the 1630s, and even defended the clerical use of the surplice in a manuscript treatise. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find that Watts was also the editor to Butter and Bourne's vigorously Protestant war periodical, *The Swedish Intelligencer*. But by contextualising these publications within the religious politics of the 1630s, this chapter emphasises the links and consistencies between different elements of Watts's thought.

Secondly, the chapter contrasts the positive views of the newsbooks to texts expressing doubts about the Swedish king's intervention. One of these texts is Thomas Carew's 'In Answer of an Elegiacal Letter upon the death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townshend' (1633). In analysing Carew's poem as a contribution to the debates raging in printed newsbooks about England's role in the European conflict, it is possible to see the figure of Gustavus Adolphus reconstructed as an emblem of the need for peace. The chapter argues that, although the majority of Englishmen considered Gustavus Adolphus to be an anti-papal hero, the Swedish king also operated in English political culture as a powerful antidote to Protestant militarism. Carew's poem was part of a wider withdrawal from the frontline of battle against international popery that was also reflected in printed newsbook literature. This position commanded a level of sympathy by 1635, which has been underestimated.

Ultimately, this thesis contends that by problematising the relationship between anti-popery and attitudes to foreign affairs anti-popery emerges as a far more subtle and variegated ideology than previously assumed. The assumption that anti-popery was symbiotically linked to support for an active confessional foreign policy is a product of the types of texts historians have invariably turned to. The most common sources used by historians of anti-popery have been academic controversial literature and sermon tracts, written by clergymen schooled in the tradition of theological disputation. These texts were confrontational by nature and were invariably flooded with biblical stories and images as well as examples from early church history. By diversifying our source material, and turning to a wider range

of printed material, this thesis offers a sense of how malleable English anti-papal views were, and how strongly reactive they were to events.

In emphasising the fluidity and contingency of anti-popery this study builds on the seminal scholarship of Lake and Walsham. But I also want to push our understanding of anti-popery beyond a unifying language of binary opposition. In this thesis, I am identifying different types of anti-papal language used by different authors variously to express alternative, even competing attitudes to relations with Catholic states. The tropes of papal universal monarchy, Spanish brutality and religious persecution, and Counter-Reformation tyranny operated alongside one another, and could be used and adapted by writers to reflect their own religious and political priorities. For advocates of peace between England and Spain in the early 1620s, for example, it was possible to detach Spain from the matrix of popish tyranny and universal monarchy, and transfer the source of anti-papal anxieties on to the papacy. Similarly, for anti-Calvinist writers in the early 1630s, Gustavus Adolphus's victories could be interpreted as a providential endorsement of the international 'Protestant' cause, a cause that was not exclusively the preserve of militant Calvinists but embraced a broad coalition of Lutherans, Gallican French Catholics as well as English Laudians. The logic of anti-popery, therefore, did not point in a single direction, but could be harnessed to support a variety of responses to the international conflict.

By analysing anti-popery as a political discourse, I aim to nuance its place within a complex English Protestant imagination and demonstrate the tensions inherent within it. My research shows that anti-popery was a surprisingly flexible set of languages for conducting political debate, utilised to support a range of political and religious agendas. Consequently, I argue that by analysing anti-papal discussion in the political domain the heterogeneity and nuance of early Stuart politics is more fully recoverable.

CHAPTER 1
Unseen Depths: The Anti-Papal Worldview of George Abbot, *c.* 1617

On 19 August 1604, articles of peace were ratified in London between Spanish and English diplomats. Within a year of acceding to the English throne, James Stuart had ended his predecessor's long war with Spain. Given the costly and inconclusive nature of the conflict, the ceasefire was a necessary political manoeuvre; but peace with Spain would also become a defining characteristic of James's reign in England. The Jacobean rapprochement not only broke with several decades of religious and political tension between the two nations, it signalled the dawning of a new political and intellectual era. By styling himself as a *rex pacificus*, James sent out a strong signal of the values of peace, trust and neutrality by which he wanted to govern. Spain was now an ally, the king of Spain a 'brother' monarch, and this not only opened up new opportunities for the English to travel on the Continent but also changed the dynamics of the confessional conflict that had been animating English politics for half a century.[1]

Recent historical scholarship has widely established that the anti-Spanish attitudes of English Protestants continued undeterred by the official Jacobean rapprochement. It has been argued that a committed contingent of moderate Calvinists, Puritans and late-Elizabethan adventurers sustained their hispanophobic views against the tide of genuine political change. To these advocates of the 'Protestant cause' Spain was untrustworthy; its agents were secretly plotting to invade England and return its people to the Church of Rome. This was all part of Spain's global imperial design to reduce the world to a single, Catholic kingdom.[2] Collectively, this set of ideas has become known as the 'Black Legend'. Historians have characterised the English in general, and Puritans in particular, as gripped by this mindset.[3] As a consequence of this assumption, we have also tended to view James as almost unique in

[1] Patterson, *King James VI and I*, pp. 51-2. For an alternative interpretation of James's influence over the peace with Spain, see P. Croft, '*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil, and the 1604 Peace with Spain', in G. Burgess, R. Wymer and J. Lawrence (eds), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 140-54.
[2] These ideas were fairly strongly articulated at the Spanish Council of State in the early 1600s; see, for example, P. C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (2000).
[3] M. A. Breslow, *A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618-1640* (Cambridge, 1970); Maltby, *Black Legend*; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*. For a re-evaluation of the role and significance of the Black Legend, see Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, 'Introduction', in Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan (eds), *Rereading the Black Legend*, pp. 1-26.

his irenic tendencies: a lone voice in the midst of a harmonious chorus of patriotic anti-popery. For example, it has been stressed that James, under pressure to establish his credentials as a Protestant prince during the 1604 Parliament, agreed to an act enforcing existing laws against Jesuits, seminary priests and recusants.[4] In emphasising James's isolation, though, the scholarship has tended to conflate the king's rapprochement with Spain with his (supposed) wider goal of building bridges with Catholic moderates across Europe. The Oath of Allegiance controversy has been viewed as part of a desire to reverse the religious schism of Christendom.[5]

I want to complicate our understanding of these complex political and religious contexts by tracing the impact of the king's policies on attitudes to Spain, the papacy and other foreign Catholic states that circulated in English print. The chapter will focus specifically on perceptions of the threat posed to the state and its independence, as opposed to the potential impact on the Church and its theology. As such the international controversy and the changing political situation will be used to inform my discussion of how particular authors conceptualised 'popery'. Was it an abstract fear of foreign invasion and religious inquisition or a specific threat embodied in the actions of a particular Catholic state? Which Catholic power or powers were considered to pose the greatest threat to the Protestant nation and its allies? In order to answer these questions, I will examine a range of views expressed by English Protestants in printed books and pamphlets issued in the mid-late 1610s, the years leading up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

Some historians have been alert to the change of atmosphere that accompanied the peace with Spain. As Barbara Fuchs demonstrates, Spanish literature became more readily available in English translation. The most influential Spanish text was Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, which was published in London in 1605 and inspired several copycat English chivalric romances and plays. Francis Beaumont's popular 1607 play, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, shows awareness of Spanish texts; indeed, it effectively takes the story of *Don Quijote* and parodies it. Spain became a source of cultural fascination

[4] D. Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England: Information, Court Politics and Diplomacy, 1618-25* (Manchester, 2014), p. 50; L. H. Roper, *The English Empire in America, 1602-1658: Beyond Jamestown* (2009), pp. 38-9; 'An Act for the execution of the statutes against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, Recusants, etc' (1 & 2 Jac. I, c. 4), in J. R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the reign of James I* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 83-5; J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 166.
[5] See, esp., Patterson, *King James VI and I*, pp. 74-122.

for travellers too. From 1605 travel restrictions were lifted and English gentlemen were able to make the journey to the Iberian peninsula with greater confidence of their safety. The wider availability of grammars and dictionaries enabled travellers (whether armchair or actual) to study the Spanish language. The English also imported Spanish horses, fashions and dances, such as the Spanish *pavane*, which was a 'high' dance demanding rapid footwork. A Spanish marriage was also mooted for Prince Henry, James's eldest son.[6]

Even in the midst of political rapprochement, a range of attitudes towards Spain and its culture were expressed in England, from neutral observation to enthusiastic praise. English readers were able to read about the richly furnished and sumptuous surroundings of the Spanish court in Madrid. The vital conduit for these interactions was the reopening of formal diplomatic relations between England and Spain. English and Spanish ambassadors transmitted texts and facilitated cultural exchange. This process was reflected in news pamphlets, such as *A relation of the late entertainement of the right honorable the Lord Roos his Maiesties embassador extraordinarie to the King of Spaine* (1617), which detailed the lavish entertainments put on by the Spanish for the English ambassador. It also described the awe and respect with which the Spaniards greeted their English guest. The ambassador's gold-trimmed red velvet 'Sumpter-clothes ... drew the eies of all the people after them', whilst the Duke of Lerma entertained Lord Roos in his Courtyard, 'a thing very rarely vsed by him'. English audiences were also exposed to Spanish authors and their perspectives. In 1617, Ferdinand de Quiros's *Terra australis incognita* was published in English, describing new Spanish discoveries in the Pacific. In the pamphlet de Quiros celebrates the potential of these islands as a jewel in the crown of the Spanish empire:

> the world whereof Spaine is the Center, and that which I haue related, is the nayle by which you may iudge of the whole bodie, which I pray you to take into your obseruation.

[6] B. Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia, 2003), esp. p. 9; M. Montgomery, *Europe's Languages on England's Stages, 1590-1620* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 99-100. For Anglo-Spanish economic relations, see P. Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy 1585-1604', *HJ*, 32 (1989), pp. 281-302.

These texts attest to a discernible irenic turn in English print, which occurred as a consequence of the Anglo-Spanish peace.[7]

Clearly the Anglo-Spanish peace created new opportunities for fertile cultural exchange and language learning. But what impact this irenic atmosphere had on English anti-papal attitudes is yet to be fully explored. Did the peace with Spain prompt a swift reconfiguration of popular anti-Spanish attitudes, or did it instigate a period of linguistic and ideological instability? As older certainties about Anglo-Spanish antagonism receded, fresh doubts about foreign affairs and the nature of England's peace with its Catholic neighbours surfaced. How English Protestants conceptualised the threat of popish tyranny in the new conditions of peace will be the focus of this chapter.

English political culture was also being shaped in this period by a European culture of controversy about the nature and limits of political authority. This pamphlet controversy emerged in response to the papacy's claims to possess indirect political authority by virtue of the spiritual supremacy. The Roman court upheld the authority of the pope over temporal monarchs and ecclesiastical councils, including the authority of a pope to depose an ungodly monarch. This doctrine – often referred to as ultramontanism – became closely associated with the Jesuits because prominent members of the Society, such as Francisco Suárez and Robert Bellarmine, were using it to justify resistance to ungodly or heretical monarchs.[8] From England, James I made repeated interventions in the literary controversy. For James, the doctrine of the papal indirect power, upheld by Romanist (or papalist) theologians, was utterly false and abhorrent. Protestant polemicists did not afford the pope any such unfettered authority over the temporal domain. They argued that royal authority was derived from God, and as such a monarch was both spiritual guardian and societal leader and protector. It was not only a treasonous act but also a spiritual crime, they concluded, for Catholics to assist the pope, a foreign

[7] [Anon.], *A relation of the late entertainement of the right honorable the Lord Roos his Maiesties embassador extraordinarie to the King of Spaine* (1617), STC 4909; P. F. de Queirós, *Terra australis incognita, or A new southerne discouerie, containing a fifth part of the vvorld ... Neuer before published. Translated by W.B.* (1617), STC 10822, p. 20.

[8] For some of the extensive historiography on this topic, see Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, pp. 314-38; Patterson, *King James*, pp. 75-122; Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought', pp. 162-84; Tutino, *Empire of Souls*, pp. 128-53 and *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in early modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 118-37, 161-93; King James I, *Political Works*, ed. McIlwain, introduction.

leader, against their sovereign prince. At stake for English Protestants was the extent of royal power in the spiritual and temporal realms, both of which were challenged by papal authority.[9]

The king wanted to isolate advocates of a papal deposing power from the international Catholic mainstream, as a means of brokering stronger and more amicable relations with Catholic nations, such as France and Spain. James also aimed to root out any fanatical Romanists, who, in the light of the Gunpowder Plot (1605), may have been actively scheming against the Protestant crown and state.[10] But the debate was about much more than keeping a Protestant king safe from Catholic plots. It was a contest between competing definitions of the sacred and profane, the boundary between these domains, and how each was governed. Protestant polemicists defended James's authority in the face of a papalist view of the relationship between the temporal and spiritual they deemed illegitimate.[11]

At the heart of James's political response to the crisis, which was in no small part fuelled by the Oath of Allegiance he introduced for recusants in 1606, was a determination to distinguish between different sorts of Catholics. He asserted, for instance, in a proclamation issued in November 1605 that:

> upon the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithfull Subiects: So upon the other part, non of those that trewly know and believe the whole grounds, and Schoole conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithfull Subiects.

Thus James strove to separate those Catholics who were willing to acknowledge natural fealty to king and country, from those others who could not be 'faithfull Subiects' because they (falsely) transferred political loyalty to the pope.[12] The king was not alone in making this distinction. This chapter will argue that James's enthusiastic involvement in the controversy over the pope's political power, and his irenic relations with Spain, created a particular atmosphere in England that shaped the thought and language of even staunch anti-Catholics. It will demonstrate that the views of the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, were attuned to and influenced by the king's complex attitude to Catholicism.

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[9] Salmon, 'Catholic Resistance Theory', pp. 219-53. For more on the philosophy of Suárez, see Gordley, 'Suárez and Natural Law'.

[10] J. H. M. Salmon, 'Gallicanism and Anglicanism in the Age of the Counter Reformation', in his *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 155-88, esp. p. 173.

[11] V. Houliston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 83-5.

[12] King James I, 'By the King. A Proclamation denouncing Thomas Percy and other his adherents to be Traitors. [Westminster 7 November 1605]', in *Proclamations*, i, no. 58, p. 285.

The chapter will begin by analysing the anti-Spanish worldview held by Archbishop Abbot, its origins and its continued relevance in Jacobean England. It will then go on to examine in detail Abbot's understanding of the popish threat, in the context of the wider controversies surrounding the political ideology of the Jesuits. The views of Abbot will be compared to a range of complementary and alternative images of popish tyranny circulating in the wider political culture, including the representation of the Jesuits, the relations between the political leaders at Rome and Madrid, and responses to the Dutch Arminian crisis. The aim is to demonstrate that in order to understand the nature of English anti-papal thought on the eve of the Thirty Years' War it is necessary to 'put the politics back in'. By reading published works as contributions not simply to high-flung theological debate but also as interventions in political affairs, this chapter seeks to broaden our understanding of the impact of James I's nuanced policy towards Catholic at home and abroad on the anti-papal ideas and conventions expressed in English political culture.

1 The anti-Spanish perspective of George Abbot

Even at the height of the Jacobean rapprochement with Spain, Spanish imperial and religious ambitions continued to inspire the trepidation of Englishmen. One of these men was George Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury (1562-1633), whose geography book is the central case study of this chapter. Unlike English travel writers who encountered Catholic nations at first hand, Abbot never left British shores and thus relied on printed geographies and chronicles as well as letters from correspondents overseas for information about the events, ideas and practices of England's major Catholic neighbours. Abbot's *A briefe description* offered a broad and relatively brief survey of the landscape, customs, and religions of people living beyond the Channel. It therefore offers a rich insight into how one Protestant Englishman perceived the Catholic world. The work seems to have been primarily intended for students of geography at the universities, but also a wider readership of literate politically-conscious people with curious minds. Joseph Mede, tutor and fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge recorded it among the books he obtained and sold to his students between 1613 and 1638.[13]

[13] Christ's College Library, University of Cambridge, *Account books of Joseph Mede*, cited in M. Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 96.

Abbot produced this book whilst he was Master of University College, Oxford and a lecturer in geography. It was first published in London by 'T. Iudson, for Iohn Browne' in 1599. It quickly became a popular geography book, running through six editions between 1599 and 1624. Indeed, the book was so popular that it continued to be published after Abbot's death in 1633; the posthumous editions of 1634, 1635 and 1636 were the first to openly declare Abbot's authorship. In its original form, the book was a slim volume of only 32 quarto leaves. But it was significantly enlarged in 1608 and again in 1617 with new material touching upon the danger posed by Spain and its empire. *A briefe description* now informed readers about Spain's expansionist tendencies and associated the cruel practices of Spaniards in the New World with the cause of countering and suppressing Protestantism in Europe. Though begun in the relative quietude of a high-flown English university, *A briefe description* transformed over time to reveal a global perspective on the threat of popery.

Yet as the focus on Spain in the *Briefe Description* increased in 1617, Abbot's text remained ambiguous about the relationship between Europe's great Catholic power, Spain, and the pontiff in Rome. Who posed the greatest danger to the Protestant nation: the pope, as the architect of the Counter Reformation, or the king of Spain, as the author of designs for a Catholic universal monarchy? The answers to these questions were left uncertain.[14] This confusion was not confined to Abbot. It was systemic, part of the political frustration and conceptual uncertainty that resulted from James's rapprochement with Spain. The lack of conceptual clarity is significant because it reveals that English ideas about the threat of popery were changing in response to the wider intellectual struggles that gripped Europe on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, as this chapter will argue.

George Abbot is not known as an advocate of the new spirit of peace and reciprocity. On the contrary, the Calvinist archbishop is renowned by historians of early Stuart religion as having a 'pathological' fear of popery.[15] Kenneth Fincham identified in Abbot's concern for the provision of ministerial preaching, support for the Reformed churches abroad, and vigorous suppression of Catholics

[14] G. Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole worlde* (1599; reprinted 1600, 1605, 1608, 1617, 1620, 1624, 1634, 1635, 1636), STC 24-32.5.
[15] R. J. Mayhew, 'Geography's English Revolutions: Oxford Geography and the War of Ideas, 1600-1660', in D. N. Livingstone and C. W. J. Withers (eds), *Geography and Revolution* (Chicago and London, 2005), pp. 243-72, at p. 257.

at home, a need to safeguard Calvinist orthodoxy as a bulwark against popery.[16] Similarly, Susan Holland has argued that Abbot saw himself as engaged in an unremitting battle against popery throughout his life.[17] For Fincham, this mindset fundamentally shaped Abbot's priorities as archbishop of Canterbury from 1611. Over the course of his incumbency, Abbot became a vocal opponent of the papacy. He supported the Venetian cause against the papal interdict in 1606-7, and he championed a Protestant match for Princess Elizabeth, who married Frederick V the Calvinist Elector Palatine of the Rhine in 1613. Indeed, Abbot was staunchly opposed to the Anglo-Spanish peace. Abbot was operating in the late 1610s against another Spanish marriage scheme, this time, following the death of Prince Henry in 1615, for James's second son Charles. Abbot also favoured stringent measures against English recusants. Abbot's anti-popery, Fincham argues, drew him to promote his vision of confessional politics in court and parliament, becoming in the process an 'ecclesiastical statesman'.[18]

Yet the new expectations fostered by the king's irenic agenda were not lost on Abbot. Although he has been characterised as consistently and unwaveringly anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish throughout his career, there is a surprising nuance and ambiguity in some of Abbot's published work in the period after 1605.[19] The most notable example of Abbot's nuance is his book entitled *A briefe description of the whole worlde*. As a text about the temporal world and its affairs, Abbot's geography book was not chiefly centred on opposing the Church of Rome. Rome was not the centre of gravity in Abbot's global political thought: instead, it was Spain and its empire. Although Spanish dominance in the New World was well-known in England it seems that Abbot was more tuned in to the threat posed by Spain's imperialism and Catholic mission between 1608 and 1617, when significant additions to *A briefe description* were introduced.

Firstly, in 1608, the section on the Spanish Americas was significantly enlarged. From a short topographical description of the area's climate and terrain, Abbot included rich new information about

[16] K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 248-76.
[17] S. Holland, 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of "Puritanism"', *HJ*, 37 (1994), pp. 23-43.
[18] Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics', pp. 36-64, at p. 47.
[19] Ibid.; P. A. Welsby, *George Abbot: The Unwanted Archbishop, 1562-1633* (1962); S. M. Holland, 'George Abbot: "The Unwanted Archbishop"', *Church History*, 56 (1987), pp. 172-87 and 'Archbishop Abbot and the problem of "Puritanism"', *HJ*, 37 (1994), pp. 23-43; W. B. Patterson, 'Cyril Lukaris, George Abbot, James VI and I, and the Beginning of Orthodox-Anglican Relations' in P. M. Doll (ed.), *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy 300 years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 39-55.

the religion and culture of the natives as well as details of Spanish imperial activities. The new material draws heavily on the works of contemporary Iberian critics of the Spanish empire, which were increasingly available in England following the 1604 peace with Spain. For example, Girolamo Benzoni's discussion of the Spanish massacre at the French colony of Florida is likely to have been the source of Abbot's discussion of the Spaniards' 'unchristian cruelty' in that region.[20] The influence of Spanish chroniclers, such as Pedro Cieza de León and possibly also Bartholomé de las Casas, can be traced in *A briefe description*. Abbot refers several times to 'one *Petrus de Cieca*, a *Spaniard*' and his 'excellent Booke of the Discouery of that whole Country [Peru]'. Both of these chroniclers expressed genuine concern about the Spanish destruction of the native world and condemned Spanish brutality.[21] Such ideas are reflected in Abbot's own attitude to the conquistadors as perpetrators of excessive cruelty. The people of Hispaniola, for instance, are said to have been 'so murthered' that within fifty years of Spanish conquest 'there were scant any thousands in that Iland remaining'. The Spaniards, Abbot argues, abuse the ignorant condition of the native populations they conquer to impose 'tyranny' and 'couetousnesse' upon them, 'as if they [the natives] had beene Beasts …'[22]

These representations of Spanish brutality in the New World were highly unoriginal, recalling standard images popularised by the Dutch rebels in the 1560s, during their campaign for independence from Spanish rule. This 'black legend' perception of Spain also had support in parts of Italy, France and Portugal. It thus united Catholic and non-Catholic nations in dislike of Spain's rapid and aggressive imperial expansion and apparent pretensions to universal monarchy. Abbot's *Briefe description* was subscribing to a worldview in which Spain was the mutual enemy of Catholics as well as Protestants.[23]

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[20] Girolamo Benzoni's *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* was available in Italian from 1565, but a printed English translation was not available until 1857, as *History of the New World*, ed. W. H. Smyth (Hakluyt Soc., 1st Ser., 21, 1857). Abbot refers to the 'story of *Benzo*' when describing French and Spanish rivalry, see Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. T3r; 1620 edn., sig. T3r 1624 edn., sig. T3r. See K. Ross, 'Historians of the Conquest and Colonization of the New World: 1550-1620', in R. Gonzalez Echevarría, E. Pupo-Walker (eds), *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1996), i, pp. 101-42, pp. 119-20; B. Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, 1971; paperback edn., 1990), pp. 142-3.

[21] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1608), sig. T2r-v; (1617) sigs. X[1]v-X2r. Pedro Cieza's *Crónica del Perú* was published in Seville (1553) and twice in Antwerp (1554). Las Casas was available in English translation from 1583. See D. H. Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in P. C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624* (Chapel Hill, 2007), pp. 410-53, p. 426.

[22] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1608), sigs. Q2r, R2v.

[23] Maltby, *Black Legend*, pp. 12-28, 58-9; K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (eds), *England and the Netherlands: Volume V Some Political Mythologies,*

Another significant component then of English anti-Spanish thought in the early seventeenth century was the idea that the Spanish monarchy was striving to extend its dominion across the entire globe. This trope became known as the ambition for universal monarchy and its contours can be traced in Abbot's work. The *Briefe Description* identifies the dominions governed by the king of Spain as 'the largest that now is, or ever was in the World' and refers to 'the Empery' of Philip II. For Abbot, the tyranny of the Spaniards was not simply confined to the New World but was felt markedly elsewhere, closer to England:

> It is not vnknowne to all the parts of *Europe*, that the insolencie of the *Spaniards* is very great, euen over *Christians*, tyrannyzing and playing all outrages wheresoeuer they get men in subiection, and this maketh them so hatefull to the *Portugals* at home, to the *Italians* in *Millaine* and *Naples*, but especially to the *Low-countrimen*, who haue therefore much desired to shake off the yoake of their gouernour.

Whilst the threat of Spanish tyranny is emphasised in the text, Abbot is also alert to divisions within Catholicism. Not only the Protestant '*Low-countrimen*' but the Catholic populations of Portugal, Milan and Naples too are recognised as victims of Spanish bondage. This has the effect of portraying Spanish tyranny as ruthless and indiscriminate, and was entirely typical of Elizabethan anti-Spanish sentiment. But it also, more importantly, constructs an imagined Christian community that straddles the confessional divide, a community defined not by adherence to a particular doctrine but by shared enmity towards relentless Spanish expansionism.[24]

Abbot was certainly not alone in vilifying Spain as tyrannical and the enemy of free, independent states. There was a strong Elizabethan tradition of representing Spanish imperialism in a negative light. Many others of Abbot's generation, who remembered the political effervescence surrounding the English victory over the Armada, betrayed similar attitudes. Richard Hakluyt, an Elizabethan pioneer of English geographical and travel writing, identified the dominance of the Spanish empire in his *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) and argued that the Habsburg monarch was aspiring to be the 'universal and sole monarch of the world'. Walter Ralegh warned in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596) that Spain's access to the riches of the New World

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Papers delivered to the Fifth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference (The Hague, 1975), pp. 36-57; Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 34.

[24] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1608), sigs. R2v-R3r.

would make her an impregnable enemy to all other European powers.[25] Edwin Sandys, like Abbot, feared Spanish power and presented European peace as beneficial only to Catholics in his *Europae Speculum* (1599).[26] The Spanish monarch, under such conditions, would become the *dominus mundi*.[27] Integral to this Elizabethan anti-Spanish feeling was a perception of the Catholic threat as embodied in the secular arms of the papacy, in Spain and its mission for a universal Catholic empire over Europe and the New World.

This connection between events in America and those in Europe became more apparent in the second significant enlargement of *A briefe description* in 1617. There are a number of subtle differences to this version. Building on additions made in 1608, Abbot added details relating to the English presence in the New World. The voyages and exploits of Francis Drake, John Hawkins and the early attempts at establishing an English colony in Virginia become more prominent within the text. There is, however, one major change. The story of Walter Ralegh is included for the first time, which has the effect of shifting the focus from old, dead Elizabethan heroes onto a living anti-Spanish adventurer who was in 1617 preparing to return to the New World. Ralegh appears in Abbot's text as the 'first of our Nation that sailed to Guiana, and made report thereof unto us'. Having reached Guiana and navigated up 'the River Orinoque' in 1595, Abbot describes how Ralegh and his men made contact with the inhabitants, who hoped 'by them to be defended against the Spaniards, whom they greatly hate and feare'. Ralegh becomes the natural liberator of the oppressed Guianans, who 'ouerthrew the *Spaniards* that were in *Trinidado*' and 'set at libertie foure or fiue Kings of the people of that Countrie, that *Bereo* kept in chaines'. Here Abbot reframed the primitive condition of the natives into an argument against the predatory behaviour of the Spanish.[28]

What had occurred after 1605 to instigate such changes? Abbot's motivations for amending and adding to his geography text are impossible to comment upon definitively. Not only did Abbot

[25] W. Ralegh, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. J. Lorimer (2006); J. Ellison, *George Sandys: Travel, Colonialism and Tolerance in the Seventeenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 90.
[26] *Europae Speculum* was written in 1599, initially circulated in manuscript and subsequently published in English in 1605; E. Sandys, *Europae Speculum or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne parts of the World* (Hagae-Comitis, 1629), STC 21718, p. 46.
[27] Ellison, *George Sandys*, pp. 90, 92, 95.
[28] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sigs. T2r, X3r.

continue to publish *A briefe description* anonymously until after his death, I have found no evidence of him divulging thoughts about this text to any of his regular correspondents. Abbot's influences therefore must be reconstructed from the textual evidence which has survived and, most importantly, from the wider political context shaping Abbot's concerns in 1617.

Firstly, Abbot's anti-Spanish worldview seems to echo a late Elizabethan perspective of Spain that remained influential within England's commercial and privateering companies. By 1617, Ralegh was actively seeking permission to return to Guiana with a view to colonising it. Having been imprisoned on suspicion of conspiring against King James in the Main Plot, Ralegh's reputation hung in the balance.[29] In this light, Abbot's rehabilitation of Ralegh as a loyal Englishman and adversary of Spain looks close to an intervention on Ralegh's behalf. Such political involvement was typical of the archbishop. In 1616 Abbot and his chief political ally Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, had backed proposals for Ralegh's release from the Tower and giving him command of a return expedition to the Orinoco.[30] Opposed to their efforts was the 'Spanish' faction, led by Spanish ambassador Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Marquis of Gondomar. Gondomar opposed Ralegh's plans to return to Guiana on the grounds that it threatened Spanish interests in the region and thus undermined the Anglo-Spanish peace treaty. The ambassador's influence with James had steadily accumulated since his arrival in London in 1613, having allied himself with the 'pro-Spanish' Howard faction, headed by Lord Treasurer Thomas Howard, the earl of Suffolk.

Abbot's additions to the 1617 edition of his geography book were thus the products of a complex, highly sensitive political moment in which England's relations with Spain were once again at the forefront of court politics. At stake for Abbot was not only the direction of English foreign policy, which concerned him, but his own ability to exert an influence over these affairs. In 1617 negotiations with Spain for a marriage between Prince Charles and Infanta Maria reopened, and Abbot found himself

[29] For some of the large scholarship on Ralegh, see M. G. Moran, *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the Rhetoric of Colonization, 1584-1590* (New York and Oxford, 2007); S. J. Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven, 1973) and his *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1992); and W. Ralegh, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. J. Lorimer (2006).
[30] P. R. Sellin, *Treasure, Treason and the Tower: El Dorado and the Murder of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 236, 241.

excluded from the commission, unable to counter Spanish demands for James to relax the penal laws against English Catholics.[31]

Second, and most importantly, Abbot's worldview reflects the anti-Spanish ambitions of gentry participants in commercial projects, such as the Virginia Company and East India Company. Abbot had a close association with the Virginia Company: his brother, Maurice Abbot, was a member of the board from 1610, and under its third charter of 1612 George himself held shares in the company to the value of £75. Abbot may also have taken an interest in the recruitment of clergymen for the Virginia mission. According to James Bell, during Abbot's time as bishop of London (1610-11), he almost certainly aided the selection of Calvinist men to join the colony.[32] Literature relating to the Virginia Company (and to a lesser extent the East India Company) emphasised lofty national ambitions: of taming Indians, frustrating the Spaniards, and spreading England's fame abroad. The Virginia Company reiterated the Spanish threat, and described how they treated the native people 'as Barbar's [barbarians], and therby Naturally slaves' who claimed 'only a Magistracy, and Empire, by which he [the Spaniard] is allowed to remove such impediments, as they had agaynst ye knowledge of Religion'.[33] The English settlement in Virginia was conceived as a necessary bulwark against illegitimate Spanish conquest in South America. And, like Abbot, the Company framed its activities as in opposition to aggressive Spanish imperialism.

Abbot also had close contacts involved in the trading companies. Sir Dudley Digges, a former pupil of Abbot's at Oxford, was a vigorous proponent of aggressive commercial expansion at the expense of other European nations. In his *Defence of Trade* (1615), Digges countered the charges of an unattributed pamphlet, *The Increase of Trade*, against eastern trade in general and the East India Company in particular. He suggested that the author's anonymity reflected his support for Spain against England's 'best assured friends', the Dutch. The East Indian trade, Digges argued, was an appropriate

[31] Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics', p. 13.
[32] C. Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens* (Oxford, 1975), p. 21; J. B. Bell, *Empire, Religion and Revolution in Early Virginia, 1607-1786* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 62.
[33] W. White, 'Fragments' [1608, published in 1614], in P. L. Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609: Documents Relating to the Foundation of Jamestown and the History of the Jamestown Colony Up to the Departure of Captain John Smith, Last President of the Council in Virginia Under the First Charter, Early in October 1609* (2 vols., 1969), i, pp. 148-50. See also R. A. Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore, 2012), p. 20.

vehicle 'to advance the reputation and revenue of the *Common-Wealth*'.[34] Like Abbot, Digges opposed appeasement with Spain and the relaxation of the penal laws against English Catholics. In the 1614 Parliament he spoke out against recusants and impositions and would later oppose the Spanish marriage policy in the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624.

Abbot's criticism of Spain, thus, stemmed from a lingering anti-Spanish prejudice formed during the political dangers of the 1580s and 1590s. It betrays sympathy for the colonist and privateering perspective of the early 1600s, which continued to identify Spain as the dominant global power seemingly still reaping the rewards of colonisation and trade. Like Gainsford, Abbot was closely connected with the transatlantic companies and shared an interest in bolstering Britain's international trading as part of a broader anti-Spanish strategy. This is the context in which we should read Abbot's 1617 amendments to *A briefe description*. In introducing an anti-Spanish framing to his geography, Abbot was not simply perpetuating a stale, outmoded late-Elizabethan perspective, but reflecting the renewed anti-Spanish vigour of members of England's trading companies. The political rapprochement with Spain had converted the sphere of action against Spanish tyranny from the 'Enterprise on England' to the New World and its trade.

2 The influence of James I's anti-papal agenda

By 1617, Abbot's *A briefe description* was a text preoccupied with the threat of Spain. This threat was largely viewed through the lens of political concepts, such as tyranny, universal monarchy and corruption. Conversely, the use of explicitly religious or apocalyptical tropes like idolatry and superstition were conspicuously rare. The additions added to the 1617 edition of the text endorsed the worldview of the commercial companies, which stressed Spain's unique status as England's (and Protestantism's) enemy. But, unlike the highly polarised language of the Virginia Company, there is evidence in Abbot's geography book of a more nuanced view of popery and Catholic religion that reveals the influence of James's anti-papal and anti-Jesuit agenda.

[34] D. Digges, *The Defence of Trade In a letter to Sir Thomas Smith Knight, gouernour of the East-India Companie, &c. From one of that societie* (1615), STC 6845, pp. 2, 4, 5.

King James, however, did not accept that Spain was wholly dependent on the papacy or deferential to its wishes. For James, the current Spain-Rome link was by no means a geopolitical necessity. Rather, he could imagine a scenario in which Spain moved away from a pro-curia axis and into the 'moderate' Catholic camp. This was the impression the king projected through his involvement in the Oath of Allegiance controversy and the early negotiations for a Spanish marriage for one of his sons. For example, James's tracts, *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus, or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* (1608) and *A Premonition to all Most Mighty Monarches* (1609), intended to reveal the pope's pretended concern for religion was in fact a spurious ploy, masking a real desire for political power.[35] In *A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings, and the Independence of their Crownes* (1610), James declared:

> Let a kingdom fall into some grievous disaster or calamity ... let civil wars boil in the bowels of the kingdom ... who rusheth sooner into the troubled streams than the Pope ... and all under colour of a heart wounded and bleeding for the salvation of souls.[36]

As Malcolm Smuts has expertly argued, these sentiments were aimed to rally the support not only of Protestants but also of *politique* Catholics in France and elsewhere, who despised Jesuit efforts to meddle in temporal matters.[37] Whilst James recognised throughout the 1610s the dangers of the Franco-Spanish alliance, through his diplomacy he also upheld a sense that both Catholic nations could be extracted from the pope's ultramontanist party. Indeed, James wrote to his ambassador in Paris Thomas Edmondes in August 1612, giving instructions for Edmondes to mediate between the fractious French grandees in order for 'this alliance and popish cabal betwixt France and Spain to be quite broken off'.[38]

Moreover, in his Spanish diplomacy, the king aimed not only to consolidate the Anglo-Spanish alliance but also increase England's leverage with other Catholic states. It was a policy inspired by

[35] King James I, 'Triplici nodo triplex cuneus, or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance' (1608) and 'A Premonition to all Most Mighty Monarches, Kings, Free Princes and States of Christendom' (1609) in *Political Works*, pp. 71-268.
[36] King James I, 'A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings', in *Political Works*, p. 267.
[37] M. Smuts, 'The Making of *Rex Pacificus*: James VI and I and the Problem of Peace in an Age of Religious War', in D. Fischlin and M. Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 371-87, esp. pp. 379-80.
[38] BL, Stowe MS 173, fos 80-1.

James's irenic convictions, yet it also derived from a positive belief in the power of diplomacy to defeat the forces of papal conspiracy and aggression.[39]

There were therefore divergent perspectives of the relationship between Spain and Rome with currency in Jacobean England. These English Protestants mindsets were structured around opposition to popish tyranny but each took contrasting perspectives on the centrality of Spain to the Counter-Reformation challenge. As Fincham observes, James regarded popery as a political rather than a theological problem, whereas for other English Protestants, most notably those labelled Puritans, the threat of popery was rooted in its dangerous religious ideas.[40]

James's outlook was also informed by the ideas of the conciliar movement, which emerged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and gained new momentum after the Reformation. Conciliarist theory (from the mid-sixteenth century onwards) posited that a general council of Catholics and Protestants should be called to reform and reunite the Church. Within a year of acceding to the English throne, James communicated with the papal curia through the Venetian ambassador in England, urging it to 'summon a General Council, which, according to the ancient usage' would be 'superior to all Churches, all doctrine, all Princes, secular and ecclesiastic, none excepted'. In accordance with this call for an ecumenical council, James told Parliament in March 1604 that he wished to be a member of a 'generall Christian union in Religion'. In the wake of his dispute with the Roman curia over his Oath of Allegiance, James increasingly emphasised that the authority to call a general council resided with Christian princes, not with the papacy. The desire for peace and unity among Christians thus formed a central part of James's distinctive religious thought as well as his conception of his political role as a peacemaker.[41]

The alignment of Abbot's *Briefe Description* with certain aspects of the king's thought is most evident in the descriptions of Spain's Catholic mission in the New World. In earlier versions of the book, Abbot had described the religious condition of the native peoples of Haiti. With the disdain

[39] See James's letter to Thomas Edmondes in August 1612, in T. Birch, *An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France and Brussels from the Year 1592 to 1617* (1749), p. 359.
[40] Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics', p. 45.
[41] *CSPV*, x, p. 22 [Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate, 8 May 1603]; King James I, *Political Works*, ed. McIlwain, p. 140; Patterson, *King James VI and I*, pp. 31-37, 96, 340; Oakley, *Conciliarist Tradition*, pp. 146-55.

characteristic of Spanish critics of Spain's imperial practices, Abbot expounds that 'Sathan hath vsed ignorance as one of the chiefest meanes whereby to encrease Idolatry'. When the Spaniards arrived on the island, Abbot explains, the devil continued to inhibit the spread of Christianity by stirring up tempests and disturbances of the air 'to fright the inhabitants, from associating themselues with those, who brought (although but superstitiously) the knowledge of God, and the Redeemer'. Here Abbot's critique of the mission is surprisingly mild, acknowledging that even Christianity 'superstitiously' administered would aid the conversion of the natives from paganism.[42] Furthermore, in the 1617 edition Abbot draws out the dangers of Spanish imperialism rather than its Catholic mission. The Spaniards are shown to behave brutally towards the natives, 'deflowring their wiues and daughters' and 'forcing them to work in their Gold Mines without measure'. These actions are described as not only inhumane but counter-productive to the Spanish missionary efforts, for the people were consequently 'detesting them, and the name of Christians'.[43] The use of the term Christian is deeply significant here. It demonstrates that Abbot accepted the binary between Christians and pagans, a binary which forced him into a position whereby Catholics were a form of genuine Christian.

For Abbot, this mission was perverse not so much because it was spreading Catholicism, which he acknowledged as type of Christianity, but because it was cruel, exploitative and therefore part of the apparatus of papal tyranny. This can be further seen in the story Abbot relates of 'certaine Friers and Religious men, who moued with some zeale to draw the people there to the Christian faith' and who 'did trauell into those parts, that so they might spread abroad the Gospell of *Christ*'. Upon their arrival in the West Indies, Abbot maintains, these religious men

> beholding the intemperance of their Countrimen, which turned many away from the profession of Religion, they were much moued in their hearts, and some of them by writings, and some other of them by trauailing personally back againe into *Spaine*, did informe the King and his Court, how dishonourable a thing it was to the name of *Christ*, that the poore people should be so abused: and how improbable it was that those courses being continued, any of them would hardly embrace the faith.[44]

[42] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1608), sigs. Q2v, Q3r.
[43] Ibid. (1617 edn.), sig. S4r.
[44] Ibid., sigs. S4v-T[1]r.

By separating certain individuals out as devoted Christians 'moued' to advance the teachings of the Gospel, Abbot draws a distinction between two types of Catholicism. On the one hand, there are good and honest Catholics who criticise the cruel and abusive practices of their compatriots. On the other, there are those who are deluded by 'blinde zeale' into spreading 'Popish superstition'.

To cast further doubt upon the validity of the mission, Abbot drew attention to its 'Popish' infrastructure:

> There be established some Bishoprickes there, and other gouernments Ecclesiasticall: and the Masse is there published, and Latine seruice according to the custome of the Church of *Rome*, labouring to roote out their infidelity, but mingling the *Christian* Religion with much Popish superstition.

In this account, the 'blinde zeale of the *Spaniards*' motivates their efforts to spread Christianity to the Americas. It fuels 'the king' and 'other men' to send 'Monkes and Friers' to convert the native peoples of America. These missionaries were instructed by the Spanish king 'at great charge to erect diuers Monesteries, and Religious Houses there, and many haue taken the paines to goe out of *Europe*, (as they think for *Christs* sake)'. In drawing out this division within Catholicism, *A briefe description* makes an important conceptual distinction. It seems that Abbot was separating Catholic theology from the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the Catholic Church, in a way that resonates with James's attempts to publicly distinguish between loyal, peaceable Catholics and Jesuit-inspired Papists.[45]

In the *Briefe Description*, Abbot was using anti-popery in an interesting and flexible way to advance his own political agenda. It was an agenda steeped in the belief that Spain was England's enemy and that James's foreign policy ought to proactively resist this enemy and support the advance of international Protestantism. But it was also an agenda in harmony with James's impulse to bring together 'moderates' from across the religious spectrum. In this sense, Abbot's worldview looks not all that different from his sovereign's. This is significant because it gives us pause to reconsider Abbot's motivations and strategy prior to the political crisis of 1618. It encourages us to position Abbot firmly at this moment as a political pragmatist. He was someone willing to argue the case for an international,

[45] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. T[1]r.

pan-Christian effort to resist Spanish imperialism, which he identified as a threat to all nations not just to Protestant ones.

By the 1617 edition of *A briefe description*, therefore, the location of the threat of popish tyranny was Spain, and especially the Spanish Americas. The powerful self-aggrandising papacy depicted in Abbot's writings up to 1605 has given way to a global 'Popish' mission orchestrated by Spain. The language of corruption used to deride the papacy – 'their warres and other deuises, to keepe and increase that land of the Church' – had become attached to Spanish 'tyrannizing' and 'intemperance'.

3 The Church of Rome in Abbot's worldview

If Spain was commanding an increasingly prominent place in Abbot's political thought by 1617, it begs the question of how far the archbishop associated Spanish tyranny with the tyranny of the papacy. Are we to conclude that Abbot perceived Spain's threat to be essentially one of imperial power, possessed by a nation which happened to be Catholic; or, was Spanish tyranny taken to be a sign of the stirrings of the Beast? For Robert Mayhew, the additions of 1608 and 1617 indicate that Abbot feared a Spanish empire that would 'subject all to the pope'.[46] But the two powerful agents of Counter-Reformation Catholicism should not be automatically and reductively conflated. Investigating how Abbot envisaged the Church of Rome can shed new light on how the archbishop understood the nature of the popish tyranny that he sought to resist.

Clearly Abbot's religious writings reveal him to be vociferously hostile to the Church of Rome and a believer that the pope was Antichrist. Abbot referred to the pope as 'his un-holinesse' and believed in, what Fincham calls, a 'universal Catholic conspiracy'.[47] Abbot is a well-known adherent of this eschatological view of church history, derived from the English tradition of Foxe and Bale. He published two pamphlets upholding this Protestant conceptualisation of the Roman Catholic Church. One of these pamphlets was entitled *An Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah* (1600), and originated as a

[46] Mayhew, 'Geography's English Revolutions', p. 257.
[47] BL, Stowe MS 174, fo. 166, cited in Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics', p. 49.

series of lectures Abbot gave in Oxford in the 1590s on the Book of Jonah.[48] In this pamphlet, Abbot called for vigilance against Romish ambition and lambasted the papacy for its malicious opposition to Queen Elizabeth:

> Pope Pius with his Anathema deposing her from the Crowne, and absoluing (if he could get vs to beleeue him) her subiects from their obedience: Pope Gregory by the setting vp of his Seminaries, inueigling some of her owne to play some trecherous part against her; in oft-intended inuasions; in a rebellion once plainely attempted; in conspiracies of sonnes of Belial more then twenty;[49]

Given these obvious and unmitigated dangers to Protestant England, Abbot urged vigilance against the Church of Rome headed by a powerful, controlling papacy:

> If ignorance, or idolatrie, or iniquitie did not rage, if the enemies of the Gospell to hold vp their Romish Antichrist were not busie to peruert, we might keepe our selues in our cloisters, but if all these do fret, and dayly consume like a canker, let vs sometimes looke about vs.[50]

This depiction of an idolatrous Catholic Church powered by a perverse hatred of the reformed religion had become a standard trope of English anti-popery by the end of Elizabeth's reign. It reflected both the theological position of the Calvinist majority in the Church of England and a practical defensive stance against provocative papal policies towards the queen.

There are also some traces of militant anti-Roman language in Abbot's geography book. Though Abbot does not use the term 'Antichrist' directly, he does refer to the Book of Revelation and the Whore of Babylon, that ubiquitous Reformation symbol of perversion and false religion. Describing the history of Rome and the papacy, Abbot reminded his readers of the period when the papal court was removed to Avignon, as 'the *Italians* to this day do remember that time by the name of the *Captivity of Babylon*, which continued (as appeareth by the Scripture) for seventy yeeres'. This example is testament, Abbot interjects, to the greed of the papacy, more concerned 'for their pleasure or profit' than with the welfare of their Italian flock. For Abbot it was impossible not to conclude that:

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[48] This originated as a course of lectures Abbot gave in Oxford in the 1590s, printed here as thirty sermons spanning over six hundred pages.
[49] G. Abbot, *An exposition vpon the prophet Ionah Contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* (Oxford, 1600), STC 34, p. 93.
[50] Ibid., p. 13.

> Who so looketh on the description laid down by the Holy Ghost in the *Revelation* shall see, that the *Whore of Babylon* there mentioned, can be understood of no place, but the Citie of *Rome*.[51]

Here Abbot was rehearsing (by then) standard Reformation tropes, familiar to English readers of Bale's influential *Image of Both Churches* (1545) or the glosses of the Geneva Bible.[52]

Yet Abbot also narrated Pope Urban VI's intervention in the dispute between Spain and Portugal over territory in the Americas. The matter was finally settled, Abbot declared, '(after the proud manner of the Bishops of *Rome*)'.[53] Abbot strengthened the connection between Spain and the papacy further by referring to *La Storia d'Italia* (1568) by the Italian Catholic and papal employee, Francesco Guicciardini. This book had achieved notoriety across Europe for querying the temporal powers of the papacy and attacking its historical foundations. Guicciardini criticised the Renaissance papacy for using spiritual authority to pursue ambitions for earthly greatness. 'Wee may read in *Guicciardine*', the *Briefe Description* relates, of the dispute between the Spaniards and Portuguese over American territory and how Pope Alexander VI 'taking on him (after the proud manner of the Bishops of *Rome*) to dispose of it, which belonged not vnto him, did set down an order between them'. Here Guicciardini's insights serve as a potent reminder of the deference with which Spain was bound to Rome, for their mutual advantage. The tyranny of Spain was not simply that of a kingdom made powerful by its empire, it was of a papistical nation strengthened by its intimacy with the Church of Rome. The choice of Guicciardini to demonstrate the intimacy of the papacy and Spain reinforces just how open Abbot was to Catholic sources and individuals willing to expose the Roman curia to ridicule or attack.[54]

Indeed, Abbot was also familiar with the writings of the French Catholic jurist Jean Bodin. Bodin's political works had circulated widely in Elizabethan England, where people took great interest in the French Wars of Religion. Bodin, like Guicciardini, was deeply critical of papal authority over monarchs and their governments. In his *Six livres de la République* (1576), which was cited by Abbot,

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[51] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), pp. 51-2.
[52] The explanatory notes to the Book of Revelation of the Geneva Bible explained: 'The beast signifieth ye ancient Rome: ye woman that sitteth thereon, the newe Rome which is the Papistrie, whose crueltie and blood sheding is declared by skarlat … This woman is the Antichrist, that is, the Pope, with ye whole bodie of his filthie creatures'. *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (2nd edn., Geneva, 1560), sig. 2093 f.GGg4r; J. Bale, *The image of bothe churches: after reulacion of Saynt Iohan the euangelyst …* (Antwerp, 1545).
[53] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. V2v.
[54] For the influence of Guicciardini in England, see E. Ní Chuilleanéin and D. Serjeantson, 'The Petrarch they tried to ban', in E. Ní Chuilleanéin, C. Ó Cuilleanáin and D. Parris (eds), *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 93-105; Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1608), sigs. S3r-v.

Bodin famously argued that the sovereign prince is accountable to God alone. He also described Pope Leo X's perjury as typifying the classic papal behaviours of untrustworthiness and ruthlessness. As Johann Sommerville has argued, the influence of continental theorists on English political thinking in this period has been underestimated. The absolutist theories of Bodin were particularly useful to those clerics and theologians who sought to refute Catholic theories of the papal deposing power. Abbot, too, was alert to the polemical value of the anti-papal arguments of French Catholics.[55]

By moving the focus away from theology, Abbot emerges as far more accommodating towards Catholic authors and Catholic religion than we might otherwise expect. In incorporating the attacks of Guicciardini and Bodin on the temporal powers of the pope, and in acknowledging that there were some good Christian missionaries in the New World in spite of all the Spanish brutality, Abbot readily discriminated between good and perverse forms of Catholicism. Perverse Catholicism, or popery, was as much of a political threat to the archbishop as a religious one.

This attitude chimes with Abbot's wider actions and priorities in the late 1610s. During this period, Abbot allied himself with individuals spanning different Christian denominations who were all engaged in quarrels with the papacy: Paolo Sarpi and his Venetian followers; the Greek Orthodox scholar, Cyril Lucaris; and the Archbishop of Spalato, Marco Antonio de Dominis.[56] Indeed, Abbot was actively involved in the efforts to convert De Dominis to Protestantism. When De Dominis arrived in London in 1616, Abbot keenly anticipated the publication of the archbishop's book, 'whereby it appeereth that the Pope and his cardinals are infinitely distasted'. Indeed, this conversion campaign was designed by Abbot to 'give the Pope a blow of extraordinary nature' and give momentum and advantage to the Protestant religion. This is a reminder that, though Abbot remained committed to unmasking the designs of the pope and his followers throughout his career, he was prepared to adopt a range of methods to achieve this.[57] By embracing critics of the papacy, from a variety of quarters both within the Catholic

[55] J. Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Common-weale*, trans. R. Knolles (1606), p. 630; Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. S2v; J. P. Sommerville, 'English and European Political Ideas in the Early Seventeenth Century: Revisionism and the Case of Absolutism', *JBS*, 35 (1996), pp. 168-194.
[56] See Patterson, 'Cyril Lukaris', pp. 39-40.
[57] Indeed, Abbot was involved in the publication of the English translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* and managed to get the text to De Dominis. For Abbot's interest in De Dominis, see Patterson, *King James*, pp. 220-59; J. Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 129-32.

Church and without, Abbot showed a dexterity as a political operator not usually attributed to him. These seemingly 'irenic' gestures enabled the archbishop to take advantage of the king's fears of conspiracy, keeping James's attention on the enduring danger to his person and the Protestant state during the mid-1610s when the entente with Spain appeared to have calmed this threat.[58]

But the additions Abbot made to *A briefe description* cast this agenda of countering Catholicism in England in a slightly different light. They suggest that resisting the spread of Catholic influence was increasingly motivated by political concerns: the influence of Spaniards and hispanophile courtiers over the king; and Spanish activities in the New World, which seemed to express their ambitions to control a universal monarchy. Abbot's agenda in 1617 thus was not centred on fighting a confessional battle against the Catholic Church and its doctrines. It was motivated by a desire for vigilance against Spain and its 'popish' tyranny. Abbot was committed, like the king, to resisting what he saw as the perverse and illegitimate claims of the papacy. But unlike the king, Abbot increasingly saw Spain as the main ambassador for these popish claims and hence the main enemy to the church and state.

Abbot's attitude to popery was actually significantly closer to James's than we have come to expect. Like James, Abbot could separate the political threat of popery from his aversion to Catholic religion. Crucially, though, Spain occupied a growing prominence in Abbot's anti-papal geopolitics by 1617, where it did not in the king's. In order to interrogate this divergence, and assess how typical Abbot's views were, his ideas must be placed within the wider context of English debates about the papal deposing power, the actions of the Jesuits, and relations with Spain and other Catholic powers.

5 The representation of foreign Catholic powers in English print culture

This brings us to the important question of how Abbot's political concerns about Spanish imperialism mapped on to his wider papophobic fears, especially whether Abbot viewed Spain, in particular, as in league with the Jesuits. In comparison to other printed works circulating in the late 1610s, Abbot's language was substantially more nuanced. London's pamphlet literature was replete with crude and harsh depictions of Catholics and these discussions provide a useful context through

[58] *HMC Downshire*, vi, pp. 71-2 [George Abbot to William Trumbull, 12 December 1616]. Cf. Abbot's letter of 26 June 1617, p. 211.

which to assess the character and extent of Abbot's anti-popery. Abbot's views about the power dynamics between Rome and Madrid, as well as their relations with London, were part of a wider European debate about the nature and limits of religious and political authority and the relationship between religion and politics. By re-reading Abbot's writings about popish tyranny through the prism of debates about the papal deposing power and relations with Spain, it might be possible to locate more precisely the range of English reactions to the 'problem' of spiritual and political allegiance. I will explore these questions in relation to three prominent literary themes: the threat posed by the Jesuits; the power dynamics between the pope and the king of Spain; and the reactions to the Arminian crisis gripping England's nearest Calvinist neighbour, the Dutch Republic.

i. The representation of the Jesuit threat

One way to examine the interaction between Abbot's anti-Spanish and anti-papal tendencies is through a detailed analysis of his changing conceptualisation of the role of the Jesuits. Indeed, Abbot's attitude towards the Jesuits is particularly instructive. The international controversy over the papal deposing power left an impression on Abbot's thought, which is particularly noticeable in his *Briefe Description*.

In early versions of *A briefe description*, the Jesuits barely feature at all. The Society is credited with the discovery of Japan, as its members 'in a blinde zeale haue trauelled into the farthest parts of the world to win men to their Religion'.[59] The only other reference to the Jesuits related to Poland's practice of religious coexistence, whereby 'Papists, Colleges of Iesuites, both of Lutherans, and Caluinistes opinions, Anabaptists, Artians, and diuers others' are all permitted. Moreover, in his description of the Spanish mission to the New World, Abbot talks about 'Friers and Religion men' but not the Society of Jesus specifically. This exclusion may reflect the Society's absence from Abbot's sources. But it is a particularly striking omission given the prominent place the Jesuits commanded in English anti-papal thought.

During the 1590s Jesuits were characterised in England as 'hispaniolated' intriguers whose loyalty was to their master, the king of Spain. Indeed, this was an association that some English

[59] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. Q2v.

Catholics were very keen to break at the start of James's reign in England. For those Catholics, like Matthew Kellison, who hoped to encourage the principles of selected toleration set out by James, distancing the recusant community from 'Spanish' plots and designs was a political strategy. In *Survey of the new Religion* (1603), Kellison offered to swear 'by corporall oathe, to obey your lawes in all temporall causes, and to defend your Roial Person, your Deare Spouse our Gracious Queene, and your towardlie Children, our Noble Lordes, with the last droppe of our bloud'. In the second edition of 1605, issued after the Gunpowder Plot, Kellison restated the 'natural affection' of Catholics to 'our countrie' and suggested that since the peace with Spain there was nothing more to fear.[60] The perception that the Jesuits were controlled by Spain because of their foundation by Ignatius Loyola and the early domination of the order by Spaniards, nevertheless, persisted. Even the interrogators of the archpriest George Blackwell, imprisoned in 1607 after swearing the Oath of Allegiance, insisted on ascertaining from him the current nature of relations between Spain and the pope, given the Spanish intervention in Ireland. Abbot, however, does not appear to link Jesuit activities in Europe to the Spanish mission in the Americas. There is no specific reference in *A briefe description* to the role or influence of the Jesuits in the church affairs of the region.[61]

The Jesuits do receive a more enhanced treatment in the 1605 edition of Abbot's geography book. Abbot extended his discussion of religion in Poland and included a larger description of Jesuit behaviour there:

> But of late yeares, there hath been made earnest motions in their Parliaments, that their Colledges of *Iesuites* should be dissolued, and they banished out of that Kingdome, as of late they were from *France*. The reason of it is, because that vnder colour of Religion, they doe secretly deale in State causes, and many times sow seditions, and some of them haue given counsell to murther Princes: and wheresoeuer they be, they are the onely intelligencers for the *Pope*: besides that, many of the Papists (but especially all their Friers, and orders of Religion) doe hate and enuie them: first, for that they taken vpon them with such pride to be called *Iesuites*, as if none had to doe with *Iesus* but they; and are more inward with Princes, then the rest are: Secondly, because many of them are more learned then common Monkes and Friers: And thirdly, because they professe more strictly and seuerely, then others doe, the *Capuchins* onely excepted.[62]

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[60] M. Kellison, *A Suruey of the new Religion* (1603), 'dedicatory epistle to James's, unfol. and *A Suruey of the new Religion* (Douai, 1605), 'the epistle to the right honourable Lordes, the Lordes of his Maiesties Privie Counsel', unfol.
[61] J. P. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640* (2nd edn., 1999); Tutino, *Law and Conscience*, pp. 119-21.
[62] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1605), sig. E[1]v.

Here Abbot is positioning the Jesuits as crazed agents of a universalist papacy, in a manner similar to James's efforts to distance the Jesuits from the majority of loyal Catholic subjects in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot (1605). The Society of Jesus had been widely denounced as responsible for the plot and several of its priests were publicly executed. Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, described the Jesuits, schooled in seminaries on the continent, as 'absolutely inthralled to their chiefe Generall the Pope' and his claims to indirect authority *in temporalibus*. The Jesuits were roundly condemned for their mischievous use of this doctrine to stir up rebellion and sedition.[63] The king was also scathing about the doctrine of *potestas papalis in temporalibus*. But, unlike Morton, James did not assume that all Catholics believed that it was an article of faith. In a speech of 1606, responding to the Gunpowder Plot, he made clear that though 'blind superstition' and adherence to 'some errors of Popery' had led Thomas Percy and his followers to 'this desperate device, yet it doth not follow, That all professing that *Romish* religion were guilty of the same'. What separated treacherous from loyal Catholics, in the king's eyes, was the doctrine of papal supremacy. Indeed, James himself criticised Bellarmine for trying to make the primacy of the Roman see 'one of the chiefest Articles of the Catholicke faith'. Abbot, likewise, presents the Jesuits as outside of the Catholic mainstream. They are described as political monsters, scheming 'vnder colour of Religion', and even in terms of piety are different from 'common Monkes and Friers' due their pride and severity. This depiction of the Jesuits as Machiavellian atheists was a standard trope, which acts to isolate the treasonous activities of their members conceptually from Catholic religiosity.[64]

For Morton, by contrast, English recusants had shown their preference for the religion of the Jesuits, so could not be trusted to remain loyal to the state. Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, one of the architects of the peace with Spain concurred. Salisbury admonished those 'Authors illustrated in Rome, which strongly mainteine the doctrine of deposing kings' as well as 'those which imploy so many seditious spirits, daily to instruct the unlearned Catholicks in those mysteries of deposing Princes'. But whilst attacking the doctrine of the papal deposing power directly, Salisbury also made a far more

[63] T. Morton, *An exact discoverie of Romish Doctrine in the case of Conspiracie and Rebellion* (1605), STC 18184, pp. 35-7.
[64] King James I, 'A Proclamation denouncing Thomas Percy' (7 November 1605), in *Proclamations*, i, p. 283.

sweeping association between Catholic devotion and civil disobedience, expressing the need to 'roote out all memory of Catholicke Religion' in order that 'the state of Christendome might be freed from all pernicious instruments, which seeke not to plant peace, but to worke confusion'.[65] Unlike Salisbury and Morton who glossed over the tensions and disputes within the English Catholic community, Abbot instead used the Jesuits to showcase the divisions and animosities within it. By representing the Jesuits as resented by the mendicant orders for their authoritarian discipline and education, Abbot created a cleavage between 'common Monkes and Friers', who appear relatively unthreatening, and a seditious core of Jesuits, who were politically radicalised by popish doctrines and 'learning'.

This is a representation that chimes with the king's approach to the Oath of Allegiance controversy, with which he was concurrently engaged. Concerns over the political doctrines of the Jesuits were at the centre of the international debate. A book attacking James's political thought by the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suárez was publicly burned at London in 1613 and at Paris in 1614. Abbot observed to William Trumbull, resident ambassador to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in Brussels, that the Paris incident was 'a notable affront to all the Jesuits in Christendom and even to the pope, as it was perused at Rome before it was published'.[66] Although Abbot made it clear that the modern papacy was the Antichrist described in Revelation, what the comments in his geography book reveal is that, like James, he was able to distinguish between various sorts of Catholics. Not all Catholics posed an immediate danger. Abbot was engaged in a battle against those who upheld 'popery' as a political and theological system.

ii. The power dynamics between the leaders of Catholic Europe

The second theme on which Abbot's representation of the popish threat significantly departed from that of other English Calvinists was in his depiction of the relation of Europe's Catholic rulers to the pope. Abbot never ascribed singular authority to the pope in his political works, failing to reduce the military events in Germany to a simple narrative of papal intervention. In his *Briefe Description*, for example, it is the alignment of Spanish and Roman interests that poses the fundamental threat to the

[65] R. Cecil, *An Answere to certain Scandalous Papers, Scattered abroad under colour of a Catholicke Admonition* (1606), STC 4895.3, sigs. C2r-v.
[66] *HMC Downshire*, iv, p. 458 [Abbot to Trumbull, 14 July 1614]; Tutino, *Law and Conscience*, pp. 121-28.

enemies of popery. For example, Abbot describes the Archdukedom of Austria as an entity propped up by the Spanish king as well as the pope. Albert VII (d. 1621), Abbot states, was given 'dispensation from the Pope, the Archbishopricke of Toledo in Spaine' for the title, 'although he were no Priest, and had then also the title of Cardinall of Austria, & was imploied for Viceroy of Portugall, by Philip the 2, King of Spaine'.[67]

By contrast, during the years 1608 to 1617, there was a significant supply of anti-papal print entering England from the United Provinces, having been translated from Dutch originals. Such news pamphlets typically reported on the current state of affairs in the United Provinces, with a heavily pro-Protestant, pro-republican filter. One such translation was the anonymous newsbook, *A true Relation of the treasons attempted against foure Townes in the Netherlands*, printed by George Purslowe and Nicholas Okes for Edward Marchant in 1615. This is an unusual composition for a news pamphlet: written in verse it purports to convey the instructions of Pope Paul V to Spinola, General of the Spanish army, for gaining territory in Germany. It is a fanciful piece of literary prosopopoeia, in which the poet assumes the voice of Pope Paul. One of the most interesting aspects of this poem is how it presents the operation of hierarchy between the different Catholic agents. The unnamed writer is in no doubt as to who is really in command of the Spanish general:

> Your God here on the earth I am,
> See you adore my holy name,
> And in all things performe my will
> In this warre, as I trust you will.
>
> First take the land of *Gulick* in,
> Then to besiege *Franckfort* begin,
> And let the siege vnto't be held,
> Till it constrayned be to yeeld.
>
> In Winter with your Armie lie,
> In *Hessen*, that to it is nie.
> Plague *Germanie* with Warre, vntill
> You force them to obay my will.
>
> Make shew to do't in th'Emperours name,
> And say men must obay the same.
> Proceede with courage stout, my Sonne:

[67] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1636), p. 76.

Leaue not till *Germanie* be wonne.[68]

Here the pope is shown to operate independently, and even contrary to the interests of the king of Spain's Habsburg uncle, Holy Roman Emperor Matthias. The Catholic cause is at once divided, with Rome operating secretly and disingenuously against its purported allies, and singularly united in advancing the aims of the papacy.

This was particularly provocative material in 1615. It was produced in the immediate aftermath of the Jülich-Cleves succession crisis in Germany, which nearly provoked confrontation between Dutch and Spanish troops. From August 1614 General Spinola had occupied the garrisons at Aachen and Wesel and had been reluctant to cede Wesel, in the duchy of Cleves, when the treaty of partition was agreed. This poet goes to great lengths to slur the pope and purports to offer a clear, anti-Dutch and anti-Protestant explanation of Spinola's motives in Germany. But, unlike Abbot's text, here Philip III, Spinola's master, is entirely absent from the scene and in his place the pope stands as supreme instigator.

Even when English pamphlet literature did ascribe Spain a central role in European affairs, they did not necessarily mirror Abbot's interpretation. Thomas Gainsford went a lot further than Abbot in *The Glory of England* (1618), a tract published prior to the Bohemia crisis and was so popular it went through four editions in four years.[69] Indeed, Gainsford was no stranger to the polemical power of print, in 1620 he would gain notoriety for circulating a manuscript tract against Gondomar called 'Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost' or 'Vox Spiritus'. Secretary Calvert discovered Gainsford in November and had him committed to prison.[70] But even prior to the crisis of 1620, Gainsford can be found publishing anti-Spanish sentiments. In *The Glory of England*, the writer boldly characterises Spaniards as subservient to the pope:

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[68] [Anon.], *A true Relation of the treasons attempted against foure Townes in the Netherlands. Together with a Discourse containing the past, and present estate thereof. With the Popes ten Commandments to Marquise Spinola, Translated into English, with the Originall in Dutch annexed* (1615), STC 18446a, p. 12.

[69] E. H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 238. *The Glory of England* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 7 March 1618, putting its publication prior to outbreak of the Bohemia crisis in May (Arber, iii, fo. 288v). Internal evidence reinforces this, as Gainsford does not mention the rebellion when discussing the advance of the Counter Reformation in Bohemia. Instead, he remarks that the King of Bohemia had once had a 'binding vote' in the Empire 'but now the Pope and *Austria* haue subuerted such immunities, and vnder the danger of fulmination, and Church discipline terrifie them' (Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 61).

[70] For more on Gainsford's pamphleteering activities in the early 1620s, see S. L. Adams, 'Captain Thomas Gainsford, the "Vox Spiritus" and the "Vox Populi"', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1976), pp. 140-44.

> *Spaine* is polluted with Paganisme, and inuented that cruell office of Inquisition to punish the Moores, or such as adhered to their superstition, is ouerawed by the Cleargy, and is so terrified with the thundring voyce of excommunication, that he durst not but put his owne sonne to death, to please the Pope.

Here Gainsford reiterated a standard Elizabethan anti-Spanish claim that Philip II had imprisoned and even murdered his mentally ill son Don Carlos on the orders of Pope Pius V. He also connects the corrupted state of religion in Spain with the downtrodden and dilapidated condition of its clergy. Indeed even in the political sphere, Gainsford interprets the king of Spain's actions with implicit reference to the papacy. In the Low Countries the Spanish king, having taken 'the house of *Burgundie* for his owne' stood 'hoping that the Pope, which can canonize a Saint, will make the daughter of *Spaine* a Queene, especially of her owne inheritance'. In these passages Gainsford imagines the interests of Madrid and Rome as tightly and necessarily bound. The king of Spain is reliant on the pope's aid in order to cement his supremacy and crush the violent Dutch resistance.[71]

Moreover, Gainsford's text even speculates on the source of Spanish corruption:

> But *Spaiue* [sic] must mourne for strange disparity this way, and either lament that the whore of *Babylon* hath poysoned her Countries with the dregges of abomination, or complaine, that the women are painted like the images of the groues, and sit in the high-way, as *Thamar* when shee went to deceiue *Iuda.*

In both of these images Spain has been deluded and deceived by the evils of the Church of Rome. Gainsford takes the biblical story of Tamar and Judah to argue that, as Judah was deceived by the seductive exterior of Tamar, so have the Spanish been lured in by the Romish religion. But crucially, nowhere does Gainsford's text convey any sense of Spain relinquishing its pitiful subservience to Babylon.[72]

Given how many of Abbot's political views were aligned with Gainsford's – opposition to the proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage and support for a war against Spain – it is striking that Abbot did not also emphasise Gainsford's sense of the papacy's fundamental hold over Spain. Indeed, if we examine the language of the *Briefe Description* more closely, subtle and yet important differences between the writers emerge.

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[71] Gainsford, *Glory of England*, p. 74.
[72] Ibid., p. 235.

Abbot's description of the Christian mission in South America, this time in Brazil, is particularly revealing. The archbishop diagnosed malign papal influence over French efforts to colonise Brazil. Having left France to promote the Reformed religion in the New World, 'by the euill counsel of some of the chiefe Rulers of *France*, which were addicted vnto the *Pope*', Abbot explained, these Frenchmen were forced to return to France and completely relinquish the colony. The papacy has not disappeared from Abbot's understanding of the threat of popery, but its prominence is firmly in the spiritual domain rather than the temporal.[73]

Instead, in Abbot's thought the temporal force of popery seems to reside in the king of Spain. In a language typical of the anti-Iberian sources studied by Abbot, the archbishop characterises the king and his agents as religious hypocrites, masking a political agenda behind appeals to religion.[74] Abbot reinforces this division between religion and politics with examples of Catholic behaviour in the Middle East. Though Jerusalem was within Ottoman jurisdiction, there were now, Abbot reports,

> two or more Monasteries, and Religious Houses, where Friers do abide, and make a good commoditie of shewing the Sepulchre of Christ, and other Monuments unto such Christian Pilgrimes as do vse superstitiously to go in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*.

The commodification of Christianity by Catholic friars, which Abbot derides, is implicitly connected with Spanish presence in the region. The next sentence reads, 'The King of *Spaine* was wont to call himselfe King of *Ierusalem*' and here the section on the Holy Land ends with the underlying impression that Spanish designs on Jerusalem are advanced by the presence of Catholic religious orders.[75]

Through a close contextualised reading of the *Briefe Description*, it is thus possible to build up an understanding of the complex, variegated ways that Abbot envisaged the relationship between Spain and the papacy. Spain is conceptualised as a discrete agent, one of several popish states doggedly pursuing its own self-aggrandising agenda, an agenda that allegiance with the papacy has bolstered.[76]

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[73] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. V3r.
[74] See Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, chap. 8, and above pp. 49-52.
[75] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sig. K[1]r.
[76] A pertinent example would be the 'secret' clause in Philip II's cessation of the Netherlands to the Archdukes stipulated that Spain could take the territory back if the Archdukes had no heirs (as proved to be the case). From 1598, this clause was widely known about. See C. Borreguero Beltrán, 'Isabel Clara Eugenia: Daughter of the Spanish Empire', in T. Andrade and W. Reger (eds), *The Limits of Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History: Essays in Honor of Geoffrey Parker* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 257-80, esp. p. 275.

Rome, by contrast, is not conceived as a Machiavellian popish state but a perfidious theological evil, with the pope the instigator of that key Counter-Reformation terror doctrine: tyrannicide.[77]

This impression is reinforced in Abbot's correspondence with William Trumbull in the years 1614 to 1618. Here we find the archbishop conceptualising the two powers in quite distinct ways. When discussing the state of war and peace in Christendom, Spain commands the most prominent position among the Catholic nations. For example, in August 1614 Abbot deeply distrusted the intentions of General Spinola's army in Wesel, telling Trumbull that 'I do not believe that the army which Spinola commandeth was raised only for his sake'. By March the following year he had an even greater suspicion of Spanish motives and was convinced Spinola's army was at the centre of a bid to secure Germany (and eventually the Low Countries) for the Spanish Habsburgs:

> Until Wesel is given up I will continue to think that Spinola has no intention of halting hostilities definitively. I am reinforced in this opinion by the political situation in those parts. Should the Archduke die, as it is predicted, and the Infanta retire into a nunnery, the King of Spain would in a short time assume control of the government, and exploit Juliers and Cleves to bolster his ambitions, one being to make his second son King of the Romans and inherit Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and the rest.[78]

In the 1590s, Abbot had seen Philip II as acting autonomously of the pope and in the late 1610s continued to see the Spanish empire as a warning of a perpetual desire by the Spanish monarchy to govern over the whole world. Yet Abbot recognised Spain's limitations. He repeatedly reminded Trumbull that Spain was militarily stretched: 'the situation in Italy is still unstable' and this 'will make it difficult for the King of Spain to withdraw any of his forces from the Duchy of Milan, even to help the Archduke Ferdinand'.

It should be noted that, like Abbot, Thomas Gainsford, shortly after his return from military service in the Low Countries, also identified Spain's war weariness:

> Wee haue made *Spaine* weary of the warres, and at last desire a peace, which I would be loth to resemble to still waters, wherein are the deepest gulphs and most dangerous places to aduenture.[79]

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[77] See Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, ch. 13.
[78] *HMC Downshire*, v, p. 511 [Abbot to Trumbull, 31 August 1614], and vi, p. 165 [Abbot to Trumbull, 15 March 1615].
[79] T. Gainsford, *The Glory of England, or A true description of many excellent prerogatiues and remarkeable blessings, whereby she triumpheth ouer all the nations of the world* (1618), STC 11517, p. 245; M. Eccles, 'Thomas Gainsford, "Captain Pamphlet"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 45 (1982), pp. 259-270.

This suspicion of Spanish motives for making peace was also shared by Archbishop Abbot. In a letter to William Trumbull, dated 31 August 1614, Abbot expressed a similar fear about the Spaniards' *entente cordiale*:

> they profess that they will keep the truce *tres punctuellement*, but it is the jargon the Spaniards offered to play Q. Elizabeth in the year '88, when they continued the treaty till the Spanish navy was put to the seas to invade England.[80]

But, unlike Gainsford, Abbot's suspicion of Spain fuelled his attempts to build an anti-Habsburg coalition of Protestants and sympathetic Catholics; it did not preclude a cross-confessional response to the creeping Spanish influence that appeared had been engendered by the new conditions of peace.

Again here we see that Abbot's understanding of the geopolitics of popery was not entirely dissimilar to the views publicly expressed by James I. Abbot's circumspection in his correspondence with Trumbull reflects a deep underlying concern that Protestant Europe was on the brink of assault by the 'Popish powers'. But the archbishop was also a statesman, who understood the intricate power dynamics and competing interests of the 'Popish princes'. His attitudes were more complex than the binary worldview of the pro-Dutch pamphlets, which traced the current tensions in the Low Countries back to a scheming and fanatical papacy. Here we can trace the impact of the king's agenda, not his ecumenical agenda but his desire to divide Catholic Europe between hardline, Jesuit-inspired 'Papists' and moderate, peaceable Catholics. This intellectual programme dictated a cautious and flexible conduct of confessional relations. Whilst Abbot's views were clearly by no means ecumenical, the prevailing mood at court did have an influence on the archbishop, who advocated vigilance rather than crusade.

iii. England's response to the Arminian crisis in the Dutch Republic

The third area in which Abbot's views seem to have been influenced by James's priorities, rather than the sympathetic stance that dominated popular print culture, was his attitude to the Dutch

[80] *Report on the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marquess of Downshire Formerly Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berkshire* (6 vols., 1922-95), ed. G. Dyfnallt Owen (hereafter *HMC Downshire*) iv, pp. 513-14 [Abbot to Trumbull, 31 August 1614].

republic. The king's view of the Dutch is well documented. At the time of his accession to the English throne, James was pressed to continue to support the Dutch in their rebellion against Spanish Catholic rule. Advisers such as Robert Cotton argued that the war was 'just and lawfull and not a rebellion' because Philip II had broken his promise to uphold the 'aristocraticall government' of the Dutch and ruled autocratically. But James was unpersuaded by such arguments. For him the actions of the Dutch constituted unlawful rebellion against a sovereign ruler. Rebels were 'impossible to wish well' as such a surge of disorder might easily spread to other nations.[81]

Yet the king, as Patterson has argued, was also deeply concerned about the unity of the Dutch church and state. The divisions within Dutch Protestantism ignited by the doctrines of Jacobus Arminius alarmed James, by making the republic more vulnerable to Spain. James's diplomatic efforts in the run up to the Synod of Dort for the Dutch to resist new doctrines and uphold its commitment to Calvinism demonstrate that James recognised the importance of theological unity between Protestant states.[82]

Archbishop Abbot scarcely mentioned the Low Countries in *A briefe description*: there is no headed section on the United Provinces as there is for other nations, including the Republic of Venice. Instead, Abbot incorporated a brief discussion of the Dutch republic and its revolt against Spanish rule in passages relating to France and Germany, perhaps because it was a sensitive topic. During a discussion of the dukedom of Burgundy, Abbot briefly mentioned that

> some of those Prouinces in our age, think themselues freed from obedience vnto the King of *Spaine*, vnto whom by inheritance they did discend; because he hath violated their liberties, to the keeping whereof, at the first composition, he was bound.

Moreover, Abbot noted that the Dutch were 'in time past accounted a very heauie dull people, and vnfit for the warres', but 'their continual combating with the *Spaniards*, hath made them now very ingenuous, full of action, and managers of great causes, appertaining to fights, either by Sea or Land'.[83]

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[81] BL, Cotton MS Vespasian C. XIII, fos 158-9 [R. Cotton, 'Discours uppon the kings necessitie to make peace or keepe warres with Spayne' (1603)]; *CSPV* , x, p. 520 [Nicolo Molin, Venetian ambassador in England, 'Report on England' presented to the Venetian government, 1607], cf. Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 183.
[82] Patterson, *King James*, pp. 261-2; *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618-1619)*, ed. A. Milton (Church of England Record Soc., 13th Ser., 2005), introduction.
[83] Abbot, *Briefe Description* (1617), sigs. B4v-C[1]r.

These fleeting references to the plight of the Dutch against Spanish rule can be contrasted to the range of enthusiastic English Protestant responses to the crisis. For many people, the Dutch were natural allies of the English: a Protestant nation committed to defending its liberties and independence from the pretensions of its powerful Catholic neighbours. The English traveller Fynes Moryson, for example, was highly enthusiastic about the Dutch and scathing of the Spanish in his 1617 travel book, *An Itinerary*.[84] Like other English travellers, Moryson found much to marvel at in the United Provinces. He was particularly impressed by its religious toleration, great trade and prosperity, which fostered 'an easy, certain, and commodious way of travelling'. For Moryson, the interests of England and the Low Countries often corresponded and their prosperity relied on mutual opposition to Spain. 'In generall', Moryson wrote of his journey in 1594, 'good men on both sides are to wish the continuance of Peace between *England* and these Provinces'.[85]

This favourable view of the United Provinces affected how Moryson narrated the Dutch revolt. The provinces of Holland, Zeland and their neighbours 'vnited in mutuall league for their defence against the Spaniards', who, he explained, burdened them with crippling taxation and enforced conformity to the Catholic religion. Indeed, 'vpon the first dissention about Religion, Pope *Pius* the fourth induced *Phillip* King of *Spaine* to publish a Decree in *Netherland*, for the establishing of the infamous Inquisition' and for 'the execution of the Decrees made in the Councell of *Trent*'.[86] These actions, Moryson argued, motivated the Dutch to resist their oppressors and justified their rebellion. Compared to such passionate support for the Netherlands, Abbot's discussion of the Dutch republic appears muted and restrained.

Abbot's cautious attitude to the Dutch may reflect his underlying concerns over Dutch Protestantism's abandonment of episcopacy and the Republic's abjuration of monarchy. The Church of England was heavily invested in resolving the theological dispute over Arminianism in the Dutch Church, and encouraged the Dutch to convene a national synod. The preservation of Dutch Calvinism concerned Calvinists in England and James publicly disputed the Arminian party and actively

[84] The book was entered in the Stationers' Register to John Beale on 5 April 1617 (Arber, iii, fo. 280v).
[85] F. Moryson, *An Itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell* (1617), STC 18205, iii, p. 292.
[86] Ibid., pp. 282, 277.

intervened to press for a council.[87] Given the king's involvement, the archbishop of Canterbury was also expected to express his position. Indeed, Abbot explained to Dudley Carleton, the resident English ambassador in The Hague, that

> I haue beene pressed on both sides to declare my minde in writing, and to certifie them of some matters of fact wch I haue forborne to do, because when a man beginneth wth them he shall neuer haue an end, and being brought up after their fashion, they carry no decent respect to any man longer then themselues list, ... The lesse you meddle wth them ye more shall be your ease.[88]

This letter, dated 7 February 1617, conveyed dismay at the escalation of the religious situation in the Netherlands and concern that the king's intervention 'hath done little goode amongst them, saueing to make his Royall name tossed up and downe in their uulgar mouthes'. These 'distractions in religion' could not be resolved easily, Abbot maintained, 'since in a popular State euery one taketh a freedome to beleeue what he list, so yt he contradict not ye Lawes'. Here Abbot revealed himself to be as unsympathetic towards republican government as he was about the organisation of the Dutch Church; the deficiencies of both seemed to have enabled the Arminian 'Heresy' to emerge.[89]

Abbot's cautious and ambiguous approach to the controversy surrounding the Synod of Dort was thus related to a political objection to the way authority was structured in the Dutch church and state. In March 1617 Abbot wrote to Dudley Carleton that 'where there is no superiour to direct, nor inferior to obey', there 'differences in religion' are the inevitable result:

> You are not to maruayle yt any one in that countrey doth disseminate new opinions, or sett forth bookes conteineing in them grossnes of Heresy. For where euery man pretendeth to haue a particular interest in ye State as a kind of ruler, and must in a sorte bee left to his owne discretion, who can wonder yf ye luxuriant witts of idle men do breake out into many exorbitances in case of Religion.

As this correspondence reveals, Abbot's attitude towards the Dutch republican state was interwoven with his opinion about the nature of its church. It was, after all, the state that determined the structure and discipline of the church. The reverence the archbishop felt for episcopal authority and supremacy would certainly have limited his affection for the Dutch Reformed tradition.[90]

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[87] For the Synod of Dort and its consequences, see P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 303-13.
[88] TNA, SP 105/95, fo. 4r [Abbot to Dudley Carleton, 7 February 1617].
[89] Ibid., fos 3v [Abbot to Carlton, 7 February 1617], 5r [22 March 1617], underlined as in the original.
[90] TNA, SP 105/95, fos 4v-5r [Abbot to Carleton, 22 March 1617]. See Lake, 'Anti-popery', pp. 89-90.

Moryson, by contrast, described the government of the United Provinces favourably as 'aristocratical'. This is an important choice of language and distinguishes the Dutch state from any popular or democratic form of government. Other English travellers reiterated this impression. For Henry Hexham, a soldier who fought in the Low Countries under Sir Francis Vere, the regime was comprised of 'the best men' who were selected to public office according to their 'experience, fidelity and wisdom'.[91]

Abbot's connections with British colonial projects and his geographical knowledge enabled him to consider political events in the United Provinces and the growing influence of Spanish diplomacy over King James, which he found so troubling, in a global context. In January 1617 Abbot wrote to Sir Thomas Roe at the court of the Great Mogul at Agra expounding precisely this view:

> For as thinges now stand throughout the whole worlde, there is no place so remote, but that the consideration thereof is mediatly or immediatly of consequence to our affaires heere. Not onely for the customes and traficke of merchandize, which is the more mechanicke and subservient part, but principally for the wellfare or illfare of the Portugals and the kinge of Spaine, who is a remarkable monarcke among those of Christendome. And a man is simple that doth not see that the kinge of France, the princes of Italy and especially the Hollanders our neerest neighbours, are the greater or the lesser for the event of those thinges which they or others have in those Eastern parts.[92]

This letter makes explicit the global perspective on the threat of Spain that Abbot was developing across the different editions of *A briefe description*. The struggle with Spain touched the aspirations of English, Dutch and French merchants in the East and West Indies. In the United Provinces, the Calvinist war party argued that it was economically disastrous for the Dutch to cede to Spanish demands over trade in the New World. A similar debate was being waged within the English trading companies. James's calculation remained that the Spanish government was currently weak and, therefore, anxious to maintain peace. But Abbot here reflected a general perception that peace simply gave Spain time to build up resources and gather the strength it needed to menace Europe once more. The New World was thus central to Abbot's strategy for holding the Protestant Dutch and English together. Abbot despised Hugo Grotius, who was linked to the Remonstrant party, because he appeared to be stirring up 'factious'

[91] Moryson, *Itinerary*, iii, p. 285; [H. Hexham], *A tongue-combat lately happening betweene two English souldiers* (1623), STC 13264.8, p. 50.
[92] TNA, SP 14/90, fo. 65 [Abbot to Sir Thomas Roe, 20 January 1617].

unrest by destabilising the Dutch commitment to unilaterally resisting Spain. France's membership of this anti-Habsburg league was also in doubt, given the recent Franco-Spanish alliance agreed by Marie de Medici. But Abbot continued to see French interests as lying with the enemies of Spain. His frustration at the current state of affairs stems from the growing isolation of his Black Legend view of Spain, which was failing to unite Catholic and Protestant states against the Habsburgs.[93]

Having castigated the tyranny of the Spaniards over '*Low-countrimen*' in *A briefe description*, Abbot recognised the tense situation in the Netherlands and the need to strengthen international Calvinism. Abbot's desperation came through strongly in his March epistle to Dudley Carleton, which he concluded with the following exhortation:

> I pray God yt their resolucion against ye time of Easter for a Synode or otherwise, may sorte to so goode effect, as yt peace at ye last may be among them, and their distractions so quited yt they giue not occasion to ye Iesuite to insulte ouer them as by printed pamphetts [sic] from Antwerp some papistes haue done.[94]

Division among Protestants was thus such a fundamental cause of anxiety for Abbot, not simply because he desired to see bishops restored to the Dutch Reformed Church, but because the Arminian controversy undermined the ability of Reformed Protestants to resist the external forces of popish tyranny. Whereas Moryson continued to see the Dutch as the invariable 'prey' of the Spanish, requiring the protection of stronger Protestant nations such as England, for Abbot the dangers posed to Dutch Protestantism from without were magnified by 'distractions' within. Both sought a united Protestant front against the onslaughts of popery, but for our archbishop, like his king, this had to be first and foremost an alliance rooted in mutual commitment to Calvinism.

iv. Tactical moderation?

These subtle distinctions raise the important question of whether Abbot's rhetorical moderation was sincere or tactical. Does his geography book reveal Abbot to be a willing participant in the more nuanced attitude towards Catholics prevailing at the Jacobean court? As Jeanne Shami has observed, Abbot was not known for his moderation, tactical or otherwise. When preaching to the king on Palm

[93] M. Lee, *James I and Henri IV: An Essay in English Foreign Policy, 1603-1610* (Urbana and London, 1970), pp. 175-6.
[94] TNA, SP 105/95, fo. 4v.

Sunday 1624, for example, he articulated 'with that extraordinarie boldnes' his preference for strong coercive policies towards recusants.[95] This plainness was consistent with his efforts to root out Catholic converts throughout his career, espying a dangerous shift in political allegiance. It also characterised his vocal opposition to the Anglo-Spanish marriage. But Abbot was also an opportunist. The archbishop tried to play on the anti-papal fears that surfaced in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot by searching out recusants and their priests. He also capitalised on the king's anti-Jesuit mood following the publication of Suárez's *Defence of the Catholic Faith* (1613) by revealing Luisa de Carvajal's plans for a 'Spanish' nunnery and accusing her of responsibility for a number of conversions. Abbot declared Carvajal to be 'a Jesuitess, and so are all her disciples, apparelled in every respect as the Jesuits' women', and even joked, following her arrest, that he knew the name of the tailor that had made the women's habits.[96]

These actions help to sharpen our image of Abbot as a determined politician, a man capable of using international controversy to advance his own anti-papal agenda. Yet, as a politician, Abbot was also able to exercise pragmatic caution when circumstances demanded. As Kenneth Fincham has shown, Abbot learned to humour the king's irenic views and even urged Trumbull to moderate his anti-papal language when corresponding with James.[97] What this evidence suggests, then, is that Abbot was influenced and guided by the prevailing attitudes of the times. Abbot interpreted events through an anti-papal and anti-Spanish filter, but he did not always do so indiscriminately. He closely monitored international news and was well versed in the intellectual controversies of the day. Indeed, he repeatedly thanked Trumbull for sending him books, some of which were by Catholic authors. As Peter Lake has shown in his study of Joseph Hall, it is difficult to analyse the motivations that lie beneath a moderated language. But it seems appropriate to conclude that Abbot, alert to the complexities of the popish threat, was operating a similarly complex anti-papal geopolitics to that of the king, even if it was for different ends.[98]

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[95] J. Shami, 'Labels, Controversy, and the Language of Inclusion in Donne's Sermons', in P. Colclough (ed.), *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 135-57, at p. 141 and Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis*, p. 219. For more on the life and activities of Luisa de Carvajal, see G. Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford, 2008).
[96] *HMC Downshire*, iv, p. 239 [Abbot to Trumbull, 29 October 1613]; Redworth, *She-Apostle*, p. 220.
[97] Berkshire Record Office, Trumbull MSS, i, no. 23, cited in Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics', p. 46, n. 52.
[98] P. Lake, 'The Moderate and Irenic Case for Religious War: Joseph Hall's *Via Media* in Context', in M. Kishlansky and S. Amussen (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 55-83.

6 The Bohemia crisis of 1618 and its political consequences

Where the king and the archbishop of Canterbury differed, then, was in their assessment of Spain's place within the geopolitics of popery. The final part of this chapter will examine the limits of the anti-papal consensus in early Stuart England, by examining the contrasting reactions of Abbot and James to the escalating conflict in Bohemia in 1618. At a moment of burgeoning international crisis, the extent to which English people were prepared to justify their endorsement of specific foreign policy options using anti-papal arguments varied dramatically. The differing approaches of these two figures were symptomatic of a wider fissure in English thought about the prominence confessional sensitivities ought to have in formulating foreign policy. It will be argued that, despite the persistence of its tropes and associations, anti-popery actually fuelled rather than calmed political debate. When used as a language of politics at a moment of crisis, anti-popery was provocative and highly divisive.

In 1618 James was reluctant to abandon his efforts to strengthen Stuart relations with the Habsburgs in order to prioritise confessional considerations. In the king's political thought, Spanish and Roman interests were not fundamentally or necessarily aligned. There remained the possibility that Spain might be moved to relinquish its political alliance with the pope or convert to a more moderate, conciliatory position. He, therefore, responded to the escalating conflict in Bohemia with considerable dismay. James characteristically favoured mediation between the emperor and the Bohemians. Both the English ambassador in Paris, Francis Cottington, and John Wolley, William Trumbull's secretary, wrote to Trumbull certain that the king had accepted offers from the French and Spanish kings to act as mediator in order to avoid the 'efusion of blood'. A policy of isolation might also push Spain further towards the papacy. James thus urged his son-in-law Frederick not to get involved in the Bohemians' dispute with the emperor, and would express serious doubts in 1619 about the legality of Ferdinand's deposition.[99]

The king was in an optimistic mood in 1618 about his prospects of negotiating a peace and thereby avoiding such a war. In that year, a panegyric to peace was published, entitled, *The Peace-*

[99] *HMC Downshire*, vi, p. 531 [John Wolley to William Trumbull, 2/12 October 1618] and pp. 537, 611 [Francis Cottington to Trumbull, 8 October 1618 and 12 December 1618]. See Patterson, *King James*, pp. 293-338.

Maker, which was dedicated by James 'To all Our true-louing, and Peace-imbracing subiects'. *The Peace-Maker* celebrated James's achievements as a reconciler between nations. 'The disturbed *French*, seeke succour with thee', it announces, 'the troubled *Dutch* flie to thy confines: the *Italian* leaues his hotter clymate'. Even greater were his achievements in brokering peace with Spain 'that great and long-lasting opposite':

> O happy Moderator, blessed Father, not father of thy Country alone but father of all thy Neighbour Countries about thee. *Spaine* and her withstanding Prouinces (long bruised on both sides) thou hast set at peace, turning their bloody Leaguers, to leagues of friendship ...[100]

The king valued peace as an expression of personal religious devotion as well as to bring harmony between nations. It is well-known that James was deeply attracted to the idea of Christian unity, or the creation of 'one mutual Christendome'. It is notable that in *The Peace-Maker* this trope is used in the context of Protestant states, such as Denmark, Sweden and Brandenburg, and polities like Poland-Lithuania with a long tradition of religious coexistence. The 'Protestant' cause therefore, was not entirely absent from James's thinking towards the end of his reign, as he actively pursued a Spanish marriage for his son; but it was a vision of peace that required independent Protestant states to accept the hand of friendship offered by Spain.

For Abbot, however, events on the Continent could not so easily be separated from Spain's goal of imperial expansion. Any show of friendship on Spain's part only served to reinforce his view that Spaniards could not be trusted. What made the Spanish threat so intrinsically dangerous were the duplicitous tactics they adopted to aid their cause politically. In August 1614 Abbot had declaimed to Trumbull that

> the adversary insulteth over us and scorneth us abroad, and practises secret machinations, and we lie asleep as Jonas did in that storm which was ready to drown him and the ship.

The enemy Abbot refers to here could (theoretically) be Roman or Spanish tyranny. But Abbot goes on to reveal its identity quite clearly, affirming that 'We are enchanted by the syren-like songs of Spain'. In listening to the peaceful overtures of the ambassadors of Spain and the archduke, English ministers 'doth suffer us to be dementated and not to be ourselves'. Spanish deception is a form of popish

[100] King James I, *The Peace-Maker or Great Brittaines Blessing* (1618), sig. A5v.

deception; its aim is political and yet its consequences seem to expand beyond the strictly temporal. Not only were Spanish targets, in Germany and the Low Countries, territories with a significant proportion of Protestants, Abbot seems to diagnose a mental and physical sickness associated with a Spanish allegiance. Thus Abbot longed for 'a just breache with the Spaniard' and 'an end of that consideration' for a 'Popish' Anglo-Spanish marriage. Abbot's pointed and well-known interventions against the influence of the 'Spanish' faction were actions of a man alarmed by the power that expansionist Catholic Spain was able to wield over the English Protestant nation.[101]

For much of the 1610s, those Protestants (and Catholics) who resisted Spanish influence and expansion were, in Abbot's eyes, in serious danger. But, strikingly, by the autumn of 1618, the popish malaise seemed to have lifted. At this time, Abbot was expressing noticeably greater optimism in his correspondence with William Trumbull. In a letter to Trumbull, dated 9 September, Abbot expressed his strong feeling that the Catholic camp was greatly divided over the Bohemian crisis. 'Some write that the Emperour was offended at his taking and layd it upon Ferdinand and Maximilian', Abbot explained, 'some other that the Emperour is content to have him sacrificed and to lay any thinge on him that may concerne the Boemians'. On 28 December Abbot was even cheerier, telling Trumbull that the news from Bohemia suggests that Ferdinand's position is unstable and that 'he may be riding for a fall'. Indeed, he took courage from the fact that 'the Princes of the Union together with the Kinges of Denmark and Sweden do desire a more strict confederation betweene those of the reformed religion', whilst 'the Duke of Savoy and the State of Venice have entred a close league of assistance both invasive and defensive, which cannot bee effected but by some stronge opposition against the Spanyards'. Abbot even speculated that these developments 'might seeme to incline us another way' regarding the Spanish marriage negotiations.[102]

This optimism was mirrored in the wider political culture. As Thomas Cogswell observes, the outbreak of hostilities in Bohemia was greeted with elation and there was a widespread expectation that

[101] Welsby, *George Abbot: The Unwanted Archbishop*; for Susan Holland's counter-argument, see her 'George Abbot: "The Wanted Archbishop"', pp. 172-187.
[102] *HMC Downshire*, vi, p. 499 [Abbot to Trumbull, 9 September 1618] and p. 625 [Abbot to Trumbull, 28 December 1618].

the emperor and his Jesuit advisers were about to receive a fatal blow.[103] One English pamphlet epitomises this initial confidence. Published anonymously, *Prosopopoeia, Or, A conference held at Angelo Castle, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spaine* (undated, *c.*1619/20) purports to describe a meeting between three leaders of Catholic Europe. The chair of this popish triumvirate is the pope, who announces his carefully crafted plans 'to sheild all the house of *Austria* from mischanee, / And both their fortunes and your crownes advance'. The time for words had ended, the pope declares, now the sword must arbitrate. But, in stark contrast to their spiritual leader, the Habsburg rulers refute the pope's depiction of the balance of power in Europe. King Philip III is woeful, bewailing the loss of Spain's former might and characterises the whole Catholic cause as in decline:

> Alas for *Rome,* alas for *Ferdinand,*
> Alas for *Philip,* must he needes withstand
> his owne, the *Empires,* and the Churches foes,
> and so himselfe, the Church and *Empire* lose?

The emperor is similarly dejected about the prospects of the Catholic cause. In vain Ferdinand looks to the papacy for a route out of his current adversity:

> If *Rome* haue any secret wisedome hid
> layd vp for wicked times, or euer did
> make wicked heretiques feele Churches power,
> then Father now's the time and this the houre.

Here Emperor Ferdinand calls on Pope Paul to dig deep into his secret armoury for a master strategy. But the peculiar lack of certainty as to whether Rome possesses any such powers strongly enhances the feeling that, in fact, the popish arsenal is also empty. The literary technique of prosopopoeia – that of personifying or giving a voice to something – works here to reveal the weakness of the Catholic side.

One striking passage in *Prosopopoeia* encapsulates the significance of the optimistic mood that gripped English print:

> Besides thy Spanish cosin present here,
> whome *Europe* and the new found world doe feare,
> the Churches *Atlas,* and the Empires prop,
> by strength, by wit, by friends, or golde will stop
> these proud attempts and darings of the Dutch,

[103] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 66, 140.

and break their forces, cost it nere so much.[104]

Whilst the beginning of the poem presents the Habsburgs as deferential to the pope, this description of the king of Spain as the 'Atlas' of the Roman Catholic Church suggests a more complex hierarchy of interests within the papalist side. Atlas has connotations of maps, charts and empire, the world plotted and contained. But Atlas was also an ancient Greek figure, one of the Titans who guarded the tall pillars that keep the sky and earth apart. Rubens depicted Atlas groaning under weight of his duty. The Titan was, therefore, also a symbol of worldly dominion. The Habsburgs saw Atlas as a metaphor for their own global responsibility. When Charles V abdicated, a medal was struck which showed the global burden of rule passing from Charles, as Atlas, to Hercules-like Philip II. The same conceit was used in decorations for Philip II's triumphal entries into Milan (1548) and Antwerp (1549), to signify the political transfer of authority. In *Prosopopoeia*, Atlas is reappropriated into a narrative of imperial decline. The Spanish king is unable to aid his Austrian cousin because 'the way by sea and land are blockt', the emperor is paralysed from action in Germany, haunted by the shadow of a previous conflict in Bohemia. This depiction of vulnerability complements Abbot's own sense that Spain's aims were being frustrated.[105]

The tremendous reaction in English print to the mounting crisis in Bohemia reveals a certain cleavage in attitude about the role of Spain and its potential manoeuvrability. For Abbot and other pamphleteers, Spain's religious language masked its real Machiavellian ambition. The political interests of Spain and the papacy may have diverged, and Spain's addiction to popery may have been superficial, but for Abbot it was integral to Spain's strategy for attaining world domination. By contrast, James, as we have seen, perceived the Habsburg-papal alliance as temporary, contingent and fragile. In these different approaches to Spain emerges a subtle divergence of opinion about the proper boundary between religion and politics. The archbishop clearly looked to anti-papal tropes and attitudes to shine

[104] [Anon.], *Prosopopoeia. Or, A conference held at Angelo Castle, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spaine* (1619/20?), STC 20443, sigs. A3r, A2r. Cf, 'A Week After' [continuation of *Prosopopoeia*], Northamptonshire RO, Cockayne Papers, C2480.

[105] A. Grafton, G. W. Most and S. Settis (eds), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA), pp. 102-3; C. Ishikawa (ed.), *Spain in the Age of Exploration, 1492-1819* (Seattle, 2004), p. 37. For Charles V and Philip II sharing the burden of the globe, see R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 82-3.

a light through complex international problems. The binary language provided a means to identify an enemy when the realities were actually muddied and loyalties muddled. Abbot even interpreted domestic events of 1618 through this lens. When assessing the danger posed by the English recusant, William Baldwin, currently imprisoned in the Tower, Abbot stressed that

> so long as this trafficking with Spaine doth hold, it giveth some occasion with the lies circulated in Ireland by both priests and Jesuits.[106]

Black Legend ideas about Spain and the Habsburgs were so ingrained in English attitudes that Abbot fell back on these assumptions almost as a reflex as the Bohemia crisis escalated. This was a militant language rooted in earlier experiences of English activism and as such exuded the spirit of religious war. Religious difference was reaffirmed by Abbot as an important tool for measuring political loyalty and friendship.

Ultimately, what separated George Abbot and James Stuart was a difference of strategy. In a moment of political and military crisis for a Calvinist prince, Abbot felt impelled to support a military intervention. To justify this urgent call to arms, he reverted to Black Legend stereotypes that equated superstition in religion with susceptibility to tyranny. Abbot's demarcation of the political altered, becoming more deeply intertwined with religious preoccupations and prejudices. In James, however, we can see a very different application of this anti-papal thought. The king wanted to approach relations with Catholic states from a starting-point of mutual respect and concord. By brokering peace he sought to isolate Catholic rulers with a militant attitude towards Protestantism, just as he sought to divide moderate Catholics from the 'papistical' minority. By analysing the political thought and strategies of a range of different English Protestant writers both before and after the crisis of 1618, this chapter has demonstrated both the flexibility of anti-papal languages, which could support a range of responses to the situation in Germany, but also of its inherent weakness as a rhetoric of moderation and peace.[107]

[106] *HMC Downshire*, vi, p. 624 [Abbot to Trumbull, 28 December 1618].
[107] King James I, *Peace-Maker*, sig. A5v.

Conclusion

Historians have long appreciated that the major intellectual debate of the 1610s, which focused on how to respond to the political doctrines of the Jesuits, had a significant impact on how English Protestants perceived the threat of popery. The Jesuit doctrines posed a challenge both within the political nation and beyond it. The controversies of the decade were deeply interconnected and were construed as linked by contemporaries. Indeed, referring to the hostilities between the Bohemians and the emperor in 1618, Abbot felt that the escalation could 'only be attributed to the ill advice given by the Jesuits'. What has been less prominent in recent studies is the impact of this debate on English foreign policy, specifically English perceptions of foreign Catholic states. This chapter has argued that the anti-papal worldview George Abbot was advancing in his geography book and some other works mirrored James's strategy of separating Catholic religion from the political views of the Jesuits more closely than we might expect.

What Abbot objected to about Catholicism, the idea at the heart of his anti-papal geopolitics, was the susceptibility of its institutions and leaders to tyranny. This chapter has provided a wealth of evidence to support this claim: Abbot's fear of popish tyranny can be seen in descriptions of the Spanish mission, in his hatred of the Jesuits and his enthusiasm for Sarpi and the Venetian opposition to the interdict. For much of the 1610s, Abbot presented this tyranny as atheistic, the product of base motives supported by a perverse political ideology. But from 1619 Abbot was less willing to separate religious objections from his political rhetoric. In the face of the House of Austria's uncompromising retributive assault on the Calvinists of Bohemia, superstition in religion was increasingly equated with inclination to tyranny.

The Bohemia crisis was an important turning point. As we have seen, after 1619 there was a noticeable proliferation of overtly anti-Spanish sentiments in English political culture generally and Abbot's writings in particular. This demonstrates the enduring strength of 'black legend' anti-popery as a language of division in times of war. The confessional split of Europe had failed to be eroded by the temporary ceasefire. As tension escalated and military confrontation became inevitable, English Protestants found strength and assurance in old languages and stereotypes. The nuanced approach to Catholicism of the king failed to placate those who interpreted the crisis as part of a grand, coordinated

popish design. The English response to the Bohemia crisis is a reminder that attitudes to popery were not constructed in the abstract, but were responsive to the actions and reactions of Catholic states. Ferdinand II's campaign against Frederick reawakened fears about popery that had seemed less relevant and even outmoded only a few years before.

For Abbot, then, the tense state of affairs in Europe warranted an anti-papal language alert to the potential of intra-Protestant divisions to reinforce the dangerous ambitions of the papacy and Spain. His curious silence on the plight of the Netherlands masked the great frustration he felt towards the Remonstrant party, which comes across strongly in the letters Abbot exchanged with Ambassador Carleton.[108] Abbot's concerns in 1617 were the immediate crisis facing international Calvinism. The archbishop was no admirer of the Dutch republican state and was alert to the commercial rivalries developing between the two nations. Hence Spanish atrocities in the Americas were given such a prominent place in the *Briefe Description* because it reflected the area in which the English and the Dutch might still be able to agree.

The 'Black Legend' of Spain thus emerges as a language struggling to sustain its relevance to the new peaceful conditions of the 1610s. In the years following the Treaty of London, the sharp binary ideology of the Black Legend failed to reflect the softer, more nuanced confessional relations that were such a defining feature of the decade. Even prominent anti-Spanish statesmen such as Abbot found themselves adapting to the new political realities. Peace with Spain offered new opportunities for battling popery; by forging a distinction between the Catholic religion and the nation's political enemies, the rapprochement enabled Abbot to restructure his anti-papal worldview. Abbot began reading Catholic authors who criticised the actions of the papacy. And, as we have seen, from 1605 these ideas were gradually incorporated into *A briefe description*, which had the dual effect of nuancing his attitude to Catholic religion whilst hardening his response to the Jesuits and the papalist doctrines they supported.

There were also important limits and nuances to English anti-popery. This chapter has argued that Abbot was, in various ways, accommodating towards Catholics and their religion. It is a reminder

[108] For the letters exchanged between Abbot and Dudley Carleton, see *The British Delegation*.

that in early modern England religious accommodation often sat awkwardly next to more obdurate and divisive attitudes.[109] The ability to discriminate between adherents of Catholic religion and perverse 'Papists' in the political sphere was not singularly the propensity of James I and his 'ecumenical' councillors who advocated peace with Spain. Archbishop Abbot, a prominent opponent of the 'Spanish faction' who would become in the 1620s an advocate of a war against Spain for the preservation of Protestant rule in the Palatinate, was also willing to incorporate the arguments of Catholic authors. In *A briefe description* he acknowledged the Christian integrity of friars appalled by the abuses perpetrated by Spanish missionaries in the Americas. He appealed to common Christian values in order to present the case of countering Spanish abuses through an extension of the Puritan mission to Virginia. The archbishop pursued a similar interest in Catholic critics of Spain and the papacy in other aspects of his career, for example his active involvement in the conversion of Marco Antonio De Dominis.

As a discourse, anti-popery operated across multiple registers; from concerns about spiritual contagion and papal authority to overtly political concerns about the threat of 'universal monarchy'. This ensured its adaptability to changing political conditions and the malleability with which it was used by different authors to serve different agendas.[110] For Abbot that agenda combined politics and religion: his geography book tapped into a desire for greater unity in resisting Spanish imperialism. It would therefore be too simplistic to characterise Abbot's anti-Spanish stance in the 1620s as simply the continuation of an Elizabethan line. Rather I suggest that Abbot's political language and his use of anti-popery changed over the course of the mid-1610s in response to the troubling events on the Continent. This can be seen most clearly in the *Briefe Description* which registered a changing perspective about the international popish threat between 1608 and 1617.

Building on the work of Kenneth Fincham, Anthony Milton and Peter Lake, this chapter has argued that perceptions of the 'Popish' threat in England on the eve of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War were not constant but contingent, adapting to the demands of international confessional politics and adjusting to from where and from whom the danger to Protestantism was perceived to be coming.

[109] For more on early modern attitudes to religious coexistence, see Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*.
[110] For different uses of the language of anti-popery in early modern England, see Lake, 'Anti-popery'.

This inevitably had an impact on English attitudes to foreign policy. The nature of this impact will be at the heart of the second chapter.

CHAPTER 2
'Papal purposes bent to defeate': Defending the Spanish Match, 1620-24

In Thomas Scott's popular 1620 pamphlet, *Vox Populi*, the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, observes that 'though the English generally loathed the matche', 'yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed':

> First the begging and beggarly Courtyers, that they might haue to furnish their wants. Secondly the Romish Catholiques, who hoped hereby at least for a moderation of fynes and lawes, perhaps a tolleraaion [sic], and perhaps a total restauration of their religion in England.

In stark contrast to these sycophantic courtiers and Catholics, the majority of good Protestant Englishmen, according to Scott, naturally hated 'the nation of Spain, and their religion'. This was evident in the 'uproare and assault' of London apprentices against Gondomar, who did 'vent their owne spleenes, in doing him or any of his a mischiefe'.[1]

The Spanish Match crisis of 1620 to 1624 is a much-studied moment in early Stuart political history. It was the climax of years of painstaking diplomacy between the Spanish and English courts for a dynastic marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Maria, Infanta of Spain. Scholars have been alert to the deep anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic feeling stirred up by James I's Anglo-Spanish marriage policy, and the entente with Spain it represented. Thomas Cogswell argued powerfully in his seminal monograph, *The Blessed Revolution* (1989) that in the early 1620s anti-Catholic forces finally derailed the early Stuart consensual approach to Catholic religion and diplomacy. To many within the English political classes, a Spanish bride and the tightening of Anglo-Spanish relations that a marriage alliance symbolised seemed to stand in tension with England's status as a Protestant nation and its commitment to defending Protestants abroad. The collapse of the marriage negotiations in 1624 and England's dramatic reversal to a policy of confrontation has been attributed to the sheer force of anti-Spanish sentiment within Parliament and the English nation.[2]

It is also widely assumed that Scott's views reflected the sympathies of the vast majority of the English people. Peter Lake has analysed the structure of these prejudices, as a rational response by

[1] T. Scott, *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* (1620), sig. B2r.
[2] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*; T. Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in Cust and Hughes, *Conflict*, pp. 107-23.

Protestants to a perceived threat. For those 'hotter sort' of Protestants, like Scott, the threat Spain posed was intimately connected to its perceived leadership of the Counter Reformation.[3] In their eyes, the House of Habsburg was conspiring with the papacy to extend a universal monarchy across the globe. Indeed, the Spanish army after pacifying the Dutch would return to their plans to conquer England, and the king of Spain 'would soon be master of all of Europe besides'. The proposed Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance was seen by many as a danger to England's Protestant state and religion.[4]

But whilst opposition to the Spanish Match has been analysed extensively, support for the project in its more public dimensions has not received the attention and interrogation it deserves. We have Scott's satirical image of greedy courtiers and scheming 'Papists', and we know about the pro-Spanish sympathies of prominent politicians, such as Francis Cottington, but the public face of support for the match is not nearly as well studied. Why English people supported the king's foreign policy and how they went about persuading others round to their view have been relatively understudied. This chapter aims to redress this imbalance by analysing pro-marriage contributions to the public and printed debate.

Printed texts written in favour of the king's policy have often been interpreted as loyalist apologetic manufactured by the 'Spanish' faction at court. Apart from reputedly pro-Spanish privy councillors, relatively little is known about the individuals sympathetic to the Anglo-Spanish alliance.[5] As Conrad Russell found in the 1990s, the survival of evidence for pro-marriage and pro-peace views is patchy. Russell tried to overcome this by looking at the reaction of members of Parliament. He identified a handful of members who did not rush to support a war with Spain in 1621 and 1624. These included William Mallory, a suspected church papist who objected when the Lords debated supply, and Thomas Wentworth, who argued that the House should stick to the passage of bills. But beyond identifying a few restrained, highly technical objections to granting war supply, Russell discovered little in the way

[3] P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990), p. 27.
[4] T. Scott, *The Belgicke Pismire* (London [i.e. Holland], 1622), STC 22069, pp. 60-1; Lake, 'Anti-popery', pp. 72-106. See also Lake, 'Anti-puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice', in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 80-97.
[5] On 31 January 1624, John Chamberlain recorded rumours that among James's 'junta for forrain affaires' there were 'five for the Spanish match, viz. lords keper [John Williams], treasurer [Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex], marshall [Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel], [Richard] Weston and [George] Calvert', quoted in *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religion Politics 1621-1625*, ed. M. C. Questier (Camden Soc., 5th Ser., 34, 2009), p. 242, n. 523.

of pro-Spanish sentiment or overt enthusiasm for James's conciliatory foreign policy.[6] It is my contention that by extending the search outside of Parliament, it is possible to find manifest support for the marriage project. Whilst Charles's trip to Madrid in 1623 prompted a range of pro-Spanish texts describing the entertainments put for the prince by the Spanish court, other pamphlets engaged in the political debate, by setting out benefits of the match.[7] By analysing some of the public discourse in favour of the marriage, this chapter aims to demonstrate the relevance of James's foreign policy beyond his immediate coterie of advisers.

This research acts as a counterbalance to scholarship that has tended to focus on hostility to the Spanish Match. In doing so, it builds on some transformative studies of Anglo-Spanish relations. Barbara Fuchs, for example, in *Emulating Spain* (2003), argued that in spite of the intense rivalry between the two nations, cultural fascination with Spain never waned. The increased availability of Spanish books and a growing fashion in London for learning Spanish, Fuchs argued, helped to dispel some of the Elizabethan anti-Spanish myths. It became possible, and indeed even fashionable in certain circles, to read Spanish literature, such as Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, which had been available in English translation from 1612, or watch Iberian-themed plays, such as Thomas Middleton's *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623). Fuchs's work complements the argument advanced by Pauline Croft that many English merchants maintained relations with Spanish traders throughout the Elizabethan war.[8]

Historians have also analysed afresh James's political and religious motivations for pursuing the Spanish Match. Whilst Brennan Pursell maintains that events in Germany were key, Glyn Redworth has argued that a solution to the Palatinate crisis was not the main objective, of either James or Charles, in the negotiations with Madrid.[9] James, who fashioned himself as a *rex pacificus*, favoured continued peace with Spain for two main reasons. Firstly, to fulfil his longstanding desire for a union with a strong

[6] C. Russell, 'Wentworth and anti-Spanish sentiment, 1621-1624', in J. F. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 47-62.
[7] See, for example, J. Digby, Earl of Bristol, *A True Relation and Iournall, of the Manner of the Arrival, and Magnificent Entertainment Giuen to the High and Mighty Prince Charles* (1623), STC 5031, and *A Continuation of a Former Relation Concerning the Entertainment, Giuen to the Prince* (1623), STC 5033; J. A. de la Peña, *A Relation of the Royall Festiuities and Juego de Cañas ... Made by the King of Spaine* (1623), STC 19594; and A. Almansa y Mendoza, *Two Royall Entertainments, lately giuen ... Translated out of the Spanish originals printed at Madrid* (1623), STC 533.
[8] Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*, p. 9; Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp. 281-302.
[9] B. C. Pursell, 'The End of the Spanish Match', *HJ*, 45 (2002), pp. 699-726; Redworth, *Prince and the Infanta*.

Catholic power, especially the Habsburgs of Madrid, and, secondly, for the purpose of fiscal consolidation – in the form of the Infanta's large dowry.[10] A further motivation for James was the defence of his *arcana imperii*. Between the 'Addled' Parliament of 1614 and the end of his next parliament late in 1621, James had become frustrated by the failure of MPs to grant him adequate supply and their bellicosity on matters of foreign policy. For James, the making and breaking of dynastic alliances fell within his royal prerogative, and his subjects had no right to meddle in these affairs. A Spanish alliance thus offered James both the financial and political independence he desired.[11]

Recent studies have also drawn out the religious politics of the Spanish Match. Both the king and the prince were prepared to make significant concessions to English Catholics to secure the marriage. Glyn Redworth has shown that James was fully prepared to relax the enforcement of penal laws against recusants and turn a blind eye to their private practice of religion. Alexander Samson has taken this further, arguing that the match should be located within the commitment of James and Charles to achieving complete tolerance for English Catholics, and even extending liberty of conscience.[12]

Cumulatively, this scholarship has demonstrated just how tense were the negotiations on the subject of religion, and what a stumbling block religion represented. The Spaniards demanded toleration for Catholics as a condition of the marriage, and, although this clause remained secret, it was widely speculated that toleration would be the outcome of the match. What remains to be analysed in detail is the range of responses to the religious conundrums raised by the marriage policy, particularly how the diplomatic developments affected perceptions of the popish threat in the political nation. If religion was at the heart of the political crisis, then how did English people process or understand the threat of Spanish religion? Did English people necessarily see the religion of the Infanta, and of Catholic Spain, as a barrier to a strong dynastic alliance? These questions will be at the heart of the analysis that follows.

The increased control of the press that characterised the early 1620s has been a significant factor guiding the selection of sources. Opposition to Jacobean foreign policy was supposedly exacerbated by

[10] A. Kitch, *Political Economy and the States of Literature in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2009), p. 162.
[11] G. Redworth, 'Of Pimps and Princes: Three Unpublished Letters from James I and the Prince of Wales Relating to the Spanish Match', *HJ*, 37 (1994), pp. 401-9, esp. p. 404.
[12] Redworth, *Prince and Infanta*, pp. 16-17; A. Samson, 'Introduction', in A. Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's journey to Madrid, 1623* (Farnham, 2006), p. 2.

James's attacks on free speech.[13] Frustrated with the mounting criticism of the marriage negotiations, James issued proclamations in 1620 and 1621 promising to punish those who 'did intermeddle by pen or speech' with *arcana imperii* – matters of state, including foreign policy, that he insisted fell under the royal prerogative.[14] The increased scrutiny and control of pulpits and presses undoubtedly had an impact on public discourse. Whilst several of the supporters analysed below had their work printed, others chose to keep their thoughts in manuscript. Given these political restrictions on speech and publication, I have decided to incorporate some material that circulated in manuscript in order to gain the broadest possible sense of contemporary arguments.

I have also included within my analysis a few printed sermon texts, because the genre was an important medium in which support for the match found expression. The two sermons I have selected, by Samuel Buggs, entitled *Davids strait* (1622) and *Miles mediterraneus: The mid-land souldier* (1622), are ripe for inclusion here because they encapsulate the fusion of Protestant sensitivity to the Palatinate and aversion to confessional war that was so characteristic of English attitudes during the international crisis. Indeed, Buggs's view of the marriage project as a pragmatic way to preserve Protestant liberty corresponded closely with James's own thought and therefore warrants a close reading. The perception of James's isolation from mainstream English sentiments – defined as hispanophobic and anti-Catholic – thus needs to be reconsidered in the light of evidence that the Spanish Match found at least some support within London's print culture.

The chapter begins by examining the extent to which supporters of the match held the conviction that it was necessary to resolve the Palatinate crisis. The works of clergyman, Peter Heylyn and the courtier poet, Sir Henry Goodere reveal that passionate support for Frederick's cause could sit alongside pacific and irenic tendencies towards Spain. I argue, therefore, that support or opposition to the Spanish Match was not an accurate barometer of attitudes towards the German crisis and the international Protestant cause.

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[13] S. A. Baron, 'The Guises of Dissemination in Early Seventeenth-Century England', in B. Dooley and S. A. Baron (eds), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (2001), pp. 44-53, pp. 50-1; A. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 11.
[14] James issued second editions of both the 1620 and 1621 proclamations; see C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), esp. pp. 69, 71, 91, 177, 196.

Part two explores the concept of peace as a religious and moral ideal and its role in justifying the government's foreign policy. It interrogates the sermons of Samuel Buggs, whose fusion of pragmatism with religiously-impelled pacifism most closely resembled the priorities of King James. A central device used by Buggs was to stress the need for vigilance against creeping popery whilst celebrating the blessings of peace. I argue, therefore, that arguments for peace were not absolutely divorced from the logic of anti-popery.

The Anglo-Spanish union attracted a variety of irenic arguments, and the chapter moves on to consider the most prominent of them. Part three analyses the diplomatic case for the Anglo-Spanish union set out by Michael Du Val and Edmund Garrard. Both writers celebrated the long history of intermarriage and peace between the two nations. But the language of unity could mask a range of religious attitudes associated with the match. Du Val's pamphlet, for example, was written from a Catholic perspective. It will be shown that the theme of shared Christianity cut across confessional arguments for the renewal of warfare within Europe. Part four extends this discussion by analysing a common reconciliatory trope: the necessity of Catholic-Protestant unity for the defence of Christendom against the Turk. The ideal of holy war was used by Francis Bacon and John Stradling to detoxify the peace with Spain, but, it will be argued, was increasingly out of step with mainstream opinion that fixated on the military threats within Europe.

Not all decisions, however, were impelled by religion. Security and commercial interests also dictated the adherence of key politicians and interest groups to James's policy. Part five explores the correlation between support for the Anglo-Spanish union and aversion to alliance with the Dutch. It also examines economic arguments based on the advantages of having access to Spain's East and West Indian trade, which can be found in mercantile endorsements of the marriage policy.

Together these voices had more weight in public discourse than they possessed in separation. As a coalition of different people with potentially divergent political and religious affinities, supporters of the match are difficult to classify as a coherent group. Their Protestant views were diverse and a few, such as Du Val, were almost certainly Catholics, but none of them can be counted as Puritan. Taken collectively, their arguments may represent the tip of a larger iceberg. By analysing such texts closely

the Spanish Match emerges as an appealing strategy for a small but nevertheless significant section of the English reading public, rather than the policy of a vacillating monarch seriously short of cash.

1 The Spanish Match as a solution to the Palatinate crisis

An important factor shaping English people's perceptions of the Spanish Match was the escalating conflict in the Holy Roman Empire.[15] Historians have been alert to the impact of this European context on English domestic politics. Throughout the early 1620s James tried to juggle two, contradictory, positions: the desire to see Frederick and Elizabeth returned to the Palatinate and the longstanding wish for closer union with Habsburg Spain.[16] This split policy led James into a major clash with his English Parliament in 1621, when MPs made known their sympathy for a war against Spain and even talked of declaring Elizabeth and her children rightful successors to the throne. Outside Westminster, as Cogswell as shown, momentum was building against the match as pamphlets mocking the Count Gondomar and vilifying Spanish and Catholic influence over the king circulated widely and cheaply. But the focus on popular and parliamentary opposition to the match has perpetuated a tendency to read the failure of the marriage policy backwards. For contemporaries, however, the collapse of the match was far from inevitable.[17]

War against Spain did not carry universal ideological appeal: it had prominent critics within court and council, as well as sceptics in the wider political culture. More importantly, war was not embraced unanimously as a means of resolving the Palatinate crisis. Not all English people saw Spain as the embodiment of papal universal monarchy and those who did not were capable of making some surprising interventions in the public debate. Here I will consider the writings of two such figures: the clergymen, Peter Heylyn and the layman, Henry Goodere, both of whom fused sympathy with Frederick's plight with support for the Spanish Match.

Peter Heylyn (1599-1662) was a young Oxford theologian and from 1617 was lecturer in geography at Magdalen College. Although he began his career at a 'godly inclined' Oxford college under the tuition of the Calvinist Walter Newberry, Heylyn underwent a significant change in his

[15] For an overview of the causes and implications of the Thirty Years' War, see 'Introduction', pp. 3, 8-9, 20.
[16] Redworth, *Prince and the Infanta*, pp. 19-26.
[17] Ibid., pp. 21-5; Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, esp. pp. 67-9.

religious views. By the late 1620s he was actively seeking the patronage of William Laud, and it was under Laud's influence that Heylyn was appointed chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I in 1630. During the early 1630s, Heylyn supported the Laudian programme of reforms to the Church of England's theology and worship, though he generally expressed the distinctive type of Protestant religiosity he favoured in non-religious writings. For example, in 1631 he produced *A Historie of St George*, which was dedicated to the king. In this book, Heylyn rejected the view of Calvin and Dr John Reynolds, Master of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who believed that George was an Arian bishop and therefore unworthy of veneration by the church. Instead, Heylyn argued that 'Saint *George* may keepe his place in the heaven of glories'.[18] This early clash with Calvinist theologians would be repeated frequently throughout Heylyn's later career. In 1632, for example, Heylyn produced a damning review of the Puritan anti-theatrical text *Histriomatix* that led to its author William Prynne's prosecution for sedition. As a strong apologist for the Laudian regime in the 1650s, Heylyn's tended to downplay his earlier attachment to Calvinism and support for the international Protestant cause. It is therefore difficult to know precisely when his views began to shift and what prompted the alteration.[19]

In 1652 Heylyn was working on *Cosmographie*, a large folio edition of his old geography text, which struck out all of his earlier sympathy for and identification with the Reformed churches of Europe. Heylyn also added new material that emphasised his high-church clericalism, hatred of presbyterianism, and interest in the Gallican church's independence from and even opposition to the pope. The text from which Heylyn was working was his first ever publication, entitled *Microcosmus, or, A little description of the great world* (1621). This short book of historical geography was published at the height of the controversy over the Spanish Match. By analysing the *Microcosmus* in conjunction with Heylyn's poetic output around this time, I aim to shed light on Heylyn's religious position in the early 1620s. It will be argued that Heylyn's anti-papal views sat alongside a more conciliatory attitude towards foreign relations with Spain, which enabled him to express sympathy for Elector Frederick's

[18] P. Heylyn, *The Historie of St George* (1631), STC 13272, p. 57.
[19] A. Milton, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13171] (accessed 3 July 2016); Milton, *Laudian and Royalist*, pp. 23, 29-32, 154-6.

plight in Bohemia and the Palatinate whilst also writing in support of the Anglo-Spanish marriage union.

Microcosmus was a popular work, going through eight editions before the Civil War. It was a product of a wave of interest in historical geography at Oxford in the early seventeenth century, which had already produced George Abbot's *A briefe description of the whole worlde*.[20] Both of these works were small and relatively cheap quartos, which were easily transported.[21]

As a political intervention in the Spanish Match debates, Heylyn's work was cautious and ambiguous. In the first edition of 1621, Heylyn included relatively little provocative material about Spain, with the exception of reporting Spanish cruelty in the New World. The Spanish conquistadores are reported to have 'behaued themselues most inhumanely' towards the Indians, 'killing them vp like sheepe for the slaughter; & forcing them like beasts to labour in their mines, carry all burdens, and doe all drudgeries'. A marginal note indicates that Heylyn was drawing here on *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1613), an anti-Spanish travel guide written by Abbot's chaplain, Samuel Purchas.[22]

Yet in spite of consulting the geographies of Purchas and Abbot, Heylyn betrayed none of these authors' deep fear of Spanish imperial ambitions. Indeed, he was surprisingly optimistic about the fragile nature of the Spanish empire, suggesting that it was 'more feared farre off, than neere at hand'. Heylyn also neglected to vilify Spain's aggressive campaign to restore its authority in the Low Countries. The *Microcosmus* observes the religious dimension of the struggle in a fairly evenhanded way; it describes how the Dutch are 'at this present diuided in opinion', with the States allowing 'free exercise only of the *Reformed*, the Archduke only of the *Romish* religion, which hath beene the cause of all the warres in these Countries'.[23]

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[20] The pamphlet was printed at Oxford by the 'Printers to the famous Vniversitie', John Lichfield and James Short. For detailed descriptions of the various editions of *Microcosmus*, see J. H. Walker, 'A Descriptive Bibliography of the Early Printed Works of Peter Heylyn' (Univ. of Birmingham Ph.D. thesis, 1978).

[21] M. T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 144, 200-1.

[22] P. Heylyn, *Microcosmus, Or, A Little Description of the Great World: A Treatise Historicall, Geographicall, Politicall, Theologicall. by P. H.* (Oxford, 1621), STC 13276, p. 403.

[23] Ibid., pp. 49, 130; for Heylyn's reliance on Thomas Gainsford's *The Glory of England* (1618) for his description of the Dutch revolt, see K. A. Hackett, 'Opposition in a pre-Republican Age?: The Spanish Match and Jacobean Political Thought, 1618-1624' (Univ. of York Ph.D. thesis, 2009), pp. 183-4.

Heylyn's text thus attempts to downplay the political threat of Spain within Europe and even presents its religious commitments in a more positive light. Of the Spanish Church, Heylyn notes that its clergymen are 'in offices of pietie very devout, to their King very obedient, and of their civill duties to their betters not unmindfull'. Most strikingly, Heylyn even has a positive stance upon the Inquisition, arguing that the 'custome in it selfe was wondrous tolerable and laudable' as it was set up to aid the Christian conversion of the Moors. Its purpose, counter to Black Legend stereotypes, was not the suppression of Protestantism but the elimination of Islam from Spain, which for Heylyn was a valid endeavour. By offering a geographical text which incorporated and extended Abbot's own ambiguous representation of Catholic religion, Heylyn was contesting the nature and location of the popish threat to English Protestantism.[24]

In *Microcosmus*, the threat of popish tyranny resides not in the Spanish monarch or the Inquisition, but in the ambitions of the papacy. Indeed, for Heylyn, the crisis in Bohemia was perceived as part of an historic battle against Rome. Frederick V was not the first German prince to wage war against the pope; Emperor Frederick II had set this precedent in the thirteenth century. Heylyn gives evidence of the emperor's quarrel with Innocent IV in the following verses, which Frederick supposedly sent the pope:

> Rome tost with diuers errors downe must fall,
> And cease to be the mistris of this Ball.
> For loe the fates decree, Starres, Birds foretell,
> That I a Fredericke shall the whole world quell.

The emperor's desire for revenge against the errors and pretensions of Rome is expressed vehemently, and this anger is linked by Heylyn to the 'sacred person of this *Fredericke*'. By some 'propheticall relation' Heylyn hopes that the elector's cause will prevail:

> I beseech the God of battles, and Lord of hosts, to blesse his Troopes with the trophies of victory, that hee may tread vpon the necke of the *Romish Adder*, and outstare the *Antichristian Basilicke*, till his enemies are made his footstoole.

The enemy of Frederick and the Protestant cause is Rome here, rather than the ambitions of Spain. But Heylyn does not give Emperor Ferdinand much of a role in the German crisis. Indeed, the *Microcosmus*

[24] Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, pp. 31, 35.

is reluctant to discuss the situation in the Palatinate at all: 'I say nothing of the deplored state of this countrey, holding it more fit for my prayers, than safe for my penne'. It was towards Rome rather than Madrid or Vienna that Heylyn vented his animosity and revealed his sympathy for Frederick and Elizabeth's plight. Heylyn does not hold back in affirming the designation of the pope as Antichrist, arguing that Rome's ambitions lie at the heart of the conflict in Germany.[25]

Heylyn's sympathies for the Palatinate cause, although expressed cautiously, were made manifest in his vituperative anti-popery in the section on Bohemia. The conflict in Europe seemed to be rooted in Rome's aggressive Counter-Reformation drive to root out any deviation from Catholic religion. The papacy's uncompromising stance towards 'heresy' in turn threatened the continued independence of Protestant states. But Heylyn's solution to the crisis was left unspoken in the *Microcosmus*. The author praised Frederick's armies for fighting the cause of true religion, but did not indicate how England ought to participate in this assault.

Given his unwillingness to firmly censure Spain, it seems unlikely that Heylyn advocated a war against it. A further clue to explain Heylyn's considerably muted anti-Spanish sentiment in his geography book is the identity of its patron, Henry, Lord Danvers. Danvers was appointed governor of Guernsey in March 1621 after achieving distinction for his military service in Ireland. He seems to have taken an interest in Heylyn in the early 1620s, at the time he was investing in the foundation of a botanic garden in Oxford. Indeed, it was ostensibly Danvers who arranged for Heylyn to present King James with a copy of the *Microcosmus* at Theobalds in 1621.[26] Danvers was also an enthusiastic art collector. He was one of the court collectors who were negotiating the commission with Rubens to decorate the Banqueting House for Prince Charles's planned marriage to the Spanish Infanta between the winter of 1620 and spring of 1621. The religious views of Danvers, however, are more difficult to identify. Later in the decade, he was criticised by Peter Heylyn, who accompanied him on a trip to the Channel Islands, for not meddling with the Church of Guernsey's presbyterian tendencies. While this suggests that Danvers had a less interventionist and even less fervent stance on religion than Heylyn, it does not seem

[25] Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, pp. 166, 154.
[26] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist*, p. 10. For Heylyn's poem in praise of Danvers, see BL, Add. MS 46885A, fos 20v-21r.

to be strong enough evidence of Danvers possessing staunchly Calvinist or presbyterian views. Heylyn's link to Danvers in the early 1620s suggests that the young cleric was seen to seek out a prominent patron, and was prepared to associate himself with Danvers, whose religious ambivalence and artistic activities all suggest he was a supporter of the Spanish Match.[27]

Indeed, Heylyn's political sympathies also appear to have been of a similar nature to Danvers. Heylyn contributed a poem to an Oxford collection of Latin verses, published in April 1623, to celebrate Prince Charles's safe arrival in Madrid. Most of the contributions are anonymous, but Heylyn's poem, entitled 'Certamen Regium', can be attributed because it also survives in his manuscript notebook. The poem commends a confrontation between Zephryus and Boreas, ending in peace with both gods the victors:

> Certamen Regium.
>
> R*Ex Zephyri, & Boreae Princeps sub sole cadente*
> *Certarunt: bellum de pietate oritur.*
> *Succubuit neuter; pax fit; Contentio mira:*
> ★ Cum duo pugnarent, victor vterque fuit. ★ Mart. Spect.
>
> [The Battle of Kings.
>
> *The King of the West Wind, and the Prince of the North Wind went head to head*
> *under the setting sun: a war had arisen concerning their piety.*
> *Neither succumbed; there was peace; an awesome contest:*
> ★ Since two fought, each became victor. ★ Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum*][28]

The allusions to north and west winds invite a simple allegorical interpretation, Zephyrus with Philip IV and Boreas with Charles. In praising Charles's peaceful arrival, Heylyn does not collapse the confessional differences between Spain and England. The poem recognises that tension exists between two forms of 'piety' and that this has been the cause of the 'awesome contest'. But drawing on Martial's sequence of poems on the Roman Colosseum, in which the gladiators Verus and Priscus were both

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[27] J. J. N. McGurk, 'Danvers, Henry, earl of Danby (1573–1644)', *ODNB* [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/7133] (accessed 18 January 2016); Milton, *Laudian and Royalist*, pp. 22-3, 25, 29; J. Brotton, 'Buying the Renaissance: Prince Charles's Art Purchases in Madrid, 1623', in Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match*, pp. 9-26, at pp. 10-1, 25; J. Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (2006), pp. 72-7.

[28] Oxford University, *Votiva, sive ad serenissimum, potentissimumque Iacobum, magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regem, &c. De auspicato illustrissimi Caroli, Walliæ Principis, &c. in Regiam Hispanicum aduentu, pia & humilis Oxoniensium gratulatio* (1623), STC 19026, p. 15.

declared victors in a combat and earned their freedom, Heylyn is able to reason that peace offers mutual victory. Indeed, Heylyn made this point explicitly in an accompanying poem, which remained in manuscript: 'Nobile vincendi genus est sine sanguine' [The noble sort of conquest is that without bloodshed]. 'Certamen Regium' ultimately celebrates the peace between the two nations, and suggests that Heylyn was prepared to support the Spanish Match.[29]

'Certamen Regium' was not a strict departure from the *Microcosmus*. Both works used cosmographical language to reveal Heylyn's understanding of the global popish threat. Viewed together, Heylyn's writings suggest that he perceived there was a need to keep a moderate path between the extremes of popery and puritanism. This was in no sense a radical opinion, it echoed the official position of the Church of England since the Elizabethan settlement. But Heylyn also interpreted international politics through the lens of this belief. Maximilian of Bavaria, for example, is described, with evident contempt, as the only German prince of any note who:

> followeth the doctrine of the Romish church; for which his house is so pestered with Friars and Iesuits, that notwithstanding the greatnes of his reuenue, hee is very poore; as spending his whole state on the Popish flesh-flies, by building them Colledges and Churches.[30]

Thus, *Microcosmus* is clearly an anti-papal text. Indeed, elsewhere in *Microcosmus* Heylyn presents the church in the Americas not as the arm of Spain but of the papacy. There 'our holy father the Pope hath raised vp a new Empire, insteed of that which lately fell from his iurisdiction in *Europe*'.[31] The imperial ambitions of the pope, Heylyn suggests, extend across the globe. Heylyn was thus reconceiving the trope of papal universal monarchy as originating in Rome rather than Madrid. This reflected Heylyn's participation in a worldview that had, over the years of Anglo-Spanish peace, successfully divested the nation of Spain from Black Legend stereotypes of tyranny and cruelty. But unlike Abbot, Heylyn's anti-papal geopolitical outlook was not predicated on the assumption that Spain was the dominant Catholic power and main agent of the Counter Reformation. Heylyn, by contrast, was

[29] BL, Add. MS 46885A**,** fo. 18v. Add. MS 46885A contains sixty-one poems, proved to be the personal notebook of Peter Heylyn and subsequently published as 'Heylyn's Own Memoranda' in P. Heylyn, *Memorial of Bishop Waynflete*, ed. J. R. Bloxam (1851), pp. x-xxiv. See also, W. L. Braekman, 'Peter Heylyn's holograph collection of poems', *Studia Germanica Gandensia*, 13 (1972), pp. 140-3; J. P. Hudson, 'Peter Heylyn's poetry notebook', *British Museum Quarterly*, 34 (1969), pp. 19-27.
[30] Heylyn, *Microcosmus* (1621), pp. 159-60.
[31] Ibid., p. 404.

preoccupied with the papacy's influence over the events in Germany. Germany was the main field of battle against popery, a threat conceived not principally in terms of corrupt religion but around the tyranny of papal power and their agents the Jesuits. Heylyn's alertness to the divisions between Catholic and Protestant states, and the events of the Thirty Years' War, thus led him to minimise the threat posed by Spain.

The Spanish Match was favoured by Heylyn, therefore, because he was able to divest Spain from the evils of popish tyranny. Indeed, he even mocked the common people's false fear of a Spanish invasion, parodying the behaviour of the people of Minster Lovell in one satirical poem.[32] For Heylyn, Spain posed no such threat. The battle to be waged was against the Church of Rome and its agents in Germany. The alliance with Spain could be approached as a simple dynastic union and a celebration of peace over the perils of war. Heylyn's openness to alliance with Spain reflected a desire to solve the Palatinate crisis, not to ignore or reject it. Supporters of the match were sympathetic to Frederick's cause and were not necessarily instinctively 'pro-Catholic' in their religious beliefs.

The Spanish Match also exposed a major tension between the desire to bring Catholic and Protestant churches together and the impulse to protect the integrity of Protestant states. The best hope for the Palatinate and for an end to the European conflict seemed to many, not just those in the king's court or Prince Charles's entourage in Madrid, to depend on further alliance with Spain. These sentiments animated the poems of Sir Henry Goodere, to which I will now turn.

Henry Goodere (1571-1627) was a gentleman of the privy chamber and as such took part in many aspects of court life, from dancing in masques to accompanying senior noblemen on diplomatic missions overseas. Like many gentlemen of the court, Goodere was also very much in debt and desperate for lucrative forms of employment. Hence as a keen poet he regularly sent verses to wealthy female patrons, such as the countesses of Bedford and Huntingdon. These poems were never printed in Goodere's lifetime, but they are illuminating for the light they shine on the range of reactions to the

[32] BL, Add. MS 46885A, fos 9v-10v.

crisis in Germany that were circulating in the early 1620s. Goodere's poems, therefore, complement my discussion of Heylyn's printed works.[33]

Goodere revealed his enthusiasm for the Spanish Match in two lengthy poems. The first of these was written in 1623 while Charles was in Madrid. *An Eulogie and admiration on his Jorney into Spaine* was addressed 'To the true Inheritor and Paterne of all Princely Virtues Charles Prince of Wales'. It was sent to Sir Edward Conway, secretary of state, in a package dated 17 May 1623.[34] Goodere asked Conway to dispatch the two enclosed copies into Spain on his behalf, one to Lord Admiral Buckingham and the other to John Digby, earl of Bristol. The poem is striking for the directness of its attack on critics of the match. Goodere acknowledges the widespread fears that the marriage would lead to fundamental 'chaunge of the religion here profest', but seeks to abate these fears by reminding readers of the strength of English Protestantism: the 'Papists' with 'Inquisicans, warres, designes of State, / can nor the number nor the heate abate, / of the reform'ed' religion. Given the 'depth' of Protestant devotion, the threat of Catholic conversion appears distant and unwarranted. Indeed, Goodere goes on to argue that Spanish designs on England had long ceased. Spaniards no longer make 'pretence' to 'this Crowne', as they did under Elizabeth, and English people ought 'To comprehend the change of times and states'.[35]

These were standard defences of the Stuarts' commitment to the Protestant religion and the anachronism of England's enmity towards Spain. But Goodere went much further, interpreting the political imperative of the match deliberately through the lens of events in Germany. Goodere writes:

> Wee finde Spaynes application to our State
> His tender dealing for th'Electorate,
> His tempring of th'incensd Imperiall heate
> And Papal purposes bent to defeate
> At Regensburgh, our Royall issue quite,
> Of all their souueraign dignity and right;
> All which (as fame reports) had beene by choice
> One Bauieres stock conferd, had not the voyce,
> Of the greate Prelate Ments (whose heart is Spaynes)
> Withstand the Popes, and th'Emperors deseignes,

[33] J. Considine, 'Goodere, Sir Henry (*bap.* 1571, *d.* 1627)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11003] (accessed 3 July 2016).
[34] TNA, SP 14/145/12-12X [H. Goodere, 'To the true Inheritor and Paterne of all Princely Virtues Charles Prince of Wales. An Eulogie and admiration on his Jorney into Spaine' (17 May 1623)].
[35] Ibid., fos 23r, 21r-v.

> And all they could effect with so much strife,
> Was the Electorate for Bauieres life:
> Whose debt being paide, wee hope the power of Spaine
> Will see restore to the right line againe:[36]

Here Goodere makes an argument for further alliance with Spain based on what he perceived to be the national interest. The Regensburg convention of princes of 1623, at which Emperor Ferdinand publicly bestowed the Palatine electorate on Maximilian of Bavaria, is strongly rebuked. Spain is seen as a counterweight to Emperor Ferdinand and his 'Papal purposes'. Like other supporters of the Spanish Match, Goodere refuses Catholicism as an amalgamated threat. What is so pertinent about Goodere's contribution, though, is the way he spells out so clearly the complex nature of the allegiances between the leading Catholic powers. The king of Spain is deliberately distinguished not only from the pope but also from his Habsburg cousin. He takes the side of reason and 'right', where the emperor is all passion and heat leading only to 'strife'. The Spanish Match becomes a strategic bid finally to detach Spain from the papacy. For Goodere, it was the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs that was hell bent on advancing the pope's tyrannical designs. Spanish interests, by contrast, were aligned with England's as both rulers were invested in brokering peace in Europe against the wishes of the papacy. This is not an abstract argument, based on the abandonment of old grudges, it is a manifesto for Frederick's cause which reasons that only Spain has the political clout to restore the Palatinate.[37]

In addition to dispatching the poem to Secretary Conway, Goodere sent a holograph copy to Elizabeth Stuart. Extolling the restraint of the Spanish and merits of religious accommodation to the exiled queen of Bohemia, who had suffered international humiliation as a result of Habsburg brutality, was a highly impolitic act. Her copy does not apparently survive, but Dudley Carleton noted the blunder in July 1623:

> I hear of a new pretender for the provostship of Eton: Sir Henry Goodier, who to show his abilities hath made a long elegy in English upon the prince's journey into Spain, as if the place were to be won with a song. Howsoever his wit appears therein I cannot much praise his

[36] TNA, SP 14/145/12X, fo. 22r.
[37] For detailed descriptions of Goodere's handwriting, poetry, and his connection with Sir Edward Conway, see Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, esp. pp. 176-216, 276-9.

> judgement in sending it to the queen of Bohemia (as he hath done transcribed by his own hand), since he therein commends the Spaniards for having effected so much in the Diet at Ratisbon.[38]

In order to send such a poem to Elizabeth, Goodere was must have been adamant that the Spanish Match offered the best means of securing the Palatinate, and that the negotiations were likely to succeed. This view may have been naïve but it reveals an emotional connection to ideals of peace and unity in Christendom that historians have underestimated.

Underlying Goodere's political arguments for an Anglo-Spanish marriage, therefore, were deep beliefs and convictions. Framing these remarks are religious ideals that echo the anti-Calvinist agenda of certain divines (which later included Heylyn) in the Church of England. During the 1620s, there was a rising current of divines unwilling to condemn the Catholic Church as a false church[39] As Nicholas Tyacke has observed, the visible succession of the true church was a recurring point of controversy between Calvinists and anti-Calvinists, particularly following the publication of Richard Montagu's *Appello Caesarem* (1625) which defended the English church's derivation from Rome. Goodere's poem attacks those 'protestant diuines' who say that Rome is not a true church or 'denie / A way to heauen to all that therin die'. It may well be that Goodere's appeal to Christian unity was a variation on this Arminian topos. But I suspect that Goodere was more interested in defending an alternative conception of peaceful Christian relations.[40]

Like many of our texts, Goodere's verse is animated by a sense of common Christianity. Catholics and Protestants, he argued, 'concurr in creede, and liuing well, / Though in their outward forms they differing bee, / And in some points of doctrine dis-agree'. For this poet, the Catholic Church is a 'sickely, mangled, and deform'd' body that 'should bee reformed'. But in the 'most important points' of religion, he insists, Catholics and Protestants agree. Goodere even expressed the wish that a 'full and vniuersall Councell' might one day 'all o^{r} distracted Saules againe vnite'. Unlike Heylyn, Goodere was prepared to contemplate the reunion of Christendom. Goodere's particular response to the marriage

[38] TNA SP 84/113, fos 28–32 [Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, The Hague, 11 July 1623], as printed in M. Lee (ed.), *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603–1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972): pp. 305–6.
[39] For the factors enabling this more tolerant attitude to emerge, see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, esp. pp. 63-72; and Patterson, *King James*, pp. 35, 220-59.
[40] N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 149, 153, 155-7; R. Montagu, *Appello Caesarem* (1625), STC 18030, p. 23; TNA, SP 14/145/12X, fo. 22r.

policy was thus shaped by his openness to greater partnership between Christian denominations, which was close to James's own views. The irenic impulse here amounts to an unwillingness to condemn all Catholics for the errors maintained by the Church of Rome.[41]

The heightened sensitivity of certain individuals during the crisis to the ideal of a united Christendom is encapsulated in Goodere's appropriation of the pacific language of his friend John Donne. Goodere used a particular axiom in his poem – 'They are not soe directly opposite / As North and South Poles' – which directly lifted an analogy made by Donne several years earlier. In a letter to Goodere (*c*. 1609), Donne had remarked that Rome, Wittenberg and Geneva were all beams from the same sun, but 'They are not so contrary as the North and South Poles, and that they are connatural pieces of one circle'.[42] The context of Donne's remarks was a discussion of Goodere's religious beliefs. Donne advised his friend, who was reportedly 'irresolved or various' in religion, against 'incommodiously or intempestively' declaring his views to others. In so doing, Goodere would 'prostitute' himself and his beliefs, becoming 'a prey' for 'every sophister in Religion to work on'. Indeed, Donne even expressed the basis of his fear: 'because heretofore the inobedient Puritans, and now the over-obedient Papists, attempt you'. To the uncertain, questioning or heterodox Goodere, then, Donne's imagery must have encapsulated the spirit of Christian reconciliation that he was striving to evoke in his Spanish Match poem. The marriage project becomes for Goodere a way to avoid secrecy or indiscretion; it is an opportunity to celebrate the irenical beliefs that he had been encouraged to keep private.[43]

But by 1623, Donne was a lot more cautious about the Spanish Match than his friend. In a letter to Sir Robert Ker, who was on route to assist Prince Charles in Spain, Donne expressed doubts that the differences between North and South could ever be reconciled. He wrote:

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[41] TNA, SP 14/145/12X, fo. 23v.

[42] Ibid., fo. 22v; J. Donne, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, ed. E. Gosse (2 vols., 1899), i, p. 226. For Goodere's habit of appropriating passages from Donne's letters, see S. Johnson, 'Sir Henry Goodere and Donne's Letters', *Modern Language Notes*, 63 (1948), pp. 38-43.

[43] Gosse, *Letters*, ii, p. 78. Donne was particularly sensitive of conversions to Catholicism and mentioned such instances to Goodere, see Gosse, *Letters*, ii, p. 74; P. M. Oliver (ed.), *John Donne: Selected Letters* (New York, 2002), p. 39; M. Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 72, 75, 93-4.

> though the labour of any ordinary artificer in that trade will bring East and West together (for if a flat map be but pasted upon a round globe the farthest east and the farthest west meet and are all one), yet all this brings not North and South a scruple of a degree the nearer.

Here Donne's use of cosmographical imagery reflects a marked alteration of thought. The religious differences between West and East, he argues, are smaller and more surmountable than those between North and South. Donne seems to mirror the sentiments of Archbishop Abbot, whose openness to intellectual communication and exchange with the Greek Orthodox Church re-emerged in the early 1620s.[44] Indeed, Jeanne Shami has argued persuasively that Donne's interests were aligned with Abbot's in this period. Both divines were deeply moved by the Palatinate crisis, afraid of Spanish duplicity and expressed deep discomfort with England's ongoing neutrality.[45]

If Donne was retreating from an irenic position as a result of events in Germany, Goodere, by contrast, continued to believe that Spain could be trusted to intervene against wicked 'Papal purposes'. But following Charles's return to England on 5 October, Goodere's plucky enthusiasm for the match put him significantly out of step with the Prince of Wales and his court. It has been well documented that in the months that followed, Charles and Buckingham abandoned the marriage plans and actively recruited support for a war against Spain.[46] Late in 1623, Goodere joined the chorus of poets singing the praises of Charles's safe return. According to Daniel Starza Smith, Goodere sent another verse to Conway, in the knowledge that Conway's secretaries would pass on a fair copy to Charles.[47] In 'Congratulations to y^{e} Prince newly returned, from Spayn', Goodere flattered Charles that his journey had 'reverst y^{e} yeare', bringing about an early 'spring everywhere'. But he could not conceal his disappointment at the sudden change of times. As he celebrated 'our present joys', Goodere was not prepared to condemn the match or to abandon hope that it still might be achieved: 'our second thoughts descend to know / whether your matche wth Spayne proceed or no'. The poet urges Charles to weigh his decision carefully, as a general 'puttes in one scale the daunger and y^{e} chardge / in th'other how it

[44] See Patterson, 'Cyril Lukaris', pp. 39-40; D. MacCulloch, *The History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (2009), pp. 500-1.
[45] J. Shami, 'Anti-Catholicism in the Sermons of John Donne', in L. A. Ferrell and P. McCullough (eds), *The English Sermon Revised* (Manchester and New York, 2000), pp. 136-66, at p. 157; Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis*, pp. 10, 77-9.
[46] See Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 69, 78, 83, 98.
[47] Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, p. 279.

may his power inlardge'. This military metaphor implies awareness that calls for war were rising, and in this context Goodere calls on Charles to keep endeavouring for 'Europes peace'.[48]

Rather than a barometer of attitudes towards the international Protestant cause, support or opposition to the Spanish Match depended on whether one was prepared to trust Spain to negotiate on behalf of a Calvinist prince for the restoration of the Palatinate. For those, like Goodere, who were desperate to avoid war, Spain offered a political lever through which to resolve the Palatinate crisis peacefully. For those, such as Donne and Abbot, whose sympathies were increasingly for the war party, Spain could not be trusted and the Palatinate would, ultimately, have to be reclaimed by force. Despite their differences, both Goodere and Donne utilised the concepts of popery to identify England's international allies and denounce its enemies. The Infanta's religious profession, her commitment to Catholicism, was not a key point of departure. The anti-papal politics of the match, at least in the writings of these Englishmen, centred on how to build international bonds of peace and end the violence in Europe which was perpetuating confessional division.

2 Samuel Buggs and the argument for peace

Peace was a powerful concept in writings defending the Spanish Match. The blessing of peace was a key theme throughout James's reign in England. After his accession James had chided those who took peace for granted 'while other nations doe ride even up unto their horses bridles in blood'. This attitude was enshrined in moral justifications for the government's pacific policy in the early 1620s. In his opening speech to Parliament on 30 January 1621, in the aftermath of Elector Frederick's defeat at the Battle of White Mountain (1620), James spoke regretfully of 'the miserable and torne estate of Christendome, w^{ch} none that hath an honest heart can look on wth out a weeping eye'. On the issue of the negotiations with Spain, he also stressed that 'I will never conclude a match that shall not be for the glory of God and furtherance of religion'. When, however, speakers in the House of Commons urged vigilance against Spanish agents and English recusants, the king revealed his staunch dedication to maintaining amicable relations. On 3 December, he wrote to the Speaker of the House directing him to

[48] H. Goodere, 'Congratulations to y^{e} Prince newly returned, from Spayn' [1623], in D. S. Smith, 'The poems of Sir Henry Goodere: a diplomatic edition', *John Donne Journal*, 31 (2013), pp. 99-164.

limit further discussion of 'o^{r} governm^{t} o^{r} misteryes of state namely o^{r} Sonnes mariage' and disparaging speeches against 'the k. of Spayne, and other of o^{r} frends and allyes'.[49]

This royal endorsement of peace did not go unnoticed by James's English subjects; indeed, the nation's peaceful condition was actively celebrated by pamphleteers and preachers in the early 1620s. Such texts, whilst not always endorsing the Anglo-Spanish marriage policy explicitly, helped bolster the pacific and irenic atmosphere that was favoured by James as he conducted his diplomatic negotiations.

The celebration of James as a peacemaker was a central theme in pro-match literature. Roger Tisdale's *Pax vobis* (1623) encapsulates this. Nothing is known of Tisdale except that he published a few poetic works in the early 1620s on public themes, including a poem on the profession of law which was dedicated to John Donne.[50] In his 1623 poem, celebrating Charles's journey to Madrid, Tisdale deployed a common image associating the harmony and bounty of nature with the peaceful condition of the state. Thus he declared of James:

> By thee (great *Caesar*) haue we now attain'd
> The flowrie times of *Peace*: and withall gain'd
> The riches of that Peace, a flowing bountie,
> Like Milke and hony thorow eu'ry Countrie
> Of this blest Kingdome.[51]

The wise English king is portrayed as a true '*Prince of Peace'*, who diligently avoids wars arising from rapaciousness and 'vaine Brauado'. Indeed, Tisdale argues that only a king can fully comprehend the 'Secrets of State', which 'Are depths, by vs not fadom'd'. This was a standard argument used by apologists of the Spanish Match against its critics. In *Pax vobis*, then, support for the marriage becomes a loving act of duty. Tisdale goes on to equate the merits of peace specifically with Charles's planned marriage, observing

> That *Loue* and *Peace*, still *shining* in his *Glory*,
> To make this *Iournall* an eternall Story,

[49] Opening speech to Parliament, quoted in Patterson, *King James VI*, p. 305; James's letter to the Speaker, in J. R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the reign of James I* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 276-80. See also, C. Russell, 'The Foreign Policy Debate in the House of Commons in 1621', *HJ*, 20 (1977), pp. 289-309.
[50] For Tisdale's dedication to John Donne, see 'Roger Tisdale', in A. J. Smith (ed.), *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (1975), p. 76.
[51] R. Tisdale, *Pax vobis, or VVits changes* (1623), STC 24091, p. 8.

> To after-Ages, of his Princely cariage,
> And the felicity of a *royall Mariage!* [52]

Though Tisdale was writing in 1623 when the Spanish marriage looked most likely to be competed, his poem demonstrates that support for the marriage policy stemmed from a moral attachment to peace. Indeed, the association between peace and royal glory used in *Pax vobis* was also taken up by the preacher Samuel Buggs.

Of all of the endorsements of the Jacobean peace, the sermons of Samuel Buggs most closely resemble the combination of pragmatic and ideological arguments that guided James's own thought. In 1621, responding to the House of Commons petition for a Spanish war, the king remarked that he 'rather expected you should have given us thanks for the so long maintaining a setled Peace in all our Dominions, when all our Neighbours about are in miserable combusion of War'. Soon afterwards, Buggs, a young clergyman from Coventry without a permanent position, published a sermon offering precisely that praise.[53]

The sermon was delivered at Paul's Cross on 8 July 1621 and printed in 1622 with the title *Davids strait*. Echoing James's speech to Parliament, Buggs establishes a stark contrast between the luxury of peace and the horrors of war. He even chides the English for taking peace for granted:

> The Christians in *Polonia* cry out for ayde: The Protestants in *Bohemia* groane vnder a heauie and intolerable burden: The Protestants of *France* send many sighes to heauen for *peace* or *bare security*. Happy *Britaines*, wee sit vnder our owne Vines, and our owne Fig-trees (God of his mercy continue it.)

In offering up prayers to the blood-stricken German Protestants, Buggs emphasises the gravity of their condition, but urges his congregation to remain steadfast in faith and to repent 'before it be too late'. It is notable that Buggs strives for an irenic tone by stressing that the conflict in Europe consumes the blood of 'Christians' – those Catholics and Protestants in Poland whose king, Sigismund III, was fighting to repel an Ottoman invasion (1617-21) – as well as fellow 'Protestants'. For Buggs, James is to be praised for his just act of preserving neutrality.[54]

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[52] Tisdale, *Pax vobis*, pp. 9, 19.
[53] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p. 28. Other works which took up the theme of religious peace include, T. Adams, *Eirenopolis: the citie of peace* (1622), STC 112; J. Hayward, *Christs Prayer Upon the Crosse* (1623), STC 12989; and G. Warburton, *Melchizedech* (1623).
[54] S. Buggs, *Davids strait: A sermon preached at Pauls-Crosse, Iuly 8. 1621* (1622), STC 4022, p. 57.

Later in 1622 Buggs published a second sermon, *Miles mediterraneus: The mid-land souldier*, on the theme of war and peace. But in *Miles mediterraneus*, Buggs's commitment to peace and neutrality seems less certain. War, he argued, though 'not *pleasant*, yet it must be vndertaken as *necessary*', for

> Haue we not many a proud *Agagite*, daily plotting and contriving against our poore Nation, and Church of *England*…either by *force* and *fury*, or by *fraud* and *subtletie*, to lay our *Ierusalem levelled with the ground*? … it is time to haue as *quick eyes*, and *nimble hands* as our enemies.[55]

In this sermon, Buggs was exploring an ideal of civic chivalry that celebrated the heroic citizen ennobled by his martial valour. Coventry was one of several cities, including London, Colchester and Bristol, to form a civic artillery company in the early 1620s. These companies would practice artillery exercises in a military yard or 'garden' and were comprised mainly of gentlemen. William Hunt has argued that these military companies came to embody an ideology of 'godly gentility' achieved through military service in the defence of the Protestant religion. Hunt points to their patronage of belligerent Puritan preachers, such as John Everard, who was committed to prison several times in 1622 and 1623 for attacking the Spanish Match and the liberation of Catholic priests. As the lecturer at St-Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster in 1618, Everard urged the company of St Martin's Military Yard to 'plucke vp againe, the sunk and drowned honour of our Country'. He also told the men to remember that God, '*your* Generall *hath called you to follow him in these and greater* Conflicts'.[56]

The military movement was thus an important context for Buggs's *Miles mediterraneus*. In preaching before a military assembly in Coventry, Buggs was unlikely to touch on moral objections to warfare, but there is, notwithstanding, a definite shift in attitude and emphasis from the pacifism of *Davids strait*. In 'matters of policie', where their independence and prosperity was threatened, justice could not always be left to 'good Law-makers'. The company were urged repeatedly to 'be readie' to defend the nation against its internal and external enemies, and Buggs concludes that

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[55] S. Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus: The mid-land souldier. A sermon* (1622), STC 4023, pp. 10-11. The sermon was dedicated to the Lord Mayor of Coventry and was entered in the Stationers' Register on 25 May 1622 (Arber, iv, p. 30). The title page declares that it was '*Published with authoritie*'.

[56] W. Hunt, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in A. Grafton and A. Blair (eds), *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 204-37; J. Everard, *The Arriereban: A Sermon preached to the Company of the Military Yarde* (1618), STC 10598, sig. A[8]r, p. 103.

> The Lord of *hostes* armes vs against all our *Enemies*, both of *body* and *souls*, that we may conquer both; And the *Lord* of his mercy grant vnto vs to *fight a good fight, to finish our course, and keepe the Faith, that hereafter we may receive the Crowne of righteousnes, which the Lord hath layd vp for all that loue his appearing*.

Indeed, even the publisher's epistle to the reader registers that *Miles mediterraneus* almost was not published due to '*some opposition by* Inferior Approbation … *so vnwilling are some of vs in this secure time of our Peace, to heare so much as the very name of Warre*'.[57]

What motivated this shift in perspective? To some extent, the striking alteration of tone can be attributed to the change in audience. As we have seen, the civic military companies were great patrons of preachers who could provide a rousing defence of the godly martial virtues they aspired to achieve. As a young clergyman from Coventry lacking a permanent position, Buggs must have been alert to his want of patronage and the military company represented a convenient local source of employment.

And yet there are indications that Buggs aspired to claim a more prestigious patron. He dedicated *Miles mediterraneus* to William Compton, earl of Northampton, whose family had links to the Duke of Buckingham and the pro-Spanish interest at court. Indeed, the marriage of William's brother Sir Thomas Compton to Buckingham's mother in the summer of 1621 is now considered to have been instrumental in obtaining the presidency of the Council of Wales for William.[58] Northampton was also associated with the Spanish Match policy. His eldest son Spencer, Lord Compton, for example, was part of the entourage that accompanied Charles to Madrid in 1623, though an illness brought him home early. As Michael Questier has shown, Northampton was also the subject of rumours that attacked him as a popish councillor. The dedication to the pro-Spanish Northampton, '*to whom the profeßio*n *of Armes and Arts haue bin alwayes gratefull*', thus casts the martialism of *Miles mediterraneus* in a different light. It suggests that Buggs conceived of his work not as Puritan invective but as a loyal address, a sermon within the spirit of James's foreign policy. Indeed, internal evidence within the sermon text supports this interpretation.[59]

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[57] Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus*, pp. 28-9, 40, sig. A4r.
[58] R. E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), p. 69.
[59] Redworth, *Prince and the Infanta*, p. 187; Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy*, pp. 260, 266; Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus*, sig. A2v.

On closer reading, the tone of *Miles mediterraneus* seems to mirror precisely James's concern to claim the victims of the Bohemia crisis for his policy of neutrality. Buggs argues that King James, though restoring peace, has found 'the *Crowne* of *England* to be lined *with thornes*'. Enemies surround him, 'swelling with pride, and bursting for anger', and Buggs urges the military men to 'Be readie for him who insatiable *thirsting for truth*' led him to write 'so much against the falsehood and abhomination of the *Romish Church*'. Catholics, Buggs argues, continue to conspire against the Crown, as they had done under Elizabeth. With the assistance of 'their *ghostly Father*', the pope, they 'will turn all the Christian world in *antiquum Chaos*, and miserable Confusion'. The war that must be prepared for, then, was a spiritual struggle against popish subversion of church and state not a campaign to preserve German and Dutch lands from the greedy mouth of the Habsburgs.[60]

It may seem strange that Buggs would risk his advancement by producing a vehemently pro-martial and anti-papal sermon that denounced peace with 'the *Romish Iezebell*'. James's *Directions* of August 1622, which instructed young preachers to refrain from discussing prerogative matters, predestination, and 'indecent railing speeches against the person either Papists or Puritans', warned of the dangers of making such a political intervention from the pulpit.[61] And as we have seen John Everard was one of several Puritan preachers and pamphleteers to become a victim of this official crackdown. Like the preachers sponsored by London's artillery companies, Buggs was a Calvinist. This can be seen in his Paul's Cross sermon, which referred to the doctrine of 'eternall predestination and election' as part of God's secret will of which 'no man ought to enquire'. But unlike Everard and other prominent opponents of the match, Buggs's providential language was caveated and softened by its juxtaposition with other more religiously ambiguous motifs. In *Davids strait*, rather than conclude with an eschatological vision of the necessity of war in the final days, Buggs approached the issue from a different angle. He wrote: 'as the *Romans* dealt with *Victory*, clipping of her wings, that she might neuer flie from them againe, so let vs doe with our happinesse'. Here Buggs adapts the legend of Icarus, an

[60] Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus*, sig. A4r, p. 12, sig. A4v, p. 2.
[61] King James I, 'Directions to Preachers', in E. Cardwell (ed.), *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (2 vols., Oxford, 1844), ii, p. 202. Two print editions of the *Directions* appeared in 1622: the official edition, *To the Minister Church-Wardens*, and the unauthorised edition, *The Kings Majesties Letter, touching Preaching, and Preachers*.

archetypal Renaissance emblem of tragic overreaching, into an argument for passivity. Since England had achieved prosperity through peace, aspirations for further military glory could only endanger the current '*Victory*'. In Buggs's civic notion of English Protestantism, independence was to be protected vigilantly but not necessarily by pursuing confessional warfare.[62]

As Buggs averted his gaze from the fighting in Germany, the argument for peace became less compelling. In *Miles mediterraneus*, war against the 'secret plotting' of '*Italianated*' Englishmen is portrayed as necessary for the preservation of the nation's freedom from Romish oppression. Buggs follows standard anti-papal discourse in figuring the pope as the mastermind of all conspiracy, the power aiding the treasonable actions of English Catholics. But as we have seen, this representation had been politicised by the Spanish Match and the prominence of Spain in English affairs. Countering this imagined popish threat did not necessarily entail an external war against Spain or the Holy Roman Empire. Buggs makes clear that the current division of Christendom is unwelcome:

> Doe we not see that the Empire of proud *Ottoman* is *inlarged* in Christendome, because Christians are so *straitned* one to another, and so loath to come out in the defence of one another?

Peace between Christian neighbours is an ideal to be savoured in *Miles Mediterraneanus*, even as the preacher extols a bitter anti-Roman invective. Buggs thus strove to reconcile seemingly conflicting viewpoints with the argument that good country-men should '*Prepare*' and 'be readie' to fight the Lord's battles. What differs between the texts is Buggs's assessment of whether God will offer vengeance or mercy to those who fight; whether confessional conflict is 'ordained for a *longer continuance*, and a *better end*'.[63]

A further clue that Buggs's views were substantially in line with James's lies in the details of the publication of *Miles Mediterranneus*. The sermon was not printed alone, but appeared in print alongside a speech by Philemon Holland. In this text Holland praised King James as 'blessed Peace-maker' and urged the renewal of the city's charter. The juxtaposition of these texts thus acted to neutralise the political sting of Buggs's anti-popery. Holland extols the virtue of James, whose reign

[62] Buggs, *Davids strait*, pp. 7, 57.
[63] Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus*, sigs. D1v-D2r.

has 'seen *Peace* in *Church*, and *Commonwealth* fully established'. Moreover, given the 'good approbation' that 'his late Sermon found', and that (at least) seven copies survive, there are strong indications that the text circulated widely with the approval of the authorities.[64] Buggs seemingly felt confident that his defence of war as a noble venture would supplement and contextualise his earlier message of the blessings of peace; the comparison was reinforced with its publication alongside the Holland piece.[65]

Moreover, publishing the anti-papal sermon, *Miles Mediterraneus*, does not seem to have hindered Buggs's career. In November 1624 Buggs was appointed vicar of St Michael's in Coventry, the most important church in the city.The right to present to this living was held by the Crown, which suggests that far from offending James, there was, in fact, a certain correspondence between Buggs's thought and that of the king.[66]

What this amounts to is a powerful example of the way Protestant providentialism could combine with an acute sensitivity to the value of peace. Desire for peace between Christian neighbours may have been conceptually in tension with the logic of confessional warfare, but individuals were able to hold both views in tandem. While scholars of the Spanish Match crisis, such as Glyn Redworth, have argued that the conditions of European warfare forced individuals to take sides on the marriage, this cleavage did not separate people into two ideologically discrete camps. Anti-papal languages were as natural to supporters of James's foreign policy as they were to John Everard and other vocal opponents. Buggs's writings attest to the fact that support for the Spanish Match was not only compatible with anti-papal views but was also dependent upon them. This corresponded with the pragmatic attitude of the king, whose theology remained Calvinist and anti-papal even as he encouraged a pacific, 'pro-Spanish' foreign policy.[67]

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[64] Buggs, *Miles mediterraneus*, p. 12, sig. A4r. A marginal note confirms that this sermon was '*Davids* Strait' Preached at *Pauls*-Crosse, 8. Iuly 1621. and Printed 1622'.

[65] The sermon was entered in the Stationers' Register by William Sheffard and John Bellamy on 25 May 1622 (Arber, iv, p. 30) and the text's title page even declared that it was 'Published with authoritie' (ibid., title page).

[66] 'Samuel Buggs (1616-1626)', Clergy of the Church of England database (CCEd), [http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/search/index.jsp] (accessed 30 January 2016). See also, A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 81, 85-6.

[67] Redworth, *Prince*, esp. p. 2; Patterson, *King James VI*; K. Fincham, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *JBS*, 24 (1985), pp. 169-207.

3 Spanish 'fidelity': Catholic and Protestant perspectives

Related to this moral argument for peace was another important justification, which was predicated on the political and diplomatic benefits of friendship with Spain. The Spanish Match was asserted to be a natural consequence, and a logical safeguard, of the peace with Spain. The proposed match was celebrated as a sign of the Spanish king's 'sincere Princely loue and amity'. The marriage was deemed to be a synecdoche of the harmony between the two nations, 'as linkes intermutually fastned, made so strong a Chaine, that it hath euer since held together, the whole frame of the state of peace'.[68] It was the means by which the peace with Spain would be 'most firmely and inuiolably *Cemented* and Assured'.[69] The desire to cement peaceful relations between England and Spain through a royal marriage stemmed from different motivations. Here some of the alternative perspectives will be examined through the printed works of Edmund Garrard and Michael Du Val.

There were certain individuals who anticipated that the Anglo-Spanish marriage would lift restrictions on Catholics and generally further the Catholic cause in England. These expectations were highly controversial. Indeed the fact that James's foreign policy became increasingly entangled in these 'Catholic' motives was a significant cause of its unpopularity.[70] One such intervention in this vein, which celebrated the Spanish Match on historical grounds, was Michael Du Val's *Rosa Hispani-Anglica*, or, *The Spanish-English Rose* (*c.*1622). This pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register by Secretary Calvert to a 'William Fisher' on 23 July 1622.[71] A Latin version of the tract was already circulating by this date, as Joseph Mede mentioned it in a letter to Martin Stuteville on 8 June.[72] The identity of its author, however, is difficult to ascertain. Du Val cannot be traced operating in or around

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[68] E. Garrard, *The Covntrie Gentleman Moderator: Collections of such intermarriages, as haue beene betweene the two royall lines of England and Spaine, since the Conquest* (1624), STC 11624, p. 1.
[69] M. Du Val, *The Spanish-English Rose, Or the English-Spanish Pomgranet on the Projected Marriage of Charles, Prince of Wales and the Infanta Donna Maria* (n.p., 1622), pp. 13-14.
[70] Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', pp. 149-72.
[71] Arber, iv, p. 38; 'Rosa Hispani-Anglica' in *English Short Title Catalogue* [http://estc.bl.uk] (accessed 19 January 2016). The pamphlet was also published in Latin as *Rosa Hispani-Anglica*, possibly, according to Trevor Howard-Hill, in Paris. See T. H. Howard-Hill, *Middleton's "Vulgar Pasquin" Essays on A Game at Chess* (Cranbury, 1995), p. 122. The extant copies of the pamphlet (both Latin and English) appear to be a later edition of 1623, as Gondomar is referred to as a member of the Council of State to which he was not appointed until April 1623.
[72] BL, Harl. MS 389 [Joseph Mede to Martin Stuteville, 8 June 1622]. Mede assumed, however, that its publication had not be approved: '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'.

Whitehall or Westminster, serving at the bar, or receiving ordination. It is therefore uncertain whether Du Val was an Englishman. The existence of a Latin text suggests that the English pamphlet was a translation, as does the dedication to King James by 'Lvcivs Lavinivs', a notorious Roman translator and rival of Terence.[73] It may be that the author was someone in England operating under a pseudonym, or, alternatively, was someone based abroad with strong links to England. Thus to what extent he was connected, by patronage, to court circles is impossible to say.[74]

The internal textual evidence, however, does provide some clues. Du Val portrays himself as a champion of the royal prerogative and a critic of Parliament, whose members seek to turn the 'Royal Cedar' into a 'Hedge-Bramble'. Curiously, Du Val's pamphlet contains this highly flattering depiction of the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar:

> *You* Allect *and* Attract, *You* Please *and* Content, *You* Cure *and* Comfort. To You therefore This ENGLISH-SPANISH POMEGRANAT, *in Heart and* AFFECTION *an* ENGLISH-SPANIARD: *To You* MOST NOBLE LORD, *a* SPANISH-ENGLISH-MAN ...[75]

This portrait of Gondomar yoking together the two nations stands in marked contrast to the disparaging representations of the count, which abounded in 'Puritan' satire across the capital. Anonymous libellers derided the ambassador's partisan nationalistic agenda, arguing that 'Spaine is his heart, treating of peace, for warre / Closely providing: but his heaviest chance / (Poxe on it) is his taile'.[76] As a leaky, diseased swelling Gondomar's anal fistula provided an apt metaphor for the subversion of counsel his privileged position at court was taken to represent (as well as a cheap gag). Such texts were alert to the influence Gondomar commanded over the king during his second embassy to England from 1620 to 1622. Even after the count had left England, he remained a powerful figure in anti-Spanish invective. The second part of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi* (1624), for instance, depicted Gondomar 'appearing in

[73] Lucius Lavinius was a common corruption of Luscius Lavinius, the Roman translator and poet who accused Terence of taking liberty with his Greek originals and was roundly mocked Terence in his prologues as a result. See W. Beare, *The Roman Stage: A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic* (1950, 2nd edn. 1955), pp. 88, 92, 96-7).

[74] For the discussion of Du Val's identity, see L. Álvarez Recio, 'Pro-match literature and royal supremacy: The case of Michael Du Val's "The Spanish English Rose" (1622)', *SEDERI*, 22 (2012), pp. 7-27, esp. p. 11.

[75] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, sigs. A3r-A4v. For further discussion of the dating of this work, see E. Demetriou, 'Michael Du Val and Count Gondomar: An Approximation Towards the Authorship of *The Spanish-English Rose Or the English-Spanish Pomegranet* (*c*.1623)', *SEDERI,* 14 (2004), pp. 53-64.

[76] Bodl., Tanner MS 465, fos 81v-82r.

the likenes of a Machiauell in a Spanish parliament', where he proceeds to advance designs against English and Dutch Protestants.[77]

Du Val's text thus contested Count Gondomar's status in English public discourse as a figure of Puritan suspicion and contempt. Indeed, it has been posited that Gondomar even had a role in the text's production. Eroulla Demetriou argues that the dedication to the count, in both the Latin and English versions of the pamphlet, may not have been Du Val's handiwork. Gondomar is known to have used his staff to write flattering dedications; in 1619, the English Catholic convert Toby Matthew was doing exactly that. Demetriou also argues that the language of the pamphlet consciously imitates that of the Spanish count. For example, the Spanish proverb 'Peace with England vs betide, / And Warre with all the World beside', which Du Val purports had an English origin, echoes Gondomar's favourite axiom: 'guerra con toda la tierra y paz con Inglaterra' ['War with all the earth and peace with England'].[78]

Whilst the case for Gondomar's involvement is inconclusive, Du Val's apologetic pamphlet certainly makes a virtue of peace. A marital union between the royal houses of England and Spain represented, for Du Val, 'The onely *Surest*, and *Speediest* Meanes to *Reduce, Renue* and *Re-establish Peace* throughout all *Christendome*'. As serious confessional warfare resumed in Europe, Du Val celebrated the peaceful impulse of King James, for 'all *Good men* doe rather wish' to have 'a royall *Salomon*, Inuested in the *Pure white* Robe of *Peace*, than a triumphant *Dauid* Imbrued in Blood'.[79]

In addition to keeping England at peace, the Spanish marriage would offer the prince a 'Most Rich *Portion*' as well as the 'vndoubted *Title*, *Right* and *Interest* to the *Kingdomes*' of the Spanish crown. This closeness to Catholic Spain, the idea of being within the Spanish fold, was one of the principal concerns of opponents of the match. Thomas Scott's pamphlets, including the highly notorious *Vox Populi* (1620), exemplify the ongoing fear of Spanish duplicity concerning its ambition for universal monarchy. Scott was convinced that, despite the appearance of amity, Spain's 'principal end' was 'to get the whole possession of the world, and to reduce all to unity, under one temporal head' so

[77] T. Scott, *The second part of Vox populi, or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament* (1624), STC 22103, title page.
[78] Demetriou, 'Michael Du Val', pp. 56-7.
[79] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, p. 6.

that Philip IV 'may truly be what he is styled, the Catholic and Universal King'.[80] Du Val's text acknowledges such anxieties and particularly objects to the logic that Englishmen ought not to marry foreigners: 'Not with *Spaine* (Say you) / Because *They* were lately your *Enemies*'. For Du Val, not only had this enmity long passed, it had originated with the English and not the Spanish:

> For though in the yeare 88. They *Came* against You in *Hostile* manner, with a *Mightie Nauy*: Yet did they not that, till they were first prouoked by *Grieuous* and *Intolerable Iniuries*.

Here Du Val reinterprets recent Anglo-Spanish history, transforming the English into the aggressors and re-inscribing the Spaniards as victims. Du Val asks his readers to question their memories of the Armada era: 'By how many *Robberies* and *Piracies* were the *Spaniards* in those daies from time to time, first *Vexed* by the *English*?' Spain's political designs on England in this account become a limited and natural reaction of a country provoked.

This pro-Spanish political sentiment is taken one step further. Spain's protracted war against the Dutch is interpreted as the defensive act of a '*Lawfull* and vndoubted *Souerraigne*' against 'the *Frequent* and continuall *Auxiliary Forces* afforded to the Rebellious *Hollanders* for So many yeares together'. [81] The *Spanish-English Rose* disputes the legitimacy of the Dutch revolt thus severing the affinity (claimed by Scott and others) between Dutch and English Protestants as victims of Catholic Spain. For Henry Hexham, the Dutch were natural allies of England, even the 'vulgar multitude' recognised this and so they 'hate the Spaniard and love the Hollander'.[82] Du Val, therefore, assaulted the myth of Spain's desire for universal monarchy in both a domestic and international context.

Challenging Scott's Puritan view of an impending religious confrontation with Spain, Du Val insisted that the aim of God was always peace. 'Men of different Perswasions in Religion', he argues, ought to be 'Compacted and Coagulated together in Perpetuall Friendship', being

> all made by one Creator, Sanctified by one Baptisme, Redeemed by one Christ, Predestin'd to be one Heauen, and to be eternally Made happy by one GOD, the Glorious and Euer-Blessed-TRINITIE.[83]

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[80] Scott, *Vox Populi*, p. 6.
[81] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, pp. 53-54.
[82] [Hexham], *A tongue-combat*, p. 52.
[83] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, pp. 76, 78.

Here Du Val almost directly parallels the reconciliatory tone of James, which he used, for example, in a letter to Pope Gregory XV of 30 September 1622. Responding to Gregory's judgement on the Anglo-Spanish marriage articles, in which the pope had required the addition of a clause providing for the free exercise of religion for Roman Catholics, James had expressed his deep concern over 'these calamitous discords and bloodshedds w[hi]ch for these late yeares by-past have so miserably rent the Christian world'. He asked the 'Most Holy Father' to solicit for peace with the Catholic princes of Europe, since

> we all worshipp the same most blessed Trinity, nor hope for salvation by any other meanes then by the blood and meritts of one Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus.[84]

In his negotiations with Rome, James asserted the existence of a common Christianity, capable of bridging the denominational divide. This was a classic conciliatory sentiment, that differed from but did not negate James's main arguments in the Oath of Allegiance controversy. As we have seen in chapter one, James was concerned to unite Catholics and Protestants together in the face of the pope's claims to temporal authority. Now James was appealing to the pope, as a spiritual leader, to help further the Anglo-Spanish marriage and end the war in Germany. This technique of emphasising a common Christian foundation, and picturing Christendom united, was a recurring theme in pro-Spanish Match literature. It will be picked up again in the texts consulted later in this chapter. The trope is encapsulated in the frontispiece to *The Spanish-English Rose*, which depicted Christ standing between Prince Charles and Infanta Maria and blessing the union.[85]

If, however, the prospect of an 'indissoluble' alliance with the glorious and powerful House of Habsburg did not persuade the English people, then Du Val's final argument is based on *arcana imperii*. The royal marriages were part of the 'mysteries of *Princes* and *secrets of State*' that subjects had no right to meddle in and were 'not able to *Penetrate* and *Comprehend*'.[86] Here Du Val was echoing James's own concern about opposition to the match endangering his royal authority. In December 1620,

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[84] Bodl., Tanner MS 73, fo. 236 [James to Pope Gregory XV, 30 September 1622]; a Latin version is in the same collection on fo. 235. See also: C. Dodd, *Dodd's Church History of England* (5 vols., Westmead, 1971), iv, p. cclxxxix; and TNA, SP 85/5/81.

[85] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, frontispiece. A very similar woodcut appeared in the Latin tract *Cynthia Coronata* (1623) by Scipio Mirandula, see J. Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family and Court* (4 vols., 1828), iv, pp. 917-8.

[86] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, pp. 72, 73.

for instance, the king had issued a proclamation against 'Lavish and Licentious Speech in matters of State', which identified such speech with 'vulgar persons' who 'intermeddle' with matters 'above their reach and calling'. Likewise, in August 1622 James sent Archbishop Abbot instructions for the clergy to limit their comment on affairs of state. *The Spanish-English Rose* thus seems to be operating as a pro-Catholic text, barely concealing its Catholicism, but one which aligns itself precisely with James's ideas.[87]

As a pro-Catholic text, *The Spanish-English Rose* reflected the considerable enthusiasm for the Spanish Match in the English Catholic community. Several English priests wrote to their superiors in Rome expressing their confidence that, as William Bishop put it in August 1622, diplomats would 'p*er*swade his Ma*jes*tie to condescend to all that he hath p*ro*mised in the favour of Catholiques and so to worke that the mariage shalbe presently concluded'.[88] James's relaxation of the penal laws later in the autumn reinforced their optimism. In September William Harewell (*alias* Farrar) sent a letter to Rome advertising that 'the king had given a charge unto all ministers in England not to speake in their sermons any thinge against the pope or Catholickes', and consequently, 'All the lay Catholickes throughout the realme are now sett at libertie'.[89] Du Val's text certainly shared the hopes of English Catholics that the Spanish Match would initiate a period of tolerance: of Catholics and Protestants 'Liuing Peaceably, Quietly, Louingly, Ciuilly Friendly, and Familiarly together'. But the religious coexistence envisaged by *The Spanish-English Rose* was substantially different from the aims of the religious orders. Jesuits in particular viewed James's pro-Catholic overtures and his toleration policy with deep suspicion. Much to the resentment of Farrar, they seemed to 'report manifest untruthes' to Rome that the persecution of English Catholics was continuing unabated.[90] Du Val's text thus did not manifest the concerns of a unified Catholic community, but emerged within the ruptures of opinion.

Indeed, so peculiar was *The Spanish-English Rose*, with its combination of strong commendation for Spain, on the one hand, and a conciliatory attitude to religion, on the other, that it

[87] King James I, 'By the King. A Proclamation against excess of Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State. [Whitehall 24 December 1620]', in *Proclamations*, i, no. 208, pp. 495-6; 'Directions to Preachers', in Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, ii, p. 202.
[88] William Bishop to John Bennett [15 August 1622], in *Stuart Dynastic Policy*, p. 154.
[89] William Farrar (Harewell) to John Bennett [20 September 1622], in ibid., p. 170.
[90] William Farrar (Harewell) to John Bennett [25 September 1622], in ibid., p. 177.

confused readers in Spain. Father Francisco de Jesús, a court preacher, assumed that the tract was circulating with James's approval. He noted the Spanish court's hostile reaction to Du Val's idea that an interfaith marriage was 'Periculum nullum', for 'who could avoid being startled and frightened by the intentions which were disclosed by these facts?' For the Spanish authorities, who believed Charles's conversion to Catholicism was a basic requirement, Du Val's reconciliatory tone clashed with their religious agenda.[91] Contrary to the state of opinion in Madrid, Du Val's text expressed the hope that 'moderate' views were gaining ground within the Church of England and that the Spanish Match would bring tangible improvements to the treatment of Catholics.[92]

But, whilst *The Spanish-English Rose* is almost certainly a Catholic text, many of its central themes and arguments were common to another, apparently Protestant, defence of the marriage policy. This was Edmund Garrard's *The Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, which was published in London in 1624.

Contrary to the upsurge of anti-Spanish fervour in 1624 following Prince Charles's return from Madrid, Edmund Garrard's pamphlet supported James's continuing negotiations. In typical fashion for commentators on the Spanish Match, Garrard declared his intention not to touch upon state affairs or matters pertaining to the royal prerogative, before boldly entering precisely that sphere. But unusually Garrard made the point of identifying himself as a Protestant. He told his readers that

> *... what followes comes from a Protestant pen, from one that wisheth all may bee well, liueth in the countrie farre out of sight, and almost out of hearing, from the helme where the affaires of State are steared ...*[93]

Here, by establishing the religious bent of the tract as firmly Protestant, Garrard seems to recognise that the Spanish Match was popularly associated with Catholics. Indeed, the association, in this case, is not altogether unwarranted. Garrard's pamphlet is heavily dependent upon the positions outlined in *The Spanish-English Rose*.[94]

The major obstacle Garrard identified to the marriage was distrust towards Spain. He sought to

[91] F. de Jesús, *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty*, ed. and trans. S. R. Gardiner (1869), pp. 186-7.
[92] See *Stuart Dynastic Policy*, pp. 29-32.
[93] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, p. 53, sig. A3v.
[94] For Garrard's reliance on Du Val, see E. Demetriou, 'Michael Du Val and Count Gondomar', p. 61, n. 8.

counter this perception using exactly the same argument as the Catholic Du Val: that England had a long history of fidelity and royal intermarriage with Spain. Garrard emphasises the piety of the Spanish brides who became queens of England, such as 'that renowned and vertuous Lady *Elenor* [of Castile]', the wide of Edward I. Eleanor showed such constant devotion to her husband, Garrard claims, that she 'did endure with him an vnseperable companion of all his fortune', even licking his battle wounds with her tongue to draw out the poison. Moreover, the tract also stressed the role played by the Spanish ambassador to Henry VIII, Peter Hyalus, 'comming as it were from the king and Queene of *Spaine,* as from friends, equally well affected to both parties, to mediate a peace betweene the two kings, of *England* and *Scotland*'. The marriage of Henry's eldest daughter Margaret and James IV of Scotland carried special resonance because James VI and I was a descendant of this union and from it he derived his claims to throne of England. In depicting the Spanish as wise and honest broker between the two rival nations, England and Scotland, Garrard presents the current Spanish marriage project as the latest in a long line of beneficial contracts with Spain.[95]

The Spanish Match is therefore represented as an opportunity to restore the longstanding historical alliance between the two nations, temporarily interrupted during Elizabeth's reign. To detractors, Garrard declared:

> there is no such great cause of feares, doubts, and dangers, as they seeme to apprehend, though the Spaniards were lately our enemies, yet aunciently they were our friends, and seeme to desire to be so againe, to liue in league and amity with vs.

The Anglo-Spanish match was an alliance rooted in precedent and, for Garrard, in no way endangered England's Protestant religion. King James, he argued, was firmly committed to the 'true Religion now professed'. There was 'no question or imagination, that he will suffer the Religion now professed, to come vnder the Egiptian seruitude of the Pope'. Neither was Prince Charles in danger of 'alteration'. Garrard also rejected the charge that a Spanish bride would threaten alteration in the national religion. Firstly, Garrard argued, because of James's steadfast devotion to Protestantism; secondly, because the Infanta, a young woman outside of her country and surrounded by able Protestant bishops and preachers, would have little sway and she might even be converted; thirdly, because the universities remain bastions

[95] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, pp. 5-6, 8-9.

of Protestant religion.[96]

Assuaging these fears was vitally important for any supporter of the Spanish Match. Fear of Catholic revival in England, following swiftly after the conversion of Prince Charles, was a key complaint against the marriage. Countering this view, as expressed in the 1621 Parliament's petition that the prince be 'married to one of his own religion', Sir Edward Sackville exclaimed: 'And shall we think that whomsoever he shall marry that he will alter his religion? Or should we not think he will rather convert her than she him?'. Such fears remained current, even after Charles's return from Madrid. Simonds D'Ewes, for instance, foresaw that in the year ahead 'much alteration shall happen in religion' and determined to 'arme my selfe for preparation against worser times'.[97]

Garrard's *Covntrie Moderator* combined acerbic anti-popery with a (purportedly) Protestant defence of the Spanish Match. Garrard did this by reinterpreting Philip II's historical attacks on England. Rather than as a result of universal Spanish ambitions, the war between Philip and Elizabeth is blamed squarely on the zeal of Rome. The pope is presented as the 'Author' of the conflict, while the Spanish king is described merely as an 'Actor' on Rome's Counter-Reformation stage. Garrard emphasised Philip's weakness in relation to a powerful papacy. The Spaniard had allowed himself to be 'too much led by the Pope, which was no extraordinary thing', a theme that resonates with Heylyn's writings of 1621. Moreover, this dangerous alliance of Rome and Madrid had long since subsided. The Spaniards, having suffered 'malediction' after the Armada's defeat, had grown 'wearied and tyred out with the insupportable pressures of the Pope'. The English, Garrard argued, had no reason to continue to fear Spain on account of its alliance with the pope.[98]

Such a vehement defence of Protestant religion against the Church of Rome disposes the reader to assume the author belongs to the Church of England. Little is known about the author, but there are some clues to his identity in the tract's dedication to '*Henry* Lord Danvers, Baron of Dauntsey'. Within this epistle, Garrard implies a relative intimacy with the Danvers family:

IF I (poore and infortunate) should say, that I can no more forget your Noble house, I so long

[96] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, pp. 52, 53, 63, 62-3, 64-5.
[97] W. Notestein, F. H. Relf and H. Simpson (eds), *Commons Debates, 1621* (7 vols., 1935), ii, pp. 487-8; S. D'Ewes, *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622-1624* (Paris, 1974), p. 130.
[98] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, pp. 47, 48, 58.

> followed, and many Noble fauours from thence receiued: then the children of Captiuity, could forget their owne *Ierusalem:* if I should tell your Lorship how much I honour you, ioy at your sight, memory, and happines, liberally protesting all this, and much more ...[99]

Henry Danvers, created Baron Danvers of Dauntsey by King James in 1603, was the owner of Dauntsey, a country house in Wiltshire. As we have seen, Danvers was an enthusiastic European art collector and was also seemingly ambigious in religion. It is suspected that Henry's elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers embraced Catholicism while in Italy in the 1590s, for in Rome he allegedly 'kyst the Pope's toos'. In this period, before Charles's execution in 1601 for involvement in the Earl of Essex's rising, the Danvers brothers were also associated with the Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, whose family were Catholics. Southampton's father was imprisoned by the Elizabethan regime in 1570 for his link with a regicidal plot and in 1581 as a result of his recusancy, while Southampton's mother was guilty of Catholic indiscretions. The younger Southampton is also widely interpreted as having Catholic leanings in religion.[100]

It seems plausible then that Garrard received Danvers's patronage through a connection with Dauntsey. In 1603, according to a 'Note concerning the estate of Sir Charles Danvers' (Henry's elder brother) in the Elizabethan state papers, an 'Edw. Garrard' was serving at Dauntsey. The note reads:

> After Sir Charles was pardoned and had returned, an assignment of the lease was published to the tenants of Dauntsey, by Edw. Garrard, a new steward, who was placed by Sir Charles, and Girdler removed, which assignment was made by all or some of the lessees to Sir Charles.[101]

Our Garrard may ostensibly have been linked to Henry Danvers through his, or a male relative's, stewardship of the Dauntsey estate. It was precisely this sort of modest, respectable country lifestyle that Edmund Garrard celebrated in his title. Garrard consciously represented his patron as 'more a Country Lord then a Court' and himself as 'no Courtier ... that vpon the shift of euery King or Princes marriage, doe please themselues with some probable proiect of preferment'. Garrard's intervention was not intended for the court but for 'the Country people': 'I would herewithall cloathe, or at least someway

[99] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, dedicatory epistle.
[100] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 649, fol. 431r, cited in P. E. J. Hammer, 'Danvers, Sir Charles (*c.*1568–1601)', *ODNB* [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/7132], (accessed 18 August 2016); P. Honan, 'Wriothesley, Henry, third earl of Southampton (1573–1624)', *OBNB* [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/30073] (accessed 18 August 2016).
[101] TNA, SP 12/287, fo. 64 [Note concerning the estate of Sir Charles Danvers, (February?) 1603]; *CSPD 1601-1603*, vol. 287, p. 294.

couer their bare opinions'. After all, he argued, 'States are subiect to the wheele; times have their turning': 'though the Spaniards were lately our enemies, yet aunciently they were our friends, and seeme to desire to be so againe, to liue in league and amity with vs'.[102] Garrard professed himself to be a Protestant, but one who recognised the reason of allying with a powerful Catholic state. Clearly Danvers, with his growing prestige and court connections, was something of a focus for conformist writers. Both Heylyn and Garrard were apparently clients of Henry Danvers in the 1620s. These men were comfortable practitioners of anti-papal rhetoric and, as we will see, their perspectives on the European crisis hinged on locating the threat of papal tyranny beyond the nation of Spain.

The *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator* was not the only text claiming to provide a moderate voice on religious politics, and offering to mediate between two polarised ideological positions. In 1623 an English translation of Henry Constable's irenic treatise, *Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots* (1589), was published as *The Catholike Moderator: or a moderate examination of the doctrine of the Protestants*. In Constable's text a Catholic persona argues for a policy of religious pluralism in France on the basis of the shared traditions and minimal doctrinal differences between the Roman and Reformed churches.[103]

Another work bearing a similar title was *The Catholique Iudge: or A moderator of the Catholique moderator* (1623), which also purported to be translated by 'Sir *A. A.*' from a French original written by '*Iohn of the Crosse*, a Catholique gentleman'. On the title page, the '*Catholique iudge*' declared his intention to examine the differences between the Roman and Reformed traditions and show 'without partialitie ... which is the true Religion *and Catholique Church*'. The treatise decides emphatically in favour of the Reformed religion, invoking the spirit of Gamaliel who 'advised the Iewes to permit the Apostles to preach: *For if their worke were of men it would quickly come to naught; but if it were of God they could not ouerthrow it*' (Acts 5:38-39).[104]

The message of these irenic texts was, thus, complicated by the circumstances of their

[102] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, sig. A2v, pp. 57, 52-3.
[103] H. Constable, *The Catholike Moderator: or a moderate examination of the doctrine of the Protestants* (1623), STC 5636, see also Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 238-9, 247; Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, pp. 122-24.
[104] 'John of the Cross',*The Catholique Iudge: or A moderator of the Catholique moderator* (1623), STC 14651, title page, p. 86.

publication in 1623. In the preface, Constable's translator went to great pains to stress that the work was by no means intended 'to urge us Protestants, any whit to depart from our Right in yeelding to a Reconciliation'. The author's aim was rather to persuade Romanists 'to esteeme better of us: and to demonstrate withall, that if they will iudge right, they must needs thinke well'. Likewise, although insisting on its impartiality, *The Catholique Iudge* was attempting to gain a polemical advantage out of ascribing the defence of Protestantism to an irenic Catholic voice.[105] There was thus a connection between seemingly 'Catholic' arguments for the match as a means to end religious persecution and Protestant accounts in which healing divisions served more pragmatic purposes.

Garrard's *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, while emerging from the same political crisis, appears to be a more strenuous attempt to reconcile English Protestants to the Spanish Match. For Garrard, support of the match had little to do with religious belief. There were obvious benefits of closer alliance with Spain, such as improved relations with and influence over a major European power, whilst the potential cost, notably alteration in religion, was an unfounded fear. Indeed, Garrard criticised 'Country people, who in State affaires sees [sic] no farther then the *Rhine*', and 'wade not so deepe, as into the point of Religion'. He, likewise, attacked 'Papists' who were using the marriage negotiations to provoke Protestants by 'insolently intimating, what a golden time they now shall haue'. Garrard was not angling for Catholic-Protestant reconciliation. He was actually making a strong argument for separating religion from international politics. Like James, Garrard believed that confessional differences had little bearing on the marriage question. The spirit of peace was logic enough: 'now in peace, in all Christian and religious considerations, enuie, and hatred, should haue an end, and not be continued'. By contrast, for Du Val, support for the Anglo-Spanish union was intimately bound up with the aspirations of Catholics in England. The differing perspectives of Garrard and Du Val thus amounted to how they conceived of the English church and state within Christian Europe.[106]

Such texts have often been overlooked as works of flattery circulating in court circles rather than serious interventions in public debate.[107] To some extent such language was the product of the prevailing

[105] Constable, *The Catholike Moderator*, sig. ¶[1]v.
[106] Garrard, *Countrie Gentleman Moderator*, pp. 54, 48.
[107] Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', p. 122.

pacific mood in court and council. As Richard Cust has argued, there was an element of the customary in these 'cliches about unity'.[108] But although the desire for unity was prevalent and somewhat obligatory, irenicist writers had very different ideas of what unity would actually mean in practice. The unity commended by Garrard echoed James's vision of a strong Protestant nation, headed by a virtuous Stuart prince, and a reformed Catholic Spain freed from political entanglement with the papacy. Du Val's impulses were rather different. The bitter attack on English Protestant hispanophobia in the *Spanish-English Rose*, and its celebration of 'Diuersity in *Religion*', points to unity in the form of toleration for recusants.[109] Neither writer was fundamentally in favour of ending confessional division, but it suited both of their purposes to stress unity over division. These texts are significant, therefore, not because they register the tastes and priorities of the 'Spanish' faction, but because they demonstrate that the politics of unity was being contested in writings openly supporting the Spanish Match.

4 The language of holy war and Christian crusade

Whilst the works of Du Val and Garrard betray different perspectives on the issue of religious accommodation, both welcomed peace between the Spanish and English nations. For these authors the Ottoman Turk, rather than Catholic Europe, was the prime enemy of Protestant England. The king of Spain 'cannot be fearefull to any good man', Garrard explained, because he had defended Christians against their most potent enemy. Indeed, Du Val called on both nations to join together 'And Couragiously beat Downe, Conquer and Trample in the Dust the Pride of the Ottoman Nation'.[110]

The idea that the empires of the East, rather than of Spain, were the true enemies of Christendom was another significant (though less widespread) argument for the Spanish Match. This explanation rehearsed older themes in English political discourse. Calls for European nations to unite in a crusade against the infidel had been a classic strand of irenic thought since the High Middle Ages. But after the Reformation this language was often dedicated to overcoming confessional division.[111] In the global

[108] R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *P&P*, 112 (1986), pp. 60-90, at p. 87.
[109] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, p. 57.
[110] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, p. 42; Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, p. 78.
[111] L. Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 212-8.

matrix of Islamic and Spanish Habsburg empires, the question of where the interests of Protestants resided had no simple solution. In the early seventeenth century, the Ottoman Sublime Porte was troubled by internal invasions and conflict with Safavid Persia on its eastern borders, which significantly reduced the threat of invasion to Christendom in the West. The Ottomans, however, remained a strong military force and mounted an attack on Poland in 1620-1. Although the Turks were eventually repelled, the Ottoman threat gained renewed urgency in the minds of some English elites with the arrival at James's court in 1621 of the Polish ambassador Jerzy Ossolinski, who pleaded to the king for aid. For supporters of James's pacific policy, English interests lay with Habsburg efforts to protect Christian Europe. James himself is reported to have pledged in April 1620 that

> if the Grand Seigneur moved against Christendom in force, even in favour of his son-in-law, he would use all the forces of these realms to oppose him, and would not stand even at fighting against his own daughter.[112]

The government's line, therefore, was that peace with Spain was necessary in order to allow both nations to remain vigilant against their mutual enemy in the East.[113]

This was the central argument made by Francis Bacon, James's Lord Keeper, who was charged with the task of defending the Spanish Match. On 23 March 1617 Bacon gave instructions to Sir John Digby, who was serving as James's ambassador in Madrid, to work for 'the good and happiness of the Christian world'. The Anglo-Spanish union, Bacon hoped, might 'make the difference in religion as laid aside, and almost forgotten' and be 'the beginning and seed' of 'a holy war against the Turk' to 'suffocate and starve Constantinople'.[114] Bacon returned to this theme of Christian crusade in *An Advertisement Touching an Holy War* (*c*. 1622), which offered a subtle justification for holy war against the Turk on the basis of religious, and racial, difference. The vicissitudes of Bacon's political philosophy have been much studied, and it is widely accepted that Bacon was a committed irenic, though one who was able to

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[112] *CSPV*, xvi, p. 239 [Words reported from London by Girolamo Lando, Venetian ambassador, to the Doge and Senate, 24 April 1620] .

[113] F. Tallett and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *European Warfare, 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 153, 293; P. Rutcowski, 'Poland and Britain against the Ottoman Turks: Jerzy Ossolinski's embassy to James I in 1621', in R. Unger (ed.), *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: contact and comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), pp. 183-95.

[114] F. Bacon, 'To the King' [23 March 1616], in J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon* (14 vols., London, 1857-74), vi, pp. 137-8; E. A. Abbott, *Francis Bacon: An Account of His Life and Works* (1885).

turn on anti-Spanish rhetoric when circumstances required. The *Advertisement*, however unique and subtle in execution, was ultimately a product of the shared irenicism of Bacon and the king.[115]

John Stradling was another English supporter of the Anglo-Spanish union who emphasised Christian unity in the face of a common enemy, the Turk. His *Beati Pacifici: A Divine Poem* (1623), was published with a royal patent and claimed on its title page to have been 'Perused by His Majesty'. In the work, Stradling minimised the differences between Catholics and Protestants, insisting that 'if learned men of temp'rate disposition, / Would reason mildly, rancor laid aside: / They might draw points of faith to composition' and thereby 'Call and esteem the holy Church their Mother'. Stradling urged the unification of Christendom to fight the Ottoman Turk, 'Christs greatest Foe', which was 'a blessed work indeed, and better far, / Than be the works wherein we stand engaged'. The text alludes here to the Protestant cause on the Continent and resists arguments for an alliance with the Dutch to protect the independence of the United Provinces and achieve the restoration of the Palatinate. Stoking fires within Christendom is even figured as a devilish act: 'Proud Lucifer, and his black traine all dance, / To see these broyles in Germany and France'. Stradling thus criticised theologians who promoted fractious policies that would further splinter Christendom. Instead he upheld the view that 'w'are Christians all' and must come together against the powerful threat from the East.[116]

Having served several times as sheriff of Glamorgan, most recently in 1620, Stradling was heavily involved in county politics and imbues the perspective of the peripheries into the debates raging in the capital. The poet draws attention to his honest 'country pate' and seeks not to meddle in state 'secrecies', since he is 'no man of State'. Men such as Garrard and Stradling, ostensibly based outside of the city, were thus injecting desires for peace and unity into the heart of London's public discourse. Though resistance to the Spanish Match increasingly electrified the mood in London, as Lake and Cogswell have shown, this war-mongering was being contested not only by intimate advisors of the

[115] F. Bacon, 'An Advertisement Touching an Holy War', in Spedding, *Works*, iii, pp. 467-91, at p. 477. For Bacon's politique attitude to toleration in the 1580s, see Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, pp. 110, 124-5. For further discussion of holy war in Bacon's *Advertisement*, see B. Charry, 'Martyrdom and Modernity: The Discourse of Holy War in the Works of John Foxe and Francis Bacon', in S. H. Hashmi (ed.), *Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Encounters and Exchanges* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 167-86.

[116] J. Stradling, *Beati Pacifici: A Divine Poem. Written to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie* (1623), STC 23352, pp. 17-29, 23-24, 35, 45. The work was entered in the Stationers' Register on 4 June 1623, see Doelman, *Religious Culture*, p. 95.

king, such as Bacon, but also by those who consciously adopted the persona of a 'countrie' gentleman and who distanced themselves from the London public's presumed appetite for a war against Spain.

Stradling's desire for solidarity with Spain may also reflect his family connections. He was knighted in 1608 and inherited the large Welsh estate of his uncle Sir Edward Stradling the following year. Both John and Edward, as heads of the Stradling family, conformed to the Church of England, but others in the family had remained staunchly Catholic after Elizabeth's accession. Edward's younger brother, David, had fled to the Low Countries in the early 1570s and eventually entered the service of Philip II in Spain. In an epitaph for David, John commemorated the plight of his 'imprisoned' relative:

> Qui te parvula tumba tenet? Corpus humum sapuit, sed mens caelestia spirans Sprevit humum, et coelum quod cupiebat habet.
>
> [How can a small tomb hold you? Your body had the character of earth, but your mind, aspiring to heavenly things, disdained the earth, and possesses the sky for which it yearned.][117]

In his epitaph, Stradling expressed deep sympathy for the active and dangerous life of his Catholic relative.

This level of association with Catholics seems pertinent, given the extent of Stradling's enthusiasm for Christian reconciliation. The *Beati Pacifici* is deeply critical of certain hot-headed Protestants:

> It grieves my heart (needs must I tell it out)
> To reade and heare the raylings of some hot-spurs,
> How shamelesly, among the simple rout,
> They bite their neighbours, much like Mastife Curs:
> Fie on the Heretike, one cries: Sayes t'other,
> Pox o'the Papist, though he were my brother.

Stradling insists that Catholics and Protestants concur in the main points of Christian religion, and, especially, 'The holy vndiuided Trinitie, / We all adore in perfect vnitie'. Again, as in Du Val's *Spanish-English Rose*, belief in the Trinity is a powerful symbol of unity among all Christians. This was, of course, an essential point of division between Western Christianity and Islam, used to justify holy war against the Turk. Du Val, Bacon and Stradling thus envisaged Catholic and Protestant nations uniting

[117] *Ioannis Stradlingi Epigrammatum Liber Quatuor* [1607], liber tertius, p. 173, reprinted and translated in A. M. Orofino, '"Coelum Non Animum Mutant Qui Trans Mare Current": David Stradling (1537-*c*.1595) and His Circle of Welsh Catholic Exiles in Continental Europe', *British Catholic History*, 32 (2014), pp. 139-58, at p. 149.

their armies in an external war for the preservation of Europe as a Christian continent. Nothing short of a crusade would overhaul the deeply embedded bitterness between the two halves of Christendom and bring long-lasting peace. These writers thus embraced popular arguments for religious war, but reinterpreted the conditions under which such a campaign should take place. Rather than attack one's Christian neighbours, God's cause was fighting the infidel and promoting Christian religion throughout the world.[118]

For men such as Stradling, whose family had been touched by Catholic persecution, pacific language was dedicated to eroding confessional division. This was particularly pertinent during the 1620s when Anglo-Islamic relations were undergoing a period of transformation. Since the Reformation, there had been efforts to build new alliances that would enable Protestant states to compete against a Catholic power bloc centring on Spain. By the early 1620s, the focus of the conflict between Christian and Islamic forces had shifted from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, where Portuguese, Dutch and English merchants were vying to dominate this area of lucrative profit. Mercantile contact was established between England and Persia. In 1622, English East India Company ships aided Shah Abbas in expelling the Portuguese from the island of Ormus.[119] This represented an attack on the Spanish empire, of which Portugal was a member. Whilst the nature of the Anglo-Persian collaboration was generally kept quiet in England, for fear of upsetting the Spanish Match negotiations, reports of the incident did make it into print. One London newsbook (published by Nathaniel Butter and his partners, Bartholomew Downes and Thomas Archer) reported the action at Ormus with gusto. It lauded the valour of the Englishmen and praised the generosity of the Persian king, who decreed that 'the trafficke for Silke shal remaine free to the *English*' and that 'halfe of the customes' of Ormus would be offered as 'a yeerely compensation to the *East India Company*'. Rather than othering the Muslim Persians, in the manner that Stradling and Bacon vilified the Turk, this newsbook overlooked religious differences entirely. Instead it presented the English and Persian ambassadors as engaged in mutually beneficial diplomatic exchanges. We are told that 'by reason of the seruices, the English had done him

[118] Stradling, *Beati Pacifici*, p. 19.
[119] J. Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 150.

at *Ormus*' the English ambassador had received gifts of gold. Tyranny or despotism is not located in this Islamic state.[120]

This event is also implicitly connected to the wider foreign policy challenges facing the English. Later in the text, a report from Amsterdam describes the Dutch reaction to the Anglo-Persian victory:

> the report of the businesse at *Ormus* in *Persia,* is here so frequent, and well entertained, as if they had beene sharers in the glory of the English: but because they imagine the Portingals will prouide for recouery in some stronger and sufficient manner, they likewise prouide by way of preuention, extraordinary ships, prouision, and Mariners for the same place and purpose, and so determine to ioyne with the English in those parts, if neede be:

The battle for control of the silk trade in the Persian Gulf was being constructed here as a shared endeavour of the enemies of Portugal and by extension of Spain. English readers of this newsbook were thus encouraged to believe that the victory would be a precursor to a renewed international partnership with the Dutch. The text does not identify English interests as residing in a pro-Spanish direction.[121]

Anglo-Islamic relations were thus viewed very differently depending on one's political and religious priorities. For supporters of the match, the English collaboration with Shah Abbas threatened to destabilise the Christian partnership between England and Spain which was on the brink of being realised. Here religious motivation collided with political realism. The goal of Christian reconciliation was placed before investment in new mercantile and diplomatic opportunities. Bacon, Stradling and others who endorsed James's policy were not beyond playing to hostile stereotypes of Turkish and Persian otherness. At a time when the tangible danger posed by Islamic forces to the eastern borders of Christendom was diminishing, this must surely be attributed to the rhetorical power of the language rather than the political credulity of those deploying it. It certainly suited the political purposes of Bacon and the 'Spanish' party to deflate popular hispanophobia by setting up an alternative figure of alterity. But by resorting to popular prejudices, supporters of the match fuelled the interest in foreign policy, which James sought to silence.

Arguments for the Spanish Match based on the need to defend Christian Europe against a common foe were linked to a wider belief in Christendom as a shared community. But the myth of a

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[120] [Anon.], *A new suruey of the affaires of Europe With other remarkable accidents* (1623), STC 18507.96, pp. 7, 4-5.
[121] *A new suruey of the affaires of Europe*, p. 21.

unified Christian Europe was becoming increasingly outmoded as politicians and statesmen looked to protect the interests of the state and the state's religion within the new global environment. Amid the escalating conflict of the Thirty Years' War, James's commitment to the reunification of Christendom appeared to be a relic of a former era. It led him to hope in vain that the Habsburg rulers were also committed to achieving peace. The king, as George Villiers, marquis of Buckingham explained, could not 'foresee what a war would lead to in these days'.[122] As a consequence, historians have tended to see James as isolated from public opinion.[123] But what I hope to have demonstrated here is that James's attitudes stemmed from a particular set of priorities, which solidified in response to the fraught military and political developments on the Continent. A range of his subjects shared these priorities and articulated them in the printed debate about the Spanish Match.

5 The economic and strategic case for the Spanish Match

Alongside the philosophical ideal of peace in Christendom, there were also strategic arguments for settling the European crisis through an Anglo-Spanish union. There was a case that marriage would bring the English state closer to a powerful monarchical empire and thereby distance England from the republican Dutch. There were also strong economic reasons for backing a pro-Iberian stance, given the access it afforded to Spain's lucrative markets in the Indies. Together these justifications fed into the view that an Anglo-Spanish marriage would best promote English national interests. Security and commerce were important to statesmen as well as the burgeoning mercantile community in London and other major ports. But, it also animated the wider public debate about the Spanish Match, including some of the writers we have encountered already. In this section I will argue that the economic and strategic case for the marriage policy was articulated by a greater range of voices than we have come to expect.

The motivations of prominent hispanophile councillors and members of Parliament certainly fall into this category. Personal ambition had a role to play, as Katherine S. Van Eerde's article on Sir Robert Phelips's shifting position reminds us. Gentlemen on the make can be found in this period

[122] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 17-8, 20.
[123] Redworth, *Prince and Infanta*, pp. 21-5. Alexander Samson has also criticised this tendency to read the failure of the Spanish Match backwards in his introduction to his edited volume, *The Spanish Match*, pp. 1-8.

learning Spanish, reading Cervantes and watching adapted Spanish plays. Favour, patronage and office were all at stake. Phelips even slipped passages of Spanish into his letters as a way of highlighting his learning. Yet Phelips was also a pragmatist, who carefully weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of following the king's line. England's interests demanded a loosening of one alliance: 'It doth as well concern England to cast an eye toward the increase and power of the ~~Hollanders~~ Flemings on the sea and in the matter of contratation [sic]'.[124] A deeper impulse thus motivated Phelips's initial adherence, his objection to the growing strength of the Dutch Republic as a trading power.

For the likes of Francis Cottington, George Calvert and Richard Weston at the centre of government, support for the marriage project can also be attributed to a shared hostility to the Dutch (and, to a lesser extent, the French).[125] As Simon Adams explains, such people were driven by the conviction that the Habsburgs represented 'social order and monarchical legitimacy and stability in a world threatened by Dutch and presbyterian republicanism'. Englishmen who placed a priority on Dutch independence tended to reject any attempts to see Spain as anything other than the principal Catholic enemy. By contrast, those who were preoccupied with the Catholic threat to Frederick in Germany were more willing to imagine the pope or the emperor as popish tyrants and enemies of Protestantism.[126]

The belief that England's commercial and security interests were best served by closer alliance with Spain was partly informed by wider ideological principles. There was a strong dislike of republicanism among some supporters of a Spanish alliance, but there was also a pragmatic concern to avoid dragging the nation into expensive confessional wars. London's mercantile community had a longstanding interest in a pacific foreign policy. As Croft has argued, many English merchants had consistently opposed Elizabeth's provocation and tried to maintain a working commercial relationship

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[124] Cited in K. S. Van Eerde, 'The Spanish Match through an English Protestant's Eyes', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32 (1968), pp. 59-75; Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*, pp. 70-3.

[125] For the careers of these 'pro-Spanish' politicians, see M. Alexander, *Charles I's Lord Treasurer: Sir Richard Weston* (1975); J. D. Krugler, '"The face of a protestant and the heart of a Papist": a re-examination of Sir George Calvert's conversion to Roman Catholicism', *Journal of Church and State*, 20 (1978), pp. 507-31; M. J. Havran, *Caroline Courtier: the Life of Lord Cottington* (1973).

[126] S. L. Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in K. Sharpe (ed.), *Faction and Parliament: Essays in Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 140-1. See also Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands?', pp. 79-102; Ruigh, *Parliament of 1624*, pp. 33, 41, 261-3.

with Spain, regardless of religious differences. The Treaty of London (1604) establishing peace with Spain was strongly welcomed in the City of London. It facilitated the revival of commerce with the Mediterranean, Americas and the Near and Far East. The City had thrived as a result.[127] By the early 1620s, however, there were complaints that England was being out-traded. 'The present state of the tymes, by reason of the Warres in Germanye', a cloth trade committee of 1622 surmised, 'is conceaved by manie to be some present impediment to the vent of oure Cloth'.[128] In the struggle for markets, the French held the leading position in Mediterranean trade, while the Dutch had effective control of the carrying trade in the Baltic.[129] Further alliance with Spain through a royal marriage was also seen by many to be commercially advantageous. It would open up new trading opportunities in the Spanish-dominated East and West Indies, which were eagerly sought after by England's nearest economic rival, the Dutch. There was thus a new sense of the importance of international commerce to the wellbeing of the English nation. This tendency is borne out in my sources.

This view of the Spanish monarchy as a strong, powerful ally offering to seal an economically expedient relationship was used as a defence of the Spanish Match. For Garrard, the marriage would put an end to the 'Iron age' lately endured by the English people. The common people, Garrard explains, though they enjoy the 'fruits of the earth' do 'finde by wofull experience, that royall Trading and commerce are much decayed'. But, he exclaims, as soon as 'it shall please God, our Princes royall match be once setled', there would be 'the beginning of a golden world'. This golden world reflects the financial gains to be had by the Infanta's dowry but also through access to Spain's lucrative trade in metals, minerals and spices. The Spanish Match is envisaged as opening up the profits of trade to the modest 'countrie people'.[130] Likewise, Tisdale's *Pax vobis* equated 'our rich *Edens* bosome' with the 'beautious *Peace*', which appears to affect the fecundity of the natural world, 'The bleating Yewes their

[127] Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp. 281-302.
[128] J. D. Gould, 'The Trade Depression of the Early 1620's', *Economic History Review*, 7 (1954), pp. 81-90, at p. 81. The decline of trade was widely associated with 'The wars in Christendom', see Bodl., MS North a2, fos 241-2, printed in J. Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 471-2.
[129] C. Hill, *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714* (London and New York, 1980), p. 38.
[130] Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, pp. 66, 56, 55.

pretty Lambkins yeane: / Then suckle them, till they be fit to weane: / Then frsike and toy together too and fro'.[131]

Du Val, however, emphasised the prosperity currently realised by the Anglo-Spanish peace. He commended the peace with Spain for bringing about 'the aduancement, and *Encrease* of commerce and *Traffique*' with many nations. Since the war had ended, England had enjoyed '*Great* and abundant *Merchandizes* of all sorts'. Great profits had been made from the '*Precious* Gold and Siluer', the 'Delicate and Delicious Amber-like Gummie and Oyle-distilling *Fishes*' and the 'most exquisite *Orient Pearles*', imported from the Indies. As a result England had experienced 'ample Accession and encrease of *Wealth* and *Riches*'. All these benefits, Du Val argued, were set to increase upon the successful negotiation of a marriage contract:

> In the Trade and Traffique to which places the *Spanish* Nation will assuredly affoord greater *Priuiledges* and Immunities to the *English*, than to all the other Noble Nations and people of *Europe*.[132]

Here Du Val gestures towards the weight of mercantile opinion against the provocation of Spain. Sir Lionel Cranfield, for example, opposed breaking off the negotiations for a Spanish Match precisely because a war with Spain threatened drastically to disrupt trade. Major City merchants agreed.[133] The Amboyna massacre of 1623, in which Dutch traders in Java slaughtered their English commercial rivals, heightened the City's opposition to Anglo-Dutch trading partnerships.[134]

What the Spanish Match debates contribute to this picture is a sense of how far the mercantile perspective percolated into the wider political culture. The nation's prosperity had an immediate relevance to people in London and in the country. It was a tangible theme capable of eliciting respect for James, who was represented in Catholic and Protestant texts as a virtuous prince soliciting for his

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[131] Tisdale, *Pax vobis*, sig. B[1]r.
[132] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, pp. 25-6.
[133] R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 270-2; F. C. Spooner, 'The European Economy 1609-50' in J. P. Cooper (ed.), *New Cambridge Modern History. Volume 4: The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 67-103, esp. pp. 99-101.
[134] K. Chancey, 'The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1623-32', *Albion*, 30 (1998), pp. 583-98. For news reports of the massacre, see [Anon.], *Nevves out of East India of the cruell and bloody vsage of our English merchants and others at Amboyna* (1624), STC 547; [Anon.], *A true relation of the vniust, cruell, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna in the East-Indies, by the Neatherlandish gouernour* (1624), STC 7451.

people's good.[135] This corresponds with Anna Bayman's recent study of the pamphlets of Thomas Dekker, in which she argues that enthusiasm for peace had purchase across the social spectrum. The hostility towards war elicited in Dekker's pamphlets appealed both to mercantile elites, concerned about the loss of profits from trade, and to more humble Londoners, worried about the effects on prices and taxation. The correlation of peace with Spain and national prosperity by Du Val and Garrard can thus be viewed in the context of a wider print culture which was not only celebrating the king's peace but itself was flourishing as a result of the peaceful conditions.[136]

These texts, furthermore, highlight that James and his councillors were not alone in recognising that the interests of the Protestant cause were not inexorably aligned with those of England. There was a deep fissure in English attitudes: amity towards foreign Protestant brethren as natural allies sat alongside deep suspicion of Dutch republicanism, the costs of warfare and a burgeoning commercial rivalry. International trade and security were important aspects of James's own decision-making, but they also animated the attitudes of English people, who were alert to the practical consequences of a narrow, confessionally-driven foreign policy.

Conclusion

A picture has now emerged of complex, multifarious and even conflicting support for the Spanish Match. Rather than instantly repulsive to the entrenched hispanophobic and anti-Catholic sentiments of the entire political culture, James's pacific foreign policy was received favourably in certain quarters. There were statesmen who favoured peace as a means of restraining royal expenditure, merchants who sought access to lucrative Indian markets, Protestant theologians and political thinkers weary of confessional controversy, Catholics and their sympathisers who longed for the end of persecution, and country gentlemen concerned about rising prices and taxation. All of these different groups could find hope in the marriage project.

Support for an Anglo-Spanish union undoubtedly reflected wider changes to England's political culture. But these views were also a product of the complex politics of the Thirty Years' War and the

[135] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, p. 26; Garrard, *Covntrie Gentleman Moderator*, p. 55.
[136] A. Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 144-6.

possibility of drawing multiple and potentially conflicting conclusions about where the threat to Protestants was coming from. When the confessional pressure points changed in 1624, individuals like Heylyn and Bacon were prepared to flow with the new anti-Spanish tide, opting to reassess the place of Spain within the matrix of global Catholic power. But this attests to the dynamic nature of public opinion during this period. Opinion was not static: it changed over time in response to new events and older fears were quite capable of resurfacing.[137]

This flexibility, however, only went so far. There were discernible limits to the conciliatory rhetoric, which very few of our writers were prepared to cross. Religious toleration for Catholics was a notable boundary. Texts such as Du Val's *Spanish-English Rose*, which attempted to erase the Protestant providentialist thrust of English history, were very much in the minority. Such outwardly 'Catholic' works were not reflective of the main tide of opinion in favour of the marriage alliance. English Protestants were able to support the match not primarily because they wanted to see greater liberty of conscience for Catholics but because they saw Madrid as a potential ally in the fight against the true champions of the Counter-Reformation, Vienna and Rome.

Enthusiasm for Spain and a marriage alliance was not unconditional among its English supporters. Spain's stature and position in the power dynamics of Catholic Europe was central to these changing political attitudes. For opponents of the Spanish Match, such as Abbot, Donne and Scott, Spaniards embodied the threat of papal universal monarchy. What the works of Heylyn, Garrard, Goodere and other supporters of the Spanish Match have revealed, is that fear and hatred of papal power was also very much their concern. But this chapter has argued that these men conceived of its threat according to a different anti-papal geopolitics, which led them not to vilify Spain but to admire its conciliatory attitude towards England and its independence from Rome. Buggs and Heylyn shared the anti-papal mindset of the match's opponents, but stripped of many of its Black Legend trappings.

The political geography of Heylyn's *Microcosmus* thus pulls together many of the different strands of argument we have seen expressed among supporters of the Spanish Match: the desire for peace and stability, sympathy with Frederick and Elizabeth's plight, rejection of Black Legend

[137] See Heylyn, *Microcosmus* (1636), pp. 51-2, 178-80, 297-8; Charry, 'Martyrdom and Modernity', p. 178.

stereotypes of Spain, and, most importantly, the refusal to see Catholicism as an amalgamated threat. Heylyn's approach to the crisis in Christendom rejected confessional absolutes as a principle for international diplomacy, but nonetheless his writing was shaped by deeply engrained English Protestant hostility towards papal authority.

These wide-ranging views were all represented in the literature published and circulated during the crisis. Together these texts amount to a small, but intellectually significant, body of support for the Spanish Match. It is worth drawing attention to the common traits and potential links between them. Most of our writers seem to have conceived of their texts either as pitches to James and his court or as efforts to quell the anti-Spanish prejudices of the 'countrie people'. Heylyn dedicated his *Microcosmus* to Charles and was afforded the opportunity to present James with a copy through the offices of Henry Danvers. Similarly, Samuel Buggs was a young clergyman taking opportunities for preferment through the publication of loyalist sermons. Goodere, already a gentleman of the privy chamber, nevertheless, was a man who used poetry to curry favour with prominent councillors. Through his patron Sir Edward Conway (who was himself a client of Buckingham's) Goodere addressed his poems to the king's favourite, Buckingham, and the king's ambassador, Digby.

James was also a unifying factor. The themes of Christian unity and accommodation with Catholics particularly reflect the king's tastes. James was concerned to protect the temporal authority of monarchs, and, as chapter one revealed, was open to accommodate those moderate Catholics who were prepared to defend his jurisdiction from the Roman curia's attacks. The heavily politicised form of anti-popery used by Heylyn, Goodere and Buggs was not perceived to contradict the conciliatory impulse towards private Catholic devotion.

Some of these writers, however, had a far wider audience in mind. The Latin version of *The Spanish-English Rose* and the possible Gondomar connection speaks of a potential international Catholic audience for Du Val's defence of the marriage project. Both Du Val and Garrard carefully set out to unmask what they saw as the blind anti-Spanish prejudices of the English people. Bacon and Stradling were likewise appealing to residual conciliatory sentiment among the political classes. By putting their arguments in print, these authors created a public interface in which to debate the merits of the Spanish alliance. These authors strove to rebalance the public debate and in the process reveal

the attractions of Spanish culture to clergymen, merchants and politicians. Although these writers were far from an integrated network, there are personal connections between a few of them. As we have seen, Heylyn and Garrard were clients of Henry, Lord Danvers, who was a religiously ambivalent figure with a history of crypto-Catholic friendships. The link with Danvers emphasises that a range of anti-papal views existed within a wide spectrum of Protestant opinion. Viewed together, therefore, my sources demonstrate that enthusiasm for the marriage project found more varied expression in English political culture than previously assumed.

CHAPTER 3
Changing Faces: Redefining the Popish Threat during the Caroline Wars, 1625-30

During the opening years of the Thirty Years' War, England had in James I a monarch with a strong intellectual commitment to securing European peace. As a result English foreign policy was geared towards forging alliances with Catholic states and using diplomatic pressure to gain concessions for weak Protestant rulers. By 1625 England was in the grips of a dramatic reversal, a 'blessed revolution' in which the new king, Charles I, and his Privy Council were persuaded that it was in the interests of England and the House of Stuart to wage war against the Habsburgs. Charles forged alliances with the United Provinces, Denmark and Spain's old enemy France with the aim of weakening the Habsburg grip over the Palatinate and thus improving Elector Frederick's condition. But within two years Charles had abandoned this strategy and was recruiting for an expedition to assist the Huguenots of La Rochelle in their rebellion against Louis XIII of France. Charles and his government recommended their dramatic change of policy to the English people by sponsoring news serials and other print works. The public debate that was triggered about the status of France as a Catholic enemy will be the subject of this chapter.

Recent studies of the early Caroline period have tended to analyse English relations with Catholic states as a prism for understanding Charles I's deteriorating relations with Parliament. The fiscal innovations used by the king to finance his wars against both Spain and France are widely considered to have contributed to a sense of alienation from Caroline foreign policy.[1] Richard Cust, for example, has argued that in spite of widespread support for an aggressive Protestant war strategy English people were unwilling to be out of pocket for the benefit of the king's campaigns. Charles's financial innovations, undertaken to pay for various expeditions overseas, and the billeting of troops within England, provoked unrest among the parliamentary classes unused to such unprecedented

[1] R. Cust, *The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1626-1628* (Oxford, 1987); K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 13-20, 33-4, 59-60; L. J. Reeves, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 13-15; P. Salzman, *Literature and Politics in the 1620s: 'Whisper'd Counsells'* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 129-35. For the impact of Charles's fiscal policies in the 1630s, see J. S. A. Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (2007), pp. 32-5; P. Lake, 'The Collection of Ship Money in Cheshire during the 1630s: A Case Study of Relations between Central and Local Government', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), pp. 141-62; K. Fincham, 'The Judges' Decision on Ship Money in February 1637: the Reaction of Kent', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 57 (1984).

intervention by the central government.[2] The local foot-dragging that accompanied the Forced Loan of 1626 also tells another story. It suggests, as Cust has observed, that many English men were either unconvinced of the necessity of intervening, or were not persuaded that the Caroline government was going about military action in the right way. This aspect of early Caroline foreign policy – the way it relates to wider attitudes about the popish threat and how to resist it – warrants closer attention than it has hitherto received.

In seeking to explore the link between anti-papal ideas and changing public conceptions of the foreign Catholic threat in the late 1620s, this chapter builds on some important scholarship. Richard Cust led the way in analysing the relationship between news literature and the development of public opinion. He argued that the centralisation of news contributed to the polarisation of political opinion. Furthermore, over a series of ground-breaking articles Thomas Cogswell argued convincingly that Charles and his favourite George Villiers, duke of Buckingham sought to manage popular perceptions of the war effort by exercising control over London's pamphlet and news presses. Across several authorised newsbooks – published by Thomas Walkley and displaying 'Published by Authoritie' on their covers – the war against France was projected as a religious crusade. Buckingham even issued *A Manifestation* charting his 1627 campaign at the Île de Ré in complementary terms and requesting the nation's prayers. These newsbooks were the chief source of news about the Ré expedition and therefore, as Cogswell explains, helped shape public perceptions of the war.[3]

Yet Cogswell's work also highlights how Charles and Buckingham, in spite of their efforts to court popularity, failed to convince Parliament of the integrity of their religious and political objectives. In 1626 MPs directed their ire at Buckingham, formally declaring to the king that 'we apprehend him of so unbridled ambition, and so averse to the good and tranquillity of the church and state that we verily believe him to be an enemy to both'. Parliament men also pointedly complained that Buckingham's religious allegiances were unclear. By 1627 there was evident unease in the capital about the pragmatism of Charles's French strategy, and a surge of vocal hispanophobia questioned whether

[2] Cust, *Forced Loan*, p. 34; for resistance to the Loan, see pp. 55-6, 58-9.
[3] Cust, 'News and Politics', pp. 60-90; Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', pp. 187-215; '"Published by authoritie", pp. 1-25; 'Prelude to Ré', pp. 1-21; 'The path to Elizium', pp. 207-233; 'The People's Love, in Cogswell, Cust, and Lake (eds), *Politics, Religion and Popularity*, pp. 211-34.

Louis's France should really be considered England's chief Catholic enemy. Thus, the transformation of assumptions about the nature of the popish threat was not confined to official news pamphlets, it had a broader impact. Indeed, discourse charting England's deteriorating relations with France soon eclipsed the anti-Spanish content that proliferated when war was debated in Parliament in 1624. What remains to be analysed in greater detail is the impact of this conscious adoption of religious language by the Caroline regime on the wider political culture.[4]

The unwillingness of many English writers to endorse a French war suggests that the divergence between Crown and people that emerged in the late 1620s was partly rooted in different ideas about the identity of the tyrannical popish enemy. As this chapter will demonstrate, in the context of the French campaigns two forms of anti-popery emerged to contest the nature and identity of the external threat. One type, which defended Charles's strategy, presented Louis XIII, not as an ally against the Habsburgs and friend of the Reformed religion, but as a popish tyrant in the same vein as the king of Spain, who connived to eliminate Protestantism and extend his cruel and oppressive government. A second type, however, resorted to traditional anti-Habsburg themes. It reiterated stereotypes of Spain's ambition to govern a universal monarchy and viewed France as an ally, along with Dutch, German and Danish Protestants, in the fight against Habsburg tyranny. Texts in this mould upheld the view that the war against France was a popish plot to divert England away from its virtuous war against Spain. Interventions in print in the late 1620s thus converged around two opposing themes: firstly, the need to show the English public that the French Catholic state was a tyrannical oppressor of the Huguenots; and secondly, the desire to convince Charles and his government that the Habsburgs were the real enemy.

The transference of anti-papal enmity onto the French king, which occurred from 1627, thus entailed a restructuring of the established Habsburg-orientated discourse. What impact did the representation of Louis XIII as an aspirant to universal monarchy have on English concepts of popish tyranny and imperialism? Conversely, what does the enduring strength of the Black Legend of Spain in

[4] *Proceedings in Parliament 1626*, ed. W. B. Bidwell and M. Jansson (4 vols., London and New Haven, 1991-96), iii, pp. 440-1. Cf. Cogswell, '"Published by authoritie", p. 4; Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', p. 201.

some quarters reveal about the popish threat in the English political imagination? These questions will be at the heart of this chapter. Examining the nuances of these anti-papal languages, and the different outlooks on foreign affairs that underpinned them, thus has the potential to shed light on the wider tensions that were developing within English society.

These variations were symptomatic of wider tensions in English Protestant thought. Anthony Milton has demonstrated that the strong bonds linking England to the French Reformed Church came under strain during the first years of Charles's reign. In the Jacobean era, moderate episcopalians had been prepared to overlook the Huguenots' presbyterianism. Given their status as a persecuted minority church, English divines accepted that the restoration of episcopacy would be impossible. James Ussher, the Calvinist archbishop of Armagh, for example, maintained that he would be happy to embrace intercommunion with the French Reformed Church. Yet in the late 1620s rumours circulated of hostile treatment by English bishops towards the foreign non-episcopal congregations. The French preacher Gilbert Primerose complained that Bishop Laud thought his fellow Presbyterian ministers had no true calling to the ministry.[5] These changes were symptomatic of the rapid adoption of anti-Calvinist policies by the Caroline Church, which were famously contested at the York House conference of 1626. In this new atmosphere, previously orthodox doctrines, such as predestination and the identification of the pope as Antichrist, were frowned upon. Defenders of the old way aroused controversy and there developed a tighter association between Calvinist views and 'puritanism'.[6]

Tensions surrounding England's stranger churches in the late 1620s thus emerged out of wider debates within English Protestantism about the nature and extent of its relationship to international Calvinism. This was a period in which English Arminians, such as Richard Montagu, were looking at Gallican liberties as a model for possible reunion with Rome, whilst others, such as the Protestant irenicist Hugo Grotius, were expressing hopes of detaching the Gallican Church from Rome to Protestantism.[7] The war against France cut across these ecclesiological developments. The Caroline government justified military action on the basis of the king's religious duty towards persecuted

[5] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 479, 487.
[6] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, esp. pp. 166-7; Lake 'Anti-puritanism', pp. 81-2, 91, 93.
[7] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 265.

brethren abroad. But this sat uncomfortably next to the anti-Calvinist policies of the Church of England. This chapter will explore the destabilising consequences of the militant Protestant language adopted by the government during the Île de Ré and La Rochelle expeditions.

The new ways of fashioning the papal enemy that emerged in the late 1620s were markedly affected by England's deteriorating relations with France. There were several reasons for this deterioration. Firstly, the progress, or rather lack of progress, towards resolving the Palatinate crisis was a vital consideration in English foreign policy. By 1625, England, under the leadership of Charles and Buckingham, was actively pursuing an anti-Spanish orientation. The Treaty of Southampton was signed with the Dutch, which committed England to joining an offensive naval strategy against Spain. Charles also pledged aid to his uncle King Christian IV of Denmark with a ground campaign against Emperor Ferdinand. By 1626, the defeats of Christian and Count Ernst von Mansfeld and the amassing of Tilly's and Wallenstein's Imperial armies on the eastern border of the Netherlands demanded changes in strategy. Efforts to forge a closer Scandinavian, British and Dutch alliance foundered in the midst of these heavy Protestant defeats.[8]

Yet the options when it came to strong anti-Habsburg allies were extremely limited. France was an obvious choice due to its longstanding rivalry with the Habsburgs. Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu sought to actively resist Habsburg encirclement. In 1624-5 French troops were sent to support the Grisons in their fight against the Emperor and to the Valtelline to hinder the Spanish who were using the territory to transport their forces from Italy to northern Europe. But France, as a Catholic nation, was always a precarious leader of the 'Protestant' cause, its ideological commitment to resisting 'popery' was essentially political and excluded any sense of obligation to resist the spread of Catholic religion. France's unsteady partnership was fully revealed with the outbreak of a Huguenot revolt at La Rochelle in 1625. The French king's forces were withdrawn from fighting the Habsburgs to be put into the field against his Protestant subjects. In March 1626 Louis also signed a treaty with Spain enabling both countries to pass through the Valtelline. The duplicity of France and its inconsistency as an ally in

[8] E. A. Beller, 'The Thirty Years War', in J. P. Cooper (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History Volume 4: The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War, 1609-48/49* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 306-358, esp. pp. 320-22.

the fight against Habsburg supremacy would come to dominate English thinking about the nature of the Catholic threat in the late 1620s.[9]

Secondly, another source of friction between England and France was the marriage of Henrietta Maria, Louis XIII's sister, to Charles in 1625. Henrietta Maria arrived in England in June 1625 with a large Catholic retinue consisting of a bishop and twenty priests in addition to her ladies-in-waiting. Her refusal the following year to attend Charles's coronation or the opening of Parliament, conducted by the Protestant Bishop of London, was a public symbol of her, and her country's, commitment to Catholicism.[10] The queen quickly became a magnet for English Catholic ambitions. Gesa Stedman has shown how Henrietta Maria not only fashioned an image of herself as a pious Catholic princess but also turned her household, and eventually her chapel, into a beacon of Catholic culture and learning. The flurry of conversions by English women seeking to enter the queen's service has been well documented and serves to highlight the domestic tensions which fed into English perceptions of the popish enemy.[11] As Caroline Hibbard reminds us, the war between France and England was about important strategic and religious issues but it was also about personalities, animosities and ideas of honour.[12]

In order to reflect the dynamics of political debate during the late 1620s, the chapter will be divided into three sections. The first part will explore the anti-Spanish language that proliferated during 1625 and 1626, as the Caroline war against Spain got under way. It will argue that, in the light of the French match and the expectation of England's intervention in the Thirty Years' War, pro-French writers concealed the problematic religious differences between the two nations in order to present the case for greater military co-operation. France's Catholicism was an obstacle that was avoided rather than negotiated, a strategy that unravelled as diplomatic relations between the countries deteriorated.

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[9] A. Poot, *Crucial Years in Anglo-Dutch Relations (1625-1642): The Political and Diplomatic Contacts* (Verloren, 2013), pp. 51-60, esp. p. 54.
[10] M. A. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 11; D. Barnes, '*The Secretary of Ladies* and Feminine Friendship at the Court of Henrietta Maria', in E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 39-56, p. 40.
[11] G. Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Farnham, 2003). For Henrietta Maria's political influence, see R. M. Smuts, 'The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', *EHR*, 93 (1978), pp. 26-45, the revised argument can be found in Smuts, 'Religion, European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle, 1625-41', in E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria*, pp. 13-37.
[12] C. Hibbard, 'The Theatre of Dynasty' in R. M. Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 156-76, at p. 168.

The chapter then will go on to contrast this anti-popery to the language used in texts defending the Anglo-French war from 1627. This second part will examine the government's religious justification for the war offered in official news pamphlets. I argue that in adopting a new form of anti-popery, which sought to reconstruct popish tyranny around the figure of Louis XIII, these newsbooks pushed anti-papal language beyond its traditional anti-Habsburg context. As a result, the case for the war lacked coherence, which may have contributed to the incredulity of some sections of the English public to the anti-French policy.

In part three I move on to look at wider contributions to the pro-war literature, principally from the merchant and pamphleteer John Reynolds, but also from anonymous pamphlets, a manuscript libel, and a well-known tract by Bishop Joseph Hall. I will argue that, unlike literature written in defence of a Spanish match, pro-war pamphlets of the late 1620s did not attempt to rehabilitate Spain as a moderate Catholic nation or recast the Habsburgs as loyal and trustworthy allies. Instead, these works built on the Black Legend theme of papal universal monarchy, firmly embroiling the king of France and his Jesuit advisors in a grand popish conspiracy to overthrow Protestantism. Such Protestant arguments for a war against France did not attempt to challenge the narrative of Habsburg expansionist ambitions. On the contrary, they were dependent on precisely the same anti-papal assumptions as writers who opposed the war against France.

By analysing an eclectic range of texts, I aim to show how arguments about the war infused many different aspects of English political culture as fears of popery and news about the war affected how people understood domestic issues. The texts I have selected represent a sample of several possible intellectual responses to Caroline foreign policy that were circulating in print as well as a few in manuscript. Whether English Protestants saw the Habsburgs alone or the triumvirate of Ferdinand, Philip and Louis as the main popish enemy ultimately depended on a combination of the political priorities and religious affinities of the writers and publishers. There were many people who wanted to resist popish tyranny but they did not necessary share the same assumption as to what constituted true and godly Protestant religion. My aim here is to demonstrate the important potential of anti-popery to bridge the rifts and tensions within Protestantism. The unifying potential of anti-popery in the late 1620s

hinged on the ability of writers to make a strong case for war that was not seen to undermine the state's religious obligations.

1 The French Match and the War against Spain

The first years of Charles I's reign were dominated by the war against Spain. The king and the duke of Buckingham immediately set about negotiating for an anti-Habsburg alliance with Charles's uncle Christian IV of Denmark and the Dutch, who were already at war with Spain. These efforts were praised and bolstered in the political culture, which continued to churn out populist anti-Spanish pamphlets, plays and ballads. Proponents of the war had a rich history of anti-Spanish symbolism to draw on. Publications written in support of the Spanish war, or in sympathy with the anti-Spanish direction of the new king's foreign policy, raided Elizabethan and Jacobean print culture for images and arguments to justify English militarism.

There were two important types of anti-Spanish rhetoric that were adopted in the late 1620s. The first type used a highly confessionalised language that vilified Spain on the basis of its cruel and excessive popish religion. In these works Spain is represented as the militant sword of a corrupt papacy, the trailblazing spear of Rome's Counter Reformation. One such pamphlet was written by the Spanish convert to Protestantism, Fernando Texeda. Texeda's *Miracles vnmasked A treatise prouing that miracles are not infallible signes of the true and orthodoxe faith* (1625) was violently anti-Catholic, rejecting belief in miracles and denouncing Catholic priests for encouraging superstition. Texeda paints a familiar picture of superstition and ignorance among the populace. Spain, according to Texeda, is awash with 'Romish' error: 'Papisticall Miracles' achieve such 'common fame' that lay and clerical elites prosper from the burgeoning industry of holy 'Merchandize'.[13] *Miracles vnmasked* was one of flurry of works published in London during the Anglo-Spanish war charting the superstitious practices of Spanish priests as well as the cruelty of its missionaries.[14]

[13] F. Texeda, *Miracles vnmasked A treatise prouing that miracles are not infallible signes of the true and orthodoxe faith: that popish miracles are either counterfeit or diuellish* (1625). Texeda was employed in the service of John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, see Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, p. 48.
[14] Other works that vilified Spanish religion were: Texeda, *Hispanus conuersus* (1623), *Texeda retextus* (1623), which was apparently sponsored by Daniel Featley, chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and *Scrutamin scripturas* (1624), which was dedicated to Bishop Williams; J. Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New*

This first type dominated amid the general clamour for war in the capital, as London publishers spied an opportunity to recycle and reissue some of the Elizabethan anti-Spanish material in their possession. John Bellamie published a new edition of *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae* in 1625 by the pseudonymous author Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus (one of the Spanish Protestant refugees from Seville). The tract was originally printed in Latin at Heidelberg in 1567 and an English translation, entitled *A discouerie and plaine declaration of sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spaine* appeared in 1568. In it Montanus describes the 'monstrous errours' perpetrated by Inquisitors in order to 'foster, maintaine, and encrease the seruants of Antichrist'. The Inquisition is depicted as a perilous snare, a trap for innocents set by 'pestilent and pernicious Tyrants'. Ignorant parish priests basely allow 'that the sheep ouer whom he hath a speciall charge, shall first be fleeced, & afterward miserably slain, & bereft of goods, & life'.[15] Bellamie's edition keeps the English translator's preface of 1568, which characterises the Inquisition as 'founded and established by the Diuell and this Antichrist', meaning the pope. The dissemination of this text across northern Europe, as William Maltby and A. G. Kinder have shown, was a major contribution to the persistence of anti-Spanish Black Legend motifs for well over a century.[16] Works such as these helped to reinforce an anti-Spanish atmosphere in London that rejected the irenic ideas mooted by supporters of the Spanish Match a few years earlier.

In addition to highly stereotyped representations of Spanish Catholicism in popular pamphlet literature, a second type of anti-Spanish language circulated during the 'blessed revolution'. Texts of this type focused on the political reasons for fighting Spain. A tract in this vein was *The Spanish pilgrime: or, An admirable discouery of a Romish Catholicke Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the Protestant kings, princes, and potentates of Europe, to make warre vpon the King of Spaines owne countrey* (1625), which purported to be a translation from French and was published by Thomas Archer. In fact, *The Spanish Pilgrime* appears to be a new edition of an anonymous pamphlet called *A treatise paraenetical ... Wherein is showed by good and euident reasons ... the right way & true meanes*

Discovery of Spanish Popery and Jesuiticall Stratagems (1629) and *Further Obseruations of the English Spanish Pilgrim* (1630).

[15] R. G. Montanus, *A discouerie and plaine declaration of sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spaine*, trans. V. Skinner (1625), STC 11998, sigs. D2r, B3r. The first English translation appeared in 1568.

[16] Maltby, *Black Legend*, p. 35; A. G. Kinder, *Spanish Protestants and Reformers in the Sixteenth Century: Supplement 1* (1994), pp. 75-6.

to resist the violence of the Castilian king, which was a Catholic defence of the anti-Spanish war originally published in 1598.[17]

A treatise paraenetical attempted to persuade Henry IV that French interests lay with the enemies of Spain and that he should therefore join with Dutch and English in resisting Spanish expansionist goals. It was reputedly composed by Antonio Perez, a Spanish Catholic exile and former secretary to Philip II. Perez constructed his argument around the religiously-ambiguous concept of Spanish tyranny, without focusing his attack on its Catholicism per se. A central trope was Philip II's ambitious nature and the dangers this posed Christendom if it were left untamed. King Philip is accused of negotiating with the Huguenots to wage war against Henry IV. The tract thereby called into question the Spanish king's loyalty to the Catholic faith and pointedly accused Philip of atheism. As Alexandra Gajda has argued, *A treatise paraenetical* seems to reflect the particular heavily politicised anti-Habsburg language developed by the earl of Essex's circle in the 1590s. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex was an adroit political operator, who realised that Catholic opponents of Philip II were extremely useful allies. He therefore sponsored the writings of Spanish Catholic pilgrims like Perez who shared Essex's aversion to Spanish imperialism and wanted to see Spain's power diminish.[18]

This a-confessional anti-papal language seems to have provided a useful framework for supporters of an Anglo-French war against Spain to adopt in the 1620s. Like Essex's circle in 1598, the pro-French party in 1625 needed to convince Catholics in France that countering Habsburg hegemony and reclaiming the Palatinate was a worthwhile venture. Although *The Spanish Pilgrime* remained primarily an account of Philip II's exploits against England and the Netherlands, the anonymous 1625 translator appears to have made many additions to the text, which are printed in italics. Some of these additions refer directly to the current situation in Germany.

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[17] [Anon.], *A treatise paraenetical ... Wherein is showed by good and euident reasons ... the right way & true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian king* (1598), STC 19838. It was published in France in 1597 as *Traicte paraenetique*. The translator's preface is signed 'I. D. Dralymont', which ESTC suggests is an anagram of Jean de Montlyard, a Protestant pastor and translator based in Paris in the mid-sixteenth century.

[18] Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 80-5, 98-102; G. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile* (2 vols., 1974-6). Ungerer makes a strong case for the authorship of José Texiera, a Portuguese Dominican, and argues that the translator was Essex's client, Arthur Atye (Ungerer, *Spaniard*, ii, pp. 275-6).

In one of these additions, headed 'The Translators encouragement to these most worthie Princes', the translator explains that the necessity for fighting Spain derives from the dangerous pattern of recent events:

> *I would your Maiesties would ponder aduisedly, how much it importeth you not to suffer the greatnesse of the Castillian your next and nearest neighbour. Ioyne your forces with your Confederates, and take in hand this enterprise, in such sort as you may deuide the power and monarchie of the enemie ...*

Failing to act against Spain's aggression, ambition and tyranny, the translator charges, would result in England '*losing our friends, who now desire to assist vs, shall purchase them for our enemies; and they will aspire nor seeke nothing more then our ruine and destruction*'. Here the Habsburgs are portrayed as on the brink of achieving universal monarchy if the princes of Europe do not stand together to resist them. The current international crisis thus gives added urgency and relevance to the tract's older material, such as the rallying cry to Europe's most 'Christian Maiesties' which immediately follows the quoted passage. The author describes with dismay

> the late losse of the most part of Germany, the hereditary possession of the King of Bohemia, all Switzerland, with the great hazard of losing all the Netherlands, who are now striuing for breath against the King of Spaines might powers now in the field, (which I for my part doe thinke to haue proceeded from the very hand of God, as of your louing Father, who by a fatherly loue doth chastise you, to the end you should awaken you out your security and negligence) ...

This passage has striking application to the events of the 1620s, most notably Frederick V's loss of Bohemia. The political rulers are urged to band together for the sake of their liberties and independence, because 'it is a farre greater vertue, to preserue and keepe that which is gotten, then to get and purchase new things daily'. Indeed, particular emphasis is given to the 'great Lords and Officers of the Crownes of England and Fraunce' who are repeatedly addressed as 'your Christian Maiesties'. Here, as we have seen earlier, the use of the term Christian acts to plaster over the confessional divisions that existed between the English and French states. It serves to present the two nations as united in a common Christian cause against the tyranny of the Habsburgs.[19]

[19] [Anon.], *The Spanish pilgrime: or, An admirable discouery of a Romish Catholicke Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the Protestant kings, princes, and potentates of Europe, to make warre vpon the King of Spaines owne countrey* (1625), STC 19838.5, pp. 113-4, 114, 117.

In *The Spanish Pilgrime*, then, rather than a war to defend the Reformed religion against a superstitious popish religion, the struggle against Spain is couched in the political language of opposing 'tyranny' and 'cruelty' and vindicating 'unjust' and 'unlawful' acts. To be a 'Catholike' is not necessarily to be a villain in this tract. Indeed, Henry IV is described as a 'being turned true and perfect Catholike'. But by contrast Philip II is presented as an atheist, who only masqueraded as a 'Catholike' and was primarily motivated by ambition. *The Spanish Pilgrime* then was offering not simply an argument for war against Spain, but a manifesto for a broad anti-Habsburg alliance of nations, both Protestant and Catholic. There was, therefore, an important current running through anti-Spanish political literature that celebrated England's membership of a broad coalition of Protestant and Catholic nations fighting Habsburg Spain and Austria. Writers and publishers not only harkened back to the coalition with Henry IV in the 1590s some of them were actively recycling this earlier material. In this literature, the Catholic French state was considered a prominent and decisive ally in the struggle against popish tyranny.[20]

A sense of shared endeavour between England and France was also integral to the anonymous pamphlet, *An excellent and materiall discourse prooving by many and forceable reasons what great danger will hang ouer our heads of England and France, and also diuers other kingdomes and prouinces of Europe, if it shall happen that those of Germanie which are our friends be subdued, and the King of Denmarke vanquished* (1626). The pamphlet's main argument is that the king of Denmark must be given military assistance, so that Germany does not fall to the House of Austria and a subsequent Habsburg invasion of England can be prevented. The pamphlet is distinctly pragmatic and political in its language. The author, 'S. B.' argues that it is in the interests of all states to counter Habsburg ambition to universal monarchy and forestall their advance into neighbouring countries. The Spanish-Austrian forces must be resisted in Germany, for 'by that doore must they thinke to enter into the rest' and 'by degrees all may bee conquered'. France is seen as an important ally of the anti-Habsburg cause, just as vulnerable to the advance of Spanish and Austrian power as Protestant England.

[20] *Spanish Pilgrime*, pp. 90, 104, 118.

The protracted nature of the war in Germany, the author implies, 'may reflect vpon the Kingdomes of England and France, and end with the ruines of them both'.[21]

This language of Anglo-French unity, which called for a grand alliance of nations to resist Spanish tyranny, was not simply backward looking. It also emerged in the context of Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria in 1625 and the new militarily active foreign policy that he and Buckingham were pursuing. The French match inspired the production of celebratory poems and panegyrics. Among these authors was George Marcelline. Marcelline was already a minor contributor to Stuart literary culture. Marcelline is commonly identified as the author of *Les trophees dv Roi Iacques I* (1609), a conciliarist tract, produced during the Oath of Allegiance controversy, which was translated into English as *The Triumphs of King James the First* (1610).[22] *The Triumphs* (with a dedication to Prince Henry) hailed Stuart Britain as a restored Eden. King James was flatteringly portrayed as the defender of the faith, who would help reunify Christendom and vanquish 'that old usurper, that Tyrant over so many Nations, the Pope himself'. Resisting papal tyranny was thus central to Marcelline's irenic vision of a reunified Christianity.[23]

Following the French match, Marcelline redirected these energies towards Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham, to whom he dedicated his *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum or, Great-Britaines, Frances, and the most parts of Europes vnspeakable ioy, for the most happy vnion* (1625). The eulogy featured on its frontispiece a striking engraving of the bride and groom, hand in hand, announcing their reciprocal love.[24] But accompanying this peaceful image of marital harmony is the expectation that the marriage will lead to Britain's intervention on the Continent:

> for what hindrance is there, whereby that most Christian King, Lewis the thirteenth, may expect, but that as our Princes Highnesse ioynes hands with his Sister, so our Kings Maiestie will ioyne

[21] S. B., *An excellent and materiall discourse proouing by many and forceable reasons what great danger will hang ouer our heads of England and France, and also diuers other kingdomes and prouinces of Europe, if it shall happen that those of Germanie which are our friends be subdued, and the King of Denmarke vanquished* (1626), STC 1067, pp. 6, 5.
[22] Patterson, *King James*, p. 119; V. Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (New York, 1994), pp. 47-9. Marcelline has been identified as a French Protestant by Ronald Asch, in R. G. Asch, *Sacral Kingship Between Disenchantment and Re-enchantment: The French and English Monarchies 1587-1688* (New York and Oxford, 2014), p. 45.
[23] G. Marcelline, *The Triumphs of King James the First* (1610), STC 17309, p. 93. See also, Hart, *Art and Magic*, pp. 25, 42, 47, 63-5.
[24] For a reproduction of this engraving, see Stedman, *Cultural Exchange*, p. 29.

> Armes with him, for the regaining of those Kingdomes, which vniustly an vsurping hand detaineth from him? [25]

The influence of Buckingham over such language, with its urgent rejection of pacifism, can be intimated. Although scant information about the author's circumstances or networks have survived, it is likely that Marcelline was a client of Buckingham's by the mid-1620s. The *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum* is littered with flattering depictions of the favourite, as 'Prince, George, Duke of Buckingham'. Indeed, Buckingham is referred to as 'prince' several further times in the epistle dedication. As Alison V. Scott has demonstrated, many of Buckingham's clients in the 1620s were depicting the duke with references to chivalry and majesty.[26] The duke was also one of the principal architects of the French marriage alliance, which he saw as cementing an anti-Habsburg coalition, and this also reinforces a possible Buckingham connection.

The desire of Buckingham for an active foreign policy also echoes in Marcelline's *Vox Militis* (1625). This text was a reprinting of Barnabe Rich's *Allarme to England* (1578) and was published by Thomas Archer.[27] The tract was dedicated to Count Mansfeld and celebrated the resistance he had offered to Habsburg Spain. Marcelline also heaped praise on the Prince of Orange who 'nobly and with true valour maintained his quarrell against the King of Spaine'. The success of the Dutch against the Spaniards was interpreted as a sign of God's sanction of resistance.[28] In the light of Marcelline's endorsement of resisting Spanish tyranny, the call to arms offered in *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum* has added potency:

> For will our dread Soueraigne, when both amitie and equitie, religion and affection doe giue him loud summons to restore his children to their inheritance, detaine his helping hand from his hopefull issue?[29]

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[25] G. Marcelline, *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum or, Great-Britaines, Frances, and the most parts of Europes vnspeakable ioy, for the most happy vnion, and blessed contract of the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Lady Henrette Maria, daughter to Henry the fourth, sirnamed the Great, late King of the French and Nauarre, and sister to Levvis the thirteenth: now king of the said dominions* (1625), STC 17308, p. 14. The copy was entered in the Stationers' Register by Thomas Archer on 4 December 1624 (Arber, iv, p. 96).
[26] A. V. Scott, *Selfish Gifts: The Politics of Exchange and English Courtly Literature, 1580-1628* (Madison, 2006), p. 223.
[27] This Thomas Archer was the same publisher who produced *The Spanish Pilgrime*.
[28] G. Marcelline, *Vox Militis: Foreshewing what Perils are Procured where the People of this or any other kingdome live without regard of Marshall discipline* (1625), STC 20980, pp. 11-12.
[29] Marcelline, *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum*, p. 15.

Here Marcelline looks to France for an ally to restore Frederick to the Palatinate, reflecting his earlier irenic tendencies.[30] The French match thus gave new momentum to the military case for solving the Palatinate problem, which, as we have seen, had been successfully resisted by James and various critics earlier in the decade. In 1625 the optimistic mood surrounding Charles's marriage hinged on the anticipation of an Anglo-French military venture and effectively contained the potentially thorny question of Henrietta Maria's Catholicism.

The Catholicism of the new queen was a sensitive issue. Henrietta Maria observed a form of Catholic worship – known to historians as Devout Humanism – that had flourished at the French court under the patronage of Marie de Medici. When she arrived in England in 1625 the queen's household consisted of Oratorian priests, who embraced the role of Counter-Reformation missionaries, and members of the Capuchin orders, who were considered more moderate by Protestant observers. Tensions quickly developed between the French household and the English court, which culminated in the expulsion of many of the queen's French staff and priests in 1626.[31]

The danger posed by a Catholic queen consort had been a major point of contention during the Spanish Match negotiations. Some English writers undertook the task of placating these Protestant fears, and this was the case with George Marcelline in his *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum*. I have already discussed the desire for an active anti-Spanish foreign policy Marcelline expressed in this text, yet his representation of Catholic religion is also worth drawing attention to. Marcelline admires the beauty, noble birth, and virtue of Charles's new bride, but seeks to silence any detractors who 'doubt or imagine, that our Princes wisdome should be ouercome by a womans weaknesse; that the eye of his reason and religion should bee put out with the eye of affection'. Firstly, Marcelline argues, Henrietta Maria poses no threat to Charles's religion because, as a woman, she would humbly acknowledge her inferior place and defer to her husband: indeed, 'may not He which hath drawne her heart to loue him, perswade her soule to embrace God?' Second, Marcelline contends that, though the queen is now a

[30] Patterson has noted the reaction of Pierre de l'Estoile, a moderate French Catholic, to Marcelline's *Triumphs*: l'Estoile 'found the book to resemble cicadas: "for it is thin and cries very loud."'; see Patterson, *King James*, p. 119.
[31] R. M. Smuts, 'European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle, 1625-41', in E. Griffey, *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 16, 18-19; E. Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 7, 21-2.

Catholic, 'wee haue more mighty motiues to induce and perswade vs that She will open her brest to entertaine the truth, and vnfold Her armes to embrace affectionately this our ancient Catholicke, Apostolicke, and reformed Religion'. The most prominent of these 'motiues' is depicted as Henrietta Maria's inevitable sympathy for the original religion of her father, Henry IV, and her grandmother, Joanna of Navarre.[32]

Marcelline's final and most significant argument explicitly distances the queen from the political doctrines of the Jesuits. The tract catalogues the recent history of Jesuit plots against English and French monarchs, culminating in the following passage:

> What were the plotters of that horrid Gun-powder Treason, who sought with one puffe to blow away both the Prince and Peeres of our Kingdome, but all professors of the Romish Religion? What was hee which murthered King *Henrie* the third of France, but a Papist Iacobin? In a word, what treasons haue beene committed, which are contained in the Register-booke of mans memorie, which haue not beene plotted and performed by them? And no maruell the Priests and people practise it, since they preach it; and it is an orthodoxall opinion and position amongst them, that the Pope hath power both to dispose of Kingdomes, and depose Kings, and that King-killing is not onely a lawfull, but a holy and honourable calling. Who then can suspect, that a Princesse of her peerelesse part, of her pious disposition, of her matchlesse vnderstanding and discretion, doth affect truly that religion, which doth infect the hearts of Princes subiects, which doth teach men to be monsters in gouernment, and not to subiect themselues to higher powers, but to rebell against the rule and authoritie of the Regall Scepter?

By following the Jesuits, Henrietta would imperil the sovereignty of her own posterity and, according to Marcelline, no right-minded 'noble Princesse' would ever endanger her lineage in this way. So while Marcelline excuses 'the people' for believing what the priests have taught them, he otherwise makes a clear distinction between 'the sorditie of the Popish Iesuiticall Sect' and those, such as the queen, of a 'pious disposition', whose reason would guide them away from the dangerous and destabilising political philosophy of the Jesuits. The French Catholicism of Queen Henrietta Maria thus prompts two significant additional lines of defence, not employed by apologists for the Infanta Maria a few years earlier: Henrietta Maria's familial link to French Protestantism and the Gallican Church's hostility to the Jesuits. From an English perspective, the French Church was a bulwark of opposition to the papal deposing power, and, at least in Marcelline's eyes, this quality marks the queen's religion out from the perverse Catholicism of the 'Popish Iesuiticall Sect'.[33]

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[32] Marcelline, *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum*, pp. 108-9, 112.
[33] Ibid., pp. 119, 116-7.

Religious tension and the confessional nature of the Thirty Years' War was thus a major conceptual problem for English supporters of an Anglo-French war against Spain. The politicised anti-Spanish language favoured by many of our writers did not seamlessly map onto the complex confessional realities of the 1620s. However much these writers sought to downplay religion, confessional difference was a significant obstacle standing in the way of an Anglo-French war against Spain. Louis XIII and his principal advisor Cardinal Richelieu had no intention of bolstering Protestantism and were highly suspicious of the Protestant coalition that Buckingham was constructing with the Danes, Swedes and Dutch. Tensions between the two countries escalated when it became clear that English ships had formed part of the blockade that defeated the Calvinist resistance at La Rochelle led by Benjamin de Rohan, Count of Soubise. On the French side, concerns were raised that Charles had failed to suspend the penal laws against English Catholics, as stipulated in his marriage contract of 1625.[34]

Yet, in spite of these simmering religious tensions and even as Anglo-French relations deteriorated during 1626, pamphleteers continued to fashion resisting papal universal monarchy as a political rather than religious duty. In *An excellent and materiall discourse* the religious dimension of the international struggle is almost completely ignored. The author instead refers to the anti-Spanish works of Tommaso Campanella, which argued that the Habsburgs had pretensions to universal monarchy, and goes on to interpret events in Germany through the lens of this belief:

> *Campanella* one of the Counsell in Spaine ... hath manifestly declared by many arguments that there are no other staires for the house of Austria to ascend vp but to the height of a Monarchie then by conquering Germanie, by that doore must they thinke to enter into the rest, and ... that by degrees all may bee conquered ...

After asserting the essential tyranny of the Habsburgs, the tract argues that it is imperative to lend assistance to the Danish king, so that Germany will not fall to the House of Austria and the subsequent Catholic invasion of England may be prevented. Importantly, France is seen as an important ally of England and the other Protestant nations, just as vulnerable to the advance of Habsburg power.

[34] R. Lockyer, *Buckingham: the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (1981), pp. 230-1, 237-8, 290-2; G. Richardson, 'Introduction' in G. Richardson (ed.), *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700* (Aldershot, 2008), , pp. 1-22, esp. p. 14; Cogswell, 'Prelude to Ré'.

Only towards the end of the pamphlet is the Spanish threat to religion finally acknowledged. If the Spanish invasion is not halted, it is argued, 'then we may bid adieu for euer to Religion, libertie, and the safetie of all *Europe*'. Religion becomes a 'Iewell', the 'solace of our hearts, to be protected from 'Egiptian bondage'. The equation of 'Religion' with Protestantism, which was a common linguistic feature during the Spanish Match debates, is tantalisingly uncertain here and cannot be presumed. It was not in the interests of pro-French sympathisers to adopt a heavily confessionalised argument centred on the threat posed to Protestantism. France remained officially Catholic and, in contrast to the 1590s, its king, Louis XIII, was a much more ardent professor of Catholicism than his formerly Huguenot father.[35] The Thirty Years' War was thus not presented as a battle for Protestantism, but, mirroring English arguments in 1593-98, as a battle for survival:

> Therefore if the *English* and *French*, haue a desire to shake the yoake of danger from their neckes, and maintaine their ancient freedome, and enioy both Ecclesiasticall and domesticall happinesse, and haue peace in their Cities, and be safe from forraine assaults, it is necessarie that they aide the King of *Denmarke* ... that they may the better repell the danger, strengthen their friends and confederates, restore their true Religion, and their ancient priuiledges, and that the peace of *Europe* may bee surely settled ...[36]

This appeal to the language of necessity echoes the government's justification of the forced loan: a measure for 'the common defence', 'enforced upon us by that necessity to which no ordinary course can give the law'.[37] Here Habsburg imperialism threatens to destroy the 'Ecclesiasticall and domesticall happinesse' enjoyed by the Gallican Church as well as the English Church's independence from Rome. The tract thus tapped in to England's complex view of France's Gallican tradition. As Marvin A. Breslow has demonstrated, France's ecclesiastical independence and its history of enmity towards Spain thus distanced it from the charge of universal monarchy.[38] Spain's involvement in several Jesuit attempts to topple French Catholic kings, including the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 (still within living memory), were useful reminders of the distance between Gallican Catholics and Jesuitical or

[35] M. P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 2005), pp. 4, 186-92.
[36] S. B., *An excellent and materiall discourse*, pp. 6, 20, 22, 20-21.
[37] King Charles I, 'By the King. A Declaration of His Majesty's clear intention, in requiring the Ayde of His loving Subjects, in that way of Loane which is now intended by His Highness. [Whitehall 7 October 1626]', in *Proclamations*, ii, no. 55, pp. 110-12.
[38] Breslow, *A Mirror of England*, pp. 100-7.

papalist ones. The argument put forward in *An excellent and materiall discourse*, then, is that French Gallicanism was just as vulnerable to the tyranny of jesuitical Spaniards as the Church of England.

In these texts, France's Catholicism was an irrelevance or at worst an inconvenient truth, not worth drawing much attention to. The authors concealed the fundamental religious divide that existed between the two nations behind an urgent appeal for unity against a common enemy. They preferred to make the case that resisting Spain was as much a political and dynastic imperative as a religious one. In doing so these writers constructed a strong argument for Anglo-French union that carefully avoided militant Protestant demands for resisting Antichrist. But the image of unity conveyed in these pro-French texts was increasingly at odds with the political reality of growing mistrust and conflicting interests between Charles and Louis.

2 Charles and Buckingham: Defenders of the Faith at Île de Ré

The politicised language of anti-popery that emerged during the 'blessed revolution' thus coalesced around the concept of forging a broad Catholic-Protestant coalition against Spain. By 1627 this logic was seriously challenged by the course of international events. The Caroline war against Spain encountered a major obstacle in 1626 with the failure of the English naval attack on Cadiz. Add to this the outbreak of another Huguenot rebellion at La Rochelle in 1627 and any hope of persuading France to join a grand anti-Habsburg alliance was effectively stayed. Louis XIII, responding to Huguenot efforts to refortify their coastal strongholds, sent troops to put down the rebellion of his Calvinist subjects, whilst Charles I pledged to assist the Huguenots. As a consequence the war against Spain was essentially called off and English military activity was diverted to France. In this changed political atmosphere it became increasingly difficult for English people to ignore or sidestep the Catholicism of the French king and state.

Historians of Charles I's reign have keenly observed English Puritan opposition to the French war. Several studies have cited the military ineptitude and moral failings of Buckingham as a major factor fuelling Parliament's hostility to the king by the end of the decade. Charles's unwillingness to countenance any attack on his favourite or tolerate MPs' criticism of the conduct of the war, it has been argued, seriously damaged parliamentary goodwill and frustrated his attempts to raise the taxation

required to continue his war against France.[39] Buckingham was undoubtedly a controversial figure and an important player in the political drama that unfolded in the late 1620s. But, as a consequence of our interest in the duke, considerably less attention has been paid to broader questions of how the sudden shift in Caroline foreign policy was justified and interpreted in English political culture. How did English writers and publishers respond to the ideological rifts created by the French war? Was anti-papal language flexible enough to adapt to the new popish threat identified by the government, what types of individual were prepared to stretch it in this way, and for what purpose? These questions will be at the heart of the analysis that follows.

In the pamphlet literature of the late 1620s it is possible to identify two different justification narratives: these have been described by historians as the 'Protestant cause' and the 'Stuart cause'. The language of the 'Protestant cause' justified the war on the grounds of relieving the suffering of Protestants overseas. As Jason White has argued, the militant Protestant (or Calvinist) argument for war was not the product of an organised or coherent party but a shared attitude. In essence, what united the disparate supporters of the 'Protestant cause' was the conviction that England, as a proud Protestant nation, should be prepared to fight popish tyranny everywhere. This tradition is encapsulated in Thomas Scott's tract *Boanerges* (1624), which described 'Satan's instruments' operating in Rome, Spain and France, and called for Parliament to sanction an immediate war against all Catholic powers. Given the strength of this confessional logic, there was some militant Protestant support for an Anglo-French war to protect and liberate the persecuted French Calvinist community. For example, Simonds D'Ewes did not doubt that Charles intended 'sincerely and royally ... to deliver the French church from apparent ruin'.[40]

The language of the 'Stuart cause', by contrast, has been used by historians to describe those arguments that centred on bolstering the honour, virtue and reputation of the Stuart dynasty. The Caroline regime's initial justification for intervening in the Huguenot rebellion was precisely along these lines: to vindicate the honour of King Charles. *A Manifestation... containing a declaration of his*

[39] Cogswell, 'Buckingham and Popularity' and 'Politics and Propaganda'; Cust, *Forced Loan*; Lockyer, *Buckingham*; Russell, *Parliaments*.
[40] J. White, *Militant Protestantism and British Identity, 1603–1642* (2012), pp. 58-63; D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, i, p. 364.

Maiesties intention for this present arming, issued by the duke of Buckingham in mid-July 1627, argued that Charles was obliged to defend his royal reputation 'by a quicke Arming against those who had made him a party in their deceit'. The French had abused Charles's trust by failing to support Mansfeld's expedition of 1624-5, which they had agreed to do in exchange for the loan of seven English ships and the relaxation of England's recusancy laws. Furthermore, Cardinal Richelieu had used these English naval vessels to blockade La Rochelle against the Huguenots, whom Charles had pledged to support. By aiding the Huguenots, it was argued, Charles was simply righting this wrong.[41]

This line of government policy relied heavily on English codes of chivalry. As William Hunt, John Adamson and others have outlined, there were a range of chivalric tropes, narratives and models for contemporaries to choose from. The chivalry of Elizabeth's era had providential overtones, being closely bound up with the war against Spain and the mythology of the 'Protestant' cause. But growing up alongside this confessionalised language of chivalry was a martial ethos influenced by Italian humanist thought. It was characterised by a strong sense of the importance of martial discipline for maintaining an active citizenry. Across Europe a growing prestige was attached to serving one's monarch and country as a soldier, as well as as a courtier or statesman. This was already prevalent in the sixenteenth century in the Machiavallian tradition of venerating war on behalf of the patria. Barnebe Rich, an Elizabethan captain in Ireland, echoed this in his *Allarme to England* (1578), calling for the preservation of England's militarism. Rich was contributing to a tradition of advice literature in which the nation's declining military reputation was a common complaint.[42]

There was a burgeoning of this genre in the first few years of Charles's reign, largely in response to the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Gervase Markham's *The Souldiers Accidence* (1625) and its sequel *The Souldiers Grammar* (1626) are good examples of the genre. Markham, a military writer and veteran of the Elizabethan Dutch and Irish wars, dedicated these tracts to a range of prominent

[41] G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *A manifestation or remonstrance ... containing a declaration of his Maiesties intention for this present arming ...* (1627), STC 24746, p. 5. For the military conflict, see R. B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army 1585-1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 115-6; S. L. Adams, 'The Road to La Rochelle: English Foreign Policy and the Huguenots, 1610–1629', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 22 (1975), pp. 425-8.

[42] Hunt, 'Civic Chivalry', pp. 204-39; J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics*, pp. 161-97; R. Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge, 2013); White, *Militant Protestantism*, pp. 28-9, 68-71; R. C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley and London, 1989).

Englishmen, such as Fulke Greville, John Ogle, Edward Conway and Horace Vere, all men who had served in a military capacity in Ireland or the Low Countries. These works were not innovative; the military advice they contained was largely borrowed from other sources and hardly drew on Markham's own experience at all. Like other 1620s' military manuals, they reflected more the enthusiasm that still existed among veterans for an active foreign policy than any substantive contribution to the conduct of warfare.[43]

Thus, in combining military prowess with dynastic reputation, the language of chivalry played to Charles's advantage. It reinforced the king's efforts to present the French war as a necessary act of restorative justice that vindicated Louis's breach of trust. Crucially, it enabled the government to gloss over the role of religion in the conflict. The fact that the Crown was offering assistance to a persecuted Calvinist minority in revolt against a sovereign monarch required careful reasoning. Charles chose to emphasise that the Huguenot leaders, Henry, duke of Rohan and his younger brother Benjamin, duke of Soubise were persecuted noblemen, and, as such, deserved assistance by the laws of chivalry. This line of government policy had echoes of the chivalric self-presentation of Henry IV of France. Even after his conversion, Henry represented himself a heroic and virtuous king, a protector of Protestants and champion of clemency. Louis XIII, by contrast, was styled by the English as having failed to honour his obligations to the Huguenots. As a guarantor of the peace treaty of January 1626, Charles thus had a moral right to intervene to protect the Protestants of La Rochelle.[44]

Yet contrary to Charles's preferred justification, a notable feature of the military manuals was the way they united the humanist and Protestant chivalric traditions identified by Hunt. In Marcelline's *Vox Militis* (1625), for example, the Prince of Orange is praised for 'withstanding a mighty nation', while supporters of 'the *Palgrave*' are reminded that 'the cause is iust'. The tract counselled 'all Christan Protestant Princes ioyntly to assume armes to driue this Boare out of the Vineyard, and to re-seate this royall Prince in his Throne and dignitie'. These Protestant heroes are held up as a 'mirrour'

[43] For more on Gervase Markham, see D. R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 150, 176-7, 200-2, 288-91.
[44] TNA, SP 16/7, fo. 53 [Sir John Coke to Buckingham, 8 October 1625]; SP 14/214, fo. 120 [Sir Edward Conway to Coke, 10 November 1625]; SP 16/20, fo. 168 [Sir John Pennington to Buckingham, 9 February 1626]; SP 16/72 fo. 45 [Buckingham to Conway, 28 July 1627]; *CSPD 1625-6*, i, pp. 120, 147, 252, 275. See also, Holt, *French Wars*, pp. 190-2.

the virtuous faces of resistance against Habsburg tyranny. What is so striking about this pamphlet is the way in which the Catholic Count Mansfeld is also readily incorporated into the language of resistance to popish tyranny. The German military entrepreneur made three visits to London in 1624 recruiting 12,000 troops to join his German army fighting against the Habsburgs in the Netherlands. In *Vox Militis*, Mansfeld is not only described as 'true mirror of true worth', but also as having 'made an addition, especially to his reputation by being constant to the King of *Bohemia,* and a most worthy maintainer of the Gospell of Christ'.[45]

This representation of Mansfeld as a virtuous military commander devoted to the Protestant cause was not unusual. Other newsbooks of 1625 repeated this emphasis. For example, *The Dvtch Svrvay* (1625), and its verse rendition, *Belgiaes Troubles and Triumphs* (1625), were written by the veteran army chaplain William Crosse. Both pamphlets were dedicated, like Marcelline's, to Count Mansfeld and the English officers serving under him, and reflect both a desire to memorialise a community of valiant military men and contribute to the debate about the Protestant cause. In *The Dvtch Svrvay*, in a section headed the 'Mansfieldian Motiues', the English troops under Mansfeld are portrayed as part of a coalition 'against the Catholique King, and his Pack-horse the Catholique Bishop of *Rome*'. Indeed, the writer William Crosse invests a great amount of hope in this anti-papal alliance, exhorting his readers:

> What shall not the vnited forces of England, France, Denmarke, and the Netherlands doe against Pope, or Emperour, Austrian or Bauarian, or any other Christian Potentate whatsoeuer; The expected blessings of God, continuall supplies of meanes, and the vndoubted Iustice of a good cause concurring therewithall?

Catholic individuals, such as Mansfeld, as well as Catholic nations, like France, are integral to this vision of overthrowing Spanish tyranny and resisting their designs 'for the Monarchie, Supreame Paramount of all Christendome'.[46]

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[45] Marcelline, *Vox Militis*, pp. 11-12, 55. For the Mansfeld expedition, see Wilson, *Thirty Years War*, p. 365, 391.
[46] W. Crosse, *The Dvtch Svrvay VVherein are related and truly discoursed, the chiefest losses and acquirements, which haue past betweene the Dutch and the Spaniards, in these last foure yeares warres of the Netherlands* (1625), STC 4318, pp. 29-30; W. Crosse, *Belgiaes Troubles and Triumphs VVherein are truly and historically related all the most famous occurrences, which haue happened betweene the Spaniards, and Hollanders in these last foure yeares warres of the Netherlands* (1625), STC 6072; Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 27.

This highly politicised form of anti-popery, which centred on the threat of papal authority in the political sphere, had a wide purchase in 1625, even as Mansfeld's campaigns lost ground and momentum. It was a powerful concept rooted in the political construct of power, its legitimate use and limits, and was capable of absorbing Catholics who shared a hatred of papal authority. The military advice literature and newsbooks of the 1620s, while adding to the atmosphere of Caroline militarism, also appealed to an Elizabethan chivalric tradition that defined martial honour according to a mythological ideal of Protestant resistance to Habsburg tyranny.[47]

The cause of religion was thus extremely difficult to ignore, however hard some of Charles's supporters tried, as religious ideas bled into chivalric concepts of virtue and honour. When the religious dimension of the Huguenot rebellion had to be confronted, it was a highly cautious brand of anti-popery that was licensed for the press. In Thomas Walkley's authorised news coverage of the Île de Ré expedition, the religious tension between France and England was explained in largely politicised anti-papal terms, as a contest against papal tyranny. One notable example is the story of the Jesuit-inspired plot to assassinate Buckingham. This story was reported across several issues of Walkley's periodical. On 5 August, we are told, news reached the court that the governor of the citadel at Ré, Monsieur Thorax, had 'vnder colour of a Parly, sent a Disciple of the Iesuites to haue mischieued his Grace'. The 'Villaine' entered the English camp carrying 'a long Rauilliack-like Knife poysoned' and, on being apprehended, 'confessed that the Gouernour had dissiplined, and hired him to murther my Lord'.[48] A subsequent edition included an engraving supposedly depicting the poisoned knife, sent back to England by Buckingham to commemorate his delivery. Underneath the woodcut, the text again attributes the 'treacherous act' to 'a *Iesuited* Villaine' sent by Governor Thorax and interprets the duke's escape as an act of divine providence. A report later in the pamphlet, received on 27 August, emphasises the Governor's status as a royal servant by reflecting that the 'Treachery' was 'plotted there by the Agent of the King of France'.[49] These reports utilise classic anti-Jesuit tropes linking heresy,

[47] Lawrence*, Complete Soldier*, pp. 83-4.
[48] [Anon.], *A iovrnall of all the proceedings of the duke of Buckingham his grace, in the isle of Ree, a part of France* (1627), STC 24740, p. 14. The same text is reprinted in, *A continued iournall of all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, on the Isle of Ree* (1627), STC 24741, p. 14.
[49] [Anon.], *A continued iournall of all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, in the Isle of Ree, since the last of Iuly* (1627), STC 24742, p. 2.

dissimulation and murder, in a manner akin to the language used to denounce the assassination of the Catholic king Henry IV in 1610. Indeed, François Ravaillac, a failed applicant for admission into the Society of Jesus, was Henry's assassin. These newsbooks thus portrayed French Protestants as well as moderate Catholics as under attack from an insidious Machiavellian brand of papal tyranny, whose ambitions threatened the survival of religion and liberties. The publications avoid blaming King Louis directly for this Counter-Reformation fanaticism and erosion of Huguenot liberties by focusing on the villainy of the Jesuits and a few local notables.

The government's initially cautious representation of the war effort gradually shifted, and a stronger emphasis on Charles's religious motives developed in the printed works sponsored by Buckingham. As Cogswell has demonstrated, the Île de Ré expedition carried enormous potential as popular propaganda. Buckingham wasted no time in celebrating Charles's 'integrity & zeale, which hee hath alwayes had for the re-establishing of the Churches'. By the end of his short *Manifestation*, the favourite argued that in fact his Majesty had no other reason for intervening than the defence of the reformed religion, for 'His Designes is the establishing of the Churches, his interest is their good, and his ayme their contentment'.[50] But Buckingham's attempts to present himself and the king as Protestant heroes troubled Charles. In his comments on the *Manifestation*, Charles told his favourite:

> I would wishe you to alter one point in it, which is, that whereas ye seeme to make the Cause of Religion the onelie reason that made me take arms; I would onlie have you declare it the chief cause, you having no need to name any other. So that ye may leave those of the Religion to think what they will; but I think itt much inconvenient in a manifest to be tyed onlie to that cause.[51]

Here Charles acknowledged the need to convince the Huguenots at La Rochelle of Charles's religious commitments, but, unlike Buckingham, he seemed much more alert to the dangers of tying himself to a religious campaign. This may reflect the king's growing mistrust of the militant Protestants in Parliament, for whom assistance to the Huguenots as well as the Elector Palatine were major concerns. Whilst the Palatinate remained in the emperor's control, Charles's failure to lend adequate assistance to campaigns in Germany remained a source of parliamentary criticism. Charles may have been

[50] Buckingham, *Manifestation*, p. 8.
[51] BL, Harl. MS 6988, fos 33-4 [Charles I to Buckingham, 13 August 1626].

reluctant to bind himself to a religious crusade, when his primary motives (which included the restoration of his sister) were personal and dynastic.

But, contrary to Buckingham's attempts to court popularity with Protestant 'patriots', in shifting the regime's stance the pamphlets he sponsored exposed a deep ambivalence about the identification of France as England's principal enemy. An anonymous libel, entered into a miscellany owned by a 'Peter Daniell' of Oxford, is a notable case in point.[52] It records a satirical response to the story of Buckingham's delivery from a Jesuit plot:

> Why was the varlett sent into the meane
> and the knife heere that should thy grace have slaine
> Great Duke we thinke thy polecie discreete
> to take such care those two should never meete
> Yet since we cannot vindicate thy foe
> unles we might his name or beinge know
> o send him hither, whilst him we pursue
> we doe mistake him for the wanderinge Jewe.

The composer of this libel mocks the absurdity of Buckingham's account, revealing a deeper uncertainty about the duke's credentials as a Protestant hero. Rumours that Buckingham was insincere in his religion and harboured Catholic sympathies had circulated since the early 1620s, but they resurfaced with vigour during the 1626 Parliament. Indeed, the allegation was widely repeated in manuscript libels after the news emerged of Buckingham's defeat at Île de Ré. One libeller accused Buckingham of false loyalty to the Huguenots, while another accused him of 'treacherie' and 'neglect', jesting that his mother's religion had not prevented his defeat.[53] These 1627 libels not only reveal the failure of Buckingham's efforts to achieve popularity but reflect the grave doubts some English people felt about fighting simultaneous wars against France and Spain.

What is particularly striking about the Île de Ré fiasco is how the authorised publications strained the logic of English anti-popery. Prior to 1627 the thrust of English anti-popery had been

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[52] The folio miscellany contains nearly 250 poems in five hands, compiled in the 1630s or 1640s. For more about its contents and provenance, see Bodl., *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700* [http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/bodleian-eng-poet-a.html#bodleian-eng-poet-a_id501775] (accessed on 26 August 2016).

[53] [Anon.], 'Upon the Dukes Returne. In Ducem Reducem', in A. Bellany and A. McRae (eds), *Early Stuart Libels: an edition of poetry from manuscript sources* (2005) [http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/] (accessed 21 September 2015). Buckingham's mother, Mary Villiers, countess of Buckingham, converted to Catholicism in 1622 (*Stuart Dynastic Policy*, p. 175, n. 247).

directed at Spain and universal monarchy. But developments in France forced English people to reassess the nature and identity of the popish enemy. Proponents of an expedition against Louis adopted the rhetoric of chivalry to reinforce the government's line that the war was just and necessary. This language, as we have seen, was also inflected with a Protestant meaning, one that championed England's role in defending the Protestant religion from an intolerant Catholic regime. Proponents of the wars failed to explain why the king wanted to abandon the battle to reclaim the Palatinate from the Habsburgs in favour of offering limited assistance to the Huguenot rebels. As we have seen, the war policy was mocked in public debate as well as in underground verse libels. This criticism was not only an indictment of Buckingham's humiliating defeat but, more importantly, reflected the ambivalence of English people about the status of France as a popish adversary. Those who supported Charles's simultaneous wars against Spain and France therefore had to overcome the pro-French dimension of the traditional Spain-centred image of the external popish threat.

3 Defending the War against France in Print and Manuscript

The religious language favoured by the Caroline government in 1627 was based around the classic equation of papal authority with tyranny. As we have seen, the Île de Ré pamphlets rejected the pro-French platitudes of 1625 and 1626 and, instead, portrayed the assault of the Huguenots by Jesuit fanatics, who were prepared to defend the papal supremacy through the shedding of Protestant blood. But the replacement of a Spanish foe with a French one was an ideological step too far for many English men. The Suffolk clergyman John Rous recorded being questioned by his parishioners, 'why did we leave the Palatinate and fall fowle with France?' Though Rous defended the war on the grounds that he would 'alwaies speake the best of the king', even he conceded that if Charles was assassinated and Henrietta Maria made regent, she 'might marre all'. An Edinburgh diarist similarly noted that many in Scotland 'thot it wes ... unkyndlie to mak warre wt frenche'.[54] Of course, the Scottish were traditionally allies of France, but before the Elizabethan period, France had been England's habitual enemy. Why then did the official anti-French line, with its resort to popular anti-popery, prove so unconvincing to

[54] Rous, *Diary*, pp. 11-2 [24 September 1627]; Diary of an Unknown Edinburgh Merchant Burgess, National Library of Scotland, Wodrow Collection, IX, fo. 129, quoted in White, *Militant Protestantism*, p. 61.

people like Rous and his parishioners? In this section, by closely analysing the political works of the Exeter merchant and pamphleteer John Reynolds, I will argue that a growing sensitivity to the disconnect between Charles's pro-Calvinist stance abroad and his anti-Calvinist at home was a crucial factor.

i. John Reynolds and the Popish triumvirate

In 1628 John Reynolds wrote a tract defending the Anglo-French war and urging Parliament to support the king in fighting popery abroad and maintaining unity at home. This political work, 'Regalytie and Obedyence Or A Sacrifice of Fidelytie to his Prince & Countrye', survives in a single volume in the British Library, Additional MS 24201. The title is a striking one and demonstrates that Reynolds sought to frame his treatise around two qualities: the duty of monarchs to command, and of subjects to obey. From the very beginning of this piece, then, Reynolds was directing his readers to support Charles's anti-French foreign policy.[55]

Thomas Cogswell has argued that Buckingham sponsored Reynolds to write and publish the tract as a pro-war contribution to the 1628 Parliament. The text's dedication to Charles I, which is dated 'Maye the first, 1628', and the stipulation on the title page that the work was 'Appropriated, & published nowe at the Assembly of y^{e} Highe Court of Parliament', support this interpretation.[56] According to Cogswell, Reynolds's tract was never published because the author included strong criticism of the anti-Calvinist party of which Buckingham was a member.[57] Reynolds was linked with the duke of Buckingham through a network of patronage. In 1624, Reynolds had been the tutor of Buckingham's nephew, Basil Feilding, and accompanied Feilding to France in the party sent to negotiate Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria. Reynolds had also dedicated to Buckingham the first book in a series of collected tales, entitled *The triumphs of Gods revenge against the crying and execrable sinne of*

[55] BL, Add. MS 24201, title page [J. Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence Shewinge (by the Lawes of Grace & Nature) what Souueraigne Princes & their Subiects are, & what they should bee, & Howe, & in what manner, Those ought to Command, & these to obeye Or A Sacrifice of Fidelytie In all humilytie & zeale, Consecreated and offered vpp to God, for the eternall safty, welfare, & prosperytie, of his Prince, & Countrye' (1628)].
[56] Ibid., title page.
[57] Cogswell, 'The people's love' in Cogswell, Cust and Russell (eds), *Politics, Religion and Popularity*, p. 224.

murther, in 1621.[58] It seems, therefore, that Reynolds, if not a direct client of the duke, was certainly seeking Buckingham's patronage during the 1620s.[59]

The British Library version of 'Regalytie and Obedyence' is a scribal copy, most likely prepared as the proof for publication. The work was never licensed for print, but it may have circulated in manuscript. Scribal publication was certainly being used in the late 1620s as a tool for publicity and its importance as an essential component of political activity in seventeenth-century England is widely recognised.[60] Noah Millstone has argued persuasively, with reference to *The Propositions to Bridle the Impertinency of Parliament* (1629), that commercial scribal publication was a medium through which surprisingly subversive ideas were expressed.[61] Though the fact that only a single copy of 'Regaltytie and Obedyence' survives does not suggest a wide distribution, the scribal hand and dedication to Parliament attests that it was certainly composed with a wide audience in mind. As a contribution to the political debate about the Caroline wars it warrants closer consideration.

The 1628 tract 'Regalytie and Obedyence' certainly makes a strong economic and dynastic case for the Anglo-French war. Reynolds reiterates Charles's claim that the French had abused and weakened his honour by using English ships against the Huguenots, 'withholdinge the moyetie of the Queenes Portion', 'aresting and stayning aboundance of our Shippes at Bourdeuse', 'Imprissoninge' his subjects at Calais and 'exasperating Spayne against vs'. The king was, it is argued, thus obliged to 'vindicate his honnor, and to strengthen England by weakeninge of France'. As a merchant, originally based in Exeter, Reynolds would have been alert to the devastating impact of the wars against France and Spain on England's import trade. Exeter was hit especially hard because a substantial portion of its trade in iron, paper, leather, wool, exotic fruits such as lemons, oranges and figs, and wine originated in France and

[58] J. Reynolds, *The triumphs of Gods revenge against the crying, and execrable Sinne of Murther* (1621), STC 20942. For more on this text, see Walmsley, *John Reynolds*, esp. pp. 20, 29, 131-4.
[59] K. G. Baston, 'Reynolds, John (*b. c.*1588, *d.* after 1655)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23422] (accessed 26 August 2015).
[60] H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); H. Woodhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996); Cust, 'News and Politics'; Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 89-97.
[61] N. Millstone, 'Evil Counsel: *The Propositions to Bridle the Impertinency of Parliament* and the Critique of Caroline Government in the Late 1620s', *JBS*, 50 (2011), pp. 813-39. See also Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 2-3, 28-40.

Spain.[62] But Reynolds's mercantile considerations were held in check, at least in this text, by a passionate concern for the international Protestant cause.

In 'Regalytie and Obedyence', the central argument for the Caroline war against France is religious obligation. It becomes England's Protestant duty to resist popish tyranny and protect the liberties of fellow Protestants wherever oppression occurs. Crucially, this obligation does not replace England's commitment to restoring the Palatinate. Reynolds clearly has a deep sympathy for Elector Frederick's situation. He describes the Palgrave's overthrow by the emperor as 'against all Iustuce and reason' and

> a wound wch is like to bleed thus manye yeares, and to sett fire to all Christendome, (as already it hath too too deplorably begann) ...[63]

These pro-Palatine sentiments chime with the anti-Spanish position Reynolds expressed in his 1624 pamphlets, *Vox Coeli* and *Votivae Angliae*. These irreverent tracts, for which Reynolds served time in prison, strongly criticised James's Anglo-Spanish marriage policy. Reynolds had urged the king to intervene on the continent for the restoration of Frederick's ancestral lands and 'transport the warre into Spaine'.[64] The case Reynolds was making for a French war four years later did not negate these arguments for involvement in the Protestant cause. 'Regaltytie and Obedyence' harnesses the injustice he (and many others) felt on behalf of German Protestants and builds its case around protecting the Huguenots from a similar fate. The French campaign was by no means Charles's only military commitment, Reynolds stresses this point emphatically. The king also 'Sendes more moneys to the Kinge of Denmarke' and puts 'another Royall Fleet at sea' to 'breake the necke of all Commerce and trade betwixt France & Spayne, nowe our Ioyntly professed Enemyes'.[65] Even though at this time in 1628 the Mantuan succession crisis threatened to drag France and Spain towards military conflict,

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[62] Manning, *Apprenticeship*, p. 122; W. B. Stephens, 'Seventeenth-Century Exeter: A Study of Industrial and Commercial Development, 1625-1688' (Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis, 1958), pp. 14-15; W. T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), esp. p. 168.
[63] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', p. 24.
[64] S.R.N.I [J. Reynolds], *Vox coeli, or, Nevves from heaven of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen.8. King Edw.6. Prince Henry. Queene Mary. Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne; wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most kingdomes and free estates in Europe, are vnmask'd and truly represented* ('Elisium' [i.e. London], 1624), STC 20946.6, dedication to Parliament. For discussion of these pamphlets see Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, pp. 54-6 and Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 289-90.
[65] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', p. 16.

Reynolds paints a picture of Franco-Spanish harmony. The destruction of French Protestantism becomes part of a popish 'grand strategy'.[66]

Reynolds achieved this representation not by isolating the French as England's main foe, as Walkley's periodicals and Buckingham's *Manifestation* did (in the knowledge that it was virtually impossible for Charles to actively wage war against Spain and France at the same time). Instead, Reynolds incorporated Louis XIII into a triumvirate of popish foes. The emperor and the kings of France and Spain are described as

> Three of the verie greatest and powerfullst Potentates of Christendome, whoe as dismalle Cloudes, and prodigious Commetts hange and hoover over vs; preparinge and portending to lye our glory in the dust and to overwhelme and burye vs ...

Representing the popish threat here as a coalition enabled Reynolds to build a compelling argument for waging war against France. La Rochelle becomes the new frontline in the larger fight against the Counter-Reformation offensive. The French king is shown as complicit in the aims of the European Catholic League, for he

> wth a bloodye and sacrilegious Warre resolves nowe wholly to roote out and extermynate them, & their Religion.

The Huguenots, in Reynolds's view, are victims of popish aggression by a king 'growen soe Infinitlye proude wth that smalle victory' at the Île de Ré. Unlike the official news literature, Reynolds placed events in France within the context of grand Catholic designs for 'the Vniuersall Westerne Monarchie' led by the pope and Spain.[67]

What makes Reynolds's case so striking is the way that he portrays Louis XIII as being hoodwinked and manipulated by the Jesuits. The French king's assault on the Protestant lands of the Midi is described as

> beeinge furiously provoked and precipitated on by the Pope, the Jesuytes, and his Cardynall Richlieu, into whose ecclesiasticall, handes (wthout Order, Honnor, or Judgment) hee hath put the temporall sword of all his Land; and sea forces ...

[66] For the Mantuan succession, see D. Parrott, 'The Mantuan Succession, 1627-31: A Sovereignty Dispute in Early Modern Europe', *EHR*, 112 (1997), pp. 20-65.
[67] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', pp. 18, 19, 26.

Here Reynolds depicts the traditional anti-papal figures of hatred – the pope and the Jesuits – as having a malicious influence over royal policy. It is noteworthy that he sees Richelieu, rather than Louis himself, as a papal instrument. This nuanced picture of King Louis therefore leaves just enough room for those sympathetic towards France to believe that the young monarch was the junior partner, slightly less wicked and tyrannical than his older Habsburg colleagues. This may reflect the need for Reynolds to be placatory towards the French king, who was of course Henrietta Maria's brother. By contrast, Ferdinand II is portrayed as 'highe and Arrogant' and Philip IV as 'proude and revengfull towards vs', harbouring a power 'almost as boundlesse as his Ambition, For as his Fleets feare none by sea'. Together these Catholic rulers pose an awesome threat to Protestant liberty and religion:

> And these, and noe lesse then all these pottent Princes, are nowe become malicious & mortall Enemyes to our Great Brittayne, & Ireland; and is it not therfore tyme, yea more then tyme for vs to rouse vpp our spiritts and Courages, & speedily & powerfully to prepare for o^{r} defence & saftye.

Rather than isolating this conflict from the wider anti-papal struggle in Europe, Reynolds incorporates it into his justification for another French expedition to La Rochelle.[68]

'Regalytie and Obedyence' is a significant text because it exposes the fundamental flaws in the Caroline government's case for a war against France. The essential deficiency in official propagandistic publications, such Buckingham's *Manifestation* and Walkley's news periodicals, was that they were not able to harness the anti-Habsburg sentiments of the populace. This is not altogether surprising. Charles and Buckingham made a deliberate decision not to be anti-Spanish, but to focus energy on the fact that attacking France was the better strategy. Given that efforts to fuel popular fears of Spain in 1624 had been so successful, with Parliament offering subsidies for a war against Spain, to fan these flames again would have risked inviting criticism of the anti-French rather than anti-Spanish direction of policy.[69]

The fact that Reynolds incorporated anti-Habsburg sentiment into his argument in a way that the official literature was never likely to tolerate helps to explain why his text was never published. I am also inclined to agree with Cogswell's argument that the anti-Arminian slant within the tract

[68] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', p. 19.
[69] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution;* C. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-29* (Oxford, 1979).

condemned it. In 'Regalytie and Obedyence', Reynolds calls on king and Parliament to unite for the common good of opposing Catholic imperialism. But unity, in Reynolds's view, required the collapse of the Arminian party. He warned English men preparing to take their seats in a new Parliament that

> If the Convocation House doe not speedily and soundly sweepe out & extirpate all Brownisme, & Arminianisme frome our Church, Clergie & State; That then it is dangerouslie to bee feared it will in short tyme introduce a mayne rent and devision therin,[70]

This amounted to an indirect assault on Charles's religious policies, which the government licensor, or indeed an influential sponsor such as Buckingham, would never have sanctioned. Of course, Charles's agents may also have thought that the plan to launch a massive campaign against all Catholic nations was just too ambitious and unworkable. By 1628 the Privy Council was seriously divided over the issue; some councillors wanted Charles to concentrate on fighting Spain, while others urged the king to abandon the wars altogether. Many also remained unconvinced that a conflict with Louis XIII was a sensible strategy, still believing that the French state was a necessary ally against the Habsburgs. These tensions reflect wider differences of opinion about the nature of the external popish threat and France's relation to it.[71]

Yet, even though 'Regalytie and Obedyence' was never published, several of the sentiments it advanced were represented in English print culture. The most significant of these was Reynolds's passionate sympathy and admiration for French Calvinism, which it was difficult for many English people to believe that Charles and Buckingham really shared. This, I argue, was at the heart of why the authorities failed to present a compelling anti-papal argument for continuing the war.

ii. Charles I as 'Arminian' Protector of French Calvinism

The unpublished 'Regaltytie and Obedyence' was by no means John Reynolds's only contribution to these debates about foreign affairs. Between 1628 and 1631, Reynolds published three pamphlets, all of which purported to be English translations of French texts. By analysing these printed

[70] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', p. 41.
[71] R. Cust, 'Charles I, the Privy Council and the Parliament of 1628', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1992), pp. 25-50, esp. pp. 29, 36; R. Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow, 2005; 2nd edn., 2007), pp. 68-9, 76-7.

works alongside his unpublished manuscript, it is possible to build up a more detailed picture of Reynolds's distinctive conception of the papal enemy.

The most significant of these tracts was *The Apologie of the Reformed Churches of France* (1628). The *Apologie* may have been based on an earlier defence of the French Reformed churches written by the Calvinist ministers Mestrezat, Du Moulin, Montigny and Durand in 1617.[72] Unusually for Reynolds, the translation does not state an author of the French original, so Reynolds may well have written the *Apologie* himself.[73] Reynolds also published a devotional text by Jean Mestrezat entitled, *The Divine Portrait. Or, A true and liuely representation of the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper* (1631), which he dedicated to Mary, Countess of Dorset, and Léonard de Marandé's *The Iudgment of Humane Actions* (1629), a work of moral philosophy that he dedicated to Mary's husband Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset.[74]

Reynolds's connection with the Sackville family is intriguing. Dorset, like Reynolds, had resided for a significant time in France. The nobleman, who eventually became chamberlain of the queen's household in 1628, was noted for his strong pro-French and anti-Spanish leanings in the 1621 Parliament. Yet, following the failure of Charles's first two Parliaments to grant war supply, Dorset was also one of a handful of counsellors who was encouraging the king to consider Parliament a seedbed of popularity and a threat to royal sovereignty.[75] Dorset is praised by Reynolds for possessing the qualities of regality and obedience, having 'so graciously and generously serued me both for shelter, and harbour', which may well have been assisting with Reynolds's release from prison in 1626. Although the dedication to this tract offers little further insight into Reynolds's political views, it helps to locate the translator within the anti-Spanish circles at Charles's court. Men who supported the idea of war against France in the late 1620s, then, were ostensibly the same people who had been calling for war against Spain a few years earlier. *The Iudgement of Humane Actions* also reinforces Reynolds's

[72] H. J. Martin, *Print, People and Power in 17th-Century France*, trans. D. Gerard (1993), p. 112.
[73] Reynolds provided original authorship attributions in all of his other translations. See Baston, 'Reynolds, John (*b. c.*1588, *d.* after 1655)', *ODNB* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23422] (accessed 21 September 2015).
[74] J. M. Walmsley, *John Reynolds, Merchant of Exeter, and his Contribution to the Literary Scene 1620-1660* (New York, 1991), pp. 42, 128-34.
[75] Cust, *Forced Loan*, pp. 27-9.

affection for France, which he calls a 'Sister' kingdom. This extended his previous description of French Protestantism as 'our sister church of France'; Reynolds was now envisaging a wider sibling relationship between 'two mighty neighbour Sister Kingdomes', based on the restoration of peace with the French (Catholic) state.[76]

In the dedicatory epistles of these works Reynolds, as translator, was able to insert his political reading of the international situation. In *The Apologie of the Reformed Churches of France*, Reynolds explicitly connects the protection of the Protestant churches of France with the safety of the Church of England. In the dedication to Parliament, there is an appeal for action based on a vision of a common Catholic threat:

> *For what Peace can we haue whiles they are oppressed with Warre, or how can our consciences be at rest and tranquilitie, whiles theirs are tovmented with all sorts of afflictions and cruelties, Can that Church of France be beaten but this of England is threatned, or the Protestants of that Kingdome be extinguished but we are Eclipsed ...*

If the ruin of '*Gods Church*' is allowed in France, Reynolds charges, then the Church of England must inevitably and immediately follow into ruin. The responsibility for stirring up these assaults on Protestantism is placed squarely with the pope who is '*as bloody in his malice, as boundlesse in his Ambition*'. For the pope, Reynolds explains,

> *How powerfully hath he lately preuailed with the Emperour and the King of Spaine and Poland in this bloody quarell, who with barbarous hearts and sacrilegious hands haue played their prises in oppressing and de-pressing these Churches in their Countries, and (now by a policie as subtile, as execrable) hath likewise drawne the French King to make himselfe guiltie of the same impious and bloody crimes; to ruine the Protestants of his Kingdome ...*

Charles must not suffer '*the Vineyard of Gods Church to be thus miserably trampled ore, and rooted vp by the Champions of Rome and Hell*'. This apocalyptic language is an emphatic appeal to the Parliament, raising the stakes of the confessional struggle to a fight over salvation.[77]

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[76] L. de Marandé, *The Iudgment of Humane Actions a most learned, & excellent treatise of morrall philosophie, which fights agaynst vanytie, & conduceth to the fyndinge out of true and perfect felicytie. Written in French*, trans. J. Reynolds (1629), STC 17298, sigs. A4r, A3r. Marandé was a French Catholic abbot, who later served as an almoner to Louis XIV, see B. Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansenists and Convulsionnaires in France, 1640-1799* (Brighton, 2008), p. 19.

[77] [J. Reynolds], *The Apologie of the Reformed Churches of France VVherein are expressed the reasons, why they haue ioyned their armies; to those of the King of Great Britaine. Translated according to the French coppie* (1628), sig. A2v.

Reynolds also couches his appeal for action around a conception of England's fraternal bond with the Huguenots. In the preface to Parliament he refers again to '*our sister church of France*', who now '*mournes both in teares and blood, and breathes forth her wounds and sorrowes to us in a fainting; yea, almost a dying eloquence*'. The Huguenots are, for Reynolds, thus

> *a great part of our selues, because we generally belong all to one Church, as that Church doth particularly and peculiarly to God*.[78]

Here Reynolds pushes English affinity with French Protestants much further than the official pro-war literature. With Mestrezat and other French Calvinist divines, Reynolds invokes the theological argument that sees Protestants as belonging to one Reformed church. This conviction is reinforced in the preface to *The Divine Portrait* (1631). In it Reynolds explains that it is a translation of a sermon by Mestrezat '*lately delivered (by a worthie Servant of the Lord) in the Protestant Church of* Paris, *vpon the firmest poynt of our* Faith'.[79] This is a further indication of Reynolds's intimate knowledge and connection to the French Reformed Church.

Reynolds's translations of 1628-31 reflect a mood within England that was very sympathetic to the plight of Protestants overseas. His argument for intervention entailed an appeal to filial duty towards the Huguenots as afflicted brethren and to the universal danger of popish tyranny. Reynolds's mercantile background would have also alerted him to the debilitating impact of foreign wars on trade. But just as international events were fuelling Reynolds's strong sense of solidarity with the Protestant cause on the Continent, they also awakened a parallel sensibility: a need for vigilance against the growth of 'popery' at home. Reynolds's motivation by this latter notion can be registered in a letter he wrote to Lord Denbigh from Compiegne at the end of June 1625 about the progress of the Anglo-French marriage negotiations. The tutor told his pupil's father that 'the difficult article to pass will be toleration for Papists in England ... whereunto I both hope and believe that our King will never consent'.[80] This

[78] [Reynolds], *Apologie of the Reformed Churches of France*, sig. A2r.
[79] J. Mestrezat, *The Divine Portrait. Or, A true and liuely representation of the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper: with our due preparation how to receive the same worthily* (1631), trans. J. Reynolds, sig. A3r. Mestrezat's book was entered in the Stationers' Register to George Baker on 4 April 1631 and the translator was recorded as 'JOHN REYNOLDS' (Arber, iv, p. 216).
[80] C. Feilding, Countess of Denbigh, *Royalist Father and Roundhead Son* (1915), p. 30.

sentiment can also be seen in his concerns about the threat of Arminianism. In 'Regalytie and Obedyence', for example, Reynolds warned against complacency against the Arminian faction:

> Aske the Netherlandes (whome England and France haue made to bee what they nowe are) how neer, the factions and Contentions of the Arminians vnder Barnevalt, had brought their newe Estate to their last gaspe and periode, and if that head had not beene hyolie [sic] Cutt off, ...

Indeed, the tract goes on to claim that the Arminian controversy caused precisely the sort of intra-Protestant division and confusion that Spain most desired.[81]

But in spite of his loyalty to the Palatinate cause and hostility towards Arminianism, to simply label Reynolds a 'Puritan' would be to overlook the nuances of his religious politics. Indeed, even his connections with the French Reformed Church should be fully contextualised. During the 1620s, French Protestant writers, such as Pierre Du Moulin, were responding to the spread of Arminianism by tempering their position on predestination. Calvin's doctrine of absolute reprobation was increasingly replaced with a more nuanced view of salvation as not restricted solely to the elect.[82] Accusations of puritanism are certainly not adduced by Reynolds's contribution to Michael Drayton's *The Battaile of Agincourt* (1627). Reynolds wrote in the work's preliminaries of England's glorious medieval past:

> VVHat lofty Trophyes of eternall Fame,
> England may vaunt thou do'st erect to her,
> Yet forced to confesse, (yea blush for shame,)
> That she no Honour doth on thee confer[83]

Here Reynolds shares Drayton's sense of shame that England's militarism has been eclipsed by caution and cowardice. *The Battaile of Agincourt*'s nostalgia for a passing chivalric age speaks not of Puritan zeal for intervention but a more measured assessment of warfare as a noble art in the pursuit of a good cause. Reynolds was, ultimately, positioning himself to endorse an English expedition against France fought on the basis of honour for the good of the Protestant religion – an argument in keeping with Charles's own conception of the war.[84]

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[81] Reynolds, 'Regalytie and Obedyence', p. 24.
[82] Walmsley, *John Reynolds*, p. 128.
[83] J. Reynolds, 'To My Worthy Friend Mr. Michael Drayton vpon these his Poems', in M. Drayton, *The Battaile of Agincourt* (1627), STC 7190, sig. A4r.
[84] T. Cogswell, 'The path to Elizium "Lately Discovered": Drayton and the early Stuart court', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 (1991), pp. 207-233.

Reynolds was not the only writer prepared to equate the French war with virtuous endeavour. From Edinburgh, William Douglass published a poem entitled *Encovragments for the vvarres of France* (1627), which attempted to convince his fellow Scots to join the forces fighting against the French king. The Scots did not have same history of enmity with France as the English to call upon. Instead, Douglass's poem repeated the long-standing myth that Scotland had never been conquered; using this myth to reinforce the notion that Charles I, as the heir of the 'old vnconquered *Caledonian* Crowne', could restore honour to the Stuart dynasty through war. By defeating the French, the poet declares, 'Invincible they will their courage show, / That all the Worlde may still their courage know'. The poem celebrates the martial prowess of Scotsmen, such as Douglass's patron William Douglas, earl of Morton, who had been given the command of 3,000 Scottish troops in the expedition to La Rochelle that August. It also invokes the memory of Edward, the Black Prince, as a glorious English fighter feared by the French, and even praises the valour of 'generall braue Buckinghame', who 'hath begun their fronters for to tame'.[85]

According to Jason White, Douglass was framing the war in dynastic rather than religious terms. But alongside typical chivalric language the poem also constructs an anti-popish attack on the French, which I think White underestimates. Douglass's key argument for why the Scots ought to hate the French plays directly on fears of foreign popish tyranny:

> How can the *Scots* forget in ages all
> In latest times their great ingratitude?
> Since God this Land from errours did recall,
> Resaued heere pretending much our gude.
> Since that our Queene of *Scotland* onlie heir.
> In *France* espoused to their *Dolphine* their.
>
> When they as Friends had seazed in their hand
> Our Fortresses, and strengths of importance
> They much opprest the people of this Land,
> And euerie where as victors did advance,
> Badlie for Soule and bodies ruine bent
> Did use tyrannicall gouernement.

[85] W. Douglass, *Encovragments for the vvarres of France to excitate and induce all generous minded and heroick noble-men, gallant gentlemen, and couragious souldiers, who vnder the conduct and regiment of the most martiall and magnanimous Lord the Earle of Mortoun are worthilie disposed to serue our King His Most Sacred Maiestie in France / by William Douglasse North-Britaine. 1627* (Edinburgh, 1627), sig. B2v. The poem is commonly attributed to William Douglas, earl of Morton, though the preface implies that it was written by a kinsman. The explicit praise of Buckingham may well indicate that the duke had a hand in the text's production.

Which Tyrannie had longer heere indurde,
If *English* (we not meriting so much)
With strongest troupes to hardnesse all inurde
Had not them forcde to composition such
That soone they left the limites of this Land,
For which to *England* yet wee obligde stand.

The regime of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, is presented as foreign, popish and perverse. Its perversion, according to Douglass, was to keep the people enthralled to popish 'errours', and thereby to ruin both 'Soule and bodies'. Douglass then links Scotland's recent experience of tyranny to the current war against France, using the language of prophecy:

For, shall wee not expect to be compleat
What prophesied by sacred *Sibill* Songs?
In Gods owne time he'le raise some man of Spreit
To free his Church and vindicate their wrongs
The *Antichrist* with all his cursed crew,
The tyran *Turke* the Lord in Hell will spew.

Here Charles Stuart becomes the king prophesied to liberate God's church and vindicate the wrongs inflicted on it. The reference to Antichrist establishes the French wars within an eschatological narrative. The Stuarts had a strong association with the ancient Sibylline Oracles, which prophesied the coming of a prince of peace who would re-establish a golden age. In 1603, to ameliorate any underlying tensions, James's position as king of England and Scotland was justified through Sibylline prophecy. Over the Christmas season of 1610 James commissioned lavish entertainments that celebrated his role as a militant Protestant knight. The Scottish poet and scholar James Maxwell also used Sibylline imagery in a 1610 treatise supporting the proposed union of England and Scotland. Maxwell portrayed James Stuart as a bringer of civil peace, and foretold that he would become the last world emperor and end religious strife.[86]

Douglass's poem harnesses the Sibylline prophecy not only to praise the Stuart dynasty, but also to affirm Charles's duty as a militant Protestant prince to resist popery. The poem praises Charles as 'our Monarche eminent. / In whom those Prophesies shall bee compleet: / That so Gods Saintes enjoy may libertie / Hence by his Sworde from proud oppressours free'. The war in France becomes a glorious

[86] For the uses of Sibyllian prophecy in early modern England, see J. Malay, *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare's Sibyls* (2010), esp. pp. 139-43. Douglass, *Encovragments*, sigs. B1r-B1v, B2v.

endeavour through which Charles can fulfil his prophesied role of vanquishing popish tyranny. Like Reynolds, Douglass emphasised the complicity of France in the popish oppression of God's true church, which provides the justification for England's intervention.[87]

But these arguments for warfare based on confessional allegiance ran counter to the anti-Calvinist direction prevailing in Charles's ecclesiastical policy. In perpetuating Charles's representation of himself as defender of the faith, protector of his fellow Protestants, Reynolds and Douglass ignored the evidence that Charles was presiding over an English church ashamed of its Calvinist heritage. In 1628, William Laud was made bishop of London and he began to pursue a policy of silencing Calvinist preachers at Paul's Cross. Buckingham also aligned himself with the anti-Calvinist faction in the Church of England. By June, Bishops Laud and Neile had been named in the Commons as suspected 'Arminians'. This did not deter the king, who at the end of the year issued a royal proclamation against 'unnecessary disputations, altercations or questions' about theology that was widely perceived to be an attempt to suppress the doctrine of predestination.[88]

Given the assault on Calvinism at home, it was difficult to make a compelling intellectual case that Charles and Buckingham cared deeply about Calvinists abroad. To Walter Yonge, for example, Charles's pledge to defend the liberties of French Calvinists appeared shallow and duplicitous in light of the anti-Calvinist policies the king was simultaneously pursuing in England. Yonge associated Buckingham's defeat at La Rochelle with the rise of 'Arminianism and Pelagianism' and the advent of 'many bishops infected therewith' in the church.[89]

Others made a similar connection. John Russell's lengthy poem, *The spy discovering the danger of Arminian heresie and Spanish trecherie* (1628) saw the external threat from militant Catholicism as inextricably intertwined with a domestic anti-Calvinist threat. By promoting 'sencelesse *Atheisme,* cold *neutrality,* / Loose *Epicurisme,* and damned *Policy*' within the Protestant church, the followers of '*Arminius*' are steadily working to send the nation searching for the Catholic

[87] Douglass, *Encovragments*, sig. B2v.
[88] J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, (7 vols, 1659-1701), i, p. 621; J. Rodda, *Public Religious Disputation in England, 1558-1626* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 193-4; N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 188-9.
[89] W. Yonge, *The Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. G. Roberts (1848), p. 23; White, *Militant Protestantism*, p. 62.

religion and, thereby 'spread The *Church* vvith *Popery*'. Russell accuses Buckingham of making 'Entrance, for *Spanish* waspes, to th' *English* hiue'. Spain is presented as a 'faithlesse foe', constantly working to the disadvantage of the English nation. England, Russell argues, ought to have maintained peace with France in order to jointly counter the ascendancy of Spain. In the mind of Russell, only 'a faithlesse foe / To *Englands* good, would giue advise to breake / Our peace with *France,* to make our party weake'.[90] Debates over 'Arminianism' raged both inside and outside Parliament in 1628. As the self-styled champion of the Anglo-French war, Buckingham became a natural target. But following his assassination in August, English bishops also came in for heavy criticism.[91]

The outrage towards Buckingham expressed in 1628 reflected the government's failure to convince enough people to trust its objectives for the new La Rochelle expedition. They could not convert Parliament to Charles's way of conceiving the popish threat because they were reluctant to connect the problems of La Rochelle with the wider anti-Habsburg war that Charles (on paper) was also committed to. Such moderate Calvinist defences of the French war praised the virtuous king for protecting French Calvinists and tended to present the enemy as jesuitical agents of papal authority and rulers who colluded to bring it about. But this position was increasingly at odds with the views of other more militant Calvinists who were unwilling to separate the politics of religion from the conduct of international affairs. Indeed, as we will see, these individuals exposed what they saw as the rank hypocrisy of a monarch who claimed to be fighting popish tyranny abroad whilst promoting popish superstition at home.

4 Joseph Hall and the Return of the Pope as Principal Foe

In the public debates over the wars with Spain and France in the late 1620s, the seditious-popish-agents motif found its zenith in Joseph Hall's 1629 pamphlet, *An Ansvver to Pope Vrban his Inurbanity, expressed in a breue sent to Lowis the French King, exasperating him against the*

[90] J. Russell, *The spy discovering the danger of Arminian heresie and Spanish trecherie* ('Strasburgh' [i.e. Amsterdam], 1628), STC 20577, sigs. C[1]r, B[1]r, D7r.
[91] For the printed debate about Arminianism, see C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. pp. 83-5.

Protestants in France.[92] Hall published this tract on the back of two significant milestones in his career. The first was his promotion to the bishopric of Exeter in December 1627. This was a notable achievement given his well-known Calvinist credentials. Indeed, Hall wrote in his autobiography that Buckingham, who was away in France, opposed his promotion, and that Charles may very well have changed his mind had the duke's letters reached England sooner.[93]

The second milestone for Hall was his embroilment in a vibrant religious controversy over his tract *The Old Religion* (1628). In this anti-papal apologetic, Hall argued that the Reformed churches did not have an independent pedigree but were descended from the early (Roman Catholic) Church. 'Be it, therefore, known to all the world', Hall wrote, 'that our Church is only Reformed or Repaired, not made new'. Anthony Milton has placed the controversy over *The Old Religion* within the wider debate in the Church of England over the ecclesiological significance of calling the pope Antichrist and Rome Babylon. In this tract, Hall maintained the traditional Calvinist identification of the pope as Antichrist whilst allowing that the Roman Catholic Church was a true church whose members may achieve salvation. This moderate position sparked protest from Puritans, such as Henry Burton, who found Hall's caveat deeply distasteful. In *The Seven Vials* (1628), Burton asserted that Rome's idolatry meant that it could not be a true church and urged Hall to 'purge away the staine, and put a more glorious luster' to his work by retracting this comment. As Milton and Lake have argued, this incident attests to the radicalisation of Calvinist opinion that was occurring in the late 1620s and the consequent polarisation between moderate Calvinist episcopalians like Hall and the strident anti-papal and anti-Catholic language of the godly.[94]

It was in the immediate aftermath of this criticism that Hall made his political intervention in defence of the French war. As its title suggests, *An Ansvver to Pope Vrban his Inurbanity* was written specifically in response to an act of aggression from Pope Urban VIII, in the form of a papal breve to

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[92] This work was entered in the Stationers' Register to Nicholas Bourne on 4 March 1629 as 'A booke called *Invrbitanitati Pontificiae Responsio* JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS, in Latyne and English' (Arber, iv, p. 174).
[93] J. Hall, *The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and after Norwich*, ed. P. Wynter (10 vols., Oxford, 1863), i, pp. xxxov-xxxv; D. J. Steere, 'A Calvinist Bishop at the Court of Charles I', in M. P. Holt (ed.), *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 197-218.
[94] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 141-5; Lake, 'The Moderate and Irenic Case for Religious War', pp. 55-83 and Lake, 'Joseph Hall, Robert Skinner and the Rhetoric of Moderation at the Early Stuart Court', in *English Sermon Revised*, pp. 167-85.

Louis XIII celebrating his victory at La Rochelle against the Huguenots. Urban was a strong advocate of an alliance between France and Spain against their common enemies, the English, the Dutch and the Huguenots. Such a treaty was concluded on 20 April 1627, and Richelieu accepted the aid of a Spanish fleet. By 1628 Urban was reportedly planning a grand project to conquer Ireland.[95]

By criticising the pope as the supreme adversary of Protestantism in his published tract, Hall was making a distinct intervention in English debates about foreign policy in two ways. Firstly, Hall's tract reiterates the argument that England was engaged in a confessional war against the oppressive forces of Catholic Europe. Pope Urban is the enemy of the piece. He is represented as the orchestrator of plots against the Huguenots and a key proponent of rooting out Protestants wherever they reside:

> Alas the shadow of *Peter* tooke these Protestants of *France* for *Malchus*, whose *eares* while he went about to cut off, he committed but a light errour, and hit them on the throats ...

The tone is distinctly that of a Protestant controversialist, revelling in the accusation of treachery and betrayal of Christ perpetrated against the Huguenots. Unlike Reynolds, Hall confidently introduces apocalyptic assumptions about the imminent fall of the papacy and does not flinch from associating Rome with Babylon:

> Neither shall many years passe againe, (vnlesse my divining spirit be much mistaken) before *Babylon fall*, and the *Angell shout*, and the world congratulate with amazement: *Rochells* case shall be thine owne case ere long, thou most *forlorne of all Cities*.[96]

This has the effect of strengthening Charles and Buckingham's justification of the French campaign on religious grounds.

Secondly, by blaming Pope Urban and appealing to the memory of Henry IV of France, who was widely perceived to be a protector of Protestants even after his conversion, Hall distances the French king from the epicentre of popish tyranny. Hall urges Louis to open his eyes to the gross offences enacted in his name:

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[95] The papal letter is translated from the edition printed at Paris in 1629, see S. Tomita and M. Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1603-1642* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 265-7.

[96] J. Hall, *An ansvver to Pope Vrban his inurbanity, expressed in a breue sent to Lowis the French King, exasperating him against the Protestants in France. VVritten in Latine by the Right Reverend Father in God, Ioseph Lord Bishop of Exeter. Translated into English by B. S.* (1629), STC 12641, epistle dedication.

> Awake oh ye Christian Princes, and thou especially King *Lowis*, into whose eares those mischiefs are so *vncivilly* & *cruelly* whispered: awake at length and see how *cursed fiercenesse* deviseth to put it selfe vpon your *Maiestie* after the most mischievous manner vnder a pretence of *piety*. They are your *natiue* subiects whom these *forreiners* require for the slaughter, yea they are *Christs* ...

Here Louis is not the architect of the Huguenots' fate but simply a foot-soldier, whose judgement has been blighted and independence diminished by the pope. This chimes with Reynolds's contributions to this debate, which also blamed external forces acting on the king, particularly the Jesuits. The king of France, according to both Reynolds and Hall, needs to be drawn out of the papal snare into which he has been lured.

And yet, in spite of Hall's clear anti-papal views, *Vrban his Inurbanity* presented a moderate and religiously-nuanced account of the differences between Protestants and Catholics. The argument is advanced that both share the Christian faith. The Huguenots, Hall tells Louis, are 'servants of your owne God' who are 'washed in the same Font, bought with the same blood, and renued by the same Spirit'. Hall uses this common Christianity to urge against the persecution of French Protestants by their own king. Indeed, he even argues that Christianity is a religion of peace and that God will judge rulers who stir up wars very harshly:

> This *revenging spirit* was not sent but from *hell*. Not the least sound of an *hammer* is heard in *Gods Temple*; but You good man will haue the holie Church of God filled with the *clangor of trumpetts*, and the *clashing of semiters*, and the *groanes of men ready to dye*.[97]

This image of a religion of peace stands in tension with Hall's assumption that the apocalypse approaches. Within the same tract, then, Hall imagines Rome's imminent destruction, stridently pronouncing that Rochelle's fate will soon be Urban's, but he also makes a strong call for peace. *Vrban his Inurbanity* thus embraces both the idea of a God of peace as well as one of war. This reflects the difficulty of sustaining an argument in favour of a war against France using the traditional language of opposition to papal authority and its defenders. The logic of this form of anti-popery pointed to Rome and the pope as the principal enemy of Protestantism, not the naïve and manipulated French king. Its adoption by Hall thus reinforced the perspective of the Anglo-French conflict that saw it as a smaller part of the wider struggle against the tyrannical political claims of the Counter Reformation.

[97] Hall, *Vrban his inurbanity*, epistle dedication.

As a Calvinist minister, recently promoted to the episcopate, Hall's religious views were clearly somewhat in tension with the anti-Calvinist direction of Charles's religious policies. And yet, as a mouthpiece for Charles's conception of the popish threat, contributions such as Hall's came under scrutiny from the godly. The controversy surrounding Hall's tract *The Old Religion* reflects a fundamental splintering of English Protestant thought around the nature and identity of the popish enemy.[98] Henry Burton's demands for absolute lines of division between the Protestant churches and the false Church of Rome demonstrated an unwillingness of certain militant Protestants to countenance any attempts to separate the political fight against popish tyrants from the religious crusade against superstition and idolatry. What separated moderate Calvinists, such as Reynolds and Hall, from their militant critics was a willingness to think in a nuanced way about the threat of popery, and consequently to identity diverse threats from multiple popish enemies.

Accusations of worldliness perhaps lay behind the refusal of the godly to accept Hall's argument that Catholics might in any way be able to attain salvation. Hall's credentials as a Calvinist, his apocalyptic fervour and continued identification of the pope as Antichrist were not enough to militate against these charges of hypocrisy. This trailblazer for the Caroline war effort failed to silence militant Protestant doubts about the regime's religious integrity. Although he embraced the idea that the enemy of Protestants was ultimately the pope, Hall failed to persuade Puritans that the English episcopacy also shared its commitment to rooting out popish superstition at home.

Conclusion

The threat of papal tyranny and the question of how best to resist it continued to divide English people in the latter half of the 1620s, as it had done in the earlier part of the decade. Across a range of pro-war texts, the Huguenots were represented as a persecuted minority of the Protestant faithful, who Charles, as the defender of the faith, was obliged to defend. The French expedition was portrayed by John Reynolds as an integral part of the wider international Protestant cause, an extension not an alternative to the Stuarts' commitment to restoring the Palatinate to Frederick and his Calvinist son, Charles Louis. Joseph Hall even presented the argument that the war in France was symptomatic of

[98] Steere, 'Calvinist Bishop', pp. 210-11; Lake, 'Anti-popery', pp. 88-90.

Louis's complicity in a grand popish design for universal monarchy. The apocalyptic tone of Hall's *Vrban his Inurbanity*, tinged with the language of theological controversy, demonstrated how support for the war effort came from some Calvinist quarters. The harsh criticism of Hall by English Puritans, however, reveals just how fractious the Caroline wars became in domestic debates about religion. In the eyes of militant Protestants, such as Burton and Yonge, the argument that Charles and Buckingham were intervening out of devotion to the Calvinist cause appeared disingenuous. It rubbed uneasily against their known patronage of anti-Calvinist clerics in the Church of England, which Burton found especially alarming. This debate demonstrates how integral concerns about the nature and identity of foreign popery were to the process of splintering English Protestant opinion.

The 'blessed revolution' ultimately made the disappointments of 1627-8 all the more acute. Despite the intentions of their authors, texts produced in favour of the war implicitly reinforced the view, which many English people had developed, of the French campaign as a distraction from the more pertinent war against Habsburg Spain. This failure, however, does have two significant things to tell us about the developing role and shape of anti-popery in English public debate.

Firstly, the competing arguments for and against intervention in France were both rooted in a highly politicised brand of anti-popery. While moderate Calvinist writers argued that England was obliged to protect the Huguenots from a tyrannical French monarch, their godly critics doubted Charles's religious motives and tended to believe that the French wars were a distraction from fighting the true popish enemy, the Habsburgs. These arguments creatively employed classic anti-papal tropes – of Habsburg tyranny, the ambitions of the papacy, and shared commitment to the Counter Reformation – to persuade English readers round to their view. This ability to negotiate, ignore or rework established concepts demonstrates the flexible manner in which anti-popery was integrated in to the immediate questions of war and peace, but also, within political discourse as a whole. But the fact that certain English people expressed reservations about the anti-papal justifications for the conflict, suggests that, for all the flexibility of the rhetorical images and models, political meanings were slow

to shift. The equation of France and universal monarchy would take a long time to infuse English political thought and would only finally eclipse its older association with Spain in the late 1660s.[99]

Secondly, and paradoxically, these debates also demonstrate the strength in early Stuart England of the moderate and irenic view of French Catholicism. Accusations of popish tyranny against Louis were relatively rare compared to the ferocity of attacks on the king of Spain in 1624 and 1625. This was nothing new: English divines had been defending Gallican liberties against 'Romish' infringement since the 1590s. By clinging on to older patterns of thought, which associated the threat of popish imperialism with Spain, English public opinion maintained a cleavage between French Catholicism and the dangerous Spanish and Romanist variety. In these foreign policy debates, then, France was predominantly figured as a Catholic nation that could be detached from a dangerous papal axis. Its interests were aligned to a non-confessional, anti-Habsburg foreign policy. The anti-Spanish texts of the period appealed to French Catholics in precisely this way, encouraging Protestant English men and women to identify its popish enemies through a traditional hispanophobic lens.

It would be misleading to characterise this as a tolerant attitude towards French Catholic religion. Rather English writers showed a willingness to place religious identity outside of the parameters of Anglo-French relations because they believed the French were able to do the same. By contrast, Spain was still perceived by many to be incapable of separating temporal and spiritual interests, like the papalist political philosophy they supported. In this active capacity to discriminate between Catholic states it is possible to trace the continued purchase of the idea of a broad, cross-confessional alliance of nations fighting Habsburg Spain that Archbishop Abbot was advancing in the 1610s.

Anti-popery, therefore, emerges in the print culture of the late 1620s as a set of languages still peculiarly rooted to an anti-Spanish worldview. In spite of Buckingham's attempts to present himself as a Protestant military hero and to whip up anti-papal support for the Ré expedition, when difficulties struck the Caroline war, his popularity was short-lived. Official pro-war pamphlets departed from popular Black Legend stereotypes figuring the papal enemy in terms of Habsburg imperialism, and as

[99] See 'Conclusion' below, pp. 244-5.

a consequence stretched this anti-papal rhetoric far beyond its anti-Spanish associations. This compounded English people's uncertainty of the logic of fighting France at the same time as waging war against Spain. The arguments of Reynolds and Hall, which harnessed the French campaigns on to a wider anti-papal crusade, were more likely to appeal to popular preconceptions. But they aroused controversy, from the militant and moderate Calvinist wings of the established church respectively, by drawing attention to the fraught and complex question of England's commitment to Calvinism at home and abroad. Ownership of the Black Legend brand of anti-popery was swiftly reclaimed by the Puritan opposition to the Caroline religious policy, a consequence of the failure to persuade the English public of the king's anti-papal credentials in the late 1620s.

CHAPTER 4
The Swedish 'Deliverer': Gustavus Adolphus, Religion and the Protestant Cause, 1630-35

In April 1629 England's war against France was concluded. It was shortly followed in November 1630 by peace with Spain. In the years following these declarations of peace, Charles I's foreign policy wavered uncertainly between pro-Palatine and pro-Spanish positions. Still recovering from the bruises sustained during the disastrous Île de Ré and La Rochelle expeditions, the king remained reluctant to raise the funds necessary for another campaign, in spite of his general sympathy for the Palatine cause. England's peace, therefore, was 'contested, controversial and fragile', but it was an outcome based as much upon contingency as conviction.[1]

During this time the London news press was gathering momentum, though in the face of serious government pressure. On 17 October 1632, by order of the Privy Council 'Upon consideration of the great abuse in the printing of gazettes, and pamphlets of news from foreign parts' it was prohibited 'from henceforth to print, publish, or sell any of the said pamphlets'. The publishers Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne sought to evade the ban by continuing to publish their periodical, *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632-3), which advertised itself as an historical 'Essay' on the life and lineage of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. In reality, it followed the current exploits of the Swedish forces against Emperor Ferdinand's forces in Germany. The newsbook was highly popular in the capital itself as well as out in the country, where many literate folk received news through networks of newsletter writers.[2] Demand certainly peaked at a time of raised Protestant expectations, coinciding with the entry of Sweden into the war in Germany in June 1630. This was a crucial turning point for the Protestant cause. With every Swedish victory came renewed hope that the evangelical union would eventually defeat the Habsburgs and prevent the re-catholicisation of central Europe. Reports of Protestant victories came after years of defeat and devastation for the German armies of Count Mansfeld and Elector Frederick, and contributed to a renewed and febrile interest in international affairs. What effect this had on the

[1] I. Atherton and J. Sanders (eds), *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era* (Manchester, 2006), p. 3.
[2] SP 16/224, fo. 71 [Order of the Council, 17 October 1632]; *CSPD 1631-3*, v, p. 426; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 646-7, 653; Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, p. 194.

representation in English print of popish tyranny and the Protestant cause to resist it is the subject of this chapter.[3]

Swedish entry into the Thirty Years' War was a decisive military intervention, but it also altered the confessional dynamics of the conflict. Up to this point the most prominent leaders of the anti-Habsburg coalition had been Calvinist princes. Since 1621 Elector Frederick V had been engaged for the restoration of his patrimonial lands in the Rhenish Palatinate, which were now under the control of the Catholic Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. Calvinist leadership also came from the House of Orange-Nassau, headed by Maurice of Nassau, who died in 1625, and thereafter by his half-brother Frederick Henry. These Dutch Calvinist princes supplied leaders in the Netherlands and military commanders in the Palatinate. They were motivated by the need to defend the Dutch Republic as an independent state against the claims and the armies of the Spanish Habsburgs. The activities of this coalition were observed with keen interest as well as sporadically supported militarily and financially by English Calvinists. As we saw in chapters two and three, the Protestant cause of resisting popish tyranny in the Palatinate, the Netherlands and even the protection of the Huguenots in south-west France was often described by English Calvinists in terms of the defence of Calvinist churches and liberties.[4]

Of course, the participation of Lutheran nations in the Thirty Years' War was not a completely new departure. King Christian IV of Denmark had been at the centre of efforts to construct an international Protestant alliance. He feared the extension of Habsburg influence into his German territory of Schleswig-Holstein and had in 1625, under English and Dutch pressure, taken up the banner of German liberties in spite of the refusal of his own kingdom to support him. But Christian's contribution was not covered in military glory. Having doggedly fought the imperialist troops and held off their advance, in 1629 the Danish king was forced to sign a truce with the emperor which bound him not to interfere any further in the conflict in the Holy Roman Empire.[5]

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[3] For the military career of Gustavus Adolphus, see M. Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden, 1611-1632* (2 vols., 1953-8); M. Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus* (1973; 2nd edn., 1992); N. G.Ahnlund, *Gustavus Adolphus the Great*, trans. M. Roberts (New York, 1940; repr., 1999); C. R. L. Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Survival* (New York, 1896).

[4] T. Munck, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict and Social Order in Europe 1598-1700* (Basingstoke, 1990; 2nd edn., 2005), pp. 6, 12, 25.

[5] P. D. Lockhart, 'Denmark', in O. Asbach and P. Schröder (eds),*The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 65-76.

The new leader of the Protestant forces in Germany, however, was very different. Having landed in Pomerania in June, Gustavus Adolphus led his troops to a series of spectacular victories against Ferdinand's armies. It was a decisive intervention that forced the Habsburgs on to the back foot. The Swedish king made no secret of his commitment to Lutheranism. As early as 1621 the Swedish clergy were presenting Sweden as God's elect nation and drawing parallels between Gustavus and biblical heroes such as Gideon. The king, as we will see, also cultivated a religious consciousness within his army through daily prayers and sermons warning against the rising threat of persecution. Unlike the Reformed tradition in France and Germany, the Lutheran Church of Sweden was episcopal, it upheld the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and also rejected the Calvinist view of the arbitrary grace of predestination. Gustavus's military leadership not only changed the face of the Protestant cause in Europe, but raised new questions about the character and religious nature of the anti-Habsburg movement. How English Protestants responded to these new conditions will be at the heart of the analysis that follows.[6]

The view of Calvinist communities abroad was of course intimately connected with the role and condition of Calvinism within the Church of England. The religious policies of the 1630s – who was behind them, how popular they were, and how radically they departed from the previous 'Calvinist consensus' on theology and church practice – continues to divide historians. Nicholas Tyacke, in a seminal study, characterised the English anti-Calvinists, led by Charles and William Laud, as religious innovators. The chief innovation, according to Tyacke, was doctrinal: the replacement of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination with the 'Arminian' teaching of universal grace. Recent studies have offered a balance to Tyacke's emphasis on soteriology, arguing that the real novelty of Laudianism lay in its rival vision of worship, which celebrated the sacramental life of the church over preaching. Such priorities informed the 'altar policy' of the 1630s, which encouraged the conversion of communion tables to railed in altars and insisted that communicants receive at the rail. This was one aspect of a wider programme, known as 'the beauty of holiness', which promoted the aesthetic elements of devotion, such as clerical vestments, religious art, choral music and even incense. Challenging the

[6] E. Lund, 'Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism', in R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture: 1550-1675* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 411-54, esp. pp. 449-50.

revisionist view of anti-Calvinists as a small faction of ambitious and divisive clerics, Anthony Milton has argued that Laudianism represented a process in which a range of different types of people were creatively involved and invested.[7]

Whether we define the Laudian programme as innovative or not, it certainly challenged the religious sensibilities and priorities of self-styled 'godly' Calvinists. Hostile critics accused the Caroline Church of libertine excess, and by the mid-1630s certain individuals such as William Prynne charged Laud with conspiring to bring back popish superstition and even papal authority. The militant Protestant cause in the English Church had been self-confidently aligned to an aggressive anti-Habsburg foreign policy throughout the 1620s, but the Swedish intervention of 1630 and string of military successes in the north-east Germany in 1630-1 called into question this alliance. For those who had a different perspective, of course, the new-found prominence of a Lutheran king on the international stage presented new opportunities to refashion the religious politics of the Protestant cause and reaffirm England's commitment to this broad, not simply Calvinist, coalition. This chapter aims to problematise our understanding of the Lutheran king's image, and the complex roles it played in English news print. It will be argued that Gustavus was a figure around which alternative visions of the Protestant cause and popish tyranny actively and energetically competed.[8]

This chapter thus consciously nuances a prevailing tendency in recent historiography to equate support for the Swedish king with an oppositional Calvinist sensibility. The tremendous attention paid in England to the Swedish campaigns, and the overt and initially overwhelming support Gustavus Adolphus received in the London news press, has resulted in a view among scholars that the Swedish king was being mobilised to encourage Charles to deepen his Protestant alliances and fulfil his role as a godly prince. David Norbrook, for example, has connected support for Gustavus Adolphus with the

[7] N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990); P. Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp. 161-85; A. Milton, 'The Church of England, Rome and the true church: the demise of a Jacobean consensus', in Fincham (ed.), *Early Stuart Church*, pp. 187-210; A. Milton 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach' in T. Cogswell, R. Cust and P. Lake (eds), *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 162-84; K. Fincham, 'The Restoration of the Altars in the 1630s, *HJ*, 44 (2001), pp. 919-49; P. White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *P&P*, 115 (1987), pp. 201-29.

[8] M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 4-7.

apocalyptic hopes of militant Protestants and stressed that Charles himself discouraged lavish shows of affection for the Swedish king.[9] While there is no doubt that Gustavus received substantial praise from the godly, I contend that he attracted a much broader range of support, from many different types of English Protestants. By contextualising the representation of Gustavus in the London periodicals of the early 1630s against the background of the emergence of a confident anti-Calvinist identity in the Church of England, this chapter will demonstrate that the Protestant cause he embodied was actually far less factionally and ideologically specific than we have realised. The wave of enthusiastic support for the Swedish leader in England therefore offers a way of tracing the emergence of an assertive, outward-looking anti-Calvinism in the Church of England.

By 1630, England was in the unique position of being a nation at peace in the midst of war. This presented opportunities for increasing revenues from trade. Restrictions were lifted on trading with Spain, and the articles of peace explicitly encouraged a return to 'the former Trade and Commerce', 'aswell by Land as Sea and fresh waters'.[10] As a consequence, the 1630s saw a great expansion of the English carrying trade, with Dover becoming a major entrepôt port for the import and export markets. Not only did this provide a boost for England's economy, it enabled the crown to substantially increase its revenues from re-export duties from £2,585 in 1621-2 to £22,550 in 1637-8, with an additional £7,830 from Spanish silver.[11] The improved economic conditions had a knock-on effect on the London print industry. By 1629, Butter and Bourne's foreign-news coranto serial, *The Continuation*, was issued at almost regular weekly intervals, following the quarto format established by Butter in 1622, except with sixteen pages rather than twenty-four. Print run figures have not survived, but bibliographers suggest a conservative estimate of 250 to 850 copies per week, or between 12,500 and 42,400 for a

[9] D. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance: Revised Edition* (Oxford, 2002), esp. pp. 206, 232-33, 260; D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 66; S. McKeown, 'The Reception of Gustavus Adolphus in English literary culture: the case of George Tooke', *Renaissance Studies*, 23 (2009), pp. 200-20.
[10] Bodl., Ashmole MS 1029 (7), sig. A3r [*Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce, Concluded in the names of the most high and mighty Kings* (1630)].
[11] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 91, 126-9; J. S. Kepler, *The Exchange of Christendom: The International Entrepôt at Dover 1622-1641* (Leicester, 1976), p. 167 (Appendix E).

complete series of fifty issues, given that the cap set by Star Chamber in 1586 of 1,500 copies per edition was still in force in this period.[12]

The Caroline ban on corantos of 1632, however, forced news printers to develop new ways of distributing foreign news material and keeping their printing businesses afloat. The *Swedish Intelligencer*, which continued to be produced after the ban, deviated dramatically from the format of *The Continuation*. Although produced by the same publishers, the convention of roughly weekly editions gave way to longer pamphlets issued bi-annually, which summarised a few months' worth of proceedings. Instead of twopence or threepence for a coranto, readers were now required to pay a lot more per issue. Richard Whittacker, for example, paid 1s 6d for *The Modern History* and 2s 6d for an issue of *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*.[13] This may have priced poorer readers out of the market, but there is evidence that the business was flourishing for Butter and Bourne up to October 1632.[14]

The extended format of the *Intelligencer* and its successors gave room for deeper reflection on the events of the Continent, and enabled a more confident editorial voice to permeate the text. After the death of Thomas Gainsford in 1624 Butter and Bourne were without an editor until 1630, when Oxford clergyman William Watts was appointed. From the 20 September issue, Watts provided a Protestant gloss on events in the form of authorial commentary within the text. By clustering reports about the same army or regiment together Watts was able to give a heightened impression of Protestant success, and in no small part bolstered by the sweeping early victories of Gustavus in the winter of 1630-1.[15] What effect Gustavus's success had on attitudes to the religious dimension of the conflict in Europe will also be explored in this chapter.

The chapter begins by investigating the influence of Dutch corantos on English news and how it intersected with the residual anti-Spanish sentiments that, as chapter three revealed, remained so pervasive in the debates over the French campaigns. It also considers the use of Catholic sources in

[12] M. Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Serials and their Readers 1620-1914* (New Castle, DE, 1993), p. 5; *Numb. 17. The Continuation* (18 November, 1630), STC 18507.207, p. 3.
[13] Cited in M. E. Bohannon, 'A London Bookseller's Bill', *The Library*, 4 (1938), pp. 421-40.
[14] Butter was hiring apprentices at this time, but engaged no more after 1639. See L. Rostenberg, 'Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne: First "Masters of the Staple"', *The Library*, 12 (1957), pp. 23-33, p. 32.
[15] Boys, *London's News*, pp. 148-9, 161-3, 175-7, 225-6.

these newsbooks and argues that such reports bolstered an impression of the anti-Habsburg cause as broad-based and cross-confessional.

The second part then goes on to examine the representation of Gustavus Adolphus as a Protestant champion, complicating our understanding of the types of English Protestant that supported the Swedish king. It will be argued that Sweden's Lutheranism presented an opportunity for English writers to align the international Protestant cause with Arminian or Laudian reform of the Church of England.

Part three analyses the expanding narrative of universal monarchy, which increasingly referred to the imperial ambitions of the House of Austria rather than simply Spain. This flexible framework sustained the relevance of anti-papal assumptions to the new conditions of the 1630s. Thereby, anti-popery continued to play a vital role in articulating the hopes and expectations of different types of English Protestants.

Yet Swedish participation in the German war prompted ambivalence as well as outright enthusiasm. In the fourth part I examine the growing doubts about the Swedish intervention that were expressed after Gustavus's death in 1632, including Thomas Carew's 'In Answer of an Elegiacal Letter upon the death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townshend' (1633). By analysing these more nuanced attitudes, it is possible to detect the rise of anti-Calvinist sympathies and a retreat from Calvinist constructions of temporal and spiritual authority. It will be argued that moderate or conciliatory views towards relations with Catholic states in the early 1630s have been underestimated. In English views about foreign affairs, therefore, it is possible to detect wider currents of political and religious change.

1 London's Protestant news culture and its anti-Spanish sources

As the ink dried on the peace treaties with France and Spain, Charles reinforced his commitment to the restitution of the Palatinate, for his sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia, and her eldest son, Charles Louis. In 1631 and 1632 Charles allowed British men to be recruited to serve the Protestant armies of north Germany, the Low Countries, and Sweden. By 1631 there may have been as many as 10,000

British mercenaries serving in the Dutch army and 20,000 in the Swedish army.[16] While Charles was contemplating a popular French alliance against the Habsburgs, he was also engaged in strategic diplomacy with Spain. In 1632 Charles agreed to the coining in London of Spanish silver to pay the army in Flanders. He also negotiated safe passage for the Spanish fleet across English waters in the Channel, in return for a percentage of the silver. This arrangement was potentially lucrative for the English Crown but it was also a highly risky one, contrary to the wishes and expectations of certain sections of opinion within the nation, which remained residually hostile to Spain.[17]

What impact this new official 'neutrality' towards Spain, as well as France, had on English perceptions of the popish threat is the main concern of this first section. The proliferation of foreign news prints in the early 1630s is evidence that English people remained interested in foreign affairs even after the declarations of peace were concluded. But how the identity and character of the popish threat changed in English imaginations has not been widely studied. By analysing the content of London newsbooks from 1630 up to the coranto ban of 1632, I will explore whether a general aversion for military intervention, even for the assistance of Calvinist princes, filtered into the print culture of the early 1630s.

Before examining newsbooks sources in detail, it is worth drawing attention to the industry within which my sources were produced and its close links with the Netherlandish coranto trade. It is widely understood that the London news press of the early Stuart period was orientated around the republication of Dutch and German corantos. Foreign news filtered in from the Continent through two rival publishing centres: Catholic Antwerp and Calvinist Amsterdam. The Butter and Bourne partnership was the most prominent producer of translated Dutch corantos, and received a significant proportion of their news from Amsterdam.[18]

These strong ties with the Netherlandish coranto trade had an impact on English news culture in two noticeable ways. Firstly, it kept the anti-Protestant activities of the Habsburgs in the Netherlands

[16] Boys, *London's News*, p. 224.
[17] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 843-46.
[18] For early modern news culture, see A. Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (2014); A. Fox, *Oral and Literature Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000); C. R. Kyle and J. Peacey, *Breaking News: Renaissance Journalism and the Birth of the Newspaper* (Baltimore, MD, 2009).

a regular feature of London news, and therefore, firmly within English consciousness. For example, in the 14 March 1631 issue of *The Continuation*, we are informed from '*the Army of his Excellence the Prince of* Orange' that following the victory, 'Their Excellencies the States have prohibited preaching among the Catholikes in the Villages & Townes belonging to *Shertogenbosch*, so that all the Churches are shut up continually'. While the 'countrie people' of '*Hensden* and *Altena*, flye with all their goods', the Dutch authorities act to secure the Protestant faith in the Netherlands by proscribing the activities of Catholic priests. The enemies of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange are identified as 'Catholikes' and the act of restricting Catholic worship is intimately bound up with the struggle to resist Spanish control in the region.[19] Such reports reinforced an impression of the tight interconnection between oppressive Habsburg government and the Habsburgs' commitment to Catholicism.

Secondly, what comes across even more strongly in *The Continuation* and other newsbooks is the political danger posed by Spanish tyranny. Reports focusing on the perpetration of religious oppression were eclipsed by those emphasising the political nature of Dutch rivalry with Spain. In English corantos of 1631 and 1632, Spaniards are presented as aggressive war-mongers, who 'labour to continue a perpetuall warre in these *Netherlands*'. The liberty of the Dutch people to determine their own government is described as being constantly hindered by Spanish intervention:

> for the *Spanish* alone will rule and governe all, and so inrich themselues (as indeed they doe) to the losse, damage, and prejudice of the poorer sort of people: and that with such a violent and strong domineering hand over all our Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Commonaltie, that they haue already subdued them, and brought them all vnder their commaund.[20]

Here we have an account from the southern Netherlands, still under Habsburg rule, which repeatedly calls attention to the Spaniards' universal ambitions. The Spanish long to control 'all' with their 'domineering hand'; all people, rich and poor, feel the force of their violence. The repeated emphasis on 'all' raises the spectre of the Spanish threat and recalls the tropes of Spanish greed and desire for universal monarchy which were widely expressed during the Spanish Match crisis. This view of the Spanish as suppressors of Dutch freedom had, as we have seen, been circulating in England throughout the period covered by this thesis, ever since the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt in the 1560s. But it is

[19] *Numb. 23. The Continuation* (14 March 1631), STC 18507.209, pp. 12-4.
[20] *The Continuation of ovr weekely avisoes* (6 July 1632), STC 18507.257, p. 4.

significant that anti-Spanish sentiment was being picked up in England in the summer of 1632, as tensions mounted in the southern Netherlands. In May 1632 the States General issued a proclamation summoning the southern territories 'to liberate themselves from the heavy and intolerable yoke of the Spaniards ... and to join themselves unto these United Provinces', even promising the right publicly to exercise the Roman Catholic religion.[21]

The anti-Habsburg politics of the early 1630s thus had a vibrantly irenic tone, appealing to Catholics and Protestants to join the Dutch resistance to Spanish tyranny. This reflects the fact that Catholic Antwerp was also a significant source of English international news. There is evidence that Abraham Verhoeven's Catholic newsbook, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, was being imported to England from Antwerp, and had been since the early 1620s. The three surviving copies in the British Library, however, all from 1620, point to a limited readership, and there do not seem to have been vernacular translations available from the Dutch.[22] It has been argued that publishers used Catholic news more cautiously than news from German and Dutch Protestant sources. Jayne E. E. Boys explains that Catholic material often appeared alongside a disclaimer, such as 'Ital Gazet. Nu. prio' which was printed on the title page of the 29 August 1623 issue. The publisher sought to warn the reader that his sources were mainly Italian, 'Brought by the Venetian Courantier'. But this reticence was not a consistent feature of English newsbooks. Alongside reports with clear sympathy towards the international Protestant cause, English readers could find news from major Catholic centres – Vienna, Rome, and also Venice, Paris and Prague. Given the frenetic nature of communication in the period, Catholic sources often gave publishers an opportunity to verify reports coming in from elsewhere. The London news press was thus integrated into a wide system of communication and exchange.[23]

This cross-confessional dimension of English foreign news is reflected in the religiously-ambiguous anti-papal language that emerged in some corantos. The story of '*Count* Henry van den

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[21] E. H. Kossmann, 'The Low Countries' in J. P. Cooper (ed.), *The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War, 1609-59* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 354-89, p. 379.

[22] See P. Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in L. Hellinga, A. Duke, J. Harskamp and T. Hermans (eds), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473-1941* (t Goy-Houten, 1999), pp. 145-50, and his monograph, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegen and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Louvain, 2004).

[23] *Numb. 46. Ital: Gazet. More Nevves from Europe* (29 August 1623), STC 18507.124, title page and p. 1; Boys, *London's News*, p. 51; Dunthorne, *Dutch Revolt*, pp. 5-8.

Bergh, *Generall of his Majesties Army*' exemplifies this. In 1631 Count van den Bergh was relieved of his duties as a native commander-in-chief of the southern Netherlands and replaced with a Spaniard.[24] The following year, on 6 July 1632, a translation of Count Henry's letter to Archduchess Isabella '*concerning the discontents, and displeasure which he hath received, and his resolution for the welfare of the Countryes*' was printed in *The Continuation*. In this English version, van den Bergh criticises his former Spanish masters for strangling the nation with Spanish governors and their perpetual designs for war. He blamed the Spaniards for the failure to reach a truce, and argued that their wars had led to the 'ill government which is in the Countrie, and the decay and ruine of the same, and of the *Catholicke, Apostolicall, Roman Religion*'. Even as a Catholic, Count van den Bergh saw Spanish intervention as detrimental to religious life in the Netherlands. He called upon Archduchess Isabella, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, to act 'for the extirpating and excluding of the *Spanish*'.[25] The letter is a scathing damnation of Spanish Habsburg rule from a Catholic insider. It therefore reinforces long-established anti-Habsburg tropes – of their boundless ambition for power and the brutal and tyrannical practices they use to realise these goals.

On 25 July 1632, Butter and Bourne published another piece about the van den Bergh affair, this time 'A Proclamation by the King of *Spaine* concerning the revolt of Count *Henry Venden Bergh*', which Philip IV reportedly issued on 15 July. In the proclamation, Philip condemned the 'abusiue and deceitfull inuentions trickes, and deuices' of the count in labouring to inspire 'a generall revolt' against him and Archduchess Isabella.[26] Similarly a week later, on 3 August, the publishers issued a further answer to Count Henry in a separate pamphlet entitled *Advice given unto the states of of [sic] the Lovv-Countries obedient & faithfull to his Maiesty of Spaine, upon occasion of the letters written by Count Henry Vanden Bergh*. This advice is written by anonymous apologist of the Spanish regime, having been purportedly '*Translated out of the French Coppy*'. The pamphlet vilifies Count Henry as a seditious traitor, arguing that

[24] Kossmann, 'The Low Countries', p. 379; Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 116; J. I. Israel, *Empires and Entrepots: Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585-1713* (1990), p. 178.
[25] *The Continuation* (6 July 1632), p. 4.
[26] *Numb. 35. The Continvation* (25 July 1632), STC 18507.259, pp. 10-11.

> … If Count *Henry* had beene an honest man, wee had finished our warre that yeare, and the Catholicke Religion, (with which cloake hee hides his basenesse, and the blackenesse of his Hypocrisie) had neuer suffered so much as the same hath done euer since.[27]

Whilst tarnishing the character of van den Bergh, the integrity of the Spaniards as governors of the Netherlands is forcefully upheld in this account. There is a strong image here of faithlessness: the count is represented as a dishonest and irreverent atheist, who uses the mask of Catholicism to spread 'his Hypocrisie'. These Spanish-originating reports are striking for their fiery condemnation of the count's discontent and attempt to castigate him as an abhorrent atheist and enemy of the Catholic faith. They provide evidence that a vigorously Catholic defence of Spanish governance in the Netherlands was being printed in London, potentially supportive of the official Caroline policy of neutrality.

This type of two-sided coverage of Netherlandish politics was not entirely new, but was highly pertinent to arguments being waged in England against a pro-Spanish foreign policy. It was widely known that the ministers who would sign the decree against foreign news publications – Arundel, Cottington, and Windebank – were all prominent members of the Spanish faction at Charles I's court.[28] Add to this the mercantile context of renewed trading with the Spanish and the coining of Spanish silver in London from 1632 and English foreign policy was perceived to be heading in an aggressively anti-Dutch direction. Charles, by indirectly aiding Spanish funds to reach the army in Flanders, was operating contrary to his professed public non-alignment. Charles's duplicitous negotiations with the Spanish fuelled doubts about whether the king would protect England from re-catholicisation by Spain.[29]

The story of Count van den Bergh thus reveals the character of English engagement in the politics of the Low Countries. It shows an English news press willing to print reports with a pro-Catholic, pro-Spanish bent, reflecting the ambiguous state of relations with the Dutch in the 1630s. The Dutch were identified by the Privy Council as a major commercial rival. The superiority of the Dutch navy and commercial fleet meant that they benefited from a near dominance of the Baltic trade, and

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[27] *Advice given unto the states of of [sic] the Lovv-Countries obedient & faithfull to his Maiesty of Spaine, upon occasion of the letters written by Count Henry Vanden Bergh the 18. day of Iune 1632. to her Highnesse the Archdutchesse* (3 August 1632), STC 18507.262, p. 7.
[28] J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996), p. 93.
[29] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 843-46; Boys, *London's News*, pp. 221-2.

were Britain's main rival for control of the carrier trade to the East and West Indies. Though strong arguments existed on religious grounds for an Anglo-Dutch alliance, as articulated by Elizabeth of Bohemia's agent in Whitehall Sir Thomas Roe, this policy was never favoured by Charles. Indeed, one of the aims of the maritime negotiations with Spain was for the protection of Flanders in order to prevent total Dutch control of the Low Countries.[30]

But while there were economic and strategic reasons for avoiding greater alliance with the Dutch, it still remained a popular policy to many of Charles's subjects, as these newsbooks corroborate. In spite of their explicitly pro-Catholic thrust, the pro-Spanish reports reveal the Habsburg rulers in the Netherlands to be engaged in bitter internal propaganda campaigns. By associating Spanish rule intimately with the Tridentine programme of advancing the Catholic faith, Butter and Bourne's news pamphlets reaffirm the dual nature of the Spanish threat to Protestant states. It is uncertain how far individual readers interpreted the text in this way, against the grain of the Spanish polemic. But readers were certainly encouraged on the title page to 'compare them together, you shall find *Henry* of the *Bergh* his Letters and Declaration, Printed in our *Aviso* of *Iune*, the 30 *Numb*. 31. and *Iuly 6 Numb*. 32'.[31]

These mounting tensions surrounding England's relations with Spain culminated in October 1632 with the government ban on coranto publication. John Pory, in a letter to Lord Brooke at Warwick on 25 October 1632, wrote of the rumours circulating in London regarding the motivations behind the ban:

> They say the occasion of this order was the importunity of the Spanish and archduchess's agents, who were vexed at the soul to see so many losses and crosses, so many dishonours and disasters, betide the House of Austria.[32]

The view posited by Pory was that the Caroline government was furthering a pro-Spanish agenda odious to opinion outside court and council. He concludes that 'this smothering of the Currantos is but a

[30] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 91; H. Taylor, 'Trade, Neutrality, and the "English Road", 1630-1648', *EHR*, 2 (1972), pp. 241-5; S. R. Gardiner, *Letters Relating to the Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Gustavus Adolphus 1629-30* (*Camden Miscellany*, vol. 7, 1875).
[31] Ibid., title page.
[32] *The Court and Times of Charles I*, ed. T. Birch (2 vols., London, 1849), ii, p. 186.

palliation, not a cure, of their wounds. They will burst out again one of these days'.[33] In printing accounts from both sides of the Count van den Bergh affair, Butter and Bourne's corantos contributed to the process of keeping alive the language of Spanish tyranny. This type of anti-Spanish sentiment, so dominant in public discourse in the 1620s, was thus still pertinent to English mentalities in the years of peace with Spain. Its persistence alarmed Charles I and his councillors, who responded to the fervour of the press with a ban on newsbooks. In resorting to an interventionist strategy, in the press rather than on the battlefield, the Caroline government implicitly recognised the power of Dutch news stories as a means to critique the relationships Charles was developing with foreign Catholic powers.

2 The representation of Gustavus Adolphus in London's newsbooks

If Charles I was unwilling to lead a Protestant assault on the Habsburgs then his Swedish counterpart showed no such hesitation. In June 1630, having concluded his conflict with the Polish-Lithuanian state, Gustavus Adolphus and his army landed on the Empire's Baltic coast.[34] The intervention of Sweden provided a new geopolitical focus for London's news industry and its readers. In contrast to the protracted conflicts over the Netherlands and the Palatinate, here was a Protestant ruler waging a decisive, and initially hugely successful, campaign against Emperor Ferdinand and the Catholic League. Gustavus publicly defended his intervention in Pomerania in explicitly political terms. In a manifesto, which was printed and translated into several languages, including English, Gustavus presented himself as the liberator of the German nation. The people of Pomerania, he proclaimed, were 'harassed and attacked' by Imperialist troops. By liberating German Protestants from Habsburg tyranny, the Sweden would restore 'public tranquillity and quiet' to the Empire.[35] How the Swedish king was represented in London's print culture thus offers vital clues as to the changing ways English people were thinking about the popish threat, and the likelihood of defeating it. This section aims to complicate our understanding of how Gustavus Adolphus was operating as a Protestant leader in these newsbooks.

[33] Birch, *Court and Times*, ii, p. 186.
[34] B. F. Porshnev, *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War 1630-1635*, ed. P. Dukes and trans. B. Pearce (Cambridge, 1995), p. 10.
[35] Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 109; P. Piirimäe, 'Just War in Theory and Practice: the Legitimation of Swedish Intervention in the Thirty Years War', *HJ*, 45 (2002), pp. 499-523.

It will argue that he attracted a far broader and more heterodox range of support, from people with different religious outlooks and priorities, than has hitherto been stressed.

In spite of his public professions to the contrary, in England (as indeed elsewhere) Gustavus Adolphus's intervention in the German conflict was interpreted as a confessional act. From his first engagement in the Thirty Years' War to his death in November 1632, Gustavus was represented in London news publications as the heroic champion of German Protestants. *The Continuation* issued on 25 July 1631 describes the king's intention to execute justice and 'revenge the intolerable usage of the Imperialists at *Magdeburgh*'.[36] The following March Gustavus is reported to have risked great danger to his own life by remaining with his troops on the battlefield, rather than fleeing. Moreover, an extract from his speech at Ingolstadt tells us that he narrowly missed a canon shot, 'that thundering bullet, the fatall instrument' which killed the marquis of Barden. Here we can see the coranto editor, William Watts, building up a picture of an impregnable Protestant monarch, saved from peril by multiple deliverances. Such providential language, hitherto rare in London's corantos, demonstrates that from the outset of the campaign Gustavus Adolphus and his army were being used to signify God's approval for his cause.[37]

Indeed, this representation of Gustavus Adolphus as a powerful godly prince intensified over the subsequent months. For example, the 25 July 1632 issue of *The Continuation* contained 'very remarkable passages twixt the Pope, and the embassadours of the Emperour and King of Spaine'. In this report, the pope is depicted as laughing at the Habsburg hostility towards the king of Sweden, arguing that Gustavus Adolphus did not wage war for 'the destruction of the *Catholicke* Religion'. It is intriguing, and indeed deeply ironic, that the Lutheran king is defended by the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The report goes on to reveal that

> the Pope hath done to ridde himself of the importunity of the *Austrian* faction; The which neverthelesse doth still vrge him to excommunicate the King of *Sweden*, that afterwards no *Catholikes* would follow and serue him.

[36] *Numb. 23. The Continuation* (14 March 1631), STC 18507.209, p. 5.
[37] *Numb. 35. The Continvation* (25 July 1632), STC 18507.259, p. 4. See also A. Gill, *The New Starre of the North, shining vpon the victorious King of Suueden* (1631), STC 11879.2; McKeown, 'Reception', p. 200.

In this scene, the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors play the enemies of Protestantism, while the pope appears to be a much less politically threatening force. The ambassadors are portrayed as voicing a hardline anti-Protestant view that those who 'warre against the *Catholike* Religion' also 'warre against the house of *Austria*, because who warreth against the same (say they) doth warre against the foundation and ground of the said *Catholike* Religion'. Here the Habsburg agents stand as advocates of an extreme and persecuting papal Catholicism. Habsburg desires for universal monarchy are shown to not only lead them to wage war on German Protestants but even bully the pope. As an expression of English hispanophobia, this report feeds on the Black Legend theme of Spanish atrocity, diminishing papal control in order to raise the spectre of the militant Habsburg threat. Counter-Reformation Catholicism seems to be embodied in Ferdinand II's policy of non-compromise with the Protestants and with ongoing Spanish support for imperial designs. Rome itself has been eclipsed by its more powerful and, as suggested here, more zealous allies. In emphasising these divisions, the newsbooks were representing Catholic weakness at a moment when the anti-Habsburg cause was experiencing renewed strength. In this narrative, the pope's weakness as a political ruler seems to stand for the impotency of the papacy as an institution. Indeed, Urban VIII's fragile authority is further implied by the reporter's comment that 'the Pope is naturally not vindicatiue [sic], else there would haue beene cut off divers heads before this'. The ruthless, even Machiavellian, force in the Catholic League does not seem to be the pope but Emperor Ferdinand.[38]

News of internecine struggles between Catholic princes and the pope were thus used to emphasise to English readers the fractious confessional politics of the Continental conflict. Indeed, the coranto even suggested that if the pope excommunicated the Swedish king 'no *Catholikes* would follow and serue him' because Gustavus Adolphus was so admired by Catholics. As a result, the newsbooks were able to articulate a more confident sense of unity among the anti-Habsburg forces, who were united behind the towering martial figure of Gustavus Adolphus. This new-found Protestant confidence contributed to the controversial status of the newsbook by the summer of 1632, when Charles was put under pressure by the Spanish ambassador to suppress them.

[38] *Numb. 35. The Continvation* (25 July 1632), STC 18507.259, pp. 2, 3.

The representation of Gustavus Adolphus as God's vehicle against the despotic House of Austria intensified in the news periodical, *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632). The longer pamphlet format of this newsbook allowed space for the editor to drive a strong providential thread through his account of the Swedish campaign. The Swedish victory at Ingolstadst, for example, is presented as a critical turning point in the war, prefiguring the eventual collapse of Roman Catholicism in the Empire, even of the Church of Rome itself. When 'Cardinall *Pasman*', Ferdinand's ambassador to the pope heard of General Tilly's defeat, he is reported to have said to his friends:

> *Actum est, There is an end of all*: which some interpreted to be meant of the *Empire*, and of the *Romish religion*. *Caiaphas* (you know) did once prophecy. All this, as it gives us cause to admire Gods great providence, in creating such a place as this crooking of the *Lech*, (and God surely had a purpose in it:) so it wonderfully likewise commends the Kings judgement, for so suddenly and so solidely apprehending the advantage of it.[39]

This depiction of Gustavus Adolphus as a great deliverer was very much integrated into the Europe-wide Protestant reaction to Sweden's entry in the war. In Lutheran Germany, various astronomical signs were interpreted as having a providential character and the Swedish king was compared with the biblical Joshua, liberating the people of Israel. Whilst Gustavus Adolphus did not officially profess religious motives for entering the Thirty Years' War, the strong religious overtones to his previous campaigns in Poland (1621-9) and his claim to be intervening 'to sustain the oppressed church' could not help but frame his activities in Germany.[40]

As a reflection of a pro-Spanish lurch in Caroline foreign policy, the six-year newsbook ban seems to have done little to quell coverage of the Swedish campaign. Conversely, it seems to have had the effect of strengthening interest in Gustavus Adolphus. This interest, though, was not exclusively expressed in providentialist rhetoric, the Swedish king was also strongly represented in language that celebrated his protection of princely liberties from interference by the Habsburg emperor. From the

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[39] [W. Watts], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part. Wherein, out of the truest and choysest informations, are the famous actions of that warlike prince historically led along: from his Majesties first entring into the Empire, vntill his great victory over the Generall Tilly, at the Battell of Leipsich* (1632) [hereafter *Swedish Intelligencer*, i], STC 23521, pp. 147-8. The periodical first appeared on 9 January 1632, see Boys, *London's News*, p. 294.
[40] Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, pp. 417-25; O. Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: The Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden, 1622-1656* (Leiden, 1992), esp. p. 30; Lund, 'Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism', p. 449.

opening lines of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, it becomes clear that Gustavus Adolphus was the axle around which events were interpreted:

> Out of our high respect vnto that *Caesar* and *Alexander* of our times, that admirable victorious King of *Sweden*: vve haue here (and for thy pleasure too) adventured vpon an Essay of his Story; which if liked, may encourage vs to continue it.

The Swedish king is flattered with comparison to two renowned conquerors of the ancient world. This imperial language is highly revealing of the rising aspirations of European Protestants at this time. Between June 1630 and Gustavus Adolphus's death in November 1632, Swedish victories in Germany brought renewed hope that the Protestant forces would finally defeat the armies of Ferdinand II. In styling the Swedish king as a new emperor in the West, the *Swedish Intelligencer* not only neglects to honour Ferdinand as the incumbent Holy Roman Emperor but it dares to envisage a Protestant succession to the German imperial crown. Though they insist that 'VVee haue every where dealt candidely, not magnifying the King, nor derogating from his enemies: not left out, or put in, for favour or advantage', the compilers of the *Intelligencer* indicate a political stance with the deliberate mockery of Habsburg imperial pretentions.[41]

Further evidence of Gustavus Adolphus's military strength can be gauged from the third part of the *Swedish Intelligencer* (1633). The *Intelligencer* pits 'His Majestie of *Sweden*' and 'His Excellency the Duke of *Friedland*' against one another as the 'two great Antagonists of our times'. Albrecht von Wallenstein, duke of Friedland was a leading general in the service of Emperor Ferdinand. While Gustavus is reported to receive the praise 'of all the affectionate to the *Protestant* Party', by contrast, Wallenstein suffers a markedly different treatment. Watts describes the turmoil facing the Catholic League, and the pressure falling on Wallenstein to inflict a defeat on Gustavus, pointing out to his readers

> how much straining among the *Catholike* Party there had beene, to set him out; how many feares and hopes, did still depend upon his conduct; and what a weakenesse and emptinesse, there was in the whole Empire besides; all the time that the strength of it was under him, employed against the King of *Sweden*.

[41] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, pp. i, ii.

Miserably divided and weakened by Swedish military power, Wallenstein's mixed fortunes on the battlefield are taken here as axiomatic of the Habsburgs' deteriorating strength in the Empire. Indeed, 'So feeble was the Empire at home', the report announces, that 'it was neither able to kill, nor so much as to shake off, its owne vermine', 'those mutinous Boores [peasants]'. Suffering popular unrest in Austria and foreign invasion elsewhere within its borders, the house of Habsburg is presented as fractured and reeling from the multiple blows dealt by the glorious Swedish ruler.[42]

Here we can see how Gustavus Adolphus was very quickly incorporated into both providentialist narratives of Protestant deliverance from popish bondage and more overtly political language, which described his success as momentous in classical republican and imperial terms. As the figurehead of the international Protestant cause, Gustavus Adolphus had the weight of anti-Habsburg expectations on his shoulders.[43]

i. The significance of the King of Sweden's Lutheranism

The fact that London newsbooks focused such overwhelming attention on the Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus, to the point of offering up loyalty to the foreign king, is both intriguing and significant. The decision to cover the Swedish campaigns so closely must have been motivated by a commercial rather than purely political imperative. But in building lengthy news periodicals around the Swedish king, his public military actions, his diplomatic relations and personal leadership of his troops, Butter, Bourne and their editor, Watts, provided an opportunity for reflection on the cause for which the Swedes were fighting. What sort of Protestant community was the anti-Habsburg coalition trying to defend and what sort of tyranny was it resisting? The campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, and the English news prints that reported on them, thus raised significant questions about the character and values of

[42] [W. Watts], *The Swedish Intelligencer, The third part. VVherein, out of the truest and choysest informations, are the famous actions of that warlike prince historically led along; from the Norimberg Leaguer, unto the day of his death, at the victory of Lutzen. With the election of the young Queene of Sweden: and the Diet of Heilbrun. The times and places of every action, being so sufficiently observed and described; that the reader may finde both truth and reason in it. Vnto which is added the fourth part* (1633) [hereafter *Swedish Intelligencer*, iii/iv], STC 23525, sigs. K1v-K2r.

[43] For the language of classical republicanism, see J. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, 1957), ch. 6; Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, pp. 271-307.

the Protestant cause. We cannot understand the full complexity of this public discussion, I suggest, until we nuance our analysis of the religious politics being debated in printed newsbooks.

Lutheranism complicated the picture of Protestant-Catholic antagonism in the 1630s. Here was a tradition standing in tension with both Reformed (Calvinist) and Roman Catholic (post-Tridentine) doctrine. The Church of England had an ambivalent relationship with the Lutheran churches. Since the Elizabethan settlement's carefully balanced interpretation of the Eucharist, the Lutheran tradition had fallen significantly out of favour with the Calvinist 'consensus' favoured by Jacobean divines. Indeed, Anthony Milton suggests that English clerics were unaccustomed to reading works by Lutheran theologians. However, for anti-Calvinist divines in the 1630s, influenced by the Dutch Arminians, there was significant overlap between their beliefs and priorities and current Lutheran practice. Lutheranism offered a Protestant tradition without, to their minds, the most offensive aspects of Calvinism – predestination and the wrong kind of eucharistic theology. Peter Heylyn associated the 'first *Reformers*' in England with the Lutheran rather than Calvinist tradition, and conflated '*Arminianism*' with 'the *Melanchthonian doctrine of Predestination*' and the 'true original and native' tenet of the English Church 'at her first *Reformation*'.[44]

This was a problem for Calvinist theologians for whom the gradual depletion and erosion of Calvinist tenets from the Church of England under Laud's tenure was deeply alarming. It contributed to tensions within England over religious policy, but had an impact on attitudes to foreign affairs too. Lutherans were widely distrusted in England. The repeated attempts of John Georg of Saxony, for example, to sue for peace with the emperor confirmed English perceptions of Lutherans as untrustworthy politically.[45] But this situation changed in 1630 with Sweden's entry into the war in Germany. The intervention was widely understood in religious terms. In a letter dated 8 October 1630 that was printed and circulated across Europe, Gustavus portrayed his military intervention as a selfless act to save his fellow religionists:

> We do not doubt that you completely agree with us that the House of Austria fully intends to overthrow all of Germany and bring it to another condition. And then, when the House of

[44] P. Heylyn, *Cosmographie* (1652), Wing H1689, pp. 30-1, 126-7. See also, Milton, *Laudian and Royalist*, p. 444.
[45] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 384-7.

> Austria has imposed its will, the Evangelical religion will be uprooted from all of Germany and erroneous papal teachings implanted again in its place.

Here the Swedish king represents himself as the principal defender of Protestant independence and liberty against the predatory Catholic House of Austria and its Spanish allies. Lutheran Sweden was announcing itself to be the natural protector of the 'Evangelical religion' and thus endorsing a vision of a united Protestant cause.[46]

ii. William Watts, anti-Calvinism and the Protestant cause

This shift towards a broader definition of the Protestant cause can be traced in the representation of Catholics and Catholic religion in Butter and Bourne's news prints. This is especially evident in *The Swedish Intelligencer* between 1632 and 1633. At this time, as Anthony Wood records, the clergyman and linguist, William Watts, was working as the compiler and editor of these news prints.

During the 1620s, Watts had established himself as a keen and competent translator. He was very likely the man behind the English translation of Henry Constable's *Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots* (1589), which appeared under the English title, *The Catholike Moderator*, in 1623 and 1624. In the 1624 edition, the translator's epistle to the reader is conspicuously signed '*W.W.*', which is how Watts would later sign his 1637 translation of Augustine's *Confessions*. The connection of Watts with Constable's text is intriguing. The treatise represents an irenicist response to the intolerance of the League and, in particular, to Robert Bellarmine. Constable deliberately assaulted Bellarmine's equation of Protestantism with heresy. Instead, he appealed for Christian unity and the reconciliation of the churches, arguing that both Catholics and Protestants shared the core tenets of faith, such as the Trinity.[47]

This emphasis on the shared roots of the Catholic and Protestant traditions had a particular resonance with the political situation in the 1620s. As we have seen, in 1623 and 1624 the Spanish Match, and the attendant debate about how England ought to relate to Catholic nations and churches, was a key point of division. In his preface to *The Catholike Moderator*, Watts can be seen entering this

[46] Gustavus Adolphus to Axel Oxenstierna [8 October 1630], in T. Helfferich (ed.), *The Essential Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis, 2015), p. 42.
[47] H. Constable, *The Catholike Moderator* (1623), STC 5636.2 and (1624), STC 5636.8; W. Watts, *Saint Augustines confessions translated: and with some marginall notes illustrated* (1631), STC 912.

debate. The translator maintains that Constable's treatise readily applies to the Church of England because

> though we haue with them entertained the points of Reformation; yet haue we not so far receded from the more Primitiue Roman Church (which he stands for) but that we still retaine more of the necessarie Ceremonies, Solemnities, and Church Discipline, than they of *France* haue done;

Watts's stated aim for his translation was to discourage English men and women from converting to Catholicism, by reminding Protestants of the evils of popery. But, as this passage demonstrates, he was also making an irenic argument regarding the need for a middle way between the extremes of Calvinism and Romanism.[48]

This openness to a moderate or irenic perspective also chimes with the later trajectory of Watts's ecclesiology. In 1629, he was one of a group of Laudian divines who were actively pursuing the antinomian lecturer, Peter Shaw. Watts collected evidence of Shaw's anti-legal views, material which is appended to the articles against Shaw at his trial in High Commission.[49] By 1638, Watts was the chaplain of Thomas Wentworth and was known to Archbishop Laud, though Laud's recommendation (unusually) failed to secure him a benefice.[50] During this period he also penned a treatise on the Passion, another theme favoured by Laudians. The Passion of Christ was depicted in stained glass in several churches, including at Peterhouse chapel in Cambridge, where an image of the crucifixion was installed on the east-facing window behind the altar.[51]

The religious outlook of William Watts undoubtedly had an impact on *The Swedish Intelligencer*. During his tenure as editor, the newsbooks paid closer attention to the atrocities committed by the Imperialist troops against German Protestants. In the first part of the *Swedish Intelligencer*, Watts alerts the reader to 'The crueltie of the *Imperialists* at *Pasewalk*'. Pasewalk was a unfortified town in the duchy of Pomerania, a Lutheran area of north-east Germany. From 1628, the

[48] Constable, *Catholike Moderator* , 'The Translater [sic] to the Christian Readers', sig. ¶[1]r.
[49] TNA, SP 16/139/91, fo. 176r. For the case of Peter Shaw, see D. Como and P. Lake, 'Puritans, Antinomians and Laudians in Caroline London: The Strange Case of Peter Shaw and its Contexts', *JEH*, 50 (1999), pp. 684-715.
[50] K. Fincham, 'William Laud and the Exercise of Caroline Ecclesiastical Patronage', *JEH*, 51 (2000), pp. 69-93, at p. 81.
[51] G. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 77-8.

duchy was under the protection of the emperor, whose forces under General Wallenstein occupied Pasewalk and other major settlements. In 1629 Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution, which initiated the recatholicisation of these Protestant territories. In the summer of 1630, the forces of Gustavus Adolphus appeared in Pomerania and began to engage the Imperialist troops. The major Hanseatic port of Straslund allied with the Swedes, and thereafter Ferdinand imposed hefty contributions on Pomerania. On 3 September, with the Swedish army advancing, the Imperialists evacuated Pasewalk, which was held by about a hundred and fifty Swedes as an outpost of Stettin. But a few days later a reinforced Imperialist army returned, assaulted the town, and drove back the Swedes.[52]

The events that followed are vividly described in the *Swedish Intelligencer*. Upon driving the Swedish forces out of the town, '3000. *Imperialists*', we are told,

> fall to torturing the Townesmen for their money, crying giue vs money or bloud; ravish women and girls, even in the open streets, and Church-yards; yea women in Child-bed: kill and abuse the men, fire the houses and people in them: thrust strawe into Cellars where Children are hidden, and then set fire to it: burne the Churches; massacre the Ministers, and then maske vp and downe the streets in their Coapes & Surplisses; and at length burne downe the whole Towne, laughing at it, *how finely doth Pasewalk burne*?[53]

This passage is thick with images of torture, directed not only at the soldiery but the women and children of the town. The contrast with the pious discipline of the Swedish forces is stark and unsettling. The imperialists are shown as rampaging and bloodthirsty, forcing their way into the city and sparing no-one, not even an unborn child.

But rather than simply reinforcing the dichotomy of Protestant good and Catholic evil, this passage cuts deeper into English perceptions of militant Catholicism. The soldiers, after their killing spree, are said to 'maske' or masquerade 'vp and downe the streets in their Coapes & Surplisses'. This is a surprising and startling image, conjuring up a scene of charivari, of soldiers parading around in the clerical vestments of their enemy. The Pomeranian estates were Lutheran and the church in question was therefore almost certainly a Lutheran one. Such ritualised degradation of German townsfolk by Catholic soldiers dressed up as Lutheran ministers reveals a tight equation between Habsburg tyranny

[52] T. A. Dodge, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of the Art of War from its Revival after the Middle Ages to the end of the Spanish Succession War* (1996), pp. 169-70.
[53] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, sigs. I[1]v-I2r.

and the defilement of the Protestant religion. The cope and surplice become the focus of this scene of slaughter; they are sacred items mocked and defiled in an act designed to humiliate the murdered Lutheran clergy and affront their pretentions to sacral authority.

The garments of the Lutheran clergymen are also significant in a English context in which the Caroline Church was beginning to enforce the wearing of vestments. There can be little doubt that in 1632 this association between vestments, popery and tyranny was potent among English Puritans, for whom the vestments issue was a major bugbear.[54] Yet it is highly unlikely that this episode was intended to support an anti-vestments position. As we have seen, the editor, William Watts, was certainly more sympathetic to an Arminian perspective than a Calvinist one.[55] The Laudians shared a reverence for vestments with the Lutheran churches, and admired the Lutheran tradition for retaining a form of episcopacy. Watts himself is known to have penned an apology for 'Linnen Garments' between 1635 and 1646 rejecting Puritan arguments against the surplice. In the preface to his treatise, Watts sets out two main reasons for his objection:

> First, howe dangerous this Libertye might become unto Christianitye (now that the Storyes & Writings, and with them the Reasons & occasions of these things, be lost) to suffer Antiquitye to be calld to accompt for euery thing: or presently to excommunicate every thing out of the Church, what hath been rayled at by Martin Marprelate. And, secondlye, That supposing these ancient & venerable observations to be Weedes & cockle (which yet the Adversaryes can never prove) yet are they so introyned & intermingled among the best things of our Religion; that better were they lett alone until the harvest, then to indanger the plucking up of the good corne, together with them.

Watts was clearly alarmed by the disorder that resulted from Puritan railing against clerical dress. Their excess of 'Libertye' is believed to be divisive and 'dangerous' to the church. Watts also understands vestments as part of a wider effort to preserve the antiquity of the Church of England's traditions, which was also one of Laud's primary interests. Indeed, he counters the objection 'That our Surpless is popish' by arguing that 'the Churches use of a Linnen garment, is ancienter then Poperye. yea, that the originall

[54] P. Lake and M. Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 146.
[55] J. McElligott, 'Watts, William (*c.*1590–1649)', *ODNB*, [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/28895] (accessed 11 July 2016).

is farre otherwise: & that it was received in these Eastern Churches, which had at all no dependence upon Poperye'.[56]

Even as a clergyman with a 'Laudian' outlook on religious developments in England, Watts was firmly invested in the international Protestant cause headed by Gustavus Adolphus. Indeed, Watts had travelled with Sir Albert Morton to deliver money to the German Protestant princes in December 1620.[57]

Moreover, it is likely that Watts's source for his description of the siege of Pasewalk was a German news pamphlet entitled, *Pasewalckische Schlacht Das ist Missive Von der in Pasewalck verübten unmenschlichen tyranny und verstörung* (Stralsund, 1631). The German print appeared in English translation the same year as *Laniena Pasvvalcensis: That is, A Tragicall Relation of the Plvndring, Butchering, Ravishing of the VVemen, and Fyreing of the Towne of Pasewalke in Pomerland*. The English title page claims an additional Dutch provenance for the text, which was supposedly 'First Translated out of high Dutch [i.e. German] into Nether dutch according to the Copie printed at Stralesound by AVSTIN FERBERNE, and now Translated into English'.[58]

The resemblance between the accounts of the tragedy in *A Tragicall Relation* and *The Swedish Intelligencer* is striking. *A Tragicall Relation* purports to be the reproduction of a letter from a Lutheran Bürger of Pasewalk 'CHRISTIANUS LOPERVS' to his friend 'Mr Martine' in nearby Penkun. After the Imperialists had set the town on fire, Loper describes how people were heard uttering 'these Neronian words: See hovve brauely Pasevvalke burnes?'[59] These words are echoed almost exactly in Watts's description of the fire, but they convey the masochistic delight that Tacitus's Nero felt watching Rome burn to the ground in 64 AD. Watts may have assumed that his readers implicitly knew this classical reference, as he fails to cite Nero, Tacitus, or Loper, but the printer does italicise the phrase,

[56] Bodl., Tanner MS 262, sig. A[1]r, p. 19. [W. Watts, *The Churches Linnen Garment: That is, the Originall & Universalitye of the Colour, Stuffe & Fasion of it* ([n.p.], *c.*1635-46)].
[57] TNA, PC 2/30, fo. 659 ['A passe for William Watts' (22 December 1620)].
[58] C. Loper, *Pasewalckische Schlacht Das ist Missive Von der in Pasewalck verübten unmenschlichen tyranny und verstörung* (Stralsund, 1631); C. Loper, *Laniena Pasvvalcensis: That is, A Tragicall Relation of the Plvndring, Butchering, Ravishing of the VVemen, and Fyreing of the Towne of Pasewalke in Pomerland* ([n.p.], 1631), title page.
[59] Loper, *A Tragicall Relation*, sigs. A2r, B3v.

which was a common practice for quotations.[60] Watts was clearly abridging this source for inclusion in his already long account of the war in Pomerania, and he was selective about the details he included. Notably, the scene of Imperialist soldiers masking in Lutheran vestments is lifted almost directly from *A Tragicall Relation*. Loper's account, however, includes a significant exchange between a captain and a soldier that does not make its way into the *Intelligencer*:

> the souldiers in a braverie vvalked vp and dovvne as it vvere in procession, or as if they had bin in a masckarado, vvith the Priests Cirplises, coops, and Capps. A souldier being asked by a Captaine, vvhere he had got that habit, ansvvered hee had taken it from the Papes, here vpon the Captaine replyed, that he should also haue slayne the Pape, or the Preacher himselfe.

The word 'Papes' has been translated from the original German 'Pfaffen', meaning priests. Since the Reformation, this was becoming an increasingly derogatory term among Lutherans and Catholics alike. This exchange underscores the unrelenting zeal with which the Imperialists attacked the Lutheran town and its church. The fact that Watts did not include this conversation may have been motivated by a desire to emphasise that the people these copes belonged to were not Catholics but good Protestants, the Lutherans. But it also suggests that the editor felt that the wanton and humiliating act against the clergy stood for itself. In both of these English accounts the perpetrators of violence appear to be beyond the pale of Christianity; they are soldiers who, as Loper maintains, 'keepe noe faith', 'loue noe sinceritie', 'regard noe righteousnesse', 'care not for godlinesse, but liue as men without a Conscience, as if there were noe God, noe Heauen, noe Hell, noe Deuill'. The Protestant churches were in desperate need of protection, these accounts evoke, against this devilish, even atheistic, brutality being inflicted on them by the forces of the Catholic emperor.[61]

The identification of 'Laudian' or Arminian-minded English Protestants with the military campaigns of the Lutheran king of Sweden, thus, complicates our understanding of the relationship between foreign affairs and religion. Reflecting on whether editing for the news press was appropriate for a cleric of his standing, Watts wrote in the *Swedish Intelligencer* that

[60] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, p. 58. For Tacitus' description of Nero, see C. Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, ed. M. Grant (1989; rev. edn. 1996), ch. 14.
[61] Loper, *A Tragicall Relation*, sigs. B4r, B3r.

> God had begun to send a Deliverer unto His people. This (me thoughts) in a time of my leasure, was a worke not altogether beneath me: and that to bring Glad tidings, was next unto the preaching of the Gospel.

Here Watts reveals a tight equation between the success of the Protestant cause on the Continent and religion in England, an equation commonly associated with a Calvinist mindset, or what Simon Adams has called 'political puritanism'. But what the evidence of the *Swedish Intelligencer* series suggests is that anti-popery was not a rhetoric deployed in the interests of one partisan group. There was plenty in the figure of Gustavus Adolphus, his Lutheran piety and religiosity, that English Protestants of all stripes could find appealing. And, likewise, it was not only Puritans who were alarmed and dismayed by religious persecution in the Empire or by the brutality and ravages of war. The growth of interest in Sweden's participation in the Thirty Years' War not only corresponded with an Arminian 'takeover' of the Church of England, but the two processes were mutually reinforcing.[62]

Attitudes to the Counter Reformation spearheaded by the Habsburgs were complicated by the rising tide of religious tensions in the 1630s, but they were not singularly defined by them. What the description of the siege of Pasewalk brings to the fore is how responses to the European conflict cut across religious divisions that were developing within England. In the anti-papal rhetoric of the *Swedish Intelligencer*, it is possible to detect multiple layers of meaning and the potential to contain divergences of religious opinion through attacks on popish brutality.

iii. The circulation of Lutheran texts

William Watts was not the only person to exploit the opportunities presented by Gustavus Adolphus's Lutheranism, or to draw parallels between the Swedish success in Germany and the anti-Calvinist cause at home. In the early 1630s, alongside the growth of news publications reporting the Swedish war effort, English publishers also produced an unprecedented range of Lutheran religious texts. This suggests that, against the background of international events, the Lutheran tradition was not only topical, but it could be used to support the Laudian reforms of the Church of England.

[62] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, sig. A2r; S. Adams, 'The Protestant cause', abstract.

For example, the devotional works of Johann Gerhard, a German Lutheran who taught at Jena, had a popular run of English translations in the 1630s. An English translation of *Meditationes Sacrae* by Ralph Winterton, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, first appeared in 1625 and was republished in 1627, 1631, 1635, 1638 and 1640. In London, a new edition of Richard Bruch's translation of the *Meditationes*, *The soules vvatch: or, a day-booke for the deuout soule* (1621) was released in 1632. Gerhard's Latin works were also published by the universities in 1633 (Oxford) and 1634 (Cambridge).[63] As a devotional text, Gerhard's *Meditationes* addressed the spiritual needs of the believer. Gerhard, drawing on German mysticism, connected the experience of suffering with the deepening of the believer's union with Christ. This emphasis on humility undoubtedly had a broad appeal; Gerhard's works can be found in the libraries of Puritans as well as Laudians.[64] But, in general, Laudian divines found more to admire in the Lutheran tradition than Calvinists. Most importantly, the Lutheran churches had retained a form of episcopacy. Many had also preserved a high ceremonialism, which complemented the Laudian interest in the 'beauty of holiness'.[65]

For English anti-Calvinists, Sweden's intervention presented an opportunity to equate Caroline religious and foreign policies with the anti-papal zeal of the victorious Swedish king. This is demonstrated most clearly in a pamphlet known as *The Swedish Discipline*. The *Swedish Discipline* was first entered in the Stationers' Register by the printer John Bartlett on 18 May 1632, but the entry was subsequently struck out.[66] The license was then transferred on 28 May to Butter and Bourne who issued two editions within the year; the first contained translations of prayers said by the Swedish king and his troops, while the second also provided sections on Swedish civic and military discipline.[67]

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[63] 'Johann Gerhard, 1582-1637', *ESTC* [http://estc.bl.uk], (accessed 11 July 2016).
[64] Milton observes that three of Gerhard's work were in Cosin's library in the 1630s and that Gerhard's *Loci Communes* was recorded in several Puritan libraries; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*.
[65] A. Milton, '"The Unchanged Peacemaker"? John Dury and the politics of irenicism in England, 1628-1643', in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor (ed.), *Samuel Hartlib and the Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 106-7. See also, G. Westin, *Negotiations about Church Unity, 1628-1634. John Durie, Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstierna* (Uppsala, 1932).
[66] Arber, iv, pp. 243, 244.
[67] *The Svvedish Discipline, Religiovs, Civile, And Military* (1632), STC 23520; *The devotions and formes of prayer, daily vsed in the King of Swedens army; Being our first Book concerning the Svvedish Discipline; Religious, Civill, and Military* (1632), STC 23519.5.

Bartlett's pamphlet was criticised for neglecting to provide biblical citations and for failing to recognise the connections with the English *Book of Common Prayer*.[68]

But these connections are subtly evinced in the *Swedish Discipline*. Amid the rather formulaic prayers for the health of king, queen and country, and for success on the battlefield, there are certain passages which bring theological issues to the fore. For example, in a prayer given by Luther at Jena, the supplicant soldier is required to say that 'no man is saved for that he is a Souldier, but for that he is a Christian' for 'our owne good workes doe not profit us for the meriting of salvation'. Here the evocation of justification by faith foregrounds the unity of the Protestant churches around this doctrine. Another of these prayers is particularly striking, for it invokes the Lutheran interpretation of the Real Presence:

> O Good Lord Iesus Christ: I am no way able eyther in words or thought, sufficiently to make expression of thy great loue, which thou hast declared towards me, at such time as thou receivedst me miserable sinner into grace, and hast made me to eate and drinke of thy true body and bloud, vnto euerlasting life. Accept in the meane time this sacrifice of Thankesgiving of my heart and mouth, which in this mortall bodie I am able to pay unto thee...[69]

This is unmistakably an expression of the Lutheran doctrine on the Eucharist, in contrast to the Calvinist tradition which held that the body and blood were not physically but spiritually present in the bread and wine. Though following the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, the Church of England was officially committed to the Real Presence. The Thirty-Nine Articles (1571) stated that 'the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ' and likewise that 'the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ'.[70] In the 1630s, however, the word 'sacrifice' was intimately bound up in religious debates within the Caroline Church. Laud's growing influence over the church was confirmed with his election as chancellor of Oxford in 1630 and as archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. This appointment signalled a shift away from Calvinist teachings towards greater reverence for liturgical ceremonies and clerical dignity. The dramatic remodelling of cathedral and college chapel interiors was already in motion by

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[68] Another unauthorised version, *The Swedish Devotion* (1632), STC 23519, was also criticised in the epistle of Butter and Bourne's *The devotions and formes of prayer*.
[69] *The Svvedish Discipline*, pp. 25, 28.
[70] 'Articles of Religion, Article XXVIII: Of the Lord's Supper', *The Book of Common Prayer* (1562) [http://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/book-of-common-prayer/articles-of-religion.aspx, accessed on 11 July 2016].

the publication of the *Swedish Discipline* in 1632. Critics of Laud argued that the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving and that Laudian reverence the altar was popish and heretical. Altarpieces provided a focalpoint of attack: the new altar at Magdalen College, Oxford was widely denounced in 1631. Thomas Ford of Magdalen Hall referred to its erection as 'will worship and idolatry'.[71]

Puritan anger at the rise of Arminianism in England coincided with the widespread collapse of Calvinist momentum across Europe in the 1630s. In the Low Countries, the Arminian Remonstrants were beginning to establish themselves as the party more inclined to peace than their Calvinist opponents; a position resembling the non-interventionist stance of the Caroline regime. Meanwhile, in Germany, the dissolution of the evangelical union in 1621 had left Calvinist princes such as the Elector Palatine in a politically and militarily weak position. In these contexts, the focus of Protestant praise in English news pamphlets onto a Lutheran king is significant.[72]

The evidence presented here that the figure of Gustavus Adolphus was employed variously, by both opponents and supporters of Caroline religious policies, is highly suggestive. It points to the need to complicate David Norbrook's interpretation that Gustavus Adolphus operated as a powerful antitype to the placatory policies of Charles I.[73] Rather than simply a figure through which disgruntled Puritans could contest England's role within international Protestantism, the Swedish king was also operating in these newsbooks as a leader around which many types of English Protestants could coalesce. The *Discipline*'s deviation from a Calvinist perspective subtly shifts the character of English investment in the international Protestant cause away from the heavily anti-Spanish, pro-Palatine political rhetoric of the 1620s. In the context of the ban on corantos, the anti-Spanish flavour of English engagement with Continental Catholicism was first prevented and then superseded in the 1630s with a politically and religiously broader sense of the Protestant cause. Gustavus was an appealing figurehead because he represented a strong monarchical vision of Protestantism not necessarily in tension with Caroline religious policy. In these newsbooks support for the Protestant armies fighting the Habsburgs is aligned

[71] K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700.* (Oxford, 2007), p. 185.
[72] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 76.
[73] See Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, pp. 206, 232-3, 260.

with sympathy for an 'avant-garde' or Laudian conformist position at home, a stance that Charles I may well have agreed with.[74]

Thus, Gustavus Adolphus was a unifying figure in the political news prints of the early 1630s in so far as he attracted the praise of Calvinists and Arminians alike. But we should not assume that support for the Protestant cause was a harmonious process, or that all people praised Gustavus for the same reasons. English people continued to engage with the European conflict in this period on their own terms and appropriated the Swedish campaign to serve a particular political or religious agenda. This can be seen in one particular exchange between Simonds D'Ewes and Sir Martin Stuteville, who were frequent correspondents from 1624 until the latter's death in 1631. In one letter, D'Ewes is angered that his friend had exposed the irony, or indeed hypocrisy, of his support for Gustavus but simultaneous contempt for the English Arminians.[75] As a Lutheran, the Swedish king presumably held very similar views on the Eucharist, predestination and ceremony as the Arminians. Thus, while praising Gustavus as an anti-papal hero was, for some people, a way of pressurising Charles to intervene in the Palatinate crisis, it was also a way of gesturing towards solidarity with the anti-papal cause without abandoning an irenic view of peace and religious moderation as the main guarantors of stability.

3 The House of Austria and the language of universal monarchy

What also comes across strongly in the accounts of Sweden's intervention in Germany is a vision of the unmitigated horror of Habsburg tyranny and the sheer strength and determination needed to resist it. This idea that the House of Habsburg was packed full of secret and duplicitous negotiators was well established, and was uttered time after time in English printed debates about foreign affairs. What Watts was adding to the picture of a powerful Spain ruthlessly pursuing its own private interests whilst feigning religious or moral integrity, was the notion that these characteristics applied equally well to the Austrian branch of the dynasty headed by Emperor Ferdinand II.

The changing representation of papal universal monarchy, and the predominant Habsburg role in driving this policy, will be analysed here in two parts. The first will explore representations of the

[74] See Boys, *London's News*, pp. 225-6.
[75] BL, Harl. MS 374, fos 89r-v; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p. 441.

emperor and his principal allies in the Catholic League, such as Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and will demonstrate how the well-established Jesuit-inspired papalism trope adapted to reflect the changed political circumstances of the early 1630s. The second part will go on to analyse what these new representations of Habsburg tyranny reveal about the changing relationship between Catholic religion and tyranny in English political thought, in light of the complex role played by France in the German conflict.

i. Representations of the House of Austria as the principal enemy

The anti-Habsburg bent of London's news press showed little sign of slackening in the period immediately before the 1632 coranto ban. *The Swedish Intelligencer* continued to present the House of Austria as a strong, tyrannical force in the Empire, a subjugator of Protestant peoples and a dynasty intent on advancing its own imperial ambitions. This theme comes across strongly in the section describing the aftermath of the battle of Breitenfeld (September 1631), the Protestants' first major victory of the Thirty Years' War. Following the defeat of the Catholic League, the French are shown making overtures to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria:

> By this time (as it appeares) had His Highnesse beene sollicited by some of the contrary party, to come over to their side: the greatnes of the King of *Sweden,* able to doe him wrong; the oppression of the Princes of *Germany,* whom that King sought but to deliver; the ambitious rising of the Emperour and House of *Austria,* now ayming more at *Monarchy,* then at the propagation of the *Catholike* Religion; and the Dukes owne disliking of divers of the Emperours actions in that kinde; were urged for some of the arguments to draw him on, and to breake off both with the League and Emperour.

Here the newsbook reiterates the claim of anti-Spanish polemic that the Habsburgs are singularly propelled by the desire to extend their dominions. Indeed Ferdinand is presented as an atheistical tyrant, rather than a devout Catholic king, which echoes earlier representations of Philip II. The seed of Habsburg tyranny lies not so much in a genuine religious desire to propagate the '*Catholike* Religion' but rather the Catholic faith is bent and manipulated by Ferdinand to justify his dogged pursuit of global dynastic dominance. Thus, at the same time as harnessing the narrative of universal monarchy, the periodical demonstrates how divisive the Habsburg policies were within Catholic Europe.[76]

[76] [W. Watts], *The Swedish Intelligencer. The second part. Wherein, ovt of the truest and choyset Informations, are the famous Actions of that warlike Prince Historically led along: from the Victory of Leipsich, unto the*

This readiness to use the divisions between Catholic leaders to expose Habsburg tyranny as cruel and politically-motivated can also be traced in the representation of Maximilian of Bavaria's 'publike *Manifesto* or *Declaration* of his resolution' to remain on the side of Emperor Ferdinand. This manifesto was printed in full, in English translation, in the second part of *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632). The *Declaration* is an intriguing document. *The Swedish Intelligencer* claims that it had been received 'from a good Friend: and already translated by an able Gentle-man'. Indeed, there is external evidence that the *Declaration* was circulating in London in the summer of 1632. The Catholic priest John Southcot (*alias* Clerk) mentioned in a letter to Peter Biddulph dated 8 June 1632 that he had encountered

> a certaine (or suppositious rather) declaration of the duke of Bavaria in English pretended to be translated out of the French coppy, w*hi*ch I have seen and read over. Therin many glaunces are given also ag*ain*st the French, and <it> seemes to have bin made chiefly to disgrace them.

Southcot also suggested that it was 'spred' by the 'same man' responsible for the 'Gesta Gallorum per impios, sive Gesta Imporium per Gallos', a Jesuit libel against the French 'printed at St Omers'.[77] *The Swedish Intelligencer* also conceived the *Declaration* as a Spanish Jesuit polemic against the French alliance with Sweden, suggesting that it was

> penned in a high and sharpe streine: and by the furious undiscreet zeale showne in it to the *Saints* and *Romish* religion; the spightfull pen-and-inck-horne termes against the *Protestants:* the quotations of *Scriptures,* and some such other Characters: the Readers will collect that the Dukes *Confessor* had a hand in it, as well as his *Secretary*.[78]

Maximilian's confessor was the Jesuit Adam Contzen, a known advocate of a religious war ideology but also a prominent supporter of a Bavarian neutrality pact with France, which was secretly concluded in May 1631 with the Treaty of Fontainebleau. The fact that Contzen is identified as the likely author of Maximilian's *Declaration*, confirms that Watts was consciously incorporating pro-League material into his newsbooks. The effect this has is to isolate Maximilian, and by extension his senior ally,

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Conquest of Bauaria (1632) [hereafter *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii], STC 23524, p. 122. This part was entered in the Stationers' Register to Butter and Bourne on 19 July 1632 (Arber, iv, p. 247).

[77] John Clerk (Southcot) to Fitton (Peter Biddulph) [8 June 1632], *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, pp. 94-5. See also Ludovicus de Cruzamonte, *Gesta Impiorum per Francos* ('Rhenopoli' [n.p.], 1632). The title is translated as *Deeds of the Impious [committed] by the French*.

[78] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, p. 123.

Ferdinand, as fanatical followers of the Jesuits, totally devoted to an aggressive Counter-Reformation desire to eliminate Protestant states and churches.[79]

This can be seen in the manner in which the newsbook incorporates *The Declaration* into its analysis of foreign affairs. It is introduced in the course of explaining the failed French efforts to divide Maximilian from the emperor. The Duke is presented as being 'too much governed by the *Iesuites*', who zealously took up their 'spightfull' pens against the Protestants and their French allies. In the difficult months that followed the defeat at Breitenfeld, the Jesuits identified with the Edict of Restitution (1629), a highly controversial document which imposed a hard line Catholic interpretation of the Religious Peace of 1555, against the interests of the German Protestant states.[80] In the *Swedish Intelligencer*, Jesuit authorship is used to explain the biblical language with which the *Declaration* compelled the French to join the Catholic cause, God's 'glorious cause'. The text compares the French alliance with Sweden to the barbarism of Attila, whose armies 'cruelly beheaded S^{t}. *Nicasius*', and exhorts

> We doe not reade, that in those dayes, there were any *State-mysteries*, or *Reserved* Cases, *Christian* Princes could be countenanced and secured, to joyn in Armes with them that were commonly stiled The very *Scourge of God*, and chiefe Captaines of *Antichrists* Conquests.

Here Louis XIII, who was self-styled the 'Most Christian King', is chastised for allying with the Swedes and effectively joining with heretics. Through fiery apocalyptic rhetoric, *The Declaration* urges Louis to fulfil his obligations as a Catholic king by doing more to protect German Catholics against the Swedish conquerors. The *Intelligencer* is clearly manipulating the idea of distinct confessional viewpoints here. By showing how some French Catholics differ from the radical anti-Protestant views of the Jesuits, Watts refines the sense of division within European Catholicism, mirroring the older Jacobean perception of the split between moderate and Jesuitical Catholics.[81]

What was so dangerous about the *Declaration* was the way it exposed the capacity of Jesuit-inspired Catholic princes to justify tyrannical actions with specific reference to their faith and the cause

[79] R. Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 99-106, 110-14.
[80] M. R. Forster, 'The Edict of Restitution (1629) and the Failure of Catholic Restoration', in O. Asbach and P. Schroder (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 205-16.
[81] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, p. 191.

of religion. For example, the *Declaration* states that to believe that 'the warre now waged, no way concerneth * *The Cause of Religion*, but it merely for the interest of temporall state and honour' was 'wilfully to hoodwinke our selues, and to become voluntarily blind, in the affaires that concerne the estate of this Empire, and the universall good of Christendome'. But, in an accompanying marginal note, the editor contests Bavaria's characterisation, instead arguing that 'Belike the *Catholikes* themselues have this opinion of the warre and have taught it the *Protestants*'. The *Swedish Intelligencer* was thus participating in the contest between competing definitions of the temporal and the spiritual. For the Bavarians, the interests of church and state could not be separated. Indeed, the *Declaration* castigates 'these subtill and elevated Spirits, that forge distinctions where none are; betweene affaires of *State* and *Religion*'. The duke of Bavaria justifies the conflict as a war of religion by defending papalist thought on the indivisibility of the political and religious realms.[82]

But, emerging from these accusations is a different configuration of the spiritual and temporal domains. This position is subtly advanced in the marginalia, an obvious tool for the editor to contest and reinterpret his Jesuit source. Next to Bavaria's pledge that taking arms with heretics could never be justified, Watts writes 'True, for the *Iesuites* have brought them in since'. In a further comment he interjects 'The *Bavarian Iesuites* are angry, that others have gone beyond them in their own trade of *Statizing*'. Through these marginal comments, Watts scrutinises the *Declaration*'s representation of the Catholic League as piously motivated. The English editor thus attempts to expose the hypocrisy of the Jesuits, playing on their popular association with the dark art of dissimulation. This not only undermines Jesuit claims to represent the universal church, but further reinforces the perception that fanatical devotion to papistical doctrine offers dangerous justification for tyrannical imperialism. The impression of the League we are left with is thus of a ruthless Jesuit-backed conspiracy to eradicate all Protestant opposition to a papal universal monarchy with Emperor Ferdinand as its political head.[83]

This depiction of Ferdinand and the Catholic League is reinforced in reports of the emperor's diplomatic activities at his court in Vienna. For example, in the second part of *The Swedish Intelligencer* (1632), John Georg, the Lutheran duke of Saxony, is praised for this vigilance against the diplomatic

[82] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, pp. 187-8, 191.
[83] Ibid., pp. 190, 191.

pressure exerted on him by the Spanish. The Spanish ambassador at Vienna is portrayed as the engineer of schemes to convert John Georg to the emperor's side in the war. The ambassador urges the duke to 'maintaine or make up that memorable and ancient amity, which had so many yeeres continued betwixt the two houses of *Austria* and *Saxony*'. He even counsels that 'himself the King of *Spaines* name being Interponent, would take any paines about making up the breaches'. The duke's answer, however, reveals a distrust of Spanish overtures of peace. Though John Georg wanted 'the speedy restoring of so good and solid a peace in the Empire' and to be restored to his former strength and majesty, the *Intelligencer* makes it clear that the Saxon duke would not be compelled to break with Sweden and the Protestant cause. Indeed, he unceremoniously dismissed the Spanish ambassador from his court. The reason, Watts states, was because 'Saxony wisely found out the drift of this *Austrian* courtesie: which pretended private friendships, whilest they intended him publike enmityes'. In establishing this dichotomy between public and private, Watts plays with a central trope in the language of universal monarchy: deception. Here Philip IV's ambassador is shown to be complicit in Ferdinand's agenda of ruthless self-aggrandisement, masquerading as a peace-loving potential ally. The ability to sublimate private interests beneath a moderate, conciliatory public image was precisely the accusation made against Count Gondomar and other Spanish diplomats in the early 1620s. What was different in the 1630s, in the context of the emerging political dominance of Emperor Ferdinand, was how the narrative of universal monarchy expanded to mirror the changing political situation. News reports increasingly used the term 'the House of *Austria*', which reflects the growing recognition of the power of Ferdinand's court in Vienna and the influence it commanded.

This reorientation of the concept of universal monarchy to include Ferdinand reflected the complexity of the conflicts that were gripping Europe in the 1630s. Spain's earlier prominence in Protestant political thought was a reflection of its status as Europe's strongest power, its continuous military threat to the Protestant states of the Netherlands, and its self-proclaimed desire to eliminate Protestantism. The Palatinate crisis kept Philip IV in the driving seat because it was Spanish troops that had overwhelmed Heidelberg and occupied Frederick's lands in the Lower Palatinate. But by the early 1630s, Frederick's army had been defeated and all hopes for the restitution of the Palatinate lay with Gustavus Adolphus. The key Counter-Reformation battleground was now central Germany, where the

Edict of Restitution announced Ferdinand's intentions to inflict a severe blow on Protestant states. The Holy Roman emperor was rapidly becoming the dominant actor in European politics and English Protestant coverage of these events captures the changing balance of power in the Catholic League.[84]

ii. The association between Catholicism and tyranny

But if the complexity of European confessional politics explains the new focus on the 'House of *Austria*' as both Spain and Austria, how did the fluctuating, non-confessional alliances that defined the two sides impact on the way English Protestants conceptualised the link between Catholicism and tyranny? The first part of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, for example, maintains that

> his Majesties great pleasure and intention was, to annihilate and to breake *the Conclusions of Leipsich*: to commaund there should be no more Souldiers be levied by the Protestants: but that all their Troupes should be cast and licenced: and his *Imperiall* Mandate in all things obeyed, vpon their perils.

The Leipzig conference had confirmed the Protestants' intention to resist the enforced conversion to a Jesuit-inspired form of Catholic religion, demanded after the Edict of Restitution. By foregrounding Ferdinand's intransigent position on the Edict, the *Intelligencer* was firmly equating the tyranny of the House of Austria with its susceptibility to popish ambitions to annihilate the Protestant religion.[85]

Moreover, *The Swedish Intelligencer* positively revels in speculating on General Tilly's religious motives. John Georg accuses Tilly of violating his majesty, having entered his territories and in 'barbarous and inhumane fashion ravaged' them. A marginal note suggests 'that *Tilly* had private commission to take the Church-lands from *Saxonie* also: though it had not been discovered till now'. Not only does Tilly come to epitomise a crazed and bloodthirsty soldier, in the account of the Imperialist sack of the Lutheran city of Magdeburg, he is also shown to be profoundly, even fanatically, devoted to Catholicism. The quarrel with Magdeburg had emerged, we are told, when its ruler '*Christian William*, a Prince of the Electorall house of *Brandenburg*' refused to give way 'to the *reformation* of the Religion (that is, the bringing in of Poperie againe)'. The Imperialists ravaged the city, burning its

[84] Wilson, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 113-9; Lund, 'Nordic and Baltic Lutheranism', p. 449; Scott, *England's Troubles*, pp. 131-2.
[85] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, pp. 196, 198.

'Sixe goodly Churches' to 'Cinders'. The cathedral, however, was spared from the destruction, and to celebrate the victory, General Tilly instigated an act of worship there:

> Vpon Sunday *May* 15 because he would haue this fayre *Cathedrall* as like to *Rome* as might be, that is, *Consecrated in bloud*; he causes it to be cleansed and new consecrated; *Masse* and *Te Deum* being sung in it, in thanksgiving for the Victory.

Here *The Swedish Intelligencer* depicts a scene of ritual purgation, the triumph of the Catholic conquerors over their Lutheran victims. Blood has been shed during the destruction of the cathedral and its people, and the implication of this passage is that Tilly permitted the massacre in order to purify Magdeburg and atone for its sins. Catholics understood the mass to be a sacrifice akin to and participating in Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The Catechism of the Council of Trent, published in 1566, asserted that the consecration of the blood (the consecrated wine used for the Eucharist) especially 'places before our eyes, in more vivid colours, Christ's Passion, crucifixion, and death'. Indeed, the Roman Church claimed to have been founded by Peter and Paul on the solid rock of faith and the papacy, and consecrated in the blood of martyrs.[86]

But contrary to these claims, Watts depicts the true sacrifice as the blood spilled by the Protestant martyrs. In a marginal note, Watts contests the meaning of Tilly's purifying gesture: 'With a vengeance, can the Papists now say, that this Masse was *[In]cruen[ti]um Sacrificium*, an unbloudy sacrifice?' Watts accuses the 'Papists' of having blood on their hands whilst perversely twisting their butchery into a holy act, and thus distances the Catholic real sacrifice of the mass from the Lutheran real presence. For inflicting such bloodshed on the innocent, they will, however, incur divine wrath. God's chosen instrument against the Imperialists is, predictably, 'The King of *Sweden*', who hearing of the massacre 'vowed (as some say) to be revenged'. The *Swedish Intelligencer* portrays the Catholicism of the League as bloody and persecuting, and explicitly links it to the authority of the papal church in 'Rome'.[87]

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[86] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, sig. Q[1]v; *The Catechism of the Council of Trent: Published by Command of Pope Pius the Fifth*, trans. J. Donovan (Baltimore, 1829), p. 155; S. K. Ray, *Upon this Rock: St. Peter and the Primacy of Rome in Scripture and the Early Church* (San Francisco, 1999), p. 211; L. Silver, 'Europe's Turkish Nemesis', in B. Fuchs and E. Weissbourd (eds), *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto, 2015), pp. 58-79, at pp. 69-70.

[87] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, sigs. Q[1]v, Q2r.

Anti-popery, then, shifted in form in the political discourse of the 1630s, adapting to the changing political realities of Protestant successes on the Continent. Elsewhere in the *Swedish Intelligencer* it is possible to detect the working of two different anti-papal languages as Watts traverses the complex issue of post-conquest religious rights and freedoms. In a passage on the defeat of the Imperialists in Franconia, for example, the editor uses of the terms 'Papists' and 'Catholicke' rather distinctly. At first, the report describes the '*Catholicke League*' and is primarily concerned with identifying those committed to the imperial war effort – '*Catholike Leaguers*'. There is a recurring equation of a pro-Habsburg military stance and Catholicism, embodied in the 'Spirituall members' of the League, 'the Bishops of *Wurtsburg* and of *Bamberg*'. Yet the tone is not overtly anti-Catholic, the word 'Catholicke' is used descriptively as a label rather than pejoratively.[88]

The term 'Papist', however, is wielded as a term of abuse. It is the word used in reference to Gustavus's directions to the conquered cities of Franconia:

> That whereas the *Protestants* were every where oppressed by the *Papists*; and that his comming had principally beene for their deliverance: therefore those Protestant Townes and others, that had any *Imperiall* or *Leaguish* garrisons in them; should driue them out, and open their gates unto the *Swedish* forces. Those that so did, he would protect; those that refused, or delayed, he would pursue the Law of Armes upon: protesting himselfe to be innocent, of whatsoever evill should betide upon their refusall.[89]

Here the word '*Papists*' denotes an oppressive and persecuting papalism. It appears alongside other religiously loaded rhetoric, the Protestants' hope for 'deliverance' and the Swedish king's 'promise of protection, freedome of conscience, and from garrisons'. Gustavus Adolphus is shown as being firm on '*Papists*' and will enact whatever 'evill' deeds are necessary to ensure they desist from their resistance to him. Conscience and the right to worship openly are being contested here, and this is echoed in the repeated references to 'conscience' in the peace articles. 'Papist', then, is used as a marker of anti-Protestant intolerance and political tyranny. So whilst it is clearly associated with a particular Habsburg brand of Catholicism, the threat of popery is linguistically distinguished from Catholic religion as a whole. In spite of the binary structure of anti-popery, Watts was using two different anti-papal

[88] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, sigs. A3r-A4r.
[89] Ibid., sig. B[1]r.

languages to present a complex, non-binary political argument; this argument pitted a broad coalition of moderates against a singular and universal papal tyranny.[90]

iii. The problematic case of France

The relationship between religion and tyranny, therefore, was an intricate one in the newsbooks of the early 1630s. It was further complicated by Sweden's relationship with the French and reliance on Cardinal Richelieu for funds. War against the emperor was an immensely expensive undertaking. In January 1631 Gustavus Adolphus concluded an alliance with France, by which he undertook to maintain a 30,000-man infantry and 6,000-man cavalry for the next five years and was to receive a million pounds in annual subsidies. In return, the French demanded that Gustavus Adolphus protect the practice of Catholic worship in any of the territories he conquered. This compact set new parameters for Sweden's engagement in the Protestant cause, and raises new questions about English anti-papal attitudes. How English newsbooks responded to these interconfessional pressure-points, and whether the re-emergence of France as notable, but problematic ally had any impact on its anti-papal language, will now be considered in more detail.[91]

The complex political position of Sweden in the Empire comes across strongly in news reports of Swedish peace negotiations. When negotiating the pact with France at his headquarters in Colberg, Gustavus is shown to subscribe to the article that safeguards Catholic worship:

> If it pleases God to giue the King of *Sweden* good successe, he shall not deale otherwise in point of Religion to those places that he shall conquer, or haue yielded vp to him; then the Lawes and Constitutions of the Empire appoint: and the *Romane* religion shall still be left free, where it is now practised.

In essence, Gustavus Adolphus was agreeing here not to meddle with the religious faith of the people he conquered. Catholics in the Empire would be 'left free' in accordance with imperial law. Such compromises manifest the complexity of the politics of the Thirty Years' War, revealing to English readers that the military players were turgid strategists, at times willing to sacrifice advantages in one area for the prospect of powerful alliances in another. But the representation of the Swedish king as

[90] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, pp. 9, 14, 183.
[91] H. Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (1969; paperback edn., Princeton, NJ, 1982), p. 340.

champion of Protestantism in Germany is somewhat distorted by this treaty with France. This peace treaty also showcases Gustavus as a moderate Protestant prince, who was willing to separate loyalty to the Catholic religion from loyalty to the oppressive popish policies of the emperor. Likewise, in Franconia in September 1631 the Swedish king is reported to have offered propositions to the 'cheife Spirituall members of the *Catholicke League*' to desist from the League and 'free thereby their Countreys from invasion'. Gustavus is represented as a diligent negotiator for peace acting for the protection of the Protestant faith in Germany. He is shown to be offering assistance to Protestants and Catholics living under the control of the Catholic League, counselling them to rise up against their popish oppressors. This representation of a broad coalition of Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic princes joining together to resist Habsburg papalism and tyranny harks back to the nuanced, heavily politicised anti-popery that was such a strong feature of English printed discussion about foreign affairs since the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.[92]

These newsbooks therefore reflect a deeper tension in English anti-papal thought between residual confessional sensibilities and more complex political realities, between a strongly moralising anti-Catholic language and the rhetoric of political truce and compromise. These tensions were present throughout the period covered by this thesis, but in the newsbooks of the early 1630s the focus has expanded from an earlier fixation on Spain and the Calvinist cause in the Netherlands and the Palatinate to a wider conflict involving Catholic France and Lutheran Sweden.[93]

The ongoing military success of the Swedes between 1630 and 1632 allowed newswriters only tentatively to negotiate these complicated political realities. Newsbooks continued to focus praise and attention on Gustavus Adolphus, 'the goodnesse of his cause, and the common Libertie which his victories bring with them…'[94] But what constituted this 'Libertie' remained undefined. The *Intelligencer*, though sympathetic to the Lutheran king's cause, never speculated on what the German nation might look like should the emperor's forces be finally defeated. The Protestantisation of Christendom was never explicitly envisaged. In the midst of these various and fluctuating alliances,

[92] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, sigs. A2v-B[1]r. See also *The German History Continued. The seventh part* (1634), STC 23525.7, p. 14.
[93] *Swedish Intelligencer*, i, sig. K[1]r.
[94] Ibid., sigs. A[1]v-A2r.

then, the main narrative thread running through these newsbooks is the huge and immediate threat posed by the House of Austria's tyranny, a tyranny deeply connected to the Machiavellian ruthlessness and 'popery' of the emperor and his supporters. This 'popery' is presented as a fanatical attachment to the papal-headed institution of the Roman Catholic Church combined with an atheistical disregard for Catholic opposition and a desire to exterminate all traces of Protestant religion, in both its human and institutional manifestations.

The French are written out of this narrative of popish tyranny for several reasons. Firstly, because they have a long rivalry with Spain. Secondly, because although they are Catholics they have not fallen under the spell of the dangerous doctrines of the Jesuits. And thirdly, and this justification also applies to Sweden's alliance with Catholic France, because monarchs are sometimes compelled to make peace in the face of injustice:

> For though the *affections* and *motions* of the *Soule,* be (like the Soule it selfe) *restlesse* and *Spirituall:* yet were it extremity of injustice, to exact so much labour and continuance of a corpulent and restive body, which is but mortall; as the Soule were willing at all times to require of it, which is vntireable by being immortall.[95]

This passage has the character of the spiritual reflections of a clergyman. Watts reveals his irenic instincts here, in the way he teaches patience. Even in the midst of war, Watts is saying, there are times when a Christian should resist the restless motions of their soul and embrace peace. The essential difference, then, between French Catholics and Habsburg 'Papists' is that the French are giving a present and urgent opportunity for peace, whereas the Habsburgs seem intent on war and destruction. Paradoxically, at the heart of Watts's enthusiasm for the military campaigns of Gustavus was a recognition of the value of peace and a belief that the Swedish king shared in this same religious outlook.

4 The stirrings of peace, 1633-35

These feelings of detachment increased exponentially after Gustavus Adolphus's death on 6 November 1632. In early September 1634, the combined forces of the king of Hungary (Austrian Habsburg) and the Cardinal Infante (Spanish Habsburg) overwhelmed the Swedes at the battle of

[95] *Swedish Intelligencer*, ii, p. 73.

Nördlingen. It was a devastating blow to the Swedish army, which was forced to retreat to northern Germany. The victory restored the military advantage to the emperor and his Spanish allies. But it also confirmed France's decision to enter the war openly. In December, French forces marched across the Rhine to defend Heidelberg against the Catholic League. Cardinal Richelieu responded by renewing relations with Spain's old enemy, the Dutch. Richelieu also asked Charles I to join the Franco-Dutch alliance, in an effort to build a network of anti-Habsburg alliances. But Charles decided to maintain publicly his policy of non-alignment, whilst continuing to treat secretly with Spain for a joint Anglo-Spanish maritime treaty to sweep the Channel of Dutch ships. The years between 1633 and 1635, then, were characterised by England's political ambivalence: a reluctance to commit either militarily or financially to either side in the German war.[96]

The History of the German Nation, a successor of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, appeared in 1634, as the fragmentation of the Protestant cause was becoming a more immediate fear. By this time Watts had vacated the role of editor and compiler. As a 1633 editorial explained, 'the Author of the former parts of that History, as he served the King of Sweden, faithfully, while he lived, so hath beg'd us that favour that hee might do him the honour to bring him to his grave'.[97] The new pamphlet had a less coherent editorial style than *The Swedish Intelligencer*. Pro-Imperialist sentiment is juxtaposed with rich anti-popery, without the same meticulous authorial attention or control.[98] For example, in a section relating the final actions of Wallenstein before his death in February 1634, it is revealed by 'certaine Letters written at *Vienna*', that the

> the forces of the Duke of *Fridland,* by these actions, are not onely much increased, but the Heretikes are also so troubled, and divided amongst themselues, that now they will scarce trust each other, but every man looking to his owne private ends, gapeth after his owne peculiar gaine, his owne particular pacification, like so many snarling Curres, snapping each at other. The Swedish government, beginneth to be so odious to the Heretickes, that it is no question but like a ship without a Pilot, they will quickely split upon the Rocks, and lose themselues.[99]

[96] Poot, *Crucial Years in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, esp. pp. 119-22; Bireley, *Ferdinand II*, pp. 270-1.
[97] *The Continuation of the German History. The fifth part* (1633), STC 23525.4, sig. A33.
[98] Boys argues that the initials 'N. C.' that appear at the end of the epistle to the reader of the seventh part (1634) [STC 23525.7] stand for 'nota censoria', and thus is the mark of the licenser, Georg Weckherlin. See Boys, *London's News*, p. 234.
[99] *The History of the Present Warres of Germany. A sixt part* (1634) STC 23525.5, sig. S4r.

The tone of this report is strikingly anti-Protestant. The Swedish forces are identified as 'Heretikes', and disparaged as 'snarling Curres' incapable of discipline, only capable of 'snapping each other'. The metaphor of the 'ship without a Pilot' conveys a foreboding loss of direction, a hope that now the king of Sweden is dead, the armada-like strength of the Swedish forces will have passed.

The letter writer also hopes 'that the blessed Mother *Mary,* will both be present with us, and further us in our designes', leaving the English reader with no doubt of the reporter's religious and political persuasions. Paul Arblaster has demonstrated that English publishers often sought to verify Protestant news reports against Catholic correspondence from Antwerp or Vienna.[100] But here it does not seem to be verification that is sought from the Catholic intelligence, rather the editor uses the report to draw attention to the evidence of popish plots and Marian devotion. This intermingling of Catholic and Protestant perspectives on the news was not peculiar to the period after Watts's departure. But what was new was the fact that these sources were not contained, and indeed constrained, within the contours of a strong and enthusiastic editorial support of the Swedish war effort. Readers are increasingly left to muddle their way through the rather complex news reports and to piece together a narrative for themselves.

The fact that the English news press was reporting the victories and alliances of the Catholic League is not entirely surprising. The primary role of the news periodicals was to report the political and military events that were happening on the Continent, and their coverage reflects the renewed ascendancy of Ferdinand in the Empire following the battle of Nördlingen. But what is more difficult to establish is why the new editor abandoned Watts's practice of glossing and challenging reports which expressed a clear sympathy for the Catholic cause. There may have been personal preferences at play, but given the identity of the new editor remains a mystery, it would be problematic to assume that this was entirely a question of taste or religious affinity. Rather, I want to argue that, the internal evidence of these periodicals mirrored a wider sense of disappointment with, and withdrawal from, the militancy of the Gustavus Adolphus years. English Protestant enthusiasm for the militant religious cause in

[100] P. Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: journalistic relations in the first half of the seventeenth century', in L. Hellinga *et al.* (eds), *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473-1941* ('t Goy-Houten, 2001), p. 5.

Germany was waning by 1635 and the Butter and Bourne periodicals were reflecting, and perhaps also assisting, the direction of public opinion.

This impression of creeping ambivalence gains a stronger affirmation in the printed news reports of 1635. For instance, in Butter and Bourne's *The Modern History of the World. Or, An Historicall Relation of the most memorable passages in Germany* (1635), the editor describes the irony that the magistrate of '*Gustavus-berg*' sought the assistance of the 'Cesarian Army' to vanquish the Swedes, only to find himself 'in as much danger by new Imperiall Allyes, as hee had been formerly by those strangers'. Upon this situation he reflects: 'Into what a whirle-poole of confusion doth a resolved Spirt [sic], not wisely regulated, quickly plunge it selfe?' This confused and protracted ambivalence about the conflict in Germany culminates in the newsbook's closing conceit:

> Thus farre wee have been spectators of a Tragedie, personated by *Roscius* and *Paris*, or such like people, but performed really by Princes, as noble in their actions, as condition, the last Act (as is hoped) will crown the Worke, but that must not be yet expected, the Curtain is drawn for this present yeere.[101]

The metaphor of the stage-play tragedy has strong pacific undertones, carrying a sensitivity to the noble craft of war whilst distancing both author and reader from the action. We are confined to the position of 'spectators' of Europe's tragedy, a sensibility that does not necessarily suggest a lack of sympathy for the Protestant struggle on the Continent, but does evoke a feeling of remove.

The lengthier pamphlet format of *The History of the German Nation* and *The Modern History* continued to allow space for editorial intrusion into the news narrative. But it is interesting that the periodicals resisted this approach in favour of juxtaposing conspicuously partisan reports. This is evidence of an increasingly ambiguous engagement with the Protestant cause, and perhaps even a sense of doubt about whether this was a fight that could ever be won. English Protestant opinion was beginning to distance itself from a conflict in which the Protestant forces had been pushed once again onto the back foot.

A similar withdrawal from the polemical battle against popery was occurring in manuscript, most notably in political poetry. In 1633, Aurelian Townshend, a poet and writer of court masques,

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[101] *The Modern History of the World. Or, An Historicall Relation of the most memorable passages in Germany* (1635), STC 23525.9, sigs. Ggg2v, Iii3v.

urged his friend Thomas Carew to join those lamenting the death of the heroic Swedish king. Townshend's 'Elegy on the death of the King of Sweden: sent to Thomas Carew' called for renewed commitment to fighting popery. But in response to Townshend's appeal to Protestant militancy, Carew wrote what has become known as 'the definitive poetic account of the blessings of peace during the personal rule'.[102] Carew's 'Answer' is in part a panegyric dedicated to the Swedish king, but in its second half, it transmutes into a celebration of the peaceful state of England under Charles's rule. Carew contrasts war-torn Europe with England's haven of tranquillity:

> Then let the Germans feare if *Cæsar* shall,
> Or the Vnited Princes, rise, and fall,
> But let us that in myrtle bowers sit
> Vnder secure shades, use the benefit
> Of peace and plenty, which the blessed hand
> Of our good King gives this obdurate Land…[103]

Here England is depicted as a nation of shepherds rather than soldiers, a 'Land' that owes its peace and plenty to the 'blessed hand / Of our good king'.[104] Carew echoes the Virgilian eclogues' criticism of war, encouraging his compatriots to enjoy 'Our *Halcyon* dayes'.[105] Yet in spite of this fecundity, England is also an 'obdurate Land'. The word 'obdurate' is striking, rich with the suggestion of discontent. Alongside this vision of wilful insularity, Carew also hints at the irony that peace is not sustainable, for it has engendered restlessness. Though Carew's reluctance to praise Gustavus's military deeds stemmed from an appreciation of the poetic opportunities of peace, his elegy, it is worth observing, also gestured to a groundswell of opposition to the proclivities of the court.

The English eulogising of Gustavus Adolphus reveals a tension between war and peace that was beginning to engulf the Caroline political classes. In Richard Fanshawe's 'Upon the Report of Fowre Kings Dead at Once'(*c*. 1633) there are traces of a Carew's casual disdain for military glory. Though Fanshawe was not openly critical of Gustavus's military deeds, 'that victorious *Sweed*' is

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[102] T. N. Corns, *A History of Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (Oxford, 2007), p. 187.
[103] T. Carew, 'In Answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the Death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townsend, Inviting Me to Write on that Subject', in *The Poems of Thomas Carew: with his Masque Coelum Britannicum* (Oxford, 2012), p. 75 (ll. 43-8).
[104] G. Hammond, *Fleeting Things: English Poets and Poems, 1616-1660* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), p. 22.
[105] Carew, 'Answer', p. 77 (l. 96).

shown to have 'in the heart of Germany, / Conquer'd himselfe a grave'. Though this image of conquering death was shared by many of Gustavus's elegists, Fanshawe's arresting iambic trimeter acts to quicken the metre and thereby loses any real sense of pathos. With this elegy Fanshawe registered the uncertainty generated by Gustavus's death and how it might affect the Protestant war effort. Yet he is generally unwilling to glorify the Swedish king's victories or his prowess as a military hero, valuing the Elector Palatine, the oppressed and wronged monarch, over Gustavus Adolphus, the conqueror. While both kings are said to 'command / Our teares', it is clear who is foremost in Fanshawe's thoughts: 'our Bohemiah, dead'. This reflects a growing ambivalence at Charles I's court towards Sweden, particularly surrounding its commitment to restoring Frederick's sons to their hereditary lands and titles in the Palatinate. Since Sir Henry Vane's negotiations with the Swedes over the Palatinate had broken down the previous year, the Spanish faction at court were coveting diplomatic entrées with Spain. James Howell, like many, was irked by Gustavus's 'harshness to our ambassadors, and the rigid terms he would have tied the Prince *Palgrave* to'.[106] The courtier Toby Matthew wrote to Sir Henry Vane that he had 'never heard any man totally exclude from him covetousness and arrogancy and inordinate ambition'.[107] Thus, whilst the death of Gustavus Adolphus was mourned by the populace as that of a Protestant saint, as Kevin Sharpe explains, for some others it ended the threat of uncontrolled Swedish ambitions.[108]

Up to Gustavus Adolphus's death there had been considerable acceptance of the Swedish king as a figure of Protestant zeal and monarchical leadership, as shown by *The Swedish Intelligencer*, and it was not clear which way Charles's sympathies would go after 1632. The tone of the political discussion remained tentative and oblique. While Townshend sought to praise Gustavus and therein to persuade Charles I to emulate this glorious Protestant conqueror, Carew and Fanshawe appealed to the king's irenic tendencies and anticipated the confidently pacific direction of Caroline foreign policy after 1635.

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[106] James Howell to his brother Dr Howell [5 December 1632], in J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-elianae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. J. Jacobs (1890), pp. 305-6.
[107] TNA, SP 16/214, fo. 99-100 [Sir Toby Matthew to Sir Henry Vane, 25 March 1632]; *CSPD 1631-3*, v, pp. 293-4.
[108] Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 82.

Conclusion

The varying ways that English people considered and represented the German campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden has offered an opportunity to investigate the evolving ideas on popish tyranny that constituted an integral part of Caroline England's vibrant political culture. The Swedish conquests were represented as emphatic victories for international Protestantism, transforming the fates of German Protestants by delivering them from the tyrannical rule of the emperor and his allies. Yet as we have seen other peace settlements, such as the Franco-Swedish pact of 1631, did not involve the same guarantees that Catholicism would be suppressed. There was a residual uncertainty, therefore, behind the confident editorial gloss, about precisely what future awaited European Protestantism.

The heavily abbreviated and politicised anti-popery that characterised the longer news pamphlets reflected this shift in Protestant fortunes. As a response to a flurry of Swedish victories, the *Swedish Intelligencer* and its successors (produced in the period around the 1632 ban) offered a more confident Protestant stance on the events of the Thirty Years' War. But this did not automatically equate with the rise of overt anti-Catholic sentiments. Rather this chapter has argued that a more subtle and religiously-ambiguous anti-papal language can be found in Watts's accounts of the Swedish campaign, nuancing his descriptions of Franco-Swedish relations and actively discriminating between Jesuitical 'Papists' and critics of Habsburg tyranny who happened to be Catholic. This ultimately reflected the increasingly complex confessional politics within the anti-Habsburg coalition.

The existence of several different anti-papal languages, used by different individuals to fulfil different agendas, can also been traced in the representation of Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish king became the intense focus of Protestant loyalty from 1630, overshadowing Calvinist figures like the Prince of Orange or Elector Palatine. The differing representations of Gustavus's role in the Thirty Years' War – both providential and political – were all constructed from pre-existing assumptions about the nature and limits of political power and authority. They, therefore, attest to the complexity of English thinking about Catholics and relations with Catholic states in the early 1630s. In addition to the simple, confessionally-driven depiction of Gustavus Adolphus as an anti-Catholic hero, this study has revealed that the Swedish king could also be appropriated by anti-Calvinists to reinforce their own alternative vision of international Protestantism. At a time when Caroline foreign policy was faltering

between a pro-Palatine position and one of pro-Spanish 'neutrality', hopes were high in certain quarters that Charles might finally back armed intervention in the Palatinate. This comes across to some extent in the language of the newsbooks, with Gustavus Adolphus providing some individuals with an antitype to the dithering Stuarts and a model for the English king to emulate.

Yet Gustavus Adolphus was also an appealing figurehead precisely because he represented a strong monarchical vision of Protestantism in-keeping with the direction of Caroline religious policy. The eclipsed fortunes of Europe's Calvinist princes and the growing strength and significance of the Lutheran king of Sweden mirrored the rise of a confident, outward-looking anti-Calvinist sentiment in English news culture. Butter and Bourne's newsbook editor, William Watts, in compiling such an enthusiastic, religiously nuanced representation of Gustavus as a Protestant hero, at the same time as he was championing the publication of Lutheran texts and defending clerical vestments in the English Church, encapsulates this tendency. His news periodical, *The Swedish Intelligencer*, demonstrates that English anti-Calvinists remained committed to the Protestant cause, even as they encouraged a shift towards a broader sense of Protestant identity.

By analysing the reception of Gustavus Adolphus in the context of the religious debates raging in English (and European) Protestantism, I have suggested that the Swedish king was operating in these newsbooks within multiple anti-papal narratives, and therefore, commanded a wider variety of Protestant support than has been widely assumed. The Lutheran king was a figure that a broad spectrum of Protestant opinion could identify with and find appealing. The pressure this put on English expectations was significant, and recalled earlier Jacobean efforts to construct a pan-European Protestant consensus. But unlike its Jacobean antecedents, the 1630s saw the emergence of a different, more subtle anti-popery which reflected the general hesitation of all sides to commit to military action against external popish threats. The printed foreign news, and the debates on foreign policy they participated in, thus confirms the significance of anti-popery as a marker of wider tensions in the political nation.

Conclusion

> Wee haue made *Spaine* weary of the warres, and at last desire a peace, which I would be loth to resemble to still waters, wherein are the deepest gulphs and most dangerous places to aduenture.
>
> Thomas Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (1618).

> Some differences yet there are beside,
> But not so much of Faith, as Policie:
> And those would neuer keepe vs off so wide,
> If we were well dispos'd to charity. (grieue,
> The Court, more then the Church of Rome doth
> That we doe not some other points beleeue.
>
> John Stradling, *Beati Pacifici: A Divine Poem* (1623).

> If thus the *ravening Tyrants* thou represse,
> And galled neckes from slavish yoke release:
> If (justice strange!) thou part the rescued prey,
> To each his owne, purloyning nought away:
> Of foes if willing Subjects thou create,
> By conquest bettered in their Faith and State;
> Let *Thracia* be thy pay, for *Almaine* free'd,
> For Faith restored *Rome,* shall be thy meed:
> Let Heaven poynt at thy birth, serue in thy warres,
> And blaze thy holy Armes with new-borne starres:
> Be thou the oppressed's Shield, the poores reliefe,
> The Saints good Angel, and Christ's Herauld chiefe,
> Tremble yee guiltie Tyrants to come on,
> Vpon the Sword of Christ and *Gideon.*
>
> [William Watts?], *The Svvedish Discipline, Religiovs, Civile, And Military* (1632).

The printed material generated by the rapidly-moving European conflict of the early seventeenth century has offered an opportunity to interrogate the relationship between anti-popery and how people imagined and perceived the external threats to the Protestant nation. This thesis has argued that anti-popery, as an abstract framework and mentality, operated across multiple registers: from concerns about spiritual contagion and papal authority to overtly political concerns about the threat of 'universal monarchy'. This malleability can be seen in the above quotations, which reflect the variety of English attitudes to Catholics and the prospect of war with Catholic states that circulated in the years between 1617 and 1635. Here we can see that several different anti-papal languages were operating in English print culture, and being utilised by individuals with a range of views about foreign affairs. Rather than conflate these languages, I have argued that only by situating anti-papal rhetoric in its appropriate

political and international contexts is it possible to tease out the specific non-binary meanings that were contained within apparently standard expressions of confessional hostility.

The renewal of war in Europe in 1618 rejuvenated the dissemination of a range of political and religious ideas. Many of these ideas were constructed from existing opinions about the nature, limits and best practice of spiritual and temporal authority, but, as this thesis has shown, they were also adapted and altered to reflect the unstable and changing international conditions. In the era of the Thirty Years' War, the threat of 'popery' took different shapes and forms, depending on one's political and religious perspective and priorities. For many it was about resisting the tyranny of the Counter Reformation, encapsulated in the papalist political doctrines of the Jesuits and the suppression and persecution of Protestants by various Catholic rulers, often on behalf of the papacy. But for others the threat of 'popery' was about resisting Habsburg dominance in Europe and beyond, and it by no means required adherence to a view of the Church of Rome as Babylon or the pope as Antichrist.

The logic of anti-popery, I have argued, was not fundamentally tied to a pro-war strategy, it could be (and indeed was) used to defend a more pacific approach to the Palatinate crisis and to redirect enmity from Spain to France. The strong sympathy for the Palatinate cause and anti-popish suspicion of Rome's complicity expressed by Peter Heylyn and other defenders of the Spanish Match thus complicates our understanding of the way these standard anti-papal tropes about popish tyranny and Habsburg imperialism were operating in political culture. Moreover, the praise of Gustavus Adolphus in English newsbooks of the early 1630s registers a shift away from blunt, confessionally-exploiting rhetoric towards a broader, and less obviously Calvinist, sense of Protestant identity. Watts celebrated Gustavus Adolphus as a pious Lutheran warrior-king, incorporated Lutheran prayers into his news pamphlets, and thereby constructed a strong non-Calvinist image of the Protestant cause. This ability to negotiate, ignore or rework traditional anti-papal tropes demonstrates the flexible manner in which anti-papal languages were integrated within the printed responses to the immediate and pressing questions of war and peace. A key feature of anti-popery as an ideology, then, was its adaptability; it was malleable enough to be shaped and reshaped by different authors to promote different agendas and courses of action.

And yet it is important to observe that the stretching and splintering of early Stuart anti-popery was not an indefinite process. English patterns of thought about 'popery' were part of a broader Europe-wide reaction to the political and religious questions unleashed by the Reformation and Counter Reformation. In an era in which popes, kings, princes and parliaments were making overlapping claims to absolute authority, the question of where temporal and spiritual sovereignty resided in a divided Christendom cut to the heart of a debate that crossed territorial borders. Given the appetite in certain quarters to contest these rival Catholic and Protestant claims militarily, the threat of foreign tyranny loomed large in printed works which reacted to international political affairs.

Indeed, many of the authors analysed here explicitly engaged with these larger questions about the nature of temporal and spiritual authority. Archbishop Abbot, for example, between 1608 and 1617 was thinking about England's place in a Catholic-dominated European continent and what Spain's expanding empire in the New World meant for the prosperity and independence of Protestant states. Moreover, John Reynolds in 1628 was contemplating greater unity between the Calvinist churches as a means of resisting the annihilation of both communities at the hands of a persecuting papal tyranny. Whilst superstitious religion and loyalty to the Church of Rome were not the prerequisites for English fears of universal monarchy, these Reformation critiques of the papacy resurfaced in moments of political crisis, blending with other political and economic concerns to sharpen perceptions of what was a stake. This study has therefore demonstrated that anti-popery was a vital way of contesting the type of Protestant nation our writers wanted England to be within a confessionally divided and war-torn continent.

Anti-popery was also a means to debate the type of national Protestant church that English people wanted to belong to and worship in. Sir Henry Goodere and Edmund Garrard, for example, imagined a church that was more accommodating of certain doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants and recognised the common Christian tradition that both sides participated in. They argued that religious enmity should not be turned inward, to the ruin of one's Christian neighbours, but should be directed outwards at the shared enemy of Islam embodied in the Ottoman Sultan. For these irenicist writers, 'popery' represented an aggressive and persecuting brand of Christianity that was prepared to brutalise fellow Christians. It could not simply be equated to supporters of the Catholic

religion. However, for the likes of Peter Heylyn and William Watts who leaned towards a more irenic vision of confessional Protestant identity, anti-popery was a means of expressing support for the anti-Roman or anti-Habsburg cause in the Empire whilst advocating for reforms to English worship that incorporated aspects of the Arminian, Lutheran and even Gallican Catholic traditions. But for Archibishop Abbot and John Reynolds, who combined a vigorous anti-Arminian stance with a desire for an interventionist foreign policy against persecuting Catholic powers, anti-popery was about building a broad, a-confessional coalition around the values of shared opposition to papal and Spanish claims to universal dominion. My research therefore reinforces the importance of placing ideas in their appropriate religious, political and international contexts as these are the frameworks that would have been familiar to our early modern subjects.

The equation of Spain and universal monarchy in English political thought would take a long time to diffuse and deconstruct. In the late 1630s, as Caroline Hibbard has shown, there was a revival of news publishing about the war in Germany, coinciding with the Prince Palatine's visit to England in 1638. But emerging alongside these reports was a strong message that England should take heed of the slaughter of Protestants, repent its sins and avoid foreign conflict. This ambiguity about England's role in fighting the Protestant cause, which we encountered in the cautious responses to Gustavus Adolphus's death in late 1631, thus solidified in the latter part of the decade in the context of declining Protestant fortunes overseas and a growing Spanish interest at court. As Hibbard argues, the 'Popish Plot' which developed around Charles I and his court prior to the Civil War was not simply the product of the blind hysteria or religious fanaticism of the parliamentary leadership but was related to 'actual Catholic activity'. The shift to a 'neutral', Spanish-orientated foreign policy was associated with the more visible Catholic proselytising at court by individuals such as the papal representative George Con, who was denounced as an 'agent of Spain'. The link between Catholics in England and foreign popish tyrants, the pope and the king of Spain, thus remained a crucial theme in the anti-popery debates that precipitated the Civil Wars.[1]

[1] Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, pp. 1-18, 36-7, 83-4, 88-9.

The foreign policy of the Commonwealth and Protectorate during the 1650s was a substantial deviation from the neutrality and pacifism that preceded it. As Nicole Greenspan has argued, in this era Spain was still considered to be England's principal adversary and the main pillar of support for the Catholic Church. But whilst the Black Legend and older patterns of thought resurfaced in the 1650s, they did so within a new interpretative framework: the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the end of the Anglo-Dutch war (1654) and Cromwell's declaration of war against Spain (1655). The Anglo-Spanish wars in the Caribbean (1654-60) were thus represented as strikes against Spanish imperialism and popish tyranny. To support these claims, older anti-Spanish material from the 1620s was reprinted, including Thomas Scott's 1623 tract, *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises*, which was reissued in 1656 as *The Spaniards Cruelty and Treachery to the English*. And yet, in spite of these efforts, republican critics accused the Cromwellian regime of abandoning the fight against popish tyranny. The Protector's commercial treaty with France (1655), for example, was blasted as hypocritical, given that the French were 'a popish Nation, guilty of much blood of Saints'. By contrast, other English writers took care to distinguish between moderate peaceable Catholics, the French, and inflexible violent Catholics, the Spanish, who used their faith as a launchpad for cruelty. What these debates demonstrate clearly is that the identity of England's 'popish' enemies, and whether they were in fact Catholic or not, continued to be contested after the collapse of the Stuart monarchy as they had been earlier in the century.[2]

Recent scholarship on Restoration England has argued that the link between papal universal monarchy and Spain was finally eclipsed in the 1660s. By this time the expansionist power of Louis XIV's France and the trading clout of the Dutch Republic gave new meanings to the fear of popish universal monarchy. Steven Pincus has identified several fundamental transformations in the use of anti-popery in the post-Reformation period: first, that universal monarchy was no longer singularly applied to a Catholic enemy, but was used against the Protestant Dutch; second, that economic concerns became a key component of the wider assessment of English interests; and third, that overtly

[2] Greenspan, *Selling Cromwell's Wars*, pp. 9, 70, 100-4, 119, 129.

providential imagery was replaced by secular ideas of national interest and reason of state.[3] Yet these developments were not completely new or unique to the post-Restoration period. As this study has demonstrated, all of these so-called 'secular' aspects of political culture were present in early Stuart anti-popery. The application of concerns about 'popery' to non-Catholics, the need to bolster England's commercial interests and security, the subtle and irregular use of providential imagery, were recurring themes in earlier discussions of the Spanish Match and the Caroline wars.

In early-seventeenth-century English politics, then, there were multiple systems of language in play. As this study has shown, even in the 1620s and 1630s certain English writers were able to separate anti-Catholic religious views from fear of universal monarchy and other political tropes. Rather than a process of 'secularization' – by which religious ideas were abandoned in favour of political ones – my research reinforces the view that it was the dynamic interaction of religious and political thought with volatile international events that drove change in the seventeenth century.[4]

This thesis, therefore, underlines the importance of the 1620s as a catalyst for debate about several key themes: the nature of political and spiritual authority, the extent of the nation's religious obligations to fellow Protestants, and the prominence of religion in determining the monarch's course of action on the international stage. But it also stresses that although the dynamics and participants of this debate changed, there was a certain continuity in the languages, ideas and concepts through which the process was observed and understood. For instance, this study has demonstrated the continued relevance of late Elizabethan tropes and images in the late 1610s and 1620s, not only in shaping the geopolitical outlook of prominent figures like Archbishop Abbot but also, quite literally, with the reprinting of Elizabethan materials. This Black Legend model of anti-popery was actively peddled out at moments of international tension throughout the 1620s and early 1630s, often to the frustration of those who were advocating for an alternative strategy.

[3] S. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996), esp. pp. 445-52.
[4] Cust and Hughes, 'Introduction', in *Conflict*, pp. 17, 26; Scott, *England's Troubles*, pp. 28-31, 354; Sommerville, 'English and European Political Ideas', p. 169.

Studies of anti-popery, where anti-papal views are broadly defined, thus offer an important way of reassessing the complex relationship between religion and politics in early Stuart public thought. My thesis, therefore, raises a whole new set of questions about how early Stuart discussion about foreign affairs was related to, and how tensions played out in, domestic politics. How the English conceptualised the relationship between tyranny and superstition was potentially crucial in domestic struggles, such as the debate about ceremony and doctrine (or Laudianism and Calvinism) within the Church of England, or the issue of the king's authority in relation to Parliament and the law. Future studies might fruitfully explore the ways in which anti-papal languages were used and adapted within these domestic disputes, and how widely these ideas circulated in printed literature as well as in manuscript. Such research would help us tease out the processes by which our early modern subjects chose between competing political and religious priorities.

This study has also stressed the heterogeneous nature of early Stuart political culture, and thus contributes to a wave of scholarship that is pushing for new ways of analysing and categorising the political.[5] My research therefore suggests that a focus on the engagement with, and circulation of, material produced in response to the Thirty Years' War would be a worthwhile future undertaking.

This thesis has demonstrated the diversity of political opinion in Jacobean and Caroline England. Anti-papal discourse was deeply associated with a dichotomous confessional mentality that permeated through post-Reformation society, but, as this study has shown, it was not absolutely bound by the logic of confessional division. Through close analysis of individuals authors whose printed works present counter-examples to this militant-Protestant anti-papal stereotype, this thesis has tempered the predominant framework for understanding anti-popery with a more nuanced view. These writers, whilst drawing on a range of influences, articulated varying ideas about the nature of the papal tyranny and the best way of resisting it in response to crises at home and especially overseas. This complicates our understanding of the way anti-papal opinions informed attitudes to war and peace, and firmly reinforces the importance of London's burgeoning news and print culture to the process of opinion formation.

[5] For an overview of this field, see Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 5-17.

Anti-popery, I have argued, should be understood as a complex, shifting and sometimes religiously ambiguous component of a broad-based and heterogeneous early Stuart political culture.

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