A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF THE REVEREND JOSEPH MEAD, 1626 – 1627, CONTAINED IN BRITISH LIBRARY HARLEIAN MS 390

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Christ’s College

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Doctor of Philosophy

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VOLUME I
Summary

This thesis is a critical edition of the newsletters of Joseph Mead, Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge, contained in Harleian MS 390 in the British Library; these were written to a friend, Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham in Suffolk, between January 1625/26 and May 1631. For the purposes of annotation I have concentrated on the letters for 1626 and 1627, which represent two-thirds of the manuscript (approximately 150,000 words); my Introduction, however, discusses the entire correspondence from 1621 to 1631, the first part of which is in Harleian MS 389.

The thesis is in three parts. The Introduction begins with the manuscript itself: a discussion of its provenance and physical state followed by a detailed examination of its foliation. The last is crucial to an understanding of the manuscript. Not only are some of the contents of Harleian MS 390 placed in the wrong year: due to a misunderstanding of the contents by the librarian responsible for the current foliation the present arrangement of the leaves totally disrupts the order in which the letters were written and sent to Dalham. Only by reconstructing the correct order can we appreciate the means by which Mead prepared his newsletters, and hence the significance of his activities as a newsgatherer. After the establishment of the correct sequence of the correspondence the Introduction considers other aspects, beginning with an examination of the local society within which Mead and Stuteville lived: this includes biographical details of the two men and a study of the interrelation between Cambridge, Dalham and members of the local gentry community which both provided Mead with outlets for his news and many of his pupils. The Introduction then examines and analyses Mead's sources: from chance encounters in Cambridge to detailed (and sometimes highly sensitive) information provided by his friend William Boswell, one of the clerks of the Privy Council. Based on my reordering of the foliation, the Introduction studies in detail the ways in which Mead prepared his newsletters: how, how often and when news reached him, how he used it, and how he was able to have it carried to Dalham (the last topic with particular reference to the difficulties he encountered). Through an analysis of Mead's marginalia and other comments his attitude to the news he received is examined, both with reference to events in the wider world and in Cambridge. This section also considers the influence of Mead's extensive studies in chronological and prophetic literature on his treatment of his material. His classification of his sources by subtle lexical differences is analysed, and related to the impact the emergence of widespread news reporting was having on the English language in the decades around 1600. A survey of the use of the letters in Harleian MSS 389/390 from c. 1720 to the present is also included. Mead's correspondence has been annotated with a wide range of manuscript and printed sources not only to corroborate his reports but also where necessary to demonstrate (and suggest reasons for) his mistakes; separate Textual Notes are provided. The Appendices contain a list and identification of the book purchases made for Sir Martin Stuteville in 1626 and 1627, the publication details of newsbooks for those years, and a conjectural attribution of the news material provided by two of Mead's major sources, John Pory and Dr. James Meddus.
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Acknowledgements

I would first of all like to thank my supervisor, Marie Axton. She has been a constant source of encouragement, has painstakingly read and commented on the (many) drafts of this thesis and has made numerous suggestions concerning the editing of Mead's letters. Her occasional use of the stick rather than the carrot was always well-timed and ensured that, at last, this thesis is ready for submission. John Morrill of the Faculty of History has been involved with this project since the beginning; he has read the Introduction, part of the edited text and Appendices I and II, providing a number of important references as well as a close reading of my drafts. His detailed knowledge of early Stuart history and politics has always been at my disposal. Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Deputy Archivist at the University Library Cambridge, has been an invaluable source of bibliographical, paleographical and archival information of all kinds. She also very kindly prepared the translations of two Latin documents and some other passages in that language among Mead's correspondence (and cast an expert eye over my own attempts to do so). A number of others have provided references and advice during my research and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them: Gordon Campbell (who drew my attention to Joseph Mead in the first place), Tom Cogswell, Brigadier Laurence Fowler, Michael Frearson, Simon Harratt, Arnold Hunt, Jeremy Maule, Anthony Milton, Victor Morgan, Claire Preston and James Rigney.

I would like to express my appreciation of the staff of the various libraries and archives in which I have worked, especially those in the Rare Books and Manuscript Rooms of the Cambridge University Library; the staff of the Manuscript Reading Room and North Library in the British Library; the staff of the Round and Rolls Rooms at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane; and the staff of the Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton. I am particularly grateful for the assistance I have received from Mrs Michelle Courtney of the Bodley Library, Christ's College Cambridge, and Henry Button, Honorary Archivist of the College; both have put up with numerous queries and have brought a number of documents to my attention. Having made these acknowledgements, however, I wish to make it clear that this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

I would like to thank the British Academy for providing a "one plus three" grant to fund my research, and the directors of the Judith Wilson Fund and the Christ's College B. A.'s Travel and Research Fund for contributing towards specific items (including the production of this dissertation).

On completion of this thesis I would also like to thank all those students of Christ's College, past and present (as well as Beverley, Carol, Ian, Ray and the rest on Newmarket Road) who have made Cambridge a civilised place in which to live and work for the last four years; special mention must be made of the hospitality and outstanding cooking offered to me by Chris and Jane Glover. I would also like to thank David Hawkes for providing food, accommodation and a sympathetic ear on my numerous research trips to London.

Last (but not, of course, least) I would like to thank my family; without their encouragement (at all times) and financial assistance (after the grant ran out) this project would not have been completed. This thesis is dedicated to them; I hope it has been worth the wait.
Conventions used in editing the correspondence of Joseph Mead in British Library, Harleian MS 390

Layout: The text is line-for-line throughout, using 1\frac{1}{2} spacing (this does not apply, however, to Mead’s marginal comments placed at the foot of the page on which they occur (see below) or for quotations from his correspondence in the Introduction and Appendices). Where Mead has used a smaller lettering due to lack of space on the page I have followed his practice; this means the line-for-line text has been retained and the necessity to split lines has been avoided. I have retained Mead’s frequent use of penstrokes to divide his letters into separate sections (generally employed to distinguish between different sources) and his use of spacing within the line (which often occurs for the same reason).

Foliation: This has been indicated by a bracketed note at the end of the first line of text on each new page in the manuscript. When (as is usually the case) the note is in bold type, this means that the date in question was added by the “annotator” (for whom see the Introduction, pp. 4–5). In the Headnote to each letter (see below) all blank leaves are noted.

Font Type and Size: Times 10 point for the text, 9 point for the footnotes and those passages of the text written in smaller lettering. Mead occasionally used a different script to emphasise quotations or other short passages; this has been reproduced in Zapf Chancery, 12 point.

Line numbering: Each letter has been numbered every five lines at the end of the line, including marginalia placed at the foot of the page on which they occur.

Punctuation: I have followed the manuscript in the great majority of cases, but have silently added some additional pointing at times in order to help the sense of the text, principally full stops at the end of sentences.

Capitalisation: I have regularised Mead’s occasionally inconsistent use of capitals for days of the week and some proper names.

Scribal contractions: These have all been silently expanded, except numerical ones such as “2nd”, “6th”, “&” is also retained.

Interlineations: I have indicated these by carets above the line, ^ ^ . Mead sometimes added lengthy interlineations in the margin, which I have inserted into the text at the relevant point, noting the insertion in a Textual Note.
Marginalia: These are of two kinds, and I have treated them differently. Where Mead wrote the last few lines of his letter in the left-hand margin due to lack of space I have integrated these, line-for-line, into the text with a Textual Note to indicate the addition. The second type, in which Mead added comments on (or other versions) of his news to his main text, appear at the foot of the page on which they occur with a sequence of letters to identify them both there and where they appear in the margin; these have not been rendered line-for-line. I have indicated the extent of marginalia by use of a dotted line.

Mead’s Transcripts: In his enclosures of London news sent to Dalham Mead often used a distinctive penstroke at the end of the transcript (presumably his convention to end these reports).

Each example of this penstroke is recorded by the word [device], inserted into the edited text at the point at which it occurs.

Deletions: These have all been removed to the Textual Notes, with line-references, and indicated by strikethrough. (The presence of asterisks means I have not deciphered the deletion in the MS).

Mead’s use of emphasis: Mead sporadically used larger lettering to emphasise a particular word or proper name. I have represented this by Times 12 point.

Mead’s use of thorn: Indicated by italic th (as in the, that).

Mead’s use of ““”: When Mead quoted verbatim from his source he sometimes used quotation marks in the left-hand margin. These have been retained.

Mead’s parentheses: Where Mead himself uses brackets other than ( ) for emphasis, I have represented them by pointed brackets, < >.

Currency: Mead’s use of l to represent pounds sterling has been replaced by “£”.

Biblical Quotations: These have been taken from the “Royal Version” of the King James Bible (1611).
Other Quotations: These have been reproduced as they appear in the source cited except that, as with the text of Mead's correspondence, I have regularised i/j and u/v and represented thorn as italic th. They have not been rendered line-for-line.

Damage to the MS: Where text has been lost due to loss of paper in the manuscript, I have indicated this by curled brackets, { }; any insertions within these must be taken as editorial suggestions unless otherwise stated.

Uncertain readings: Where I have not been able to decipher parts of the manuscript my conjectural readings are underlined.

Editorial interpolations: Other than due to loss of text, above, any editorial interpolations have been placed in square brackets, [ ], in the standard font.

Other hands in the MS: I have indicated the presence of other hands, when they occur, in bold type. Other scribes' letters have been reproduced in the standard font; in the Headnote at the beginning of these letters (see below) the different hand is noted and, where possible, identified.

Headnotes: On the majority of Saturdays Mead spent in Cambridge he not only sent a letter directed to Stuteville; a transcript of London news of the week before was usually enclosed and often one or more books. In order to make the nature of Mead's weekly “budget” clearer (and to avoid confusion over the order in which the letters were sent) at the beginning of each letter written to Stuteville the dates of any enclosures are listed; if any books or other material was sent this is noted. I have also indicated the source of Mead's news, if known or conjectured, both in his personal letters to Stuteville and in his transcripts. If a letter was sent to Dalham on a day other than Saturday (by one of Mead's friends, for instance) this is recorded. All blank leaves and the location of Mead's subscriptions (see below) are also noted; the dates added beneath the latter, probably by Stuteville (see the Introduction, pp. 3–4) have also been included. The presence of any other hands in the MS, as in John Pory's holograph letters, has been recorded and identified where possible.

Mead's Subscriptions: On the verso of the second leaf of the bifolia used in writing his personal letters to Stuteville Mead always added his subscription, usually in the form "To the Right Worshipfull his much respected freind Sir Martin Stuteville Knight these at Dalham" or "To the Right Worshipfull & his much respected freind...". Mead also added the following (or equivalent) when a letter was sent to Dalham via the Bury Carrier: "Leave this letirc at Master Fysons of Kenford to be

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1 For other forms see H390, folios 44v, 69v, 126v, 150v, 177v, 179v, 183v, 195v, 246v, 258v, 315v.
sent as above sayd. The text of these subscriptions has been omitted in my edition but every example has been recorded in the Headnotes to the correspondence (see above).

**Dating:**

The most complex problem I have faced in editing the letters. Two separate issues are involved: 1) the ten-day difference between the calendars used in England and the Continent; 2) the date of New Year’s day. I will deal with each separately.

1). As a result of the Gregorian reform of 1582, the discrepancy between the Calendars used in England and the Continent was ten days.\(^2\) In correspondence this led either to the adoption of a double-dating system for letters written from the Continent to England (such as 29 August/8 September, 4/14 October) or a notation of the Calendar used (often in the form “stilo novo”, “stilo vetiri”). Given the importance of the chronology of the news Mead received, the following conventions have been used in the dating of material:

a) The dating of all domestic events in this thesis is according to the calendar with which Mead was most familiar, that is, the Julian Calendar. In the Introduction, the edited text of the correspondence and Appendices, therefore, all dates for this material are given in “Old Style”. (The only exceptions are the dispatches of the Venetian and Tuscan residents sent from London, full of details of English affairs: as both men always used “New Style” I have, for ease or reference, adopted a “double-dating” system indicating both Old and New Style reckoning, as with Salvetti’s dispatch of 20/30 April 1627).\(^3\)

b) The Continental news reaching Mead from London and elsewhere presents problems of a different nature as, firstly, a number of foreign newsletters and Ambassadors’ reports I have consulted do not indicate whether they were written according to Old or New Style; secondly, different scholars make use of Old and New Style to describe the same event (a good example of this is the battle of Lütter, variously described as occurring on the 17th, 26th and 27th of August 1626).\(^4\) In order to

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to avoid confusion between the two possible dates for the same Continental event, depending on the
calendar used, in this thesis all Mead's foreign news has been given a "double-date" incorporating both
Old and New Style: hence, the battle of Lütter occurred on 17/27 August 1626. After consultation
with my supervisors I have assumed (when the Calendar used was not specified) that the foreign
newsletters and Ambassadorial dispatches I have consulted and cited were dated New Style and have
"double-dated" their contents accordingly; thus, a newsletter from Bonn dated 6 July 1627 has been
dated 26 June/6 July.

2) New Year's Day was not fixed as 1 January in England until the adoption of the "New Style"
Gregorian Calendar in 1752. Before that (although private practice varied considerably) it officially
began on 25 March, which led to another "double-dating" system for correspondence written between
1 January and 25 March; Mead's usual practice was to write "162\textsuperscript{5}/6", "162\textsuperscript{6}/7" and so on his letters
between those dates. In the edited text of Mead's correspondence I have reproduced his own style; in
the Introduction, footnotes and Appendices I have used a similar notation to avoid confusion over the
year in question: "1625/26", "1626/27".

Citation of Documents in the Public Record Office: The different classes of State Papers I have
consulted at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane are arranged in varying ways. The forms of
citation in this thesis are as follows:

Sidelights on the Thirty Years' War, 3 vols (1924), ii. 589 (same date); C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years'
War (1938; revised edn., 1987), p. 211 (battle dated 27 August).

Every contemporary source I have consulted states that, after initial skirmishing, the decisive battle
occurred on Thursday 17/27 August; I accept this as the date of the engagement.

The exception to this is the material contained in Public Record Office, State Papers 75/7 and 75/8
(Denmark, 1626 and 1627). Sir Robert Anstruther, Ambassador to Denmark, indicated which Calendar he
was using on a number of occasions: of twenty-seven instances in 1626-27, twenty-five were "stilo
veteri". I have therefore assumed that he usually reckoned in Old Style and have dated his dispatches
accordingly.

This newsletter is contained in Public Record Office, State Papers 101/29 (Newsletters, Germany, 1626-
31).

Cheyney, p. 11. 1 January had been the first day of the Roman civil year and was occasionally in use as
such in medieval Europe. It was fixed as New Year's Day by the Gregorian reforms of 1582; ibid., pp. 4,
10.

i) State Papers Domestic: References cited by volume, piece and folio number (hence, PRO SP16/47/66 [folio 114r].

ii) State Papers Foreign: References cited by volume and folio number (hence, PRO SP75/7/folios 218v–19r).

iii) State Papers Foreign (Newsletters): Reference to these has been made more difficult in that, within PRO SP101, three different methods of arrangement are used. The first and simplest is through-numbering (the contents of each box of newsletters being arranged more or less in date order and foliated consecutively); this is the case with SP101/46–47 (Newsletters, Holland) and SP101/91 (Newsletters, Spain and Portugal). Citation to these has been in the form PRO SP101/91/folio 14r. The second method is by bundles of newsletters: each box of documents contains a series of consecutively numbered folders within each of which are up to a dozen newsletters, arranged, more or less, in date order. This is the case with SP101/2 (Newsletters, Flanders) and SP101/10 (Newsletters, France). Citation to these has been in the form PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)/folio 1v, with a note of the date of the newsletter in question. The third method is by date order alone; this is the case with SP101/29 (Newsletters, Germany). Citation to these has been in the form PRO SP101/29/folio 1r–v with a note of the place and date of origin (such as “Augsburg newsletter of 31 May/10 June 1626”).
List of Abbreviations

All sources referred to in this thesis have been cited in full on first appearance, with a shorter reference on subsequent occasions. The following is an alphabetical list of abbreviations I have used for the most frequently mentioned libraries, archives, manuscripts and printed sources (place of publication London, where applicable, unless otherwise stated):

Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics
Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement
Angyal, ‘Gabriel Bethlen’
APC
Appleby
Aylmer
Bard
Bassompierre, Memoirs
Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’
BHHR
BL

Acts of the Privy Council [of England]
F. de Bassompierre, Memoirs of the embassy of the Marshal de Bassompierre to the Court of England in 1626: translated. With notes (1819 edn.)
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
British Library, London
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<td><em>The Court and Times of Charles the First</em>, [compiled by T. Birch], ed. R. F. Williams, 2 vols (1848)</td>
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<td>Cadiz</td>
<td>J. Glanville, <em>The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625</em>, ed. A. B. Grosart (1883)</td>
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<td>CCA</td>
<td>Christ’s College Archives</td>
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<td>Chronology</td>
<td>E. B. Fryde et al. (eds.), <em>Handbook of British chronology</em> (1941; third edn., 1986)</td>
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<td>CSPD</td>
<td><em>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</em></td>
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<td>CSPV</td>
<td><em>Calendar of State Papers Venetian</em></td>
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<td>CUL</td>
<td>Cambridge University Library</td>
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<td>EHR</td>
<td><em>English Historical Review</em></td>
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<td>Author</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>Finet</td>
<td><em>Finetti Philoxenis: som choice observations of Sir John Finet knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the reception, and precedence, the treatment and audience, the puntillos and tests of forren Ambassadors in England</em>, ed. J. Howell (1656)</td>
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<td>Foster</td>
<td>J. Foster (ed.), <em>Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714: their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees</em>, 4 volumes (Oxford, 1891–92)</td>
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<td>Guy</td>
<td>J. A. Guy, 'The origins of the Petition of Right reconsidered', <em>HJ</em> 25 (1982), 289–312</td>
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<td>H383</td>
<td>British Library, Harleian MS 383: Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes and family, 1585–1648</td>
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<td>H389</td>
<td>British Library, Harleian MS 389: Correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Mead and Sir Martin Stuteville, February 1620/21 – December 1625</td>
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<td>H390</td>
<td>British Library, Harleian MS 390: Correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Mead and Sir Martin Stuteville, January 1625/26 – May 1631</td>
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<td>Herbert</td>
<td>E. Herbert, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, <em>The Expedition to the Isle of Rhe</em> (1860)</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Knecht</td>
<td>R. J. Knecht, Richelieu (Harlow, 1991)</td>
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<td>Larkin</td>
<td>J. F. Larkin (ed.), Stuart Royal Proclamations, volume 2: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625–1646 (Oxford, 1983)</td>
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<td>Lee</td>
<td>M. Lee jr, The road to revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625–42 (Urbana, Ill., 1985)</td>
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<td>List of Sheriffs</td>
<td>Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (ed.), List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the earliest times to A. D. 1831 (1898; reprint, New York, N. Y., 1963)</td>
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McClure


Magurn

The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens, ed. and tr. R. S. Magurn (Cambridge, Mass., 1955)

Mann

G. Mann, Mann, Wallenstein: his life narrated, tr. C. Kessler (Frankfurt, 1971; 1976 translation)

Mead, Key

J. Mead, The Key of the Revelation, tr. R. More (1643)

Metcalf

W. C. Metcalf (ed.), The visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634, 2 vols (1878–79)

M. F.


Morgan


Mullinger

J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge: from the earliest times (to the decline of the Platonist movement), 3 vols (Cambridge, 1873–1911)

NRO

Northamptonshire Record Office

OED


P. and P.

Past and Present

Parker, La Rochelle


Parker, TYW

G. Parker, The Thirty Years’ War (1984)

Peile

J. Peile, Biographical register of Christ’s College 1505–1905, and of the earlier foundation, God’s House, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1910)
Powell


*PP 1626*


*PRO*

Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London

*Reade*

H. G. R. Reade, *Sidelights on the Thirty Years' War*, 3 vols (1924)

*Return*

*Return of the names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament*, 2 vols (1878)

*Roberts*


*RPCS*

*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*

*Rushworth*

J. Rushworth (ed.) *Historical collections of private passages of state. Weighty matters in law. Remarkable proceedings in five Parliaments. Beginning...1618 and ending...1648*, 8 vols (1680–1701)

*Russell, Parliaments*


*Schreiber, The First Carlisle*


*Sharpe, Faction and Parliament*


*Sharpe, P. R.*


*Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton*

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<td>Shaw, Knights</td>
<td>W. A. Shaw, (ed.) <em>The Knights of England: a complete record from the earliest time to the present day of the Knights of all the orders of chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors</em>, 2 vols (1906)</td>
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<td>Venn</td>
<td>J. and J. A. Venn, <em>Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900. Part I, from the earliest times to 1751</em>, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922–27)</td>
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<td>Wedgwood</td>
<td>C. V. Wedgwood, <em>The Thirty Years’ War</em> (1938; revised edn., 1987)</td>
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<td>Wing</td>
<td><em>Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, Wales, and British America: and of British books printed in other countries, 1641–1700</em>, ed. D. Wing, 3 vols (New York, N. Y., 1945–51)</td>
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Worthington  
*The works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede, B. D., sometime Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge*, ed. J. Worthington (1664)

Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’  
INTRODUCTION

I. The manuscript.

This section is in two parts. Firstly, British Library, Harleian MS 390 itself and its provenance are briefly described; secondly, the arrangement of the foliation in the MS is studied in detail, as this is vital for an understanding of the proper order of the correspondence (and hence of Mead’s activities as a newsgatherer).

(1a): Description of the manuscript.

British Library, Harleian MS 390: the correspondence of the Reverend Joseph Mead of Christ’s College Cambridge with Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham, Suffolk, 12 January 1625/26 – 20 May 1631; iii + 560 + iv leaves; English (with some items in Latin); paper. The manuscript is bound in half goatskin boards covered in brown cloth: the Harley arms are on the front and back boards and, in five spine compartments, device/NEWS LETTERS 1626–31 [over maroon lacquer]/VOL. II. [over lacquer]/BRIT. MUS. [rule] HARLEY MS. 390/device. All lettering and devices are in gilt.

Paper sizes vary widely. Mead generally used bifolia for his personal letters to Stuteville written each Saturday (measuring approximately 278 x 335 mm) and subdivisions of these for his transcripts of news received from London or postscripts added to his weekly “budget”.1 These bifolia often had their edges trimmed but not always so; deckle edges are seen on numerous leaves in H390.2 From the evidence of watermark distribution in the MS it appears that Mead obtained his paper in sizeable batches, using each stock for weeks or months at a time; thus, one batch was used from mid-March until late July 1626, another from late October 1626 until late April 1627, and a third from early June 1627 until January 1627/28 (see Table II below).

A number of seals or traces of them survive in H390, some in an excellent state of repair; the design is based on the Mead coat of arms, “Sable, on a chevron between three pelicans or an escutcheon gules”.3

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1 The paper size quoted is an average of thirty bifolia selected at random in British Library, Harleian MS 390. For Mead’s enclosure of transcripts with his letters addressed to Stuteville see pp. 6–7 below.
2 For instance on H390, folios 5–6, 92, 110–11, 141–42, 143–44, 161–62, 196–97. All references to H390 in this thesis are to the “pencil sequence”, described on p. 6 below, unless otherwise stated.
3 W. C. Metcalfe (ed.), The Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; and Owen and Lilly, 1634, 2 vols (1878–79), i. 449. Seals or wax traces are present on H390 folios *20r, 126v, 171r–72v, 227v–28r, *233v, 338v, 341v, 429v, 443v, *445v, 447v, 451v, *456v, 458v, 460v, 464v, 468r–v, 474r, 482r, *486v, 488r–v, 495v, 497v, 504v, 505r, 507r–v, 511r–v, 519v, 524v,
During the 1620s, it appears that Mead’s letters now in British Library, Harleian MSS 389 and 390 were preserved by Sir Martin Stuteville himself as a reference guide to past events. After Sir Martin’s death in June 1631, however, it is likely that the indefatigable activity of Sir Simonds D’Ewes as a collector of manuscripts ensured the survival of the correspondence. As his Autobiography makes clear, D’Ewes was fascinated by every aspect of his family and, as he was related to Stuteville this family connection would have provided an incentive to preserve the latter’s manuscripts. In addition, the two men were friends; D’Ewes was a regular visitor to Dalham and numerous letters between him and Sir Martin remain in British Library, Harleian 383. The letters now in H389/390, then, probably passed to D’Ewes’s collection some time between Sir Martin’s death and D’Ewes’s own in April 1650. The next stage in their transmission to the Harleian collection came with their inspection by the librarian and palaeographer Humfrey Wanley in 1703 and their purchase by Robert Harley in 1705.

Other manuscripts owned by D’Ewes, especially H383, are linked to H389/390 by a common transmission history: at some stage between Stuteville’s death and their purchase by Harley,
some material that should have remained in H390 was included among D'Ewes’s correspondence in H383. The presence in H383 of letters originally sent to Mead, or sent by Mead to Stuteville, proves that this must have been the case. As a result, those letters now in H383 which form part of the Mead–Stuteville correspondence have been included in my edition of H390, with a note of their location.9

The foliation of the manuscript.

The current arrangement of the leaves in H390 is unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, successive attempts to order the leaves have resulted in letters being placed out of sequence; secondly, because the nature of the correspondence has not been properly understood the letters are currently placed in an order that does not reflect the circumstances of their writing and which often conflicts with the evidence provided by the letters themselves. I will deal with these points separately.

The arrangement of the contents of H390

Because a number of different methods have been used to organise the contents of H390 (and H389), the history of the arrangement of the correspondence is a complicated one. I will deal with each stage in turn.

(a): Dating the letters (1)

On the verso of the second leaf of each bifolium sent to Dalham, Mead usually wrote his subscription (and any other information needed by the carrier).10 The earliest system of ordering the correspondence is a series of dates in the same (probably seventeenth-century) hand, usually abbreviated (such as “Janu: 12” or “10ber [for “Decem]ber 2”).11 These were generally added beneath

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9 One letter written by Mead to Stuteville on 20 December 1628 is now H383, folio 79r. A number of newsletters sent to Mead from London by John Pory in 1626 and 1628 have also found their way into H383: folios 33–34, 37–38, 41–42, 68–69, 70–71, 72–73, 74–75, 77–78, 80–81. H383, folios 39–40 (like some of Pory’s letters cited above) were sent to Mead while the latter was at Dalham in August 1626; folios 51–52 were probably carried to Dalham by Mead in December 1626. Another of Mead’s letters (of 13 June 1629) is now included in British Library, Additional MS 19398, folios 118r–19r. How it got there is unknown.

10 For more on Mead’s subscriptions see the Editorial Conventions. When he had a very short letter to write Mead occasionally used a half sheet, on the verso of which he added his subscription. See for instance H389, folios 262v, 344v, 457v.

11 H390, folios 2v, 170v.
Mead's subscription. From the beginning of the correspondence for 1622 this dating is seen throughout both H389 and H390; the dates themselves are almost always the same as Mead's own at the end of his letters directed to Stuteville. I believe Sir Martin himself was responsible, and that his additions represented the date of receipt of each letter.\(^{12}\) (Few letters in Stuteville's hand survive but what material there is suggests to me that the dates next to the subscriptions in H389/390 are his).\(^{13}\) If Stuteville did add these dates they were not only, perhaps, a record of the delivery time; as he preserved Mead's letters for future reference the dates would make it easier to locate an individual item.\(^{14}\) The enclosures sent by Mead within his letters to Stuteville were not dated at this stage, but as each of these transcripts of London news had already been dated by Mead according to when it had been written in the capital,\(^{15}\) such additional information was not absolutely necessary in any case.

\(^{(b):\text{Dating the letters (2). The "annotator"}}\)

At a later stage in the history of the correspondence (probably after Stuteville's death if he had been responsible for stage (a) above), a more detailed system of organisation was applied: the top

\(^{12}\) If so, this would explain a discrepancy in the dating of one of the letters in H389. On Saturday 12 July 1623 Mead prepared his weekly letter as usual, but as he was going to be absent from Cambridge the following weekend he left his "budget" (presumably in Christ's College) to be delivered to Dalham as usual at the end of the following week. The date next to Mead's subscription is "July 18", the Friday after Mead wrote the letter; this suggests that (if Stuteville was involved) he received it on that day. Based on this date the "annotator" (of whom more below) dated each page of this letter "18 July" and altered Mead's date at the end of his letter from the 12th to the 18th; H389, folios 348r-49v.

\(^{13}\) A number of Stuteville's letters to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, some in draft from, survive in H383 which I believe are in his own hand (folios 49r, 96r, 100r, 104r, 113v-14r, 115v-16r, 117r) as well as one in the Northamptonshire Record Office, NRO I. C. 150. (In one of these, a letter of 25 November 1627, Sir Martin used the contraction "9ber" for "November" as in the dates beneath Mead's subscriptions; H383, folio 49r). It is probable that in his last years Stuteville did not often write at length: in his will (drawn up on 4 March 1625/26) he drew attention to the fact that he had written it all himself, not only reflecting the importance of the document but also, perhaps, the rarity of his writing at such length; Public Record Office, Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 85 St. John, folio 126r. By August 1630 Sir Martin's eyesight and handwriting were so bad that he could not "endure to write much at one time"; H383, folio 104r (letter of 24 August).

\(^{14}\) See n. 4 above. Occasionally Stuteville used the blank paper around Mead's subscription for other purposes, such as (incorrectly) adding up his son John's College bills for the two previous quarters in July 1626: ibid., folio 96v.

\(^{15}\) For which see p. 60 below.
of each leaf in both H389 and H390 was dated, rather than only once per letter as before.\(^{16}\) The single
person responsible\(^{17}\) also attempted to reorganise items which had become misplaced; I have called
him the “annotator” on account of this.\(^{18}\) His more thorough dating was moreover applied to the
whole correspondence, not just to the letters directed to Sir Martin personally. For the transcripts of
London newsletters the “annotator” added the date on which the letter was sent from London, not that
on which Mead transcribed it in Cambridge and sent it to Dalham.\(^{19}\) For Mead’s letters to Stuteville
the “annotator” followed the date of writing in Cambridge. Some mistakes were made in this
reorganisation, particularly concerning the year (which Mead seldom wrote on his letters): a group
have been misdated (in January, perhaps significantly) which required several readings before they
could be correctly placed in my edition.\(^{20}\) On the whole, however, the contents of H390 were
accurately dated and few mistakes were made; had subsequent attempts to arrange Mead’s
correspondence followed this system closely the manuscript would be better ordered than it is at
present.

(c): “The ink sequence”.

At a still later stage of the history of the correspondence, probably after it became part of
Sir Robert Harley’s collection in 1705, a further and potentially more sophisticated attempt was made
to order the contents of H389/390. I have designated this episode the “ink sequence” because of the ink
numbering in the top right hand corner of the recto of each leaf. The arrangement of H390 at this time
containing all the correspondence from 1626–27 is contained in Table I below. Whoever was
responsible for the job, however, did it very badly; while the letters are more or less arranged by day

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16 That this system of dating followed that described in (a) above is indicated by those occasions where
Mead himself did not date his letter but one was added beneath his subscription. The “annotator” took his
date from Stuteville, as with Mead’s letter of Tuesday 14 January 1622/23: "on the back side the 14
January" (H389, folios 269r, 270v); see also ibid., folios 192r, 193v.

17 As his hand is seen in H383 and other manuscripts that originally belonged to Sir Simonds D’Ewes
dating the contents in the same manner as in H389/390) he was perhaps a librarian attached to the D’Ewes
household.

18 Such as Mead’s transcript of London news dated Friday 17 June 1625; the “annotator” added at the top of
the page "[t]his was in a Letter (o)f the 28 May to which [t] could not bee long"; H389, folio 460r; see
also ibid., folios 48r, 61r.

19 The first two letters in H390 provide examples: the “annotator” followed Mead’s date on his own letter
to Stuteville of 12 January 1625/26 (folio 1r), and then the date of Mead’s London newsletter of 13 January
1625/26 (folio 3v).

20 H390, folios 335r–38v, 341r–42v. Other errors by the “annotator” appear in the Textual Notes to the
correspondence, below.
and month, there are batches of material assigned to the wrong year (although in the right month), seemingly at random. In addition to this, several leaves were not included in the sequence at all. The considerable problems created by this initial arrangement must have become increasingly apparent (perhaps as a consequence of the increasing use of the letters, discussed in Section VI below) and a large-scale attempt to correct matters was undertaken.

(d): "The pencil sequence"

In 1875 the contents of H390 were reordered and each letter remounted (on guard mounts of approximately 315 x 50mm). This arrangement (foliating the top right hand corner of each leaf, deleting the existing ink numbers where necessary) is the one currently in use. A survey of Table I gives an indication of the necessity of the task; after folio 180 every leaf had to be renumbered and moved elsewhere, often dozens of leaves away. The member of library staff responsible was accurate and thorough and did not leave many of his predecessor's mistakes behind, although some of the material in H390 remained in an incorrect position. This third arrangement also neglected (with one exception) to number the same leaves in H390 missed out in the ink sequence, and several leaves were mounted incorrectly (as noted in Table I below). This attempt to order all the leaves in H390 in strict date order, including the manuscript "separates" was, however, reasonably successful: most of the existing errors were removed. It remains to be seen how valid a means of arranging Mead's letters this approach is.

Letters and Newsletters

Mead wrote two types of letter to Sir Martin: the first were his personal letters to Dalham, usually written each Saturday, which contained (apart from items of London and foreign news picked up in Cambridge during the previous week) details of University and local news and other matters of direct interest to Stuteville such as the progress of his son, one of Mead's pupils from April 1625 to

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21 Such as H390, folios 326r–27v, 330r–35v, 338r–43v, 347r–50v (ink sequence).

22 A total of 9 leaves were not included; see Table I for further information.

23 H390, folios 379r–82v, 6 and 7 April 1627 (ink sequence) are rare exceptions.

24 One example is a transcript of a letter from Charles I to Lord Digby (the Earl of Bristol) dated "the 20th day of January, in the First yeare of our Raigne" (20 January 1625/26; C. R. Cheyney, Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (1945; 1991 edn., p. 26)), placed one year later in the correspondence in both arrangements (ink sequence folio 192r, pencil sequence 193r, both after a London newsletter dated Friday 26 January 1626/27). It is clear that this letter was sent in 1626, perhaps during May; see below, p. 160 n. 5.
Michaelmas 1628. The second type was the transcript of London news based on the newsletters Mead received from London, usually written in the capital on a Friday and sent overnight to Cambridge. The relationship of these two types of letter is crucial with regard to the correct ordering of the contents of H390. As Mead did not often receive the previous day’s London newsletters on Saturday before the carrier left for Dalham around 11am (at most occasionally being able to scribble down a few “headlines”) he usually reserved his transcripts for delivery on the following Saturday. In order to keep Sir Martin aware of the chronology of the news he was sending, however, Mead retained the date of the original London letter in his transcript. In this way, the newsletter titled “London [Friday] January 19 1626” was sent with Mead’s own letter written in Cambridge on Saturday 27 January, London news of Friday 26 January was sent with Mead’s letter of Saturday 3 February, and so on. Since this was the order in which the letters were sent to Dalham it makes sense to keep them together, especially as Mead often mentioned items in the enclosure sent that week in his personal letters to Sir Martin. The adherence, in the current ordering of both H389 and H390, to the dates on the letters as the principle of arranging them has, however, led to Mead’s letter of Saturday 20 January 1626/27 being placed after his transcript dated Friday the 19th, and the London letter dated Friday 2 February being placed before Mead’s written on Saturday the 3rd, when it in fact accompanied his letter of the 10th.

This method of organisation, used throughout the MS, makes reading through the correspondence very difficult at first because (a) one is not quite sure what news Stuteville received when, and (b) numerous references in the letters themselves are made much less clear by the misplacing of the relevant material. Perhaps the most striking example in H390 of the misrepresentation of Mead’s newsletters caused by this chronological arrangement occurs in November

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26 For a further description and analysis of the different types of letter written by Mead see pp. 50–64 below.
28 There are numerous examples of this in H390, such as on folio 139v, Mead’s letter of Saturday 14 October 1626, referring to a rumour of the death of Maximilian of Bavaria contained in the enclosed transcript of London news dated Friday 6 October (folio 136v, lines 57–59); or Mead’s letter of Saturday 27 January 1626/27, folio 189r lines 6–11, referring to an item concerning Jacques Gaultier the Queen’s musician contained in the enclosed London letter of Friday 19 January, lines 92–98.
29 Unravelling the correct sequence at this point is made even more difficult by the erroneous placing of Mead’s letter of Saturday 27 January before his transcript of London news dated Friday the 26th, and by the presence of a misplaced “separate” (Charles I’s letter to the Earl of Bristol) after the transcript of the 26th.
1627 when the disaster at the Île de Rhé became known in Cambridge. The first report according to the current order of the leaves (a transcript of London news dated Friday 16 November) comes as somewhat of a surprise to the reader, but this would not in fact have been sent to Dalham until Saturday 24 November. The first report Stuteville would have received was that sent on Saturday 17 November based on the reports reaching London on Thursday the 15th, and one can feel Mead’s sense of shock at the news: “Because our last Newes cancelles whatsoever went before, I will first tell what came late last night concerning the Action of Re. viz That it is now at length come to an end with no little dishonour to our Nation, excessive charge to our treasurie, & great slaughter of our men.”

Obscured by the chronological arrangement of the correspondence which does not take into account Mead’s methods of news dispersal, his reaction to and treatment of his subject matter is in danger of being misunderstood if we retain the current system.

In the text of my edition, therefore, I have arranged the correspondence in the order in which, based on Mead’s system of delivery described above and other internal references, I believe they were sent. Headnotes have been added to each letter to indicate the date of delivery, together with any other material included in Mead’s weekly “budget” (such as books or printed newsbooks). There is, however, one exception to this rule: on two occasions in 1626 Mead’s letter and enclosures were not delivered on Saturday as usual, forcing him to keep them until he could find an opportunity to send them. These two “packets” have been arranged in my edition in the order in which they should have been sent, rather than when they were in fact delivered to Stuteville, with an explanatory headnote.

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30 H390, folios 316r–17v.
31 H390, folio 319r.
32 For a fuller description of these headnotes see the Editorial Conventions.
33 H390, folio 132r (Mead’s letter to Stuteville of Saturday 30 September 1626) was supposed to be sent on that day with folios 127r–28r (a transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 22 September), but due to a mistake was not delivered. Mead sent it with his following Saturday’s letter (folio 134r) with its enclosure (folio 131r–v). On Saturday 16 December 1626 Mead’s letter of that day (folio 176r) with its enclosure of London news dated Friday 8 December (folio 173r–v) was not delivered; he sent it on the evening of Monday 18 December with a covering letter explaining the mistake (folio 178r).
Table 1: the contents of H390 for 1626–27 as arranged under the “ink” and “pencil” sequences.

The following table was constructed to make clear the principles behind the first attempt to order the leaves after Suiteville’s own, the “ink sequence”, which appears quite confusing at first sight. It soon became clear that the intention was merely to place the letters (and as far as possible, the other material) in strict date order, using the dates on the leaves; that the librarian did a bad job explains the difficulties initially encountered.

Material covered: I have concentrated on the leaves covering the period January 1625/26 to December 1627: as some of these are incorrectly placed among the correspondence for 1628 and more wrongly ordered in the ink series, I have continued the table up to April 1628 where the last misplaced leaf is located.\(^ {34}\) The letters sent to Mead while he was at Dalham in August 1626 written by John Pory, Robert Gell and Amor Oxley, and the newsletter Mead carried to Dalham on Saturday 23 December 1626, now included among the correspondence of Sir Simonds D’Ewes in H383 (folios 33r–34v, 37r–38r, 39r–40r, 41r–42r, 51r–v) have not, however, been included in Table 1.

Date: The date of each item (or, in the case of some manuscript “separates”, a conjectural one) is given in the first column; the numerous errors in chronology perpetrated in the “ink sequence” can best be seen here.

Ink Numbers: The second column shows, in sequence, the foliation used by the librarian responsible for this arrangement. As already mentioned, Mead usually wrote his letters to Suiteville on bifolia;\(^ {35}\) on these the first recto and verso pages (and sometimes the second recto as well) were used for the text. The fourth page was reserved, in Mead’s personal letters, for Suiteville’s address; in the former’s transcripts of London newsletters all four pages (whether of a bifolium or of a half folio folded into two leaves) were often used. Each item, therefore, should (and does) normally cover two folio numbers: many of the single folio items in H390 are either manuscript “separates”, postscripts on scraps of paper or leaves originally conjugate that have become detached.

Pencil Numbers: In the third column the folio numbers given to each item in the rearrangement of 1875 is given; “N/A” means the ink sequence was not altered. It will be seen that the material for 1626 was little affected by the refoliation; conversely, most of the letters for 1627 show considerable alteration.

\(^ {34}\) Regarding the material in H390 up to the end of the correspondence in May 1631, the discrepancy between the two series of numbers (and hence the position of any given item) remains constant at between 1 and 3 folios: the major variations all occur in the material under review.

\(^ {35}\) See p. 1 above.
Transcripts: Where Mead sent a transcript of London newsletters in a separate paper I have indicated this in parentheses.

"Separates": The presence of manuscript "separates" has been indicated in parentheses; the scribe is Mead himself unless otherwise stated. Newsletters in hands other than Mead's have been recorded with their authors if known. Where two or more "separates" or transcripts were sent together in the same "budget" this has been noted.

Postscripts: Mead's occasional use of extra leaves to write postscripts for insertion into his letters, usually on receipt of the latest London news, has been recorded.
TABLE I: The "ink" and "pencil" sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1625/26</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 January</td>
<td>1r–2v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 January (transcript)</td>
<td>3r–4r.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 January</td>
<td>5r–6r.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 January</td>
<td>7r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January (Jonas Styles)</td>
<td>8r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 February</td>
<td>9r–10v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 February</td>
<td>11r–12v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 February</td>
<td>13r–14v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 February</td>
<td>15r–16v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 January</td>
<td>17r–18v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 February</td>
<td>19r–20v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 March</td>
<td>21r–22v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 March (transcript)</td>
<td>23r–24v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 March</td>
<td>25r–26v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 March (transcript)</td>
<td>27r–28v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 March</td>
<td>29r–30v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23–24 March (transcript)</td>
<td>31r–32v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: 1626</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 March</td>
<td>33r–34v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 March (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>35r.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>35v–36v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 April</td>
<td>37r–38v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 April</td>
<td>39r–40v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 4 April (newsbook)</td>
<td>41r–42v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 April</td>
<td>43r–44v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 April</td>
<td>45r–46v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 April</td>
<td>47r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36 Styles was a former pupil of Mead's (Peile, i. 299) who evidently wrote to him on a regular basis. Another letter dated Friday 22 April 1625 is now H389, folio 426; see also ibid., folio 495r.

37 This item and the one preceding it, Secretary Conway's letter to the Earl of Bristol of 24 March 1625/26 and the latter's reply of 30 March 1626 were sent together. Their current placing in H390 is conjectural.

38 STC 18507.178, no. 177 in F. Dahl's *Bibliography of English Corantos, Periodicals and Newsbooks, 1620–1642* (1952). Mead sent this with his letter of 8 April 1626; H390, folio 40r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1626</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 29 April (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>48r-(^\text{v}^39)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 April (transcript)</td>
<td>49r-50v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 May (transcript)</td>
<td>51r-52r.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1 May (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>52v.(^40)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 May</td>
<td>53r-54v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May (transcript)</td>
<td>55r-56v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 May</td>
<td>57r-58v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 7 May (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>59r-(^\text{v}^41)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May (transcript)</td>
<td>60r-61v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May</td>
<td>62r-63v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May (transcript)</td>
<td>64r-(^\text{v})</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 May (transcript)</td>
<td>65r-(^\text{v}^42)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 May</td>
<td>66r-67v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 June</td>
<td>68r-69v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 2 June (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>70r-v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 2 June (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>71r-v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 5 June (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>72r-(^\text{v}^43)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 June (transcript)</td>
<td>73r-74v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 June</td>
<td>75r-76v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 June (transcript)</td>
<td>77r-78v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 June</td>
<td>79r-80v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 June (transcript)</td>
<td>81r-v.</td>
<td>83r-v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>82r-83v.</td>
<td>81r-82v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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39 This copy of the Earl of Bristol’s petition (read in the House of Lords on Thursday 19 April) was sent with Mead’s letter written on Saturday 29 April; see below, p. 245 n. 4.

40 Sent with the preceding item.

41 This copy of the Lords’ petition on behalf of the Earl of Arundel of 19 April was misdated by Mead as presented on 17 May (presumably following his source), which was the date of a subsequent petition on Arundel’s behalf sent to Charles. It is, therefore, in the wrong place in H390. See below, p. 285 n. 1.

42 These transcripts dated Thursday 25 and Friday 26 May were sent with the preceding item. After close inspection of folios 64 and 65 (ink sequence) I believe that these two leaves were at one time conjugate; other examples of probable separate conjugate leaves in H390 are noted in the same way.

43 Charles’s letter to Cambridge University after Buckingham’s election was sent with the two preceding items, the Earl of Berkshire’s and Buckingham’s letters.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1626</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 July</td>
<td>84r–v + 86r–v&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 17 June (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>85r–v&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 July (transcript)</td>
<td>87r–88v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 July</td>
<td>89r–90v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July</td>
<td>91r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 15 June (&quot;separate&quot;: scribe unknown)</td>
<td>92r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 July</td>
<td>93r–94v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July</td>
<td>95r–96v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 July (transcript)</td>
<td>97r–98v&lt;sup&gt;46&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 July</td>
<td>99r–v + &quot;99a&quot;r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 July</td>
<td>100r–01v.</td>
<td>99r–100v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 August</td>
<td>102r–03v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 August</td>
<td>104r–05v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 August (Robert Gell)</td>
<td>106r–07v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 August + 1 September (Robert Gell?)</td>
<td>108r–09v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 20 August (&quot;separate&quot;: scribe unknown)</td>
<td>110r–11v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 August (John Pory)</td>
<td>112r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 September (transcript)</td>
<td>113r–14v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 4 September (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>115r–16v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 September</td>
<td>117r–18v&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 September (transcript)</td>
<td>119r–20v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 September</td>
<td>121r–22v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 September</td>
<td>123r–24v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 September (transcript)</td>
<td>125r–26v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>127r–28v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>44</sup> H390, folio 86 is blank apart from Mead’s subscription. Beneath this, however, the date “July 1” has been added (by Stuteville) which suggests this leaf was originally conjugate with folio 84, Mead’s letter of Saturday 1 July.

<sup>45</sup> There are two different items on folio 85r, sent with the preceding letter.

<sup>46</sup> The two “separates” on folios 92r–94v were sent with this letter.

<sup>47</sup> This indicates the presence of a blank leaf not counted by either of the librarians responsible for the numerical ordering of the leaves: this occurs several times in H390 and is noted in the same manner.

<sup>48</sup> Sent with the preceding item.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27 September (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>129r–30v, 49</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September (transcript)</td>
<td>131r–v + &quot;131a&quot;r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 September</td>
<td>132r–33v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 October</td>
<td>134r–35v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October (transcript)</td>
<td>136r–v + &quot;136a&quot;r–v, 51</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 October</td>
<td>137r–38v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 October</td>
<td>139r–40v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 October (transcript)</td>
<td>141r–42v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 October (transcript)</td>
<td>143r–44v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 October</td>
<td>145r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 October (transcript)</td>
<td>147r–46v, 52</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 October</td>
<td>148r–49v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 October (postscript)</td>
<td>150r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>151r–52v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November (transcript)</td>
<td>153r–54v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November (transcript)</td>
<td>155r–56v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 November</td>
<td>157r–58v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 November</td>
<td>159r–60v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 November (transcript)</td>
<td>161r–62v.</td>
<td>163r–64v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 November</td>
<td>163r–64v.</td>
<td>165r–66v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 November (transcript)</td>
<td>165r–66v.</td>
<td>161r–62v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 December (transcript)</td>
<td>167r–68v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 December</td>
<td>169r–70v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 December</td>
<td>171r–72v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 December (transcript)</td>
<td>173r–v + &quot;173a&quot;r–v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 December (transcript)</td>
<td>174r–75v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 December</td>
<td>176r–77v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 December</td>
<td>178r–79v.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 This item (a copy of a letter written at Altenau near Hamburg by Sir Robert Anstruther the English Ambassador to Denmark on 26 September/6 October 1626) was misdated by Mead but must in any case be misplaced in H390. My placing of this document is conjectural; see below, p. 322 n. 1.

50 Dated in error by "the annotator"; Mead had sent it on 30 September.

51 H390 folio "136a" was numbered "137" in the "ink sequence", the number then being deleted.

52 This irregularity of the foliation is due to the letter having been mounted in the wrong order; see the Headnote on p. 328 below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1626/27</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 10 January (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>181r–v.</td>
<td>182r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January (transcript)</td>
<td>183r–84v.</td>
<td>184r–85v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 13 January (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>186r–v.</td>
<td>187r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 January</td>
<td>188r–89v.</td>
<td>189r–90v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 January (transcript)</td>
<td>190r–91v.</td>
<td>191r–92v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 January 1625/26 (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>192r–v.</td>
<td>193r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 February</td>
<td>193r–94v.</td>
<td>194r–95v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 February (transcript)</td>
<td>195r–96v.</td>
<td>196r–97v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 February (postscript)</td>
<td>197r–v.</td>
<td>200r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 February</td>
<td>198r–99v.</td>
<td>201r–02v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 9 February (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>200v–r.</td>
<td>203v–r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 February (transcript)</td>
<td>201r–02v.</td>
<td>198r–99v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 February</td>
<td>203r–v.</td>
<td>206r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 April</td>
<td>204r–05v.</td>
<td>232r–33v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 April (transcript)</td>
<td>206r–v + &quot;206a&quot;r–v.</td>
<td>234r–v + &quot;234a&quot; r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 April</td>
<td>207r–08v.</td>
<td>235r–36v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 April (transcript)</td>
<td>210r–11v.</td>
<td>237r–38v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 April (transcript)</td>
<td>212r–13v.</td>
<td>240r–41v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 May (transcript)</td>
<td>215r–16v.</td>
<td>243r–44v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 May</td>
<td>217r–18v.</td>
<td>245r–46v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 May (transcript)</td>
<td>219r–20r.</td>
<td>247r–48v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

53 Sent with the preceding item.
54 H390, folio 188v has been dated "January 20" next to Mead's subscription, which suggests it was originally conjugate with folio 186. See n. 44 above.
55 Sent with the preceding item.
56 This item (Charles's letter to the Earl of Bristol) was sent to Dalham in the previous year by Mead, perhaps during May; see below, p. 160 n. 5.
57 A third folio number (180) was written on this leaf then deleted, probably at the same time as the reordering of the leaves in 1875 ("pencil sequence").
58 This leaf was inserted back to front. Mead sent it with the two preceding items.
59 H390, folio 242v has been dated "April 28" next to Mead's subscription, which suggests it was originally conjugate with folio 239. See n. 44 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1627</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 May</td>
<td>221r–22v.</td>
<td>249r–50v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 May (transcript)</td>
<td>223r–24v.</td>
<td>251r–52v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May</td>
<td>225r–26v.</td>
<td>253r–54v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>229r–30v.</td>
<td>257r–58v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 June (transcript)</td>
<td>231r–32v.</td>
<td>259r–60v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 June</td>
<td>233r–34v.</td>
<td>261r–62v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 June (transcript)</td>
<td>237r–38v.</td>
<td>267r–68v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 June</td>
<td>239r–40v.</td>
<td>269r–70v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 June</td>
<td>241r–42v.</td>
<td>271r–72v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 June</td>
<td>243r–44v.</td>
<td>273r–74v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 June (transcript)</td>
<td>245r–46v.</td>
<td>275r–76v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 July</td>
<td>248r–49v.</td>
<td>279r–80v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 June (transcript)</td>
<td>250r–51v.</td>
<td>263r–64v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July (transcript)</td>
<td>252r–53v.</td>
<td>281r–82v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July</td>
<td>254r–55v.</td>
<td>283r–84v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 July</td>
<td>256r–57v.</td>
<td>285r–86v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 August (transcript)</td>
<td>258r–59v.</td>
<td>287r–88v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 August</td>
<td>260r–61v.</td>
<td>289r–90v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 September (transcript)</td>
<td>262r–63v.</td>
<td>291r–92v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 September</td>
<td>264r–65v.</td>
<td>293r–94v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 September (transcript)</td>
<td>266r–67v.</td>
<td>295r–96v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 September</td>
<td>268r–69v.</td>
<td>297r–98v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October</td>
<td>270r–71v.</td>
<td>299r–300v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 October (transcript)</td>
<td>272r–73v.</td>
<td>301r–02v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 October</td>
<td>274r–75v.</td>
<td>303r–04v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60 Folio 268 was numbered 40 in pencil, then deleted.
61 Folio 269 was numbered 41 in pencil, then deleted.
62 This appears to be the only instance in H390 where an omitted number in the ink sequence has been rectified by the subsequent arrangement.
63 Folios 250–51 in the ink sequence have been also numbered 235–36 (deleted), possibly by the same hand.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1627</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 October</td>
<td>276r–v + 278r–v</td>
<td>305r–06v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 October (postscript)</td>
<td>277r–v.</td>
<td>307r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 October</td>
<td>279r–80v.</td>
<td>308r–09v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 October</td>
<td>281r–82v.</td>
<td>310r–11v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 November</td>
<td>283r–84v.</td>
<td>312r–13v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November</td>
<td>285r–86v.</td>
<td>314r–15v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 November (transcript)</td>
<td>287r–88v.</td>
<td>316r–17v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 15 November (&quot;separate&quot;: scribe unknown)</td>
<td>289r–v.</td>
<td>318r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 November</td>
<td>290r–91v.</td>
<td>319r–20v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 November (postscript)</td>
<td>292r–v.</td>
<td>321r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November (transcript)</td>
<td>293r–94v.</td>
<td>322r–23v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 November</td>
<td>295r–96v.</td>
<td>324r–25v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 November (transcript)</td>
<td>297r–98v.</td>
<td>326r–27v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 December</td>
<td>299r–300v.</td>
<td>328r–29v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1 December (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>301r–v.</td>
<td>330r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 December</td>
<td>302r–03v.</td>
<td>331r–32v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 December</td>
<td>304r–05v.</td>
<td>333r–34v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Date: 1627/28**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 January</td>
<td>311r–12v.</td>
<td>339r–40v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 January</td>
<td>315r–16v.</td>
<td>343r–44v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>317r–18v.</td>
<td>345r–46v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 February</td>
<td>321r–22v.</td>
<td>349r–50v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 February (postscript)</td>
<td>323r–v.</td>
<td>351r–v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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64 The ink sequence treated this bifolium somewhat oddly by not numbering the two leaves in order: I assume that the postscript inserted into the letter (H390, folio 277) was dealt with before the blank leaf 278.

65 This item, Mead's copy of a letter sent by Christian IV of Denmark to the Duke of Buckingham (dated 18 December 1626 [New Style]), was sent with Mead's letter of 3 March 1626/27, H390, folios 217r–18v ("pencil sequence").

66 This letter was dated "1627/28" in error by the "annotator".

67 This letter (and that of 17 January below) were dated "1627/28" in error by the "annotator."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1627/28</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 February</td>
<td>324r–25v.</td>
<td>352r–53v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 February 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>326r–27v.</td>
<td>204r–05v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 February 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>330r–31v.</td>
<td>209r–10v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 February 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>332r–33v.68</td>
<td>207r–08v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 February 1626/27</td>
<td>334r–35v.</td>
<td>211r–12v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 March 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>338r–39v.</td>
<td>213r–14v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 March 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>340r–41v.69</td>
<td>215r–16v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 March 1626/27</td>
<td>342r–43v.</td>
<td>217r–18v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March</td>
<td>344r–45v.</td>
<td>358r–59v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 March (postscript)</td>
<td>346r–v.</td>
<td>360r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 March 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>347r–48v.</td>
<td>219r–20v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 March 1626/27</td>
<td>349r–50v.</td>
<td>221r–22v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 March</td>
<td>351r–52v.</td>
<td>361r–62v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 March 1626/27 (transcript)</td>
<td>353r–54v.</td>
<td>223r–24v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 March 1626/27</td>
<td>355r–56v.</td>
<td>225r–26v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 17 March 1627/28 (&quot;separate&quot;: Owen Bridge) 70</td>
<td>357r–v.</td>
<td>363r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March (transcript)</td>
<td>358r–59v.</td>
<td>364r–65v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 March</td>
<td>361r–62v.71</td>
<td>367r–68v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: 1628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 March 1627</td>
<td>365r–66v.72</td>
<td>230r–31v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1 April (&quot;separate&quot;)</td>
<td>367r–v.</td>
<td>389r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 March</td>
<td>368r–69v.</td>
<td>370r–71v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 March 1627 (transcript)</td>
<td>370r–v + &quot;370a&quot;r–v.73</td>
<td>229r–v + &quot;229a&quot;r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 April</td>
<td>371r–v.</td>
<td>381r–v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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68 Sent with the preceding item.
69 Sent with the preceding item.
70 Owen Bridge was Justinian Isham’s servant; Mead noted in his letter of 22 March 1627/28 (H390, folio 367v) that “Master Ishams man was [his] Scribe”; Peile, i. 385.
71 H390, folio 360 does not appear in the “ink sequence”.
72 H390, folio 365 (“ink sequence”) has been corrected to 366.
73 H390, folio 370 in the ink sequence was also numbered 365 (deleted), possibly by the same hand.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: 1628</th>
<th>Ink Number</th>
<th>Pencil Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 4 April (Buckingham's speech)</td>
<td>372r–75v.</td>
<td>382r–85v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 April</td>
<td>376r–v.</td>
<td>386r–v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 April</td>
<td>377r–78v.</td>
<td>376r–77v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 April 1627 (transcript)</td>
<td>379r–80v.</td>
<td>372r–73v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 April 1627</td>
<td>381r–82v.</td>
<td>374r–75v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 *STC* 24739, *The proceedings of the Parliament, being this day related to the King. The Duke of Buckingham his Speech...the 4th of April, 1628*. Mead sent it on 13 April 1628 (H390, folio 380r).

75 This and the preceding letter were among the few items not placed in the correct year in the "pencil sequence".
Table II: watermarks appearing in H390 for Mead's letters, January 1625/26 - December 1627

The distribution of watermarks in Mead's correspondence for 1626–27 indicating his use of sizeable batches of paper for his newsletters to Dalham has been tabulated below. As with the material dealt with in Table I, I have included material in H390 up to April 1628 as some letters from 1627 have been misplaced in that year. Transcripts of London news and Mead’s postscripts on separate leaves of paper have been identified, as above, and the presence of other hands in the MS (with the author if known). When a watermark appears on a blank leaf, usually the second leaf of a bifolium on which Mead wrote his subscription, this has been noted. On those occasions when a watermark is split between two leaves (or, in the case of type VI, where the countermark appears) I have indicated this by the notation “141 + 142”, etc.

Mead’s frequent use of a half sheet folded into two folio leaves (in which the chain lines run, quartowise, horizontally across the paper) for his transcripts of London news has meant that fewer of the contents of H390 appear in Table II than Table I. This is because (with the exception of type VI) the paper Mead used was not countermarked: the half sheet sent to Dalham did not always carry the watermark and therefore is not recorded below. It is likely, however, that on these occasions the second half sheet carrying the watermark was used by Mead for a subsequent transcript and has been included in Table II.

The different types of watermark appearing in the correspondence for 1626–27 have been classified in Table II according to their basic designs, which are as follows:

Type I: Pot; in the style of Heawood 3580; see also Churchill 458.77
Type Ia: As above, with initials ?M P; similar design to Heawood (1931), nos. 86–8.
Type Ib: As above (unidentified).
Type Ic: As above, with initial D? (unidentified).

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76 Examples include H390, folios 143–44 (transcript of London news dated Friday 20 October 1626), 153–54 (Friday 4 November 1626), 204–05 (Friday 16 February 1626/27), 207–08 (Friday 23 February 1626/27).
77 E. Heawood, Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries (Hilversum, 1950) (hereafter cited as Heawood, Watermarks); W. A. Churchill, Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection (Hilversum, 1935). Churchill 458 is from a French paper of 1618; p. 86. As Heawood has commented elsewhere, the pot was “perhaps the commonest mark in England in the seventeenth century” and the different types in H390 can only be tentatively identified; ‘Papers used in England after 1600: I. The Seventeenth Century to c. 1680’, The Library, 4th series, 11 (1931), 288 (hereafter cited as Heawood (1931)).
Type II: Shield with crozier and horn; very similar to Heawood 1216.78
Type IIa: As above, but slightly different design in the scrollwork at the top of the shield; compare Heawood 1224.79
Type IIb: As above, but different crozier design and with initials (D B) on either side; very similar to Heawood 1226.80
Type III: Two posts with grapes and decoration between and initials (unidentified).
Type IIIa: As above but more decorated with the initials ?A O; recalls Heawood 3500 and Heawood (1931), no. 70.81
Type IV: Shield with two lions as supporters (unidentified).
Type V: Bunch of grapes? (unidentified).
Type Va: As above (unidentified).
Type VI: Three hats, with clover leaf countermark; very similar to Heawood 2596.82
Type VII: Key (unidentified).
Type VIII: Unidentified.

As has already been mentioned Mead bought large batches of paper on which to write his newsletters, and of the watermarks found in H390 Table II indicates that only four recur frequently: Types II–IIb and IIIa.83
Table II: Distribution of Watermarks in H390, 1626–27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio Number in H390</th>
<th>Date: 1625/26</th>
<th>Watermark Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 (blank)</td>
<td>12 January</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13 January (transcript)</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21 January</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>22 January</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>27 January (Jonas Styles)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4 February</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>11 February</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>18 February</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (blank)</td>
<td>25 February</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>28 January</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>28 February</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>4 March</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10 March (transcript)</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>11 March</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>17 March (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>18 March</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 + 32</td>
<td>23–24 March (transcript)</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Date: 1626

| 33                   | 25 March 1626  | II             |
| 36                   | 24 March 1625/26 and 30 March 1626  | II |
| 37                   | 1 April        | II             |
| 40                   | 8 April        | II             |
| 41                   | c. 4 April     | V              |
| 43                   | 15 April       | II             |
| 46 (blank)           | 22 April       | II             |
| 48                   | 29 April       | II             |
| 49                   | 28 April (transcript) | II |
| 51                   | 5 May (transcript) | II |
| 53                   | 6 May          | II             |
| 56                   | 12 May (transcript) | II |

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84 These items, copies of letters to and from the Earl of Bristol, were begun by Mead but completed in an unknown hand; see below, pp. 223, 225.

85 This item comprises two leaves of STC 18507.178, sent by Mead with his letter of 8 April; see n. 38 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio Number in H390</th>
<th>Date: 1626</th>
<th>Watermark Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58 (blank)</td>
<td>13 May</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>19 May (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 (blank)</td>
<td>20 May</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>25 and 26 May (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>27 May</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>3 June</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>c. 5 June ^86</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>9 June (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 (blank)</td>
<td>10 June</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>16 June (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>17 June</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>30 June (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>late June ^87</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86 (blank)</td>
<td>1 July ^88</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>7 July (transcript)</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>8 July</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>late June ^89</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>15 July</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>22 July</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>24 July</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 + &quot;101a&quot; ^90</td>
<td>28 July (transcript)</td>
<td>IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 (blank)</td>
<td>29 July</td>
<td>IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 +105</td>
<td>4 August (transcript)</td>
<td>IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>5 August</td>
<td>IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>11 August (Robert Gell)</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^86 On H390, folios 71–72 Mead copied the letters sent to the University by Buckingham and Charles I on the Duke's election as Chancellor.

^87 On this leaf Mead sent Stuteville a copy of the Lords' petition of 15 June to Charles to continue the Parliamentary session, together with some verses attacking Buckingham.

^88 This half folio sheet, blank except for Mead's subscription, was probably originally conjugate with H390, folio 84 (on which Mead wrote his letter of 1 July).

^89 This item is Mead's diagram of the apparition of the "Four Suns" seen at Edinburgh on 15 June.

^90 The second leaf of this half folio has not been included in the current arrangement of H390. Further examples have been recorded in the same way; see n. 47 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio Number in H390</th>
<th>Date: 1626</th>
<th>Watermark Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>25 August and 1 September (Robert Gell)</td>
<td>Va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>c. 20 August</td>
<td>Ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>8 September (transcript)</td>
<td>Ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>c. 5 September</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 (blank)</td>
<td>9 September</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>15 September (transcript)</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124 (blank)</td>
<td>16 September</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 (blank)</td>
<td>21 September</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>22 September (transcript)</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>26 September (New Style)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>29 September (transcript)</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>30 September</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>3 October</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“136a”</td>
<td>6 October (transcript)</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 (blank)</td>
<td>7 October</td>
<td>Iia?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>14 October</td>
<td>Iia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141 + 142</td>
<td>13 October (transcript)</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>21 October</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>27 October (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>28 October</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>28 October (postscript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>10 November (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>11 November</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 (blank)</td>
<td>18 November</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161 + 162</td>
<td>17 November (transcript)</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91 This “separate” in an unknown hand was sent to Mead during August but the exact date is not recorded.
92 Pory misdated this letter 17 August.
93 This “separate” (said to be of Sir Robert Cotton’s paper delivered to the Privy Council on Sunday 3 September) was sent with the above item.
94 This is a copy by Mead (misdated 27 September) of Sir Robert Anstruther’s letter to Charles I of 26 September/6 October 1626, written from Altenau near Hamburg.
95 This letter has been misdated 31 September on the top of each page by the “annotator”.
96 Mead sent this later on Saturday 28 October on receipt of the latest news from London.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio Number in H390</th>
<th>Date: 1626</th>
<th>Watermark Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>24 November (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>25 November</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>1 December (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170 (blank)</td>
<td>2 December</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>9 December</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173 + &quot;173a&quot;</td>
<td>8 December (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>15 December (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>16 December</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>18 December</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183 (blank)</td>
<td>13 January 97</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>19 January (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>20 January</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190 (blank)</td>
<td>27 January</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>26 January (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>?May 1626 98</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>3 February</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196 + 197</td>
<td>9 February (transcript)</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>2 February (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>9 February (postscript) 99</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202 (blank)</td>
<td>10 February</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>c. 10 February 100</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>23 February (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>24 February</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215 + 216</td>
<td>2 March (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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97 On close inspection I believe this was originally the second leaf of a bifolium, conjugate with H390 folio 181, Mead’s letter to Stuteville of 13 January 1626/27.

98 This item, Charles I’s letter to the Earl of Bristol dated 20 January 1625/26, has been considerably misplaced in H390, having been sent to Dalham in the preceding year. The watermark suggests it was not sent before mid-March (when Mead started regularly using paper with type II on it); it was perhaps sent during May when the proceedings against Bristol in the House of Lords were prominently featured in the news Mead received from London.

99 Mead included this item (comprising items from the latest London news) with his letter of Saturday 10 February below.

100 This extract from *Tertia Secretissima Instructio Gallo-Britanno-Batava* (?Brussels, 1627) was sent with Mead’s letter of 10 February.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio Number in H390</th>
<th>Date: 1626/27</th>
<th>Watermark Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>218 (blank)</td>
<td>3 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>10 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>16 March (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>17 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>24 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229 + “229a”</td>
<td>30 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>12 April</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234 + “234a”</td>
<td>13 April (transcript)</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>21 April</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237 + 238</td>
<td>20 April (transcript)</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>28 April</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245 + 246 (blank)</td>
<td>5 May</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247 + 248</td>
<td>11 May (transcript)</td>
<td>VI 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249 + 250</td>
<td>11 May</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>18 May (transcript)</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253 + 254</td>
<td>19 May</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255 + 256</td>
<td>25 May (transcript)</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262 (blank)</td>
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*101 The main mark only appears on this half folio; it is probable that Mead divided the full sheet and used the other half for his transcript dated 18 May, H390 folios 251–52 (on which the countermark only appears).*
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102 On Sunday 18 November Mead added further details to the latest London news dated Friday the 16th, transcribed on H390, folios 316–17r.

103 This letter was dated “1627/28” in error by the “annotator”.

104 Both this and Mead’s letter of 17 January 1628/29 below were dated “1627/28” in error by the “annotator”. 
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"Of one who constantly kept his cell, (so he called his Chamber) none travailed oftener and farther all over Christendom"; so Thomas Fuller described Joseph Mead's interest in current events. At first sight, Mead would not seem to be one of the most copious and informative newsletter writers of the early Stuart period. From the time of his coming up to Christ's College as a sizar in July 1603 to his death in October 1638 he remained in Cambridge, only leaving the University to make occasional visits to London, relations in Essex and the families of some of his students; and, although his biographers from John Worthington in the 1660s onwards refer to his interest in news his main contemporary claim to fame was as a Biblical scholar, especially of the Book of Revelations.

Joseph Mead was born at Berden in Essex on 13 October 1586, and was related to the Meads of Wendon Loft, a relatively prominent gentry family. Apart from the account of his early years in the "Life" preceding John Worthington's edition of his works and repeated ever since, little is known about Mead's close relatives. From an account of his estate drawn up by his executor John Alsop we know he had two sisters, Rebecca and "Sister Cass", The latter predeceased Joseph; in his will Mead left Rebecca £40 and bequests to all his nephews and nieces. Mead evidently

105 T. Fuller, The history of the worthies of England (1662 edn.), Xxlv-2r. Theologians evidently warranted greater attention than playwrights; Fuller's biographical notice of Mead is longer than that given to William Shakespeare (ibid., Qqq3v).

106 Peile, i. 245-47.

107 See for instance the the biographical details in J. Worthington (ed.), The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede, B. D., Sometime Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge (1664), a1r-h4r, ii1r-ii6v; DNB, xiii. 178-80.

108 Metcalfe (ed.), The visitations of Essex, i. 448-50 has the pedigrees of three branches of the family: the Meads of Berden are on p. 450. Joseph Mead himself does not appear.

109 Worthington, alv.

110 Rebecca had married one William Hager; the unnamed second sister a Henry Cass; Christ's College Archives, Box M72 (G) (account of Joseph Mead's estate drawn up on 25 October 1641), folio 1r. I would like to thank Henry Button for bringing this document to my attention. Mead's estate was valued at £822 4s. 10d, £376 4s. 10d. of which was found, in cash, in his room; ibid.

111 The original copy of Mead's will is now Christ's College Archives, Box M72 (F); see also Public Record Office, Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (19 Harvey), folio 142r. The children of Rebecca Hager were Joseph (Mead's godson), Rebecca, Samuel and Sarah; of "Sister Cas", Joseph (Mead's other godson), Elizabeth, Anna, Mary, Rebecca and Henry. Mead left £40 each to his two godchildren and £20 each to his other nephews and nieces; CCA, Box M72 (G), folio 1r.
advanced money to members of his family: at his death two of his uncles, George and John, were in his debt.\textsuperscript{112} (At least one of his uncles had owed him money for a number of years. Mead employed William Boswell, a close friend and one of his best sources of news as his intermediary in this business: the latter wrote to Mead in June 1625 referring to it).\textsuperscript{113} It is clear, however, that by the
time of his correspondence with Stuteville his main links with his family were through Wendon Lofts.\textsuperscript{114} Mead first went to Dalham as a young Master of Arts (he proceeded M. A. in 1610),\textsuperscript{115} and we can assume this must have been soon after his election in 1613,\textsuperscript{116} if not before; a pattern of
behaviour that only ceased with Sir Martin's death in June 1631. Mead was a good student but had difficulties at first in obtaining his fellowship due to the opposition of Valentine Cary, Master of the
College, who thought he "looked too much toward Geneva",\textsuperscript{117} which in turn was probably related to the internal dissension within the College as a result of the acrimony over Cary's election in 1609.\textsuperscript{118} (That Christ's was hardly a place of harmony at this time is indicated by the incident late in 1615 when Mead and William Chappell, later John Milton's tutor, were reprimanded by Cary for "skoffing at the Dean", Edward Franklin, in Hall. Chappell successfully appealed to the Vice-

\textsuperscript{112} CCA, Box M72 (G), folio 1r; George owed him £20, John £15. The latter sum was included among the "desperate" debts owed to Mead and had not been repaid by October 1641; ibid., folios 1r, 2r.

\textsuperscript{113} H383, folio 23r. As this letter was to be seen by Sir Martin, Mead deleted the passage. There is another reference to this matter in a letter his former pupil, Jonas Styles, wrote to Mead in January 1625/26, but this has been very heavily crossed out and is very difficult to read; H390, folio 8v. See the text of the letter on pp. 149-50 below.

\textsuperscript{114} Mead's relatively frequent visits into Essex recorded in his letters (usually as a reason for not being able to keep to his Saturday routine of sending letters) were to Sir John's family: see for instance H389, folios 304r, 347r, 472v, 474r; H390, folio 125r, 271r, 273r. Mead attended a christening in Cambridge with Catharine, Sir John Mead's wife, in 1628; ibid., folio 352v.

\textsuperscript{115} Worthington, i4v; Peile, i. 245. Mead's account book for Thomas Stuteville has entries from April 1615, and payments received, presumably at Dalham, from August of that year; CCA, T. 11. 1 (Mead's account book, 24 June 1613 – 24 March 1620/21), folio 15r-v (not numbered by Mead).

\textsuperscript{116} On 13 June of that year. In a letter written on 13 June 1629 Mead added beneath the date "the day I was admitted Fellow" before deleting the reference; BL Add. MS 19398, folio 119r.

\textsuperscript{117} Worthington, i1r.

Chancellor, Owen Gwynne of St. John's, and the punishment of the two Fellows was mitigated to an apology to Cary in his chamber. The 1664 biography of Mead states that it took the intervention of Lancelot Andrewes (then Bishop of Ely) for Mead to get the appointment, but, given Cary's links with Dalham (he left plate worth £20 to his "antient, true, and worthy friend, Sir Martin Stuteville" in his will) it is possible that, if Mead knew Stuteville by that time, the latter also helped Mead to his fellowship.

Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham in Suffolk, born in 1569, was a member of an ancient Suffolk family; he had spent time at both King's College Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn, had sailed with Sir Francis Drake to America and had been a burgess for Aldeburgh in Queen Elizabeth's last Parliament. He was knighted in 1604, succeeded to the Dalham estate in 1606, was a JP by 1609 at the latest and High Sheriff of Suffolk in 1612-13: if he was less active by the 1620s he remained a respected Suffolk gentleman who had seen far more of the wider world than had Mead.

119 J. Peile, *Christ's College* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 127-28; Morgan, p. 540. Although David Hoyle (disagreeing with Morgan) convincingly reappraises the significance of Cary's election in terms of the wider Cambridge situation it is clear that discontent remained in the College. The later factionalism described by Thomas Leigh (for which see p. 88 below) in which Mead played a (perhaps unwilling) part points to the same conclusion; D. M. Hoyle, "Near Popery yet no Popery": Theological Debate in Cambridge 1590-1644" (University of Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1991), pp. 89-94. It is worth bearing in mind that both William Power and William Chappell, later the supposed patrons of the "Puritans" and the "Powritans" respectively, were Fellows of the College in 1609 and that the latter was one of those who attempted to keep Cary out by electing William Pemberton as Master. Chappell's ill-will towards Franklin probably derived from the fact that the latter was very much Cary's "man" among the fellows. Franklin was elected in 1610 on that basis; Bondos-Greene, pp. 204-05, 207.

120 Worthington, a2v, ilv.

121 C. J. Robinson, "The Cary Family", *Notes & Queries*, 3rd series, vi (1864), 174. Cary was also godfather to Stuteville's daughter Jane (he left her £10 in his will); ibid., p. 174; Vage, 'The Diocese of Exeter 1519-1641', p. 325 n. 788. The suggestion that Sir Martin was involved in Mead's election was first made, I believe, by Peile: i. 245-46.

122 Sir Martin also owned property at Southwood Park, near Hargrave Green, a village some three miles south-east of Dalham; P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols (1981), iii. 464. Mead visited there on occasion; H390, folio 18r.

123 Around 1825 a member of the Isaacson family (descendants of Sir Martin) collected materials about the Stutevilles; this is now British Library, Additional MS 17732. Material concerning Sir Martin is on folios 70r, 73r-v, 147v, 151r-52r (Sir Martin's epitaph in Dalham parish church which records his travels with Drake is transcribed on 154v). See also British Library, Additional MS 19150, a nineteenth-century collection of Suffolk family pedigrees by D. E. Davy; details of the various branches of the Stuteville family are on folios 201v-26v. For further details on Sir Martin see J. H. Gleason, *The Justices of the*
local importance can be gauged from the fact that the diarist John Rous recorded his death among the national news in which he showed such an interest. Sir Martin married twice; his first wife, Catharine, was sister to Sir Thomas Holland of Quiddenham in Norfolk. She died in 1605; three years later Stuteville married Susan Isham, sister of Sir John Isham of Lamport Hall, the first Baronet (in 1627) and, by that time, head of one of the richest families in Northamptonshire. Stuteville had ten children by these marriages, eight of whom survived infancy; Mead was tutor to Sir Martin’s eldest son Thomas (by his first marriage) from April 1615 until 1618, and also to John, Stuteville’s eldest son by his second marriage, from April 1625 until late 1628. Apart from the Hollands and the Ishams, Stuteville was related (through Susan’s elder sister Elizabeth) to the D’Ewes’s of Stowlangtoft in Suffolk who, like the Ishams, were moving up the social ladder at this time.

Mead’s and (especially) Stuteville’s gentry contacts did not just ensure a constant stream of visits by Sir Martin’s relatives to Dalham and by Mead to Wendon Lofts; they represented a constant source of patronage for the latter. Apart from Stuteville, Sir John Isham sent his son Justinian to Christ’s as Mead’s pupil in 1627, and Sir John of Wendon Lofts in did the same in 1636 (as Mead had not taken any pupils for three years, this was probably a personal favour). Other relatives of

Peace in England 1558 to 1640: a later ‘Eirenarcha’ (Oxford, 1969), p. 258; Hasler (ed.), The House of Commons 1558–1603, i. 246–47; iii. 464; The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln’s Inn, 2 vols (1896), i. 107; K. M. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton 1586–1631: history and politics in early modern England (Oxford, 1979), p. 198; W. A. Shaw, The Knights of England: a complete record from the earliest time to the present day of the Knights of all the orders of chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors, 2 vols (1906), ii. 134; J. and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900. Part I, from the earliest times to 1751, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922–27), iv. 181. The date of Stuteville’s adventuring with Drake is unknown but given the available evidence I would suggest it was in 1596, the latter’s final (and fatal) voyage. Mead sent Stuteville in December 1626 a relation of Drake’s voyage of 1572–73, STC 18544, thinking it had been the one Sir Martin had travelled on before realising he would have been far too young; H390, folio 169r.

124 British Library, Additional MS 22959, folio 44r.
126 Peile, i. 303, 366; BL Add. MS 17732, folio 151r; BL Add. MS 19150, folios 202r, 203v–04r.
128 Peile, i. 387; Sir G. Isham (ed.), The correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham 1630–1660 (Lamport Hall, Northants., 1954), pp. xxxiii–iv (Isham); Peile, i. 444–45; Metcalfe, p. 448 (Mead). It is noteworthy that all of the five Meads who came up to Christ’s between 1614–33 were
Stuteville to come to Christ's included John Higham and the Pagitt brothers, Justinian and Thomas. Victor Morgan has noted the increase in contacts between tutors and the gentry parents of their charges in this period, and Mead's scattering of contacts in Suffolk and Northamptonshire exemplifies this development and underlines the importance of gentry "networking" in feeding students to the University. By the mid-1620s, indeed, Mead was well-known enough among Stuteville's family and acquaintance to receive unsolicited requests to act as tutor, and he used Sir Martin's access to the Suffolk gentry network to get further information about his prospective charges. Sir John Taysborough of Flixton in Suffolk came to Cambridge in March 1625/26 and, as a recommendation for himself and his two sons claimed to know Stuteville well, which Mead checked (as well as the size of Tesborough's estate); the report must have been satisfactory since Charles and Cressy Taysborough entered Christ's later that year. Mead's relations with a number of gentry families meant that he often had a choice of summer retreats during the Long Vacation: although one hopes that his hosts were generally less importunate than Sir John Isham who, as Mead was leaving Lamport late at night after a visit in August 1627 appeared in his nightshirt to try to persuade Mead to stay for two more weeks! Although Mead visited several country residences, however, it appears that he sometimes only did so out of politeness, as he indicated (before going to Lamport again) in July 1628:

I shall not write to you any more, till it please God, I returne safe home. Which as soone as I do, I will send you word for I shall long to be at Dalham...I would I were not so farre engaged: I could else have found in my heart, to have spent this whole vacation at Dalham; that is my place of rest, all places else, I go to, are but toyles. But I cannot mend it now...  

Joseph's pupils: some at least of these men must have been his younger cousins; Peile, i. 299, 378, 382, 394.
129 Peile, i. 357, 397.
131 Mead had been 'lurcht with Fellowcommoners' twice already (H390, folio 37r: the two in question were probably John Lynne and William Huddleston; see below, p. 214 n. 3), and wished to avoid a repetition. This reminds us that even the sons of local landowners could be bad risks (as their tutor, Mead had to lay out their expenses in advance before being reimbursed by the parents of his pupils).
132 H390, folios 33r, 37r, 39r; Peile, i. 374.
133 H390, folio 289r; Mead was returning from a trip to York during which he stayed at the Lincolnshire home of Sir Hamond Whichcote, father of another of his pupils; Peile, i. 426.
134 H390, folio 425r, 19 July 1628.
In the description of his activities that follows it is important to remember that his relationship with Sir Martin was primarily one of friendship, indicated by numerous passages in the letters such as this from October 1629:

Sir/ I suppose my letter will find you by the fireside & at such a time newes & discourses are not unpleasing. You shall have therefore as much as I can write between this & eleven a clock...  

or, on a more serious note, from December 1630:

And for my selfe, I shall pray to God for you, & do my best endeavour in my absence, to entertaine your cogitations with such things, as come to my hands, that you may have somewhat, if but for some little part of the week to withdraw them from fixing too much upon the object of your affliction. Could I in any other kind do you comfortable service, I should be most ready, as I am most bound. I unfainedly love you and yours, God almightie supplie what I cannot do...  

There was, of course, also a mutual benefit to be gained from the correspondence and frequent visits: if Stuteville valued Mead’s company and looked forward to his newsletters, Mead certainly enjoyed his regular visits to the countryside (especially when plague in Cambridge made a place of refuge necessary) to say nothing of the delicious home-made cheeses sent from Susan, Lady Stuteville, to Cambridge. The supply of young gentlemen as his pupils through the Suffolk gentry network was, naturally, important as well.  

Even residence at Dalham, however, could have its limits, as Mead’s later comments to Justinian Isham indicate:

I never liked Cambridge so well as I do now, & yet I never liked it ill. The reason I suppose is a full experience & satisfaction of a Country life (during this dissipation) which formerly I but tasted of, & not till now were able to compare it truly with the Academicall...  

135 H390, folio 477r.  
136 H390, 527v. There had been a serious argument between Sir Martin and his son John, Mead’s former pupil; the latter had, it appears, been banished from Dalham and had asked Mead to intercede with his father. This letter (the only one in the entire correspondence in which the latest news is not a point of interest) was Mead’s attempt to console Sir Martin.  
137 H389, folio 314r; H390, folio 201r. On one occasion Mead wished to reciprocate and send Lady Stuteville some sugar confectionery, but was deterred by the likelihood of their falling to pieces in the carrier’s panniers. Sending cheese was evidently a safer bet; H390, folio 33r.  
138 NRO, I. C. 4833, folio 1v. I would like to thank Anthony Milton for bringing Mead’s correspondence with Justinian Isham to my attention.
Five months in Suffolk to avoid the great plague of 1630 was evidently too much to take at one time, and Mead presumably also missed his books and the bustle of University life. This passage was written on March 30 1631; sadly, (and somewhat ironically) he probably never saw Dalham again in Sir Martin’s lifetime due to the latter’s death in June. We can be sure that Mead would not have wanted his off-the-cuff remarks to be an epitaph on his many visits there; when (writing of John Pory’s stroke in February 1632/33) he wrote that “our freinds & those we took delight in, will, one after another, be taken from us” Stuteville doubtless came to mind.

Precisely when Mead began sending his weekly newsletters to Dalham is not known, but, as in a letter of December 1626 he described his activities as a “prentiship of 7 yeares, so long it is since I began”, and as he is generally accurate in recording such anniversaries, we can be reasonably confident that Mead started writing regularly to Dalham in the late autumn of 1619. This correspondence was by no means one way; there is abundant evidence from Mead’s letters that Sir Martin wrote almost as often to Cambridge as Mead did to Dalham, although none of Stuteville’s letters to Mead has, unfortunately, survived.

The reasons for Mead’s decision to collect news for Stuteville must lie in a shared interest in current events; although Sir Martin had by this time retired to his country seat his experiences in the capital and elsewhere had created a considerable interest in the world at large, and Mead’s activities as tutor provided an additional incentive to send the latest Cambridge news. Perhaps the most important reason for Mead’s newsgathering, however, was the isolation of Dalham; only about 16 miles west from Cambridge and 5 miles from Newmarket, it did not lie on any major carriage routes and the difficulty of getting letters there meant that Sir Martin

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139 Indeed, Mead delayed leaving the plague-stricken University in May 1630 so that he could answer an enquiry, doubtless on chronological matters, from Archbishop James Usher: he could not do so “when [he] was from his bookes”; H390, folio 514r-v.

140 Easter Day fell on 10 April that year, and Mead in his letter of the 2nd made no reference to visiting Dalham (he did not often do so at that time); H390, folios 548r–49r; Cheyney, p. 122.

141 NRO, I. C. 206, folio 1r.

142 H390, folio 176r, 16 December 1626. The earliest surviving letters in H389 date from January 1620/21; it is possible that, as with the correspondence from 1624, that from 1620 was also mislaid before the letters became part of the British Museum collection in the eighteenth century.

143 The phrase “I received your lettre” or its equivalent appears in numerous letters written by Mead on a Saturday; see for instance H390, folios 39r, 99r, 194r, 265r. From this it appears that the carrier from Dalham to Cambridge arrived about 10 am with Stuteville’s letter, returning into Suffolk before noon. For a more detailed analysis of the timing of Mead’s letter-writing see below, pp. 54–55.

144 As Mead noted in April 1625 on John Stuteville’s admission to Christ’s; H389, folio 429r.
was in no position to receive the detailed reports available to Mead in Cambridge. Only when the Court came to Newmarket or when Stuteville went to the Assizes at Bury St. Edmunds was he occasionally able to pre-empt Mead’s information. (It was during one such trip to Bury that Stuteville died.) This difference in situation with regard to the availability of news is reflected in the concerns of the different correspondents; Mead’s letters were dominated by his news reports whereas Sir Martin’s, as far as the former’s comments about them are a guide, seem to have been largely concerned with personal matters such as the progress of his relatives under Mead’s care, or requests for books, although Stuteville often added news items that Mead usually had to contradict.

The problems faced by Mead in having his letters delivered to Dalham are described in more detail on pp. 64-73 below.

Such as H390, folio 379r. For Stuteville’s death see BL Add. MS 22969, folio 44r.

An example is discussed in detail on pp. 52-54 below.
III. The Content, Preparation and Delivery of Mead’s Newsletters: (i) the Sources of Mead’s News

While the phenomenon of news reporting was nothing new, it is clear that the decades after 1600 saw a marked rise in the reporting and provision of current events, whether in print or manuscript: the appearance of regular printed newsbooks in England in 1620–21 is one indicator of this; the “marked increase in the survival of newsletters and ‘separates’ ” from 1620, another.\(^{148}\) The purpose of this section is to describe the sources of the information Mead received in Cambridge, how he prepared his weekly newsletters for Sir Martin, and how his “budgets” were delivered to Dalham.

(i) the Sources of Mead’s News

Mead used four main types of news in compiling his weekly letters for Sir Martin. These were manuscript newsletters, printed newsbooks, Cambridge news, and rumours of London news brought by travellers from the capital. I will discuss each of these in turn.

1. Manuscript Newsletters: To receive accurate details of domestic political events, Parliamentary debates and other news currently under discussion in London as well as for a large proportion of his European reports, Mead relied on manuscript newsletters sent weekly from the capital. Because he did not identify all of his sources it is not possible to construct a list of all those who wrote to him, but by the mid-1620s only three men regularly provided the information he most trusted. These were William Boswell, Dr. James Meddus (or Meadowes) and John Pory; the rest all came into the category of “miscellaneous intelligencers” who did not provide a regular service.\(^{149}\) Although Pory as a

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\(^{149}\) H390, folio 66r. See Appendix III for a more detailed analysis of the newsletters sent by Dr. James Meddus and John Pory.
newsgathering professional expected payment for his letters, such references among the considerable number of such items that have survived to various addressers are very rare.\textsuperscript{150} I have found no evidence that Mead paid Pory for the news he sent or, indeed, that he did so for any of his weekly letters before 1635, when Mead’s activities as a newsgatherer had virtually ceased.\textsuperscript{151} It is possible, in fact, that his three main sources all provided him with news without expecting payment; Boswell, who by 1626 wrote to Mead every week, was a friend of his from university days;\textsuperscript{152} Pory became a close acquaintance by the late 1620s;\textsuperscript{153} and Meddus was an associate of Dr. Laurence Chaderton, a man Mead knew well (and of whom more below). As a recipient of such newsletters Mead was in a remarkably favoured position; he was in possession of some of the best information available in the early Stuart period to someone neither resident in London nor directly connected with the Court. His use of the term “intelligence” for what he received from these men indicated his high estimation of this material, as well as, often, its sensitive nature.\textsuperscript{154} Boswell, as one of the Clerks of the Privy Council from November 1622, gave Mead access to information about the deliberations of government at the highest level such as accounts of Council debates,\textsuperscript{155} and although he is not identified he is a likely source of the following, from March 1626/27:

\begin{quote}
On Friday last week…it was debated at the Council Table till 7 a clock, whether our Essex men, who refuse to take press money, should not be punished by martial law & hanged up on the next trees to their dwellings, for an example & terror to others. My Lord Keeper (who had bin long silent), when in conclusion it came to his course to speak told the Lords, that as farre as he understood the Law none were lyable to martial law but martial men; if these had taken press-money & afterwards run from their colours &c they might then be punished in that manner, but yet they were no souldiers & refused to be. Secondly he thought a Subsidie man
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{150} Powell, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{151} “Tis true, I heare from Captain Rossingham every week; but I suppose at a much cheaper rate, then my Lord of Salisbury”; Mead to Justinian Isham, 4 September 1635, NRO, I. C. 210, folio 1r. Edmund Rossingham succeeded Pory as probably the best-known London newsletter writer. Lord Scudamore (who had used Pory’s services) was a customer of his also; I. J. Atherton, ‘John, 1st Viscount Scudamore (1601–71): A Career at Court and in the Country, 1601–43’ (University of Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1993), Appendix II, pp. 425–27; Powell, pp. 123–24, n. 53.

\textsuperscript{152} H390, folio 37r; Worthington, ii1r–v; Boswell’s gift of a Greek New Testament (formerly belonging to Hugh Broughton) to Mead in 1626 is one instance of this. The book is still in the Bodley Library, Christ’s College, classmark B. 2. 15.

\textsuperscript{153} Several deleted passages in Pory’s letters to Mead in late 1628 which indicate a fair degree of intimacy between the two were crossed out by the latter before Sir Martin could see them, presumably because Mead wished them to remain private; H383, folios 68r, 70r, 72r, 74r, 77r.

\textsuperscript{154} See below, pp. 97–98.

\textsuperscript{155} For this see Wedgbury, pp. xx–xxi.
by law could not be pressed against his will for a forraine service, it being supposed in law the service of his purse excused that of his person, unless his owne country were in danger and appealed to my Lord Treasurer & my Lord President, whether it were not so; who both assented it was so, though some of them faintly as unwilling to have beene urged to such an answer. So it is thought, that proposition is dasht, & it will be tryed what may be done in the Starrechamber against these refractaries...156

That all those mentioned as present were at the Privy Council meeting on Friday 16 March 1626/27, that the refusal of seven Chelmsford men to either pay the Forced Loan or accept press money was discussed, and that the decision to proceed against them in Star Chamber was taken can all be corroborated from the Register, but none of Mead's circumstantial detail is found in any other source.157 Cust has noted that "Mead is usually a reliable reporter of council events", and the accuracy of Boswell's "intelligence" is, I believe, an important reason for this.158 Both its reliability and (in view of the proclamations forbidding discussion of matters of state) the danger of handling such material is indicated by Mead's salutation in a letter of 8 February 1622/23:

Sir,

I have added to the enclosed newes, some part of a lettre of Master Boswells...I must desire you alwayes to conceale Master Boswells name from others, though I give a note whereby you may know it your selfe. For he often admonishes me, that when I write newes, I should not say it was his...159

In spite of his words here, Mead did not generally identify Boswell’s material among the various letters he transcribed (in contrast to what he received from his other main sources) probably for reasons of security.160 Not that Boswell was the only source for such items; Pory, who was a friend of Sir

156 H390, folio 227r.


158 Ibid., p. 85, n. 33.

159 H389, folio 282r; see also Wedgbury, pp. xx-xxi, 351. As a Clerk of the Council Boswell had to take an oath of office which included the declaration that he would “keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto [him], or that shall be treated of secretly in Council”; quoted in G. E. Aylmer, The King’s Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625–1642 (1961; revised edn., 1974), p. 147. His letters to Mead were, of course, in breach of this.

160 The examples I have found are H389, folios 9r, 216r, 277v, 282r, 324v, 348r, 472r; H390, folios 37r, 84r, 469r. Only once (as far as I am aware) did Mead send one of Boswell’s holograph letters to Dalham, deleting the author’s name and some other details: that of 3 June 1625, now H383, folio 23r, mentioned in H389, folio 457r.
Robert Cotton and the Earl of Tomes (Privy Councillor and Master of the Ordnance) among others, could provide details of such events as well. His account of his dinner with an unnamed Councillor in July 1626 at which the day’s business at the Council table was discussed, and that of the deliberations that led to the abandonment of the proposal to debase the currency two months later, are examples. Dr. James Meddus (as well as whatever London news he could gather) seems to have provided Mead with a significant proportion of the material describing Continental affairs sent to Dalham, which the latter trusted more than the printed newsbooks dealing with similar subject matter. The Doctor frequented the London Exchange, to which letters from all over Europe were sent, and regularly provided information gleaned from items circulating there describing particularly important events, such as “a lettre sent from beyond Sea containing a true Relation of the Battaile betweene the King of Denmark and Tilly” with a graphic account of Christian IV’s defeat at Lütter on 17/27 August 1626.

While Mead no doubt received reports of events at Westminster from the three men already mentioned, others also provided him with such details, such as the unnamed “Parliament man” who provided (presumably eyewitness) accounts of debates in April 1626. It is possible, in fact, that for the session of 1626 at least Mead relied on another, so far unknown, source; on 27 May he told Stuteville that “Our Leading lettre this month or more, hath bin very complete, & from one & the same hand”, which (for once) had relegated Meddus to the “ordinary company of miscellaneous intelligencers”. If this was not Pory or Boswell a fourth man was involved, perhaps the same whose letters were quoted by Mead the previous month. Whoever the author, Mead’s use of the third person indicates that these accounts of debates were being circulated in Cambridge, and given his concern for the privacy of his news we can assume such items were only seen by those he trusted (perhaps one reason why the writer wasn’t identified). This raises interesting questions about the

161 H390, folio 88r, 115r. I believe Totnes was the Councillor, and that the second report came from Cotton himself. See below, pp. 360, 368–70.
162 According to my calculations just over half of the foreign news sent to Dalham between January 1625/26 and December 1627 had come from Meddus’s letters; see Appendix III, p.
163 On one occasion in 1622 Meddus was so overjoyed by (false) news of a Protestant victory in Germany heard there that he told it “in the open street” to all and sundry; H389, folio 187r; see also H. Robinson, The British Post Office: A history (Princeton, N. J., 1948), p. 25.
164 H390, folio 127r–v. This was (incorrectly) said to be a copy of the account of the battle sent by Sir Robert Anstruther, English Ambassador to Denmark; see below, p. 476 n. 1. Like speeches in Parliament, an item of such interest would presumably be much copied.
165 H390, folio 45r.
166 Ibid., folio 66r.
167 As we have no way of telling whether Mead was the original recipient, it may be that such letters were passed on to him as trustworthy rather than the reverse.
effect such accounts had on their audience; the author of the account of the Duke of Buckingham’s
election as Chancellor in June 1626, referring to the hostility against the Duke produced by “those late
Parliament messages” was alluding to such accounts, and that Mead belonged to the anti-ducal faction
suggests a correlation between receipt of such items and voting behaviour (to say no more).168 Those
who opposed the Duke after reading these reports were well informed as to the progress of events in
Westminster; Mead’s accounts of Parliamentary business can usually be confirmed elsewhere and often
contain incidents otherwise unrecorded.169 This reminds us that it is on the accuracy and detail of the
manuscript reports he used in his newsletters that Mead’s usefulness to historians of the period
primarily rests.

2. Printed Newsbooks: The appearance of *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* in 1594 and the *Mercure François*
from 1612, among others, points to the rise of periodical publication as a means of news
reporting, which began to replace the occasional pamphlet describing an individual event. The
appearance of the “corantos” in 1620–21 in Amsterdam and then London is, however, the best
indication of the growth of the reporting of, and interest in, current events in this period: a
phenomenon largely stimulated by the renewed outbreak of hostilities in Europe.170 Mead quickly
took advantage of this novel form of newsgathering; he subscribed to the newsbooks published in
Amsterdam and imported into England during 1621, a number of which were sent to Dalham and are
preserved in H389,171 and also received those produced in London by Thomas Archer that summer,
none of which appear to have survived. The latter’s involvement in news publishing was abruptly
terminated by his incarceration, as Mead noted in late September:

168 British Library, Sloane MS 1775, folio 24r. The phrase was used of those who were unwillingly
persuaded (or forced) to either vote for Buckingham or abstain.
169 R. Johnson *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings in Parliament: Commons Debates 1628*, 6 vols (New Haven,
1977–83), i. 34.
170 S. L. Adams, ‘Captain Thomas Gainsford, the “Vox Spiritus” and the *Vox Populi*,’ *BIHR* 49 (1976),
Frank, pp. 2-7.
171 Seven of the nine newsbooks in H389 (indicated by asterisks) are the only surviving copies; H389,
folios 56*, 68*, 79*, 82*, 83*, 84, 87v-r* (mounted back to front in the MS), 104, 106*: STC 18507.6,
7, 9, 19–24. The details given for 18507.20–23 in *STC* are, however, incorrect; H389 folio 82 is dated 25
June 1621 (not 6 June), folio 83 is dated 3 July (not 25 June), folio 84 is dated 9 July (not 3 July), and folio
87 is dated 6 June (not 9 July). (It is possible that *STC* 18507.19–24, printed for the Amsterdam publisher
Broer Janz, were produced in London using a false imprint; I am grateful to Michael Fureen for this
point). Mead added numerous marginalia to these newsbooks and corrected numerous grammatical or
typographical errors: on H389, folio 84r for instance the original text reported that the “expectation” of
some Moravian prisoners would soon be carried out; Mead altered this to “execution”.

My Corrantocer Archer was layd by the heeles for making or adding
to Corrantoes &c as they say... 172

But, alluding to the grant made to Nathaniel Butter which laid the ground for news publishing until 1632, he added

But now there is another who hath gott license to print them &
sell them honestly translated out of Dutch. 173

The layout as well as the news contained in the newsbooks was important; Mead often transcribed items from them and this probably had an impact on the way he arranged his information (using a dateline in the same way the newsbooks did, for instance). The sporadic emphasis, seen throughout Mead's correspondence, of proper names may have derived from the newsbooks' convention of using italic type in the same way. 174

Mead did not, however, need to rely on newsbooks for Continental news, even in this early period when he was sending them direct to Dalham. The bulk of his correspondence was taken up with his manuscript "intelligence", largely due, of course, to his having access to more information from this source. While he continued to send newsbooks to Stuteville throughout the 1620s, by the middle of the decade he generally only did so to provide corroboration for information gathered from his London letters. The printed news was useful in that it contained material to be found nowhere else, as Mead's regular quotations from them indicates, but it was not a substitute for his accounts in manuscript: "all will serve to make up the yeare", as he rather dismissively wrote of a new edition sent with Meddus's latest letter in December 1626. 175 Worse, the newsbooks too often contained erroneous accounts, especially concerning supposed Protestant victories in Germany. The report of General Tilly being besieged in Gottingen by Christian of Denmark in late August 1626 at the same time as he was inflicting a shattering defeat on the Dane at Lütter on 17/27 August is only one of the more spectacular examples. 176 (Although several of Mead's letters from London written at this time

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172 Earlier in the summer Mead had written "Corrantoes I know not what is become of them", probably indicating the hiatus in publication caused by Archer's arrest: H389, folio 100r. By this time Mead had evidently come to expect to receive newsbooks on a regular basis.
173 H389, folio 122r; see also Frank, pp. 6-7.
174 Such as H390, folios 155r-56v, 161r. For this see the Editorial Conventions.
175 H390, folio 176r.
176 The rumour of Tilly's retreating towards Gottingen was reported in STC 18507.182, The continuation of our weekly newes... August 29 [1626], B4r: his being besieged there was probably stated in the following week's edition which has not survived, as one of Mead's London newsletters referred to the rumour on 8 September; H390, folio 116r.
reported that Christian IV was successful in his campaign against Tilly.\textsuperscript{177} Another report in January 1625/26 that Tilly had been captured was dismissed by Mead as "Corranto newes" and so not written in his letters.\textsuperscript{178} The use of this phrase indicates, in fact, a growing lack of confidence in the newsbooks' accuracy and speed of reporting, qualities which Mead valued very highly; whereas in his earliest surviving letters he came close to treating manuscript and printed news as equivalent by sending them together, as the years passed disenchantment set in:

\begin{quote}
I sent you a Corranto, but it is nothing but an old repetition...

I send you also a Corranto, such a one as it is...

I gott no Corranto this week, but saw one, wherein is but little newes, if it be newes...

I send you a Corrant, but the most part, of the newes is elder then the 2 last told us of. Thus the knaves plague us...\textsuperscript{179}
\end{quote}

As we have seen, by 1626 the phrase "Corranto news" had became almost a synonym for a dubious report. On occasions, however, Mead still found himself forced to rely on the printed news: as on 13 October 1627 when almost his entire letter, including an account of Sir Sackville Trevor's capture of the French warship the \textit{St. Esprit} was taken almost \textit{verbatim} from \textit{STC 24268.7, A True and Exact Relation};\textsuperscript{180} or on 3 November 1627 when, in the absence of his "intelligence" from London he compiled one Saturday letter to Stuteville almost wholly from \textit{STC 24745, the latest Walkley Journall}.\textsuperscript{181} On both occasions, interestingly, Mead did not indicate his source; perhaps he felt this would compromise the authenticity of these accounts in Sir Martin's eyes. In spite of his reservations about them it is clear that Mead still read and used the newsbooks, but his continued patronage was also partly due to the fact that, as he complained on one occasion, "because I am a customer I must refuse nothing they send me".\textsuperscript{182}

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{H383, folio 42r; H390, folios 110v, 116r. This is a salutary reminder that it was not always only the newsbooks at fault; part of the shock created by Christian's defeat at Lütter was due to the prevailing rumours in London that he had been victorious.}
\footnote{H390, folio 17r. The editor of the newsbook at least explained how this error had crept into his text; \textit{STC 18507.177, The continuation of our weekly newes... January 18 [1625/26]}, B4r.}
\footnote{H389, folio 298r, 15 March 1622/23; folio 393r, 29 January 1624/25; folio 424v, 16 April 1625; folio 448r, 28 May 1625.}
\footnote{See pp. \textit{312-5} below.}
\footnote{See pp. \textit{30-42} below.}
\footnote{H389, folio 298r, and ibid., folio 326r, "I send you... 2 [news]bookes one of them on Saturday, the other sent me since on Thursday: but there is not so much newes in them both as is worth the money I payd for carriage. But being a customer, I must take one with another & rest contented".}
\end{footnotesize}
3. Cambridge News: A third main source of news, not related to recent developments in London but some of the most entertaining in his correspondence was what Mead was able to collect in and around Cambridge during the week and sent in his Saturday letters to Dalham. He evidently enjoyed relating such items; as he informed Stuteville on one occasion, his reports of University news proved that

we Academians might not be wanting to produce something for the world to wonder at... 183

The fact that several members of Stuteville’s family were at Christ’s throughout the 1620s ensured that there was a constant supply of such reports. Mead’s responsibilities as a tutor were an incentive to his activities as a newsgatherer. (As he noted when John Stuteville entered the college in April 1625, Susan, Lady Stuteville would want to hear such material).184 To this source we owe such gems as his description of the visit of the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors in February 1622/23 (especially the drinking habits of the former), the well-known account of the bitterly contested election for the Chancellorship in June 1626, and numerous references to dramatic productions in the University, all of which have provided scholars since Thomas Baker in the early eighteenth century with quotable material.185 It was not just University news that found its way into his letters, however; presumably the Dalham estate produced hops for sale, since Mead notified him of the prices they were fetching at Stourbridge Fair in 1626 and 1627 (which were, unfortunately, better than Sir Martin could fetch in the country).186

In hurrying around Cambridge looking for news Mead did not only find material to add to his letters written each Saturday; as we have already seen, it is clear that he was not alone in receiving letters from the capital and elsewhere and that he was able to rely on friends to furnish him with information. This could lead him to be quite boastful of his own ability as a newsgatherer: in January 1622/23 after returning to Cambridge from Dalham he informed Stuteville that

when I am from home, my freinds have no success in purveying for newes. For they told me, they had send every whither & could heare of no lettres, & complained they were almost starved, though it were Christmas time. But they had not the trick of it. As soon as ever I gott of my bootes you see what I found... 187

Mead evidently had access to sources unknown to his friends. If this reference is to his colleagues in Christ’s, it shows that even in his own college he was not alone in regularly receiving (or at least

183 H390, folio 68r.
184 H389, folio 429r.
185 H389, folio 292r; H390, folios 68r–69r; for references to dramatic performances, see H389, folios 289r, 298r; H390, folios 345v, 356v, 361v, 470r, 472v.
186 H390, folios 119r, 293r.
187 H389, folio 272r.
reading) newsletters, and that John Pory by 1628 often contained greetings to William Chappell and Robert Gell, Mead's closest friends among the Fellows, points to the same conclusion. Gell, in fact, acted as Mead's intermediary when the latter was visiting Dalham during the Long Vacations of 1626 and 1628, transcribing letters sent to Mead at Cambridge and sending them on to Dalham. We have already noted that details of Parliamentary business were being circulated among Mead's friends in 1626, and his links with "the pope of Cambridge Puritanism", Dr. Laurence Chaderton, suggests that this was a widespread practice with other types of news. Chaderton had been a central figure in University circles from the 1570s onwards, the first Master of Emmanuel College (from 1584 to 1622) and a delegate to the Hampton Court conference as well as a former fellow of Christ's. He was on friendly enough terms with Mead to read him extracts from his latest London newsletters, although once at least it contained something not fitt to be made common. Whereupon I was content to be partaker of ^ so ^ much as he pleased to read unto me, not inquisitive into the rest... The letter in question was written by Meddus; in the early 1620s at least his letters were addressed to Chaderton, who then allowed Mead to see them. When Chaderton was away from Cambridge Meddus did not write, depriving Mead of his "intelligence" on at least one occasion. If, as seems likely, it was through Chaderton that Mead met Meddus in the first place, the then Master of Emmanuel played an important part in providing Mead with the London news sent to Dalham. The link between the two was not just based on a shared interest in current events, however; when an unidentified Dutch academic recommended to Meddus by Ludwig Camerarius, advisor to Frederick of the Palatinate, wished to visit Cambridge in 1623 it was to Chaderton and Mead that Meddus directed him. J. B. Mullinger, discussing Mead's activities, commented that Christ's College "was a

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188 H383, folios 69r, 71r, 73v, 75r, 78r, 81v. Jonas Styles, writing to Mead in April 1625, added greetings to Mead's colleagues William Chappell, Robert Gell and Nathaniel Tovey; H389, folio 426v.
189 H390, folios 108r-09v, H383, folios 39r-40v (1626); H383, folios 61r-66v (1628).
191 Ibid., pp 125-26, 235-37, 274, 326, 455-59, 461-63; P. Lake, Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (Cambridge, 1982), passim, esp. pp. 4-15, 25-54, 243-61. Bondos-Grecne has suggested that it was something of a surprise that Chaderton was not elected to the Mastership of Christ's when it fell vacant in 1582: "The End of an Era", p. 198.
192 H389, folio 67r.
193 See for instance H389, folio 316r.
194 H389, folio 352r.
195 H389, folio 383r. While he was visiting Christ's, however, Mead characteristically extracted as much news from him as he could.
notable centre of political intelligence"; and it is friendships such as Mead’s with Chaderton, or with Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, who provided him with a scandalized report of John Cosin’s activities in Durham Cathedral, that corroborate this statement. Mead’s efforts to collect news for Sir Martin were helped by his friends who obviously shared his interest in the news. Such exchange of information between the dons could have its limits, however; on one occasion in 1621 Mead, writing of others in the town noted that

one or two askt me suspiciously if I heard nothing [of Palatinate news], & because I had not, they would not tell any thing... 

In October of the following year neither Chaderton nor his colleagues gave any hint of his impending resignation as Master of Emmanuel College, to judge by Mead’s surprise when he wrote about it on the 5th. His account indicates his surprise at their secrecy:

on Wednesday last in the forenoone Master Preston was chosen Master of Emmanuell Colledg; it being the 7th day after the...resignation of the old Doctor. Yet so secretly did they carrie their busines, that not any in the Towne, no nor any of the Schollers of their owne Colledg, did so much as suspect any vacation or election, till all was done & finished...Never did I beleve, till now I see it experienced, that so many as 12 could keep counscll a week together & fellowes of a [Collegd] too! Who would have thought but that there would have bin a Judas amongst 12? 

4. London Gossip: Mead generally included scraps of news collected from those coming from London to Cambridge in his letters written each Saturday; given the nature of these reports he just as generally had to correct or refute what he had written the following week. As he put it,

what I use to adde on these dayes report onely, you may observe to be commonly imperfect... 

The sources for this type of news were as we might expect unidentified (or unidentifiable), reflecting the rumour and hearsay involved; Mead sometimes indicated the origin of such reports by a vague reference to whoever had brought them: “a gentleman come from London”, “some who came out of

196 J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge: from the earliest times (to the decline of the Platonist Movement), 3 vols (Cambridge, 1873–1911), iii. 20. 
197 H390, folio 370v; see also H389, folio 320r. 
198 H389, folio 145r. 
199 H389, folio 235r; the MS has “fellowes of a Collegd”. For the circumstances surrounding Preston’s election, see W. Dillingham, Laurence Chaderton, D. D., (First Master of Emmanuel), tr. and ed. E. S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, 1884), pp. 14–16. 
200 H390, folio 57r.
London yesterday. Usually, however, he indicated this type of news by the phrase “I heare”. Sending this type of news could, of course, lead to embarrassment; based on such sources he wrote in November 1626 that the Earl of Carlisle had been committed to prison and that the Duke of Buckingham, in order to see the Lord Mayor’s show with Henrietta Maria, went in women’s clothes to prevent some of the unpaid and mutinous sailors then in the capital from recognising him. By the following Saturday Mead had found out that both rumours were false, and rather irritably informed Sir Martin that he would

adde no more of our Towne rumors, because they are commonly false or mistaken, as were those two the last week one of the Earle of Carleile...the other was but some foolish fancie or apprehension of sillie people...

In spite of his resolution here, though, he continued to do so. Such items were generally included in his letters as interim accounts to be accepted in the absence of better “intelligence”; when a “Gentleman in his Table books” brought the first news of Dr. Turner’s questions concerning the Duke to Cambridge on Wednesday 15 March 1625/26, Mead sent them to Sir Martin the following Saturday. (A fuller report of the affair was contained in a London letter dated 17 March, sent to Dalham on the 25th.

I have indicated above that Mead’s links with the Wendon Lofts branch of his family and, through Stuteville, to a number of Suffolk families provided him with a significant number of his students. His acquaintance with these families also provided him with not only another source of news, but, if necessary, a means of dispersing it to a number of different households. Just as Mead picked up gossip from travellers passing through Cambridge from London, so friends and relatives of Sir Martin coming from the capital often stopped off at Christ’s to pay a visit, telling Mead any news they had heard on the way. Sir John Taysborough, for instance, gave him further details about the defeat at Rhé while in Cambridge in late November 1627. Mead also received written news from

201 H390, folios 271r, 429r, 411r. These sources could, however, represent more than just gossip in Mead’s estimation; one unnamed gentleman from the capital was described in July 1627 as “of some good meanes of intelligence”: ibid., folio 285r.
203 H390, folio 157r.
204 H390, folio 33r.
205 H390, folio 27r-v.
206 For this see above pp. 32-33.
207 H390, folio 328r.
these contacts; Sir John Corbet of Sprowston in Norfolk, brother-in-law of Sir John Mead, wrote to Cambridge in February 1626/27 that he had "absolutely denied at Counsell Table" to pay the Forced Loan; committed to prison, he was one of the appellants in the famous Five Knight's Case later in the year. (One presumes that Mead followed the events of the case with even greater interest given this family connection; he noted with sorrow Corbet's death, probably as a consequence of his imprisonment, in January 1627/28). Sir Simonds D'Ewes, (as his surviving letters to Stuteville in H383 indicate) generally included some news in his letters and wrote such reports to Mead on several occasions; knowing Mead's interest in prophetic literature he also sent items of this nature. Probably as a result of Dalham's isolation, D'Ewes also used Christ's College as a forwarding address, sending letters to Sir Martin via Cambridge on several occasions (sometimes unsealed so that Mead could read them before they were sent to Dalham). This could lead to letters of his passing through several pairs of hands, such as on the occasion in May 1626 when, with Mead's usual Saturday letters, he sent

a lettre from yong Master Dewes directed to Sir William Spring, but sent to me unsealed, with a complementall request, to send it in like manner to your selfe, & desire you that having read it, you would scale it with some scale not your owne, & send it to Bury on Munday...

Apart from indicating that Spring (a regular correspondent of D'Ewes's) wanted the letter, Mead did not, unfortunately, make clear the need for secrecy; perhaps the fastidious D'Ewes wished Spring to think that the letter had been sent straight to him. That he could send a letter in this manner indicates his confidence in Mead's and Stuteville's ability to pass it on properly; what could happen if such items fell into the wrong hands is illustrated by the saga of the "Oxford case". D'Ewes had collaborated with Sir Robert Cotton in preparing this document, an examination of the conflicting claims of Robert de Vere and Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby, to the Earldom of Oxford and the post

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208 Metcalfe (ed.), *Visitations of Essex*, i. 450. Sir John Corbet's nephew Edward was, not surprisingly, a pupil of Mead's from 1621 to 1625; Peile, i. 335.


210 H390, folios 347r, 350r; Cust, *F. L.*, p. 219 n. 3.

211 H383, folios 24r–v, 31v–32r, 45r; H390, folio 20r.

212 Such as the letters mentioned in ibid., folios 148v, 201r.

213 D'Ewes was not knighted until 6 December 1626; D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, i. 324–25.

214 H390, folio 66r.
of Lord High Chamberlain. A copy of this document was lent by D'Ewes in London to Sir William Spring, who forwarded it to Dalham. D'Ewes wished Sir Martin to send it on to Mead, to be lent to William Beeston, a Fellow of St. John's College, and John Scott the Cambridge scrivener and notary who had particularly requested to see it, perhaps to make a genealogical table. Stutcville did this, and some weeks later asked Mead to retrieve it for him; the latter found (after asking for it several times) that Scott had lent it to someone else, and finally had to confess that the manuscript was to all intents and purposes lost:

I sent now to Master Scott, & his wife says, he is gone to London, but shee can tell no newes of the Earle of Oxfords case nor whether he hath yet gotten it from I know not what gentleman to whom he lent it. He is a fitt man to deserve such a kindnesse another time, but I promise you, it shall not be by my hand... Under such circumstances it was much better to circulate manuscript material amongst friends one could trust, and Mead not surprisingly preferred friends of his to carry letters to Dalham. The occasional irritation or surprise that some of Sir Martin's acquaintances (especially D'Ewes) preempted his news was a small price to pay for the benefits his membership of this gentry network conferred on him.

Stutcville's death coincided with a substantial drop in the number of students Mead accepted. This was largely because by the early 1630s the sons of Sir Martin's relatives were mostly past university age but it is also tempting to suggest that, once his close links with Dalham were cut Mead had less inclination to accept the sons of local gentlemen. He did not lose touch with local gentry families entirely, however; he corresponded with Justinian Isham until his death and visited Lamport more than once. Justinian Isham, showing himself a conscientious student, wrote an "interpretative Parallelisme" to the Book of Revelations based on the 1632 edition of the Clavis Apocalyptica which Mead admired and only slightly corrected. It appears, however (on the

216 H383, folio 26r. For Beeston see Venn, i. 126.
217 H390, folios 53r, 57v, 62v.
218 Of the 101 students tutored by Mead (as listed in Peile's Biographical Register) only 12 were accepted after June 1631 (two of these being pupils of William Chappell transferred to Mead when the former left for Ireland in 1633). In the summer of 1632 for instance; NRO, I. C. 4837, folio 1r.
219 I. C. 205, folio 1r; I. C. 207, folio 1r. Mead sent a copy of his latest publication, STC 1776S, Churches, that is, Appropriate Places for Christian Worship to Isham in 1638, adding a list of errata (facing K4v). The book is still at Lamport Hall, Lamport, Northamptonshire, classmark MT 9 (2).
admittedly scant evidence we have) that Mead was much less inclined to travel in the 1630s; as he rather guardedly informed Justinian in 1635, he had “much lesse mind, to goe abroad then formerly”. The death of Dr. James Meddus in 1632 and Pory’s stroke in February 1632/33 had also removed two of Mead’s main sources of London news, which would have put a severe strain on his ability to write such lengthy newsletters even if Stuteville had been still alive; in his absence, Mead’s participation in the local gentry network, especially in sending news, was more limited.

(ii) Now to our Newes*: Mead’s Preparation of his Newsletters

Mead’s efforts every week to produce a coherent account of the latest news were, as we might expect, dictated both by the types of information at his disposal and the means by which this reached him. From an examination of the material available to him it is clear that what Mead sent on to Dalham was of two main sorts: the “intelligence” sent from London and what he was able to add to this in Cambridge, which was not only news about the University itself. I will discuss each in turn, although due to the importance of Mead’s news from the capital I will concentrate on this category. In the discussion that follows it is also important to remember Mead’s practice of sending a covering letter written each Saturday with a transcript of news dated eight days before; close attention must be paid to the chronology of the letters in order to understand how Mead was able to prepare them each week.

1. London news: Mead depended on being able to receive news on a regular basis from the capital. He was only able to do this because of the existence of a dependable carriage service, the development of which in the decades before 1620 reflected both national and local trends. The former is illustrated by improvements in the major carriage routes radiating from London, the latter in the importance assumed by Cambridge within its locality due to an increase in the number of students (especially the sons of the gentry) from the Elizabethan period onwards. The man most associated

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221 NRO, I. C. 210, folio 1r.
222 See p. 35 above and Appendix III. Printed newsbooks was also banned from October 1632; Dahl, ‘Amsterdam–Cradle of English Newspapers’, pp. 173–75.
223 The letters sent to (or seen by) him from elsewhere such as that from Bridgewater dated 30 December 1625 formed only a small part of his news intake; H390, folio 1r. For the purposes of this study I will concentrate on what Mead received from London.
224 See pp. 9–19 above for a detailed examination of the foliation in H390.
225 For this see H. Robinson, The British Post Office, pp. 16–24; idem, Britain’s Post Office: a history of development from the beginnings to the present day (Oxford, 1953), pp. 10–11, 15–21.
with Cambridge developments was, of course, Thomas Hobson, who since the 1570s had been a familiar figure in the town, not only hiring horses to scholars and others in the University but carrying goods and letters from the capital. Due to his long life (he died aged 86) Hobson became a celebrity well before his death, commemorated by Milton’s poems on the event; by 1613 he was sufficiently well-known to inspire the title of Gervase Markham’s *Hobson’s horse-load of letters.* The carrier’s links with the University were necessarily close; apart from the trade generated by the scholars and Fellows he was, in common with others carrying goods to Cambridge, licensed by the University (the importance of which became apparent when an epidemic of plague broke out in the capital). By 1620 at the latest part of his business with members of the University was to bring them newsletters, the products of the “intelligencers” at work in London. Hobson’s service was a regular and predictable one; he left London every Friday afternoon from the Black Bull in Bishopsgate Street (as in Milton’s phrase “betwixt Cambridge and the Bull”), usually stopping at Ware in Hertfordshire overnight and leaving the Great North road at Royston. He delivered letters and heavier goods in Cambridge on Saturday afternoon. While this could occasionally frustrate Mead’s efforts to get the latest news to Dalham, the importance of this timetable for his (and others’) access to London news cannot be overstated; by using Hobson, newsletter writers were able to send letters every Friday and be confident they would reach the University in good time. John Pory, for instance, who observed regular (and different) writing times for all of his clients provided Mead with

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229 See pp. 71–73 below.


231 Ware was twenty miles from London on the Great North Road, one of the five major delivery routes in England at this time. A plan of the road to Edinburgh from the 1670s shows the carriage route to Cambridge leaving the main road at Royston, thirteen miles north of Ware, and it is probable that this had been Hobson’s route; Robinson, *Britain’s Post Office,* pp. 15–19, 33.

232 As in January 1627/28, when letters with the latest news carried by 3 ships from Hamburg arrived at the London Exchange after Hobson had left town; H390, folio 347r.
newsletters written on Friday morning to "catch the post"; this was such an established practice by 1626 that when he wrote on a Thursday in November of that year it was unusual enough for Mead to comment on it. Indeed, all of the latter’s regular sources from the capital, aware of Hobson’s movements, usually wrote on Friday: the majority of letters Mead received from London arrived, therefore, in his study (now the Mountbatten room next to Christ’s College Porters’ Lodge) not much more than 24 hours after they were written.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that Saturday was Mead’s regular writing day throughout his correspondence with Sir Martin, dictated by the arrival of his “intelligence”. He did not depart from this schedule without good reason: when, for instance, he was due to travel to Wendon Lofts on Friday 22 June 1627 he explained his missing his Saturday appointment in some detail:

I am this Friday going for Essex not to return till Wednesday; yet am I loth you should want your weekly intelligence, & therefore leave behind me this present with the enclosed to be delivered tomorrow...which I hope will come duly to your hands.235

Mead’s absences from Cambridge, whether to visit his relatives or on his summer travels northward were the most common reason for his not writing on Saturday, and he always notified Sir Martin in advance. Illness also interfered with his schedule, as when he returned from the visit mentioned above and found he had not shaken off a lingering ague; as Mead thought he would be too ill to write on Saturday he did so on the day before.237

Occasionally, however, the importance of the news to be sent led him to write to Dalham as soon as the London newsletters reached Cambridge. Probably the best example of this in the correspondence, and a vivid illustration of the consuming interest generated by current events occurred in October 1627. The progress of Buckingham’s siege of the citadel of St. Martin’s on the Ile de Rhé had been the leading news in London since his landing there in July, and the level of interest can be gauged by Pory’s description of events in the capital on Thursday 18 October 1627:

To day...Paulcs, the Exchange, & all parts of the Towne do ring with the newes of the Dukes returne, & how he is landed (some say) at Plymouth, & others at Newport in the Isle of Wight.238

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233 His regular use of the carrier is indicated by his promising on Friday 28 November 1628 to send an account of proceedings in Star Chamber "by the next Hobson"; H383, folio 73v.
234 Powell, p. 55 (Pory reserved Thursday for Sir Thomas Puckering, Saturday for Lord Scudamore); H390, folio 165r.
235 H390, folio 271r.
236 See for instance H390, folios 95r, 285r, 425r.
237 H390, folio 273r. On the cover of this letter he wrote, as his fit was beginning the following morning, "Saturday hora 9. My Master is coming"; ibid., folio 274v.
238 H390, folio 305r.
The source of this report was indicated by the Venetian Ambassador some days later:

A letter arrived from the Isle of Rhd addressed to the Earl of Holland, urging his departure, blaming the delay in sending provisions and declaring that for want of them the siege must be raised by the 20th October. It was immediately published all over the city that the duke was returning and that he had been beaten...239

In the light of this unexpected and shocking news, Pory wrote to Cambridge on Thursday the 18th (once again disrupting his schedule) and promised to do so again the following day, as usual, to confirm the report. His first letter arrived at Christ’s late on the night of Friday the 19th, the time of delivery indicating it had been carried by an “extraordinary hand”.240 On Saturday the 20th Mead wrote to Stuteville informing him of Thursday's news;241 after he had sealed this and was about to send it off, however, Sir Martin’s latest letter arrived with what he in turn had heard at Dalham: St. Martin’s had (in fact) been captured by the English army. For once Suffolk rumours were based on a credible source: Dudley Carleton, Lord Imbercourt had, as Extraordinary Ambassador to the Hague, been informed on the basis of letters from France that the fort was taken and was, understandably, delighted with the news.242 John Beaulieu in his newsletter from London to Sir John Puckering of Wednesday 17 October in which he described “advertisements from the Haghe, coming from good handes & to good handes here” must be referring to reports such as that sent by Carleton.243 In writing to Mead Sir Martin presumably asked him if he thought the capture of the fort was true; the former was forced to add a postscript in which, as well as revealing that he too had heard rumours of this nature and that Carleton was linked with them, he remarked that

how true [the English victory]...is proved, if this which Master Pory wrot on Thursday...be true, you will guesse when you have read my lettre...

Given the importance of the affair Mead promised that, when Pory’s next letter arrived (probably later that day) he would send confirmation or a denial of the news by the Bury Carrier as soon as possible,

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239 Contarini to the Doge and Senate, 23 October/2 November; Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice [volume 20], 1626–28, ed. A. B. Hinda (1914), p. 447.
240 H390, folio 305r.
241 Ibid.
242 CSPV 1626–28, pp. 427–28. On 6/16 October Carleton wrote, probably to Secretary Lord Conway, that according to letters from France the citadel had been captured by the English; Public Record Office, SP84/135 (State Papers, Holland, October – December 1627)/folio 31r.
243 British Library, Harleian MS 7010, folio 44r.
which would be on the following Monday. As Pory’s Friday letter (among others) revealed that the information had been false, Mead wrote on Sunday the 21st that this was so, using the carrier on Monday 22 October to deliver the news to Dalham.

Saturday each week, then, saw the conjunction of three events: the arrival of Mead’s London “intelligence”, the routine of preparing a letter to be sent to Dalham, and the arrival of Sir Martin’s latest letter. This was not a coincidence, and can be understood by examining the process by which letters were carried from Cambridge to Dalham. I will return to the difficulties faced by Mead due to the shortcomings of this service when I describe it in more detail at present I will concentrate on Mead’s letter writing every Saturday morning, dictated by the movements of the person who was to take his news from Cambridge to Dalham. Mead sent his letters to the shop of Geffery Finch, a tradesman in Petty Cury, to be collected by the carrier; as a “privileged person” the latter conducted much of his business on behalf of members of the University. Whether it was “Parker’s man”, “the Cheesman” or Sutteville’s groom Harry Law that took the letter from Petty Cury to Dalham made little difference, as they all left Cambridge soon after midday. This was, therefore, the latest possible time that Mead could expect his news to be delivered to Sutteville that day. Furthermore, as Mead seems to have regularly and punctually attended dinner (the main meal of the day) eaten in the hall of Christ’s College at 11 am this imposed an even earlier time by which he had to finish writing. The statement that

at the Conclusion of my lettres I am wont to be straightened for
time... is borne out by many references and repeated notes of when in the morning he completed a letter (“hora decima”, “inter hor 10 & 12”, “about 10 a clock” and so on) indicate that this was a continuing

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244 H390, folio 307r. This postscript was written on (literally) a scrap of paper; it is one of the very few occasions where Mead did not use either a bifolium or part of one, forming a half or quarter sheet. For other examples, see H389, folios 430r, 488r; H390, folios 321r, 351r, 366r, 426r. For more on the Bury Carrier see below, pp. 47-48.

245 See pp. 64-73 below.

246 Finch was assessed as such at £3 in the subsidies of 1621 and 1624; Cambridge University Registry 36(2), folios 42v, 52r. For more on Finch see J. E. Foster (ed.), The Churchwardens’ Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635 (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 339, 346, 353–54, 358, 362, 380, 384, 387, 411, 417, 425.

247 For these people see below, pp. 65–69.

248 Peile, Christ’s College, p. 134.

249 H390, folio 176r.

250 See for instance H389, folio 320r; H390, folios 5r, 10v, 13v, 20r, 145r, 314v, 324v, 333r.
matter of concern. On the not infrequent occasions Mead discovered a letter had gone astray or there was a delay in getting it to Dalham he was sure to inform Stuteville that this was not due to his missing the carrier by writing too late: on Saturday 21 January 1625/26, for instance, it was because Parkers man was gone before eleven a clock, & so before I sent my lettre...252

This was the most common reason for any delay in delivering a letter to Dalham.

Unless he wished to deliver an item of particular importance and used the Bury Carrier Mead could only count on having one letter a week delivered to Sir Martin. The relatively early time by which he had to finish writing on each Saturday had a particularly important consequence: he could not, normally, wait to see the London letters written the day before for fear of missing the carrier. These generally arrived in Cambridge during the afternoon: thus phrases such as

Thus having yet seene none of this dayes lettres, I rest...

and others indicating that Mead had not yet seen the latest "intelligence" occur on numerous occasions.253 Because of this difficulty, by 1621 at the latest Mead had evolved a system to take account of the week's delay he was likely to face in having London news delivered to Dalham. He transcribed letters from the capital received each Saturday and sent them seven days later, together with a covering letter containing anything he had heard in Cambridge during the intervening period written on the day it was sent. Mead's letter of Saturday 18 March 1625/26 is a representative example: he began by pointing out to Sir Martin that

The last Saturday was plentiful as you may see by the enclosed, which was compounded of 3 authentical lettres...

and wrote on that day one page of the latest rumours of proceedings in Parliament to reach Cambridge.254 The "enclosed", a conflation of three letters written on Friday 10 March was indeed "plentiful"; at 171 lines of text this transcript was one of the longest Mead ever sent.255 This twofold pattern of letter-writing was repeated almost every week,256 and explains the (at first sight) rather confusing chronology of the letters in H389/390. Each Saturday Mead sent, in effect, the previous two weeks' news; in the example cited above the period from 3-10 March was covered in

251 H389, folios 260v, 275v; H390, folio 217r. See also H389, folios 254r, 310r, 476r; H390, folios 274v, 340r, 452r, 459r.
252 H390, folio 7r; see also ibid., folio 134r.
253 H390, folio 206v; see also ibid., folios 29r, 102r, 106r, 123r, 137v, 145r, 151r, 159r, 265r, 279r, 283r.
254 H390, folio 29r.
255 H390, folios 23r-24v.
256 But see pp. 57-59 below.
detail by the 171 line transcript, that from 11–18 March "by report onely". Because of the week’s delay in sending the majority of his London news Mead was careful to date each transcript sent, presumably so that Stuteville would be able to bear in mind the chronology of all the events described. The same considerations led Mead to indicate whenever he broke his routine and transcribed news written in London on a day other than Friday, or when his absence from Cambridge would lead to him missing his Saturday appointment.

Mead’s references to “the enclosed” in most of his letters written on Saturday refers to his transcripts; due to the time pressure we have already noted, however, he did not write each on the Saturday it was sent, but at some point during the previous week. In a letter of 6 July 1622 he referred to his “tablebooke” from which he had taken the details of the previous week’s news, and it seems likely that Mead’s practice of copying London newsletters he had seen on Saturday afternoon before rewriting them for Stuteville’s benefit the following week continued after that date, although I have found no further reference to his “tablebooke”. Mead’s use of this method of preparing his news is also suggested by those occasions when he was able to correct his London news of the previous Friday by information received later, as he made clear in September 1627:

Sir/

I have no more yet but the enclosed; which I have corrected or enlarged out of a new Corrano of September 26 which I saw yesterday... Mead’s transcript of London news dated Friday 21 September has a number of marginalia added from the latest newsbook of the following Wednesday which reached Cambridge on Thursday the 27th; the transcript must, therefore, have been completed by that day. Again, the occasions when he was able to use one of his friends to carry his transcripts to Dalham during the week points to the same conclusion.

Although the majority of the London news in the correspondence was sent to Dalham eight days after it was written in the capital, Mead could occasionally take advantage of letters that had arrived in Cambridge as he was writing his own. On 25 March 1626, for instance, he reported that he

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257 H390, folio 57r.
258 H389, folio 212r.
259 Although Mead’s comment in a letter of 6 December 1622 that “Our last newes from London is not much, & therefore I committed it onely to my memorie” (ibid., folio 263r) certainly implies the existence of such a source. The newsletters from Meddus were, we recall, often addressed to Dr. Laurence Chaderton and so not in Mead’s possession anyway.
260 H390, folio 297r.
261 H390, folios 295r–96r. The newsbook in question has not survived; see Appendix II.
262 Mead’s transcript of London news dated Friday 5 May 1626 was carried to Dalham on Friday the 12th: H390, folio 57r; the transcript is folios 51r–52v. See also ibid., folios 89r, 83r-v.
had seen "a lettre just now" and reported some items almost word for word from his source, repeated in his transcript sent the following week; and he was able on other occasions to give Stuteville "a flash of this Saturdays newes" in the same way. If (as usually happened) the carrier left for Dalham before Mead's London news arrived he still sometimes sent the "headlines" from his latest letters, as in October 1626 when he sent, by an "extraordinary hand", a postscript from letters received that day with news of the return of Lord Willoughby's fleet, the latest on the progress of the Forced Loan and the departure of the Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland. On this occasion Mead wanted to make sure his news reached Sir Martin before anything did from Simonds D'Ewes, a letter from whom he had forwarded to Dalham with his own packet of news; he wrote his postscript

lest it should not be newes on Saturday...

and betrayed his concern over possible interference by adding that

I suppose now, Master Dewes writes of these matters...

Fortunately, however, D'Ewes' letter apparently contained nothing more than "raptures & extasies" as he had just got married. Mead's desire to keep Sir Martin as up to date as possible is shown in a rather comical light in these grumblings over D'Ewes' activities and also in his complaints about his own haste in sending news: he invariably pointed out that his expedition in sending the "headlines" of the previous Friday's letters meant that he had anticipated his own efforts the following week. Sometimes, it seems, he could be too efficient for his own good.

The news material Mead sent did not change over the duration of his writing to Stuteville: the organisation of it, however, did, and this introduces an important qualification to Mead's practice of preparing transcripts for enclosure with his letters addressed to Stuteville. The reason for this is due to the changing status of the two-fold correspondence: we see a tendency, as the years pass, to 'contrive the contents...into one relation', not to send one letter with Cambridge news etc. and a separate enclosure with London news. At the beginning of the existing series of letters in H389 Mead took considerable care in preparing his transcripts; he used specially lined paper to produce a neat text,
but did not do so for his covering letters.\textsuperscript{271} (This had the added advantage of providing a ready-made space for lengthy marginal notes).\textsuperscript{272} When Mead had to depart from this practice he felt the need to justify himself, as on one occasion in 1622:

\begin{quote}
The troublesome time of our Commencement gave me no leysure, to write & marshall my newes, as I am wont: but I have deferred all till this morning, which I desire you to accept, as it follows out of my tablebooke...\textsuperscript{273}
\end{quote}

The bulk of what was sent to Dalham in the early part of the correspondence was, in fact, transcribed material, the accompanying letter written each Saturday often being no more than a few lines.\textsuperscript{274} By 1626, however, Mead had abandoned the use of lined paper while still preparing separate transcripts; in this transitional phase the balance in the correspondence between Saturday letters and London newsletters was more even. Between January 1625/26 and November 1627 Mead sent enclosures with most of his personal letters in the manner already described, but by the end of 1627 we can see a transition towards including this London news in one letter rather than two. On 10 November of that year Pory’s latest news was incorporated in Mead’s Saturday letter, the latter adding on line 6 the headline “London November 2” as in his separate transcripts.\textsuperscript{275} That Mead’s attitude to dealing with his news had changed is indicated by his doing this without comment; five years earlier when doing exactly the same thing he had felt it necessary to apologise.\textsuperscript{276} The correspondence from 1628 shows a decisive shift in his letter-writing routine; very few separate transcripts were prepared by Mead that year,\textsuperscript{277} and there are none at all in the surviving letters for 1629–31.\textsuperscript{278} As we read through H389/390 there is, therefore, a shift from a preponderance of routinely transcribed material to that of Mead’s Saturday letters largely comprised of London “intelligence”; this development, not

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\textsuperscript{271} H389, folios 2r–v, 3r–4v, 7r–8v, 16r–19v, etc. This also applied to the “separates” sent to Dalham, such as “A Relation of the manner of the loss of Prague”; ibid., folio 1r–v.

\textsuperscript{272} Such as H389, folios 24r, 54r–v, 57r, 64r–v, 65r, 72v, 92v.

\textsuperscript{273} H389, folio 212r, 6 July 1622. See n. 259 above.

\textsuperscript{274} In the surviving material from 1621, for instance (folios 1–125 of H389) only 51 folios are Mead’s personal letters to Stuteville, comprising about 52 pages of actual text (the rest being blank). The remainder is made up of Mead’s transcripts, 9 newsbooks and some miscellaneous “separates”.

\textsuperscript{275} H390, folio 314r. Mead had used this technique before, however, in transcribing letters received during the week or when he wrote before his usual day; ibid., folios 5r, 17r, 273r–74r.

\textsuperscript{276} See n. 273 above.

\textsuperscript{277} The only ones being H390, folios 364r–65v, 369r, 390r–91r. This does not include “separates” such as speeches in Parliament, however; ibid., folios 363r, 369v, 382r–85r, 389r, etc.

\textsuperscript{278} Again, a few “separates” survive; H390, folios 481r–82v, 493r–“493x”v, 537r–“537x”v. The missing letters from 1629 would not, presumably, reveal many if any transcripts of London news. (The last two examples include leaves not included in the foliation of H390, for which see above, p. 13 n. 47).
surprisingly, increases the average length of the latter considerably. The reason for this appears to have been Mead’s unwillingness to persist in writing two separate letters each week, as he was increasingly reluctant to transcribe material from London. On one occasion in December 1628 he sent on Pory’s latest holograph letter rather than (as he would have done in previous years) transcribing it separately. Several other letters from this source were sent in the same way. As Mead said of himself on one occasion,

I am growne somewhat lasie in transcribing...

and we can sense his relief at one such instance in 1630:

Being skarred with the look of what I had to write, if I transcribed all, I had to send: I chose rather to save a labour by sending you the originalls, the one Master Pories letter...the other a Corranto...

It appears that even the indefatigable Mead had grown tired of his weekly routine.

Although Mead gradually abandoned writing separate transcripts in 1627–28, however, most of the London news sent to Dalham between 1621–27 is contained in these enclosures. To illustrate his conventions in preparing them, therefore, I will discuss one example in more detail. On Saturday 9 December 1626 Mead wrote (among other things) one page of news he had heard in Cambridge in the preceding seven days and enclosed his latest transcript with it, as well as the latest newsbook and a book for Lady Stuteville. According to Mead’s usual practice he dated the first letter he copied (probably written by John Pory) with the headline “London Friday December 1 1626”; this section comprises lines 3–88. The next letter was given the heading “Another London November ditto”, lines 91–117 of the transcript. A third letter, titled “London Sunday December 3 by the

279 The average length of Mead’s Saturday letters from 1621–23 is one and a half pages; that for 1629–31 is just under two and a half; even given the smaller sample from the latter period this indicates a significant increase.

280 H390, folio 461r; the letter in question is now H383, folios 72r–73v.

281 These letters are now H383, folios 68r–69v, 70r–71r, 74r–75r, mentioned in H390, folios 457r, 456r, 463r.

282 H390, folio 463r.

283 H390, folio 496r.

284 H390, folio 171r; the transcript is on folios 167r–68v; see the edited text on pp. 578–89 below. The book Mead sent was STC 11395, Vox Piscis, the “Fish-Book” found in the maw of a codfish at Cambridge market on Friday 23 June 1626.

285 Mead had evidently (and uncharacteristically) confused the date; he presumably meant either to write “December ditto”, or the letter in question was written in London on Thursday November 30.
same that wrote the first Lettre" follows, on lines 120–62; the last 3 lines described as a "Postscript" and titled as such, probably because it had been so in ?Pory's original. Having written out this lengthy transcript Mead was able to correct items in it on the basis of news he had heard in Cambridge after he had seen the London newsletters. In the margin next to ?Pory's report that some in the capital thought the Forced Loan was on the point of collapsing due to opposition from the judiciary and others, Mead contradicted it on account of Cambridge's readiness to lend, described in his covering letter. At the end of the "Postscript" Mead added further details to ?Pory's note of Buckingham's movements from reports circulating during the week. This transcript illustrates Mead's most important conventions in dealing with such items: (a) each individual source was excerpted separately with its own headline indicating date and place of origin; (b) even if the author of each letter was not always identified, if one man had provided two different letters in one week's dispatch this was made clear; (c) Mead made use of the period between receipt of his London news and delivery to Dalham by correcting his letters from other sources. Although, as on this occasion, he could have a great deal of information to deal with and produce transcripts of 150 lines or more comprised of various letters, on other occasions only one of his sources provided "intelligence". When in a prepared transcript the treatment of this material, however, remained basically the same.

Having said this, however, some exceptions have to be made. The first concerns the lack of London news; on these occasions, of course, a separate transcript was unnecessary. When this occurred Mead only sent a letter written the Saturday it was sent with as much news as he could find from a variety of sources; such items were indeed, in Levy's words, "cobbled together". This was the case, for instance, on 3 November 1627; his Saturday letter was almost entirely made up of quotations from the latest Journal published by Thomas Walkley, STC 24745, no transcript being sent with it. Mead's London sources seem to have failed him more than once around this time, as several letters were of the same form. On the other hand, lack of time during the week sometimes meant that he was unable to prepare his transcripts ready for delivery on Saturday, as he informed Stuteville in December 1627:

286 H390, folio 167r–v, lines 38–42 and note (lines 63–64); folio 171r (Mead's letter to Stuteville).
288 Although London was the principal source, Mead received or transcribed letters from Sandwich, Repiton and Boston among other places, each with a note of their place of origin; H390, folios 4r, 39r, 205v.
289 Such as H390, folios 23r–24v (10 March 1625/26), 115r–18r (8 September 1626); 213r–16r (2 March 1626/27).
290 On Friday 8 December 1626 only Dr. James Meddus provided any; H390, folio 176r.
292 H390, folio 312r–v; see the Headnote to this letter on p. 910 below. For more on Thomas Walkley see Appendix II below.
293 Such as H390, folios 299r–300r (6 October); folio 303r–v (13 October).
Sir/  

Having had little leisure all this week & not much now;  
I must contrive the contents of 5 severall lettres into one relation  
for brevitiue sake, which is this...294

The time-consuming nature of his transcribing is indicated at such moments, and such considerations were no doubt involved in his abandoning the practice of preparing separate transcripts already discussed. However he presented his London “intelligence”, however, that this system proved acceptable to both men over a period of nearly twelve years reminds us just how isolated Dalham was: even given the week’s delay in sending news to the capital Mead could be reasonably sure that it would arrive there more quickly than information from any other source.

2. Cambridge News: When Mead sent an enclosure in the manner described above his personal letter written each Saturday acted as a cover for it and was addressed to Sir Martin himself; it was meant to be seen by the latter alone. Mead did not therefore only concentrate on news, whether of the University or elsewhere; every other aspect of the relationship between the two men was featured in these Saturday letters. The letter written on 28 October 1626 and sent with Mead’s transcript of news from London dated Friday the 20th illustrates this.295 He began (lines 3–19) by dealing with book purchases for Stuteville, sending him the Book of Homilies and the collected works of Richard Montagu (bound in the wrong order) with the comment that

Your Church–librarie I suppose is now complete: I know nothing you want...

A letter had just arrived from Dalham, in which Sir Martin mentioned the death of Dr. John Gostlin, Master of Gonville and Caius College and Vice-Chancellor; Mead, therefore, remarked that it would be no news to tell him of it. He went on to provide more details of Gostlin’s demise, however, together with news of the election of the new Master, Thomas Batchcroft (lines 20–33).296 His thoughts presumably dwelling on mortality, Mead went on to inform Stuteville of the death of Catherine Pagitt, a close relative of the Dalham family, with a suitably pious gloss on the event (lines 34–41):297 but the illness afflicting the wife of Dr. Thomas Warner, a regular visitor to both Christ’s and Dalham, was subsiding, to the writer’s relief (lines 41–42).298 After dealing with these

294 H390, folio 333r.
295 H390, folio 148r–v; the transcript is on folios 143r–44v (see pp. 510–14 below).
296 Gostlin had died on Saturday 21 October; J. Venn, ‘Dr. Gostlin’, The Cambridge 3 (1893), 89, 91.
297 Sir Martin was Catharine Pagitt’s brother-in-law; his wife Susan was the sister of Sir John Isham of Lamport, whose wife Judith was Catharine’s sister; Finch, Pedigree i; Peile, i. 69, 378. Given that the news was at least a week old (line 34), it is probable that Sir Martin had heard it already.
298 See also H390, folio 145r.
matters of personal interest to Stuteville, Mead turned to his news proper: dominated, as much of his London "intelligence" was at this time, with the attempts to levy the Forced Loan (lines 43–61). Based on the testimony of travellers to Cambridge during the previous week Mead was able to send details of the efforts being made by the government to compel payment, the nature of which can be judged by Mead's comments:

Shall I tell you what they talk at London? That the Duke should say: He would have money, if it were in the Kingdome. That the French Ambassador having gotten an inclination from the King to a Parliament to settle the Queenes joynture the Duke should say to his Majestie, By God, Sir there shalbe no Parliament.

Some Londoners which told me this, told me also, That at Hicks-Hall, when some denied to subscribe the Ioane, The Duke should say, Sirra, Take heed what you doe: Did not you speak treason at such a time &c. The Earle of Dorset asking a fellow (who pleaded he was unable) what trade he was of, & being answered a Taylor; Come come sayth he, one Snip will make amends for all & other such like, which they say was not wont to be in days of yore. God dispose of all to the best...

Whether Buckingham and Dorset actually used the words attributed to them here is in one sense irrelevant; the fact that they were believed to have done so tells us a great deal about the unease generated by the coercive measures being used at this stage of the collection of the Forced Loan.299 Sensitive as this material undoubtedly was, however, the following lines concerning Elizabeth of Bohemia and especially Charles himself were even more so: after a passage describing her dejection from an unknown cause (lines 62–67) ten lines have been repeatedly crossed out, so much so that parts are totally illegible. The deleted passage describes a nightmare supposedly suffered by Charles around the end of the Parliamentary session in June 1626 which Mead had not related then (probably not daring to), in which a phantom appeared and told the King to

leave Averise & not loose the affections of...[his] people

and told a terrified monarch (in the presence of his bedchamber men, who of course could not see the apparition) that his reign would be "short & troublesome" (one thinks of Banquo's ghost!).300 No wonder this item was so heavily crossed out, presumably by Sir Martin on reading it.301 After this "doubtful" news Mead ended the letter with his usual valediction (lines 68–72), noting, however, the significance of the date (lines 72–75): Saturday October 28 1620, Old Style, had been the day before the battle of the White Mountain in which the Protestant cause in Bohemia had been defeated. (Mead's reference to Elizabeth of Bohemia in the lines above presumably brought the Palatines to his mind and

299 Dorset had advocated the use of force to improve Charles's finances as early as August 1626, according to the shocked comments of the Venetian Ambassador; Cust, F. L., p. 29; see also ibid., p. 101.

300 Some of these readings are conjectural: see p. 514 below.

301 After this description of Charles's dream Mead wrote "I pray shew not this lettre. It wilbe [word unreadable] to publish such relations".
alerted him to the significance of the date). With a reference to a letter from Simonds D’Ewes which he was to forward to Dalham (lines 76–80) Mead ended his own, sealed it (with his own transcript and probably D’Ewes’s letter inside for safe keeping) before sending the packet to Stuteville.

In writing each Saturday, Mead generally dealt with matters not directly related to current events before anything else: not just because they would be of more immediate interest to Sir Martin but also, no doubt, to get them out of the way before the serious business of news. Mead often also returned to such items at the end of his letters. The purchase of Stuteville’s books, matters concerning his relatives and Mead’s own illnesses were all in this category. The phrase “now to our Newes” or its equivalent denoted the movement away from personal matters to events in the wider world, whether these were accounts of University matters or London news Mead had heard in Cambridge during the previous seven days. With regard to the former, of course, the Saturday letters are the primary source in the correspondence as very little of what Mead received from the capital had anything to do with the affairs of the University. (In 1626–27 only the investigation by the House of Commons into the circumstances surrounding the election of the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor made it into Mead’s London “intelligence”). Anything he wrote of local matters, therefore, was based on his own proximity to the events described and did not suffer from the uncertainty involved in rumours of London events heard in Cambridge, which Mead admitted to be “commonly imperfect”. Mead’s accounts of University news provide some of the most vivid and amusing passages in the correspondence as he included circumstantial detail, “not omitting so much as every mans speach and opinion”, In spite of the potential difficulties in reporting news gathered from travellers from London, however, Mead continued to do so; even if they had to be corrected the following week he was prepared to take the risk in order to keep Stuteville up to date and, as we have seen, such items throw valuable light on events in the capital. When Mead came across a sensitive news item he made sure to include it in his letter to Stuteville personally; the less people that saw such material the better.

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302 Although Mead habitually noticed such matters; see below, pp. 92–94.
303 H390, folio 150r.
304 Used for instance at H390, folios 9r, 273r, 502r, 509v.
305 H390, folio 73r. Mead also, however, received a note from London dated Tuesday 6 June in which the Commons’ examination of the growth of “Arminian” doctrine in the University was described. He transcribed this in his next Saturday letter; ibid., folio 75r.
306 H390, folio 57r.
307 H390, folio 17r.
308 For more on this subject see below, pp. 94–95. The account of Charles’s dream mentioned above was, of course, one such item.
In conclusion, it is clear that Mead was able to take advantage of all the different sorts of news reaching him by using his Saturday letters to supplement the transcripts of his London letters; whereas the latter were exclusively based on written accounts (if often supplemented from other types of news), the former contained reports gathered from oral, written and printed sources. In this way Mead was able to provide Stuteville with as much information as possible: the wealth of detail in the correspondence on a wide range of subjects owes much to this habit of writing two types of letter each week.

(iii) "I will never send you newes more unlesse you disple him": the delivery service to Dalham

Unfortunately for Mead, the week’s delay in sending London news created by his reliance on the carriage system from the capital was no problem compared to the difficulties caused by the unreliability of the delivery service from Cambridge to Dalham. This was not only due to the carriers’ slackness: problems could occur with every pair of hands through which a letter passed after it left Mead’s study. The letters in H389/990 are full of complaints on this subject, and this was not (as we shall see) a reflection of Mead’s rather fussy nature or the very real shortcomings of the carriage service; he was genuinely afraid of the consequences should his letters go astray. In April 1622 he found out that his latest letter (and a book) had gone missing and the reaction was a worried one:

Though pickle be sweet while it is fresh; yet time will make it sour: & though there be no danger in my letters whilst report is so rife, yet when it is forgotten they will not be so safe but your danger is as great as mine...309

Mead’s newsgathering was in breach of proclamations forbidding discussion of matters of state, as he was well aware, and considering the uncertainty surrounding the delivery of letters to Dalham his fears that his correspondence might fall into the wrong hands were perfectly justified.310 While Mead continued to send news and more “doubtful” material, therefore, it is clear that on occasion he could not risk using the carriers:

I should some times lend you a view of some other things which come to my hands, but that I dare not adventure my credit with my freinds, upon the assurance of the messengers carefulnes to carrie & returne them in due time...311

309 H389, folio 166r, 6 April 1622.
310 See for instance H389, folios 105r, 110r.
311 H389, folio 254r.
While Mead's continuing complaints about the delivery service to Dalham bear out Sheila Lambert's comment that "[c]orrespondence was more likely to be impeded by difficulty in finding a messenger at all than by fear of the consequences of writing" 312 his fears on the latter score were real, if perhaps (as with his comments on "Parkers man" and the rest) somewhat overdramatized. As Lambert has pointed out, the fears of censorship and widespread interception of mail implied by Mead and others (such as Simonds D'Ewes, who on one occasion asked Stuteville to burn part of a letter written to him, or John Pory) were unfounded,313 but Mead himself did not know this, and the uncertainty in discussing arcana imperii or circulating libellous verses was reflected in comments such as those cited above. In the discussion that follows, while the local difficulties faced by Mead with individual carriers and others will be the focus of interest, his concerns on this subject should be borne in mind.314

Another, obvious, point that needs to be made is that the only authority we have for the deficiencies of the carriers to Dalham is Mead himself, who was hardly a disinterested witness. An incident in the early part of the correspondence suggests that he had a tendency to make the most of his complaints, probably in order to justify missing his weekly schedule to Dalham. As we have seen, Mead was well aware that if his letter was not completed by midday he ran the risk of missing the carrier,315 and this led to the following outburst in April 1621 concerning his especial bête noire, an individual only ever identified as "Parkers man", the servant of a tradesman in Dalham parish:316

it is now but 12 clock & Parkers man sends me word, that he will not stay a jot though I entreated him...

Mead was sufficiently angry to threaten that

I will never send you newes more unlesse you disple him.317

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313 Ibid., pp. 57-58; H383, folio 32r (the passage in question repeated Sir John Eliot's provocative comparison of Buckingham with Sejanus during the presentation of the Commons' impeachment charges against the Duke on 10 May 1626); Powell, p. 54.
314 For more on this subject see pp. 85-87 below.
315 See pp. 54-55 above.
316 A carrier by the name of Thomas Parker had lived in Clare village, some ten miles south-east of Dalham, and died some time before 1629 (the date of his widow's death). This may be the man in question but certainty is impossible; W. R. and R. K. Serjeant (eds.), Index of the Probate Records of the Court of the Archdeacon of Sudbury 1354-1700, 2 vols (Keele, 1984), ii. 415. I would like to thank Simon Harratt for this reference. For more on "Parkers man" see H389, folios 9r, 320r, 462r, 498r; H390, folios 7r, 33r; Wedgbury, p. xxv.
317 H389, folio 49r. "Disple" was even then an archaic form of "discipline", last OED citation 1641 (by Milton). See also ibid., folio 462r.
He was forced on this occasion to go to Geffery Finch’s shop and write out his letter there, which no
doubt contributed to his ill humour, and made his point even clearer to Stuteville by scribbling at the
end of the letter

I could write much more but I want time...318

It is fortunate for us that Mead did not keep his word, although there is no record of what Stuteville
did to punish the carrier. Even though “Parker’s man” was at fault here, and doubtless returned Mead’s
entreaties with some choice language of his own, the latter, one feels, protested rather too much
especially as he was late in finishing his letter. (One wonders what “Parker’s man” would have written
about this incident). Parker himself employed a new servant in due course, but when Mead expected
the latter to carry a book to Dalham as well as the usual letter the new carrier, obviously in a bad
mood anyway, made his displeasure quite clear as was reported (with a noticeable degree of surprise) in
February 1624/25:

I received yours, as I came out of the Hall from dinner after I had
sealed & sent to Geffery Finches; This was the reason I replyed
not. I sent no Tho: Dictionarie:319 but your new Parkerizer was in
a great chafe; that it cost him a great deale of trouble & running up
& downe & threatened, he would carric no more bookes nor letters.
I hope he is not a man of his word, else I must give over or gett a
new Carrier...320

Fortunately, again, the carrier did not keep his word; this incident suggests that Mead was an exacting
customer whose complaints at his service provoked “Parkers man” too far. Given the number of books
sent to Dalham we can sympathise with the person who had to carry them, as with the individual who
had to take the bulky folio Bible for Dalham church, the binding of which had troubled Mead and
Stuteville for months.321 Mead reported that

the brasse [on the covers of the book] troubled the Carrier a little;
& he was guessing how many pound it weighed, & intimated as
though he deserved something for this carriage...

He can have been only partly satisfied by Mead’s promise that

he should be satisfied at the delivery of his charge...322

318 H389, folio 49v.
319 Probably an edition of Thomas Thomas’ *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicana: STC* 24008–17
(published between 1587 and 1620); see also Wedgbury, p. 500 and n. 2 (p. 501).
320 H389, folio 398r.
321 For a detailed discussion of this episode see D. McKitterick, ‘Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying
322 H390, folio 535r.
While Mead, by now familiar with the shortcomings of the carriage service from Cambridge to Dalham, was doubtless justified in his caution (especially over such a expensive book) the impression we get from the correspondence of the carriers' failings should not be taken wholly at face value.

That Mead is a rather biassed source should not, on the other hand, lead us to underestimate the difficulties he faced, which could begin as soon as he had completed his letter (or even before, as the obstreperousness of “Parker’s man” quoted above indicates). If he did not deliver a letter to the carrier himself in his room 323 or at Geffrey Finch’s before he left Cambridge to go to Essex or elsewhere 324 he usually sent his sizar to Finch’s shop to leave it there to be collected.325 However, Mead’s pupils could not always be trusted, missing the carrier’s departure from town more than once;326 and after one sizar had kept several letters for a week after they were written (presumably to read himself) and, even worse, had stolen some, Mead grimly told Sir Martin that

I will teach somebody, what it is to deceive the trust I putt in them...327

and made the unfortunate youth fast for a week.328

Having got his latest letter to Finch’s shop, there could still be problems. On one particularly fraught occasion in December 1626 Finch forgot to send on a letter (in which Mead had fixed the date of his Christmas visit to Dalham), and the latter’s apologetic explanation deserves quoting at length, both as another example of his tendency to make the most of any incident and to show how arbitrary a process delivering a letter could be:

I think I am unlucky. I wrote & sent the enclosed at 11 a clock on Saturday, sooner by near an hower then I have done this month, & yet it is not gone. For passing through the Pettie Curie some 2 howres since & by great chance encountering a Townsman & so staying a while right over against Jeffery Finches shop, his Prentise espying me comes out & telles me my letues were not gone.329 How it affected me you may guess: he layd the fault on the mans not calling as he was wont. But Jeffery Finch confessed (when I told him, how much the sending thereof concerned me...) that had it not bin for my standing so neere his shop & because I use to ask, they never ment to have given me word thereof. Had I not bin in a fine pickle then?...now I dare trust nobody...330

323 H389, folio 110r.
324 H389, folio 221r; H390, folios 271r, 429r.
325 H389, folio 105r; H390, folio 62r.
326 H389, folio 476r; H390, folio 430r.
327 H389, folio 206r.
328 H389, folio 208r; see also ibid., folio 210r.
329 H390, folio 176r (Mead’s letter to Stuteville of 16 December 1626), 173r–v (the enclosed transcript of London news dated 8 December).
330 H390, folio 178r, 18 December 1626.
As Finch was generally a trustworthy means of forwarding his letters, Mead's concern at this incident appears all the greater.\textsuperscript{331} It reminds us that, for a private citizen not using one of the established carriage routes delivering letters at this time was very much a matter of trust, the repeated breach of which was a continual source of frustration.

Once Mead's letters had been safely conveyed to Geffry Finch's shop, it remained for them to be carried to Dalham; the means of doing this, however, represented the weakest link in the whole, rather uncertain, process. (It is noteworthy that, as far as Mead's comments on his letters are a guide, Stuteville did not seem to suffer from the same difficulties). The two carriers most often mentioned by Mead were "Parker's man" and a Suffolk man only identified as "the Cheesman", (because he conveyed Lady Stuteville's cheeses to Cambridge and took letters back with him to Dalham). Whereas, as we have seen, Mead's complaints against the former continued even after Parker employed a new servant,\textsuperscript{332} the main fault of the "Cheesman" was his tendency to leave Cambridge before Mead was able to deliver his letter (probably on occasion due to the latter's taking too much time to write it).\textsuperscript{333} That he went direct from Dalham to Cambridge is indicated by Mead's relation of John Stuteville's words on contracting a double tertian ague in 1627:

\[\text{Stuteville} \text{ tells me this morning, he would send home by the cheesman if he could carry it in a bag, that ague which he suspected came from Dalham, because himselfe was already provided...}\textsuperscript{334}

That Mead recognised the relative merits of the "Cheesman" and wanted to retain his services is indicated by his request to Stuteville on one occasion to give him a little money as he was "somewhat sullen".\textsuperscript{335} Even so, this carrier could not be trusted either; at the end of 1630 and into the new year, for reasons unknown, he stopped coming to Cambridge regularly and Mead was forced to find other means of conveying his letters and books to Dalham.\textsuperscript{336}

Although Mead complained, often with good reason, he had no choice but to use these men. Sometimes, however, an alternative means of delivery was possible, most often when one of Stuteville's servants, Harry Law, came to Cambridge: he was presumably one of Sir Martin's grooms since he was entrusted more than once with bringing a horse on which Mead would ride to

\textsuperscript{331} Although Finch's "man", perhaps the apprentice who attempted to mislead Mead on this occasion, had failed to deliver a letter properly in the previous October: H390, folio 134r.
\textsuperscript{332} See p. 66 above.
\textsuperscript{333} The "Cheesman" is first mentioned in 1625 and regularly thereafter; H389, folio 476r; H390, folios 20r, 150r, 151r, 230r, 321r, 337r, 341v, 379r, 429r, 450r, etc.
\textsuperscript{334} H390, folio 230r.
\textsuperscript{335} H390, folio 341v.
\textsuperscript{336} H390, folio 542r; see also ibid., folios 528v, 531r, 536v, 539v, 541r, 543v, 544r, 546r, 549r.
Dalham. Like the carriers he could create problems, as when he kept Mead waiting for three hours to deliver his latest news to him and still did not turn up, or when he forgot to give Stuteville a letter. By and large, however, Law could be trusted (because Sir Martin was his employer) and he regularly carried letters to Dalham as well as money from Stuteville in payment of his son's college bill. When they visited him, Mead used friends travelling into Suffolk to carry his latest news, such as his former pupil Amor Oxley, Richard Danford, Rector of Stowlangtoft or Nicholas Howlett, curate of Dalham; but such opportunities were infrequent. Being one of Mead's pupils meant participating in the process of sending news or other items; apart from the sizars delivering his letters (whose status in the college meant they were expected to do such things anyway), three of Mead's pupils were given the task of transcribing Dr. Eglisham's Forerunner of Revenge in October 1626, for instance. One hopes, however, that Mead did not often ask anyone to ensure the former's letter had reached its destination by walking to Dalham and back (a round trip of nearly 30 miles!) as John Tracy did in August 1627. There were, however, benefits to be gained as well, as when Dr. Thomas Warner, Rector of Balsham and a regular visitor to Cambridge, promised one of Mead's sizars a "pension" for providing him with news (presumably copied from Mead's London "intelligence").

In the absence of any of the usual means of delivery, or when Mead wanted to have a letter delivered to Stuteville on a day other than Saturday, he sent his "budget" by the carriage service to Bury St. Edmund's, directing the carrier to leave the letter at the village of Kentford, three miles north of Dalham, to be collected by one of Stuteville's servants. This could get a letter to Sir Martin quickly; on Wednesday 23 July 1628 Mead used this route and expected his letter to reach Dalham by midday the following day. As he did not use the Bury Carrier that often, however, Mead seems to

337 H389, folio 221r; H390, folios 106r, 289r. Law was evidently a trusted servant: Stuteville bequeathed him some land and an annuity of 40r a year in his will; PRO PCC 85 St. John, folio 126r.
338 H389, folios 481r, 483v; H390, folio 134r.
339 H389, folio 353r; H390, folios 99r, 137r, 335v, 181r, 232r. "Parker's man" was also trusted with Sir Martin's money; H389, folios 493r, 495r; H390, folio 11v.
340 For these men see Peile, i. 305; Venn, ii. 7, 420. For their carrying letters to Dalham see H390, folios 125r, 132r (Oxley); H389, folio 472r; H390, folios 57r, 89r (Howlett); H390, folio 81r (Danford). Oxley assisted Mead on a number of occasions; he transcribed some London news for the latter in May 1621 and together with Robert Gell did the same in August 1626; H389, folio 74r-v; H383, folios 39r–40r.
341 H390, folio 123r: Mead cut Eglisham's book into three pieces to make this easier.
342 H390, folio 289r.
343 H390, folio 221r.
344 H390, folios 7r, 307r, 308r, 431v, 460v. Mead used this means to reply to John Pory's letter of 11 August 1626 sent to him while he was staying at Dalham, and it is likely that Pory used the carrier to get his newsletters delivered to Mead while the latter was staying with Stuteville; ibid., folio 113r.
345 H390, folio 430v; Cheyney, p. 129. For some reason Mead dated this letter "Sunday July 23".
have trusted him less as a means of delivery: not sending a newsbook and the latest plague bill by this
means in January 1625/26, for instance.\(^{346}\) In common with every other carrier used, however, this
route had its pitfalls; on at least one occasion he forgot to stop at Kenford and carried the letter all the
way to Bury, thus delaying delivery for two to three days and costing an extra twopence.\(^{347}\) This
incident evidently rankled, since Mead recalled it some months later when he had to use the Bury route
again and, on the cover of the letter he added, prominently, "I pray be carefull that it be not carried to
Bury."\(^{348}\) Occasionally, when Mead had missed the carrier and had some news he wished to get to
Dalham as soon as possible he used an "extraordinary hand", as he confessed in November 1626:

But shall I tell you a jest; I sent my Postscript \(^{349}\) by one of our
Societie who at Barrow \(^{350}\) gott a fellow to undertake the delivery
on Sunday morning with the plausible hope of getting a good
dinner for his journey. The foole to merit the moore must needs
rise too soone in the morning, & when he had done came home at
12 a clock almost ready to cry that he was not sollemnly invited.
Ah Foole! could he not have delivered his lettre just at dinner
time!...\(^{351}\)

The "Barrough–man" did not, however, prove to be any better a carrier than "Parkers man", to judge
by Sir Martin's (unspeciHed) criticisms of him in his next letter to Cambridge.\(^{352}\) Indeed, even when
a letter had been carried into Suffolk there was still a possibility that it would not reach Dalham; after
some letters had gone missing in 1621 Mead conducted an inquiry in Cambridge before coming to the
conclusion that Sir Martin had

such wicked neighbours at Dalham, that they would coole any
mans zeale in writing...\(^{353}\)

Even given his special pleading then, it is clear that Mead faced considerable problems in delivering
his letters to Dalham, and his irritation at this (if rather comic at times) was not just due to his news
being sometimes misdirected; if it was delivered late it became, in Mead's word, "stale" and only fit

\(^{346}\) H390, folio 7r. Mead did use the service regularly in 1630–31, however, when the "Cheesman" was not
capable of keeping to any "constant course"; see n. 336 above.

\(^{347}\) H390, folio 324r; see also H389, folio 418r, where the same thing probably happened.

\(^{348}\) H390, folio 380r–v. At least this arrived more or less on time; ibid., folio 388v.

\(^{349}\) H390, folio 150r.

\(^{350}\) A village about 2 miles north–west of Dalham. One wonders why the unnamed Christ's man did not
deliver the letter himself, having gone so far; presumably he was heading westward on the Bury road (the
village lies just to the south of it).

\(^{351}\) H390, folio 151r.

\(^{352}\) H390, folio 157r.

\(^{353}\) H389, folio 105r.
for the seventeenth-century equivalent of wrapping fish. His concern that the “intelligence” he sent should be as recent as possible was the motive behind his considerable efforts to get it to Dalham. Given the difficulties faced over a number of years, in fact, it is remarkable that Mead was able to correspond at all, especially once or even twice a week: his use of whatever carriers he could find, a considerable amount of forbearance, and a certain amount of axe-grinding, proved a match for the insufficiencies of the postal service between Cambridge and Dalham.

So far I have concentrated on the difficulties faced by Mead in having his news carried to Dalham once it had arrived in Cambridge. Normally, as we have seen, the regular delivery of letters and books from London did not present a problem, but one occurrence changed matters entirely: an epidemic of plague. While the disease was endemic in London throughout the early seventeenth century, periodically an increase in infection among the rat population led to spectacular increases in human mortality. The epidemic of 1625 was one of the worst ever to hit the city; a recent estimate is that 26,350 people died, or 20.1% of the inhabitants. The movement from the capital to Cambridge of people and goods was rightly seen as one possible way of spreading the infection and, consequently, the University exercised its jurisdiction through the Plague Court (comprising the Mayor, the Vice-Chancellor and others of the Heads of House) which was set up to oversee measures in the town. On 14 May 1625 Mead first noted in his Saturday letter to Stuteville that the pattern of plague deaths in the capital was assuming serious proportions; at the end of that month he wrote of “the wofull Bill of London” and told Stuteville that his supply of newsbooks was likely to dry up, and by 25 June Mead was reporting that the University was taking precautions against the infection. Once the scale of the disaster was realised in Cambridge the Plague Court moved into action; writing on 9 July Mead reported the effects both the epidemic and the Court’s measures were likely to have on his supplies of manuscript news:

354 H390, folio 134r; Frank, p. 4.
356 Ibid., p. 151. Contemporary estimates were even higher, such as that of 33,417 deaths during 1625; J. Rushworth (ed.), Historical collections of private passages of State. Weighty matters in law. Remarkable proceedings in five Parliaments. Beginning...1618. And ending 1648, 8 vols (London, 1680-1701), i. Dd2r.
357 The minutes of the Plague Court for this period are now Cambridge University Archives, T. X. 19, folios 1-59. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for bringing these records to my attention.
358 H389, folio 442r.
359 H389, folio 450r.
360 H389, folio 466r; “We watch & ward, but I am afraied to no great purpose”; see also ibid., folio 450r.
The plague is in the Doctor's parish [St. Gabriel's Fenchurch] & the rest of our intelligence is fled, & it growes very dangerous on both sides to continue an entercourse of lettres, not knowing what hands they passe through before they come to those to whom they are sent. Our Hobson & the rest should have bin forbidden this week, but that the message came too late, howsoever it is his last...361

Hobson and two others, John Cutchie and Francis Adcock, appeared before the Plague Court on the 19th of July and gave their bonds that they would not carry any more goods from London, although Adcock was allowed to bring letters if they were well aired.362 On the 27th, however, it came to the attention of the Court that Hobson and Cutchie had brought, as well as an unspecified number of oranges and raisins, books for Leonard Greene one of the leading Cambridge stationers. The carriers were ordered to take their merchandise and air the books, one by one, 3 times over, in a barn specially provided for the purpose.363 The following day the carriers were authorised to deliver their books to their owners.364 This unexpected trip by the carriers is probably reflected in Mead's letter of the 30th of July:

I send you a Corranto brought me besides expectation & almost against my will, but it was well aired & smok't before I received it, as our lettres all use to be. Nor was the plague then in Paules Churchyard, whence it came...365

As we know from Mead's letters that he bought books from Leonard Greene,366 it is likely one of the items aired 3 times in the barn was his newsbook.

This was the last "intelligence" Mead received that summer; the next week he left the University for Dalham.367 By early autumn any serious impediments to the delivery of news had been removed and Mead returned to his weekly routine: but the epidemic was by no means over, and his close attention to the bills of mortality in London were more than just curiosity. Dr. Meddus generally sent the week's bill at the end of his news at this time and Mead followed suit in transcribing his letters,368 but between the end of August 1625 and April 1626 the latter cited it

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361 H389, folio 472r.
363 Ibid., folio 7v.
364 Ibid., folio 8r.
365 H389, folio 478r. The newsbook in question was probably STC 18507.174, The continuation of our weekly newes...22 July.
366 H390, folios 457v, 501r.
367 H389, folio 478v.
368 See Appendix III below, pp. 104-12.
prominently, sometimes as the first item, in nearly every Saturday letter written to Dalham. When he was able to report on 11 March 1625/26 that there had been no plague deaths in the capital the previous week, and that it had been exactly a year since this had last been the case, his statement that “God be thanked for so happie a revolution” was doubtless heartfelt. Given the possibility of the disease appearing in Cambridge at any time he, like the Plague Court, had good reason to be afraid.

Cambridge was fortunate that the epidemic of 1625 left it relatively unscathed; the outbreak five years later while less deadly in London was much more serious for the town and University, causing the scholars and Fellows to leave in droves. Mead himself fled to the safety of Dalham for six months. He later recorded that a number of College servants and their families had died of the disease, as well as his “old freind” Leonard Green the bookseller, according to Dr. Laurence Chaderton over 100 people did not survive the outbreak in one parish alone. In such circumstances, of course, the collection of news was of secondary importance: which reminds us that for Mead the threat of harassment from the authorities or the difficulties of delivering letters were not the most important problems he faced.

369 H389, folios 481r, 483r, 487r, 490r, 492r, 494v, 500r, 502r, 504r, 506r, 508r, 510r, 512r, 514r; H390, folios 5r, 17v, 9r, 11v, 13r, 21r, 25r, 29r, 33r.
370 H390, folio 25r. Mead’s last plague bill in his Saturday letter was that on 1 April; ibid., folio 37r.
371 It has been described as “the worst epidemic of bubonic plague that Cambridge ever experienced”; J. F. D. Shrewsbury, A history of bubonic plague in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 356–57.
372 H390, folios 523r, 520r. Mead recorded that Greene died of a “feavour” but this is likely to have been the plague.
373 Ibid., folio 523r.
IV. Mead’s attitude to the news: (i) the influence of his studies

M. Mede hath many notions of so rare a nature, that I do not find he is beholding to any other for them, but onely to his own studiousness and dexterity, with the blessing of God upon his labours...374

he proceeded upon grounds never traced by any, and infinitely more probable then any lay’d down by those who before him undertook that task...375

If any one man stood out above the others in moulding subsequent interpretative thought, it was undoubtedly Joseph Mede...376

The importance of Mead’s studies in prophetic literature has been recognised since the publication of his works.377 The first version of his exegesis of Revelations, the Clavis Apocalyptica, appeared in 1627; in 1632 the second edition was published with In Sancti Joannis Apocalypsin Commentarius, an historical application of the methods explained in the Clavis. It is impossible to guess when Mead was first attracted to prophetical literature, but, since the “Remaines on some Passages in the Apocalypse” first published in 1664 were written some time before the appearance of the first edition of the Clavis, it is clear that Mead’s distinctive analysis of Revelations was being formulated at the same time as he was gathering news for Suiteville.378 What connection was there between the two activities? Did he see current events as part of the unfolding of providential history as revealed to John of Patmos? In order to suggest answers to this question, it will be necessary to discuss Mead’s analysis of Revelations in more detail.

375 Worthington, b2v.
378 Compare Worthington, ***3v: the “Clavis & Commentationes Apocalypticas...were his Last labours upon that mysterious book”; Ball, pp. 173–74 and n. 96. Both the DNB (xiii. 178) and Firth’s study (p. 214) suggest that Mead was led to study prophetic literature as a result of philosophical doubts as a young man: as Firth has commented, “Mead was convinced of the fundamental importance to faith of revelation”. 
From the beginning of the Reformation, Protestant polemicists had realised the value of Revelations in their attack on Rome; it not only provided a framework within which the history of the Church could be seen, but, in the identification of the Pope with the prophesied Antichrist, a weapon with which to justify their secession from the Roman Catholic church.\textsuperscript{379} The standard reading of the text was an historical one; Revelations charted the history of the true and false churches from the Apostles’ days to the Last Judgement, with crucial events being allegorically or symbolically prophesied.\textsuperscript{380} Even given near unanimity among Protestant commentators about general points of interpretation, however,\textsuperscript{381} certain parts of the text provided especial difficulties; none more so than Revelations 20. 2, which told of the thousand-year binding of Satan which ushered in the millenium of the saints.\textsuperscript{382} The view prevalent till about 1600, derived ultimately from St. Augustine (and suitably modified by Reformation divines) was that this millenium had already occurred. Opinions varied as to the exact dates involved, the two most popular being that the millenium had ended around AD 1000 or 1300.\textsuperscript{383} However, as more and more historical and philological learning was brought to bear on the text in the decades around 1600, it became clear to some that no period as long as a thousand years could be found in history during which the devil had been effectively bound, and in which the church had enjoyed an era of undisturbed peace and spiritual advancement.\textsuperscript{384}

By the time Mead began his studies it had become difficult for Protestant scholarship to accept that the High Middle Ages had been a time of peace for the elect; indeed, the consensus was now that, apart from isolated believers such as Wycliffe it was the time of the greatest Roman Catholic iniquity.\textsuperscript{385} In addition, renewed study of the early Fathers revealed that, prior to St. Augustine’s reinterpretation, the belief in the future millenial kingdom of Christ had been widespread; in spite of the odium


\textsuperscript{380} Ball, pp. 70–72.


\textsuperscript{382} Mead thought this verse the “most abstruse of all the propheticall Scripture”; Mead, \textit{Key}, R3r; Ball, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{383} Ball, pp. 161–62.

\textsuperscript{384} Ibid., p. 163.

attached to millenialism by many writers it was clear that the doctrine had a respectable history. The effect of this reevaluation of Revelations can be seen in Mead’s analysis. He approached the text in a scientific spirit; his grounding in patristic and Semitic literature, his work on chronology and mathematics and his wide historical reading all equipped him to attempt what he saw as an objective analysis of the text. Mead’s famous “synchronisms” demonstrated his belief that Revelations could be explained in terms of its internal structure. If it appeared that historical fact did not agree with existing interpretations of Revelations 20. 2, then it was clear that the millenium had not yet occurred and this realisation led Mead, against his initial inclinations, to place the millenium in the future; the internal structure of the text could not be preserved without it.

The consequences of this step were obvious: if there was a future millenium, some of the prophecies contained in Revelations were yet to be fulfilled and Mead’s historicist interpretation had to suggest the ways in which this was to happen. He did this in his explanations of the vision of the seven vials in chapter 16, verses 2–17, taking this to refer to the steps by which the “Antichristian beast”, the Church of Rome, was to be destroyed. Three of these vials had already been poured out; the first (Revelations 16. 2) signifying the opposition of the Albigensians and Waldensians to Papal rule, the second (16. 3) the Lutheran Reformation and the third (16. 4–7) the strict execution of the recusancy laws under Elizabeth I and the success of the Dutch revolt against Spain. The fourth vial (16. 8–9) Mead took to refer to the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire: writing (probably after Gustavus Adolphus’s decisive victory at Breitenfeld on 7/17 September 1631) it is not surprising that the King of Sweden crossed his mind:

And behold, whiles I bring forth into the light these things which before I had written, a fame hath filled the whole Christian world, the godly rejoicing at it, that there is now at length come from the North Gods revenger of wrongs, to succour afflicted and distressed Germany; a godly King, happy, and which way soever he cometh, a conquerour, whose prosperous progresse is more speedy then the flight of an Eagle. Is not this he, whom the Lord of Hosts hath

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386 Ball, pp. 175–76; see also P. Toon (ed.), Puritans, the Millenium and the Future of Israel: puritan eschatology 1600 to 1660 (Cambridge, 1970), p. 55. Compare Mead’s comment (citing Justin Martyr) in “Remains on some passages in the Apocalypse” that “This Dogma of the 1000 years Regnum was the General opinion of all Orthodox Christians in the Age immediately following the Apostles...and none known to deny it then but Hereticks”; Worthington, Xxixv.
387 Ball, p. 174; Firth, pp. 217–19; Murrin, p. 136–37.
388 Worthington, c1–v.
389 “A Compendium of M’ MEDE his Commentary upon the REVELATION, containing two Prophesies”, in Mead, Key, S7r; Christianson, p. 126; Toon, p. 59. Brightman, although differing from Mead in detail, also believed the first three judgements had already occurred; Ball, p. 83.
destined to execute the work of this Phial? So I hope, and heartily pray...390

Mead was by no means alone in placing apocalyptic hopes in Gustavus; his words remind us that the contemporary interest in the King of Sweden did not only concern current events. A drama of even greater significance was, to some, being played out.391 The mention of Gustavus is also important in that it indicates something of a tension in Mead's approach to his text; although he was cautious enough to only suggest Gustavus's place in providential history, he still let his hopes for the relief of Protestantism in Germany lead him to make the suggestion.392 Furthermore, although Mead was careful not to publish a timetable of the last days,393 the chronological basis of his work meant that one was implicit in it which an attentive reader could easily discover. Mead suggested that the seven trumpets of chapters 8–9 after which the millenium would begin were to be counted from the year AD 395, and were to last 1,260 years: by this calculation the millenium would begin in 1655.394 In private correspondence Mead was not quite so reticent: he tentatively suggested to Archbishop Ussher in 1628 that, based on the latter's own chronological work and the obscure prophecy of Elias, the millenium would begin in 1736.395 This was evidently part of the "latitude" in the date of the Second Coming to which he referred elsewhere.396


391 Capp, 'The political dimension', p. 106; Hill, Antichrist, pp. 99–100. After the millenarian excesses of the Civil War and Interregnum, however, such pronouncements were an embarrassment, as Worthington's lengthy defence of Mead's reference to Gustavus indicates; Worthington, b3r–b4v.

392 Bearing in mind, no doubt, the unlikelihood of Gustavus being God's instrument because of his early death at Lützen in November 1632, Mead replied to Twisse in 1635 (see n. 390 above) that "Concerning the accomplishment of the Fourth Vial, I shall be then better able to judge, when I see what will be the conclusion of these great Commotions now on foot", Worthington, Vvvv5r.

393 In "Remains on some passages in the Apocalypse" Mead wrote "I waved not the Question of the Ending of the XLI1 months more than that of their Beginning: for as I designed their Beginning in a latitude, so by consequent I do their Ending. If they begin between the years 365 and 455, they must end between the years 1625 and 1715. Only I refused precisely to determine the year of their ending, which for some reasons I supposed should not certainly be known till the Event should make it manifest"; Worthington, Xxx1v.

394 Mead, Key, B8r–v, G3r; Christianson, pp. 125 and n. 55, 127.

395 Mead to Ussher, 22 May 1628 in Worthington, L1112v–3r; see also Firth, pp. 216–17.

396 See n. 393 above.
While Mead's work remained in Latin there was little likelihood of his theories reaching a wide audience. After his death, however, the publication (by order of the House of Commons) of an English translation with an openly millenarian preface by Mead's friend William Twisse, Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, changed matters entirely. (The popularity of the work is indicated by the appearance of a second edition in 1650). Although Arthur Jackson on behalf of the Commons, commenting on Mead’s analysis, remarked that “he therein delivers his judgement with such modesty and moderation, that I think the printing of it will not be perilous”, Twisse didn’t pull any punches in his Preface over the contemporary application of Revelations, or the importance of Mead’s work in determining the chronology of the last days. In his opinion, one of the many excellencies of the Key was that it clarified

the mysterie of the slaughter of the Witnesses, which we have just reason to conceive to have been on foot divers years, not by judicall proceedings onely in the Martyrdom of Gods Saints; but by the sword of war, First in the Low-Countries, then in France, after that in Bohemia, then in Germany, (which, how long it

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397 It appears, however, that Mead was not allowed to publish a second edition of the Clavis. Writing to Paul Testard (who had translated the work into French) in January 1635/36, Mead stated: “Hoc ideo te celatum nolui, ut inde pro prudencia tua judicium faceres, quantopere mea interitis, ne ipse in novam libellum mei apud exteros editionem, sive sua sive aliena lingua, consentirem; cui domi nedum ulterior editione, sed & hujus distractione publica, a superioribus interdictum sit, sola communicacione privata mihi permissa" (This therefore I did not wish to hide from you, that you may then reach a decision according to your judgement, however it affects me: that I myself may not agree to a new edition of my book being produced abroad whether in English or in translation, having been forbidden by my superiors, especially in the light of the present public crisis, to allow any further editions at home, private communications alone being allowed me”); Worthington, Rr5Sv; see also Murrin, p. 143, n. 2. (I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for preparing this translation). Anthony Milton has commented that the “Revelation and Antichrist...had little positive value for the Laudians” who governed the Church of England in the 1630s, and that Mead himself perceived that “calling the Pope Antichrist...had now become a bar to preferment”. It is likely that Mead’s comments to Testard reflected these developments; ‘The Laudians and the Church of Rome c. 1625–40’ (University of Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1989), pp. 29, 34. For a discussion of the reevaluation of apocalyptic studies by the “Laudians” in the 1620s and 1630s see ibid., ch. 1, “The Rejection of Antichrist”. More’s translation of the Clavis Apocalyptica was completed in 1634 but was not published until 1643; see note below.


399 Mead, Key, A1v.
What had been a serious and scholarly enterprise, albeit one with far-reaching implications now became in the hands of some a prophetic justification of the rebellion against Charles I. The impact of Mead’s work seen in this light was discussed by the anonymous author of “An Apology, or a defence of Joseph Mede against the Puritanes”:

"Having upon divers occasions had some argument with some ministers...concerning the Christian grounds of this unnaturall Warr at this time raging amongst us; some of them plainly and ingeniously told me, that the cheifest grounds and assurances of the lawfullness therof were fetcht from the Revelation of St John, and from Master Meades...comments theron."

The author then spent over two hundred closely-written quarto pages to prove that the divines quoted above were wrong. In the following decade the Fifth Monarchists, frustrated by the failure of Parliament’s victory to usher in the rule of the saints, turned to the Key and found there a call for direct action: the sanction given by Mead’s text to an imminent millenium gave them the incentive to act. John Tillinghast, for example, drew heavily on the Key in his own exposition, Knowledge of the Times (1654) and calculated that the Papacy would collapse in 1656 and Christ reappear in 1701; to him this justified the use of force in order to prepare for the Second Coming. One can confidently state that Mead would have been shocked at such an application of his work: it damaged his reputation after the Restoration.

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400 Ibid., A5v.
401 British Library, Harleian MS 6648, folio 9r.
403 J. Tillinghast, Knowledge of the Times, or, the resolution of the question, how long it shall be to the end of wonders (1655), C3r, C4r, E2v–E6r, etc; Cripp, Fifth Monarchy Men, pp. 46, 192–93 (he is mistaken in stating that Mead is only quoted once); Hill, Antichrist, p. 113. The passage of twenty years meant, however, that Tillinghast was forced to revise Mead’s suggestion concerning the Fourth Vial; idem, Generation–work, the second part. Wherein is shewed, what the designs of God abroad in the world, may in all likelyhood be, at this present day, and in the days approaching. Being an exposition of the seven vials, Rev[elations] 16. And other apocalyptic mysteries (1655), 14v.
404 In his biographical notice on Mead Fuller remarked that: “The furious Factors for the fifth Monarchy hath driven that Nails which Master Mede did first enter, farther then he ever intended it, and doing it with such violence, that they split the truths round about it”, The Worthies of England, (1662), X.s2r.
the Millenium and other passages in the Apocalypse" and his edition of Mead's works were probably part of a concerted effort to repair the damage.\textsuperscript{405}

Mead's work in prophetic literature, then, led him (whether he made it clear in print or not) to believe that the millenium had yet to occur and probably lay in the near future; events foretold in Revelations were, even as he compiled his newsletters, possibly taking place on the Continent. How is this reflected in his letters? The short answer is that Mead's studies in prophetic literature are hardly reflected in his correspondence with Stuteville: very few of his apocalyptic speculations appear to have impinged on his newsgathering. A good example of this is seen in a letter of 1621. On Friday 13 April one of Mead's sources sent a newsletter from London which began in the following manner:

> It seemes by our German lettres come this morning. That the most greivous persecution foretold of before Antichrists fall, is beginning; wherein God will thresh & winnow the pure wheat of his Church with a bitter & cruell tryall...\textsuperscript{406}

By this view the collapse of the Bohemian cause was part of the cosmic battle described in Revelations, a necessary reverse for the faithful before the Antichristian Pappacy and Empire were destroyed. Whether Mead agreed with this view or not, his comment to Stuteville on this news in his covering letter sent on Saturday 21 April ("Sir/ I send you the funeralls of the Bohemian affaires") hardly has the same impact. Later in the same letter he added "God send us a good yeare, though my heart misgives me, this is not the worst, we must heare to yeare"; a much more restrained reaction to Protestant defeat.\textsuperscript{407} Having said that Mead did not generally present his news in the context of the latest developments in providential history, however, it was probably one motive for his doing so: especially when we recall the apocalyptic overtones surrounding the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia by Frederick of the Palatinate. When Archbishop Abbot himself could suggest that

> methinks I do in this and that of Hungary, foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece, the King's of the Earth that gave their Power unto the Beast (all the Word of God must be fulfilled) shall now tear the Whore, and make her desolate, as St. John in his Revelation hath foretold...

\textsuperscript{405} Worthington, b2r–b3r; Firth, pp. 245–46.
\textsuperscript{406} H389, folio 54r, 13 April 1621 (Mead's transcript).
\textsuperscript{407} Ibid., folio 61r. This letter was not dated by Mead and the "annotator" was uncertain as to when it was written: "It mentions May day not yet come and by th'enclosed was certainly after the 13 April". Dr. Wedgbury suggests that the letter was written on Saturday 21 April and I agree with her conclusion, as Mead referred to several items in the transcript dated Friday 13 April (compare H389, folio 61r with folios 54r–55r); Wedgbury, p. 84.
we have some idea of the power of the application of Revelation to current events.\textsuperscript{408} (In this context, that Mead began to collect news in late 1619, at the height of the Bohemian revolt against Imperial rule, becomes more significant). While Mead very rarely used language resembling Abbot's to describe the news, it is noticeable that the few occurrences there are occur in the early part of the correspondence when, we can assume, any apocalyptic fervour surrounding the events in Europe would be at its highest.\textsuperscript{409} As Protestant armies were defeated time after time during the 1620s, a providentialist reading of the Thirty Years' War as a step in the destruction of Antichrist became less tenable.\textsuperscript{410} Only after Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany proper in July 1630 and went on to turn the Empire upside down could millenarian hopes revive once more; Mead probably made his identification of the Fourth Vial in the period of excitement after Gustavus's victory at Breitenfeld in September 1631.\textsuperscript{411} After Gustavus's death at Lützen, however, Mead became less certain of the applicability of the Fourth Vial to the King of Sweden.\textsuperscript{412}

Mead's caution in discussing Revelations in print is reflected in his treatment of the news he sent to Stuteville; writing of "a thundring Prodigie" in 1622, he explained his failure to inform Sir Martin about it before on the grounds that "[he] might seeme to beleve too many strange thinges at once".\textsuperscript{413} Such considerations would surely apply to the use of prophetic texts as well: in July 1622, after writing news of a massacre of over 300 settlers in Virginia, Mead added his hope that "our God, the God of Gods confound...[the Indians] quickly" and linked the event with the persecution of the Protestant religion in Germany, but left unstated any reference to the slaughtering of the witnesses, the activities of Antichrist or any other passage in Revelations.\textsuperscript{414} As he wrote to Twisse concerning the relevance of prophecy to current events at a later period of the war in Europe, "I shall be then better able to judge, when I see what will be the conclusion of these great Commotions now on foot".\textsuperscript{415}

\textsuperscript{408} Archbishop Abbot to Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, printed in Cabala, sive scrinia sacra: mysteries of state and government in letters of illustrious persons, and great ministers of state...in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles (London, 1691), 04r; S. L. Adami, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in Sharpe, Faction and Parliament: essays on early Stuart history (Oxford, 1978; 1985 edn.), pp. 146-47; Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, pp. 233-34.

\textsuperscript{409} See for instance H389, folio 9r, 3 February 1620/21. The same can be said of an interest in prophecy generally; ibid., folios 247r-v, 282r-v, 284r-85v.

\textsuperscript{410} It has plausibly been suggested that the popularity of the newsboks declined in the later 1620s as its audience grew tired of reading of Catholic victories, or illusory Protestant ones; Frank, pp. 13-14.

\textsuperscript{411} See pp. 76-77 above.

\textsuperscript{412} See n. 392 above.

\textsuperscript{413} H389, folio 147r.

\textsuperscript{414} H389, folio 216v.

\textsuperscript{415} Worthington, Vvvv5r.
We can suggest, then, that just as Mead attempted to write an objective analysis of Revelations, so he wished to apply prophecy to events in Europe on demonstrably accurate grounds. As he could not do this, he made a conscious effort to exclude an apocalyptic commentary on his news, except in the general providential sense of referring the outcome of events to God's wisdom, not least, perhaps, because he recognised that Sir Martin would be less interested in his speculations than in the information provided in his letters. It was only after Stuteville's death and the publication of the second, enlarged, edition of the *Clavis Apocalypistica* in 1632 that Mead's letters became concerned with his apocalyptic work as he debated the meaning of various prophetic texts with scholars all over Europe.

Although Mead's studies in prophetical literature are not, by and large, reflected in his letters to Stuteville, one aspect at least of his studies appears frequently: the significance of anniversaries. Without a sure grasp of chronology Mead would not have been able to undertake his researches, and the habits of mind acquired when dealing with the relationship of dates to each other seems to have stayed with him in dealing with more secular matters. This could lead him to add postscripts such as the following in February 1626/27:

February 3 Shrove eve, which hath not bin so this threescore & thirteene yeares before, for Easter day fell not upon the 25 of March (our Lady day) since the yeare 1554 the first of Queen Mary when all our Reformed clergie were deposed, & the Pope received by Parlament I suppose this to have bin the occasion of the Proverb, when Christ falls in our Ladiyes Lap: Then Clergie man look to thy hap. It fell so also 4 yeare afore King Harry died 1543.

The interest in chronology needed to casually add such a passage is quite considerable; as we might expect, Mead got his facts right. (One wonders whether he would have thought the next two years in which Easter Day fell on March 25, 1638 and 1649, further evidence for the truth of the proverb).

The coincidence between the calendars of 1627 and 1554 noted by Mead was presumably a reflection of his curiosity in finding out such patterns (one recalls the "Synchronisms" of the *Clavis*, which were formulated to prove that different prophecies in the text occurred at the same time). On writing the

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416 Although even here Mead was somewhat reticent, certainly as far as quoting Scripture is concerned. It has been pointed out that in 154 personal letters written to Stuteville between 1621 and 1625 Mead only quoted the Bible ten times, which seems a remarkably low figure; Wedgbury, Introduction, p. xxx.

417 Only the first 29 of the 98 letters published by Worthington in 1664 date from before Stuteville's death.

418 H390, folio 194r.

419 Cheney, p. 90.

420 See Toon, pp. 57–58, for a useful demonstration of one of Mead’s synchronisms.
date at the end of his letter, Mead was led to discuss its significance in more detail and this was, in fact, his usual practice; on February 19 1624/25, for instance, recalling events from the previous two years he noted it was

the day the Prince embarqued for Spaine [in 1622/23] & the Parlament began on the last yeare...\textsuperscript{421}

and on 16 June 1627 he ended his letter by observing that

Yesterday (June 15) was that unfortunate day twelvemonth whereon the Parlament was dissolved...\textsuperscript{422}

It is clear that Mead was generally very much aware of the importance of anniversaries, especially with regard to the events of the last few years and could discern a deeper significance in such events, as with the pattern of plague deaths in London;

Worthy Sir/

I will begin first with the Funerall Bill at London, which in the whole is 142 & of the plague None. It is just a twelve-month since it was so. God be thanked for so happie a revolution...\textsuperscript{423}

While Mead could interpret such chronological occurrences in the light of a wider providentialist reading of current events, however, the caution seen in his analysis of Revelations was also in evidence. When he sent Sir Martin an account of the waterspout on the Thames of 13 June 1626 and noted in the margin that this was the same day that Henrietta Maria had arrived at Dover the previous year, he felt constrained to add “but it is perhaps too idle an observation”; perhaps he could not himself discern the significance of the relationship in time of the two events.\textsuperscript{424} When Mead heard a rumour in April 1631 that the plague had again broken out in Cambridge, he suggested that this was because someone had been foolish enough to believe it would break out on the same day as it had the previous year.\textsuperscript{425} The incident of the waterspout is especially interesting in that Mead indicated he had noted the date of the queen’s arrival in his “Almanack”, presumably used to record the dates of important occasions. Even though he apparently possessed a prodigious memory,\textsuperscript{426} his interest in dates and ability to note anniversaries was, no doubt, made much easier by possessing such an aide-

\textsuperscript{421} H390, folio 402v. Mead was (as we might expect) correct; Gardiner, v. 7, 183.

\textsuperscript{422} H390, folio 269r.

\textsuperscript{423} H390, folio 25r, 11 March 1625/26. The importance of both the plague as an item of news and the anniversary to be reported led to Mead to begin his letter with these lines.

\textsuperscript{424} H390, folio 79r.

\textsuperscript{425} H390, folio 510v.

\textsuperscript{426} Worthington, **2r.
Mead also directed Stuteville to “look [his] old lettres” to confirm the anniversary, the only indication I have found that the letters now in H389/390 were preserved at Dalham to be consulted in the years after they were written.

Other chronological features noted by Mead appear at first glance to be more mundane, such as his note at the end of his letter of 17 November 1627: “when our belles in every Church are ringing here in memory of happie Queene Elizabeth”; her accession day was, after all, still celebrated each year. However, in the charged atmosphere of November 1627, as the survivors of the disaster at the Île de Rhé struggled home, a reference to Good Queen Bess was surely an implicit comment on the incompetence of Buckingham’s administration, the meaning of which would not have been lost on Stuteville. It has been noted that the “Elizabethan legend reached its height under Charles I and was an element in attacks on his government”. Mead’s interest in anniversaries was further activated when he learned of the date of the battle at Rhé, in which the rearguard of the English army had been cut to pieces:

...is it not remarkeable, That this Overthrow, should fall out upon the selfe same day, wheron the Battell at Prague was lost this time seven yeare? Tis true: for Both were upon the 29th of October then Sunday, now Monday. God certainly is against us.

The coincidence between the collapse of English hopes and those of King Frederick seemed too significant to pass over. (Certainly Stuteville thought so; he informed Sir Simonds D’Ewes of it in his next letter). Furthermore, Mead saw it as divinely ordained and, presumably, part of His plan to punish the Protestant cause for its sins. Just as the chronological relationships of Revelations could reveal Him working through history, so the events of the 1620s could show Him at work (although for ends even more difficult to determine); Mead the chronologist was well-placed to see such patterns in the ebb and flow of current events. It is at moments such as this, I think, that the influence of Mead’s studies, and his preoccupations with the Divine plan for mankind, are most clearly seen; God did play a role in the world even if it is difficult to discern.

427 Was this the same as his “tablebooke”? See p. 56 above.
428 H390, folio 320r; see also ibid., folio 161v, 17 November 1626.
430 H390, folio 317r.
431 H383, folio 49r, 25 November 1627.
Wee have thought it necessary, by the advice of our Privie Councell, to give forewarning unto Our loving Subjects,...And straitly to command them and every of them, from the highest to the lowest, to take heede, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home, or abroad, but containe themselves within that modest and reverent regard, of matters, above their reach and calling, that to good and dutifull Subjects appertaineth; As also not to give attention, or any manner of applause or entertainement to such discourse...

So stated James's proclamation issued in December 1620. Although Mead never forgot his compliments to Susan, Lady Stuteville, his letters (as opposed to his transcripts of London news) were intended primarily for Sir Martin’s eyes only. This is not just because Sir Martin was the intended recipient; Mead was well aware that some at least of the material he sent should be seen by as few people as possible, and that nearly all of it was technically in breach of the proclamation quoted above. In this respect the division in Mead’s correspondence between transcripts and covering letters written each Saturday to Sir Martin personally served a particularly useful purpose. Stuteville read Mead’s transcripts aloud to his family and friends but was not expected to reveal the contents of the covering letters. Mead still felt the need to point this out, however:

Sir

...All the newes I have is in the enclosed. In the matter of Cottier there is a voyd space & a name left out; I did it of purpose, because I know you shew such papers to many & the honourable respect I beare to Ladies made me not willing to prostitute a Ladies name in a Relation of such aspersion...

The lady in question, Lady Anne Hay, had been raped by Jacques Gaultier the Queen’s lutanist and Mead evidently felt to reveal her name would be rather too much for Stuteville’s friends. “But”, he went on, “to your selfe in aurem, the name omitted is Doncaster”: Sir Martin himself, it appears, had a right to know. Items of a similar nature, such as copies of scurrilous verses about the Duke of Buckingham, accounts of Privy Council debates and other “doubtful” reports were reserved for Mead’s personal letters, and Sir Martin was periodically reminded of the sensitivity of such material:

\[\text{\footnotesize 432 J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes (eds.), \textit{Stuart Royal Proclamations, Volume I: Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603–1625}, (Oxford, 1973), no. 208 (pp. 495–96). See also the proclamation issued in the following July (no. 218, pp. 519–21).}

\[\text{\footnotesize 433 H390, folio 189r; Lord Doncaster (whose daughter this was) had been created Earl of Carlisle in 1622; GEC, iii. 32. For this episode see R. E. Schreiber, \textit{The First Carlisle: Sir James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580–1636} (Philadelphia, Pa., 1984), p. 101.}\]
I pray keep not my lettre to read to any body. The times are full of jealousy & he that means no hurt may be misconceived. And that which hath no other root but an excusable curiosity will be thought to proceed from misaffection...  

There is an undefined and only half recognised tension in Mead's attitude towards newsgathering which appears at moments like these; he was perfectly aware that his activities were in breach of the royal proclamations forbidding free discussion of matters of state but this did not prevent him from claiming the privilege of “excusable curiosity” and continuing to write them himself. Thus, phrases like

Blot out this when you have read it, for we must not prognosticate of the counsell between us and events of State...

crop up several times. These dutiful reminders against engaging in the discussion of *arcana imperii* in the very act of doing so illustrate an important aspect of Mead's attitude to his activities. His notion of “excusable curiosity” was intimately involved with the concept of privacy: not only because writing his most sensitive passages for an intended audience of one gave him a greater sense of freedom to deal with sensitive topics concerning the Court or the conduct of foreign affairs, but also due to the nature of the sources that gave him this information. Mead relied on men like John Pory or William Boswell to provide this “intelligence”; in turn he placed considerable trust in Stuteville to handle it carefully. Mead also probably felt that his relative seclusion in Cambridge protected him to an extent from the attentions of the Privy Council, who, it should be remembered, imprisoned or harassed the publishers of the printed newsbooks more than once. Mead’s anxiety over letters to Dalham going astray becomes even more understandable when he was dealing with material which, if printed, would have landed those responsible in prison. Even when sending such “doubtful” stuff, however, his concern to keep Sir Martin informed could overcome his caution, as when he sent a particularly libellous squib concerning Charles and Buckingham in January 1626/27:

I send you something I know not what, but it came from London in the same manner I send it you. I know you will not think it fitt to be showen, though I send it you. If you do, at your owne perill Ile deny it: if it prove naught...

The concept of “excusable curiosity” did not extend to items such as this, but Mead felt able to send them to Dalham because of the privacy of the correspondence. At times, however, even he felt that he could not commit what he had seen to paper; on two occasions at least Mead came across material of

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434 H389, folio 100v.
435 H389, folio 260r; see also ibid., folios 166r, 233r, 304r.
436 The word in this context retained, no doubt, more of its original connotations of espionage; see pp. 97–98 below.
437 Frank, pp. 6, 14; H390, folio 292r.
438 H390, folio 181r; see also H389, folios 105r, 166v.
this nature soon before he was to travel to Dalham for Christmas, and decided it was much safer to wait until he next saw Sir Martin in person.\textsuperscript{439}

Mead’s attitude towards newsgathering can also be inferred from his reflections on the activities of others in the University. Although he himself used contacts in the town to gather news, especially Dr. Laurence Chaderton, he made it clear on occasion that he thought others went too far, or at least overstepped what Mead considered the proper bounds of newsgathering. Indeed, he described an atmosphere of intense preoccupation in discussing current events or material of even more sensitivity:

\textit{And still I wonder at our Academians whom I observe more \& more to make no bones of communicating, copying, repeating, of that I meane not shalbe " ever " found in my keeping...}

The men in question were, however, doing little more than Mead and, having passed judgement in this manner he was honest enough to add that

\textit{curiosity to understand the times makes me sometimes listen; but I hope that is a pardonable fault \& c.}\textsuperscript{440}

The fault of the Cambridge dons lay, it appears, not in their handling such material but in the openness with which they did it and their disregard for the privacy Mead himself valued so highly. Just as Mead valued his private “intelligence” above accounts that had travelled widely before they reached him, so in dealing with his news he tried to be as discreet as possible.

Mead did not only address his covering letters to Sir Martin alone because of the sensitivity of some of his political news; his responsibility as a tutor also on occasion compelled him to address the head of the Dalham household alone.\textsuperscript{441} Some of these matters were relatively mundane, such as informing Sir Martin of the amount of his son John’s outstanding College bill and recorded in meticulous detail in his account books.\textsuperscript{442} Others were “tales forth of Schoole”, detailed reports of College gossip such as his lengthy complaint about the ways in which the Master of Christ’s, Thomas Bainbrigge, controlled the distribution of College rooms for the benefit of no-one but his relations, thus frustrating Mead’s own wishes in trying to find room for Justinian Isham.\textsuperscript{443} Occasionally, however, Mead found himself in need of Sir Martin’s advice in the face of disturbing

\textsuperscript{439} H389, folio 512r; H390, folio 331r; see also H389, folio 383v.
\textsuperscript{440} H389, folio 335r.
\textsuperscript{441} Although when John Stuteville entered Christ’s in April 1625 Mead noted that Susan Lady Stuteville would want to hear Cambridge news, most of which Sir Martin no doubt passed on to her; H389, folio 429r.
\textsuperscript{442} Christ’s College Archives, T. 11. 3 (Mead’s account book, 24 June 1625 – 24 December 1632), folios 47r–52v.
\textsuperscript{443} H390, folios 206r, 221r, 225r–v.
developments. One such incident was the attempt by William Power, a Fellow senior to Mead, to seduce the newly-arrived Isham in May 1627, in Mead’s words,

by a scurvie, villanous & Panderlike letter...whose furie in this villanous attempt I saw so lively & wickedly expressed; say I may say blasphemously For one of his passages towards the close was this, that if he durst not express his affection & do him that sweet favour by day time for feare of the Pharises, yet that he would be a good Nicodemus & visit him by night... 444

Mead confessed that he loved Isham “with some degree more than a Tutors affection”,445 and the two remained close friends until Mead’s death: having by chance intercepted Power’s letter he was at something of a loss to know what to do next and asked Sir Martin for advice (Justinian was, after all, Sir Martin’s nephew). Unfortunately, Stuteville’s reply has not survived but perhaps his suggestions, together with Isham’s good sense retrieved the situation and Power’s designs were frustrated. This incident reminds us once again that Mead and Stuteville were not merely client and patron but also close friends, and Mead’s newsletters reflected this as well as a shared “curiosity to understand the times”. An account of Christs’s College politics written around 1660 suggests that

Power’s pupils, thought too loose like their Tutor, were called Powritans; Chappel’s, thought too precise, called Puritans; Mede’s that kept the medium between both, Medians... 446

The Isham incident reminds us that personal differences could be as important as differences in theological viewpoint in determining the factionalism of college life. When Mead, returning to Christs’s in 1630 after a six month absence due to the plague, found only Power and the latter’s friend William Siddall at dinner, he refused to join them.447 David Hoyle has recently reminded us that

when assessing the theological balance of power in the University or analysing the extent of doctrinal factional sentiment it is as well to remember that there might be more than divinity at stake... 448

and the situation in Christ’s bears this out; it is unlikely their differing attitudes to the Church of England explains Mead’s antipathy to his collegues.

444 H390, folio 253r. The reference was to the night visit paid to Jesus by Nicodemus, “a ruler of the Jewes”, described in John 3. 1-15.
445 H390, folio 253v.
446 T. Leigh, quoted by Peile, i. 209. This college factionalism is glanced at in Ben Jonson’s The Magnetic Lady, written c. 1632, probably on information supplied by Nathaniel Tovey, one of the Fellows; J. I. Cope, ‘Jonson on the Christ’s College Dons’, MLN 74 (1959), 101-02.
447 H390, folio 512r.
Mead did not generally comment on the news he received; this must in part at least be due
to the inadvisability of committing too strong an opinion to paper, especially given the uncertainty
over whether his letters would reach Dalham. The occasions when he felt it more prudent to wait until
he saw Stuteville in person before he told him a report indicate this, and it is clear that others shared
his concern. Mead was evidently uneasy about the influence of the Duke of Buckingham (the
number of libels against him sent to Dalham is one indicator of this) but unlike some in the
University he was not prepared to believe the worst of Buckingham. His attitude is made clear in a
letter of July 1628:

Sir,

Nor can it sink yet into my head, that the great man
should willingly & de industria betray the Kingdome to an
Enemie, though I think it possible he may by error ill guidance
& following unfaithfull counsell, hazard us to such a danger. And I
feare he is ruled by those who wish our State no good, though
they professe it not but mask it under other pretences. Yet for
maintaining so much of my unbeliefe as you do, & alledging
some reasons for it, I was this Commencement time taken for
halfe a Dukelin...450

This passage is particularly striking in that it shows that Mead was prepared to defend Buckingham in
public even given his reservations, and that Sir Martin agreed with this qualified view of the Duke's
perfidy. It is probable that in "alledging some reasons" in Buckingham's defence Mead was drawing on
his knowledge of current events gained from his "intelligence", which disposed him to disbelieve the
more extreme rumours concerning the Duke; in the same spirit he did not sentimentalise John Felton,
Buckingham's murderer.451 Mead's access to accurate sources of news led to concern but not, it
appears, to disaffection.

Some things can be said with more confidence; not unexpectedly, Mead had little time for
Catholics of any hue – indeed, one of the worst things he could find to say about William Power was
that he, Mead, suspected him to be a Jesuit! This prejudice could take slightly comic forms, as in his
rather abrupt salutation on 14 May 1625:

Sir,

My written newes Master [Thomas] Stuteville took away
on Wednesday. I hope it is with you. But if I had known Sir
Robert which came with him had bee Ruckwood, I would have
bin nice & not have exposed our intelligence to the Catholick
gere...


450 H390, folio 422r.

451 H390, folio 461r–v.
Thomas Stuteville's association with the son of a man implicated in the Gunpowder Plot was evidently a cause of concern. Some of Mead's comments can be attributed to what can only be described as Protestant wishful thinking, such as the rumour in his London letter of 6 October 1626 that Maximilian of Bavaria was dead. As the most powerful Catholic prince in the Empire after the Emperor himself (due to his position as president of the Catholic League and the military prowess of Johann Count Tilly, the commander of the League’s army) and the man who had most benefitted from the downfall of Frederick of the Palatinate, Maximilian’s death would have been a considerable boost to the Protestant cause. Mead’s disappointment when the truth became known is palpable:

No Christian charity here. Mead’s attitude was unexceptional given the age in which he wrote; but it reminds us that this paragon of toleration and rationality as eulogised by Worthington and others retained some very distinct prejudices. Not, of course, that he was alone: bearing in mind the tremendous stimulus given to the interest in news by the religious dimension of the conflict on the Continent, it is hardly surprising that the news reaching London and being retailed to the provinces was predominantly anti-Catholic in tone. Pory, recalling the imagery of Revelations, termed Philip IV of Spain “the peerles paramour of that Babylonian strumpett” in describing a Dutch naval victory over the Spanish in a newsletter to Mead of 1628; and Dr. James Meddus, on hearing (ultimately unfounded) rumours of a Protestant victory in Germany in 1622, “told it in the open street for joy”. His attitude is also made clear by Mead’s comment in 1631 (on receiving a letter from Stuteville in which another rumour of Maximilian’s death was included) that

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452 H389, folio 442r; Wedgbury, p. 553.
454 Maximilian had been created an Elector of the Empire in the place of the banished Frederick in 1623, and he was given the Upper Palatinate, part of Frederick’s lands, by the Emperor as payment for his war expenses on Ferdinand’s behalf; C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years’ War (1938; revised edn., 1987), pp. 158–64.
455 H390, folio 139v (referring to a report on folio 136v). This was only one of several rumours of Maximilian’s death or imminent demise; H390, folios 43r, 163v, 510v. Ironically, Maximilian was one of the last of the major participants in the Thirty Years’ War to die (in 1651).
456 H383, folio 71r.
457 H389, folio 187r.
Of the Duke of Bavaria’s death I never heard till yours. Though I saw a letter from the Doctor yesterday, which if he had had that to write, he should not have complained for want of newes...\textsuperscript{458}

We recall also that Thomas Gainsford, one of the earliest editors of the newsbooks, was imprisoned in 1620 for being involved in distributing an anti-Spanish tract, Thomas Scott’s \textit{Vox Spiritus or Sir Walter Rawleigh’s Ghost};\textsuperscript{459} and the newsbooks under his editorship adopted an openly Protestant stance when the vicissitudes of censorship allowed them to do so.\textsuperscript{460} Mead’s undoubted anti-Catholicism was similar to the complexion of much of the news he was receiving, and in this context we should not discount the influence of his studies in apocalyptic literature. Even if he hoped (somewhat incongruously, perhaps) that the prophesied destruction of Rome would be accomplished without loss of life,\textsuperscript{461} a man who identified the Pope with Antichrist and the practices of the Roman Catholic Church with the “Apostacy of the Latter Times” would be expected to give Catholics short shrift.\textsuperscript{462}

It has been remarked that, “Although interested in keeping abreast of current events, Joseph Mead was very much a university man”\textsuperscript{463} though he was careful not to criticise the Duke of Buckingham too openly in relation to the latter’s position as the royal favourite, and as we have seen even defended him on occasion, he seems to have felt that the Duke’s influence over University affairs was a malign one. This does not appear so much in Mead’s description of Buckingham’s election as Chancellor, even though he voted for the Earl of Berkshire who was nominated to stand against the Duke: the Heads of House (dissmissively categorised as “the Courtiers” in a later letter) who orchestrated Buckingham’s victory were seen as the villains of the piece.\textsuperscript{464} (This was also the opinion of the author of “The manner of the Duke of Buckinghams Election for the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge with certaine observations on the same” written soon after the event).\textsuperscript{465}

However, when John Smithson of King’s College, having, as Mead put it, “gotten lately some Commisarie Ship, of some £10 per annum” was questioned by the Duke’s servants over how he had voted in the election, a vote for Buckingham presumably being a condition of office, Mead exclaimed

\textit{Is not this fine! & yet we have Doctors defend it as worthily done! that the Duke would know his freinds from his foes, before he would do anything for them...}

\textsuperscript{458} H390, folio 510v.
\textsuperscript{459} S. L. Adams, ‘Captain Thomas Gainsford’, pp. 141–44.
\textsuperscript{460} I am grateful to Michael Frearson for this point.
\textsuperscript{461} Mead, Key, L4v–L5r.
\textsuperscript{462} Ball, pp. 136–37.
\textsuperscript{463} Firth, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{464} H390, folios 68r–69r; 157r.
\textsuperscript{465} BL Sloane MS 1775, folios 23r–30v.
and was suitably scathing about the Duke’s minions,

You will not believe, how some great ones here applaud it, to the no small impeachment of their discretion...  

Again, when difficulties were raised over the election of Thomas Batchcroft as Master of Gonville and Caius College in November 1626, Mead immediately suspected the hand of Buckingham behind the scenes: as he told Stuteville,

Certainly tis but a money matter, & Badgecraft is rich. In the meane time what Chancellour shall we have. God give them joy who were so eager...  

A week later the affair had taken on an even more serious aspect after, presumably, the ramifications of this attempt by the Duke or his adherents to gain control of Mastership elections had sunk in:

Caius Colledg buisines is like to produce some strange President to the utter overthrow of all elections of Masters for ever...

After the unanimous support of his College and a considerable effort by others in the University, including a petition to the Duke on his behalf which Mead signed, Batchcroft was elected. The damage had been done, however, and even Buckingham’s generous offer in March 1626/27 to give £7000 to the University in order to build a new library was given a lukewarm reception:

I wish he might never do worse deed. but I doubt I doubt...

In the end, of course, Mead’s pessimism over this project was justified due to Buckingham’s assassination in 1628. While Mead was uneasy about the Duke’s influence at Court, it is probable that his especially unfavourable judgements about the latter’s exercise of his duties as Chancellor of the University derived from a conviction that here, at least, he could see the effects at first hand, knew what he was talking about and felt such interference keenly. The anonymous chronicler of the Chancellorship election of 1626 stated that many of those who originally intended to vote against the Duke but in the end did not do so (as a result of various artifices by the “Courtier” Masters) distrusted him due to “those late Parliament messages”. The impact that accounts of the Commons’ proceedings against Buckingham had on attitudes to the Duke in the University should not be underestimated. It is equally probable, however, that the depth of hostility towards Buckingham

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466 H390, folio 84v.
467 H390, folio 151r.
468 H390, folios 157r–v, 159r, 165r. Mead received the news of Batchcroft’s election from Pory, a Caius man who had heard it from the new Master himself.
469 H390, folio 227v.
470 BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 24r.
apparent at the Commencement of 1628 was in part due to a perception that his Chancellorship was not good for the University. Buckingham, of course, did not have much longer to live; but the polarisation encountered by Mead on that occasion presaged the bitter divisions among the dons throughout the 1630s.
V. “Who can in this Confusion discern truth from falshood?”: Authority and Unreliability in Mead’s newsletters

Open your ears, for which of you will stop the vent of hearing when loud Rumour speaks?
I, from the Orient to the drooping West,
Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
The acts commenced on this ball of earth.
Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,
The which in every language I pronounce,
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.

...Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
And of so easy and so plain a stop
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still-discordant wav’ring multitude,
Can play upon it...\textsuperscript{471}

...whether it were true or no, we gossips are bound to believe it an’t be once out and afoot. How should we entertain the time else, or find ourselves in fashionable discourse for all companies, if we do not credit all and make more of it in the reporting? \textsuperscript{472}

Who can in this Confusion discern truth from falshood?...\textsuperscript{473}

Shakespeare’s personified Rumour, Jonson’s chattering gossips and Mead’s exasperated comment all point to the same conclusion: the telling of news was an activity open to all, with the likely result that most of it would be false or exaggerated. While Shakespeare considered Rumour in the widest possible context both in place and time, however, and Jonson satirised the current thirst for news (while making a cogent point about human gullibility) Mead faced the pressing and ever-present problem, in the “here and now”, of how to deal with the human tendency to tell stories and gossip. In his letters to Stuteville he was not interested in the phenomenon of rumour except insofar as he could discern it in action and take steps to counteract it, being, after all, at the mercy of his sources in a way the dramatist was not.

Mead’s usual way checking the veracity of his material was by comparing different accounts of the same event: one consequence (and probably a reason) of his receiving news from so many sources was that he could do this more easily. However, it still remained for him to describe not only for Sir Martin’s benefit but for his own the types of news crossing his desk; without a hierarchy within which each source could be placed there could be no certainty about the level of trust to be placed in any individual item. This hierarchy was defined by a relatively small group of substantive


\textsuperscript{473} H390, folio 307r.
terms and qualifying adjectives which, between them, appear in every letter Mead wrote to Stuteville; they not only described the provenance of a given item but, crucially, the process by which it reached Cambridge. By examining the incidence of these words and considering them in historical context through a study (in the OED) of the meanings available to Mead, it is possible to indicate the hierarchy he imposed on the information reaching him. As a result of this exercise it is also clear that the period's "hunger and thirst after...news" had a considerable impact on the language as a whole, not just on Mead's lexicon of terms, and that he illustrates this development in action. I will return to these points in more detail below.

In the list of terms below I have concentrated on Mead's use of substantives, as I consider these the most important part of his vocabulary in dealing with news material; in supplying OED definitions for the sense(s) he used I have generally given the first citation of the word and any significant contemporary ones.

1. "Business": Mead employed this in the senses of OED 16a, "A matter that concerns or relates to a particular person or thing; construed with of, or genitive case" (first cited use 1525) and 18a, "vaguely. An affair, concern, matter...Frequent in colloquial phrases like 'a bad business', 'a queer business'": both senses of the substantive were used to denote a series of events. Thus, (sense 16a) we find "the business of Rez stands thus" and (sense 18a) "I cannot write out all this business". Mead's "colloquial" use, however, qualified the incident in question because of the nature of the news reported, such as an account of the murder of Dr. George Egglesheim, author of the inflammatory pamphlet Prodomus vindicatæ ("Blott this out for I love not to relate any such doubtfull business") or the "strange businesses" surrounding the translation of the Bishop of London to the archbishopric of York in July 1628. These examples show that, unlike his use of several other words to describe news transmission, Mead did not disbelieve what he sent to Dalham on these occasions but was rather reluctant to pass them on as being, in his opinion, potentially dangerous if his letters were to fall into the wrong hands. The word here has the ambiguous connotations of OED's first recorded usage in sense 18a cited above, in Macbeth:

474 For the purposes of this investigation I have confined myself to Mead's letters addressed to Stuteville; not only because it is in these that he described the sorts of news sent to Dalham but also to make sure that the terms listed are ones he actually used.

475 Staple of News, "To the Readers" [Prologue to Act III], lines 11–12: Jonson was specifically referring to the newbooks only, but other forms of news were no doubt implied.

476 H390, folios 312r, 424v. OED cites the London Gazette from 1706, "A Business has lately happened which may...engage us in new Disputes".

477 H390, folios 320r, 417v.
Macbeth’s description of the prophecy of the Weird Sisters (“that business”) soon before Duncan’s murder gives the word a euphemistic quality common in the language of the early part of the play; while Mead had to qualify the word to give it this sense, it is undoubtedly present.

2. “Event”: This word has several linked meanings current in Mead’s time which he could draw on: OED 1a, “The (actual or contemplated) fact of anything happening; the occurrence of”; 2a, “Anything that happens, or is contemplated as happening; an incident, occurrence”; 3a, “That which follows upon a course of proceedings; the outcome, issue; that which proceeds from the operation of a cause; a consequence, result”. The first recorded usages of these three senses all occurred between 1573 and 1602. This substantive was one Mead only used for an incident he knew had already happened, or, more often, expected would occur in the near future, and only occurs in the singular (as is the first recorded use of the word in sense 1a: “I could not but expect the event of so good a thing”). By definition the “event” of a piece of news in Mead’s lexicon was its final outcome, not open to doubt: as he repeatedly informed Stuteville, “we shall know by the event”, “the event is like to trample on the heels of the apparition”, “what was the event, is not yet knowne”. As such, this substantive was never adjectivally qualified; varying reports might predict the outcome of a given incident, but the fact itself was unchangeable: the first intimations of the disaster at Rhé “made us feare this event which is come”. “Event” is unique among Mead’s vocabulary in that it does not describe the process of news transmission or Mead’s opinion of an individual item, but the end towards which all his reports tended; it stands outside the field of interpretation signified by his other newsgathering substantives.

3. “Fable”: As we might expect, one of Mead’s most censorious words, used in the sense of OED 1c, “A foolish or ridiculous story; idle talk, nonsense” and (particularly) 1d, “A fiction invented to deceive; a fabrication, falsehood”. Unlike some of Mead’s other terms, both these senses had had a long history by the seventeenth century; OED gives first citations in the fourteenth century for both. Examples in H390 include a report “contemned as a fable”, the remark that “some write expressly, that

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479 The first recorded use of sense 1a is in 1602. That of 2a is, again, in Shakespeare: J. C. Maxwell (ed.), Titus Andronicus (London, 1953; 1985 edn.), V. iii. 178 (applied to Aaron, “breeder of these dire events”; OED once again differs from the Arden edition, giving the citation as V. iii. 204). Sense 3a first appeared in 1573.

480 H390, folio 62r, 97r, 227v. Compare Mead’s use of the word in discussing the millennium of the saints: above, p. 77 n. 393.

481 H390, folio 319r.
it was a fable", and Mead's *ad hoc* word-form, "Things of this nature are lyable to fabulositie".\(^{482}\) When the word occurs we have good reason to doubt the credibility of the report, particularly as Mead never used the word in its more positive senses, such as *OED* 2 (as in "Esop’s Fables") With substantives such as "tale", this word represents Mead’s lowest category of reliability.

4. "Information": This word, like "intelligence" below, has two functions in Mead’s vocabulary: to signify a trustworthy report and the process by which it reached him. This underlines the aspect of communication between Mead and his sources implicit in some of his most important keywords; whereas "event" defines the end of the newsgathering process, "information" and its cognates show that process at work. Mead’s use of "information" is that of *OED* 3a, "Knowledge communicated concerning some particular fact, subject, or event; that of which one is apprised or told; intelligence, news". (The first citation of the word in this sense dates from c. 1450). As Mead more often employed "intelligence" to convey this meaning, however, "information" does not occur as often as we might expect given the nature of his correspondence. His use of this substantive was generally positive; the word’s place in his lexicon is indicated by phrases such as “So the fact was true. But whether the information it containes be so too I know not”, “all is but Speculation, & nothing from any information”.\(^{483}\) (A related meaning of "information" which Mead did not employ is *OED* 3b (first use 1527), "An item of information or intelligence; a fact or circumstance of which one is told. In earlier use, An account, relation, narrative").\(^{484}\)

5. "Intelligence": Mead’s most common word to denote a report (or a source of reports) he trusted, and expected Stuteville to trust. The term is linked to "information" above; it was Mead’s most favourable word used for the *transmission* of news as well as the nature of the report obtained. (Another relevant sense of the word is *OED* 6, “A relation or footing of information between persons or parties; a good (or other) understanding between or with”, first citation 1597–98). The word was one that was undergoing considerable redefinition in this period; the senses Mead used, *OED* 5b, “Interchange of knowledge, especially applied to the communication of spies, secret or private agents” first appears in 1587;\(^{485}\) and 7a, “Knowledge as to events, communicated by or obtained from another; information, news, tidings: specifically information of military value", is first cited from 1569. The related "intelligencer" first appears in 1581: *OED* 1a, “One employed to obtain secret information, an informer, a spy, a secret agent: by 1632 (the first recorded use of *OED* 1b, “A bringer

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\(^{482}\) H390, folios 81r, 308r, 211r.

\(^{483}\) H390, folios 217r, 283r.

\(^{484}\) Compare the title-page of a 1624 newsbook cited by *OED* under this sense, “A Briefe information of the Affaires of the Palatinat”.

\(^{485}\) *OED*’s citation from Phillips’ *Dictionary* (1696), “Intelligence...the Correspondence that Statesmen and Merchants hold in Foreign Courts and Countrys” is equally valid for the 1620s.
of news; a messenger; an informant; a newsmonger") the shift in the concept of "intelligencing" from espionage to newsgathering had taken place. Mead employed the term in this newer sense in 1626, when relegating Dr. James Meddus to the "ordinary company of miscellaneous intelligencers". The verb-form "to intelligence" is cited from 1608; Shakespeare's "intelligencing bawd" is another early usage. From the underworld of secret agents the word had, by the 1620s, gained a much wider currency in which the "news explosion" of the period no doubt played its part.

Mead never, apparently, used the word in the modern sense (derived from Latin intelligere) of "cleverness" or the ability to perceive (although, of course, this lies at the root of all later senses); the specialised substantive meanings current between 1600–30 were those he employed. The word was not only associated with Mead's trusted sources such as Meddus ("the Doctor's intelligence") but also for any report on which Mead relied, or for "hard news" generally: "principal intelligence", "more fully related in that Intelligence... I expected", "whereupon they have given a general Caveat to their Factors to write nothing of intelligence" (a use of OED 7a), "upon the receipt of that dayes intelligence", and so on. This word was only qualified by positive terms: "more perfect intelligence", "good means of intelligence"; the letters written for Stuteville were his "weekly intelligence".

6. "Newes": In this period the substantive "news" could be construed as a plural, OED 2a, "Tidings", the report or account of recent events or occurrences, brought or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk" (first citation 1423 but only in common use after 1500) or as a singular, OED 2b, first citation 1566. Mead, reflecting the transition in the construction of the word, favoured the singular form. By the early seventeenth century "news" had replaced the much older "tidings" as the principal term to describe a report of current events and, like "intelligence", was the object of considerable lexical transformation. Apart from the shift from a plural to a singular construction this can be seen in the range of phrases using the word that appear after

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486 This is the only instance I have found where Mead distinguishes between different (i. e. better or worse) sorts of "intelligence".
488 H390, folios 66r, 137r. But see note 166 above.
489 H390, folios 47r, 106r, 261r, 293r.
490 H390, folios 53r, 285r, 271r.
491 Compare "Tiding", OED 2, "The announcement of an event or occurrence; a piece of news (now obsolete or archaic); usually in plural, tidings, reports, news, intelligence, information". The first recorded use of the singular form is c. 1100, that of the plural c. 1200.
492 OED's second example is from The Staple of Newes, I. v. 48-49: "when news is printed/ It leaves, sir, to be news". Jonson's preferred construction was, however, in the plural, as in the Third Intermean, lines 14-17.
1600 (OED, 6b) "news-thirsting ears"; "Nonciation...a news telling"; "Rapporte-nouvelle, a newes-bearer"; "news-greedie eare"; "Grave Master Ambler, Newes-master of Poules". Mead himself indicates this trend when he described his latest collection of reports from London as a "newes-paper", or when he mentioned "a flash of good newes concerning the King of Denmark". As with "intelligence" the interest in news as a phenomenon probably explains its increasing use in this way (even if, in Jonson's case, the word was seldom used approvingly).

In Mead's correspondence the term is usually qualified ("ill newes", "good newes", "latest newes") because of the nature of the word; news will always be the latest report of an incident, whether true or not. We can see here that, if the substantive "news" defines a process of transmission as well as information it is faulty compared to the "intelligence" supplied by letter. As, due to its novelty value, "news" had a tendency to be mistaken, Mead also opposed the word to the written accounts on which he depended: "It was Corranto newes and not seconded by our lettres, & therefore I wrot it not", "There is newes at London (& mine author confirmes it)", "Thus much of newes...for the lettres we most depend on are not yet come", "mistaken in the former newes". "News" was a means of transmission that had to be treated with caution, and Mead was careful (if often unsuccessful) in sifting out untrustworthy items. As the word could denote reports of widely varying reliability Mead's qualifiers always have to be taken into account.

7. "Passage": Mead used this substantive to describe a series of incidents in the sense of OED III 13a, "Something that 'passes', goes on, occurs, or is done; an occurrence, incident, event; an act, transaction, proceeding". (First citation 1568; Shakespeare yet again provides an early example). Examples include "when all passages shall be examined", "Sir John Tasburgh...told me this, & some other passages". The word also appears in another sense, OED III 14a, "an indefinite portion of a discourse or writing, usually of small or moderate length, taken by itself"; first citation 1611 (in Chapman's translation of the Iliad): "Shall I transcribe you a passage?", "a passage I omitted

493 From 1600, 1611, 1611, 1618 and 1624 respectively. The last appeared in Jonson's masque Neptune's Triumph (1624), line 295. Ambler reappeared as the News Office's "emissary [to] Paul's" in The Staple of Newes, I. ii. 68; compare "News Office" at ibid., I. ii. 84. It has been suggested that Ambler was a caricature of the noted Jacobean newsletter writer John Chamberlain; Parr (ed.), Staple of Newes, p. 57 n. 70.
494 H390, folio 66r. OED's first citation of the word (referring to printed news) is from 1670.
495 H390, folio 295r. Mead seems to have used "flash" in the rather obscure sense of OED sb2, 9: "a small piece?; a dash or sprinkling", the only example of which comes from 1615.
496 H390, folios 17r, 25v, 102v, 181r.
498 H390, folios 43r, 328r.
in the exscription”. The distinction between these two meanings entering the language at around the same time could easily become, in the newsgatherer’s vocabulary, blurred; the idea of “passage” as reported incident and the “passage” made up of manuscript text became parts of the same process of transmission. The latter described the former. Thus, Mead’s use of the word in “a passage or two not in the former [letter]” (as the headnote to one of his transcripts), or in reminding Stuteville of “that passage of Master Dewes his relation of the Coronation” equally referred to either meaning. We can see here the way in which the act of transcription as part of the process of newsgathering helped to order Mead’s perception of what he wrote, as the habit of writing the news became lexically analogous to the occurrence of the incidents themselves.

8. “Report”: As a substantive, Mead often employed this in the sense of OED 1a, “Rumour, common talk” (first OED citation 1374) and (occasionally, as a singular incidence of the noun) 1b, “A rumour, a statement generally made or believed” (first citation 1412). As a verb, the word appears in the manner of OED 1a, “To relate, narrate, tell, give an account of (a fact, event, etc.)” (first citation c. 1386) and the passive sense 1b, “‘it is reported’: ‘it is commonly said or stated’” (first citation 1460). The word’s association (as both substantive and verb) with rumour suggests that the process of transmission it implies was, to Mead, suspect, and the ways in which he qualified the noun indicate this: “what I use to adde on these dayes by report onely, you may observe to be commonly imperfect”, “what I last wrot confusedly upon report”, “irresolute & as out of vulgar report” and (using sense 1b) “it was a common report in London”. The adjectives coupled with the word indicate the origin of this type of account in “popular” news dispersal rather than the privacy of Mead’s “intelligence”; indeed, the two terms are poles apart. It is noticeable that Mead often linked (and opposed) “report” (both noun and verb) with “credit”, one of his most positive qualifying terms: “I have no other warrant...but the Reporters credit”, “It hath bin reported...but I give no credit thereto”, “If there be any creditt in reports of that kind”. Mead often tried to make clear the dubious status of “report”, both as a process of transmission and as a substantive term, by linking the word either with negative terms or in opposition to a vocabulary of trust. As with “news”, the context within which Mead deployed this word is especially important.

499 H390, folios 374r, 66r.
500 H390, folios 52r, 62r.
503 As indicated by Mead’s statement that “Because my Author wu so private I thought fitt not to make it so common as the rest”, H390, 194r.
504 H390, folios 159r, 186r, 265r.
The substantive also appears on at least one occasion in a more technical sense, that of *OED* 2d, “In Parliamentary practice, the account of a bill, etc., given to the House by the Committee appointed to consider it” (first citation 1628, from the *Commons’ Journal*). John Pym, “whose report spent 2 houres”, presented to the Commons on 17 April 1626 the deliberations of the Committee for Religion concerning the publications of Richard Montagu.505 (This use of the term, however, may not be Mead’s but that of the unnamed “Parlament man” to whom he owed the account).506 This usage (whether Mead’s or not) reflected a specialised sense coming into use in the Commons at that time: it did not affect his usual treatment of the word.

9. “Relation”: Used as a substantive by Mead in two senses, the first being *OED* 1a, “The action of relating in words; narration, recital, report” (first citation 1390): Mead employed the word in this way to describe his own activity of transcribing, as in “I will contrive all I have heard...into one relation”, “I must contrive the contents of 5 several letters into one relation”.507 The second sense in which the word appears is *OED* 2, “A particular instance of relating or narrating; a (or one’s) narrative, account, statement” (First citation c. 1510). Mead’s use of the term in this sense is interesting: there is no other term that reflects so many value judgements about the information concerned, depending on the context in which it was used. When suitably qualified, the word denoted trustworthy material, such as the “particular Relation of our Defeat at Re by an eyewitnes”, one of the first accurate accounts of the disaster to reach Cambridge.508 “Master Dewes his relation of the Coronation”, the description D’Ewes wrote for Stuteville and sent via Cambridge to Dalham, was treated by Mead as authoritative.509 Depending on context, however, Mead could make “relation” much less positive, as in “imperfect Relation”, “the favourablist relation”, “the modestest relations”, “Out of these relations of persons (as you may see) differently affected”.510 In these instances he balanced different “relations” against each other and, by implication, found them all wanting; if the preferred process of newsgathering led to a series of definable “events” discernable through proper “intelligence” the relativism implicit in a plethora of “relations” was not desirable. The means by which the information involved was dispersed was open too readily to contamination and conflicting accounts: in such circumstances the word became similar to “report” as an indicator of reliability.

Mead occasionally used the substantive in another, distinct, sense: that of *OED* 6a, “The position which one person holds with respect to another on account of some social or other connexion

505 H390, folio 45r.
506 Ibid.: “I saw a leltre yesterday, from a Parliament man, the summe whereof was thii”.
507 H390, folios 331r, 312r, 333r.
508 H390, folios 331r, 330r-v.
509 H390, folio 62r (D’Ewe’s letter is now H383, folio 24r-v). Compare the use of *OED* 2 from 1596: “A relation of the great and Golden Cite of Manoa”. See my discussion of “passage”, above.
510 H390, folios 106r, 122v, 139v, 317r.
between them; the particular mode in which persons are mutually connected by circumstances" (first citation 1650). Lord Warwick was dismissed as Lord Lieutenant of Essex in September 1626, "as I was yesterday told for certaine by some who had relation to him" (perhaps John Pory, Warwick's servant); on another occasion Mead certified the accuracy of his "intelligence" by informing Stuteville that "the Author had good Relation to the Court". The substantive in this sense described the process by which Mead's source had access to information rather than the means of transmission itself (although this was probably implicit); the sources themselves were indicated by Mead to illustrate the link between them and his written accounts.

10. "Tale": As with "Fable" above, this only appears in a perjorative sense, as in OED I 5a, "A mere story, as opposed to a narrative of fact; an idle tale; a falsehood" (First citation c. 1250; Mead's employment of the term is well illustrated by the OED's quotation from 1619, "The report of the Marquis of Ansbach his having defeated Coronell Fulkes his regiment (which proves altogether a tale)"). Like "fable" and the less common "bugbear" and "gull", this term did not refer to any basically factual account garbled in transmission (as, for instance, "report" did); the word referred to wholly false material. The process thus described represents, therefore, Mead's lowest category of news dispersal. Thus, he could write that "Of Captaine Pennington we have many idle tales"; on another occasion Mead rhetorically asked Stuteville "will you heare, what tale they have at London?" These items were meant to amuse Sir Martin and to inform him of the misguided gossip concerning a particular subject, not to suggest that such items should be taken seriously. The word required little qualification, and was sufficient to condemn a report to the lowest class of reliability. (A partial exception to this was Mead's use of the word in the proverbial "to tell tales forth of Schoole" (defined under OED "school", sb1, 1e: first citation 1546); the "tale" in question, his account of College politics and the difficulties of getting Justinian Isham a room, was not related to his news reports and was doubtless accurate enough. But in general Mead would not use the word in his transcriptions except to criticise his source.)

11. "Talk": Both as noun and verb "talk" was one of Mead's most common terms to denote a certain form of news transmission. As a substantive the word appears in the senses of OED 3,
“Mention (of a subject); making of statements and remarks; rumour; gossip; an instance of this” (first citation 1560) and 4, “The subject, theme, or occasion of topical conversation, especially of current gossip or rumour” (first citation 1624). When using OED 3 Mead always did so in the singular. The verb-form appears in the sense of OED 3b, “To say something as a rumour or matter of gossip; hence, to indulge in idle or censorious gossip” (first citation 1461). The substantive appears in a number of contexts: “There is a talke”, “Here is a strange talk”, “Here is also a talk” (OED 3); “Yet is the talk now”, “this was the talk” (OED 4). His employment of the verb was similar in intent: “Thus every one talks”, “We talk here”, “it was talked here”, “it is talked here”. What these different senses have in common is their distrust of the information in question: “talk” was not a positive term in Mead’s lexicon in any form as it appeared in his newsletters when the source of a news item (and therefore the process by which it reached him) was difficult to identify, and thus more like rumour. Mead occasionally qualified the term in a positive sense, but usually opposed it to a more reliable source (“it is talked here since yesterday morning...But if it be true, we shall heare of it more particularly”) or suggested his scepticism of the likely outcome of the subject discussed. “We talk here of a magnificent Library which our Great Chancellor will build & bestow no lesse toward it then £7,000...but I doubt I doubt”. The orality of the process described by the term was a drawback; Mead depended on his written “intelligence” rather than on the frequently inaccurate rumours generated by “talk” and so generally used the word to signify a means of gathering news in which he had little confidence.

Three points emerge from a survey of Mead’s lexicon of newsgathering words:

(1). The substantives which describe what Mead received fall into three categories covering the spectrum of reliability. At one extreme is “event”, which denoted “the fact of anything happening”, the end of the process of news transmission which concerned Mead so much. At the other were the terms describing wholly (and usually deliberately) false items, ones in which Mead had no confidence; “bugbear”, “gull”, “fable”, “tale”. The area of relative uncertainty between these two poles was inhabited by the rest of Mead’s vocabulary; “intelligence” being the most favourable term.

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516 From a newsletter written by John Chamberlain: “The disgrace that would follow in beeing made fabula vulgi and the talke of the towne”.
517 H390, folios 139v, 151r, 331r.
518 H390, folios 157r, 201r.
519 H390, folios 106r, 227v, 310r, 328r.
520 Such as H390, folio 157r.
521 H390, folios 328r, 227v.
522 From OED, 1a.
Positively qualified and related to favoured sources of news, this word denoted the best way of determining "events": all the other substantives indicated greater or lesser reliability depending on the meaning of the senses of the words Mead used and the ways in which he qualified them. To appreciate the gradations of meaning in any one instance of a word it is necessary, therefore, to examine both the term itself and the context within which it appears.

(2). The place each term has in Mead's hierarchy depends on the process of news transmission involved. Apart from what he witnessed himself (which, Cambridge incidents apart, were rare), the standard of reliability was that provided by written accounts from trusted sources. "intelligence" always referred to such news. The favoured status of this term lay not only, however, in the medium of transmission but in its privacy (as in "a relation...of information between persons", *OED* 6). Every other term that appears in Mead's correspondence described (or could be qualified to describe) a process of transmission based on common ownership of the news, on gossip. In such conditions Shakespeare's Rumour generally played a part, making the process by which such accounts reached Mead open to contamination or hardly worth recounting.

(3). While some of Mead's words had a long history, a survey of first citations in the *OED* impresses on one how relatively recent most of the substantives are (in the sense(s) in which they appear in H389/390). Mead's vocabulary reflected changes taking place in the language as a whole at this time as, it appears, the impact of the appetite for news led to lexical transformation in key terms. This is clear in two of the most important terms, "intelligence" (and its derivatives) and "news" itself. From somewhat obscure and perjorative origins related to the activities of secret agents, one sense of "intelligence" developed (through, no doubt, the original links between espionage and newsgathering) to take in the wider connotations seen in H390/390. In this process Mead was innovative, as his early use of "intelligencer" indicates. "News", while replacing "Tidings" as the standard term for an account of current events, became fashionable in the early decades of the seventeenth century. This can be gauged by contemporary interest in the word: in its increasing use in

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523 Due, of course, to his seclusion in Cambridge. When he made his infrequent visits to the capital he could bring back compelling accounts, such as that of the highly-charged debates in the Commons in early June 1628, or, on a lighter note, his description (after having seen him) of Colonel Sir Charles Morgan, who had frequently appeared in his newsletters to Dalham for over a year, as "tan'd like a Bacon flitch"; H390, folios 410r–11r.

524 An exception might be "my Lady Denions intelligence" which pre-empted some of Mead's news on 27 October 1627; H390, folio 310r. Lady Denon was Sir Martin's sister-in-law and possibly told him this news in person. The sense of the passage is ambiguous, however, and could easily refer to a letter received at Dalham.

525 Compare Thomas Nashe in 1596: "The hellish detested Judas name of an Intelligencer".
idiomatic phrases ("news-hungry", and so on) and in Jonson's almost obsessive interest; throughout
the early 1620s, spurred on by, and concerned with, the greater availability of news he returned to it
several times both in his masques and in the Staple of Newes.526 (His intention was to reform the
age through exposing its infatuation for news as the folly he considered it to be; one wonders whether
his works may, in fact, have had the opposite effect). Jonson's interest in the word suggests that the
literary influence in either coining or popularising many of the terms Mead uses was considerable;
even given the OED's close acquaintance with Shakespeare's canon it is perhaps not a coincidence that
so many early citations are from his plays.

526 P. R. Sellin, 'The Politics of Ben Jonson's Newes From the New World Discover'd in the Moone',
Viator 17 (1986), 321-37 (I would like to thank Jeremy Maule for this reference); Parr (ed.), Staple of
News, pp. 22-31; S. Pearl, '"Sounding to present occasions": Jonson's masques of 1620-5', in D.
Lindley (ed.), The Court Masque (Manchester, 1984), pp. 60-77.
VI. Mead’s correspondence as historical source material. c. 1720–1991

Mead’s letters to Stuteville were probably acquired along with the rest of the D’Ewes library by Sir Robert Harley in October 1705.527 Although Worthington in his edition of Mead’s works published in 1664 included much of the latter’s scholarly correspondence (which remains the standard edition of these letters) the contents of H389/390 received little attention at first.528 The first scholar known to me to quote H389/390 was Thomas Baker (1656–1740), Fellow of St. John’s College Cambridge who early in the eighteenth century turned to Mead as a source for his own researches into the history of the University.529 Baker included extracts from 58 letters contained in H390, the longest being of Mead’s account of the election of the Duke of Buckingham as Chancellor in June 1626.530 Mead’s Cambridge news comprised nearly all the material selected by Baker, even to the extent of transcribing a single line from a letter of 3 October 1626 referring to the death of Richard Ridding, Esquire Bedell.531 The only exceptions to this were some incidents of ecclesiastical interest and odd items such as Mead’s account (itself copied from STC 24745, A continued journall...November 2 [1627]) of the funeral of Sir John Burroughs.532 As the extracts made by Baker formed part of a private collection such selectivity is not, perhaps, surprising; it indicates the tendency, seen in all of Baker’s successors, to treat Mead’s letters as a useful repository of quotable material rather than documents to be studied as a whole.

This is even more clearly seen in the work of Thomas Birch (1705–66). Later in the eighteenth century he published numerous accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century domestic politics derived from original sources,533 and he made extensive extracts from the contents of

527 See p. 2 above.
528 Worthington, Llll1r–Ccccc6r; a total of 98 letters. In excerpting part of one (on ****1v) his disinterest in Mead’s newsgathering was expressed in the margin: “[t]he rest of it is about News, & therefore was not published in this Edition”.
529 DNB, i. 938–40; the extracts are in Baker MS 32, now Cambridge University Library Mm. 1. 43, pp. 351–93. In his extracts Baker referred to H389/390 as in Harley’s possession.
530 Ibid., pp. 374–76; H390, folios 68r–69r.
531 CUL Mm. 1. 43, p. 381 (along the inner margin of the page); H390, folio 134r.
532 CUL Mm. 1. 43, pp. 373 (from H390, folio 43r); 379 (H390, folio 84v); 385 (Burrough’s funeral: H390, folios 311r–12v); STC 24745, A continued journal of all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, in the Isle of Re...November 2 [1627], B3v–B4r. See also p. 912 below.
533 Such as A Collection of State Papers of J. Thurloe, 7 vols (1742); A Complete Collection of the...Works of J. Milton, 2 vols (1738); Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1581...till her death, 2 vols (1754).
Birch’s draft introduction to a proposed edition of the letters, dated 29 September 1760, provides an excellent indication of his interest in Mead’s correspondence. This includes such items as brief biographies of Dr. James Meddus and John Pory and a useful discussion of the relative merits of Mead’s and James Howell’s newsletters. In addressing Lord Royston (the intended dedicatee of the edition), however, Birch gives a vital indication of his editorial method:

Your Lordship, who are [sic] well acquainted with the Originals of the Letters from & to Master Mead, will recollect, that among them are very long Details of foreign Transactions. These I have taken the Liberty in my Extracts for the most part to omit, in order to make room in a Collection perhaps too bulky at present for the more interesting articles of domestic history...

Birch was primarily interested in Mead as a source for domestic events; perceptive as he was in dealing with the correspondence, his text was only a partial one, and the use of such extracts by both Baker and Birch can be explained by the heterogeneity of the correspondence. It covers a very wide range of subjects: details of University life, Mead’s relations with Dalham and numerous bibliographical references as well as domestic and foreign news of every sort. Readers or editors of the correspondence from the 1720s onwards, interested in one aspect of Mead’s text above all else have largely disregarded other subjects contained there; the “non-literary” nature of the letters only helping this process. Until Dr. Wedgbury’s edition of H389 (of which more below), no letter of Mead’s in H389/390 has appeared in its entirety in any printed text, except that of Saturday 3 June 1626 in which Mead described Buckingham’s election as Chancellor of the University.

534 Birch’s transcripts are contained in British Library, Additional MSS 4176–78. DNB (ii. 531) states that these were “in course of arrangement for publication at his death” in January 1766.
535 This document is now British Library, Additional MS 4179.
536 Ibid., folios 20r–21r (Meddus), folios 12r–15v (Pory), folios 4r–5r (Howell): Meddus was a predecessor of Birch’s as Rector of St. Gabriel Fenchurch. Howell’s letters were identified for the fabrications they are: for more on this subject see A. N. Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation: the conditions of writing and reading in early modern England (Madison, Wi., 1984), pp. 210–18, esp. 217–18.
537 BL Add. MS 4179, folio 20r.
538 For instance, in pointing out that the letters for 1624 were all missing. This suggests that they must have become detached from the main series very soon after entering D’Ewes’s collection, if not before; ibid., folio 20r–v.
539 Mead’s use of abstracts drawn from a wide variety of sources and subject matter in his newsletters has made it easier for subsequent editors to select what they wanted with the minimum of difficulty.
540 J. Heywood and T. Wright, Cambridge University transactions during the Puritan controversies of the 16th and 17th centuries, 2 vols (1854), ii. 338–41. The letter of 3 June 1626 has been more often quoted than any other in the correspondence and was, I believe, the first to appear in print. John Gordon, Archdeacon of Lincoln published most of it in a pamphlet of 1764, An Address to the Members of the
Since the 1830s three groups of scholars in particular have turned to Mead’s letters in the course of their own research; political historians, historians of Cambridge University and of education, and bibliographers. I will deal with each in turn; first of all, however, I will discuss the fullest printed text of Mead’s letters of 1626–27 currently available, as it is (not surprisingly) this version of the correspondence that most scholars for the last century and more have used.

Whereas Mead’s personal letters were not considered worth editing in the later 17th century they began to acquire an historical value, as Birch’s plans for publishing extracts in 1760 indicates. He died in 1766: but his transcripts formed the basis for two two-volume sets, *The Court and Times of James I* and *The Court and Times of Charles I*, published by R. F. Williams in 1848. These had been preceded by the less extensive (but still considerable) excerpts edited by Sir Henry Ellis; but due to Birch’s relative thoroughness his edition (as published by Williams) became the standard printed text of Mead’s newsletters.541 As Birch’s comment to Lord Royston quoted above makes clear, however, his version of H389/390 was based on one crucial premise: extracts from “original letters” could shed light on the early Stuart period in which domestic events reported in London were the main focus of interest. Anything else could be removed if necessary.542 The importance of the editorial decisions Birch took lies in the accessibility of his published transcripts to future generations of historians; most have treated these as definitive and (at least until the last twenty years or so) have seldom consulted H389/390 themselves. Given the wide use of Birch’s transcripts in political (and other) studies a closer look at the treatment of Mead’s correspondence in the 1848 text is in order.

*C. and T.* is only a partial text of H390: a total of 42 of Mead’s letters and enclosures (as well as 20 other items) from 1626–27 were totally omitted in William’s printed text, reflecting Birch’s own selectivity in transcription.543 The missing correspondence not only included brief notes scribbled by Mead in a hurry but also much more substantial items such as the transcripts of London news dated 17 and 23 March 1625/26 or Mead’s letter to Stuteville of 15 July 1626.544 Due to such

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542 Although a number of items of Cambridge news, such as the Chancellorship election or the arrival of the “Book–Fish”, were included in Ellis’s and Williams’s editions.

543 Based on my own calculations, out of a total of 14,267 lines of text written by Mead in 1626–27, 6,047 (42.4%) are printed in *C. and T.*

544 Mead’s 15 line note of Sunday 22 January 1625/26 was omitted; the others mentioned are 110, 110 and 71 lines long respectively.
omissions events such as Dr. Samuel Turner's intervention in the Commons proceedings against the Duke of Buckingham (and the controversy this caused) are absent. Although Birch made the decision to omit Mead's foreign news as much as possible it is clear that incidents of considerable domestic interest were also excluded.\textsuperscript{545} While some letters were printed almost in full,\textsuperscript{546} the usual practice in the 1848 text was to reproduce one or more paragraphs in a given letter without indicating any omissions. A typical example is Mead's letter of 11 March 1625/26; of 114 lines of text in H390 only 65 were published, printed in two different places.\textsuperscript{547} Even where most of a letter appears in C. and T. important items are often missing; although Williams published 133 of the 171 lines of Mead's London letter of 10 March 1625/26, for instance, accurate details of the progress of legislation in the Commons were ignored.\textsuperscript{548} Mead's personal dealings with Stuteville were almost without exception left out, as well as his book-buying activities: this is not unexpected given the aim of the selections but it has meant that significant portions of Mead's letters remain relatively unknown.

Text selection apart, the other area in which the reader should proceed with caution concerns the transcripts themselves. While these are generally accurate, setting aside the completely modernised and repunctuated text, mistakes occur which were partly due to Birch's mistranscriptions and partly due to Williams's misreading of Birch's extracts. Some of these are amusing, such as the report of the "heterochta Ambassador" who attempted to have an audience with Charles I in November 1626, or the account of one Master Fleet, newly arrived from "Venice" with an account of the lifestyle of the Indians; the original's "Virginia" makes rather more sense.\textsuperscript{549} Some mistakes make the original text obscure or ungrammatical; the following from C. and T.,

\begin{quote}
It is said, that the Earl of Middlesex, now he hath got his pardon, tells the Duke plainly, that all these projects will vanish into smoke, and will be disgrace both to the inventors and countenancers, that the State is such indeed, but will admit none other remedy but a parliament. And it is thought, we shall have
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{545} The same can be said (perhaps due to the scruples of the editor) of the allegations of Buckingham's complicity in James I's death and, for the most part, of the Commons impeachment proceedings against the Duke as a whole.

\textsuperscript{546} Such as Mead's letter of Thursday 12 January 1625/26, H390, folio 1r; compare C. and T., i. 69-70.

\textsuperscript{547} H390, folios 25r-26r; C. and T., i. 83-85, 91. Because part of the MS letter was dated 3 March (being a transcript of Mead's latest newsletter from the capital) it was printed separately from the rest of the letter written on Saturday 11 March.

\textsuperscript{548} Apart from correctly identifying the bills already prepared, Mead's source gave a good indication of the number of bills currently in committee (around 60), which can be corroborated from the Commons' Journal.

\textsuperscript{549} C. and T., i. 173, H390, folio 165r; C. and T., i. 238, H390, folio 263v. These mistakes were Williams's, as Birch correctly transcribed Mead's text; BL Add. MS 4177, folios 235v, 300v.

\textsuperscript{550} Such as the intended debasement of the coinage, abandoned in early September.
one before Allhallowtide, for the best of the grievances hath lately been perused, and fair answers framed thereunto...

reads much better when the underlined words are replaced by the original "wilbe a disgrace", "sick" and "list". The sense of Mead's

Have you heard that Doctor Eglisham is slayne? Tis true...

is turned on its head by C. and T's "Is it true?".

Other, more serious, errors occur; the force of John Pory's description on 30 June 1626 of Sir Edwin Sandys and others responsible for schemes for prerogative finance as "Caterpillers of the Common-wealth" is hardly conveyed by C. and T's "counsellors". It would require a rewriting of contemporary high politics to have the Earl of Arundel (who had been expelled from the Court after the dissolution of the Parliament in June) carry Charles's commission to suspend a proposed Scottish Convention of Estates in early August 1626, rather than John Murray, Earl of Annandale. In the Commons' remonstrance of 5 April 1626 they "desired his Majestie that they might enquire into & question any Subject without exception", the underlined words being omitted in the 1848 version. Charles's exclamation at a Privy Council meeting in late September 1626 that "he did abominate that name" makes little sense with the printed text's "proclamation", rather more with Mead's word "Parlament". It will be seen that, although a significant amount of Mead's text is in print the textual omissions and mistranscriptions can pose serious problems for the reader, and reliance on the printed text has led to errors in quoting the letters; Melvin Wren, for instance, in his excellent account of the disputes over the London fleet of 1626–27 follows Birch's error in writing that "The city hath

\[551\] C. and T., i. 145, H383, folio 42r. (The first error was Birch's, the others Williams's; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 207v). After lengthy negotiations, Middlesex finally received a pardon for offences committed while Lord Treasurer in the summer of 1626; M. Prestwich, Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts (Oxford, 1966), pp. 489-90.

\[552\] H390, folio 320r; C. and T., i. 287. This was another of Williams's errors; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 361r.

\[553\] H390, folio 83r; C. and T. i. 117. Birch misread Mead on this occasion; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 176v.

\[554\] C. and T., i. 141; H390, folio 114r (another error due to Birch; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 203v); K. M. Sharpe, 'The Earl of Arundel, His Circle and the Opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, 1618–1628', in Sharpe (ed.), Faction and Parliament, p. 234.

\[555\] C. and T., i. 93. The words omitted in C. and T. were included by Birch; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 153r.

\[556\] C. and T., i. 153; H390, folio 132r (Birch misread Mead here; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 216v). Richard Cust, who makes considerable use of Mead's letters (and of whom more below) was perhaps led by the unsatisfactory printed text to check the original, thus making sense of a crucial stage in Charles's attitudes in the aftermath of Christian IV's defeat at Lütter on 17/27 August 1626; 'Charles I, the Privy Council, and the Forced Loan', JBS 24 (1985), 213; idem, F. L., p. 42 and n. 11.
yielded to set about sixteen ships..." whereas John Pory asserted on Friday 11 August 1626 that "This City hath yielded to sett out 12 ships...". Richard Cust has been led into error in describing the activities of the zealous Dr. Clarke of Northampton: in sending up to London those refusing the Forced Loan in 1627, according to C. and T.,

...if a constable had not holden his honour, he would have beaten the refusers...

The correct underlined word is "hand"; the double underlined word was added by Williams.

The first work in which the potential of Mead’s letters for political historians was put to practical use was S. R. Gardiner’s History of England. It has, indeed, been suggested that “[o]ne of the sources to which he attached most weight in assessing the development of public opinion was the printed collection of Mead’s newsletters”. While Gardiner (as befitted a careful historian) sometimes treated Mead’s letters with some reserve, Cust’s comment is a fair reflection of the former’s attitude towards the correspondence. In Gardiner’s account of the events of 1626–28, Mead’s letters are cited 56 times, usually from C. and T. but also from Ellis’s version and occasionally from H390 itself (the fact that Gardiner consulted the manuscript indicates his sense of the limitations of the printed material at his disposal). To take one example: the effect on the “political nation” at large of the news both of the Judges’ refusal to subscribe to the Forced Loan, and subsequent resistance among the nobility is illustrated by Gardiner principally from the reports reaching Mead. Cust’s comment does not tell the whole story, however; while Mead’s letters were by no means one of his most important sources, Gardiner drew on them heavily at certain points (such as the expulsion of Henrietta Maria’s servants or the debates in the Privy Council over the proposed debasement of the

557 M. C. Wren, 'London and the Twenty Ships, 1626–7', American Historical Review 55 (1950), 321–35, quotation from p. 324, n. 18, taken from C. and T., i. 139; H383, folio 38r. This was another mistranscription by Birch: BL Add. MS 4177, folio 201v.

558 Cust, F. L., p. 250, citing C. and T., i. 195; H390, folio 205r. Williams misread Birch’s version here; BL Add. MS 4177, folio 257v.

559 S. R. Gardiner, History of England from the accession of James I to the outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–42, 10 vols (1883–84).


561 "The rumours of the day contained in this correspondence must be received with great caution": Gardiner, vi. 155, n. 3. He correctly identified, for instance, an error in Mead’s account of the debates in Parliament in June 1628 on p. 306, n. 1.

562 Gardiner, vi. 49–363, passim.

563 Ibid., p. 150.
This suggests another reason why Mead’s letters were important to him; where these provided an account of an event not to be found in his other sources Gardiner could use them to fill in such gaps. Examples include Mead’s report that Buckingham openly expressed contempt for the Commons’ proceedings against him on 8 May 1626, which Gardiner includes on Mead’s authority alone, or details of a crucial Privy Council meeting held on 17 March 1626/27, for which Mead is the only recorded source, or the graphic account of the violent end of the “Dukes Devill”, John Lambe, in June 1628. One recalls that Gardiner was heavily dependent on the State Papers, Domestic and other official sources such as the Journals of Parliament or the reports of the Venetian Ambassador, and while he very effectively used a wide range of such material, newsletters such as Mead’s could both turn up information unrecorded elsewhere and be invaluable in assessing the mood of the time. It was in these ways that Gardiner used the material in H389/390, and, as in other ways, subsequent historians have followed his lead. Indeed, as far as Mead’s use by political historians is concerned, later work tends to fall into two categories both foreshadowed by Gardiner: to provide information unrecorded elsewhere, and more recently to illustrate the phenomenon of news dispersal itself. As an exhaustive bibliography of every reference to Mead is beyond the scope of this thesis I shall restrict myself to a few examples of each sort of investigation.

E. A. Beller, using C. and T., found Mead’s reports of the attempts to provide reinforcements for Christian of Denmark after the latter’s defeat at Lütter on 17/27 August 1626 a useful complement to official sources and Gardiner’s text. Melvin Wren extensively quoted the newsletters John Pory sent to Mead in describing the difficulties faced by the City of London in fitting out twenty ships in 1626–27. Pory’s account of the mutiny that brought the fleet home is quoted in full although, following Birch’s text, Wren made numerous errors in doing so. J. F. D. Shrewsbury has found Mead’s detailed and numerous references to plague mortality in both London (for 1625–26) and Cambridge (for 1630) an important source for his History of Bubonic Plague.

564 Ibid., pp. 136–38.
565 Ibid., pp. 98 and n. 3, 157–58 and n. 1, 319, 320 and n. 1; H390, folios 57r, 227r, 412r.
568 Ibid., pp. 334–35, from H390, folios 191v–92r. Wren’s “the sailors began to think of him” (p. 334) should read “home” (based on this misreading Wren suggests the sailors were thinking of Buckingham!); the captains proposed to put 6 or 7 sailors “to a messe”, not “to the mast” (ibid.); Wren’s “when they were come to this pass, then was no longer striving” should be “when things were come to this pass, there was no longer striving” (p. 335). There are numerous other mistranscriptions in this passage. See also n. 557 above.
G. E. Aylmer discusses Mead’s report of the Witham “affray” in March 1628 in his examination of the likely course of events there.\textsuperscript{570} R. J. W. Swales cites Mead’s newsletters in both \textit{C. and T.} and in manuscript while analysing the proposed Ship Money levy of January and February 1627/28.\textsuperscript{571} The editors of \textit{Commons Debates 1628}, noting that Mead’s London letters “included bits of information not recorded elsewhere”\textsuperscript{572} provided additional material from the manuscript of H390 to their account of the Parliamentary debates of that session, as well as printing lengthy extracts from Mead’s reports of the elections to the Commons in that year.\textsuperscript{573} R. Lockyer cites Mead’s letters (again in the \textit{C. and T.} text) on numerous occasions in his biography of the Duke of Buckingham.\textsuperscript{574} In his work on the origins of the Personal Rule, L. J. Reeve makes considerable use of Birch’s extracts from H390, as well as Pory’s letters to Mead in H383.\textsuperscript{575}

Because of Birch’s decision to omit most of Mead’s foreign news from his extracts little of this has appeared in print with, consequently, little attention from historians: one of the few exceptions known to me is in the work of T. Cogswell, who uses unpublished extracts from the letters to indicate the sort of news about Anglo-French relations circulating in London during the Parliamentary session of 1626, and elsewhere, the effect on Charles’s subjects of his “paradoxall warre” with the French.\textsuperscript{576} Like Gardiner before them, all of the above have only turned to Mead to

1630] can be read in Birch’s work [\textit{C. and T.}] by any who are interested in the psychology of fear, because it provides a vivid illustration of the terror inspired by bubonic plague in the mind of an educated seventeenth-century Englishman”. For the reaction in Cambridge to the London epidemic of 1625 see pp. 71–73 above.

\textsuperscript{570} G. E. Aylmer, ‘St. Patrick’s Day 1628 in Witham, Essex’, \textit{P. and P.} 61 (1973), 140, 145–46, citing \textit{C. and T.}, i. 331; H390, folio 364v. He presents a convincing case that Mead’s report of over 30 fatalities was an exaggeration.


\textsuperscript{572} Johnson et al. (eds.), \textit{CD} 1628, i. 34.

\textsuperscript{573} Ibid., ii. 19, 86, 174, 326, 378, 400, 434; iii. 74, 272; iv. 113–14, 118, 179, 183, 237, 242, 294, 352, 404, 450, 456, 468; v. 726; vi. 114, 120–23, 148, 181–86.


\textsuperscript{575} Reeve, \textit{Charles I and the road to Personal Rule}, passim. He makes 78 references to material in \textit{C. and T.} taken from Mead’s correspondence for 1627–31.

supplement their major sources; but the frequency of citation suggests that a fuller text of the letters would be useful.

Cogswell's work cited above also indicates the other use to which Mead's letters have been put, especially in the last few years: as a means of examining the dissemination of news and its impact upon a public eager to hear reports of current events. The amount of material contained in H389/390 and the insight it gives us into the ways in which news was collected and dispersed makes it a prime source for this area of research. F. J. Levy drew on the correspondence in this way, but the work of R. P. Cust stands out in this respect; in various publications, especially in his important article in Past and Present, he has used Mead's correspondence to illustrate the types of news available, how it was dispersed and the effect it had on its audience. As well as using the correspondence to add details to his account of the origins and progress of the Forced Loan (particularly with regard to events in the Privy Council), Cust has also cited the letters to illustrate the divisive nature of the Loan and the effect this had on the elections to the Parliament of 1628. His analysis of "Politics and the Electorate in the 1620s" also draws on Mead's letters. It is clear that the sorts of news Mead reported and the ways in which it was obtained have become of almost as much interest as the news items themselves.

Historians of Cambridge University have been well aware of the importance of Mead's letters to a study of that institution. The nineteenth-century histories of the University by Heywood and Wright, Cooper, and Mullinger all cited the printed extracts of the letters, as did Masson in his biography of John Milton. Masson was, in fact, the first nineteenth-century scholar to make a quotation from Mead is from H390, folio 292v (incorrectly cited "291" by Cogswell). See also ibid., pp. 14, 16, 17.

578 Cust, 'News and Politics', especially pp. 63, 65, 70–71, 74–5, 80. Because of Mead's relative reticence Cust could not, however, as with John Rous's or Walter Yonge's "news-diaries" use H389/390 as a good example of someone both recording and discussing news at length; ibid., pp. 83–87.
extensive use of the unpublished material in H389/390; he realised that relatively little of Mead's Cambridge news and gossip was in the printed text and so went to the original. As he pointed out,

The fact that the letters were written from Christ's College at the time when Milton was there induced me to go through [it] for myself...582

Although Masson (ruefully, one feels) recognised that the young Milton is not mentioned by Mead,583 he made numerous references to Mead's Cambridge news in order to illustrate the environment within which the budding poet lived and worked. A similar interest in the history of Christ's lay behind the extensive (and enormously fruitful) researches of Dr. J. Peile, Master of the College, in the late nineteenth century. Realising that the printed extracts were both too selective and full of mistakes, he transcribed large portions of H389/390 in December 1893 and often used this material in preparing his Biographical Register.584 His transcripts survive, and are very accurate; he excerpted 101 letters from H389, 174 from H390.585 As we might expect, Peile's main interest was Mead's University gossip and so, like Baker before him he tended to ignore events in the wider world; he probably thought that Birch's extracts served the purposes of the reader interested in such matters. (This did not, however, prevent him from altering misreadings in the University Library copy of C. and T. as well as indicating some omissions).586

Research into the history and institutions of Cambridge University of the type mentioned above was largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon. A massive amount of work has been done on the University since then, of course, but as far as Mead is concerned scholarly interest in recent years has focussed much more on his account books, a unique source in the study of the academic reading

political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of his time, 7 vols (1859-94), i. 127-28, 149-55, 158-59, 167, 180-84, 206. The first edition of volume 3 of Cooper's Annals, published before C. and T., cited Ellis's extracts and also CUL Mm. 1. 43; the revised edition used Birch's edition as the standard text. 582 Masson, The Life of Milton, i. 146, n. 1.

583 "Not a syllable respecting Milton or his verses...have we from Meade"; ibid., i. 180.

584 J. Peile to W. D. Rouse, 7 January 1894, uncatalogued letter in the Bodley Library, Christ's College. (I am grateful to Mrs Michelle Courtney for this reference); Peile, i. 246 and passim.

585 Christ's College, Bodley Library, Post-Medieval MS 78. Peile's research notes were largely written on record cards and contained in 18 boxes, Post-Medieval MSS 71-88. The contents of each box is unindexed; I would like to thank Mrs Michelle Courtney for her help in using them.

habits in this period as well as much else besides.\textsuperscript{587} Sir G. Isham in editing the correspondence of his ancestor Sir Justinian, one of Mead's favourite students, cited extracts from H390 and M. Feingold has picked up references of relevance to his analysis of the role of science in early modern Cambridge.\textsuperscript{588} V. M. H. Morgan in his studies of the development of Cambridge in the century to 1640 has found Mead's letters useful not only in the detail of his University news but also in the references to the links between Mead as tutor and the localities of his students, the visits to Dalham being, of course, the best example.\textsuperscript{589} J. D. Twigg in discussing developments in the University in the 1620s has made reference to the letters.\textsuperscript{590} In arguing against Morgan's analysis of the 1626 Chancellorship election, D. Hoyle has recently surveyed this account once again.\textsuperscript{591} Although the political events reported by Mead have been cited by numerous historians it is probably the case that the University news he added in his letters to Stuteville has been more extensively used and studied even though this only forms a fraction of the correspondence.

The printed extracts of Mead's letters concentrated on their domestic news, whether sent from London or recorded in Cambridge; most scholarly interest in H389/390 has followed suit. One part of the correspondence, however, almost completely overlooked by Birch and other editors is Mead's book purchases for Sir Martin and the problems he faced in dealing with the Cambridge book trade. Unlike his purchases for his students recorded in the account books, this unpublished evidence has still not received a great deal of attention, but there are some exceptions. Peile in his transcripts


\textsuperscript{588} Isham (ed.), The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham 1650–1660, xxxiii–iv; Feingold, The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship, pp. 62, 175.


\textsuperscript{591} D. M. Hoyle, ' "Near Popery yet no Popery" ', pp. 160–62.
from the correspondence was sufficiently interested to begin compiling a list of Mead’s purchases, but as far as I know nothing further came of it.592 In his bibliography of early newsbooks F. Dahl made use of Mead’s references to receiving otherwise unknown editions; L. W. Hanson cited the letters in his article on the publication history of John Cosin’s *Collection of Private Devotions*; and H. F. Fletcher referred in passing to Mead’s book purchases in discussing the account books.593 A recent example of what can be done with the correspondence is the admirable article by David McKitterick; Mead’s exasperation during 1630 over his difficulties in providing a folio bible to Stuteville’s satisfaction led to this unusually well-documented case history which tells us a great deal about the Cambridge book trade of the time.594 While the material of bibliographical interest in H389/390 has not as yet received as much attention as other aspects of the letters, interesting work remains to be done in this area.

Until 1991 no extensive research had been undertaken on the correspondence as a whole; in that year, however, Dr. D. M. Wedgbury completed her edition of Mead’s letters in H389.595 In her edition Wedgbury included the full text of every letter written by Mead to Dalham between Friday 2 February 1620/21 and Saturday 17 December 1625 (Editorial Conventions used in the preparation of which are included in her Introduction), a total of 154 items.596 Each letter has been numbered, given an annotated commentary to elucidate the numerous historical references and also provided with Textual Notes to indicate difficulties in the MS, Mead’s insertions in his text, deletions and so on. Wedgbury has written a short biographical and historical Introduction and, as an appendix, provided a checklist of Mead’s transcripts of London news, printed material and other “separates” sent from London and elsewhere.597 In other appendices an overview of some of the most important issues of the early 1620s is given: this is “intended to fill in details that Mead assumes [were] known to the reader”.598 A further appendix provides some specimens (from microfilm prints of H389) of Mead’s

592 Christ’s College, Bodley Library MS 78.
596 Ibid., pp. iii–v, 1–685. The entire correspondence from 1624 is however missing and has been since at least 1760; see n. 538 above.
597 Ibid., pp. ii–xxix; Appendix vii, pp. 725–38.
598 Ibid., p. vi. Appendix 1 deals with events in the German Empire 1619–21, subdivided as follows: 1a (pp. 692–94), events in Bohemia leading to the Battle of the White Mountain; 1b (pp. 694–95) on the Rhine Palatinate; 1c (pp. 695–96) on legal and political aspects of the Holy Roman Empire, subdivided as
handwriting. Wedgbury has also prepared a Biographical Index with brief details of twenty-four figures who appear most often in Mead’s letters; an asterisk in the edited text next to each name directs the reader to the index.

This thesis is the most detailed and (for a study of Mead’s newsletters) the most valuable study on the subject undertaken to date; an illustration of the relative neglect of Mead’s correspondence as a whole is that, before 1991, the largest number of Mead’s letters published in their entirety was that provided by Worthington’s edition (of Mead’s scholarly correspondence) in 1664. I was not able to consult Wedgbury’s thesis until January 1992 when my own research was well underway, and our different approaches to editing Mead’s correspondence were taken independently. Her edition has however been a valuable resource, principally by making the full text of Mead’s letters addressed to Suiteville in 1621–25 much more accessible; in addition, Wedgbury’s annotation to Mead’s letters has provided a number of references for my own.

Having said this, however, Wedgbury and I differ on the best way to edit Mead’s correspondence, the most important issue being the basis upon which the edition was prepared. Given the sheer amount of material in both H389 and H390 it is impracticable, within the constraints of a doctoral thesis, to produce an edition of the entire contents of either manuscript. The text of both

follows; 1c [i] (pp. 696-97), “Divisions in the Empire”; 1c [ii] (pp. 697-98), “The Protestant Union”; 1c [iii] (p. 698), “The Catholic League”. Appendix 2 (pp. 701-03) deals with “Bohemia and the Confederate States of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia”; Appendix 2(i) (pp. 703-04) with the role played by the Elector John George of Saxony in mediating the Bohemian crisis; Appendix 3 (p. 705) with the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria and the Palatinate question; Appendix 4 (pp. 706-09) with James I’s role in the German War and his relations with Spain; Appendix 4(i) (pp. 709-11) with the “Spanish Match” and the Dispensation from Rome; Appendix 5 (pp. 712-14) with the Valtelline question, and Appendix 6 (p. 715) with the Peace of Nikolsburg (signed in January 1621/22 between Emperor Ferdinand II and Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania; G. Parker, The Thirty Years’ War (1984; 1991 edn.), p. 64).

Wedgbury, pp. 687-91.

Those included are (for domestic matters, Mead’s sources of news or his gentry friends) Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam); William Boswell; the Duke of Buckingham; Sir John Digby (1st Earl of Bristol); Sir Thomas Holland; Harry Law; Dr. James Meddus; and “Parker’s man”: (for foreign news) Bethlen Gabor; Christian of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; Christian IV of Denmark; Elizabeth, Electress Palatine; Emperor Ferdinand II; Frederick V, Elector Palatine; the Conde de Gondomar; Gustavus Adolphus; Frederick Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange; the Elector John George of Saxony; Count Mansfeld; Maurice, Prince of Orange; the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria; Henri, Duc de Rohan; Ambroglio de Spinola; and Count Tilly.

See n. 528 above.

All quotations from H389 in my Introduction were initially taken from Wedgbury’s thesis although in each case checked (and where necessary, corrected) after consulting the manuscript.
H389 and H390 alone without any editorial addition is approximately 275,000 words; to reproduce H389 in its entirety with a full critical apparatus and commentary would, I believe, prove well-nigh impossible even for the most assiduous research student within a realistic time-scale (i.e., 3-4 years). This is equally the case with H390; whereas, however, I have chosen to concentrate on two years only, 1626-27, and deal with all the material belonging to those years Wedgbury edited all of Mead's own letters from 1621-25 but not any of his transcripts of London news or other items sent to Dalham. (Her checklist of such items included as an appendix, mentioned above, is intended as a guide to the reader who wishes to study this material in more detail).

The difference between the number of items included in our respective editions is slight: Wedgbury included 154 items to my 165, but the result of these two approaches shows a marked variation. Whereas Wedgbury's thesis is a complete edition of Mead's own letters (which in some ways in more satisfying than stopping two-thirds of the way through the MS as I have done), I believe this is, literally, only half the story. As this Introduction has already made clear, without a detailed study of Mead's transcribed enclosures, both in the matter of the misfoliation of the manuscript (also present throughout H389, a problem Wedgbury has not addressed) and the part they played in Mead's methods of newsgathering, one cannot fully understand how he was able to keep Stuteville so well informed on such a regular basis. In order to appreciate the workings of the news network(s) within which Mead operated the full range of material at his disposal has to be studied in depth. Another, related, point is the status of the checklist itself; Mead, as we have seen, often referred in his covering letter to Stuteville written each Saturday to items in the enclosed transcript, whether to confirm, refute or add to them. As Wedgbury has not edited Mead's enclosures such references in H389 are difficult to elucidate, particularly to individual items within transcripts. Two examples of many, from the same letter, will suffice: on Saturday 7 June 1623 Mead began by referring to "this enclosed received last Saturday" which has been footnoted, "See Calendar I. 96 for the enclosed newsletter". On the same page (taken from a newsletter by Dr. James Meddus) Mead related the story of a creature in the likeness of a white dove with a yellow spot on it, that never departs the window leads, when his Highnes [Prince Charles] is within; When he is abroad it abides on the Infanta's window leads. And when the Prince rid to the Escuriall, being from Madrid 7 dayes, it abode where he lodged. That it eates no meat, nor feares a

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603 In fairness it must be said, firstly, that it was not necessary to do so given the concentration on Mead's own letters: secondly, Wedgbury has provided notes of the misplacement of some of the contents of H389; see pp. 6, 18, 61, 67, 75, 84, 87, 124, 138, 245, 265, 293, 322, 327, 338, 391, 482, 542, 603, 664.

604 For this see above, p. 7 and n. 28.

605 H389, folio 337r; Wedgbury, p. 413 n. 1.
dog: which that people tearme to be the Holy Ghost; but some
may rather conceive it, to be some Devill by Magick &c...

Wedgbury's footnote to this passage is "For further details of the story of the dove, see Calendar I. 96", which, unfortunately, the reader cannot do without consulting the manuscript. (Neither the passage quoted above nor that in the enclosure of London news mentioned by Wedgbury in her footnote was transcribed by Birch and do not, therefore, appear in The Court and Times of James I). While the form of Wedgbury's reference to Mead's enclosure is unavoidable given the basis upon which her edition was prepared, a more specific folio reference would have been more useful.

The other important point in which I cannot agree with her preparation of Mead's correspondence is in the presentation of the text itself. In her Editorial Conventions Wedgbury has stated that to edit H389 line-for-line "would make for much waste of paper": while my retention of Mead's line-lengths has increased the length of the thesis I consider retaining the lineation in H390 vital. In any published version, for reasons of economy, this decision would have to be reviewed: but given that one of the primary purposes of a critical edition as doctoral thesis is an exercise in editing skills and accuracy, the presentation of one's text as closely as possible to the original (without indulging in antiquarian excess) is crucial. An editor of poetry or drama would not, as a rule, relineate his or her text in order to save space and I do not believe it is desirable for the contents of H389/390.

There are two reasons for this; by altering the lineation of Mead's letters to use more of the page one is introducing an element of inconsistency into one's handling of the text, as there is no firm guide (other than the size of the paper and the length of whatever word happens to come next) to when and where to end each line. (Wedgbury admits as much in adding, after the sentence quoted above, "any post-scripted paragraphs are retained more or less as written": one procedure has, therefore, been used for the bulk of the text and another for the postscripts). A second, and more important reason concerns the use of Wedgbury's thesis by any scholar wishing to compare it with the original; by departing from a line-for-line text her edition is more difficult to check, especially as regards the accuracy of the text itself. Given the length and complexity of the material in H389/390 any further impediment to a comparison with the MS itself is regrettable.

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606 H389, folio 337r. We recall that Charles and Buckingham were in Madrid wooing the Infanta Maria at this time.
607 Wedgbury, pp. 412 n. 14, 414. One short extract from Mead's letter of 7 June 1623 is included (but not that quoted above); T. Birch (ed. R. F. Williams), The Court and Times of James I, 2 vols (1848), ii. 402-03.
608 Wedgbury, p. iii.
609 Ibid.
610 Particularly as although, lexically, Wedgbury's text is usually accurate mistakes do occur. The following are taken from a random selection of five letters in H389: "Israell" (H389, folio 53r) is rendered "Israel" in her edition, "Ægypt (ibid.) as "Egipt", "Soverainty" (ibid.) as "Soveraigny" (Wedgbury, p.
70); “Caiphas” (H389, folio 153r) as “Caiphas” (Wedgbury, p. 201), “upon” (H389, folio 153r) as “on” (Wedgbury, p. 202); “Houshold” (H389, folio 337r) as “Household” (Wedgbury, p. 411); “Thus” (H389, folio 406r) as “This” (Wedgbury, p. 510), “week” (H389, folio 406r) as “month” (Wedgbury, p. 511), “buisnes” (folio H389, folio 504r) as “buisnes”, “continuall” (ibid.) as “continual” (Wedgbury, p. 656).
The Letters of Joseph Mead
Sir

You shall receive what I found here ¹ viz

London January 6

The 3 proclamations I last mentioned were on Saturday proclaimed.² On Monday a fourth also; that none any where in the kingdome should interrupt the persons or sale of goods of them of London, the Strond, or Westminster; & a fifth is likewise printed against the ayding of Spaine by any other States, which is like wilbe to day or to morrow proclaimed: And a 6th against Preists and Jesuites.³

It is written our mens goods & debts in Spaine are confiscates, & our men sayd, some to be imprisoned, other enjoyned on payne of death not to depart.⁴ The arresting in France of the like is sayd to be differed till the 18 of February. On Monday went hence thitherwards the Earl of Holland & Sir Dudley Carlton extraordinary Ambassadors.⁵

¹ The newsletters waiting for Mead at Christ’s on his return from Dalham after Christmas.
² These were STC 8808, 8809 and 8811, printed in J. F. Larkin (ed.), Stuart Royal Proclamations, volume 2: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625–1646 (Oxford, 1983), nos. 31–33, pp. 66–70: “to forbid trade within any of the dominions of the King of Spaine or the archduchesse”, “for the well manning and arming of the Ships, of, or belonging to this Realme, upon their setting forth to Sea” and “against imbezelling of Armour, Munition and Victuall and other Military provisions”. Mead’s source is slightly in error; STC 8809 and 8811 were proclaimed on Saturday 31 December 1625.
³ These three, STC 8812, 8813 and 8816, are printed in Larkin, nos. 34–36, pp. 71–77. STC 8812 was proclaimed on Tuesday 2 January and STC 8813 on Saturday 6 January.
⁴ Sir Benjamin Rudyerd had reported the detention of English goods in Spain on 31 December 1625: PRO SP16 (Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic (Charles I))/12/93 [folio 158r].
⁵ The Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton went to France to negotiate a peace between Louis and his Huguenot subjects and to demand the return of seven ships lent to the French; see below, p. 135 n. 24. For the ambassadors’ journey, see PRO SP16/12/93 [folio 158r]; J. A. Clarke, Huguenot Warrior: the life and
The Scottish Lords come hither, are sayd to offer toward his Majesties warres £50,000 sterling & to transport 10,000 men; but desire the removing some upstarts from offices & authory.6

The Queenes Servants perceiving they were like to be discarded, if they took not the oath of Allegiance, have now (as I heare) all taken it, saving hir Preists.7

The Hollanders have nere Sluyse taken 2 Dunkirk sloops with 59 well armed men in them, & binding the men back to back, threw them all into the Sea save the odd man, who was English & (as the rest confessed) was prisoner & forced to serve: him they landed on our coast. This execution was begun by the Dunkirkers themselves.8

It is sayd, The General of our Fleet is in Ireland & a messenger come from him.9

On Saterday dyed our other Sheriffe, a good man of a quartane ague.10

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7 Ibid., p. 275.

8 The view taken of these events depended on which side one was on; Mead’s source blamed them on the Flemish while Rubens, writing from Antwerp on 5/15 February, reported that “The Hollanders, with their usual severity...have thrown into the sea, tied in pairs, back to back, about seventy of our men”; R. S. Magurn (ed. and tr.), The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 128. On 2 January Sir Henry Palmer had reported that 46 Dunkirk seamen had been captured and thrown overboard by the Dutch; PRO SP16/18/3 (folio 4r).

9 Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon had put into Kinsale in Southern Ireland on 11 December 1625 on his way back from Cadiz. The state of his ships and adverse weather conditions kept him there until 23 February; J. Glanville, The Voyage lo Cadiz in 1625, ed. A. B. Grosart (1883), p. 120; PRO SP16/21/78 (folio 114r).

10 One of the two sheriffs of London, Thomas Westrowe, had recently died: his successor, Christopher Cletterowe, was appointed on 31 December 1625; Sir H. C. Maxwell–Lyte (ed.), List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the earliest times to A. D. 1831 (1898; reprint, New York, N. Y., 1963), p. 204. A
Sir Georg Crook succeeds (as is sayd) in my Lord Hubbards place Lord Cheife Justice of the Common pleas.\(^1\)

It yet holds, the 30 of this month for the King & the Queene to go to the Tower; the first of February to ride through London; the 2\(^{\text{d}}\) to be crowned; & the 6\(^{\text{th}}\) the Parlament to begin.\(^2\)

In Oxford the plague begins againe, where last week dyed thereof five. Which occasions the putting off exercises & Sermons at Saint Maries the next Term.\(^3\)

Even now I received lettres from Bridgewater of December 30, That passengers come thither from Ireland affirmed, That Lord Generall Cecill was arrived there with 50 sayle, & there deteyned by his Majesties command: whereat divers wonder, he being held faithfull to his Prince & Countrie: yet here this Expedition is strangely discoursed of.\(^4\)

Thus with my heartiest thanks for your late courtesies & my best respect to your Selfe & my Lady, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
January 12

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

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quartan ague is one characterized “by the occurrence of a paroxysm every fourth (in modern reckoning, every third) day” (\textit{OED}, “quartan”, \textit{adj.}, A1).

\(^1\) Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, had died on 25 December 1625. The rumour reported here was false as Hobart’s place was not filled until November 1626 by Sir Thomas Richardson.

\(^2\) The dates of the Coronation and the opening of Parliament proved correct but not the ceremonial procession through the City; see below, p. 12.\(^2\) n. 1.

\(^3\) The plague lingered in Oxford for several more weeks: a letter written on 5 March reported five plague deaths in the previous week, “soe as untill the spring bee advanced theyr will be no safe abiding theare”; PRO SP16/523/49 [folio 62r].

\(^4\) See n. 9 above. Mead’s comment that the Cadiz expedition was “strangely discoursed of” in Cambridge indicates the recriminations over its failure that went on for weeks; see also John Chamberlain’s newsletter of 19 January in McClure, ii. 628; PRO SP16/21/78 [folios 115v–16r].
Textual Notes: lines 9–10] Spaine by forraine any other States MS.
lines 50–54, Thus with...Mead] A continuation of the letter in the margin.
[Half sheet folio. Written on Sunday 22 January; sent with Mead’s letter of Saturday 21 January and his transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 13 January. Subscription (with directions for the Bury Carrier, dated “Janu: 22”) on folio 7v.]

22 January 1625

Sir,

Parkers man was gone before eleven a clock, & so before I sent my lettre. I am now faine to send by Bury Carrier to Kenford. But the rolle of the plague Billes which I mention, & a Corranto which I have I dare not trust him with; not knowing how my lettre will speed till I heare from you.1

We have no newes to speak on since, but that the unhappincs of our Fleets suddain departure & failing to take Caliz now appeares, in that they were not long gone, but the silver Fleet came in thither & so mist us.2

Thus I rest

January 22

Yours to Command

Joseph Mead

1 As Mead had missed the carrier he had to send his letter written the previous day (with its enclosed transcript of London news dated 13 January) via Bury St. Edmunds. The “rolle of the plague” was that mentioned in Mead’s letter of 21 January, lines 23–26; the newsbook was probably STC 18507.177, The continuation...January 18. See Appendix II below.

2 For the safe arrival of the Spanish fleet (the object of the Cadiz expedition) see Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part I: The Manuscripts of Henry Duncan Skrine Esq. (Salvetti Correspondence), ed. H. B. Tomkins (1887), pp. 40–41; PRO SP16/21/78 [folio 116r]. The Plate Fleet had put into Cadiz two days after the departure of the Anglo-Dutch fleet with a cargo worth around £1,350,000; Gardiner, vi. 20; H. O. R. Reade, Sidelights on the Thirty Years’ War, 3 vols (1924), ii. 531.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 21 January; lines 6–21 from Dr. James Meddus's London newsletter of Thursday 19 January. Folios 5v–6r blank; subscription on 6v.]

21 January 1626

Sir

I send you what came last week. I saw a lettre from a freind since as followeth.

London January 19

We heare neither of the Parlament, nor Coronation to be deferred, but onely the crowning of the Queene & solemnity of riding through London to be put off.  
A great Dutch merchant told, It is certaine, that the Hollanders have taken a place in the West-Indies very prejudiciall to the Spanyard, Port-éroco he called it. & tis sayd we have Ships preparing for attempting upon another place not farre off; which taken & kept will bridle the Enimie exceedingly.

A lettre from the Queene of Bohemias Secretary dated at the Hague on Tuesday was sennight confirmes that Brunswick hath clensed his Country of Tillies forces, slaying & taking

1 Apart from the Parliament and Coronation dates Mead's correspondent was correct, in the event, that Queen Henrietta would not be crowned; see below, p. 161 n. 3. For the postponement (and eventual cancellation) of the royal entry which cost the City £4,300 in wasted preparations see D. M. Bergeron, 'Charles I's royal entries into London', Guildhall Miscellany 3 (1970), 91–94; R. Ashton, The City and the Court (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 172–73; McClure, ii. 627; CSPV 1625–26, p. 294. Rumours of postponements to forthcoming State occasions at this time were probably due both to shortage of money and the lingering plague in the capital.

2 In September 1623 Boudewijn Hendricks, with 34 ships of the Dutch West India Company, attacked San Juan on Puerto Rico and besieged the citadel of San Felipe del Moro; after a five-week siege, however, he was forced to withdraw. Rumours of the capture of the island reached Holland in January 1625/26 (the probable source of the report in this letter), but the truth soon became known; J. I. Israel, The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World 1606–1661 (Oxford, 1981), p. 132.

3 Sir Francis Nethersole; DNB, xiv. 229–30.
4 Comets of Horse & 3 regiments. The number of Burialls this week 169, Of the Plague 6; whereof 2 in the 97 parish, within the walls 2 in the 16, and 2 in the 9 out parishes.  

Thus he

I send you a Table of the Plague both this & the former in King James, with that of Westmin= ster & Stepney &c. They should be grieved together one to the bottom of the other.  

I have putt on the backside the Continuation of the Bill, till January 19, And would have you adde still to it, till March as I send you.  

No Privie Seales in Essex, in respect of their charge for Harwich.  
We have chosen Doctor Eden & Sir John Cook our Burgesses, never a voice against them.  

Thus in hast with my due respect, I rest & am

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4 Brunswick's victory is probably that reported in *The continuation of our Weekly Newes...January 18, STC 16507.177, B3r; on B4r, however, it was said to be over Wallenstein's army.

5 Mead's reference is explained by Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 150: "The earliest [mortality] bills list the ninety-six (later ninety-seven) parishes within the walls of the city, and annual bills for the major crises also included sixteen parishes, partly within the liberties of the city but outside the walls. This was the area of the 'city and liberties'. From 1603 onwards, however, a third group of nine 'outparishes' was added".

6 This item was evidently a comparative table of the plague mortalities caused by the epidemics of 1603 and 1625, no copy of which has survived. See Appendix I.

7 Mead continued to send details of plague deaths until his letter of 1 April 1626.

8 In the summer of 1625 fears of an invasion of England from Flanders had centred on the port of Harwich. In consequence over £4,000 had been spent in strengthening the port's defences, and Essex was exempted from the Privy Seal loan of that year in compensation. However, as most of the money due from other shires was never collected the concession had little real value; B. W. Quintrell, 'Towards a "Perfect Militia", Warwick, Buckingham and the Essex Alarum of 1625', *Essex Archaeology and History* (1983), 96-105; Cust, *F. L.*, p. 284 n. 1.

9 Dr. Thomas Eden was a Fellow of Trinity Hall. He became Master later in 1626; *Return of the Names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament*, 2 vols (1878), i. 468; Venn, ii. 84.
Christ's College
January 21

My pupil came not time
enough to write out his Bill
the general sum is
£5 - 2s. 6d.\textsuperscript{10}

Textual Notes: line 18, of\textsuperscript{f} of of MS.

line 30) Thus No Privie MS; Mead was about to add his valediction when he
recalled he had some more news to relate.

\textsuperscript{10} This bill was in respect of the previous Quarter, Michaelmas 1625; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 47v.
Here are some occurrences from Germany or rather Lower Saxony, but we doubt the certainty of them. As that Brunswick hath given Tilly a great defeat & slayne many. Also that Mansfield harrowes the Villages of Lubeck for standing for the Emperor. That the Emperor should be dead. That the new Governor of Wesell (the old being dead) will not suffer any Posts to passe or repasse to or from Frankford with lettres, whereby our advertisments are like to cease, at least for a time. a: The first of Brunswick is confirmed. See the next lettrc.

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1 See above, p. 128 n. 4.

2 Mansfield’s capture of Lauenberg, Travermund and other places governed by the city of Lübeck was reported in STC 18507.177, The continuation... January 18, B1v–B2r. On B2r–v the newsbook added that “The Commissioners of Count Mansfield which have been in the Towne of Lubeck have received from the Magistrate but a silly answer, which will cause but small friendship betwixt them both”. See also Anstruther’s dispatches from Hamburg in PRO SP75/7 (Public Record Office, State Papers, Denmark, 1626)/folios 4r, 20r–v, 23v.

3 A false rumour similar to several that circulated in the following months concerning the death of Maximilian of Bavaria; the Protestant slant of Mead’s sources is illustrated by these items.

4 The governor in question was the Duke of Neuberg. He had been granted this post by the Spanish in compensation for not being given the Duchies of Cleves and Jülich (to which he had laid claim); Reade, ii. 602.
The French & Savoyard seem still to prevayle in the
confines of Italy & the Valtoline.5

Its written. That in Languedoc on or neere the river
Rhone where it falles into the Sea, the Protestants (whom they
write to be there about 15,000 strong) have taken 3 strong
garrison Townes of the Kings, whereat he is much enraged
at Rochell & them of the Religion.6

Its sayd, there be yet about 40 sayle of our Fleet
in Ireland, & the Lord Generall, who is sayd to be sick there,
& well may be, if the report that goes of him be true con-
cerning his martiall skill, judgement, courage & valour; but
I will not prejudicate his Lordship.7

Yesterday sennight came a Savoyan Ambassador hither,
had audience privatly that night; on Saturday night the Duke
feasted him & was seeldome from him; on Sunday he had his
dispatch, & on Munday morning betimes went away.8

5 From the outbreak of the Dutch revolt in the 1560s, Spain needed a secure overland route by which to send
troops and money from northern Italy to the Low Countries and Germany. This passage (at first through
Savoy, later through the Alpine passes) was known as the "Spanish Road". After the Savoy route was
effectively closed to Spain by the Treaty of Lyons in 1601, among the most important military corridors
was that passing through the Valtelline: running from Lombardy to the Tyrol, it was controlled by the
Protestant Grisons but the inhabitants were Catholics. As the French route into northern Italy crossed the
valley at Tirano the region was "in the real sense of the term, a crossroads of power" and a likely location
of Franco-Spanish confrontation at any time. A revolt by the Catholic inhabitants of the valley in July
1620 had precipitated a Spanish occupation of the valley, although under pressure from the French,
Savoyards and Venetians Spain agreed to evacuate the valley in February 1622/23. Under the pretext that
the terms of the treaty had not been honoured, however, French and Swiss forces invaded the valley in
autumn 1624 and soon occupied it, and remained there until the treaty of Mónzon in March 1625/26; G.
Parker, The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659 (Cambridge, 1972), ch. 2, esp. pp. 59-76
(quotations from p. 74); idem., TYW, pp. 42-43, 65-66, 71.

6 Louis XIII and his Huguenot subjects had been at war during 1625 after the latters' revolt in January of that
year; Clarke, pp. 119-33. According to STC 18507.177, B3v, the three towns captured by the Protestants
were La Poussin, Emans and L'Esprit. See Reade, ii. 564 and below, p. 133 lines 56-59.

7 Another indication of the anger in London and elsewhere over the complete failure of the expedition to
Cadiz; see above, pp. 123-24 nn. 9 and 14. Writing from Kinsale on 11 December Sir Thomas Love estimated
around 25 ships were with Cecil in Ireland; PRO SP16/11/48 [folio 108v]; see also HMC Sprine, p. 43.

8 I have not identified this ambassador from Savoy.
The same afternoone, the Queene was at the Tower in hir rich Coach with 7 others, hir Confessors Coach being formost, & hers following next after, & returned by torchlight. Hir Bishop is gone into France upon buisines.

This day sennight was proclaimed, that all forreine Ships carrying ammunition, victuall or materialls for Shipping for the King of Spaine or any of his Subjects, shalbe stayd & confiscated. And 3 such prizes came in on Saturday.

Its sayd the King & Queenes riding through London is put off till May, but that the Coronation holds the 2 of February; though in a private manner, to save the charge of £60,000 in scarlet, which the King should otherwise have bin at. Its talked, as if the Parlament should be putt of till the 15 of February.

The last weeks burials were 159, of the plague 4; 1 within & 3 without the walles. Its sayd, 4 also in Westminster, & they all of the Court.

Another London ditto. 13 January

The Ships of our Fleet are all returning home with their companies: Of the Hollanders, who went with ours (in number 20) 3 were driven away with tempest, uncertaine whither, no newes

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9 Chamberlain reported Henrietta's journey to the Tower in his letter of 19 January; McClure, ii. 627. Henrietta's confessor was Père de Berulles; F. de Bassompierre, Negociation de Mareschal de Bassompierre, envoyé Ambassadeur Extraordinaire, en Angleterre de la part du Roy tres-Chrestien, l'an 1626 (Cologne, 1668), c5r.

10 On 20/30 January Salvetti noted the general belief that the journey of Daniel du Plessis, Bishop of Mende to France was "purposely to hold a consultation as to the presence of the Queen at a ceremonial to be performed by Protestant clergy, and he will bring back the resolution of the French court"; HMC Skrine, p. 43; McClure, ii. 627. As the Queen did not in fact attend Charles's coronation this rumour was probably true.

11 This is the proclamation mentioned by Mead above (p.122, n. 3).

12 For these captures see PRO SP16/12/55 [folio 96r]; SP16/18/3 [folio 4r].

13 See above, p.122 n. 1.

14 Chamberlain reported that "The coronation holdes on Candlemas day [2 February] but private without any shew or feast"; McClure, ii. 627.
being yet received of them; 17 into Barbarie, whereof 3 leaking irrecoverably were unladen & fired; the residue 13 are come to Plymouth to receive his Majesties command for farther service.\footnote{The English had originally asked for forty ships to join the Cadiz fleet, but the United Provinces only agreed to send twenty; Israel, p. 116.}

An 120 or more old Sergeants & Souldiers of our Coun-

trymen are come out of the Lowcountries to be dispersed into the maritime provinces for disciplining our men.\footnote{According to PRO SP16/19/6 [folio 7r], 117 sergeants were landed at Gravesend on 7 January. (There are lists of them in SP16/19/8 [folios 10r-12r], 9 [folios 15r-17r]). They were commanded by Sir George Holles, brother of the Earl of Clare: The Letters of John Holles 1587–1637, ed. P. R. Seddon, 3 vols (Nottingham, 1975–86), ii. 320. See also lines 91–95 below.}

The Coronation wilbe, tis sayd, putt off for 14 dayes, & the entry into London untiill May.

In France, the Protestants seeing themselves more & more undermined, have seazed upon Poussin on Rhodene & 2 other Townes in Vivaret, & 2 other in Languedoc; where the Duc de Rohan hath fortified Nismes.

Tis reported, the Pope hath declared himselfe of the Spanish party.\footnote{Rumours were circulating in Paris in January 1625/26 that Urban VIII had come to an agreement with the Habsburgs and Bavaria over the forced recatholicisation of the Valtelline. It is possible that these lines refer to something of this nature; Reade, ii. 564–65.}

That Brunswick (which is most true) hath de-

feated Tilly, cutt in sunder 900 or 1000 horse & 1200 foot, & routed the rest of his Army, whereof 3 Ensignes were sent to the King of Denmark. The 1 on one side Saint Peter on the reverse an \( \mathbb{F} \) with a Crowne underwritten \( \text{Ælius data} \). The 2 upon one side Saint Martin cutting his cloak for the poore, on the reverse an \( \mathbb{F} \) & Crowne, the motto Patrono patrocinio: The 3\( ^{d} \) on one syde Saint James, on the reverse \( \mathbb{F} \) & Crowne over it, motto Pro Patria.\footnote{For a report of Brunswick's defeat of 1,000 Imperial horse and his capture of three enemy standards see PRO SP75/7/folio 4r. "Ælius data" (line 67) = "A gift from heaven"; "Patrono patrocinio" (line 69) = "under the protection of his patron"; "Pro Patria" (line 70) = "for the fatherland".}
London January 12

A Proclamation lately come forth wherein the King in consideration of the wrong Spaine hath done us, under pretence of treaties, the restles ambition of a Monarchie, a great Navy they are preparing, their inabilitie (notwithstanding their Indies) to subsist without victual, materialls for shipping &c from neighbour nations &c gives leave to all his Subjects to take what they can from any of the King of Spaines Subjects; & any thing else, save meere merchandise from any others, that would supply him, so as they first come & signifie their names to the Admirall & give securitie not to wrong any of our freinds. 3 Easterlings are lately brought in bound for Spaine with cordage &c and they say escaped, we having not ships enough in readiness to take them. Some report here, that the French Bishop, the Queens Secretary & another are sent away for refusing the oath of fidelitie, how true I know not. Speach likewise of a great presse of more than 30,000 men. Our Ships are providing with what hast may be; & there are come out of the Lowcountries 160 gentlemen, Sergeants, corporalls &c all expert old souldiers, who are to shew

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19 Compare the opening passage of the proclamation, STC 8813, printed in Larkin, pp. 73–74: “Forasmuch as the many injuries and indignities, obtruded upon the Kings most excellent Majestie...by the King of Spaine, under colour of treaties and alliances;...The King of Spaines restless ambition to aspire to an universall Monarchie, discovered to the whole world...the said King of Spaines great preparations of his Navies...”. Mead’s source had paraphrased part of the document from memory.

20 After the opening of hostilities with Spain, letters of marque authorising merchantmen to attack and take Spanish ships had been issued since September 1625. As has been pointed out, however, the decision to allow the capture of neutral ships (especially those from the Hanse towns) carrying war supplies to the Peninsula was a significant extension of the sea war: J. C. Appleby, ‘English privateering during the Spanish and French wars, 1625–1630’ (University of Hull Ph. D. thesis, 1983), pp. 11, 46, 118, 138–42.

21 See above, p. 132. n. 12. Sir Henry Palmer had been ordered in December 1625 to keep watch for a fleet of fifteen Hamburg ships, three of which, presumably, were those he took; PRO SP16/11/50 (folio 112r).

22 The rumour of Mende’s departure may have been started by his departure for France, “upon buisines” reported on line 31 above.
themselves too morrow in the Artillery-yard & then to be dispersed to teach country captains how to drill & discipline their soldiers.

Sandwich January 2

Here are 21 saile of Ships, 15 of them merchants & 6 of the Kings, they & their captains all ready for France to fetch home the ships we lent that King. The Towne of Diep was bound to our merchants for the payment of the money for the use of them, but they can get neither money nor ships. The King of France, they say, gives us leave to get them as we can, because some of his Subjects hold them contrary to his mind. Thus they talk how true I know not. Sir Harry Palmer they say sallbe Admiral in this expedition.

There are 60 small vessels or shallops now making at London out of hand & 30 of a greater size which carry 6 pieces of Ordnance a piece, but yet to be rowed with oares & these are for service in calm weather, & to land men where

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24 In January 1624/25 James I had offered Louis XIII the use of English ships to help in quelling the revolt instigated by the Duc de Soubise (which had already been condemned by the rest of the Huguenot communities in France). After a series of English delaying tactics the ships were handed over at Dieppe in July once it appeared that a peace between Louis and the Huguenots had been arranged, and therefore that the English ships would not be needed. Unfortunately for Charles and Buckingham, however, civil war soon broke out again and the seven English ships played a prominent part in the decisive defeat inflicted upon Soubise's fleet off La Rochelle in September. The French were asked repeatedly to return the ships during the autumn of 1625; as a result of their procrastination various contingency plans were drawn up to take the ships by force. The fleet referred to here was that under the command of John Pennington, and was expected to sail for France if the extraordinary Ambassadors Lord Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton failed to secure the release of the ships by diplomatic means; as Sir Benjamin Rudyerd wrote to Nethersole on 31 December 1625, "if they [the loan ships] be denied we are resolved to take a forcible course", PRO SP16/12/93 [folio 158r]. For more details see Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament', pp. 249–62; Gardiner, v. 304–06, 328, 378–94; Lockyer, pp. 230–31.

25 Although this rumour was false, Palmer as Admiral of the Narrow Seas [responsible for patrolling the Straits of Dover and adjacent areas] was an understandable choice by the "Pauls Walker" as commander.
great Ships can not come neere. It is thought they are for the coast of Flanders.\textsuperscript{26}

\textit{Textual Note:} between lines 95–96] Spence–of–a–great–presse–of–more–then–30,000–men &c MS; Mead had forgotten he had already written this on lines 88–89 and deleted it.

\textsuperscript{26} In the spring of 1626 an English attack on Flanders was considered a serious possibility by the Archduchess; Reade, iii. 78.
For the taking of Tilly, it was Corranto newes &
on seconded by our letters, & therefore I wrot it not. I send you
a later Corranto which will enforme you as much as I know
of that busines. You should have had it last week.2

For my Lord of Essex, we have no such matter, that I
heare of, nor do our letters mention it, written on Thursday; nor passengers that
come from London this week. Onely once this week a
yong Scholler asked me whether I heard any such matter, himselfe
seeming to have gotten it from some comrade new come out of
the Country. I hope therefore, it is not true.3

Last Saturday afforded us nothing of moment more then you
heard by my last. Yesterday I received a lettre as
followeth.

1 The editor of C. and T., i. 77, n. 1, omitted this letter from the printed text “as it contain[ed] nothing of
interest”.

2 The “later Corranto” sent by Mead (probably STC 18507.177, The continuation...January 18) reported on
B4r that confusion between Tilly and a commander called Dilly, captured by Brunswick’s forces, had led to
the report that General Tilly had been taken. Sir Martin had evidently sent news of the latter’s capture in
his latest letter to Cambridge which Mead contradicted here.

3 Although I have not been able to identify this rumour, as the Earl of Essex had sailed on the Cadiz
expedition it is probable that it concerned some accident at sea. Once again, Stuteville had included this in
his latest letter.
London January 26

My Lord Bishop of Lincolne being sequestred from his office at the Coronation, as he is deane of Westminster, a and the Bishop of Saint Davids b being sett up in his room by the great man, his Lordship is going to retire himselfe at Bugden. 20 The occasion of this, & of the losse of his Lord Keepers place was (besides some things that passed at the last sitting in Parlament) a plaine peece of Councell his Lordship gave my Lord Duke at Salisbury; Namely, that being as then generall both by sea & Land, he should either go in person or stay the Fleet at home, or else give over his office of Admiralty to some other. 25

The Archbishop of York (I heare) is dead; the Bishop of London, it is thought, will succeed him, & Saint Davids London. 30

What account may be given of the number of ships come home, I cannot yet learne the certainty: but here lyes a Fleet of 30 saile in the River, to go

a: To annoint.
b: Laud.

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4 Chamberlain reported on 19 January that Bishop John Williams (as Dean of Westminster required to officiate at the coronation) had been ordered to nominate William Laud as his deputy; McClure, ii. 627. The duties Williams would have had to perform (which included reading the Bishops' petition to the King and investing Charles with parts of his regalia) are indicated in PRO SP16/19/112 [folio 192r]; SP16/20/13 [folios 31v, 32v, 33v, 42v, 43r]. "Bugden" (Buckden, south-west of Huntingdon) was the seat of the Bishop of Lincoln's palace.

5 In a letter of 2 March 1624/25 Williams had advised Buckingham " 'either to be employed abroad personally, or to live at home in that ignominy and shame' as his Grace 'would never endure to do' "; Gardiner, v. 311–12; for the circumstances surrounding Williams's loss of office as Lord Keeper see ibid., vi. 30–32.

6 This report of episcopal translations proved premature. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, did not die until March 1628: E. B. Fryde et al. (eds.), *Handbook of British chronology* (1941; third edn., 1986), p. 280. A number of bishops did, however, die in the following months and Mead's numerous references to such items of news indicates that speculation about their successors was rife.
for Rochell in case no good newes come from
my Lord of Holland, who wilbe here very shortly, forasmuch
as the Leiger Ambassador Sir Edward Barret is ready to
depart.⁷

    Master Glanvile hath sent his Majesty out of Ireland
a Journall of the voiage & of the actions & consulta-
tions therein, not omitting so much as every mans parti-
cular speach & opinion.⁸

    Yesterday, as I saw Westminster Hall full of Lawyiers
in the forenoone, so I beheld it full of soldiers in the
after-noone; & asking the reason, one of that number
told me, that some 130 of them, being Serjeants of Com-
panies, had bin sent for out of the Low--countries, to
teach our trayned bands all over England the use of
armes; saying that he hoped by the grace of God blessing
their industrie, England within one halfe yeare would
be stronger by 100 thousand men.

    Spinola lyes quartered with all the forces he can
make along the coast of Dunkerk, Nuport & Ostend.⁹

Thus my Author

I saw another of the same date, from a Clergie
freind in London, That there was Proclamation for a Pub-
lick thankesgiving for our deliverance from the Plague, to
be kept in London & Westminster the next Sunday
(to morrow) & upon the 19th of February all over the

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⁷ See above, p. 135 n. 24. On the same day as Mead’s letter Pennington informed Buckingham on the state
of readiness of the proposed fleet of thirty ships; PRO SP16/19/65 [folios 107r–09v], and sent a list of the
vessels (SP16/19/65 (1) [folios 111r–12v]). For Sir Edward Barrett’s appointment as permanent
ambassador, see SP14/214/(Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic (James I), letter-book of
Secretary Lord Conway)/folio 122v.

⁸ John Glanville was Secretary to Lord Wimbledon on the Cadiz expedition: the “Journall” mentioned was
presumably similar (if not identical) to that edited by A. B. Grosart as The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625 (1883).

⁹ Although I have not traced this particular rumour, Spinola’s military reputation was such that London
gossip-mongers often asserted his role in the supposed Spanish invasion plans.
Kingdome.\textsuperscript{10} That besides my late Lord Keeper are prohibited from coming to Parliament The Lord Digby, Earle of Sommersett, & Earle of Middlesex.\textsuperscript{11} That my Lord Duke is sending out 3 ships to seek adventures, by Captain Brett;\textsuperscript{12} who they say told his Lordship the great Fleet was never like to have any better success then we see, in that there was sent with it Bag without money, Cook without meat, & Love without charity. These are the names of 3 cheife captains &c.\textsuperscript{13}

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I heare the Scottish Nobilitie are like to have little satisfaction, & the consequent feared. The buisines, this. The now \textsuperscript{6} King had given Commission to the Lord Maxwell, & Earle of Anandale (Murrey) to call an Assembly or Parliament for contribution of money & furnishing out some Scottish ships as being fitter against the Dunkirks, They had also in Commission to make inquirie of some Officers in the Kingdome, & accordingly

\textsuperscript{10} This proclamation is \textit{STC} 8821, printed in Larkin, no. 39, pp. 84–86. It was proclaimed on 27 January; the dates of the fasts provided by Mead's clergy friend are correct.

\textsuperscript{11} As well as Williams the former Lord Keeper, the peers mentioned had all lost royal favour; Digby (wrongly titled, having been the Earl of Bristol since September 1622) due to serious disagreements with both Charles and Buckingham over the negotiations in Madrid during 1623 for the "Spanish Match" (which came to dominate the Lords' debates later in the session of 1626); Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, due to the Overbury scandal of 1615–16, and Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, impeached by the Parliament of 1624 for corruption; Gardiner, v. 105–06 and passim; D. Hirst, Authority and Conflict: England 1603–1658 (1986), pp. 119–20, 134–35; Prestwich, Cranfield, ch. 10; C. S. R. Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629 (Oxford, 1979; revised edn., 1983), pp. 198–202, 216.

\textsuperscript{12} I have not traced this rumour. It has however been noted that Buckingham had little involvement in setting out privateers during the wars with France and Spain; Appleby, pp. 79–80. "Captain Brett" was probably Alexander Brett, a kinsman of the Duke who had served on the Cadiz expedition; Lockyer, p. 274; Cadiz, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{13} This rumour sacrificed accuracy to the aptness of the joke; while Sir Thomas Love sailed with the fleet as captain of the flagship the \textit{Anne Royal}, Captains "Bag" or "Cook" do not appear in the list of the fleet compiled by Glanville; ibid., pp. 125–27. "Bag without money" was probably a slighting reference to Sir James Bagg, Buckingham's "creature" and victualler of the fleet; William Cooke was master of the \textit{Anne Royal}, which may explain his inclusion; ibid., p. 8.
to alter them & putt others in their places. The Councell of Scotland having intelligence before they came, sent writs unto their hereditarie Parliament men, & so without any Assembly had provided the money & taken order for the service, before the Commissioners arrival. When they came they received the Commissions but refused to admit the Commissioners. Nevertheless they proceed, & went about to displace amongst others, The Earle of Marre Treasurer, Sir George Hay the Chancellor, another Principal man I have forgotten &c &c. They except against the Lord Maxwell as an infamous man & unfitt for such imployment &c. But our great Duke they say, maintaines him as having married his kinswoman, though he be an arrant Papist & the Kingdome of Scotland against him. My Lord Doncaster hath used much meanes to

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14 The Scottish “buisines” referred to here needs explanation, particularly as not all of Mead’s facts were correct. The Scottish convention of estates had met on October 27 1625 to discuss Charles’s requests for financial assistance which were presented by Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale and John Murray, Earl of Annandale. The estates had voted an extraordinary tax in order to meet the king’s demands, although it had refused to provide the money to maintain 2,000 men, which had also been proposed by Charles. There was unease, however, over several aspects of the new king’s policies towards Scotland, the most important of which was the Revocation: this proposed to revoke all grants of land made since 1540 that had belonged to either Crown or Kirk, which would involve an enormous upheaval if implemented. The use of Revocations was not in itself illegal: every Scottish monarch between James I in 1406 and James VI in 1567 had come to the throne at the age of fifteen years or less, and the use of a Revocation to annul any such grants made before the twenty-fifth birthday of the sovereign (in Scottish law the age before which such an act had to be made) had become common: Charles’s father, grandmother and great-grandfather had all done so. The revolutionary impact of Charles’s proposal was to antedate his Revocation before his own reign; “the point...was that [he] was attempting to revoke acts of his predecessors made in their full age”. The Scottish Privy Council were so alarmed at the implications of the Revocation that John Erskine Earl of Mar (Lord Treasurer), Thomas Hamilton Earl of Melrose (President of the Court of Session) and Sir George Hay (Chancellor) came to London in December 1625 to try to deflect Charles from his plans, meeting him on the 7th, 13th, 19th and 22nd of January 1625/26; M. Lee jr., *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-42* (Urbana, Ill., 1985), pp. 7–24 (quotation from pp. 21–22); A. I. MacInnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement* (Edinburgh, 1991), ch. 3; Chronology, pp. 60–61; PRO SP16/12/93 (folio 158v).

15 The warmth of the language used on both sides (some quoted by Mead below) was largely due to the animus against Maxwell on the part of the ruling “triumvirate” of Mar, Melrose and Hay. They particularly
perswade the Duke from meddling in it, but in vayne.

They are very angry before the King (where they have bin divers times) onely they keep from blowes, but words fly at libertie. Guesse by these (which a Scottishman told me). The Lord Maxwell charged the Earle of Marre with bribery, The Earle besides other words fitt for his defence, replyes His cheifest comfort was to be charged by a man so infamous as the Lord Maxwell was. Maxwell – My Lord Ile make you sweat for this before you go out of the Court of England. The Rest:– My Lord Maxwell, if you had sayd so much in Scotland, we would have committed you. Is not this good Language? He charged also the Chancellor with bribery, but upon so silly proofes, that he was & his abettors too much ashamed of it. Most of the Councell are here.

Tell my Lady, that in Northamptonshire are chosen Knights, Sir John Pickering, Sir William Spenser.

objected to the favour shown to him: apart from being a Catholic Maxwell was a bankrupt who was, nonetheless, one of Charles’s main advisers on Scottish affairs. Maxwell had married Elizabeth Beaumont, a cousin of Buckingham, which did his cause at Court no harm; ibid., p. 9.

16 The Earl of Mar made a record of the meetings he and his colleagues had had with Charles, which graphically indicates the mud-slinging that went on: see Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, volume 1, ed. H. Paton (1904), pp. 133–46. Mar and Maxwell fell to accusing each other of various misdemeanours in the meeting on 13 January; on one occasion Mar replied that “I have thrie confortts, aine the testemonie of aine honest conciens befor my God; the nixtt is quhen I leuk upon you my just King quha vill see me truelie tryed...and my last comfortt is quhen I leuk upon him quha is my accuser”; ibid., p. 138.

17 After the various cross-accusations between Maxwell and Mar mentioned above, the latter recorded that “my Lord of Nidsdell fell out in grett coller and sayd, Be God I vill doo it and subsrveyvitt [his accusation against Mar] with my bloud, and I shall mak him suett for it”; ibid.

18 Alexander Strauchan, laird of Thornton and a man with a notorious reputation in Scotland (for which see Lee, p. 15) had, in the meeting of 13 January, accused Hay of accepting a bribe but this was quickly disapproved; HMC M. and K., p. 137. Lines 106–07 were presumably taken by Mead from his source, “here” being London.

19 These two had been chosen after a bitter election campaign which had threatened to split the gentry community of the county down the middle; J. K. Gruenfelder, The Parliamentary election in Northampton,
In Leicestershire, Master Staresmore (being now disjusticed) & Sir Thomas Hastings, who was presently arrested by Sir Thomas Hartop in the Castle Yard for debt.  

We heare they chose in Norfolk on Munday last at Norwich Sir Robert Bell & Sir Edward Cook. I pray God they have not to much law.  

Our Towne of Cambridg chose yesterday for Burgesses Master Mutas, & Master Tompson actually fellow of Saint Johns Colledg. He is Master Tompsons Son of Berdon Priory, & my Lord Keepers Lady is his Aunt.

c: I think Thomas but I am not sure of the Christen name.

1626’, Northampshionshire Past and Present 4 (1968–69), 159–65. As Susan Lady Stuteville was the daughter of Sir John Isham of Lamport, Mead knew that events in Northamptonshire would be of special interest to her.

As he admitted, Mead was unusually uncertain about names here. Sir Henry Hastings and Francis Staresmore were elected as the County members for Leicestershire on 12 January; Return, i. 470. Hastings had been arrested by Sir Henry Hartoppe, High Sheriff of Leicestershire, over an alleged irregularity in his election; the former claimed privilege of Parliament and the case was heard in the Commons (Hartoppe being summoned to attend); List of Sheriffs, p. 75; Proceedings in Parliament 1626, eds. W. B. Bidwell and M. Jansson, 3 vols (New Haven, Conn., 1991– ), ii. 367, 369, 446–47; iii. 155–56, 158, 163.

Coke, with Bell, was elected as a county member for Norfolk but as he had been “pricked” (nominated) sheriff he could not take his seat: as sheriff he was required by his oath to remain in the county of his election (in this case Buckinghamshire). Due to this requirement, the “pricking” of an individual was one means of removing potential opponents from the Commons; Coke and five others (Edward Alford, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour and Sir Thomas Wentworth) were nominated on this basis and absent from the Parliament of 1626. Coke subsequently appeared before the Privy Council demanding that the sheriff’s oath be altered, but he only succeeded in having the oath to suppress Lollardy in his county removed; Return, i. 470; Russell, Parliaments, p. 268; Gardiner, vi. 33–34. Apart from Coke’s fame as a jurist, lines 114–15 were also perhaps a reference to the alleged liking of Norfolk men for the law due to their argumentative nature; Morgan, p. 142.

Thomas Meautys was one of the Clerks of the Privy Council; Aylmer, pp. 291–94. John Thompson, Fellow of St. John’s since 1617, was secretary to his uncle Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper, who had requested Thompson’s election as burgess; Return, i. 468; Venn, iv. 225; Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, iii. 183–84.
If you send a messenger with money to the Park, I pray let him think of my Desk, which stands tied up on the top of the Portal in my chamber.  

I send you a General Bill of both plagues with a Corrant. & (if they come time enough) The History of the Waldenses & Albingenses & The Last Statutes; Goodwin's Antiquities I cannot yet get, but I shall next week.  

Thus with my best respect to yourself & my good Lady, I rest & am Yours most ready to Christ's College be commanded  

January 28  

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 8] nor others ^ passengers ^ MS.  
lines 13–14, you heard] you you heard MS.  
line 14] lettre from Lo as MS.  
line 32, come home] come come home MS.  
line 36] in case case MS.  
line 47, panies] catchword used in MS at foot of folio 17r.  
line 91] the ^ E ^ he be MS.  
line 97] the Chancellor ^ Earle of Marre ^ MS.  
line 124] a BH General MS.

23 Mead had evidently visited Sir Martin's other residence at Southwood Park and had left his writing–desk there.  
24 The "General Bill" and the newsbook were those items Mead had not sent by "Parker's man" the previous week; see above, p. 126 n. 1. The "History of the Waldenses & Albingenses" is one of the three editions of J. P. Perrin's work published in 1624 (STC 19768.5–19769.3); the "Last Statutes" is STC 9508; see Appendix I. "Goodwin's Antiquities" is STC 11951; it had sold out before Mead could get a copy and he sent the second edition, STC 11952, two months later; see below, p. 265 n. 1 and Appendix I.
The promise which I once made to you, I doe here performe; I meane the Jour[ney] of the Late great Fleete.¹

Uppon the 8th of October They weight Anchor in Plimouth Sound;² uppon the 12th they had a violent Tempest which dispersd Them into many Squadrons ³ when, as I told you for the want of Instructions, 2 Shippes came backe to Falmouth, and one Shippe with Horses into Mounts Bay. Yet sayth my Freind, as yf God purposd to give Them honour, the Fleete mett All together agai[n] att the South Cape,⁴ onely one Shippe Lost in that storme, calld the Long Rober(t) ⁵ from thence They sayld to the Bay of Cales; where they received their Inst[ructions] which should have beene given att Plimouth.⁶ 14 dayes after They weight Anchor They came into the Bay;⁷ where they found shippes unmannd; The g(reat) Admirall of Naples, a Shippe of 1800 Tunnes; 4 Galeons, that is. Kings Shippes and Others, to the number of 16; Castells unfortifyed, & the Towne disfurnishd secure, and not expecting any Enemy.⁸

¹ For accounts of the expedition see Cadiz, passim; Gardiner, vi. 12–21; V. F. Snow, Essex the Rebel: the life of Robert Devereux, the third Earl of Essex 1591–1646 (Lincoln, Na., 1970), pp. 129–47.
² Cadiz, p. 14.
³ Ibid., p. 24: “Our ajintiest Seamen tould us they had never been in a greater Storme”.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 24–25; most of the fleet had reached Cape St. Vincent (“the South Cape”) by 18/28 October.
⁵ 175 men went down with this ship. Other smaller vessels were also lost in the storm; ibid., pp. 26–27.
⁶ At a Council of War on 20/30 October it had been decided to make for Cadiz rather than Gibraltar or Malaga; ibid., pp. 33–36.
⁷ At about 3pm on 22 October/1 November; ibid., p. 38.
⁸ One Captain Jenkinson came aboard the Anne Royal on 22 October/1 November and reported that the arrival of the fleet had taken Cadiz by surprise. Glanville estimated that 15 or 16 ships, commanded by the
The General now calls a Councell; wherein They spent so much time, that the Towne and Castell tooke Courage, which at first might have beene taken for Asking. In this Councell, whatsoever was advisd by Others, yet All was carryd by Captain Love; The Sea men Longd to be upon the Shippes, but Captain Love told them that He could Lay his hands upon Them att his pleasure. Therefore as yt the Castell could have runne away, they thought yt most expedient to fall upon that first. But They stood consuling so long that the Earle (of) Essex left Them and in token of his forwardnes fell to fight with th(e) Castell; but Night came on, and so He came off. Next day the Whole Fleete fell upon the Castell, where after some 10 Houres fight They Landed some (Men) and tooke the Castell; with the Losse of one Holland–Shippe, sunke before the Cast[ell] yt was yeilded upon composition, and They went away with colours displayd. In the meane time the Spanish Shippes sunke 3 or 4 Shippes betwixt The(m) selves and our Fleete, & so being barracaded, They hung out Flaggs of Defyance. Now They had spent 3 dayes, and theyre Men were landed. There they wanderd upp and downe the Iland, 4 dayes more, and drunke a little sacc(k)

1200 ton "Admirall of Naples", and 8 or 9 galleys were riding in the bay when the fleet arrived; ibid., pp. 40, 38; see also PRO SP16/11/48 [folio 108r].

9 The ships riding in the bay of Cadiz fled to safety as soon as they saw the fleet arrive. Glanville’s account of the Council of War meeting of 22 October/1 November, where it was decided to attack Fort Puntal first rather than Cadiz (or attempt to capture the ships) is in Cadiz, pp. 41-42.

10 Essex, commanding the Swiftsure, had led the Anglo-Dutch fleet into Cadiz harbour on the afternoon of 22 October/2 November. Because the remainder of the fleet had lagged behind, Essex fired on the Spanish ships riding there on his own and was eventually forced to withdraw. On the same evening Fort Puntal was attacked by a Dutch squadron without any support from the English, losing two ships; Snow, Essex the Rebel, pp. 136–37; Cadiz, p. 43.

11 After Dutch complaints about the abortive first assault on Fort Puntal a second attack took place on 23 October/2 November which took the fort. The defenders were allowed to leave with colours flying; ibid., pp. 43–49. Captain Raymond, mentioned in line 34, was killed in the assault; ibid., p. 45.

12 The Spanish and Portuguese ships riding in the bay of Cadiz had sailed up a narrow creek near the town of Port–Royal to escape the English; although it was finally decided on 24 October/3 November to capture them it was discovered the next day that the Spanish had blocked up the creek with four ships to prevent the English from entering; ibid., pp. 54–55, 63–65.
and fyrd 2 or 3 old houses, and so returned to theyre shippes agayne, with 8 brasse pieces of our owne taken out of the Castell. As they came down(e) the Rockes to theyre Shippes, the Spanyards sallyd out uppon them and slewe som[e] fewe men drunke, which though they had the tricke to stagger, yet had not the grace to tumble downe the Rockes and save Themselves. When They were st[ill] att theyr weighing of theyre Anchors, the Towne gave Them a merry volley of shott for a Farwell; yet thus much Colonell Bruce a Scottishman speakes of the common men, that he never ledd more willing and stout men, (though not very skillfull) since He bare Armor; who on theyre march toward th[e] Towne, askinge his Captaine & men, what They would doe; His men answ[erd] that yf the Captaines would not make the more haste, They would goe o[n] before them. But the Generall commaunded a Retreate.

Now, sayth my Authour, having left the Bay, and come into the Ocean as yf God was highly displeasd with the Cowardise, faintnes, or rather folly of the Greatest, They were tossd with Tempests All the way home, such as He never felt. Yet but One Shippe cast away, homeward bound, calld the Mary Constance, and that uppon the Coast of Ireland: The Flecte is come into severall Harbours. The Admirall, with many others into Ireland; The Ear[l]

13 After the capture of Fort Puntal the army was landed on 23/24 October – 2/3 November, with the hope of preventing any aid reaching Cadiz before the English could attack the town; ibid., pp. 48–49. On the evening of 24 October/3 November, however, the forces under Cecil’s command that had been put ashore near Cadiz discovered a large store of wine in houses abandoned by the Spanish, one butt of which the general allowed to each regiment. The chaos that ensued is described in ibid., pp. 59–61.

14 After it became clear that the land forces were not fit for service and that Cadiz could only be taken by siege (for which the fleet was not prepared), it was decided on 26 October/5 November to re-embark the army, which took place on 27/28 October – 6/7 November; ibid., pp. 65–66, 73–76. The artillery had been captured on 23 October/2 November, and was carried away four days later; ibid., pp. 48, 72.

15 Including the unfortunate man discovered with his ears and nose cut off; ibid., p. 70.

16 On the evening of 27 October/6 November; ibid., p. 76.

17 Colonel Sir Henry Bruce comanded one of the ten regiments sent with the expedition. His and Sir John Burroughs’s forces had been ordered to protect the English rear from an attack from Cadiz on 24 October/3 November but were ordered to withdraw with the rest of the army; ibid., pp. 3, 59, 124.

18 The fleet had left Cadiz on 29 October/8 November, hoping to intercept the returning Spanish Plate Fleet. After failing to meet with it and after deciding to return to England on 17/27 November the fleet was battered by storms for most of the next three weeks; ibid., pp. 78, 80, 109–17.

19 The Mary Constant had sailed in the Earl of Essex’s squadron; ibid., p. 126. I have not found any reference to its loss.
of Essex came into Plimouth; The Earl of Denbigh into Bristoll; some into {x}mouth; etc. W [here] of 20 sayle are {sen}t {for to} come up to London and th(e) land-men are bil(let)ed in Devonshire {and Cornwall} as before {none} discharged. The Merchants which come from the Straytes, since the retourne of the Fleete report that the King of Spayne had taken greatest ^ care ^ for Sicily & Naples, thinking that our Fleete would have attempted nothinge under a Kingdome. & that They might ^ have ^ fyrd Malaga, Cartagen, and All the South Coasts of Spaynes, which upon the first Rumour of our Fleete upon their Coasts, fledd upp into the Countrey and left onely some fewe men in the Castells. But They gave Cales too much time to reeceve Supplyes out of Spayne, by the want of wisdome and Resolution.22

Whether our Shippes will be sent peacably from Rochell or not, I canno[t] learme, Captaine Pennington is gone downe to Plimouth and must goe over to Rochell with 30 Sayle. But whether They be yeilded up quietly or be fetched by force, Rochell without some extraordinary worke of the Allmighty cannot be releivd to maintayne theyre priviledges, but att the best, must yeild upon composition. For when our Shippes are come away, there are still too many French, though our King should victuall & man out Soubiez with his 14 sayle in our Harbours. Yet Master Boswell tells mee that our Shippes will not be yeild'd up.23

Still the preparations of new Shipping goes forward att Chattam; and Beeves are knockd downe very thicke att the Slaughter-house; but I see

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20 Due to the bad weather on the voyage home the fleet had been widely scattered; by 8 December Glanville estimated that only 5 or 6 ships were left with the Anne Royal, Cecill's flagship; ibid., p. 117. For Cecill's arrival at Kinsale see above, p. 123 n. 9. PRO SP16/12/43 [folios 71r–72r] is a list of the ships that had returned to various West Country ports by 23 December 1625: thirty-three to Plymouth, eleven to Dartmouth, one to Falmouth and two to St. Ives.

21 The missing text on lines 52–53 is taken from C. and T., i. 77.

22 Before the arrival of the fleet at Cadiz it had been debated whether to enter the Mediterranean and attack Malaga or Gibraltar (the "Straytes" of line 54); Cadiz, pp. 33–34.

23 For these matters see above, p. 135 n. 24. Soubise's twenty-five remaining ships (according to a list drawn up by John Pennington on 17 January, PRO SP16/18/75 (1) [folio 104r]) had fled to England after his defeat off the Île d'Oléron in September 1625. It was proposed to re-equip them for use against the French; SP16/18/75 [folio 101r]; Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament', pp. 250–51, 253, 260. Boswell was wrong to assume the ships would not be returned, however; ibid., p. 264.
no possibility of a dispatch till April.24

The defeat which Brunswicke gave to Tilly was but of 6 Troopes of Horse and yt was done by an Ambush. Brunswicke's Secretary is now att the Court, He is a Scotishman.25

The sight of the Coronation will not be worthy of your Journey to London, for the King rides not in State through the Citty untill May. But the Knighthood of the Bath hath a great solemnity belonging to yt; of which Order there are 80 to be made on Munday next; and They are to be witnesses to the Coronation of his Majesty. Sir Francis Steward was one att the Enstallinge of Prince Henry, He hath related unto mee the solemnity.26

Master Boswell wishd mee to acquaint you with the Affayres of the Scottish Counsell; uppon the Information of the Lord Maxwell They were sent for; The King demaunds now att last, the Restitution of such Church-Lands onely as the King his Father granted in his minority: but the Counsell cannott restore them, yt must be done by Parlaiment. The Lord Maxwell allso desires to be Lord President of theyre Counsell, but They absolutely refuse him as a Romish Catholique. Here They are still; when They retoume to Scouland I knowe not. They arc very stout Gentlemen, but The Bishops have falln off from them.27

The Generall of the late Fleete is att Wimbledon with his Lady; and imputes the blame to Captain Love; He hath not bee at Court as yet.28

Sir I have bee with your uncle in ***** who telles mee that He was

24 Salvetti reported on 3/13 February that "It is believed that both [the new fleet and that which went to Cadiz] will be ready for sea in April next"; HMC Skrine, p. 45.
25 See above, p.123 n. 4; p. 133 n. 18. I have not identified Brunswick's secretary.
26 Only 58 new Knights of the Bath were created on Wednesday 1 February, not as reported here. They are listed in PRO SP16/20/18 [folio 74r–v], 19 [folio 76r–v] and in Shaw, i. 160–63; see below, p. 142 n. 6. Sir Francis Stewart had been one of twenty-six Knights created on 2 June 1610, the date of Prince Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales; ibid., pp. 157–58. For the (eventually cancelled) royal entry into London see above, p.127 n. 1.
27 See above, p. 141 n. 14 for the "Scottish buisines". In the meetings between Charles and the Scottish councillors Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews and Bishop Lindsay of Ross had been supporters of the proposed reforms in opposition to the Earl of Mar and his colleagues, which probably explains the reference in lines 89–90; HMC M. & K., pp. 134, 136, 139, 144.
28 This report of Wimbledon's return to England was premature, as he did not return to London until 4 March; McClure, ii. 629.
in the Countrey from Midsommer T***** untill a moneth before Christmas; He sayth, that He hath discharged £200 of his debts, and that He oweth butt £**. He would pay your money in 3 yeares, butt that you must have no better security; or that your Bond allowed no better. He hath beene sicke 3 weekes, & I...[7 or 8 words illegible]. It (is) pity that He...

Your Observant Pupill [signature illegible] January 27 1625 [f/26]

Textual Notes: line 59] Rumour upon of our MS.
line 73] dispatch for— till MS.
line 81] Sir Francis Steward was MS.
line 100] A continuation in the margin.

29 For the debts owed to Mead by his uncles George and John see the Introduction, pp. 27-30. While Mead was prepared to send Styles’s letter directly to Dalham this passage was very heavily deleted, hence the number of gaps in my text.
Worthy Sir,

Ile begin first with my reckonings

Historie of Waldenses------------------3----0 } I sent last week
Last Statutes---------------------------1----6 }
Thanksgiving for ceasing of }------0---4 } I send now
 Plague -------------------------------
Money-monger--------------------------0---2 }

I would have sent you the Proclamation for Thanksgiving but that it was gone afore I was aware. Goodwins Hebrew Antiquities I cannot yet gett: it is a book hard now to come by.\(^1\)

My pupil sent a Bill last week, as I now understand loose & not enclosed in any lettre. I chid him for it.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) For the Waldensian history, the statutes, and “Goodwin”, see above, p. 144 n. 24; for the proclamation, p. 146 n. 10. The other books sent by Mead are STC 16542 and STC 242095; see Appendix I.

\(^2\) See above, p. 29 lines 39–42.
I would have gotten the Fast book, Thanksgiving for Plague, Powder-treason, Articles, Canons, bound together but there is 2 more. For Gowry, & King James his Initium Regni I knew not your mind; would you have them bound too? As I heare from you, I will do.\(^3\) Burialles February 2. 125. Plague 4 in four Parishes.

Now to our Newes.

The Doctor writes January 27 as followeth.

That the Danish hold their owne against the Imperiellists, yea & gett grownd. That Brunswick in the defeat he gave, took Colalto the Italian Colonell prisoner.\(^4\) That the King of Sweden hath now at length taken those 2 strong frontire Townes of Livonia, Pirsen & Matteren to the no small

\(^a\): I suspect the continuation in the Bill I sent you because I committed an error in mine but (if it be not) it should be thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 19</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\) Apart from the plague service, the other texts Mead mentions in lines 14–17 are, respectively, *STC* 16540, *STC* 16497, a copy of the 39 Articles of 1563 (possibly *STC* 21230, the 1625 edition) and one of the many editions of the Canons of 1603, *STC* 10069–10072.7. The two books Mead was unsure whether to send were a text of the "Gowry service" (most recent edition 1625, *STC* 16492) and the prayer to be read on the anniversary of James’s accession (most recent edition 1620, *STC* 16484). All these official publications in quarto clearly lent themselves to being bound together; see Appendix I, pp. 927–80.

\(^4\) *STC* 18507.177, The continuation. January 18, had reported on B4r that Christian of Brunswick had defeated and captured Colalto. This report (like so many others of this type) was false; Count Ramboald Collalto, President of the Imperial War Council, was Wallenstein’s second-in-command from October 1625 until the end of January 1626, returning to Vienna due to disagreements with his commander; G. Mann, *Wallenstein: his life narrated*, tr. C. Kessler (Frankfurt, 1971; 1976 translation), p. 299.
dammage of the King of Poland. That some Hungarian Lords have openly protested against the election & Coronation of the Emperors Son for their King, & 2 of them throwne out at the windows.

That the Spaniard much rejoyceth at the mishap of our Fleet, not to meet with his Silver, & is preparing for this Summer 3 great Armies, & 3 Armado's, one of them feared to intend either us or the Danish sound.

That the Dunkirks having kept some while Hollanders Prisoners, taken heretofore, they now lately in cold bloud tyed them back to back & flung them into the Sea. That 2 Hollanders had newly mett with & surprised a Dunkirk ship, & served all the men in like manner.

And fresher newes, That the Dunkirks great Vice admiral is fired, by a shott of the Hollanders into their Gunner-roome, & sunk with 200 men in her.

b This newes is since generally confirmed, but with difference of reports, how she was sett on fire, some say An Englishman whom they held prisoner had misused, taking his time, whilst they were busie, fired the powder & blew up himselfe, & them all.

b: She carried 36 brasse pieces besides Iron: of above 800 tunne.

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5 It is probable that the fortress towns of Birze and Mitau, on the border of Livonia and Kurland (roughly equivalent to modern Latvia and Lithuania) are being referred to here, but if so their capture by Gustavus was very old news. They had been taken on 25 August/4 September and 24 September/4 October 1625 respectively; Roberts, i. 247. Meddus was, however, correct in adding that possession of these towns gave the Swedish a good base for further attacks on Polish territory; ibid., pp. 247–48.

6 Some weeks earlier Sir Robert Anstruther had written from Hamburg that “wee have here certaine advertisement, that the Emperors sonne is chosen, and accepted King of Hungary”; PRO SP75/7/folio 4r. The rumour proved false; lines 29–30 were perhaps inspired by the Defenestration of Prague in 1618.

7 The Mantuan Ambassador at Madrid had reported in December 1625 that the Spanish meant “to fit out a great fleet against England”; Reade, ii. 535. Fears of a Spanish invasion of England persisted throughout the spring and summer of 1626: see for instance STC 10817, A relation of a new league made by the Emperour of Germany...unto all which is added: the discoverie of a new Spanish Armado, threatening with fire and sword to invade England (1626), C1r–C3v.

8 See above, p. 123 n. 8.
That the Rochellors have given a defeat to the
Kings forces by Land. & some say taken a Fort in the
Iland of Oleron, whereby they have gained for a while, if
they can keep it, some ingresse & egress.\(^9\)

I doubt of this last. But for French newes
the next lettre which followes, will better enforme us.

Another London ditto.

I heare from Paris, that our Ambassadors arrived there
the 8\(^{th}\) past, entred privatly, onely with their owne traine
& some few others; though in the coaches of Duc de Chevreuse
& the Cardinal de Richelieu: but the next day returned
a mile back (unto la Chappelle) where they were feasted
& after dinner returned with sollemnity & that night
had audience of the King: but I do not heare yet
of Sending back or dismissing our Shippes; accommodation
of the warres against the Protestants: or Confirmation
of the League against Spaine.\(^11\)

Some jealousies & displeasure are risen to that
height between the Duke of Savoy & the Constable of France
that Monsieur Crequi the Constables Son in law, is coming
to Paris to relate by word, what they will not trust
to Paper against the sayd Duke: And the Dukes Son II
Principe Tomaso likewise is expected, to contest in his
Fathers behalfe.\(^12\)

\(^9\) On 21 January Sir John Hippesley wrote to Buckingham of a report that “the greatest Ships the Arch
duchis hathe” was blown up on 18/28 January; PRO SP16/19/17 (folio 28r). Rubens also reported the
incident on 5/15 February; Magurn, p. 128.

\(^10\) I have not traced this rumour.

\(^11\) For an account of the reception of the English Ambassadors see PRO SP101/10 (bundle 13)folio 1r–v,
Paris newsletter of 13/23 January; Clarke, p. 133; Gardiner, vi. 43 and above p. 135 n. 24.

\(^12\) François de Bonne, Duc de Lesdiguières, had become Constable of France on abjuring his Protestant faith
in 1622. Charles I de Créqui was the Constable’s heir, having married his daughter in 1611; D. Parker, La
Although I have not found any reference to disagreements between Charles Emmanuel of Savoy and
The Duc D'Alvyn Governor of Aulny (where Rochell stands) & Xantonge, approaching to the Towne with some 4 or 5000 men, was mett with by the Inhabitants; in which conflict he lost above 200; amongst whom 7 or 8 of his neare freinds of good account; his whole Army repulsed, with losse of 20 Rochellers: Neither is there any likelyhood of other then warres, all Languedoc being already in armes, & often skirrhing; the Protestants having learned by the Infraction of the accord of Montpellier to unite themselves, & not to trust their adversaries, or be sleepye & negligent in necessaries of defence: besides with what hast they can to advance themselves in surprising of Townes &c: having taken 2 or 3 more very lately.\footnote{13}

Thus farre that lettre.

The Coronation of the King was \footnote{on Thursday}^{80}, (as passengers yesterday from London tell us. But private, the King went to Westminster Church by water. The Queene was not crown'd, but stood at \footnote{a}^{85} a \footnote{window in the meane time} a\footnote{looking on}^{90}, & hir Ladyes frisking & danesing in the roome. \&c. God grant his Majestie a happie raigne.\footnote{14}

\footnotetext[13]{The peace of Montpellier was signed on 9/19 October 1622 and had ended (for the time being) the conflict between Louis and the Huguenots. Under the terms of the treaty Louis had promised that all royal forts in the vicinity of La Rochelle (especially Fort Louis, which threatened the harbour of the city) would be destroyed. The failure to perform this had led to increased tension between the two parties and was an important reason for the resumption of the war; Parker, \textit{La Rochelle}, pp. 13, 32, 38; Cogswell, ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, p. 252.}

\footnotetext[14]{The refusal of the Queen to attend Charles's coronation reflected the strained relations between them at this time, due principally to the question of religion, the composition of her household and (according to the English) the interference of the French Ambassador, Jean de Varinieres, Marquis de Blainville; Gardiner, vi. 48–49; Russell, \textit{Parliaments}, pp. 263–64; below, p. 133 n. 6. Blainville had been present with her at the house of Sir Abraham Williams “neere the Gate–House of the Pallace–yard” where “She had a}
A Scottish gentleman telles the Story of the Scottish buisines from the beginning, thus.

My Lord Maxwell in the beginning of the last yeare went to the Jubilie at Rome, & there received the Popes speciall benediction & other favours: which the Councell of Scotland hearing, sett forth, a kind of banne or proscription against him as going out of the Kingdome without leave. But upon the death of King James he came againe for England & by the Dukes meanes, whose kinswoman he had married, gott a pardon from our now King; and his Majestie being to send into Scotland to assemble the States for a contribution of moneys & taking order for some ships to wait upon the Dunkirks; my Lord Maxwell by the meanes aforesayd, obtained not onely to be joyned in Commission with the Earle of Annan but to be designed President of the Councell of Scotland which the Councell hearing by their freinds in England met together often to consult what was to be done & to make mutuall promise to stick close together & maintaine, their former act, & refuse the Commission. And for the better declining thereof by making it uselesse they send to all the cheif Townes in Scotland, to signifie, what was a coming, & to advise them with all speed to send in their moneys & taken order for the buisines afore named, that the Kings demands might be satisfied afore the Commissioners came.

The Townes obeyed instantly, & all was performed

view of the King in his passage from Westminster Hall, to the Church, and back againe"; Sir J. Finet, Finetti Philoxenis: som choice observations of Sir John Finet knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the reception, and precedence...of forren Ambassadors in England, ed. J. Howell (1656), M1v. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd added that Henrietta "was not crowned, because theyr (C)hurche holdes the Sacring to be a spirituall Act, and thereforre allowes noe such authoritye to any of our Bishops"; PRO SP16/20/23 (folio 83r).

15 Nithsdale had in fact gone to Rome in 1624 to obtain Urban VIII’s special dispensation for Prince Charles to marry Henrietta Maria; GEC, ix. 556.
by the time my Lord Maxwell came: who entring into the Councell, they refused to admit him as divers waies unable of such autioritie, & signifyed the Kings demands were already fullfilled before their coming. In the meane time they send into England to give his Majestie satisfaction who seemed to rest contented with their answere.

My Lord seeing this posts back into England; but finding the Duke gone to the Hague, postes after him into Holland, who being returned, the King appeared suddenly altered & greatly incensed, & sends for the Councell of Scotland to Court: who as they came downe, undersending the Duke to be at Burghley invited him to dinner, & dealt about their buisines; which he promised should be taken up to their consentment, but (as they say) in the meane time sent privily to Court to marre their welcome. Besides the former demandes, which were easily granted the Commissiores were also to demand the Restitution of the Church Lands to the Crowne, which the King as yet stands upon, at least those passed away in his Fathers minoritie. This together with the odiousnes of the person in Authoritie, putts the Scotts hard to it, & God grant their Actions be more loyall then I heare some of their language is.16

Thus in (hast) with my best respect I rest & am

Christys Colledg
February 4

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Pardon my scribling. I was in hast & have written much.

Textual Notes: line 16] & the King MS.

17 For this "Scottish buisines" see above, pp. 14-18.
line 22, their] altered from "there".
line 34] out of ^ at ^ the MS.
line 37] preparing agains MS.
line 79] Rochell -standes stands MS.
line 89] in the necessaries MS.
line 94] was yesterday ^ on Thursday ^ MS.
line 119] promise each to MS.
line 123] & for to MS.
line 140] & dealt dealt MS.
His Majesties Lettre to the Lord Digby  

We have received your lettre addressed to us by Buckingham, & we cannot but wonder, that you should through forgetfullnes make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly capable of it; when you know, what your behaviour in Spaine deserved of us, which you are to examine by the observation we made & know.\(^2\) You will remember, at our first coming into Spaine, taking upon you to be so wise, as to forsee our intentions to change our Religion, you were so farre from dissuading us, that you offered your service & sinceritie to concurre in it; & in many other conferences pressing to shew how convenient it was for us to become a Romane Catholick, it being impossible in your opinion to doe any great action otherwise:\(^3\) How much wrong, disadvantage & disservice you did to the Treaty & unto the right & interest of our deare brother & Sister & their children: What disadvantage, inconvenience & hazard you entangled us in by your artificies, putting off & deluding our returne home: The great estimation you made of that State, & the vile price you set this Kingdome at, still maintaining, that we under colour of friendship to Spaine did what was in our power against them; which you sayd, they knew very well: And lastly your approving of those conditions, that our Nephew should be brought up in the Emperors Court; to which Sir Walter

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\(^1\) Mead had once again forgotten that John Digby had been the Earl of Bristol since 1622; see above, p. 4c n. 11.

\(^2\) In January 1625/26 The Earl of Bristol had written to Buckingham and Charles in which he had (according to another letter sent to Conway on the 12th) "presumed against this happye tyme of his Majesties Coronation to bee an humble suitor unto his Majestie for his favour"; PRO SP16/18/34, quoted by S. R. Gardiner (ed.), The Earl of Bristol's defence of his negociations in Spain (1871), p. xxix.

\(^3\) Lines 7–14, "You...otherwise", was the substance of the Crown's eighth charge against Bristol delivered on 6 May; PP 1626, I. 361.
Ashton then sayd, he durst not give his consent for feare of his head;4 you replying to him, that without some such great Action, neither marriage, nor peace would be had.

Given at our Palace at Westminster the 20th day of January, in the First yeare of our Raigne.5

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4 The proposal to send Frederick’s son to be educated at the Imperial Court became the ninth charge against Bristol; ibid., p. 362; see also Gardiner, v. 105–06, 108.

5 The placing of this letter is conjectural. It is wrongly ordered in H390, being included among the correspondence for 1627 which cannot be correct, as the first regnal year of Charles I ended on 26 March 1626; Cheyney, p. 26. (This explains the massive discrepancy in the foliation). There is a draft copy of this letter with alterations in Charles’s own hand among the Conway Papers (PRO SP16/523/18 [folio 24r]) and a damaged copy of the final version among the State Papers for January 1626, PRO SP16/18/106 [folio 154v] (printed in Gardiner, The Earl of Bristol’s defence, p. xxx). As Mead made no reference to sending this item the date on which Sir Martin received it is unknown; I have assumed Mead saw a copy soon after 20 January 1625/26, but it could perhaps have been sent in May of that year, when the trial of the Earl of Bristol was “headline news” and documents relating to it would, no doubt, have been in considerable demand.
Sir/

I received yours as I was going to write. Your heavie exordium, though it revived my greife, was no newes unto me, having heard thereof on Tuesday. But there must be a time, come it later or sooner, when not onely our freinds must part from us, but we our selves from them. God give us patience for the one; & make us ready to entertaine the other.¹

The most of our last weeks newes was of the Coronation, but Master Dew's giving you so largely,² I shall need onely mention what he omitted, viz as followeth.

London February 3

The Queene would not by any means be present in the Church, to see the sollemnities & cerimonies, though she was offered to have a place made fitt for her. But took a chamber at the Palace gate, where she might behold them going & returning.³

It was one of the most punctuall Coronations since the Conquest.⁴ One prayer therein was used, which hath bin omitted since Henry the 6th his time. Edward 3 had it, & some other both Norman, & Saxon Kings: It understands the King not to be meerly Layck, but a mixt person. The wordes or some of the words are these Obtineat gratiam huic populo, sicut Aaron in tabernaculo, Elizeus in fluvio,

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¹ I have not identified the person in question.
² Simonds D'Ewes's account is now H383, folio 24r–v, sent to Mead to be forwarded to Sir Martin.
³ Henrietta had objected to being crowned Queen by Protestant bishops; Finet, M2r; see also PRO SP16/20/23 [folio 83r]; CSPV 1625–26, p. 321.
⁴ According to PRO SP16/20/12 [folios 19v, 21r], on 2 February Charles entered Westminster Abbey at 10am and left at 3pm. It was also reported that "the requirements of other circumstances [had] cut down everything" to do with the coronation; CSPV 1625–26, p. 321.
Zacharias in Templo; Sit Petrus in clave, Paulus in dogmate &c &c.\(^5\)

Of the Knights of the Bath, the First was the Earle of Denbigh his Son, a Vicount, next the Lord Strange &c. Two of them were children, The Lord Buckhurst, the Earle of Dorsets Son, of 4 or 5 yeares old; & My Lord of Waldens eldest Son of some 2 yeares, brought in his Lady mothers armes.\(^6\)

Letters are come this week out of France, with newes of a peace to be concluded betweene that King & his Subjects of the Religion, & that our Ships shalbe rendred back againe.

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\(^5\) I have not traced this prayer ("May he win the love of this nation like Aaron at the tabernacle, like Eliasha at the river and like Zachariah at the Temple. May he be a Peter in judgement and a Paul in teaching &c &c") in either the State Papers Domestic describing the ceremony (PRO SP16/20/12 [folios 19r–21v], 13 [folios 22r–43v], 15 [folios 34r–69v]) or in C. Wordsworth, The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First of England at Westminster, 2 Florida 1625/26 (1892). (I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for preparing this translation).

\(^6\) In a list of the Knights of the Bath created on 1 February 1625/26 the first is George Feilding, second son of the Earl of Denbigh; the second James Stanley, son and heir of the 6th Earl of Derby; PRO SP16/20/19 [folio 76r–v], on 76r; see also Shaw, i. 160; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV: The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle, volume 1, ed. Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte (1888), p. 476. (Stanley was created K. B. under the title of Lord Strange even though he was strictly not entitled to it, the Barony of Strange having fallen into abeyance in 1594; GEC, iv, 212, 214). James Howard, son of Theophilus, Lord Walden (seventeenth in the list), is referred to in lines 29–31 although he was nearly six years old when he received his knighthood; PRO SP16/20/19 [folio 76r]; Shaw, Knights, i. 159; GEC, xii (pt. 1). 468. The inclusion of Richard, Lord Buckhurst (eldest son of the Earl of Dorset) in this list was in error.
Yea some say the French Ambassador, yesterday received the Articles & conditions printed. My Lord of Holdemes is dead, & hath left behind him in money 20 thousand pound.

In the end of the last week & beginning of this, there was a constant report both in Court & City, That Generall Wimbledon's Secretarie had stabb'd Captain Love in his Lords presence, that he was dead thereof. But now it is sayd to be untrue.

Yet we have at Cambridge a fresh report but whether the relics of the old rumor or new confirmation, I know not.

Master Clavell a gentleman a knights eldest Son, a

a: Alius.
b: Alius.
c: In Ireland.

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7 Negotiations between Louis XIII and the Huguenots, involving the mediation of the English Ambassadors Lord Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton had led to the Peace of Fontainebleau, signed on 26 January/5 February and ratified on 10/20 March by the Protestant communities in southern and south-western France. The articles of the peace are printed in J. Richer and T. Renaudot (eds.), *Mercure François: ou, suite de l'Histoire de notre temps, sous le Regne du Tres-Chrestien Roy de France & de Navarre, Louys XIII [-XIV]*, 25 vols (Paris, 1612-48), xi. 119–20 (second pagination: the page numbering of this volume runs from 1–1181, describing the events of 1625; it then begins again at page 1 and continues to page 143, relating the events of January – March 1625/26). Although the treaty ended the fighting it represented a weakening of the position of La Rochelle, and Charles was very angry at the terms to which his ambassadors had agreed, including Louis's right to garrison the islands of Rhé and Oléron off the coast of La Rochelle; PRO SP16/20/23 [folio 83r]; SP16/23/30 [folio 45v]; Clarke, pp. 134–35; Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament', pp. 261–62; R. J. Knecht, *Richelieu* (Harlow, 1991), p. 74. In adding "Alius" in the margin Mead indicated that lines 35–36 and 39–42 had come from another source (or sources).

8 John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, created Earl of Holderness on 22 January 1620/21. The Earl of Clare attended his funeral on 2 March and reported a rumour that Ramsay had left his widow Martha £1500 or £1600 per annum and £10,000 in cash; GEC, vi. 534; Holles, ii. 322.

9 Wimbledon's secretary was John Glanville; this false rumour must have been similar to that reported by John Pennington to Buckingham on 18 February: "Here is a generall report that the Master of the Anne Royall [William Cooke] hath killed Sir Thomas Love"; PRO SP16/21/33 [folio 51r].
great highway robber & of Posts was together with a
Souldier his companion arraigned [&] condemned on Monday last
(January 30) at the Kings bench barre. He pleaded for himselfe
that he never had stricken or wounded any man, never
taken any thing from their bodyes as ringes &c never
cutt their girts or saddles, or done them whom he robbed any
corporall violence. He was with his companion reprived
& sent these following verses to the King for mercy &
hath obtained it.

I that have rob'd so oft am now bid stand,
Death & the Law assault me, & demand
My life & meanes; I ne're di'd men so,
But having ta'ne their money, let them go.
Yet must I dye, & is there no releife?
The King of Kings, had mercy on a theife.
So may our gracious King too, if he please,
Without his Councell grant me a release.
God is his precedent, & men shall see,
His mercy go beyond severity.  

I have not yet seene the Bill, & so I know not
the generall summe of Burialls, but the Plague is 10; which
I am sorry to heare, it being the fatall number of a
rising plague. But God forbid, it should so fall out.
We talk much here, that the plague is dangerously broken
out at Linton. There died the former week at Grantham
in Lyncolnshire 10.

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10 John Clavell’s pardon, “for all felonies and robberies...with a clause for his banishment before the 1st
of August” was dated 28 April; Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1625–26, ed. J. Bruce (1858), p. 566.
11 On 10 February Salvetti wrote that the plague was spreading again, which proved false; HMC Shrine, p.
46.
12 The Earl of Clare referred to “the plague being revyved at Grantham” on the same day as Mead; Holles,
i. 322.
I received by Parkers man £5 2½ - 6d & 5½ for books. 13 Because I heard not from you, I putt to binding onely, Powder treason. 2. Fast book. 3. Thanksgiving for Plague ceasing. 4. Articles. 5. Canons. Leaving out Gowrie, & that for King James his day; which have the whole service in them both of them & neither I suppose, will hereafter be used. If you like not this, I will have it my selfe, & provide you another. 14

Doctor Goodg is dead in the Country, & Doctor Smith a man of relations to Audley end house (who dispose) hath the Mastership of Magdalen. 15 Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am Yours most ready to be Christis Colledg commanded Joseph

February 11 Mead

The Parlament began on Munday, His Majestie spake little sayd he loved not to heare him selfe speak, but would revive the old custome, for the Lord Keeper to be the Kings mouth to the House. 16

My Lord Keeper was not long; much complementall, but reall onely, That his Majestie had now assembled them, to give God thanks together with them, for his mercy in taking away the sicknes, & to enquire of the grievances of the Commonwealth, that he might reforme them, &c, but no word or intimation of money. 17

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13 The larger sum was in respect of John Stuteville’s latest bill; the smaller was for the four items sent the previous week. See above, p. 129 n. 10; p. 144 n. 24; p. 152 n. 3.
14 For these titles see p. 152 n. 3 above.
15 Barnaby Goche had been Master of Magdalen since 1604. His successor was Henry Smith; Venn, ii. 231; iv. 99. Lines 85-84 refer to the right traditionally enjoyed by the owner of Audley End house to nominate the Master of Magdalen (the family of the College’s founder, Thomas, Lord Audley, had lived there); Morgan, p. 378. As the current occupant was the Duke of Buckingham, however, Mead’s comment can equally be seen as a recognition of the Duke’s influence over patronage in the University.
16 For Charles’s speech of Monday 6 February see PP 1626, i. 20.
17 Ibid., pp. 20–22. Cogswell, ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, pp. 262–63 has interpreted Coventry’s “ceremonious speech” as in effect leaving both houses “without an agenda” due to the government’s
On Sunday, the day of thanksgiving at London, the Bishop of London preached at Paules Crosse 2 hours & a halfe commended his Majestie highly both for his religious apprehension of Gods hand in the Sicknes time, of which he gave speciall instances: & likewise for his ordinarie devotion, publick & private at the Court &c.¹⁸

All this from one that came from London on Wednesday.

Textual Notes: line 4] my sorrow ^ greife ^ MS.
line 5] having heard heard MS.
line 18, was] altered from "whs".
between lines 46–47] Idem—There are two messengers; some say Herards sent for MS.
line 52, [&] at MS.
line 53, pleaded] altered from "pleased".
line 62] I me're d us'd MS.
line 75, died] altered from "diey".
line 83] neither of 1 MS.
lines 85–91, Doctor Goodg...Mead] a continuation of the letter in the margin.
H390, folio 12r] Mead added the news on this page as a postscript to his letter.
lines 99–100, the Commonwealth] their Commonwealth MS.

difficulties over its policy towards France; for a somewhat different view, see Russell, Parliaments, p. 274.
Lines 96–97 indicate the view taken by Mead's source of Coventry's effort: more style than substance.
¹⁸ I have not traced this sermon.
Worthy Sir,

You shall receive at this time your Ecclesiastical book, if you like it, for Gowry & King James his coming to the Crowne are not therein. If you will have one with them, send back this & I will have it myself.

The Contents & price are thus:

- Powder treason — 0—6
- Fast book — 1—0
- Thanksgiving & — 0—4
- Articles — 0—4
- Canons — 1—0
- Binding — 1—4
- Ribban — 0—6

Summe 5—0

With this I send you two other books Doctor Halles Sermon at Court, & a Relation of Todos together 6d more.

You shall receive likewise what Master Dewes sent me to lend you a sight of. It came to my hands but on Munday else you should have had it sooner.

All — 5s —6d.

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1 See above, p. 152, n. 3.
2 The first book is STC 12713; the second is perhaps STC 1042 or 1043. See Appendix 1.
3 Simonds D'Ewes had evidently sent another of his letters to Dalham via Cambridge.
The Burials & Plague the
2 last weeks thus.

February 9 (Burials 160)

(Plague 10 in Anne)  

b: (Blackfriers b 31 James Gar) without (Gyles Cripple 1)
within (Likhith 11 Lothbury 21 ) walles (Shorditch — 1)
walles (Mary Aldermanbury 1) (Mary Whitechapp 1)

February 16 (Burials 146)

(Plague 10)

within (Blackfriers againe 3) without (Clement Templebarre 3)
walles (Mary Staynings 1) walles (Martin Feilds — 1)
(Clerkenwell — 1)
(Whitechapp — 1.4)

For other newes Such as we had of Germany or France
you shall find all in the Corranto I send you.5

For Italy my lettre last Saturday sayes, That the Duke of Savoy
hath 12 000 foot & 2000 horse in readines to bestow upon his
freinds in Italy: and his Son the Prince of Piemont is at Paris
to sollicite, that his Father himselfe may command in cheife both
these (which are his owne) & such other forces, as it shall
please that King to send unto them.6

The Switzers have sent that Duke 4000 foot & 300
horse, & offered France to confederate de novo against Spaine

b: In one house tis sayd.

4 Most of these parishes (St. Anne Blackfriers, St. Margaret Lothbury, St Giles Cripplegate, St. Mary Whitechapel, St. Mary Staining, St. Martin-in-the-Fields and St. James Clerkenwell) have been identified by Slack as subject to high plague mortality: Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England, pp. 150, 152, 160-63, 171. The parish within the walls mentioned on lines 25-26 is St. James Garlickhithe.

5 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II below.

6 For this see above, p. 154 n. 12.
& the House of Austrich, which cometh from the whole body.7
Spaine prepares against this next sommer both for Sea &
land. And the Kings Ships at Chattam, will be ready by the
latter end of March.8

Captain Love is nor slayne nor wounded nor dead, what[=]nsoever was reported, but was expected (so lettres the former week)
with his Generall dayly in London; being then as some
supposed, come to Plymouth.

On Munday the first day of Parlament, halfe the
commons were not come. The King sayd to them, he was
no Orator, but desired to be known by his actions not by
his words.9 The next day Tuesday Sir Henneage Finch
the Speaker was sworn.10 Doctor Bargrave preached before
the house.11 The first Bill putt up was for the enquirie
after all moneys, which the devotion of men through the
whole Kingdome, hath bestowed for the repairing of Churches
Highways Bridges, &c.12 Thus they say Pauls Church for
hir repaires may challenge £60,000 out of the Chamber of
London. I heare of a speach also made that week

7 François, Duc de Bassompierre, had gone on an embassy to the Swiss Cantons in November 1625 to
persuade them to join the French forces in the Valtelline for an attack on Spanish Italy. A newsletter writer
from Paris had reported on 24 January/3 February that he had persuaded to Swiss “to remaine firm to France,
excluding the house of Austria and Spaine, and denying them passage for their troopes through their
territories”; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 13)/folio 1r. Unfortunately for French diplomacy the Swiss did not
carry out their part of the bargain; Reade, ii. 561. For the importance of the Valtelline question, see above,
p. 131 n. 5.

8 As reported by Jonas Styles some three weeks earlier; see above, pp. 111-113.

9 See above, p. 145 n. 16.

10 Sir Henneage Finch was, in fact, sworn in on Wednesday 8 February; PP 1626, i. 27, 30.

11 Although William Laud preached at the opening of the session, I have not found any reference to Dr.
Isaac Bargrave’s doing so. He was, however, chosen by the Commons on 9 February (in preference to John
Donne) to preach at the communion to be held on Sunday 19 February: Gardiner, vi. 63-64; PP 1626, ii. 8, 10.

12 This refers to the “act to minister an oath to make true accounts of all general and public taxes, rates, and
collections”, introduced on 8 February; ibid., p. 5. The bill had been twice read in the previous Parliament:
it was contemporary practice on the day the new Speaker took his chair to read a Bill not passed in the
previous session; ibid., p. 5, n. 1; Russell, Parliaments, p. 275.
somewhat eagerly aiming at but not naming the Duke of Buckingham but it was not applauded, nor seemingly liked by the house. Some thought because unseasonable.  
This week's lettres come yesterday, say they are about mending Vicarages that they may be a competency wherein the King is said to have shewn him so far, that those who are against it, shall give him their reasons.  
A Bill also is talked of, for Pluralists, to allow their curate of the Benefice they reside not upon £50 per annum.  
Another Bill against Scandalous Ministers &c.  
Sir Edward Cook's business, they say, is thus ordered. Because they could not satisfy the King's desire, in making the Election a nullity, they have given him a dispensation to be absent during the Parliament.  
You must not believe, the Dunkirkers, have burnt Cromer in Norfolk: A Ship of theirs pursued an English bark thereabouts of 40 tunne, which rather then it would fall into their hands, having no other way adventured to Cromer over the Sands desperately & escaped danger; the Dunkirk thinking to follow them run upon the Sands, & the men were faine to abandon their ship, & get away in their flat bottoms. But the Barks alarm of a Dunkirt Ship so near, scarred them of the Towne mightily.
I had halfe written afore your lettre came. My pupill had provided him 2 dayes since a 3d paire of Stockings. Thus in hast with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady. I rest & am

Christ Colledge

February 18

Joseph Mead

My Desk stands still on the top of the Portall.

Textual Notes: line 13, Binding] Bindings MS.
lines 31–32, within wall[les] within wales MS.
line 33] James Garlickith MS.
line 71, give] given MS.
line 89] hesh had MS.

19 This purchase is recorded in CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 48r (folio incorrectly numbered 47).
20 Sir Martin had been rather forgetful; see above, p. 144 n. 23.
25 February 1626

Worthy Sir,

All things shall turn to the best unto them whom God loves. The temper of his afflicting hand, is for a pledge unto you that you are one of those & that this cross he sent you is a piece of his fatherly discipline, ad correctionem, non ad destructionem: He hath yet left you sufficient to subsist whereby you may gather, he meant not to destroy you; & yet he hath taken something from you, that you might know he hath an eye upon you, & would not have you forget him through continuall prosperitie. If you consider this as I know you do, your losse will become your gaine, which is an improvement beyond all compare. Which the blessing of God Almighty send you. & give you an heart to observe his providence in bringing the same to passe, & ^a to ^a use his present admonition so as to be capable of that comfortable happines.1

For news I can heare no more forraine, then the last Corrante afforded you.2

Nor can I heare any thing almost what they do in Parlament of late. In the beginning I am informed, that Sir John Eliot Vice-admirall for Devonshire, propounded the raising of an Estate for the Kings warres, that he might neither borrow upon credit nor upon Jewells: But would have desired there might an Account be given for all the moneys given in Parlament since the 12 of King James

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1 I have not identified the loss suffered by Sir Martin that occasioned this "heavie exordium": "Ad correctionem, non ad destructionem" (line 7) = "to amend, not to ruin".

2 This was either the newsbook sent the previous week (see above, p. 149 n. 3) or, more probably, the following week's edition, of which no copy has survived. See Appendix II.
with some invectives against the Commissioners, whom he called
the Pretending sparsers of the Kings purse laying to their
charge the losse of thousands of mens lives, in our late
expeditions by land & Sea.3

That Sir Benjamin Rudyer spake next for the releife
of the poore & meanly provided clergie under impropriators,
urging 2 examples of Divines who were faine to keep Ale­
houses for meere want of meanes.4 And there was hope of
some good successe, if the Lawyiers stomack it not too
much who desire that every Minister convicted before
a Justice by 12 men to have bin once drunk should loose
his Living. That for Adultery & fornication, they
^ should ^ suffer death, & for tempting of a woman be deprived.
But the clergie hath bin defended by Sir Dudley Digges
& many others, who would have these Lawes universall, &
as great a punishment to be inflicted upon the Laitie, least
they might seeme partiall, & so they may be admitted.5

There hath bin some disagreement at Court be­
tween their Majesties by reason of the French Ambassador:
but after 3 dayes silence the King spake graciously to the
Queene, but forbad the Ambassador the Court; who there=
upon (February 10) removed to Greenwich;6 whereupon the King

3 For this speech see above, p. 140 n. 13. Mead was wrong in writing “12” on line 27; the correct figure was
“21”. Eliot had demanded a review of how the subsidies voted in the 21st regnal year of King James (which
ran from 24 March 1623 to 23 March 1624; Cheyney, p. 25) had been spent. The Commons had already
tried, in the session of 1625, to inquire into this subject, and later in the session of 1626 questioned the
Council of War on the matter; Proceedings in Parliament 1625, eds. M. Janasson and W. B. Bidwell (New

4 The two unfortunate ministers were resident in Lancashire; PP 1626, ii. 12, 15, 17 (where Rudyerd is
recorded as having spoken before Eliot; Mead got the two speeches in the wrong order); PRO SP16/21/2
(folio 2r).

5 On 13 February it was proposed that any misdemeanour in a minister should be attested “by the oath of 12
men” and that an adulterous clergyman should lose his living “and the patron may present as if they [the
accused] were dead”; PP 1626, ii. 26. For Digges’s opposition to this bill see Russell, Parliaments, p. 278.

6 The bad feeling generated by the French Ambassador Blainville due to his animosity towards Buckingham
and his insistence that Charles honour the terms of his marriage agreement (including its provision for a
wholly Catholic household for Henrietta Maria) had been apparent since his arrival in October 1625; CSPV
sent presently to all the Ports to stop all passages outward, & a messenger with letters into France. The Monday following (February 13) the Ambassador was remanded to his Lodging at Duresme house but of his £60 daily allowance he had 10 abated, because his Majestie saw it was not all well spent, the Ambassadors servants basely selling some there of.

It was news upon the Exchange yesterday was sennight, that our Merchants Ships & goods were againe arrested in France. And yesterday I heard the Parliament had taken the buisines into consideration; the French bringing proofe that some of our prizes were theirs & yet getting no satisfaction & our owne merchants which trade thither being like to be undone thereby.

The Persian Ambassador is come, & a freind of mine writes an odd passage. That one of the Comitie of the East Indie Company who was imployed unto him, reported that when Sir Robert Sherley came thither & expostulated, why he gave him not the respect due unto an elder Ambassador, The Persian demanded to see his Commission; which he producing, the Persian

1625–26, p. 198; Gardiner, vi. 27–29; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 264–66. For the argument between Charles and Henrietta on 6 February which led to the couple sleeping apart for two nights (and Charles’s refusal to see Blainville) see CSPV 1625–26, pp. 327, 329; Gardiner, vi. 55–57. It was noted that as a result Blainville had “refused the King’s diet, and betook him to his own, leaving the Lodging taken for him at Durham–House, and removing with the chief of his train to Greenwich”; Finet, M2v.

PRO SP16/21/17 [folio 21r–v] is an account of the arrest of Blainville’s secretary and an English Catholic as they attempted to carry letters to France.

The St. Peter of Le Havre (or Newhaven) had been arrested in September 1625 and detained on suspicion of carrying contraband goods to Spain. The ship was released by order of the the Court of Admiralty in January but rearrested on Buckingham’s orders on 4 February. It was widely believed that this seemingly arbitrary decision was the reason for the French taking action against English ships in France, and the case of the St Peter became one of the main grievances against Buckingham during the session; Gardiner, vi. 12, 40–43, 44–46, 65–67; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 278–81, 303.

Nukud Aly Beg. had arrived in England on 4 February and in London on the 19th; PRO SP16/20/25 [folio 89v]; Finet, M3r.
when he had seene it, gave him such a blow on the head as felled him to the ground: alledging it was a counterfeit & that he had abused the Sophie, & would have cutt his throat, had he not retyr'd himselfe.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} Sir Edward \textsuperscript{1} Cooks buisines was to be determined on Tuesday last, but I heare not what was done. Master Dewes (whose letter I send) doth I suppose informe you some what of the passages concerning it. But cannot of the event.\textsuperscript{10}

I received yours & the mony with thanks,\textsuperscript{11} & thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & my good Lady, I rest & am

Chirsts Colledg  
February 25  
commanded  
Joseph Mead

I received your former  
on Wednesday morning from Newmarket.  
I have not seene either of the  
Speeches you mention in your last.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} "Cooks buisines" had been extensively debated in the Commons on Tuesday 14 February, and a sub-committee of Privileges had been appointed to report on the matter on the following Tuesday, the day referred to by Mead. On 21 February John Selden made his report but the case was not finally resolved; \textit{PP 1626}, ii. 35–38, 39–42, 83–84.

\textsuperscript{11} The money (5s. 6d.) was for the books Mead had sent to Dalham the previous week; see above, p.14\textsuperscript{16} nn. 1–2.

\textsuperscript{12} These were presumably copies of speeches delivered in Parliament.
line 39] & forfeit his MS.
line 64] freind writes of MS.
line 68, the respect] altered from "that respect".
line 74] My-Lord ^ Sir Edward ^ MS.
line 79] yours ^ now & before ^ & the MS.
Sir,

I have but little to send you this week, whereof you had not the secon of my last. I leave where I then left.\(^1\)

On Tuesday (the day before the fast)\(^2\) the Lords presented their "Petition unto his Majestie. That whereas the Peeres & Nobilitie of this Kingdome have, heretofore used in courtesie to afford precedence according to their general rankes & degrees unto such of the Nobility of Scotland & Ireland, as being in titles of honour above them, have upon occasion resorted hither or remaining here in his Majesties service; which they are willing should be still observed, as a Civilitie tending to the greater honour of our Nation: now divers of the naturall borne subjects of this Kingdome, who both themselves & their families doe reside & have their chief estates & possessions amongst us, having of late bin created some Barons, some Viscounts some Earles within the Kingdomes of Scotland & Ireland, do by reason thereof claime as of right to take place & have precedence of the Peeres & Nobility of England & their children within this Realme &c. They therefore beseech his Majestie, that he will be pleased, according to the example of the best Princes &c & for the avoyding of all debate & contention, which upon this occasion might arise, either for the present or future, that some such course & order may be timely settled therein by his Majesties wisedome, as that thereby the inconvenience of his Majesties service might be prevented, & that the prejudice & disparagement of the Peeres & Nobilitie of this Kingdome may be redressed. These are the words of the petition so many as are materiall.

They delivered also at the same time a Paper of Reasons, which were too tedious to transcribe. I will contract or transcribe that which is most substantial l viz

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\(^1\) Mead broke his usual schedule by writing on a Tuesday but did not refer to the fact.

\(^2\) I have not traced this fast.
1. That it was new & not warranted by any ancient presidents
that Subjects of this Kingdome, whose habitations estates & possessions
are principally within this Realme, should have titles of honour
in other of his Majesties kingdomes, where they have small or no
estates of aboade.

2. That it might be cause of great discontentment to
the subjects in Ireland, that so great a number of those, that have
no estates to oblige them to the defence of that kingdome should
give voices in Parliament there to make lawes. Also it might be a
great danger in times of hazard of the losse of that kingdome
that so great a part of their Nobilitie had no residence there.

3. That it is of great disservice to his Majestic & this Country,
that those who live amongst us should by forraine titles seek
to exempt themselves from those services of trust & charge, which
others of as good birth & estate here undergoe dayly; whereby
it happeneth often, that either persons of good qualite are
either more frequently burthened, or the charge falles upon them
of meaner condition & lesse ability not without prejudice to
the service & discontentment of the persons, as also of losse to
his Majestie & greife to his subjects in those places where the honours
are given, that although they draw from his Majesties coffers,
yet they do not assist or helpe there to any necessarie charge or
contribution.

4. That it is conceived to be contrary to the fundamentall insti=
tutions of those kingdomes, that any should be invested
with an hereditary honour where he hath not an estate both to
oblige him & his, to the care & defence of the kingdome &
make him by that responsible to the justice of that place, where
his person is priviledged &c &c.

5. That it is a matter of great inconvenience to alter or
lessen the value of honour any way. &c. And that it is a
in no small degree derogatory to the very foundation of nobility
it selfe, that those that beare a title & claime a precedencie
before many of our nobilitie should fall so low in the peoples
eye & esteeme, as be dayly subject to arrests of their persons
& all other circumstances of disrespect, which the meanest subjects
here undergoe, being in the eye of the Law but Commoners
On Thursday (the day after the Fast) it was long
& strongly argued on both sides
as a preparatory to the business of Tonnage; whether they
should punish as delinquents, such as had his Majesties authority
& Commission for what they did. & at length it was resolved they should punish them,

Accordingly the next day Friday, they examined Sir John Worsenham & others of the Custome house & their
warrants from the King, which they found them to have exceeded. For whereas they had warrant only to commit the
persons of those that refused to pay tannage & Pondage,
over & above that they seized their goods. &c. The House, is said, to be not only resolved to punish them, but also
to see the merchants in general repossessed of their goods or
else to proceed no further in any other business.

Cousins was come to Towne; but what they have
done with him, I yet heare not. What I have now written
came last week. This week I have not yet heard anything
either by letter or report. I hope the gentlemen
now your guests (to whom I desire my service may be remembred)
will supply my defect.

By this time you may guess I have not much time
left; else I would have written to Sir Simonds Dewes: which
because I now cannot, I desire you would let him understand

3 There is an abridged version of the Lords' petition in Rushworth, i. Hh3r. Mead's use of quotation marks
in lines 6-26 and 31-66 suggests that he was transcribing verbatim from his source.
4 As Mead indicated on lines 85-86 that the material in the preceding paragraphs was based on the previous
Saturday's newsletters, the events described in lines 69-83 presumably took place on Thursday 16 and
Friday 17 February. I have not, however, found any reference to the examination of Sir John Wolstenholme
(of the Custom House) by the Commons, although the seizure of English goods in France and new
impositions on the wine trade were discussed by the Committee for Grievances on 15 and 17 February; PP
1626, ii. 47, 49-50, 63-64.
5 John Cosin was in London by the middle of January 1625/6; G. Omsby (ed.), The Correspondence of
John Cosin, D. D., 2 vols (Durham, 1869), i. 85-87.
6 Mead's use of D'Ewes's title here is puzzling as the latter was not knighted until 6 December 1626;
D'Ewes, Autobiography, i. 324-25.
as of my thankes for the papers he sent me; so that I con= eeive that phantasticall prophecie to be Williams the Lawyiers a Papist & executed for such & other like predictions & libellings in King James his time. For I find some things in this which I then heard of him at the time of his arraignement, & that the author is a Papist, I am sure.  

Thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & both my Ladies, I rest & am Christus Colledg

February 28  

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

I have sent you Sands. When you read the Epistle to the Reader; you may if you will, consider what that <et cetera> means in the third page & second line, yet &c. The price I think is 2£ - 4d or halfe a crowne.  

The Catalogue of all the Peeres & Baronets, I have not yet seene, & I doubt it comes to Towne but this night; if it be come already, I will send it, if the cheesman be not gone first.

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Textual Notes: line 4] seedes of in MS.  
lines 29-30] will ^ onely ^ contract it some of-it or transcribe MS.

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7 Williams, a Catholic lawyer, had written a book called Balaam's Ass and had been executed for seditious libel on 5 May 1619; PRO SP14/109/11 [folio 14r], 14 [folio 17r-v]. Given Mead's interest in prophetical literature of all sorts, that D'Ewea sent him such an item for his comments is not surprising.

8 This book has not been identified.

9 Probably STC 7744; see Appendix I.
line 55] tutions of these of those MS.
line 56, honour] honnour MS.
line 61] honour of any MS.
ibid. ] that it was ^ is ^ MS.
line 70] sides concerning the business of Tom MS.
line 117] if if it MS.
Worthie Sir,

I forgot the last week to acquaint you

with the Funerall Bill at London. Now you shall have both

together in the beginning, least I should forget it againe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burials</th>
<th>Plague</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 23</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Andrew Holborne.

If it would please God it might come twice to <0>
as it hath twice to <1> I would give over my continuation.

Our newes is very little either from abroad or home; I
never knew a Parlament so still. That which our last weeks
lettres afforded was this.

That on Tuesday (February 21) the Queene & hir

Ladies acted a Pastorall before the King, wherein hir selfe

had the greatest part, & repeated, as is sayd, 600

French verses by heart.¹

That there was a flying rumor, as though the peace

between the French King & his Protestants were broken againe

& that we had taken some Dunkirk shippes. But (sayd

a: London February 24

---

¹ The play, Racan’s Arsenice, had been planned as part of the Christmas festivities but was deferred until Shrove Tuesday, 21 February; PRO SP16/12/93 [folio 158v]; SP16/20/23 [folio 84r]; E. Veevers, Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and court entertainments (Cambridge, 1989), p. 34; McClure, ii. 630; see also CSPV 1625-26, pp. 345-46.
mine author) there was no certaintie at all of either.\(^2\)

That there was much ado, (& not without good cause) about some ships taken amongst our late prises in Autumn, & being challenged to be French were acquitted in our Court of Admiralty from being prise & nevertheless were afterward arrested againe; whereupon the French King hath arrested all our Merchants goods & ships, & sealed up their Counting houses, & it was like to marre all commerce & freindship betwixt us, unlesse it be well accommodated.\(^3\) The Duke frees himselfe thereof & casts the blame upon Sir Allen Apsley Lieutenant of the Tower & Sir John Epsley Governor of Dover Castle who were therefore on Thursday (February 23) on their knees for it in the House of Commons.\(^4\) And that one Master March a gentleman of the Dukes was there questioned & charged with some misdemeanour.\(^5\)

---

\(^{1}\) This was all last week brought.

\(^{b}\) I saw a lettre yesternight written the day before but no newes of the Parlament, nor sayd the writer could leame any more then that they sate close, & were about some matters of moment.

But he writes That there are 32 Ships men of warre (& most being of the late Fleet) now going out from Plymmouth

---

\(^2\) Mead’s source was correct to doubt this report. Several rumours of the failure of the peace of Fontainebleau reached London until the ratification of the Treaty in March; Cogswell, ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, p. 264. I have not identified the capture of Dunkirk ships.

\(^3\) This passage referred specifically to the Parliamentary investigation into the seizure of the St Peter of Newhaven, for which see above, p. 174 n. 9.

\(^4\) It was resolved on 22 February that Hippeley and Apsley should appear before the Commons over the St Peter business, but only the former did so on the 23rd; \(PP\ 1626\), ii. 88, 92, 98, 102–08.

\(^5\) Gabriel Marsh was Marshal of the Court of Admiralty and therefore one of Buckingham’s subordinates as Lord High Admiral; Appleby, p. 133. It was alleged in the Commons on 22 February that Marsh had been involved in the seizure of “£150 in pistolets” from the St Peter; \(PP\ 1626\), ii. 86; see also ibid., pp. 178, 181–82.
under the command of Captaine Pennington: They have no Landmen
but the number of Seamen doubled. Tis thought by the
place of their going out, that they pretend to visit the
oasts of Spaine, to see if they can fire any of the Ships
which are preparing for the great Armado they talk of
at Brussells.  

That there was coined & hath bin dispersed since the
Coronation (though not many) a silver coine of 18d value
having of the one side the Kings picture with his title
& on the reverse An arme coming out of a cloud
& holding a sword, with this motto Donec pax reddi=
ta terris.

There hath bin the 2 former weeks
on two designed dayes a Conference, about
the points of Predestination, Falling from grace
Libertie of the will in Doctor
Montageaus book. On the one side was Bishop Morton
& our Doctor Preston; on the other the Bishop of Rochester &
Deane White, Montegeau himselfe also present to expound
his owne meaning. The Auditors the Duke, Earles of
Lincolne Warwick, Pembrok, Lord Say & many other{s.}
What good they have done I know not; but Mont=
tegeaus part talke much of the successse on their side,
& that he that was brought in as a kind ^ of ^ challenger
on the contrary side to undertake Doctor White, was farre
short in satisfaction, & of ^ the ^ expectation of those Lords
who were supposed to have thrust him upon the buisines.
But I suppose more had a hand in it, whom no expe=r
ience will teach, how hazardfull are the events for

6 A fleet of about thirty ships had been gathered at Plymouth by Pennington during February, but they had
virtually no supplies and too few men to man them; see his reports, PRO SP16/21/33 (folio 49v), 80
(folios 119r–20r); SP16/22/33 (folio 45r–v); above, p. 139 n. 7. A list of twenty–nine ships under
Pennington’s command is now PRO SP16/22/33 (I) (folios 47r–48r).

7 This is the only reference I have found to a coin of 1s. 6d. value minted by any English monarch. Neither
the coin nor its motto (“until peace is restored to earth”) are listed in J. J. North and P. J. Preston–Morley,
The John G. Brooker Collection. Coins of Charles I (Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, volume 33,
1984).
the most part of such Conferences, where both parties stand for their credit, & each must stand or fall according to the favour, or prevailing inclination of the Auditors.  

While I was writing this last, I received your lettre, & my Desk with the speeches, For which I give you most respectfull thanks. Of my Lord Vaux who was this terme to have answered, but sued to the Parlament to have the priviledge of a Peere in Parlament time, & upon taking the oath of allegiance obtained it, I had heard of, but forgott to write it. Of my Lord Cook

8 These meetings were held on 11 and 17 February at Buckingham's residence, York House (hence their usual title, the "York House Conference") and were arranged to determine the orthodoxy of the published works of Richard Montagu. Apart from those mentioned by Mead, the Earls of Bridgewater, Carlisle, Dorset, Mulgrave and Sir John Coke were also present (Bridgewater, Dorset and Mulgrave only on the 17th). Divines of the two opposing parties debated Montagu's works: for the "Calvinists" Bishop Morton of Coventry and "our" Dr. John Preston, Master of Emmanuel College Cambridge (and successor to Mead's friend Laurence Chaderton); for Montagu, Bishop Buckeridge of Rochester and (on the 11th) Francis White, Dean of Carlisle and Dr. John Cosin. On the 17th Montagu himself was present. Although the actual points at issue were not, it appears, conclusively resolved Montagu was not condemned for his views as his opponents had hoped; his supporters claimed he had been vindicated. The Conference has usually been seen as the point at which the Duke (and Charles) decisively endorsed the "Durham House group" (represented at the meetings by Buckeridge) in opposition to the "Calvinist consensus" of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England, and thus initiated an ideological divide with far-reaching consequences. Thus, Tyacke has written that "The conference...marked the approximate point at which the circle of clerics patronized by Bishop Neile of Durham emerged as the effective spokesmen of the English Church"; N. R. N. Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists: the rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640 (Oxford, 1987), p. 180; see ibid., pp. 165–80 for a detailed account. Others have disagreed, however; P. White, Predestination, Policy, and Polemic (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 224–30.

9 Stuteville had remembered to send Mead's writing-desk left at Southwood Park. The speeches were probably those mentioned by Sir Martin; see above, p. 175 n. 12 and lines 91–92 below.

10 Edward Vaux, 4th Baron Vaux of Harrowden, was the head of a prominent Catholic family and had been imprisoned several times (he had been suspected of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot). In November 1625 he was again confined for resisting an attempt by the Deputy Lieutenants of Northamptonshire to search his house for weapons, but claimed privilege of Parliament (and freedom from arrest) in return for taking the Oath of Allegiance, which he did on 9 February. G. Anstruther, Vaux of Harrowden: a recusant family (Newport, Gwent, 1953), ch. 3; GEC, xii (pt. 2). 225; PP 1626, i. 38–41; Gardiner, vi. 109–11.
Master Dewes wrot the same to me, but of the King of Denmark's intent to give over, I have heard nothing of late but that a month agoe, some talked he was angrie for want of money which should come from us, & made some kind of threatening, but this was neither believed, nor seconded that ever I heard. The Speaches I desire leave to keep till next Saturday. My pupill is well. Thus with my best & wonted respect to your selfe & my good Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledg

Yours most ready to

March 4

be commanded Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 25] were acquired MS.
line 34] on Thursday before MS.
line 39] I say ^ saw ^ MS.
line 58] bin these the MS.
lines 59-60] about Montegea his points the MS.
line 61] will to refuse good in MS.
line 76] their that credit MS.
lines 93-97, Thus with...Mead] a continuation in the margin.

---

11 This is probably another reference to Sir Edward Coke's "buisines" (see above, p. 143 n. 21). The title given to Coke in line 85 perhaps referred to his former position as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Mead had done this before only to delete the reference; see the Textual Note for line 74 on p. 176 above.

12 Sir Henry Manners had heard a rumour that Christian IV was on the point of disbanding his army in the previous month; HMC Rutland, I. 476, quoted by Roberts, ii. 305, n. 1.
187

[Worthy Sir/]

I will begin first with the Funerall Bill at London, which in the whole is 142 & of the plague None. It is just a twelve-month since it was so. God be thanked for so happie a revolution. Forraine newes is yet dead. But for domestick, our last Saturdays lettres will enforme you as followeth.

London March 3

The busines of the French Ship called the Saint Peter of Newhaven, (which though shee were discharged by the Court of Admiraltie, was neverthelesse againe arrested by some of ours &c) much troubleth the whole State; as being like to prove, if not well accommodated, the cause of a breach, if not a warre betweene us. Quod Deus avertat.

The French King by sentence of the Parlament of Rouen & Renes hath arrested in his possession above the worth of 300 thousand pounds of our merchants goods, accompts moneys &c. Our Parlament is very sensible hereof, & hath spent a whole week, & labours still to find out

1 It has been estimated that 26,350 people, or 20.1% of the population, died in London during the epidemic of 1625; Slack, p. 151; see also Shrewsbury, pp. 333–34. Contemporary estimates were even higher; Rushworth, i. Dd2r suggested a figure of 35,417. For Mead’s interest in the chronological coincidence reported here, see above, pp.

2 “Which God avert”.

3 It had been stated in the committee of grievances on 17 February that between £300,000–£400,000 of merchants’ goods had been seized in France; PP 1626, i. 64; for the link between this and the St. Peter case see above, p. 174 n. 9.
the ground of the stay & sale here of the French goods which hath occasioned this arrest there. Yesterday was the Lieutenant Sir Allen Apsley & Master Marsh of the Dukes bedchamber againe examined thereabouts; & the Duke himselfe is required to morrow to give them answere to their objections.4

Yesterday also was Master Nicols before them & by his Counsell to answere concerning his reviving of the pretermitted customes, because he pretends, he did it by law; of which the merchants much complaine.5

The Lord Marshall Wimbleton with all or most of our Fleet that was in Ireland, together with the Lords Delaware & Valentia, came yesternight to London; but the 2 Lords as is rumoured with great complaints against him: & the buisines of this unluckie voyage is like to come to the skanning of the Parliament.6

This present day the House of Commons have called the Councell of warre before them, & begun to look into the expenses of the last subsidies given in King James his time, according as was then ordered by that statute.7

4 Sir Allen Apsley had been questioned on the morning of Thursday 2 March, Gabriel Marsh in the afternoon; ibid., ii. 177-83; for the Commons’ intended questioning of the Duke see PRO SP16/22/26 [folio 36r].

5 An act concerning Edmund Nicholson, “projector of the pretended preteremitted customs” had been debated in the Commons on 15, 18, 21 February and 1 March; PP 1626, ii. 47-48, 69-70, 81, 163. He appeared in the House on 11 March and stated “the imposition to be just and legal by the last acts”; ibid., pp. 255, 257, 262. These duties had been levied in James’s reign, according to the Crown lawyers, as part of the grant of Tonnage and Poundage; Gardiner, v. 364.

6 Wimbledon appeared at Court on Saturday 4 March; McClure, ii. 629; see also PRO SP16/22/26 [folio 36r]. Henry West, 4th Baron Delaware (or De La Warr) and Henry Power, 1st Viscount of Valentia had both served on the Cadiz expedition, and had been involved in a dispute with Wimbledon, which had remained unresolved, over who should be second-in-command of the three naval squadrons sent to Spain; GEC, iv, 161; xii (pt 2), 203; Cadiz, pp. 2, 13–14, 83–88.

7 The Council of War had been established under the Subsidy Act of 1624, passed to fund English military operations in the aftermath of the failure of the negotiations over the Spanish Match. Its members were: Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke; Arthur, Baron Chichester; Oliver, Viscount Grandison; George, Baron Carew (later the Earl of Toone); Sir Thomas Button; Sir Edward Cecil; Sir Edward Conway; Sir Robert Mansell; Sir
Captaine Penington is appointed Admirall of 32 saile of Ships riding now at Plymouth most of them being those of the last Fleet, which where they had but 40 men before have now 80 in them, their numbers being all doubled; whether they are bound for Spaine, to visit the Spanish preparations by Sea; or for Rochell, as some improbably surmise, time must tell us. We have some other smaller Fleets as of 16 Ships & others of lesse numbers preparing forth suddainly.\textsuperscript{7}

Its sayd there are some new Lawes on foot agains[t] Papists, more dreadfull then the old.\textsuperscript{8}

Doctor Prideaux Vicechancellor of Oxford is sent for by the Parlament, to be on Thursday come sennight before them, about the misguided of the Election of Sir Thomas Edmonds for one of their Burgesses. & his adversaries of the Body of the Universitie sayd to be very stout & resolute. Our Vicechancellor had never this honour.\textsuperscript{9}

John Ogle, and Sir Horace Vere. All of these men were either experienced soldiers or government officers of long standing, such as Greville: 21* Jac., c. 33, section 37, printed in Statutes of the Realm, 11 vols (in 12) (1810–28; reprint, 1963), iv. (pt. 2). 1261; see also Gardiner, v. 198–203, 223. The Act had also stated that the Council "shall account to the House of Commons for Application of the Money levied under this Act" (21* Jac., c. 33, section 39, pp. 1261–62) and anger at the military failures of 1624–25 led to the Commons' interrogation of the Council under this provision. On 28 February it had been resolved to question the Council on 3 March; on the latter day they were given until the 7th to answer; PP 1626, ii. 148, 151, 154, 187–88, 191.

\textsuperscript{7} See above, p.139 n. 7; p. 184 n. 6. I have not found any reference to the "smaller Fleets" of lines 48–49.

\textsuperscript{8} This probably refers to the "Bill for Explanation of the Statute 3* Jac. about Recusants, with Amendments", which had been twice read and engrossed on 1 March and was sent to the Lords on the 7th; ibid., ii. 158, 163, 214, 217; Russell, Parliaments, p. 276.

\textsuperscript{9} On Wednesday 1 March Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College Oxford and Vice-Chancellor was ordered to appear on Thursday 16 March ("not as a deliquent", however, as suggested here) as a witness in the case of the contested election of Sir Thomas Edmonds for Oxford University. He did so and Edmonds's election was declared void on 17 March; PP 1626, ii. 158–59, 163, 301, 305–06 (quotation from p. 163). Lines 57–58 indicate a Cambridge man was the author; probably either Boswell or Pory, graduates of Jesus and Gonville and Caius College respectively; Powell, pp. 6, 9; Venn, i. 185.
Thus our lettres then.

I saw a lettre from London yesterday written on Thursday. The cheifest newes therein of the Earle of Arundell I suppose you ^ hear ^ ere this as we have had it ever since the Assises. But what my author writes is as followeth.

That on Sunday afternoone, the Earle of Arundell was committed to the Tower. His offence (as much as is knowne) the marriage of my Lord Mattravas, his Son, with the last Duke of Lennox his daughter, a Lady of the Royall bloud without consent, yea against it. For his Majestie had much laboured with both parties to conclude a match betweene her, & the heire of the House of Argile lately made Lord of Lorne as for other politick respects, so to extinguish by this conjunction an hereditary enmity between those two Houses: and ^ having ^ brought all thinges in a manner to his wished conclussion, was thus unexpectedly & unloyally disappointed. The Earle on Friday came to Court to ask pardon, but the King would by no meanes admit him to his presence. On Sunday following the Lords of the Councell committed him, as is aforesayd.10

There is newes at London (& mine author confirmes it as from the Dutch Ambassadors mouth) That 3 Dunkirks with Orange colours, drew neere to one of the Kings Ships called the Adventure & discharged upon her before she knew them to be enimies,

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10 For more details see V. F. Snow, 'The Arundel Case, 1626', The Historian 26 (1964), 323–49. As he points out (pp. 328–29) the marriage had occurred and Charles knew about it by 6 February 1625/26 at the latest. Arundel's commitment was not, therefore, an immediate result of the marriage becoming known to the King, even though Charles was angry at Mattravas's marriage. Like Mead's source, most other observers thought that the wedding had occurred in early March; see CSPV 1625–26, p. 358; Holles, ii. 325; McClure, ii. 631. The reasons for the Earl's committal are more likely to be found, as Salvetti suggested, in his antagonism to Buckingham and the latter's desire to remove a powerful enemy from the Lords; HMC Skrine, p. 54; see also Russell, Parliaments, pp. 286–87; Sharpe, 'The Earl of Arundel, His Circle and the Opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, 1618–1628', p. 231; Snow, 'Arundel', pp. 329–37.
shot her through & through, & slew first & last 60 of our men: but Captaine Herbert who was Commander mounting his ordinance with much danger & labour, & gathering & encouraging his men, so well acquit himselfe at length, that one of them he sunk, & the other two fled.11

Doctor Anyon of Oxford is againe in the Parlement, having added to his former foule offences, the procuring of two to be cast in prison, the other two to be arrested of those which were sent for by the former Parliament, & forced by oath to give testimonie against him.12

The Councell of warre were afore the House on Thursday, which are sayd to have given them some offence, by somewhat slighting the authoritie of the House of Commons when they first sent for them.13

Vicount Wimbleton was on Sunday at Court, & as some write, had a sharp day of it, being like to be found not onely to have had want of judgement but to have bin wilfully faultie; yet others think he will come of easily enough.14

Thus with my wonted respect & service

I rest, & am

---

11 Sir Henry Palmer had informed the Duke on 1 March that the Assurance had been attacked in the manner described here and that sixty Englishmen had been killed, which is a possible source for lines 81-91. Three days later, however, (after having met the captain of the ship) Palmer reported the whole story was false; PRO SP16/22/7 [folio 25r], 30 [folio 40r]. The Dunkirk privateers did, however, use the tactics described here; see R. Baetens, 'The organisation and effects of Flemish privateering in the seventeenth century', Acta Historiae Neerlandica 9 (1976), 59.

12 Complaints against Dr. Anyan, President of Corpus Christi College Oxford, had been presented to the parliaments of 1624 and 1625; PP 1625, pp. 259-60, 262, 265, 303, 308; see also Lambert, 'Richard Montagu', p. 46; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 198, 241, 271.

13 The "offence" mentioned was given by the Council's evasiveness in answering the Commons' questions on both Tuesday 7 and Thursday 9 March; see below, p. 199 lines 70-75, p. 201 lines 110-27 and notes.

14 Wimbledon had returned to London on Saturday 4 March; the Venetian Ambassador commented that "They say that he maintains on good grounds that he did his duty". McClure, ii. 629; CSPV 1625-26, p. 365.
Christ's Coll. 
March 11 
Yours most ready to 
be commanded 
I send back your 
Joseph Mead 
Speaches with thanks.\textsuperscript{15} 
My pupil is well.

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 15] breach even if MS. 
line 63] the size Assises MS. 
ibid.] writes is thus MS. 
line 73] **for** as for MS. 
line 85] enemies, wh**by** MS. 
line 87] men in her but MS.

\textsuperscript{15} For these speeches see above, p. 175 n. 12.
19 March 1625

(folio 29r)

Sir,

The last Saturday was plentiful as you may see by the enclosed, which was compounded of 3 authentic lettres. I had hoped to have added somewhat thereto, but I have yet seen none of yesterday's lettres. Only the report hath bin That on Tuesday the Parliament had a speciall Committee for the answering of the Kings demands; which we all wish, who wish well, that they might be satisfied, that the Parlamens continuance might not be endangered if otherwise.¹

An Gentleman in his Table books brought us on Wednesday this which followeth.

Questions propounded by Doctor Turner in the House of Commons.

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regalitie of the narrow Sea's, since the Duke was Admirall, through his neglect.

2. Whether He & his kindred have not spent of the Crowne Lands.

3. Whether Church livings have not bin sold by him.

4. Whether all offices be not disposed by him.

a: They talk as though all were not well at Rochell. But I yet believe nothing [written vertically in the margin].²

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¹ On the afternoon of Tuesday 14 March "the grand Committee" was convened, to answer Charles's message of 10 March concerning the need for a speedy vote of subsidies; PP 1626, ii. 280, 282-84 and n. 4 below.

² I have not traced this rumour.
5. Whether he be not to be suspected for his Religion, seeing his Father & mother-in-law, & his mother & hir husband be Papists.

6. Whether the failing of this last Act of the Navy be not imputable to him, being Generall & not there in his owne person.\(^3\)

I heare there dyed this week of the Plague but one \(^4\); others say none \(^5\); the generall summe, I yet know not, but shall before night.\(^6\)

Thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & my good Lady, I rest & am Christs Colledg Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead March 18

Postscript

I am now told, That His Majestie sent to the House to mind more the meanes of reforming the abuses & greivances of the Kingdome, than to be so over-inquisitive to find the persons by whom they were occasioned. Secondly, That he must have money for the defence of the Kingdome, & resisting his enimyes, & therefore commanded them to give him a direct & determinate answere, whether they would give him any subsidies or not? Whereupon they returned answere That they would supply him, with sufficient both for defence at home & the terror of his enimies abroad, & desired his Majestie to be pleased also to take into consideration, such greivances, as they would represent unto him.

b: You shall have A Goodwins Hebrew Antiquities by the next.\(^5\) [written vertically in the margin. See Textual Note for line 49 for note b.]

\(^3\) These questions, which led Commons and Crown into head-on conflict and formed the basis for the impeachment proceedings against the Duke later in the session, had been put to the House by Dr. Samuel Turner on Saturday 11 March; ibid., pp. 261-62, 268; Russell, Parliaments, 289-90; C. G. C. Tite, Impeachment and Parliamentary Judicature in early Stuart England (1974), pp. 183-84. Texts of the questions are also at PRO SP16/22/71 [folio 99r], 72 [folio 100r], 73 [folio 101r].

\(^4\) Mead had heard a report of the latest plague deaths in Cambridge and was waiting for the next newsletter from London for further details; see lines 5-7 above.

\(^5\) For this volume see above, p. 144 n. 24.
Upon which Answere he was very well satisfied, & dismissed the reporters &c. 6

Textual Notes: line 21, Church livings] this has been deleted by an unknown hand, and "Places of Judicature" interlined. 
line 34] one but others say none MS. 
line 47] Majestie notwithstaing to be MS. 
line 49, You...next] another marginal comment, note b above, added as an afterthought beneath line 47 in the margin. This has, therefore, been represented as a separate note, not a continuation of lines 41–48 and 50. 
line 50, Upon which Answer...&c] A continuation of the postscript in the margin: I have omitted the siglum written to direct Stuteville's eye.

6 This passage is a conflation of three separate messages between Charles and the Commons. Lines 41–44 are a paraphrase of the King's message to the Commons of Friday 10 March, delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Richard Weston. The same was given in writing on Monday the 13th; PP 1626, ii. 247, 248–49, 252, 275. The committee mentioned in n. 2 above was set up to produce an answer (returned on the 14th), which was presented the following day using the phrase "to make [Charles] safe at home and feared abroad" (lines 46–48 being a paraphrase); ibid., pp. 281, 283–84, 293–94. Charles's reply of 15 March to the Commons, beginning "There is much time spent in inquiring after grievances. I would have that left and more time bestowed in preventing and redressing them" is the source of lines 44–47, 50; ibid., p. 294.
Out of France his Majestie had on Munday newes from his Ambassadors there, That the peace was againe renewed twixt the King & the Rochellers, both sides being to continue their fortifications; & that our Ships were sending home & the Merchants goodes presently to be released; though our merchants yet know nothing of it.\textsuperscript{1}

The French King hath lately changed his Confessor being a Jesuite, into a Sorbonist, upon the sentencesing by the Court Parliament of Paris of a book written by the Jesuites, maintaining this proposition, that What Prince State or Potentate so ever should now make warre against the King of Spaine is ipso facto damned. The book was burnt by the hand of the Hangman.\textsuperscript{2}

Its sayd, That the Switzers have sent 4000 men to the ayd of the Duke of Savoy, which are already there. The Pope also hath sent 4000 men to the ayd of Genoa & 4000 to Millane,\textsuperscript{3} which the French King takes very greivously, & thereupon falleth foule upon the Jesuites. This causeth great heart-burning betwecne the Gallican Church & the Papacy; & some say, there was never so much talk of erecting a Patriarchdome in France, since

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}This refers to the ratification of the Treaty of Fontainebleau; see above, p. 163 n. 7. In spite of the report here, however, the English merchants' goods remained impounded for several more months, and the loan ships were not returned until May 1626; Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament', pp. 264-65.
\item \textsuperscript{2}I have not traced the alteration in Louis's confessor. Another report of the burning of this "pestiferous booke" of the Jesuites was included in the newsbook extract Mead sent to Dalham some weeks later; see p. 22 of the newsbook after p. 225 below.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Reade, ii. 565, notes that "it wu rumoured that [French] reinforcements were to be sent...[who were] to enter the Valtelline with the Swiss and to attack the Spaniards if the Pope's forces joined them". These rumours were false: the Swiss did not intervene against the Spanish in northern Italy; see above, p. 163 n. 7.
\end{itemize}
The Council of Trent, as is now.\textsuperscript{4}

On Sunday the Earl of Arundell was committed to the Tower by warrant from his Majestie. The cause was a marriage consummate betwenee his Son my Lord Maltravas & the eldest daughter unto the last Duke of Lennox, whom his Majestie (being guardian to them both) had designed, yea the match was concluded, for the Earl of Arquiles heire \textsuperscript{4} the \textsuperscript{4} Lord of Lorne (who is brought up here in England in our Religion); for the reconciling of those two Families, which for many yeares have bin in great enmity. The Earl of Arundell (who is sayd to \textsuperscript{4} have \textsuperscript{4} given leave to his Son to make love to the Lady) came to ask the kings consent when the marriage was already past, & saith he was not acquainted with it; but that it was dispatched betwene his Countesse & the Duchesse of Lennox.\textsuperscript{5}

On Monday the Persian Ambassador had his audience with the King in the great banqueting house at White Hall, with as great State, as possibly could appeare at that time. He was fetched & brought back in the Kings Coach by the Earl of Salisbury with many Aldermen & other prime Citizens in 30 Coaches from Court into Hide park, where was a banquet & so back

\textsuperscript{4} The Gallican Church had, since the thirteenth century, claimed a special place for itself in relation to the Papacy and had (through the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), superceded by the concordat of Bologna (1516)) obtained a number of privileges from Rome, especially in the matter of ecclesiastical appointments. It has been commented that the “French bishops were tenacious defenders of their liberties throughout the 1620s and 1630s” and relations between the French Church and Rome were particularly strained in 1625-26. This was due both to the appearance of tracts such as that described in lines 9–14 above and Santarelli’s \textit{Tractatus de haeresi}, and to the furore caused in 1625 over the heavy-handed execution of a Papal commission by the Dean of Nantes; for these matters see F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), \textit{The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church} (1957; revised edn., 1978), pp. 185, 548, 1114; A. Milton, ‘The Laudians and the Church of Rome’, pp. 173, 175–76 (quotation above from pp. 175–76); M. K. Becker, ‘Episcopal Unrest: Gallicanism in the 1625 Assembly of the Clergy’, \textit{Church History} 43 (1974), 65–77.

\textsuperscript{5} For Arundel’s imprisonment see above, p. 196 n. 10. The Earl’s wife was Alaitha, daughter of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; \textit{GEC}, i. 257.
to his lodging in Bishops gate Street.\(^6\) Yesterday he delivered his present & is very sudainly to depart in a Fleet which is in readines. Sir Robert Sherly goes along with him to give notice to the world, whether he be a true Ambassador or a Counterfaict: And one Master Cotton, lately a Cupbearer to King James, is sent along with him from his Majestie to bring back the true report of this doubt.\(^7\) The cheife argument of the Persian against him was because Sherleys commission was sealed on the one side, whereas the King of Persia's use is, to give 2 scales, one at the top of his Commission, another at the bottom.\(^8\)

The same Munday afternoone Vicount Wimbledon & the Colonells of the Army came before the Lords of the Counsell; where the Vicount to his much prejudice & disadvantage fell into Passion, saying That never man was so abused as he; that before his going & since his returne there had bin made libells & ballads in his disgrace, & that some had wished before his departure that the voyage might rather not prosper, then he should have the honour of it. Whereupon my Lord of Essex asked him, whether He were the man, that had made any such wishes against him, & so Colonell Burrows & the rest in order did the like, saving only Sir William Sellinger & Sir Georg Blundell, who of all the rest did onely ad\(^*\) here unto him.\(^9\)

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\(^6\) See pp. 145-46. Finet confirms on M4v that the Persian Ambassador had audience with Charles on Monday 6 March at the Banqueting House.

\(^7\) The Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Dodmore Cotton (one of James I's Bedchamber men) were due to depart in ships of the East India Company but did not, in fact, do so until March 1626/27. Beg committed suicide soon after he returned to Persia when it became clear Shirley's commission was genuine. Shirley himself died there in 1628; PRO SP16/24/67 [folio 97r-v]; DNB, xviii. 137.

\(^8\) Beg alleged that Shirley had "dared to counterfeit the King his Masters hand (which was alwayes (he said) set on the top of his Letters) when these Letters he [Shirley] had shewed had it on the back-side"; Finet, M4r.

\(^9\) Reade comments that "Wimbledon threw the blame for his defeat upon his colonels and upon his want of supplies"; ii. 530. Initially this also included Sir William St Leger ("Sellinger", line 67), who soon made up his differences with Wimbledon; McClure, ii. 629-30.
On Tuesday morning the Council of War presented themselves before the House of Commons where being demanded whether they had issued the moneys according to the orders in the Statute, their answer was: That they were not bound to give the house of Commons an account of what they had done. The same day afternoone, was a meeting betwene the Lords & Commons in the Painted Chamber, where my Lord of Canterbury began the speach, & the Lord Chamberlain went on with it, as from the King; demonstrating unto them, what need the Kingdom hath now of defence; the dangerous estate of Christendome; That we were entred into a league with Denmark, Sweden, the States, Bethle[m] & others, not to be dissolved till the peace of Germany were procured. That the Duke going over into Holland was to renew it; into which there was yet hope the French would come & assist us with money. That the Duke carried over of his owne moneys £60,000, which he payd for his Majesty unto Denmark & Mansfeld, & pawned of his Jewells for £30,000 more, & that nevertheless his Majestie was still in=

10 For the Council, see above, p. 187 n.7. Lines 72–73 refers to the “Four Ends” for which the subsidies of 1624 had officially been passed; defence of England, fortification of Ireland, assistance to the United Provinces and other allies, and the setting forth of a fleet; Statutes, p. 1247 (21* Jac. i, c. 33, section 1); see also Gardiner, v. 193, 198–202. The Commons’ question (“Whether their advice [was] followed, which they gave for the 4 ends mentioned in the act of parliament for which the monies given by the Act 21 Jac. were to issue”) was originally asked at the Council’s first appearance in the Commons on 3 March; for this and their answer see PP 1626, ii. 186, 189–90, 220–21. The answer was approved by Charles in a Privy Council meeting on 8 March; PRO SP16/22/48 [folio 70r].

11 Proposed by the Lords; PP 1626, i. 124–25; ii. 215, 217–18, 221–23.

12 Archbishop Abbot, Lord Chamberlain Pembroke, Buckingham and the Earl of Carlisle were those chosen to speak to the Lower House; PP 1626, i. 120. Abbot’s and Pembroke’s speeches are given in ibid., pp. 219–20, 221–23.

13 Ibid., pp. 220, 222. The “league” was the Hague Convention of 29 November/9 December 1625, under which Charles had agreed to fund the war effort of Christian IV of Denmark and Mansfeld. The Swedish were not part of this treaty, but Pembroke had stated that Buckingham’s efforts had “brought in the King of Sweden...into the league for the liberty of Germany”; ibid., p. 222; Parker, TYW, pp. 76–77.

14 PP 1626, ii. 222. The French had promised to subsidise Bethlen Gabor if he attacked the Emperor; Parker, TYW, p. 77.
debted thereabouts; who besides is monthly to allow the King of Denmark towards the warres £30,000 (which King will shortly be in the field with 50,000 men); besides to allow unto Count Mansfeld £20,000 a month (who is written to be marched up with 15,000 men toward Silesia, as is thought to joyne with Bethlem). That we had a Fleet Powder & munition ready & onely wanted victualls & money; that victualls must be presently provided else the time of yeare would be past.

On Wednesday morning report was made to the House of Commons of this Proposition from their Lordships, & they fell into a dispute, whether they should answere it or no; whereupon it being putt to the question, the House was devided, & the affirmative part won it; but little is yet done, though there hath bin some entrance to a consultation that way.

On the same afternoone the Lawyiers of the House discussed the question, whether the Councell of warre were bound by the Statute to give an accompt of their proceedings to the House of Commons, & concluded that the Councell of warre was bound to do it.
On Thursday morning the Commons propounded a new question to the same Councell, namely, Whether in this last action at Sea & formerly also, their Counsells about the issuing of the money had bin putt in execution, and examined every one of them apart. My Lord Grandisons answere was as before, that he was not bound to give an answere. Sir John Ogle required more time to re- turne his answere, & so did the Earle of Totnes; where[=] upon Saturday is sett downe as a peremptory day for them all. My Lord Conway & Sir Thomas Button being sick, a Commitie is sent to each to examine them: Sir Horace Vere now Baron of TIlbury is freed from all question by the House, in respect of his absence, & the Lord Brook by reason of his age & impotency. But when this question is done, the Commons have 5 more questions in readines in the speakers hand for the same counsell of warre to answer. My Lord Wimbleton was not as yet questioned by them, but wilbe to day.

The same day afternoone (Thursday) they began to

23 The question asked was not "new"; see n. 10 above. It was resolved on 9 February to question the Councillors one by one; Mead's source confused the order of those questioned, and omitted Sir Robert Mansell. The correct order was Ogle, Mansell, Grandison, Vere, Totnes; ibid., ii. 239-43. Of the other five councillors mentioned in the 1624 Act, Chichester had died in January 1624/25, Button, Brooke and Conway were ill, and Wimbledon was absent; GEC, iii. 198; PP 1626, pp. 241-43. See above, p. 197 n. 7.

24 As reported here, Grandison referred to his former answer. Totnes excused himself through his age and infirmity, and Ogle (like Totnes) asked for more time until the Councillors could agree on a joint answer; ibid., pp. 239-43.


26 A committee of 9 members was sent to Conway, Brooke and Button to get their written depositions for the following Saturday; ibid., p. 240. Vere was excused because he had been on military service in the Low Countries (ibid., pp. 239-41, 243). Lines 121-22 are in error; although an attempt was made to have Brooke excused, the House resolved that he should be questioned by the Commons' committee; ibid., pp. 242-43.

27 Wimbledon was ordered to appear on Saturday 11 March although he had sent a written answer to the Commons on the 10th; ibid., pp. 240-01, 243, 247, 252. I have not found any reference to the questions mentioned in lines 124-26, but in any case the Commons' examination of the Council soon turned into one of the Duke of Buckingham; Russell, Parliaments, p. 289.
enter upon Montagu’s business & were drawing his offences & contempts into several heads to prepare them speedily for the Lords.28

The same day (as on the Monday before) was the claim debated for the Earldom of Oxford, but not yet determined.29

On Saturday last my Lord Duke by the mouth of his Counsell Master Attorney General, answered the House of Commons, that he revoked the French Ship called the Saint Peter of Newhaven, by the King’s command;30 whereupon it is said, the House put another question to Master Attorney, Whether his Majesty, or if not his Majesty, who else commanded him to deliver this answer: which whether he have yet satisfied, I cannot learn. This matter & the Counsell of warres unsatisfactory & dilatory answers are thought to be some hindrance of the good success of the Lords proposition.31

I have heard that one of the House of Commons hath 13 articles to put in against a very great person, which will either break him or dissolve it.32 Some are of opinion the Parliament cannot last above a fortnight (so many things beginning to be propounded, which thwart the King’s mind): But others think his Majesty will continue it till Midsummer or Whitsuntide, rather than not attain from the Commons that which may serve for

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28 I have not found any reference to these proceedings, although the Commons had debated Montagu’s books and set up a subcommittee to examine them on Monday 6 March; PP 1626, ii. 205-07.
29 Ibid., i. 110-06, 131-34. For Simonds D’Ewes’s involvement in this case see the Introduction, pp. 48-49.
30 Sir Robert Heath the Attorney-General spoke in the Commons on Buckingham’s behalf on Monday 6 March, not as reported here; ibid., pp. 201-02, 204-05, 210-11. Mead’s source probably confused this with Buckingham’s message of Saturday 4 March to the Commons in which he stated that he wished to clear himself over the St. Peter case on the following Monday; ibid., pp. 196-97.
31 Whereas the Commons did not proceed much further with the Council of War due to the difficulty of forcing them to answer their questions, the business of the St. Peter became one of the major grievances against Buckingham.
32 This probably refers to Dr. Turner’s six questions against the Duke delivered the following day, for which see above, p. 141 n. 3. Such gossip, heard by Mead’s source, was probably circulating around Westminster.
our present defence, & the necessary assistance of our Allies. God avert a breaking up in distraction, without giving to the present affairs; which might bring upon us a suddaine ruine. They have above 60 publick & private Acts in agitation, whereof onely 4 are passed. The first for the better Discovery of Recusants, which Act King James stoppt. The 2d An Act for the encrease of Navigation & free fishing in Newfoundland, Virginia, & the Coasts of America. The 3d an Act for Suttons Hospital. The 4th A private Bill. There as divers other Acts whereof some are ready to passe.

This morning (according to the last weeks order) was appointed for deciding the case of Sir Edward Cook. The Earle of Devonshire is lately deceased & my Lord Cavendish his Son succeeds in the Earldome. I saw a lettre from Scanderon of the 5 of December wherein I read, That the Persian hath taken in Babylon, defeated a great Army of Turks: & that the Garrison with

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33 That Charles did keep the Parliament in session until 15 June vindicates the more optimistic view reported here; see also Russell, *Parliaments*, pp. 271-72.

34 According to a survey of PP 1626, iii. 453-55, a total of 69 bills had been tabled by 10 March; of these, four had been passed and six already rejected.

35 These four were passed on 7 March: ibid., ii. 214, 217; Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 276. The first-named, originally proposed in 1606, had been refused the Royal Assent in 1624 (Gardiner, v. 234); the “private Bill” was “An act for the sale of the manor of Barrington…within the county of Somerset, being the inheritance of Arthur Farwell, an infant, and in ward to his Majesty”PP 1626, ii. 113.

36 Three further acts were passed on 20 March; ibid., ii. 320, 322.

37 The committee studying Coke’s case (for which see above, p. 143 n. 21) had reported to the Commons on 27 February, when the case was deferred until Friday 3 March. On the latter day consideration of the case was again deferred to 10 March, when nothing appears to have been done; ibid., ii. 134–35, 139, 186–87, 189.

38 William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire, had died on 3 March to be succeeded by his son William; GEC, iv. 340.
many scattered troops marched homeward neere to Aleppo & so along not farre from Scanderon.^[39]

Textual Notes: lines 71–76, where being...Lords and Commons] Mead added a long passage in the margin to be inserted into his account. I have omitted his instruction to Stuteville, “Read”, prefacing the passage, and the phrase “in the Painted Chamber &c” with which he reintroduced the reader to the narrative. Mead had skipped from one reference to the Painted Chamber (the questions put to the Council of War, line 71) to the other (the King’s message to the Commons, line 76), omitting part of his source. line 143] are thought are thought to be MS. line 152] that with which MS.

^[39] If this referred to the original Persian capture of Babylon (Baghdad) it was very old news, the city having been captured from the Turks in 1624. The item is more likely to refer to a stage in the lengthy siege of the city, which lasted for over a year in 1625–26 and resulted in a major defeat for the Turks in that they failed to recapture it; Parker, TYW, p. 79.
25 March 1626

Sir,

I have heard no whit of newes since Saturday, & that I send you, together with Goodwins Moses & Aaron or Hebrew Antiquities, whose price is 2s - 8d. We were faine to stay for a new impression, the rest being all sold.\(^1\)

For answer to your lettre, it requires some deliberation but I thank my Lady for my cheese, & if I had had a box to keep them from breaking I would have sent her a collop & an egge, an Orenge an a Limmon, a Greene pescod a crakt walnutt &c all of Sugar & in their colours scarce to be discerned from naturall. A gentlewoman, whom I never saw sent them me. But I dare not trust Parkers mans Panyers with them.\(^2\)

The Gentleman whom you would have me to accompany sent me this stupendious newes of the Spanish Inundation, & others talke it.\(^3\)

The Funerall Bill was last week March 16 162 Plague I. This I yet know not, when I get it & the next I will give over my continuation.

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1 Mead sent the second edition, STC 11952, of Godwin’s Hebrew Antiquities; see Appendix I.

2 This was one of the less usual difficulties faced by Mead in using local carriers. The source of the gift is unidentified.

3 Stuteville had evidently proposed that Mead either travel or stay with an unidentified friend in his latest letter, referred to also on line 7; this may be the “Common friend” mentioned by John Pory in his letter of 5 August 1626 below, p. 318 lines 4-6. The Guadalquivir overflowed its banks on 14/24 January 1626 and flooded three-quarters of the city of Seville and much of the surrounding countryside; on the following two days a violent storm caused even more damage. For accounts of the devastation caused, see Public Record Office, SP94/33 (State Papers, Spain, April 1625 – 1627)/folio 249r-v; M. F., xi. 4-11 (second pagination; see above, p. [43] n. 7); below, pp. 141-4 lines 87-97.
I pray tell me what you know of such a Knight as
Sir John Tesborough in your shire. He was with me
this week about placing 2 of his Sons. He is utterly unknown
^ to ^ me further then I learned of a gentleman a stranger too, which
came with him to my chamber. He brought not his Sons, &
I was a great while very shy, suspending my promise to
entertaine them unlesse I knew them well grounded &c yet
I yeelded at length, & they should come & himselfe with
them in Easter week. He told me, he knew your selfe very
well.4

I saw a letter just now. The Spanish Inundation
holds good. So doth the French news as tis in the en=
closed for our Ships & merchants.5

The Spanyard ^ (saith mine Author) ^ hath rendred up Valtelina to the Grisons
& offered most easie Articles of peace & cessation of armes (for
all busines on the Italian side) to the French King: whose
answere is not yet knowne, but presumed wilbe agreeable to them.
We shall soon see an end, for quick proceedings in all those
matters is pressed by us & most necessarily.6

 Thus with my best respect & service I rest & am

Christ's College
Yours most ready to
March 25
be commanded
Joseph Mead

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4 Sir John's two sons were Charles and Creasy Tayborough. See the Introduction, pp. 32-73, for the part
played by Sir Martin's gentry contacts in procuring pupils for Mead.

5 See below, pp. 211-12 lines 37-97; p. 218 lines 3-8.

6 This was the first news of the Treaty of Monzón between France and Spain to reach Cambridge. It had been
negotiated (under orders from Richelieu) by the French Ambassador at Madrid, Charles d’Angennes, Comte
Du Fargis and signed on 23 February/S March. Under the terms of the treaty (ratified in May) the Spanish
recognised the sovereignty of the Grisons over the Catholic Valtelliners but the French had to withdraw
their forces from the valley. This represented a considerable diplomatic victory for Spain and was very
unpopular among France’s Protestant allies. It was however the French (under pressure to find a settlement
in the region) who made concessions in order to reach an agreement, not the Spanish as implied here:
Knecht, pp. 89-90; Parker, TYW, p. 76; for the Valtelline question, see above, p. 131 n. 5. Lines 34-39
were transcribed almost verbatim from one of Mead’s London letters of 23 March, which had just arrived in
Cambridge; compare p. 219 below, lines 42-47.
Textual Notes: line 9] to give keep MS.
line 36] buisnes the on MS.
London March 17 162r

To my greife I must palinodiam canere, to that which I related the last week: For our English goods in France are not onely not sett at libertie, but more in more places are arrested; for the French are not contented with those in Normandie & Bretaignie but have now lately extended their arrest into Picardie, as namely at Calais, Murlois, Treport &c &c. Neither are our Ships come yet from before Rochell, but do lye there, to block up that Towne by Sea, & they say, the French King meanes to march against it with a strong Army by Land. All this was the last week quite otherwise reported by one Master Clerk, which came from my Lord of Holland: but he was deceived himselfe, or at least deceived us.

The King of Denmark, (they say) hath lately taken the Citty, Bishoprick, & territory of Osnabrug, which is a thing of importance.

The States this yeare stand meerly upon the defensive, as not being able, to bring an Army into the field. Their Excises are like to runne passing high, it is thought.

1 "Recant".

2 See p. 194, above, lines 2–7 and n. 1. It was reported on 13 March that the Governor of Calais had arrested all English ships and goods; PRO SP 16/22/89 (folio 124r); see also SP16/22/95 (folio 131v), 106 (folio 148r). Cogswell (citing lines 13–14 here) discusses the impact of the reports of continuing troubles with the French that were reaching London at this time; ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, p. 265.

3 Edward Clerke, Buckingham’s servant, had returned from France the previous week and on Tuesday 7 March spread the hopeful news of a reconciliation between the two countries, which proved false; Gardiner, vi. 68–70.

4 For a report of the capture of the town and bishopric of Osnabrück by the Duke of Saxe–Weimar see PRO SP75/7/folio 60r.
to the 5th peny of a mans goods.  

On Friday last the House of Commons received
the answere of the Lords & others of the Councell of warre,
every man of them bringing one & the same answere in
writing, which was, That his Majestie had commanded them
of that Councell to give no answere at all.  

On Saturday one Doctor Turner a Doctor of Physick put
up certaine Quer's against the Duke of Buckingham
as Quere, whether since he was Lord Admirall the King hath
not lost the regaltie of the Sea. 2. Item. Quere whether
the Duke hath not put honours to sale, as likewise the digni-
ties of the Church, & Offices of the Commonwealth. 3 Quere
whether Popery since the Reformation of Religion, had ever
such an increase, as since the Duke was so high in favour.
4. Quere, Whether it be fitt that One man (viz the Duke
of Buckingham) should rule the whole Kingdome without the
advise of a Councell of State? 5. Item. Quere Whether it
be fitt that any one man should hold so many Offices.
6. Quere Whether the failing of the late Fleet be not to
be imputed unto him, as being Generall & not there in person.

And these things I heare have accordingly bin in agitation
& being putt to I & No the negative part won it, but with
very little difference of voices.

Meane while his Majestie is much incensed against these
Quære's requiring from the House, that they will doe justice
upon the Doctor least himselfe should be constrained to tume his wont
ed clemencie into severity. His Majestie required at the same
time justice likewise against one Master Clement Cook Son to
Sir Edward Cook, for saying, It were better to dy by the
hand of an Enimie, then to suffer in a mans owne Country. Of sedition the House hath cleared him, but imputes onely unto him words unseemly & displeasing to the House; for which, it was thought to day, he should ask forgivenes upon his knee at the barre. Doctor Turners tryall is put off till to morrow being Saturday.

On Wednesday the Commons presented themselves before his Majestie in the Banquetting House, & by the mouth of the Speaker intimated unto him, That no King upon the earth was more deare unto his people then his Majestie: & that therefore they were willing both speedily & abundantly to supply his wants in such a measure, as none of his predecessors have bin supplied; yet beseeching his Majestie withall, that they might discover & reforme some greivances which disabled his people, & consequently weakened his Majestie: which being done, they make no doubt but his Majestie would be safe at home & feared abroad.

For this profession of their Love his Majestie thanked them; but wondered much, that any man would presume to publish such desperate Quære's against the Duke, who had deserved all honour. In the last Parlament of King James his father, his Majestie sayd, the Duke

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8 Coke had, according to one version of events, said on 10 March that "it is better to suffer by a foreign hand than at home"; *PP 1626*, ii. 250. Charles's message complaining at this and Turner's questions was delivered by Sir Richard Weston on Tuesday 14 March; after Coke had protested his lack of seditious intent the Commons decided to consider the message on the following day; ibid., ii. 278, 282, 284-85; Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 290.

9 A committee of the whole House on Wednesday 15 March had debated Coke's words and resolved that, although not seditious, they had been displeasing to the House, although Coke did not appear before the House on Friday the 17th as suggested here; *PP 1626*, ii. 289-93. Turner's questions had been debated on Thursday 16 March but further deliberation had been deferred until the 18th, as reported here; ibid., p. 299; Tite, p. 185.

10 The House met Charles at 2pm. For this message see above, p. 115 n. 6 and *PP 1626*, ii. 281, 284, 293-94.
was the Favorite of the Commons, so much, as his favour with that House was by the Spanish Ambassadors accused for the cause of breaking off the treatie of the marriage. That then they thought all the honours & offices he had little enough for him; & why should men so much envy him now, for that which he enjoyed in King James his time, since when his Majestie that now is had putt no addition upon him; & that he deserved all the offices & honours which he hath, as having so lately engaged his person & estate in publick service.  

The French King begins to neglect the Duke of Savoy, & to suffer him to stand upon his owne feet.  

The Dunkirkers are sayd of late to have taken above 20 sayle of our Ships at Sea.

Another London March the same day.

From Spaine is credibly related as followeth

Sevil 1625.

That waters after 28 dayes raine fell from the mountaine about Salamanca; the snow melting & from

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11 This is the substance of Charles's reply to the Commons' message of Wednesday 15 March; ibid., p. 294. The references in lines 68–74 are to events two years earlier. In (an eventually successful) attempt to persuade Parliament to advise James to break the marriage treaty with Spain, on 24 February 1623/24 Buckingham had made a long speech to both Houses attacking Spanish duplicity in terms so forthright that the Spanish Ambassadors, Coloma and Inijosa, had complained to James personally. When a report of their objections reached the Commons it passed a vote of thanks to Buckingham on the 27th; Gardiner, v. 188; R. E. Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 162–67; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 158–59, 162.

12 This report probably reflects the unpopularity of the Duke of Savoy's son, Victor Amadeus, at Paris, after the conclusion of the treaty of Monzón (for which see above, p. 246 n. 6). He left the French Court once the treaty had been agreed; Reade, ii. 566–67.

13 The Dunkirk privateers were an ever-present menace throughout the war with Spain in the late 1620s. For more on their activities see R. Baetens, 'Organisation and Effects'; R. A. Stradling, 'The Spanish Dunkirkers 1621–48: a record of plunder and destruction', Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 93 (1980), 541–58.
Cordua. Three hundred miles in length overflowed: 5000 people found drowned: 8000 houses overthrown: 15,000 head of cattle dead: Two third parts of Sylivell drowned: oyles & other commodities layed up in sellars caves &c spoyled in such aboundance, as the losse by lettres (which bring this newes) is estimated at ten millions: victualls at double & treble price, & proclamation for all forreiners of what nation soever to come & traffick safely with come &c.

The King of Sweden hath defeated about 6000 horse of the King of Poland; who made intelligence & promise with some of the Towne of Riga (in Livonia) to send by night or stelth so many into them, But the Townesmen bewraying the buisines, yet writ answere, that the King of Poland should accordingly send such troopes & they would expect them; which indeed they did, but with greater forces & so entrapped them.14

In France Monsieur Serain the Kings Advocate (i.e. Attorney) generall dyed at the Kings foot in Parlament, having lived to speak above 2 hours to his Majestie against Duells and the losse of subjects by dayly combats; & thanked the King (in the end) for reviving & reenforcing a most severe Edict against them.15 Father Cotton also the Jesuite is suddenly dead.17

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14 It is difficult to identify the source of this report, unless it is a confused (and rather belated) account of the important Swedish victory over the Poles at Wallhof on 28 December 1625/7 January 1626 (the town is approximately 40 miles from Riga), which effectively ended Gustavus's campaigning in Livonia; Roberts, i. 253.

15 After after speaking at the Parlement of Paris on 24 February/6 March Serain had died of a fever; M. F., xi. 140–41 (second pagination; see above, p. 463 n. 7). The issue of duelling was an important one in France at this time: Louis XIII had promulgated an edict in February 1625/26 which decreed the death penalty for any survivors of a duel in which one of the participants had been killed, and heavy penalties for participants in non-fatal combats; Knecht, pp. 51–52; Magurn, pp. 132–33, 462. The text of Louis's edict is given in M. F., xi. 11–28 (second pagination).

17 This referred to the Jesuit Pierre Coton, friend and confidant of Cardinal Richelieu: ibid. p. 94 (second pagination).
Textual Notes: lines 18–19, the defensive] their defensive MS.
line 41] in question agitation MS.
line 105, i.e.] .1. MS.
1 April 1626

Sir,

I have deferred my writing till over late.¹ I believe not that Master Boswell comes downe, seeing I hear from him weekly & no such intimation: howsoever I cannot possibly stirre with convenience till Easter be past expecting Sir John Tesborough & his Sons that week.² Of which Gentleman, I desired before & do still some information from you, especially of his Estate, that I be not againe lurcht with Fellowcommoners as I have bin twice already.³

The Funerall Bill ⁴

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<th>March</th>
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<td>23</td>
<td>165  3</td>
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On Saterday The Parlament having hammered some 4 grievances against the Duke, sent unto him, Sir Edward

¹ Mead was once again worried that he would miss the carrier to Dalham through his own delay in sitting down to write to Stuteville.

² This is the only reference I have found that William Boswell was Mead’s weekly correspondent. Sir Martin had evidently written to Mead that Boswell was expected at Dalham, but lines 4-5 suggest that Mead did not think Boswell would be there.

³ The two Fellow-Commoners in question were John Lynne (or Linn) and William Huddleston. The former had left in 1618 owing Mead £16 5d. (£2 of which was repaid in March 1631). The latter had left in 1621 with debts of £21 8s. 1d. (£10 of which was repaid in November 1628); CCA, T.11.1, folio 37r; T. 11. 2, folio 8v; Peile, i. 315-36, 332. Given the sums in question it is not surprising Mead was so curious about the size of Taysborough’s estate; £37 must have been a considerable loss to him.

⁴ This was the last time the Bill of Mortality was given such prominence (until the next epidemic of 1630); henceforth these figures were added as a postscript to Meddus’s letters, the usual source for such information. See above, p. 285 lines 18–20 and Appendix III.
Bag of Plymouth & Master Fotherly to tell him, that they had many things to object unto him, which unless in person or by proxie he should answere by the Wednesday following, they meant to proceed against him. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances. On Monday they granted 3 subsidies & 3 fifteennes to be presented to his Majestie together with their grievances.

5 Ten "Causes" of the evils besetting the kingdom had been debated on Saturday 25 March, of which four (countenancing of papists, not guarding the "Narrow Seas and coasts", the holding of too many offices and the sale of honours) had been resolved to be the Duke's fault, the "4 grievances" of Mead's report; *PP 1626*, ii. 368. It was resolved that the House would debate the matter further the following Wednesday and that Sir James Bagg and Mr. Fotherley should inform the Duke; ibid., p. 370.

6 Ibid., pp. 381–82. The subsidies and fifteenths were to be paid on the last day of June, October and April (1627) respectively. This depended, however, upon redress of grievances; ibid., p. 381; Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 291. He has noted (ibid.) that the sum voted represented about a third of Charles's military commitments for the coming year; not surprisingly, perhaps, Charles rejected supply on these terms on 29 March; see n. 11 below.

7 *PP 1626*, ii. 386.


9 *PP 1626*, ii. 391–94; Coventry's references to Coke and Turner are on p. 392. He told the Commons that "[their] committees have walked in the steps of Turner" (ibid.), indicating the King's exasperation at the continued investigation of the Duke sparked off by Turner's questions of 11 March. Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 290, has called Coventry's statement the "plain and literal truth".

10 *PP 1626*, ii. 392–93.

11 Ibid., p. 394.
resolve what they would give or would not. The event we know not, but much feare: every body cryes Quos perdere vult Jupiter eos dementat. And a strong conceit possesses men, that we shall perish willfully, which God forbidd. Bishop Usher preached at Saint Maries on King Charles his day. His text 1 Samuel 12 verses 24 25 Look it, & guesse what he might say.

France hath agreed with Spaine, will most cruelly (they say) confiscate all our Merchants goods that is take 40 & above for one. Our Ambassadors departed in very ill Termes. Spaine hath a Fleet of some 50 sayle about Biscay. Thought for Ireland.

Thus with my best respect I rest & am

Your most ready

Christ's Colledge to be commanded

April 1 Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 3] him & no-su weekly MS.
line 39] The Bishop Usher MS.
lines 47-50, Thus...Mead] a continuation of the letter in the margin.

12 Ibid; this was coupled with a threat to end the session if the Commons did not vote a more satisfactory sum.
13 An adage originally from Euripides: “Who God wishes to destroy, he first drives mad”.
14 Ussher's text was (v. 24) "Onely fear the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things he hath done for you" (v. 25) "But if yee shall doe wickedly, yee shall be consumed, both yee and your King". His sermon of Monday 27 March has not survived; one can suggest, however, that it was an exhortation to Charles and his Parliament to come to terms in the face of threats from abroad and division at home, or else England [ = Israel ] would be destroyed.
15 The merchants' goods impounded in France had still not been returned and the feeling of unease generated by the Treaty of Monzón made a Franco–Spanish combination against England seem all the more likely; Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament', pp. 264–65. Rudyerd noted the return of Holland and Carleton on 6 April; PRO SP16/24/48 [folio 75r].
16 Another rumour of the supposed Spanish Armadas; although this proved false the government had received reports that massive military preparations were underway in the Iberian peninsula; see for instance PRO SP16/23/58 [folio 87r–v], 106 [folio 165r], 107 [folio 166r–v].
His Majesties speach on Thursday last week was sayd to have bin displeasing to the Commons: but on Saturday a Messenger from the King of Denmark is sayd to bring so quick a lettre to his Majestie, that thereupon the King gave the House by a gracious letter good contentment, in bidding them goe on cheerfully, & if so they had sufficient matter against any of his, he would not protect them. It's like we shall see shortly some strange effect wrought thereby. It is sayd there come daily sundry great complaints in Parlament against the Duke, in so much that men think it will a: I have since scene a copie of the lettre & there is no such matter in it. But the whole is generall & doubtfull. Saving for hastening a supply, where his Majestie says they have bin unreasonably dilatory & tedious.

1 This either refers to Charles's message concerning Coke and Turner of Tuesday 14 March, or his speech in the Banqueting House on the afternoon of the 15th (perhaps to both); see above, p. 210. ii. 10. Mead's source may reflect dissatisfaction in the Commons over the King's complaints.

2 Although I have not traced the specific message from Christian IV, he had pressed Charles I for payment of the promised subsidies from England on a number of occasions in the early months of 1626; see W. D. Macray, Third Report on the Royal Archives of Denmark, in the Forty-Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1886), pp. 67-68. The "gracious letter" was Charles's message of Monday 20 March; PP 1626, ii. 320-21, 323-24. The Commons debated this on the 23rd and voted subsidies (with conditions) on the 27th; ibid., pp. 320, 322, 350-52 and above, p. 215. n. 6. Mead's marginal note to this item recalls Charles's reference to the "unseasonable slowness" of the Commons in voting supply; ibid., p. 324.
be hard for him to stand.\footnote{Such as the allegations reported in Mead’s letter of 22 April below, part of the Commons’ collection of material for their articles of impeachment against the Duke.}

Many letters say the King of Denmark hath recovered from the Enimy the strong Episcopall City of Osnabrug in Westphalia.\footnote{For this see above, p. 286 n. 4.}

The States have or are sending out 36 sayle of men of warre to guard the Narrow Seas from the Dunkirkers; for We as yet do it not.\footnote{Due to the threat of the Dunkirk privateers and the Archduchess’s fleet, by 1622 the United Provinces had decided to blockade the Flemish ports from 1 April until the end of October every year; Israel, p. 110. Reade notes that by “the middle of April [1626] a Dutch fleet of thirty six sail was blockading Mardyke, and it was expected that some English reinforcements would join it”; ii. 580. The English ships were never sent.}

It is said that in France our Merchants & their goods are like to suffer, & that that King upon displeasure against us hath made peace with Spaine; which cannot but be prejudicial to us & the Generall Cause. Also that Rochell is so strongly besett by Sea & Land & 3 new Forts in building against it in the Islands of Reez & Oleron, that it is not like to hold out.\footnote{This is another report of the Treaty of Monzón; see above, p. 286 n. 6. As Mead’s source pointed out, a French rapprochement with Spain was not good news for the “General Cause” of the Protestants, as any anti-Habsburg coalition needed French aid; see Cogswell, ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, pp. 264–65 (quoting line 55 here). Article VI of the treaty of Fontainebleau had allowed Louis to garrison the islands of Rhé ond Oléron, which became of considerable importance in the following year when Buckingham’s expedition arrived there; M. F., xi. 119–20 (second pagination) and above, p. 143 n. 7. Rumours of the imminent danger of La Rochelle circulated freely in London in the coming months.}

\vspace{1cm}

\textbf{London March 24}

The Parliament was the last week much grieved with his Majesties answer about the buisines which Doctor Turners Quære’s set on foot;\footnote{See n. 1 above.} but since they have received a very com
fortable letter from his Majestie, wherein he biddeth them go on cheerfully & desireth they would furnish him by their engagement with some small summe for the guarding of the Coasts. And they are fallen againe upon the Duke as fiercely as before & Doctor Turner & Master Clement Cook both cleared.

In the mean time Spaine provides to the utmost of their power; & Spinola hath quartered neare about Dunkirk 6 or 7000 horse. The Dunkirkers take our Ships dayly & 3 of their Ships presumed lately to exchange 9 pieces of ordnance with Dover Castle & the Blockhouse in a Bravad(o.)

The Spanyard hath rendred up Valtelina unto the Grysons & offered to the King of France most easy articles of peace & cessation of Armes, for all busineses on the Italian side.

His answere is not yet knowne, but presumed wilbe agreeable to them. We shall see an end quickly; for quick proceedings in all these matters is pressed by us & most necessary. The brangling French have found out new cavilles against our Ships & merchants, & still they hold all.

Last Michaelmas when our Fleet was going from Plymouth, there was a small bark of 60 tunnes manned out to Sea with 50 men & 6 monthes victualls. As they were beating out at Sea towards the Coasts of Spaine for bootie,

b: See above.

c: Lettres say now it is done. & I pray God we be not undone.

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8 Coke had already been cleared of sedition; see above, p. 216 n. 8. The reference to Turner is perhaps to the "brilliant procedural stroke" that turned the Commons' investigation of Charles's complaint against him into one on whether Turner's charges were justified; it had been resolved on 22 March that Turner had delivered the questions, and that further inquiry should be undertaken to find out whether "they be causes of our evils or not"; PP 1626, ii. 343; quote from Russell, Parliaments, p. 290. Mead's note to this passage directed Stuteville to lines 12-14 above.

9 Yet another rumour of a possible Spanish invasion.

10 I have not traced this incident, but the report was symptomatic of the naval power of the Dunkirk privateers at this time.

11 For the Treaty of Monzén see above, p. 216 lines 34-39 and n. 6.

12 See above, p. 15b n. 1; p. 216 n. 2.
a storme arising forced them in to Arez in Spaine; where
they hung out a French Flagge & having lost their boat, the
Capitaine cutt a Hoggeshead in the middle to send a man on
shore, whom he commanded to tell them in French, That they
were a poore Frenchman chased in by the English, & wanting
victualls desired them to send a Boat aboard, that they might
have some commerce. It succeeded & the Boates made hast to
the Ship; whither as the Spanyards came, they bound & cast
them into the Hold; And then 40 musketiers by help of their
boates went ashore; at whose appearance the Inhabitants
fly & abandon the Village, leaving the Booty, to be enjoyed
by these newcommers.13

The Earle of Bristol hath petitioned to the Lords, to
entertaine him into the Parliament house as their Fellow peere
& desires tryall & censure accordingly, if he hath deserved
otherwise.14

Another ditto 23 March 1625 (folio 32r)

Whether upon the Dukes kneeling before the King
to preferre the Love of his people, before the upholding of
him (as some I know not how truely report), or whether for
some other reason;15 but certaine it is, that his Majestie is reso=

13 This episode, in which a ship from Plymouth commanded by one Captain Quaile looted a Spanish village
is recounted in STC 10419. A true relation of a brave English stratagem, practised lately upon a sea-towne
in Galicia, on A3r–B1v; see also CSPV 1625–26, p. 383.

14 A petition on Bristol’s behalf had been read in the House of Lords on 22 March; PP 1626, i. 192, 196–
97. The allegations and counter-allegations between the Earl of Bristol and the Duke of Buckingham over
events in Spain in 1623 dominated proceedings in the House of Lords in May and June 1626.

15 It was reported on 25 March/4 April that Charles was “inclined to dissolve parliament. To avoid the
odium of this the duke begged on his knees for its continuation. He subsequently petitioned the other way,
but cannot get it”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 380. The suggestion that Buckingham was playing a double game
(whereby he let it be known he was in favour of the continuation of parliament but in private advocated its
dissolution) is a persuasive one; Cust, F. L., pp. 43 and n. 15 (quoting the Venetian Ambassador’s report),
77–78.
lute of holding the Parliament; and by his lettre on Monday last to the Speaker which was read & well accepted of the House he desired them to hasten their supply, & that once resolved, they should sit as long as they pleased about amending grievances.17

Yesterday, the Summe being proportioned for supplying his Majesties occasions but for 8 months, amounted to A million £77422. The particulars being £30,000 monthly to the King of Denmark; £20,000 to the Lowcountrys; £20,000 to Count Mansfield, £25,000 to Ireland, whereof a good part to be borne by the same Kingdome: besides maintaining of an Army of Ten thousand Land-men & 40 saile of Ships for defense of this Kingdome.18

In Germany each side hath 4 armes afoot. Those of our freinds are, One under the King of Denmark, A second under Count Mansfield, A third under the Duke of Wirtemberg & a Fourth under the Duke of Brunswick. Wheresoever they quarter, the Enemy & they have some river to part them.19 The King of Denmark payes his Army very royally & therefore is served by good men.20

The Inundation at Sevill hath destroyed by the Way the University either of Salamanca or Alcala (in

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16 Russell has pointed out that the session of 1626 was the longest of the decade and that Charles had good reasons for wanting to keep the parliament in being; Parliaments, pp. 269-72; see also K. M. Sharpe, The Personal Rule of Charles I (New Haven, Conn., 1992), p. 37. If Buckingham was indeed pressing for a dissolution Charles's attachment to obtaining supply through Parliament appears all the stronger given the usual identity of interest between the two; ibid., pp. 47-48.

17 See #A255, p. 215 n. 4, p. 216 n. 8.

18 Sir John Coke delivered this financial statement on Thursday 23 March, not as reported here; PP 1626, ii. 349–50. The correct grand total was £1,067,211, most of which, as reported here, was due to be spent in the next eight months; see also Russell, Parliaments, p. 270.

19 Anstruther in a dispatch of 2/12 February had listed the four Protestant armies in Germany, commanded by General Fuchs (Christian's commander of artillery), Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick and Mansfeld; PRO SP75/7/folio 22v.

20 Given Christian's financial difficulties later in the year and the continuing shortfall of the promised subsidies from England this was (not for the last time) an optimistic account of the state of the Danish army.
Latine Complutum), but which we ^ can ^ not distinguish. And some affirm the like hath happened also ^ about ^ Lisbone. 21

Textual Notes: line 10, there] altered from “their”.
line 26] it ean is MS.
line 39] 7000 men horse MS.
ibid.] Ships & dayly MS.
line 97, The...the] Mead had begun to draw his characteristic device to denote the end of the transcript, but on realising he had more to add he wrote over it.
line 99, ^ can ^] ^ can ^ MS.
line 100] also at ^ about ^ Lisbone MS.

21 See above, p. 205 n. 3; 110-112 lines 12-13.
To The Lord of Bristoll

24 March 1626

I received a Lettre from your Lordship dated the 4th of this month, written in answer to a former which I directed to your Lordship by his Majesties commandment. This last lettre according to my duty, I have shewed to his Majesty, who hath perused it and hath commanded mee to write backe to you againe, that hee finds himselfe nothing satisfied therwith. The question propounded to your Lordship from his Majestie was plaine and cleare; whether you did rather chuse to sit still without being questioned for any Erroirs past in your negotiation in Spaine, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon granted in Parliament, whereof you may have the benefit; or whether for the clearing of your innocency (whereof your selfe, your friendes, and followers are so confident) you will be contented to waive the advantage of that pardon, and put your selfe unto a legall way of examination for the tryall thereof? His Majesties purpose hereby is not to prevent you of any favors, the law hath given you, but if your assurance be such as your word and lettre importes, hee conceives it standeth not with that publique and resolute profession of your integrity to decline your tryall. His Majestie leaves the choise to your selfe, and requires from you a direct answer without circumlocution or bargaining with him for future favours before hand: But if you have a desire to make use of that pardon which cannot be denyed you, nor is any waye desired to be taken from you, his Majestie expectes, that you should at the least forbear to magnifie your service, and out of opinion of your owne innocency cast an aspersion upon his Majesties ju=

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1 Printed in Gardiner (ed.), The Earl of Bristol's defence, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

2 In spite of his alleged crimes as Ambassador to Spain, Bristol had been included in both the parliamentary pardon of 1624 and the coronation pardon of Charles I; Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624, p. 374.

3 As the events of May and June 1626 proved, Bristol chose to accuse both Buckingham and Secretary Conway of a variety of crimes in the House of Lords; ibid., p. 375.
stic in not affording you that present fullnesse of liberty and fa[=]vour which cannot be drawn from him, but in his owne good time, and according to his good pleasure. Thus much I have in commandment to write unto your Lordship, and to require your answer clearely and plainely by this messenger sent on purpose for it. And so I remaine

Whitehall this 24 of March 1625

your Lordships humble servant

Edward Conwaye

*Like Chirlet's leuer to Briitol of 20 January 1625/26, pp. above, thia letter (and Briatol'a reply below) refened to the protracted attempts by Charlea and Buckingham in 1624-26 to obtain an admission from the Earl of Bristol that he had been at fault over the negotiations for the "Spanish Match" in 1623. Bristol consistently refused to do this: after his recall from Spain in December 1623 he had, as a result, been under house arrest and was initially forbidden to attend the Parliament of 1626. For these matters see Gardiner, The Earl of Bristol's defence, pp. i-xxxvii; Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624, pp. 345-75. The text of this letter, PRO SP 16/23/46 [folio 70r-v] (printed in Gardiner (ed.), Earl of Bristol's defence, p. xxxiii) contains several minor differences to Mead's version, such as "unto his" for "to his" (line 6), "your selfe and your" for "your selfe, your" (line 13) and "out of the opinion" for "out of opinion" (lines 24-25; Gardiner's version has "out of an opinion" here).
30 March 1626

My Lord,

I have received your letter the 24th of March on the 28th, and am infinitely grieved to understand, that my former answer to yours of the 4th of March hath not satisfied his Majesty, which I will endeavor to do by this to the best of my understanding, and to that end shall answer to the particular points of your present letter with the greatest clearness I am able. First whereas you say in your letter, that the question propounded to me was plain and clear, videlicet whether I would choose to sit still without being questioned for any errors past in my negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon, whereof I may take the benefit; or whether being contented to waive the advantage of pardon, I would put myself into a legal way of examination for the trial thereof etc.

First your Lordship may be pleased to remember, That your last proposition was, whether I desired to rest in the security I was in which you now express whether I will choose to sit still. 2ly your proposition was, whether I would acknowledge the gracious favour of his late Majesty and Majesty that now is, who hath been pleased not to question my actions; when it is best knowne to your Lordship, that by a Commission of the Lords I was questioned upon 20 articles, diverse involving Felony and treason. Although it be true that when I had so answered, (as I am most confident their Lordships would have cleared me) I was so unhappy as their Lordships never met more about that business: But now your propos[=]

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1 The (probably original) text of this letter is now PRO SP16/23/102 [folios 158r-59r] (printed in Gardiner (ed.), *Defence of the Earl of Bristol*, pp. xxxiii-xxxv); it has numerous differences to that in H390. This version of Bristol's reply to Conway is less accurate than that of Conway's letter, pp. 221-24 above; the text copied by Mead must have been defective.

2 A series of twenty interrogatories concerning the conduct of his negotiations in Spain had been sent to Bristol in June 1624. These had apparently satisfied "[m]any of the Commissioners appointed to conduct the investigation" but had not resulted in the Earl's exoneration due to the opposition of Buckingham and
sition is, whether I will choose to sit still without being further questioned for Errors past; whereas before it was required that I should acknowledge that I had not been questioned at all; which is a very different thing. But conferring both your Lordships letters together, and gathering the sense and meaning by making the latter an explanation of the former, (which I could have wished your Lordship would have more clearly explained) I return unto your Lordship this plain and direct answer.

That understanding by the security I am in and sitting still not being further questioned, that I am restored to the bare freedom and liberty of a subject and peer (for a man being called into question by his Majestie, if afterward his Majestie shall be pleased out of his goodnesse, that hee rest quiett and secure; and that hee shall not be further questioned: I conceive it is not apparent, that his liberty naturally revolveth unto him, when by his Majesties grace he is pleased to declare hee shall not be further questioned, but may live in security) so understanding your letter so (for no direct answer can be made untill the sense of the question be truly stated) I doe most humbly acknowledge and accept his Majesties grace and favour, and shall not wave any benefit that may come to me by the pardon of the 21 Regni Jacobus: nor by the pardon of his Majesties happy coronation; and am so farre from bargaining (as you are pleased to expresse it) for future favour (though I hope my humble and submissive Courses of petitioning his Majestie, neither hath nor shall deserve so hard an expression) that I shall not presume so much to presse for any favour, untill my dutifull and loyall behaviour may move his Majestyes royall and gracious heart, but receive with all humbledesse this my freedom and liberty, the which I shall likewise onely make use of in such sort, as I shall judge may be most agreeable to his Majesties pleasure.

As for the 2d part of your letter wherein you say, that if I desire to make use of that pardon, his Majestie expectes, that I should at least forbear to magnifie my services, or out of an opinion of

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Prince Charles; Gardiner, v. 236; see also idem, Defence of the Earl of Bristol, pp. x-xii; Rugg, The Parliament of 1624, pp. 362-72.

3 For the pardons granted to Bristol see above, p. 223 n. 2.
mine owne innocency cast an aspersion upon his Majesties justice etc.

To this poyn I answer, that as I hope I shall never erre in the poyn of immodesty of valueing my services; (which I acknowledge have bene accompanied with weaknesses and disabilityes) so I trust it shall not displease, that I make use for my owne comfort, and the honour of my posterity of those many written testimonies which my late most blessed Master hath left mee of his gracious acceptance of my services for the space of 20 yeares: so likewise I hope the modest avowing of mine innocency will not be thought to cast any aspersion upon his Majesties honour or justice. And I must freely confesse unto your Lordship, that I am much afflicted to see Inferences of this nature made both in your Lordships Last letter and in this: For if it shall be inferred as a thing reflecting upon the Kings honour, That a man questioned shall Endeavour to defend his owne innocency before he be convict, it will be impossible for any man to be safe; for the honour of his Majestie is too sacred a thing for any subject, how innocent soever, to contest against: so likewise god forbid, that it should be brought into Consequence (as in your former letter) as a tax upon the government and Justice of his late Majestie and Majestie that now is, that I should have suffered so long. If I were not guilty. For as I never have bene heard so much as to repine of injustice in their Majestyes in all my sufferings; So I well know, that the long continuance of my troubles may well be attributed unto other causes, as to my owne errors of passion or other accidentes. For your Lordship may well remember, that my affaires were almost 2 yeares since upon the poyn of an happy accommodacion, had it not bene interrupted by the infortunate mistakeing of the speeches I used to Master Clarke. I shall conclude by

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4 Bristol was later allowed by the House of Lords to produce documents in his possession as part of the case for his defence; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 311, 320; see also below, p. 237 n. 3.

5 At the same time as the twenty interrogatories were sent to him (see n. 2 above) Bristol had asked the Marquis of Hamilton to intercede with Buckingham in the hope of ending the case against him. In response the Duke had sent his servant Edward Clerke with a number of propositions, which Bristol refused: part of the deal was that the Earl would lose his office as Vice-Chamberlain of the Household. In addition, Bristol showed Clerke a paper "containing the particulars wherein the Duke had disserved him"; once Buckingham heard of this the attempt at reconciliation came to nothing; Ruigh, pp. 367–68.
in treating of your Lordships favour, that I may understand from you, as I hope, for my comfort; that this letter hath given his Majestie satisfaction, or if there should yet remaine any scruple, that I may have a cleare and plaine signification of the Kings pleasure, which I shall obey with all humility.

30th of March 1626

Your Lordships humble servant

Bristoll

Textual Notes: lines 4–92, that my former...all humility] this portion of the letter is in the same hand as that which transcribed the previous letter.
line 11, errors] Errors ^ errors ^ past MS; the interlineation by Mead.
line 18, will] interlined by Mead.
line 22, articles] articlees MS.
line 24] would of ^ have ^ MS; interlineation by Mead.
line 28] at ^ all ^ the; which MS.
line 42] letter for he ^ so ^ MS; interlineation by Mead.
line 56] wherein I des you MS.
line 58, to magnifie] interlined by Mead.
ibid., services] servicees MS.
ibid., an] interlined by Mead.
line 61, services] servicees MS.
line 62, disabilityes] disabilityes MS.
line 63] use of ^ for ^ MS; interlineation by Mead.
line 67, services] servicees MS.
line 82, troubles] troublees MS.
line 85] ^ an ^ unhappy MS; interlineation by Mead.
line 87] conclude by the MS.
8 April 1626

Sir,

I have received yours, & thank you for your information of the Knight. He came to me without so much as a freind to make him knowne.\(^1\) Onely had fallen into the company of Mun Bell about Newmarket as he was coming from his mothers out of Norfolk.\(^2\) Of his wives Recusancy himselfe told me, & that he desired in that respect that there should be a speciall care taken of his Sons for training them in the true Religion, whom he hoped as yet were untainted, though not very well informed, by default of some Schoolmasters he had trusted.\(^3\)

For newes, tis even as bad as it was. I told you in my last the harsh speach the Parlament on Wednesday was sennight had from the King & the Keeper.\(^4\) One passage I saw since in a lettre from a Parlament man, which was then omitted. Viz That his Majestie with some reference to Master Cooks words (for which the Parlament refused to censure him) should speake in this manner, & assure them he spake as he thought "That it was much better to have his Kingdome invaded by an Enimie, than to be despited by his owne Subjects. An ominous Speach! God avert both the one & the

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\(^1\) Sir Martin's report must have been satisfactory, as Sir John Taylsborough's sons Charles and Creasy entered Christ's College as Fellow-Commoners on 25 May 1626; above, p. 214 n. 3; Peile, i. 374.

\(^2\) Edmund Bell was the eldest son of Sir Edmund of Upwell in Norfolk; Peile, i. 356.

\(^3\) Sir John's wife Lettice was a well-known recusant; when he lay dying in 1629 (leaving his heir Charles as a ward of the Crown) her religion was considered a likely hindrance to her having custody of her son; Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1628–29, ed. J. Bruce (1859), p. 487.

\(^4\) See above, pp. 215–16 lines 27–35 and notes.
other.\textsuperscript{5} The next day as soone as they were mett againe Sir John Eliot rose up & made a resolute (I doubt whether a timely) speach. The summe whereof was, That they came not thither either to do what the King should command them, nor to abstaine where he forbad them, & therefore they should continue constant to maintaine their priviledges, & not to do either more or lesse for what had bin sayd unto them.\textsuperscript{6} But the Lords the same day desired a Conference with them, where the Duke made them a faire & submissive speach. First expounding his Majesties meaning in confining their time for a resolved answere about their supplie, that if they could not conveniently do it in that space, they might take a 2 or 3 days more. Secondly he made an Apologie for himselfe, acknowledging & confessing some things amissee, but answering the rest that were objected so well, that those who were indifferent or not much his Enemies seemed then well satisfyed. So some Parliament men, then wrot.\textsuperscript{7} Since that time, they have bin very secret & silent, & as it were surcharged with the difficulties arising in their consultations.\textsuperscript{8} But on Wednesday last they brought His Majestie their peremptorie answere viz That the Kingdome was overburdened

\textsuperscript{5} In his speech on 29 March Charles said that “Mr Cooke told you that it was better to be eaten up by a foreign enemy abroad than to be destroyed at home. Indeed I do think it is more honour to be destroyed by a foreign enemy than to be despised at home and abroad”; \textit{PP 1626}, ii. 395.

\textsuperscript{6} Mead’s summary of Eliot’s speech in the committee of the whole House on 30 March is not entirely accurate; the latter had justified the Commons’ proceedings and moved that a Remonstrance to the King be drawn up to that effect; \textit{PP 1626}, ii. 397–98, 403–04; Russell, \textit{Parliaments}, p. 292.

\textsuperscript{7} Conway and Pembroke also spoke at the conference on Thursday 30 March. The speeches are given in \textit{PP 1626}, ii. 399–403, 404–13; the Duke’s “expounding his Majesties meaning” in giving the Commons more time to grant supply is on pp. 399, 405; his apology for himself on pp. 400–03, 405–13. See also Russell, \textit{Parliaments}, pp. 292–93.

\textsuperscript{8} After his speech on 30 March (see n. 6 above), on the following day Eliot moved that a Remonstrance be prepared. The Commons resolved to do so on 1 April, and it was completed on Tuesday the 4th; \textit{PP 1626}, ii. 415, 418–20, 423–24, 427–28.
a with grievances all springing from one root, & therefore desired his Majestie that they might enquire into & question any Subject without exception; otherwise they had nothing to say to the subsidies or supply which his Majestie demand'd: For they would not give their posteritie a cause to curse them, for loosing those privileges by restraint which their Forefathers left them. Their Answere to this Remonstrance they are to receive when they meet againe after the Holiadaies: As many as can are to meet on Thursday next, but on Monday following none of the House to be absent upon paine of Parliamentaire censure. The Dunkirks still take our Ships daily & no provision by us yet to resist them. Lord! what will become of these things! Was not willfull pertinacie the fatall signe & cause of Jerusalems Destruction? When the Egyptians Exodus 14 verses 24 25 saw their Armie so untimely troubled & their Charret wheeles to fly off in

On 4 April Sir Richard Weston protested at the Commons' naming the Duke of Buckingham in their Remonstrance, saying "it is not fit to name...Buckingham, whom the King named to us [in his speech of 29 March] hoping we would not name him back again to him"; PP 1626, ii. 427; Russell, Parliaments, p. 293.

The completed Remonstrance was read in the Commons and presented to Charles on Wednesday 5 April; ibid., ii. 430–31, 434; the text is in ibid., pp. 432–34. What was probably the original engrossed text is now PRO SP16/24/31 [folio 39v]. Copies were widely circulated: apart from those listed in PP 1626, ii. 432 n. 14, there is one among Sir Julius Caesar's papers; British Library, Additional MS 34324, folio 244r–v.

Charles did not immediately answer the Remonstrance, and requested the House to adjourn until Thursday 13 April. The Commons agreed to do so by a majority of 30; PP 1626, ii. 431, 434. Russell has suggested that, under the circumstances, "a dissolution might reasonably have been expected" at this point, with Charles and the Commons in a seemingly irreconcilable position; Parliaments, p. 293. For his analysis of why this did not happen see ibid., pp. 293–99.

The Venetian Ambassador estimated on 7/17 April that the Dunkirkers had captured 120 English ships; CSPV 1625–26, p. 387.
the pursuit of their Enemies they took it for an ominous signe, & sayd, The Lord figheth for them against the Egyptians. What shall we say or think, when the Chariots & horsmen of our Israel, are confounded & off the wheeles at such a time as this? Lord have mercy upon us & open our Eyes.

Upon Monday was sennight, (King Charles his Initium Regni) there was a Earthquake in the North parts. I will give you the very words of 2 lettres as I read & escribed them; their authors sufficient & both of my acquaintance.

Repton in Darbishire
March 29

There was in these parts round about us in all places a terrible Earthquake upon Monday last about two of the clock in the afternoone; which was observed

b: March 27.

14 The text Mead cited is as follows: (v. 24) "And it came to passe, that in the morning watch the Lord looked unto the horse of the Egyptians, through the pillar of fire, and of the cloude, and troubled the hoste of the Egyptians." (v. 25) "And tooke off their charret wheeles, that they drove them heavily; So that the Egyptians said. Let us flee from the face of Israel: for the Lord figheth for them, against the Egyptians".

15 This striking passage, transposing the charioteers of scripture from foes of the Lord to the misguided representatives of "our Israel", reveals Mead's deep-seated fears about the likely turn of events; he evidently expected the Parliament to be dissolved soon. In his view, unless those at Westminster and elsewhere were capable of reading the signs of imminent destruction divine retribution could not be long deferred.

16 It is no coincidence that Mead followed his outburst with these accounts of the earthquake; this portentous natural event could be seen as a complement to affairs in the human world and a premonition of trouble to come. The correspondent from Repton in lines 99-101 knew those who had made this connection by linking the earthquake with Charles's accession.
Waikton in Northamptonshire
March 30

We had here an Earthquake on Munday last about two a clock afternoone, notwithstanding the wind was then troublesome to our Seedsmen: which is contrary to the observation of Plinie Nunquam intremiscit Terra nisi sopito salo caeloque tranquillo &c. 18

He that brought the first lettre was one Master Kendales man, a gentleman upon the Edge of Leycest[er]shire, & affirmed it had throwne downe part of a new chimney of his Masters & another from those parts come hither to one of our Schollers affirms the like of part of his owne house. The Earle of Huntingdon called in his Servants to know what the matter was. 19 The selfe same day at night Mon Bell comes to me, askes me, if I heard no newes of what (quoth I). He answeres of an Earthquake. For 2 Batchelors in the chamber nere above me affirmed

c: Rather when King Charles was proclaimed; for King James dyed about Noone.

17 As Mead noted in lines 99–100, James I had died at Theobalds a little before noon on 27 March 1625; Charles was proclaimed King there about noon and at 5pm in London; Gardiner, v. 312–14; Larkin, p. 1, n. 1. I have not identified the author of the letter.

18 Mead's correspondent was Nicholas Estwick, a former Fellow of Christ's who had become Rector of Warkton in September 1617; Peile, i. 241. The two were regular correspondents, as demonstrated by Epistles 63–64, 67–69 in Worthington, Yyyy1r–2r, Yyyy4v–6v. Lines 85–86 are explained by the quotation from Pliny: "Tremors of the earth never occur except when the sea is calm and the sky so still that birds are unable to soar because all the breath that carries them has been withdrawn"; G. Plinius Secundus, Natural History, tr. and ed. H. Rackham et al., 10 vols (1961–68), i. 322–25.

19 The Earl of Huntingdon was Henry Hastings, the 3rd Earl; "Master Kendale" was probably one of the family that had held land at Twycross (some two to three miles from the Leicestershire/Warwickshire border, hence line 90) since at least the early fifteenth century, although I have not identified the family member in question: GEC, vi. 658; The Victoria County History of the County of Leicester, 5 vols, eds. W. Page et al. (1907–64), ii. 188.
so much unto him, that about 2 a clock, as they were private, their chamber shook &c. I checked him, & bid him raise no gulls, & to bid them also to hold their peace, unless they heard others to have observed the like as well as themselves. But now it appears not to have bin a mere fancy. Is it not strange, that we can hear of none in the whole Towne, that observed any such thing but these two? Saving that some will now call to mind I know not what, when they hear of it from other places? 20

Of Forraine newes we hear nothing. The Dunkirks stop all. 21 France as bad as before. 22 The Spanish Inundation at Sivil is still confirmed for certaine. See heere what I send you. 23

Thus with my best & wonted respect to your self(e) & my Lady, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
Aprill 8

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

One Marston a Singingman of Trinitie Colledg lodging in the house of one Dishcr a bookbinder made much of a child of his, a wench not fully 8 ycarcs old; which the Foolish parent suffered to lye with him most part of this winter. Now it is discovered, that Marston

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20 Mead, having had to deal with so many unfounded rumours in dealing with his news was understandably concerned about spreading any "gulls" himself about the earthquake. The "Batchelors" of line 98 were presumably in residence studying for their M. As.

21 In his report cited in n. 13 above, the Venetian Ambassador noted that "Owing to...[the Dunkirkers] there is a scarcity of many things and the people in the country are always afraid of being attacked"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 387; see also Reade, ii. 582. The transit of foreign news would be one casualty of such a blockade.

22 For this see above, p. 214 n. 15, and references cited.

23 This is C3r–4v of STC 18507.178, the latest edition of The continuation of our weekly newes, published in the week before April 8: see the photocopy after p. 235 below. It is probable Mead only sent these pages rather than the whole text; see Appendix I. Mead's annotations and corrections on pp. 21–22 of the printed text were characteristic; see the Introduction, p. 41 n. 191.
hath often known the child. Who it seems was, not displeased with it. Is it not strange? But the child's belly is swoln, (which occasioned the first suspicion & examination) & the midwives are sayd, upon their search to affirm the Child hath conceived. Stupendum! Marston is apprehended, layd in the Tolboth with bolts upon his heeles &c. What buisines it will prove God knowes. 24

Textual Notes: line 11] were unaigned untainted MS. line 12, default] defaulted MS. line 20] That he thought it it was MS. line 45, root, root MS. line 52, receive] received MS. line 53] are to MS. line 54] following that MS. line 71] as I read MS. line 103, them] themse MS. line 121] the foolish made much MS. line 129] their seach search MS.

24 I have not traced this incident; Samuel Disher was a bookbinder and stationer of St. Botolph's parish, Cambridge. The "Tolboth" (line 131) was the Cambridge prison; see M. C. Siratt, "Some Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Cambridge under Elizabeth I" (University of Cambridge M. Litt. thesis, 1978), p. 23. (I would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Leedham-Green for this reference). Marston was hanged for his crime in July 1626; see below, p. 387 lines 57-59.
(19)

A true Relation of the fearfull Diaftcr which hapned both in and about Siuill, which is one of the chiefest Cities of Spaine, on the 25. of January, of this yeere 1626.

Printed according to the Copies which have beene printed both in Cordua and in Paris with license of their Superiors.

In the Province of Andolusie, which is a part of the king dome of Spaine, on the borders of that River which the Arabians and Moorees have called Quadalquiro, by reason of its swiftnesse and abundance of water, is feated the City of Siuill, which doth not only surpasse all other Cities of Spaine, in delicate and riches, concourse of Merchants, and multitude of Citizens, but may likewise be compared with the chiefest and most famous Cities of Europe. This River for the space of many yeares ran very orderly and peaceably without doing any notable hurt to the fields which lye neere it, vntill the 24. day of the month of January, of this present yeare 1626. On which day (to be payed once for all its former services) it being increas'd by the violences of the water which came downe from the Mountaynes, it ran out of its ordinary channell, and couering with water all the Territorie of the said Citie, it drowned Triana, destroyed Tablada, and raisings it selfe round about the walls of Siuill, it lookt as the little Islands doe which lye in the Ocean. At the first beholding of this prodigious accident, the Inhabitants were stroke with great admiration, the women went to the Churches to appeale with their prayers Godds wrath and anger, the men went to the walls, and strengthened all such places as they thought that were not strong enouhg to reist the violence of the water, the increase of which they perceiuing by their eye sight, put them in feare to see in a short space of time, an unutterable disssembling of their Citie, goods, houses, and of their owne persons. About one of the chowkes in the night time, the violence of the
the violence of the water being very exceeding great, it ruined the Gate of L'Areuall, and entering through the same, it runne as an impetuous streame through the street of Genues, the place of plaine of Saint Francis was presently replenished: and within the space of two hours (to be short) three foure parts of the City were wholly drowned, the water being as high as the uppermost stories of such houses as were of a reasonable height, and the most part of them were beaten downe, demolished and carried away by the violence of the water.

It was a pitifull thing to heare amongst the horrores of the night, the cries and lamentations of such persons as were drowning in the houes; some of them leaped out of the windowes, and saved themselves by swimming, the other broke the rooffes to come out, the chambers being already full of water. The Magistrates of the Citie went in Barkes through the streets, receiving in them all such persons as they could get againe. To the great houses, which could not be hurt by the water, were presently transported the Religious persons of the Monasteries of the Passion, of Santilla Maria, of Grace, of Saint Clare, of Belon, of the Conception, and of Saint Michael.

On the 25. of the same moneth, there arose such a boisterous wind that it disrooted trees, and carried men away; and in the same time a great Raine falling downe, it followed the course of the water: this tempest lasted till the 26. of the aforesaid moneth; on which day the Deane and Chapter made a very solemn Procession, in which all the Prebendaries went bare-footed. After that many Prayers were said; the wind ceased, but the raine continued till the next day.

The tempest being ceased, and the water being appeased and became calme, the ruins and remaner of this lamentable inundation, could more easily be seene. The three parts of the City were wholly couered with water, and in particular the Gate of Gerez, the Custoome house, & the houes which belong to it, the Oyle strete, the strete of Saint Michael, the Gate of the strete of L'Areuall, with all the remains of
that quarter till the Gate of Pardon: the place called Alcalze-
ria, in which many Goldsmiths dwell, the street of Gennes, the
place of Saint Francis, the place called La Paieria, the street of
the Dyers, the street of the Serpent, and the street of the Catha-
lans. Moreover, the Churches of S. Vincent, of all Saints, Santa
Luce, and a part of Saint Stephen's Church: the Gate of Carma-
nia, with all the Quarter of Alameda: Likewise the Cloysters of
S. Francis, S. Bona, S. Bonaudette, of our Lady of Mercy, of the
Carmelites, S. Anthony, the College of the Jesuits, the Semi-
nary, the College of Rodrigo, S. Augustine, the Spittle of Gods
love, (as it is called in Spaine) that of the Mount of Sion, and
two Cloysters of the Minor Fryers: it would be tedious & trou-
blesome to describe all the particulars of this inundation, for
from the Steeple of the great Church, till Triana, there was no-
ting to be seen but water, and roofs of the highest houses, the
remaider being either ruined or drowned. The place where
was vied to be the Oyle street, was all covered with Oyle, & it is
thought that the losse of it amounteth to more then 400000 Flor-
sins or 40000 li. English money: there were likewise 3000 chests
of Sugar, molten and spoyle in the water which covered the
Duana. All the Annis feed was wet, and there were lost above
100000 measures of Indian Annis feed, besides all the wood of
Brazil which was there, there were drowned more then 1000
Cows, and all Tablada, till the place which is called Toril. To be
short, all the Oxen, Horses, Asses and other domestick beasts
were drowned. It is not as yet knowne exactly what losse parti-
cular persons have sustayned, nor how many men there have bin
drowned, but it is cattie to be gesst, that there are many persons
drowned and great damages done: for the water is almost coue-
cred with broken household-stuffe & dead bodies both of men and
beasts, which lie there one among the other, & make a horrible
spectacle to such as beheld it;

Such as have escaped this inundation are retired into the
churches which have not beene endamaged by the water.
And such as have not beene ruined, contribute charitably
towards their maintenance. Many give to such, whose servants
they would willingly have beene foure dayes agoe, and accoun-
ted
Chapter of the great Church giveth daily victuals in bread, and the Convent of Tour 500. Quintals of biscuit, each one of the other reliques them according to their power with Bread, Cheefe, Figs, and such other things as are necessarie for the sustentation of a mans life, but all is there now to deare that hardly any thing can be gotten for money.

Of all the Cittie there is nothing else left then the Quarters of Saint Nicaeus, and of Saint Isidore, with the upper part of the great Church, even in such manner that the fame Cittie which fourne dayes before was ranked amongst the greatest Citties of Europe, is now as big as a Borough or market-Towne; By which it appeareth that there is nothing durable in worldly things, leaing that they are subject to alterations, and chances, & that consequently we ought not to settle our minds on them.

An abstract of letters written in Spaine on the 10. of March.

Flat about Stuhl there was a great flood wherein were overthrown 7000. houses, 5000 persons, some saye 1000. persons, and 16000. Cattle, and six Millions of goods, and that there is a publication made that whatsoever will bring in corn and other victuals may carry away money, and other commodities without any contradiction; for upon this flood there is a great death, so that victuals are risen to a double price and it is thought that they will be much dearer for much corn ground wert-flower.

From Paris the 12. of March.

The Jesuites which are in this Kingdome meeting many tymes together, the Court of Parliament hath forbidden them to keep any more, and causeth a pellicrous booke of theirs to be burned by the hand of the hangman.

The booke which is published at Rome against the authority of Kings is here likewise burned in the same manner.

It is here reported that the Jesuites will not subscribe the six Articles, which the Parliament hath desired them to subscribe. The first of those Articles is that the King of France holdeth his kingdom from God, and keepeth it by the sword, nor holding it from any man. The second Article was that the King is as well Governor of causes Spirituall as Temporall.
Worthy Sir,

After I had written my last, I saw the Doctors leite, who mentioned no such thing in the Remonstrance the House of Commons gave to the King, as a Refusall of Supply to the present necessities of State, nor yet the contrary. For the rest, he agreed with what I sent you.¹

He added, It was newes & confirmed, That the Duke of Bavaria (the Elector) is dead & that his brother Albertus succeeds him.² If this be true, the Electorship is voyd for it was conferred onely upon his person, during life, & not yet confirmed to his Posteritie.³

Mansfield is thought ere this to be nere Silesia, for he was a month agoe marched beyond Ratenaw in the Marquisate of Brandenburg, nor could the Enimie then make way to follow him, though they pressed hard to gett through Maydenburg, which is under

a: Maximilian.

¹ See above, p. 231 n. 10.
² This rumour of Maximilian’s death was false. Meddus’s interest can be gauged from Mead’s comment in a letter of 1631 (regarding a similar rumour) that “if he [Meddus] had had that to write, he should not have complained for want of newes”; H390, folio 510v. Although more than one rumour of Maximilian’s death reached London during 1626 he was, ironically, one of the last of the major participants in the Thirty Years’ War to die (in 1651).
³ Frederick, Elector Palatine, had been outlawed by Ferdinand II on 19/29 January 1620/21 and Maximilian had been invested with Frederick’s Electoral title on 15/25 February 1622/23; as Mead pointed out, it was for life only; Wedgwood, pp. 135, 162.
the Protection of the Elector of Saxony. Other foraine
newes we have not; the Dunksiks will lett us have none.

The Bishop of Glocester is questioned in the Convocation for
preaching transubstantiation or neere it, before the King.

Master Suteville informs me, That on "Wednesday" was fortnight
the day his Majestie so severely checked the Parliamentary pro-
ceedings, The Duke also took upon him to check Sir Francis Steward
with these words as they came forth of the house.

Sir Francis. Though you have not spared me this Parlament time
yet I have spar’d you. The Answer was, My Lord, Concerning
the first, I have bin very silent in your affaires; but for the
last you deserve no thanks, wherein have you spar’d me?

Duke. When all passages shalbe examined, you will not be found
so cleere from pillaging, as your flourishes persuade the world.

Sir Francis. My Lord you had best to begin with me betimes, for to
morrow in the morning I meane to fall upon you. Thus they
parted. My author addes, would you beleeve that the
Admirall of England should challenge him who brought so much
wealth the last Summer into the Kingdome, with 2 buttes of
sack & a bariell of Tobacco, which was taken for present
necessaries for himselfe & his men? Besides ————

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4 On 2/12 February Anstruther had reported Christian’s orders to Mansfeld to march up the Elbe and lodge at
“Hagelberg in the Elector of Brandenburgs landes”; PRO SP75/7/folio 22v. Constant reports of Mansfeld’s
movements reached London during 1626 but they were seldom particularly accurate.

5 See above, p. 234 n. 21.

6 On Sunday 26 March the Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, had preached a sermon before Charles I
in which he had “stressed the Real Presence in the Eucharist” and was subsequently questioned for it;
61.

7 29 March. See above, pp. 235–64 lines 20–75 and notes.

8 In August 1625 Stewart had been appointed as commander of a squadron of ships appointed to attack the
Sallee pirates which had not been successful; in that year he had also, however, taken a richly-laden
Dunkirk; Gardiner, vi. 11; PRO SP16/2/108 [folio 223r], SP16/3/1 [folio 1r]. Although Buckingham’s
comments were probably only a pretext to attack Stewart he was technically correct; the letters of marque
issued during the sea wars of the 1620s made it illegal to “break bulk” (to use or consume any captured
cargo at sea before the prize ship had been fully inventoried in an English port); Appleby, pp. 31–32, 122.
would you beleive that the Generall of our late fleet
hath gotten the better of all the Colonells, & Sea-captaines about
the miscarriage of the Fleet? It is true; & yesterday (April 6)
at the Councell table it was so adjudged. Wonder not, The
Great Duke bare him out, & all stood mum, &
the fault is layd upon old Captaine Geere the onely man who
behaved himselfe well, & an old Captaine of the Queenes.9
I cannot yet heare what answere His Majestie hath given
to the Parlaments Remonstrance, which was supposed he would do
as last Thursday.10
Thus with my wonted & best respect, I rest & am
I desire to be remembred
to the Doctor, who as he writes will
be with you this night.11 commanded Joseph
[Chrisst Colledg
Mead
Aprill 15]

Textual Notes: line 4, Remonstrance] Remonstrate MS.
lines 22–23] on Thursday ^ Wednesday ^ was fortnight the day after his
Majestie MS.
line 43] mum, as they say, & MS.
lines 49–53, Thus...Mead] A continuation of the letter in the margin.
lines 53–54, Christs...April] I have supplied Mead's rare omission of place &
date.

For Sir Kenelm Digby's comments made in 1627 on the dilemma facing captains like Stewart see ibid., p.
117.
9 I have not found any reference to this episode, although (perhaps not coincidentally) Sir Michael Gere had
written a scathing account of the Cadiz expedition, PRO SP16/11/49 [folios 110r–111r]. The Venetian
Ambassador reported Buckingham's support for Wimbledon; CSPV 1623–26, p. 391.
10 Charles's answer to the Commons on Thursday 13 April was that he would not reply to the Remonstrance
due to lack of time; PP 1626, ii. 436.
11 If this refers to Meddus it is the only occasion known to me when he went to Dalham. The reference is
possibly to Dr. Thomas Warner, a regular visitor there.
For Parliament news (and that is all I yet hear)

I saw a letter yesterday, from a Parliament man, the summe whereof was this.

London April 20.

We spent 3 days last week in preparation for our Sea-war, & some common publick Acts.

On Monday the complaints against the Bishop of Bangor for simony, incontinence, licensing of incestuous marriages, bribery, extortion were produced; & incontinency the most palpably proved

a: The King's answer to the Parliament's Remonstrance on Thursday was sennight [written vertically in the margin and then deleted; see Textual Notes.]

1 Mead's correspondent was perhaps the same that provided details of Charles's speech of Wednesday 29 March (see pp. 293-5 above, lines 7-8 and 11). It seems likely, however, from Mead's language (both here and on p. 219 above) that the letter was sent to someone else in the town who allowed Mead a sight of it; see line 4, for instance. Whoever wrote it was no friend of the Duke, and (perhaps mindful of his audience) concerned primarily with questions of religion. Given Mead's book purchases for Sir Martin the business concerning Montagu must have been particularly interesting.

2 "The House turned to a grand committee, concerning sea war" on Friday 14 April; PP 1626, ii. 440. See n. 16 below.

3 Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor since 1616 and the author of the enormously successful The practise of piety (STC 1601.5-24). Well-known for his "puritan" leanings, he had been in trouble before; having been reprimanded by the Privy Council in 1619 he was questioned by the High Commission in 1621 on a charge of simony and briefly imprisoned. In spite of the impressive list of complaints against him, the Commons did not reach a decision on his case in 1626 before the session was dissolved on 15 June; Chronology, p. 292; DNB, i. 1368-69; PP 1626, iii. 3, n. 3.
that ever I heard; for the rest, the witnesses were not come in.  

After followed Master Montague as his chaplain, whose report spent 2 hours, was delivered by Master Pym so well & fully that the most admired & Montague's friends were amazed: the effect was, that not one man spake in the house but in de
testation of him; & his best friends were observed to leave the House, before the question came. The opinion of the Committee was, that he was guilty of a publick offence against the State & so to be presented unto the Lords. This day was peremptorily set for him to be heard, if he will; & the Questions onely to be these, Whether he were the Author of the Gagge, of the Appeale, of the Treatise of Invocation of Saints? Whether he knew or gave order for the printing of them? And 4 privy Counsellors were sent as messengers to the King to give order that no book of his might be printed, untill they had determined of the former.

On Monday also we entred into consideration of the Search of the Clinke, where all altars, copes, chalices, pictures, money, plate, & Jewells &c were seized on, & were estimated at £4000, were notwithstanding stayd by the Archbishop who would now qualify the business: Much good I hope will come thereof; many villanies & unknowne tricks upon this one dayes examination were brought to light, & a Priest shewed Master Montegue's book affirming to the Searchers, it was publiquely authorised & the Doctrine of the Church of England. On Friday

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4 The charges presented against Bayly on Monday 17 April were simony, perjury, incontinency, licensing of illegal marriages, bestowing livings upon unworthy candidates, extortion, slander and assault; PP 1626, iii. 5, 10–11; see also PRO SP16/25/10 [folio 13r].
5 Of Religion, on whose behalf Pym made his report; PP 1626, iii. 3, n. 6.
6 Ibid., pp. 4, 9. A detailed summary of Pym's arguments is in ibid., pp. 5–9. See also PRO SP16/25/10 [folios 10r–13r].
7 Respectively, STC 18038, A gagg for tht new goipell?; STC 18030, Appello Casarem; and STC 18039, Immediate addresse unto God alone.
8 After Pym's statement, Montagu's case was deferred until Wednesday 19 April when these interrogatories were reported to the Commons. Four Privy Councillors (Secretary of State Sir John Coke, Vice-Chamberlain Sir Dudley Carleton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Sir Humphrey May, and Groom of the Stole Sir James Fullarton) were chosen to send the message; PP 1626, iii. 24–25.
we proceed & Saturday.9 Billes are passed for regulating citations & inhibiting 40 Drovers, Carriers & Butchers upon the Lords day.10 Buisinesses against the Duke come in very fast; yesterday a summe of £10,000 from the East-Indian Companie.11 This day a Servant of the Earle of Bristol (Walsingham Grisley) came into our House, & sayd, he heard his Lord say, That if he might be heard, he would make it apparent that the ill successse of the Negotiation concerning the Palatinate was the Dukes fault.12 The Lords also (by report) question some acts of his in an high & stout unexpected manner. He hath bin sick most part of this last week & is yet, & it may be animo as well as Corpore.13 Thus much that lettie.

I heare besides of a Bill come downe from the Lords house to prohibit any subject of what degree soever to were any gold or silver lace, or gilding coaches &c excepting onely the Kings " children ". Those who have such, have time to weare them out till March next.14 That the Earle of Bristol (Digby) hath putt " up " a terrible Bill against the Duke in the upper house.15 That there was a proposition in the house for the Gentlemen of England to maintaine a Fleet to infest the coastes of Spaine, to be exempt from the Admiraltie &c., & to enjoy to

9 On Friday 7 April the Clink prison was raided by the Middlesex constabulary; a description of what was found is in Rushworth, i. lIIv-lI3v. Archbishop Abbot, however, due to the fact that King James had offered his protection to the Catholic priests resident in the prison restrained the searchers from removing anything; ibid., lIIr.

10 These were sent to the Lords on 21 April, neither becoming law in this session (that concerning the Sabbath did in 1628, however); PP 1626, i. 295, 297; Russell, pp. 276–77; Statutes, v. 25 (3rd Car. l. c. 2). They were probably the "publick Acta" mentioned in line 8 above.

11 The E. I. C. had paid the Duke (and James I) this sum each in 1624 to prevent any repercussions after the Company’s capture of Ormuz in 1622; Gardiner, v. 238–41; K. N. Chaudhuri, The English East India Company (1965), pp. 29, 31; see also PRO SP16/25/50 (folio 67r).

12 Grisley’s comments were brought to the attention of the Commons on 19 April. One version of his words is as follows: "[Grisley] heard his Lordship say that if he might be heard he doubted not but to make it appear that the ill success in the negotiation [for the?] Palatinate may be attributed to my Lord of Buckinghams fault". Mead’s source may have been present at this time; PP 1626, iii. 25; Russell, p. 302.

13 Buckingham had been ill since the Easter recess of Parliament; Lockyer, pp. 318–19.

14 The progress and eventual failure of this sumptuary measure is discussed by Russell, p. 275.

15 The Earl’s petition against Buckingham had been read in the Lords on 19 April; PP 1626, i. 284; pp. 248–49 above.
themselve whatsoever they get. That Captain Button hath brought a great Dunkirk into Harwich fetched from the coasts of Norway. A little English vessel of 50 tun took a Dunkirk which took them (though she had 10 pieces of ordnance) by a Stratagem. A merchant shippe (a man of warre) another.

I forgot to tell you, what I heard of the Kings answer to the Parliaments Remonstrations.

viz That on Thursday in Easter week he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer unto them to tell them That he received from them A Remonstrance in writing, which if he should likewise answer in writing would spend time, & therefore in briefe he gave them to understand, That he would have them consult in the first place of matters of the greatest importance, & they should have time enough for other things afterward.

I heard my Lord of Exeter was dangerously sick & not like to recover.

Thus with my best service remembred to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledge Aprill 22 Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mede

16 This is a garbled reference to the proposal in the Commons of 14 April to set up an English West India Company on the Dutch model, a scheme mooted on several occasions during the 1620s; J. C. Appleby, 'An Association for the West Indies? English Plans for a West India Company 1621–29', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History 15 (1987), 213–41, esp. 223–26; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 262, 293–94, 299–300.

Captains Edward Button and Richard Harris had been ordered on 17 March to escort Suffolk fishermen heading for Iceland and the North Sea, and on their return to hunt for Dunkirk pirates; PRO SP16/23/15 [folio 26r].

The Dunkirkker mentioned in lines 58-59 was probably that captured by one Captain Warner, described in STC 10419, A true relation of a brave English stratagem, B3r-v. I have not traced the other incident.

19 See above, p. 231 n. 10.

20 This refers to Valentine Cary, Bishop of Exeter and former Master of Christ's, who died soon afterward (on 10 June 1626). For his friendship with Stuteville see the Introduction, p. 31.
Textual Notes: lines 50–61, bin sick...of warre) another] Mead continued his letter in the margin, using smaller lettering as he had run out of space on the paper. I have added this to the text, omitting the instruction at the foot of folio 45r, "verte folium". As Mead realised he had no room to include the account on the page he crossed out the note concerning Charles's answer in Parliament, lines 12–13 above, and wrote it on the next page.

line 67, & therefore] & therefore he MS.

line 78, Mede] the Latinised form of his name; common in Mead's scholarly letters (and hence in his printed works) but very rarely used when writing to Stuteville.
29 April 1626

Worthy Sir,

The last week brought not much more than what I sent you. For of foraine buisines there was then but little knowne, nor is yet. Mansfeild had a strong army well furnished with all things, which the Imperialists were sayd, to be in very much want of, by reason the passages of the Elbe were all stopped. Where Mansfeild is we cannot tell: but some Dutchmen come from the Hague told us here this week, That he had taken in the Principalitie of Anhalt; which if true, he did it to secure the passage of the Elbe in those parts, where the Enimie was most likely to have broken through after him. The Inhabitants are Calvinists, but Homagers to the Elector of Saxonie.1

There was written on Saturday also a report of some hot encounter between Denmark & Tilly, but it was uncertaine & ungrounded then, nor since do we hear any more of it.2

A talk then also that Rochell was againe besieged, yea some sayd yeelded; but we heare no more of that neither.3

My Lord Digby had putt up a Petition to the Lords both that he might answere for himselfe, & accuse the Duke

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1 Anstruther had reported on 24 March/3 April that Mansfeld and Fuchs had blockaded the Elbe on both sides, “to the detriment of Wallenstein”; PRO SP757/folio 60v. The point of lines 14-17 was that John George, Elector of Saxony, was the most prominent Lutheran in the Empire.

2 Mead was right to doubt this false rumour, the first of many similar ones that reached Cambridge during the summer.

3 Although this rumour was false, the deputies of La Rochelle had written to England earlier in April that fortifications were still being built around the city in breach of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, leading to fears that the city was in imminent danger; Clarke, p. 137 n. 3.
of Buckingham of divers crimes. I send you a Copie thereof at the End of my lettre. Herupon the Lords sent for him to come up; & it is sayd they required likewise that the Earle of Arundell, (since he was released out of prison) might have the priviledge of a Peere to sitt with them, in the House. My Lord of Bristow (Digby) his Petition was delivered by his Lady the Countesse unto the Lords, & by the Earle of Worcester shewen, unto the King, to the no small offence of the Duke, if he used such words unto the Earle, as it is sayd he did, most unbeseeming & dishonourable.

Thus much we had last Saturday after I had written.

This week is strange newes come to Towne, though we yet want & expect our principall intelligence: but a gentleman from London, reported on Thursday morning as followeth.

That on Monday certaine of our late Kings sworne Physitians & others came into the Commons House, saying they had divers matters of waigntie importance to discover concerning the Duke. Whereupon a select Committie of 12 was appointed to examine & heare them. Tuesday was the

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4 This was the petition originally delivered to the Lords on 17 April and read there two days later; PP 1626, i. 270-71, 284; see lines 89-126 below.

5 On 21 April the Lords ordered that Bristol should be brought before them by James Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod; ibid., 296-98; PRO SP16/25/46 (folio 62r), 50 (folio 67r).

6 Beginning in March, the Lords made a number of attempts to have Arundel allowed to return to Parliament; see above, p. 190 n. 10; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 312-14, 317, 320. On 19 April (after the relevant precedents had been examined) the Lords resolved to prepare a remonstrance and petition asking for his release, presented on the same day; PP 1626, i. 286-87, 288-90. A copy of this document (wrongly dated) was sent by Mead in the following month; see below, pp. 285-86 and notes.

7 Bristol's wife was Beatrice, daughter of Charles Walcott; the 4th Earl of Worcester was Edward Somerset. I have not found any reference to the incident reported here; GEC, ii. 320-21; xii (pt. 2). 854-56.

8 It had not yet arrived from London.

9 A committee of twelve members "to consider of the great business now in hand [the investigation of Buckingham]" had been convened on Friday 21 April; PP 1626, iii. 38 and n. 1. On Monday the 24th this
day & the House the place. They were heard severally
Doctor Hamsey, Doctor Atkins & Doctor Chambers, declared the most
strongly against him, as to be suspected together with his
Mother to have poisoned the late King. For whereas
for more securitie, a strict order was agreed upon, that
nothing should be given him in his sicknesse, but with the
generall consent of all the Physitians under their handes,
& that to be applied onely by the sworne Apothecarie: My Lord of Buckingham notwithstanding with his mother, in
their absence & without their consent & knowledge, gave
him a posset ale (which the Countesse made in the Dukes Lodgings)
& applied a plaister of their owne providing unto his
stomacke. The Sick King more then once complaining that
that Drink had kild him. And the Physitians especially the
aforenamed, affirme there were before the taking thereof
apparent signes of amendment, but presently after it he was found
fallen into a more violent heat & burning. That the
plaister being discovered, greatly disliked & taken off by the

committe was given "power from the House to consider and examine of any new matter, to be propounded
to them concerning the Duke of Buckingham, though not heretofore propounded in the House", which may
refer to the allegations concerning James's last illness. On the afternoon of that day (not as reported on
lines 46-7) the committee began its examination of James's physicians; ibid., pp. 53–58.

Dr. Alexander Ramsey, Dr. Henry Atkins, and Dr. James Chambers had all been royal physicians; Atkins
had also been president of the Royal College of Physicians on several occasions. Ramsey and Atkins
testified on Monday 24 April; ibid., pp. 57–58 and notes 16–24. On the following day eight more doctors
and servants gave evidence, including Chambers; ibid., pp. 63–64, 66–69.

Ramsey had testified that there "was neither eating, drinking, etc., but by consultation"; ibid., p. 57.
The matter of the unauthorised plaster was mentioned by all the physicians questioned. The drink
mentioned in line 57 appears to have been based on a prescription from a doctor living in Dunmow
supplied by the Countess of Buckingham; Gardiner, v. 313. Ramsey testified that the Physicians "gave
natural causes as cold, as height of disease [as a reason for James's condition]. But he said no, it was that he
had from...Buckingham"; PP 1626, iii. 57.

Atkins had testified to this effect on 24 April, and Dr. David Beton and Chambers on the 25th; ibid., pp.
57–58, 64.
Physicians, was notwithstanding applied againe.\textsuperscript{14} Being asked what ingredients were in the Drink; they answered that my Lord Duke sent them a note, but what was put in more they knew not. Being asked whether such ingredients as were in the note, might be fitly applied, the nature of the disease considered; Doctor Hamsey answered if singly, they might, loco & tempore.\textsuperscript{15} Chambers & Atkins continued their protestation, that they found evident signs of amends, before the drink & playster. Sundry things else they alleged to confirme this foule suspicion.\textsuperscript{16} And will lye so much the more heavy upon the Duke, because His Majestie cannot now take him off with his owne honour.\textsuperscript{17}

The same day were passed 3 subsidies & 3 fifteenes & the House fell to advise, how they should demean themselves in this unexpected buisines, whether first to acquaint the King? Whether \textsuperscript{A} to \textsuperscript{A} joyne themselves with the Lords for the inquisition? &c.\textsuperscript{18}

The same Tuesday, my Lord of Bristow came to Towne & was on Thursday to come to the House.\textsuperscript{19}

Thus with my best & wonted respect, I rest & am

Christis Colledg Yours most ready to

Aprill 29

be commanded

Joseph Mead

\textsuperscript{14} Chambers and Dr. William Harvey (of blood circulation fame) referred to this reapplication of the plaster; ibid., p. 64.

\textsuperscript{15} Dr. John Moore, one of James's attendants, had brought Ramsey and the other royal physicians a note of the ingredients of the "posset ale" from the Duke; Ramsey testified that "the ingredients of the bill were by them subscribed to be good upon question loco et tempore [at the right place and time]" but that the physicians had no certainty over the true ingredients of the drink; ibid., p. 57. Atkins thought "the drink not good in this time [of James's illness]; ibid., p. 58; see also p. 64.

\textsuperscript{16} See n. 13 above.

\textsuperscript{17} As Charles tried to do, for instance, in his message to the Commons of 11 May; see below, p. 249 n. 9.

\textsuperscript{18} The Commons had debated the question of supply on Tuesday 25 April, resolving to increase the sum already voted; PP 1626, iii. 63, 66; see above, p. 215 n. 6.

\textsuperscript{19} See n. 5 above. The Lords, in fact, had adjourned from Tuesday 25 to Saturday 29 April so this report is in error; ibid., pp. 316, 317.
To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Higher house
the humble Petition of John Earle
of Bristol. 20

Humbly shewing to your Lordships, that he hath lately received his Writ of Parliament, (for which he returneth to your Lordships most humble thanks), but jointly with that, a letter from my Lord Keeper commanding him in his Majesties name to forbear his personall attendance: 21 And although he shall ever obey the least intimation of his Majesties pleasure; yet he most humbly offereth to your Lordships consideration (as too high a point for him) how farre this may trench upon the libertie & safetie of the Pecres & the authority of their lettres Patents, to be in this sort discharged by a lettre missive of any subject without the Kings hand: And for your Lordships due information he hath annexed a copie of the sayd Lord Keepers lettre, & his answerte thereunto.

He further humbly petitioneth unto your Lordships, that having bin for the space of 2 yeares highly wronged in point of his libertie & honour by many sinister aspersions which have bin cast upon him, without being permitted to answere for himselfe; which hath bin done by the industrie & power of the Duke of Buckingham, to keepe him from the presence of their Majesties & the Parlament, least he should discover many crimes concerning the sayd Duke. He therefore most humbly beseecheth, that he may be heard both in this point of his wrong & of his accusations of the sayd Duke; wherein he will make it appeare, how infinitely the sayd Duke hath abused their Majesties, the State & both Houses of Parlament. And this he is most confident will not be denied him, since the High Court of Parlament never refuseth to heare the poorest subject seeking for redresse of wrong, nor the accusations against any being never so powerfull. And herein he beseecheth your Lordships to mediate to his Majestie for your Suppliants coming to the House in such sort, as you shall think fitting; assuring his Majestie,

20 See n. 4 above. The text of this petition is in PP 1626, i. 284.
21 Coventy’s letter to Bristol of 31 March and the latter’s reply of 12 April are in ibid., pp. 284–86.
that all he shall say, not onely tends to the service of his Majestie & the State but highly to the honour of his Majesties Royall Person, & of his Princely vertue: And he shall pray to God for your Lordships prosperitie.

[device]

Textual Notes: line 62, signes] altered from “sighes”.
line 69] as they-had were MS.
line 77] On-Tuesday The same day MS.
Worthie Sir,

I am to desire a favour in behalf of a poor fellow one Richard Palmer, & if it may be would be beholding to Master Web therein.¹ He is to take up a copy hold in Woolpit ² called the Pack, having nothing but a house yard & orchard, the Lords rent 12s & not worth in whole much above 50s a year, hath paid a fine twice within this 30 years: The fellow out of poverty hath omitted 2 Courts, is to pay £20 legacies out of it, hath run in debt by maintaining his old mother lately deceased at a 100 years of age.³ If you please to commend my suit to Master Web by lettre upon your first occasion, to do what favour he may & these motives make reasonable, I will add it to the number of my obligations both to your selfe & him.

The newes I received last Saturday I send you, in which you will perceive my Lord Digbyes pertinacious importunity to come to Parliament & hazard a trial, notwithstanding his Majesties both offers of favour, & threats, (if he persisted) to be his accuser. I heare since but imperfectly. That on Tuesday he came to the House declared for himselfe con-

¹ Gardiner Webb of Elmwell, Suffolk (about nine miles west of Bury St. Edmunds and one mile north-east of Woolpit) was married to Stuteville's daughter Mary; BL Add. MS 19150, folio 202r. Although I have found any reference to this business, Mead evidently thought that Sir Martin could procure a favour from him.

² "Copy hold" was "a kind of tenure...[held] 'at the will of the Lord according to the custom of the manor', by copy of the manorial court-roll" (OED, "copyhold", 1a).

³ The "fine" in line 8 was as defined in OED, III, 7a: "A fee (as distinguished from the rent) paid by the tenant or vassal to the landlord on some alteration of the tenancy"; the "Courts" of line 9 were manorial courts at which rent had to be paid.
fidently, & accused the Duke of divers notorious crimes, & neere all high treason. While he was in his declaration, the Kings Attorney comes in, & recriminates a grievous accusation of High treason against him. I heare say, one of My Lord Digbies charges against the Duke is, That he had a Bull from the Pope, to carry the Prince into Spaine of purpose to give advantage for the perverting him in his Religion, &c. My Lord Duke came to the house in an old Coach, some three footmen, no attendance &c. My Lord Digby with 8 horses, his owne horse brave & rich, with cloth of gold or tissue &c. The reason is not yet apprehended. His Majestie was expected to be in the Parliament on Thursday. I heard also that My Lord Digby was on Munday to be arraigned at the Kings Bench barre, But I understand it not. His Majestie is yet sayd to remitt nothing of his affection & adhersence to the Duke, so that some & my Lord Digby notwithstanding all his warrants from the former King to do as he did, will have his life in great

4 Bristol's articles are in PP 1626, i. 329-31; see also PRO SP16/26/3 [folios 7r–8r], 4 [folios 9r–10v], 5 [folio 11r–v]. Simonds D'Ewes sent Stuteville a copy of them (which have not survived) with his letter of 11 May, H383 folio 31v. Reports of Bristol's case came to dominate Mead's Parliamentary news until the end of the session.

5 As Mead suspected, the order of events related here is "imperfect". The correct sequence of events on Monday 1 May (in which Sir Robert Heath began first, was interrupted by Bristol and then continued his charge) is given in ibid., pp. 328–29, 342.

6 Bristol's 5th charge against the Duke was that "the Pope, being informed of the Duke of Buckingham's inclination and intention in point of religion, sent unto the said Duke a particular bull, in parchment, for to persuade and encourage him in the perversion of his Majesty, then Prince": PP 1626, i. 330. This may refer to a letter sent by Pope Gregory XV to Buckingham on 9/19 May 1623; Rushworth, i. L4v–M1r.

7 Charles did not go to either House of Parliament on Thursday 4 May.

8 This false rumour was probably a confused report of Bristol's appearance in the House of Lords on Monday 1 May; see below, pp. 261–62. ibid. 37–42 and note.

9 D'Ewes had been told by Sir Robert Cotton (and informed Stuteville in his letter of 11 May) that "the Kings affection towards [Buckingham] was verie admirable noe whitt lessened"; D'Ewes's opinion was that Charles would "never yeild to the Dukes fall"; H383, folio 32r; see also Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton 1586–1631, p. 181.
hazard. I will write no more of this, till I have more
perfect intelligence, which will not be till I have sealed. This
which I write I heare by such as came out of London on
Thursday.
I cannot so suddainly survay my pupills apparrell as to
informe you now; but I will next week, & send to Master Scott
for my Lord of Oxfords case.

[b] I send you another book. The History of the Quarrell between
the Pope & the Venetian. You will I think like it.

Bishop Carletons Answere — 1 — 6 14
Historie of the Quarrell —— 3 — 4
For Goodwins Antiquities 1 — 0 — 2 15
then I send you word of ]Summe 5 1

[a] I remember my service
to your selfe & my Lady.

Chrits Colledg

May 6.

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10 Bristol's 12th article against the Duke stated that the Earl "did reveal unto his late Majesty, both by word
and letter, in what sort the said Duke had diserved him, and abused his trust; and that the King, by several
ways, sent him word that he should rest assured he would hear the said Earl; but that he should leave it to
him to take his own time"; PP 1626, p. 331. Bristol had written to James in 1623 criticising the Duke's
handling of the marriage negotiations; ibid., p. 328, n. 6; Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624, pp. 348-54.

11 Sir Martin had evidently written to Mead concerning some aspect of his son's dress, although I have not
discovered the details. The only items of clothing bought for John Stuteville at this time were shoes; CCA,
T.11.3, folio 48v.

12 Simonds D'Ewes had collaborated with Sir Robert Cotton in investigating the claims of Robert de Vere
and Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, to the title and offices of Robert de Vere, 18th Earl of
Oxford, who had died in June 1625; D'Ewes, Autobiography, i. 289-91; GEC, x, 256-57. In March 1626
D'Ewes had asked Stuteville to send a manuscript tract of this case to Mead, who was to pass it on to John
Scott the Cambridge notary. Mead now wanted it back; H383, folio 26r; below, p. 294 lines 74-80, pp. 295
lines 81-86.

13 STC 21766; see Appendix I.

14 STC 4633; see Appendix I. The book was not, in fact, sent on this occasion; see below, p.205 lines 87-94.

15 It had taken Mead a long time to tell Stuteville about the extra twopence; see above, p. 205 n. 1.
Textual Notes:

- line 4, beholding: beholding MS.
- line 33, on Mend Thursday: MS.
- lines 35-36, it not: He is yet-sayd-to remitt nothing from his His Majestie MS.
- line 49, Quarrell: Quarrells MS.

The position of these two marginal notes, written vertically in the margin, has been indicated by broken lines as elsewhere. I believe, however, that note b detailing Mead's book purchases was written first and have placed it accordingly.
Bifolium. Lines 2–58 (apart from Mead’s note on line 38) taken from ?John Pory’s London newsletter of Friday 28 April; lines 62–96 (apart from Mead’s note on line 84) from a letter of Wednesday 19 April (?to William Chappell, Fellow of Christ’s College) by Sir William Knyveton; lines 98–108 from another, unidentified, letter. Folio 50v blank.]

London Aprili 28. 1626 (folio 49r)

This morning (as other times this week) was debated the conjecturall poysoning of King James, which is the tenth charge layd unto the Duke:1 the subject was a playster applyed to King James his brest, & posset ale given him to drink, whereof the Duke was cause director & perswader: which (as the accusation formally saith) makes up a transcendent presumption of a dangeous & rous consequence,2 especially being given without the consent or advise of the Kings Physitions, & after it the King made hast to death, being before in no apparent danger.3

Doctor Ramsey a Scottish Physitian in his examination by a Committie of the Lower House spake some thing which extreamly distasted his Majestic for which cause he is discourtied:4 All the rest of the Doctors English, French & Scottish that did any way assist at the Kings fatall sicknes were also examined apart by the same Committee.5

My Lord Digby came to Towne on Monday, & is to present himselfe to morrow (Aprill 29) or Monday morning before the Lords at the Upper-house-barre, as a delinquent,6 his accuser being his Majestie, who layes to

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1 This was the 10th article presented to the Commons on 2 May by the select committee of 12; PP 1626, iii. 121, 126; see also PRO SP16/23/68 [folios 99r-100r].
2 As Mead’s quotation marks suggest, “a transcendent...consequence” quoted verbatim from the Commons’ resolution; PP 1626, iii. 90; see also pp. 83–84.
3 See above, p. 246 n. 13.
4 On 28 April Edward Kirton referred to Ramsey’s banishment; on 5/15 May it was reported the latter was under house arrest; ibid., p. 91; CSPV 1625–26, p. 416.
5 See above, p. 266 n. 10.
6 Bristol appeared on Monday 1 May; see below, pp. 261–62 lines 54–55 and n.10.
his charge thinges misdone before his Majesties arrivall in Spaine, during his Majesties aboad there, & after his coming "away. Because of his boldnes (notwithstanding the Kings "letter unto him) thus to offer himselfe to tryall, it is generally 25 "thought, he had King James his warrant for what he did "in solicitation of our now King to tume Catholick. 
"The sending of our Ships to Rochell by the Duke "& his undertaking of a tolleration here in his treaty with "France for the match contrary to Commission lyes hard "upon him. Four Subsidies & 3 fiftene are granted; but "I know not whether altogether absolutely; but to be payd "all before Christmas.

There is a Proclamation come forth for mending of Mariners wages. Six skore thousand pound is now allotted for setting forth some few shippcs to guard the narrow (folio 49v)

a: The Duke.

7 This threefold accusation is similar to that delivered by Sir Robert Heath on 1 May; PP 1626, i. 338. Mead was once again probably quoting his source verbatim.
8 Perhaps referring to Conway’s letter to Bristol (“he” of lines 24–26) of 24 March 1625/26 transcribed by one of Mead’s pupils; see p. 223 above, especially lines 8–15. The suggestion in lines 25–27 is false, but indicative of the speculation surrounding the Earl’s appearance.
9 The loan of the seven ships to Louis XIII in 1625 (for which see above, p. 185 n. 24) was cited by the Commons as their seventh and eighth charges against the Duke delivered on 8 May; PP 1626, ii. 468–69; iii. 193. Lines 29–31 refer to the controversy over Charles’s marriage: after James I had promised on 23 April 1624 (in the aftermath of the collapse of the “Spanish Match”) that no concessions would be made to the Catholics in any marriage between Charles and a Catholic princess, the marriage treaty signed on 12 November 1624 provided for the relaxation of the recusancy laws; F. de Bassompierre, Memoirs of the Embassy of the Marshal de Bassompierre to the Court of England in 1626. With notes (1819), pp. 126–28; Gardiner, v. 225–26, 277–78; Cogswell, The Blessed Revolution, pp. 278–81.
10 The Commons had resolved on 26 April to add a fourth subsidy to those already voted; PP 1626, iii. 76–77; for the initial grant see above, p. 215 n. 6.
11 STC 8822, "A Proclamation for the better furnishing of the Navy", printed in Larkin, no. 41, pp. 87–89.
Seas: & my Lord Admirall antiquum obtinet in prefer=
ing of new Sea-Captaines & neglecting the old.\textsuperscript{12} The
Land Captaines & Colonells are many of them gone into
the Lowcountries \& more going.\textsuperscript{13}
Sir Francis Steward, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir William
Crofes, \& David Ramsey of the Clock were yesterday
commanded from the Court, un\textsuperscript{t}ill the Kings further plea=
sure were knowne. The Earle of Pembroke was bidden
" to signifie so much to Sir Francis Steward, whereupon " the Earle told his Majestie, That Sir Francis was a man
" whom his Father loved as well as any in the Court of
" England, that himselfe had done him much honour \&
" trusted him farre, that he was one of his owne bloud,
" \& that he might receive great service from him; \& there=
" fore humbly beseeched his Majestie to send him a reason
" also of this his discharge. The King answered, He would
" have it so un\textsuperscript{t}ill he sent further unto him.\textsuperscript{14}

Sir Robert Cottons bookes are threatened to be
taken away, because he is accused to impart ancient
Precedents to the Lower House.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} "Antiquum obtinet" = "kept his old habit"; this comment is in keeping with the allegations against
Buckingham as Lord Admiral currently being investigated by the Commons.

\textsuperscript{13} I have not traced the incidents reported in lines 40-42.

\textsuperscript{14} The Venetian Ambassador noted the expulsions of "three servants" from Court on 5/15 May; \textit{CSPV}
1625–26, p. 416. David Ramsey was the King's Clock Keeper, hence Mead's epithet on line 44.

\textsuperscript{14} Tite notes (on p. 26) that Cotton owned the \textit{Chronicon Angliae}, an important source for medi\texttext{\ae}val
precedents for impeachments, and although lines 56–58 proved to be false on this occasion Cotton's
library was closed after the rancorous 1629 session; Sharpe, \textit{Sir Robert Cotton}, p. 81. Cotton himself told
D'Ewes on Thursday 11 May that "he had of late been often sent for to the King \& Duke", which does not
necessarily imply he was out of favour; H383, folio 32r.
A lettre from Sir William Knyveton
Smithsbie Darbishire 15
Aprill 19 1626

I am told by one that had bin at Lancaster Assises,
That at the Assise time an old Convertite once a Ro¬
man Catholick at Doway, but now a good member &
a Preacher of the word of God thereabouts, as he was
sitting in a Barbers shop & under his hands, by chance
through the dore or window, espied 2 men going along
the Street together; one of which he knew to have
bin a Scholler of his at Doway, but now a Seminarie in
those parts: whereupon the good old man starting from
under the Barbers hands, ran to the dore & marked what
House they went into; & acquainting a Justice of Peace
therewith came with him to apprehend them; they took
the Seminarie, & about him found amongst others a lettre
to himselfe & his Companion (who was gone) & as it
seemed was appointed Collector of their monenes: the
effect of the lettre being, that they should presently collect
amongst the Catholicks, & send over £10,000.

The Sheriffe was sent by the Judge to apprehend him
who took with him as assistant Master King the Vicar
of Lancaster, from whose mouth my author had this
report.16

I am besides informed, That there was lately in

b: Viz. To Doway &c.

15 Sir William Knyveton was a correspondent of William Chappell, Fellow of Christ's, from whom Mead no doubt borrowed this letter; H389, folio 512v; Wedgbury, pp. 679-80.
16 I have not traced this episode, although sending money to Catholic colleges overseas had been declared illegal by 27' Eliz. c. II; Statutes, iv (pt. 1). 706. "Master King" (line 79) was Geoffrey King, former Fellow of King’s College Cambridge and Vicar of Lancaster 1609-30, and "the Sheriffe" of Lancashire was Roger Kyrbie; Venn, iii. 18; List of Sheriffs, p. 73.
Leicester-shire taken & committed close prisoner (by the Lord Grey & Sir Wolstan Dixie) one Munk c who had written a lettre to one Gravenour in Staffordshire " to this Effect. That now the great Tyrant (meaning " our King whom God long preserve) should shortly receive " a blow answerable to his Tyrannie; & that upon the " day after the triumph to be upon the 2d of May. d Munk being shewed the lettre confessed the beginning of it was of his owne writing, but denies the part which is like to prove most capitall, though all be written with the same hand. There be more discovered of this conspis racie, but I heare not of any of them taken.

Thus the Letter.

c: A servant or Reteiner (as others say) to Sir Thomas Sherly of Lancashire.
d: I heare of others that he wished the Ship wherein the Head of Hereticks came from Spaine had sunk by the way.

And that the lettre was discovered by Gravenours wife (some say his name was Bagnol) who being a Protestant, & curious to know what Munk wrot to her husband, got the lettre, & found hir selfe therein misused by the name of Queane, & hir husband bid to beware of her, adding he had sent a dramme which given her, he might soone be rid of hir. Whereupon she gott the lettre by meanes of a kinswoman to be shewed to the Lord Grey & Sir Wolstan Dixie &c. 17

Textual Notes: lines 98–108, I heare of...Wolstan Dixie] This additional account was added by Mead on both the lefthand and bottom margins of the page, hence the broken line to indicate its position.

17 This incident has also not been traced, although the "Lord Grey" of line 84 was probably Henry, 2nd Baron Grey of Groby. Sir Wolstan Dixie had been Sheriff of Leicestershire in 1614 and County Member in the Parliament of 1625; GEC, xii (pt. 1), 217–18; DNB, v. 1028.
London May 5 1626

Our last newes is the best, namely the returne of our 7 ships from Rochell, being now at anchor by the Isle of Wight, & officers sent abroad to take possession & discharge the French of them. Our goods also, that were arrested to so great a value in France are now with all expedition to be released.1

The reason of both which, & of the returne from Rochell home to Saint Malo’es also of 12 of the Queene—mothers Ships, which she had armed against the Protestants, may be the new troubles begun in that Kingdome, which will make the French King stand in need, not only of the Protestants, that are his Subjects, but those also that are his neighbours.2 The Duke of Orleance the Kings brother hath a guard set upon him; his most confident favourites & Followers, as the Colonell D’Ornano, The Marquess de Fiat & Mounsiour Ville=au Clere the two late Ambassadors here in England,3 with some 12 more are prisoners in the Bastill & in extreme danger of loosing their heads. The first report

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1 Although the ships loaned to the French were released in May, Cogswell has pointed out that the English goods impounded in France remained there until after the end of the 1626 session of Parliament, so part at least of this report was in error; ‘Foreign Policy and Parliament’, pp. 264–65; PRO SP16/26/67 (folio 156r).

2 I have not traced the report in lines 8–10. While ?Pory may have been correct in linking the more conciliatory attitude of the French with the uncovering of the conspiracy (for which see n. 6 below), I have not found any evidence that Louis intended to use the Huguenots as suggested here and in lines 35–37 below.

3 Although I have not traced the arrest of Effiat and Ville—aux—Clercs, they had both been Ambassadors to England. The Marquis d’Effiat had been sent to England in 1624 to negotiate the marriage treaty between England and France. Ville—aux—Clercs had joined him as an Extraordinary Ambassador in the following year; Gardiner, v. 253, 377.
I heard was, that the King took skandall at his Brother
for suffering himselfe to be perswaded by the Prince of
Conde to marry his daughter; whereas the King had designed
to have matched him with Madam de Montpensier descended
likewise of the House of Bourbon (though in a lower degree
then the Prince of Conde’s daughter) & the richest marriage
to be found in France. But a later Relation hath, that
Monsieurs Confederates had a plott to thrust the King into a
Monasterie & to sett the Crowne upon Monsieurs head, alledging
against him (amongst other faults) his and his Queens bar-
renes. On Monsieur's side standes the Prince of Conde
& the Count Soissons, whereby all the Princes of the bloud
are combined against the King; on which side likewise are
the Duke de Vendosme & Duke of Momorancy Admirall of
France, together with the whole pack of Jesuites & their
disciples; so that of force the King must make use of the Pro-
testants, because he cannot be so confident of anyes opposition
against the Jesuites as of theirs.

On the Kings side standes the House of Guise, that Duke being Father in law
to Madam de Montpensier. The Grand Politico on Monsieurs
side who plottes all the designes is Chomberg the cheife
Treasurer of the Finances & in an infeirior degree to him
(though a person of greater qualitie) Hermand d’Aligre
the Chancellor, both which were Commissioners in the treaty
of the marriage with my Lords of Carleile & Holland.
The working braine on the Kings side is the Cardinall
Richelieu, who of late had like to have lost his life about

4 The alleged barrenness of Louis’s wife, Anne of Austria, was a matter of speculation at the French Court:
albeit she had been married in 1615 the future Louis XIV was not born until 1638. Those involved in the
conspiracy of 1626 considered the possibility of kidnapping Louis, deposing him, and annulling his
marriage because of his supposed impotency; Lockyer, p. 336; V. L. Tapié, France in the Age Louis XIII

5 Henri Schomberg (Marshal of France and formerly minister of finance) and Estienne d’Aligre (Keeper of
the Seals) were both members of the Conseil d’en haut, the French equivalent of the Privy Council; for this
body, see Knecht, pp. 18–19. Partly as a result of the uncovering of the conspiracy against Richelieu
Aligre was suspended from office and replaced by Michel de Marillac; Tapié, p. 156.
this new controversie. Since my last, here is a pestilent pamphlet lately come over printed in Latine at Anwerp by one Doctor Egleston, who of late was the Marques Hamiltons Physitian. A Paper he is, & papistically he sayth, that whereas we taxe Jesuets & Roman Catholiques with poison & other kind of Murtheres & cruelties, is it not (saith he) a foule shame Proditorem illum Buckinghamiam who hath bene author by way of poison of the deaths of the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis Hamilton &ct, & lastly of King James, should be nestled in the bosome of King Charles? In breife the whole book is nothing but a bitter accusation of the Duke.

On Monday last being May-day My Lord of Bristol appearing at the Upper-house-barre as a Delinquent, Master Attorney General intimated to the Lords, that he was there to accuse him of High treason: then sayd the Earle of Bristol: My Lords, I am a free man & a Peer of the Realme unattaintcd; somewhat I have to say of high consequence for his Majesties service; & therefore I beseech

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6 Lines 13–47 are a reasonably accurate report of the first stages of a conspiracy involving Louis XIII's younger brother Gaston, Duc d'Orléans; news of which, according to Salvetti, reached London on 2/12 May; IMC Skrine, p. 63. Richelieu, for dynastic reasons, had supported a marriage between Gaston and the wealthy Mademoiselle de Montpensier, but Gaston himself and his supporters favoured a marriage with Mademoiselle de Bourbon, the daughter of the Prince of Condé. As more dissident nobles such as the Duchesse de Chevreuse and the Comte de Soissons joined Gaston's party, largely motivated by their dislike of Richelieu, the plot became one against the Cardinal himself rather than one merely to prevent Gaston's marriage. Marshal d'Omano, Gaston's favourite and former tutor, was arrested on 26 April/6 May (he died in prison on 23 August/2 September before he could be brought to trial) and a number of other arrests were made, including that of the Comte de Chalais on 28 June/8 July (as he was the only person to be executed, the plot became known as the "Chalais conspiracy"); PRO SP78/78/folios 240r–41r; Knecht, pp. 32–33, 50; Magurn, p. 468 n. 6; Reade, ii. 567; Tapié, pp. 155–63.

7 For Dr. George Eglisham's book see CSPV 1625–26, p. 416; DNB, vi. 585. It was soon translated into English as The forerunner of revenge, a transcript of which Mead sent to Dalham; see below, p. 444 n. 6.

"Proditorem illum Buckinghamium" (lines 53–54) = "that traitor Buckingham".

8 On 1 May Bristol declared that he "had often been employed as ambassador in weighty affairs and never came home tainted" and elsewhere that "that he spoke for the King, that he is free, and a peer of the realm"; PP 1626, i. 328. Mead's source probably conflated these statements.
your Lordships give me leave to speak; which being granted,  
Then (quoth the Erle) I accuse that a man the Duke of  
Buckingham of high treason, & will prove it; & so presented  
the 12 Articles. To the Duke as most boldly, so he spake  
most contemnuously. And while He delivered his  
Accusations in the Upper House, his Son did the like in the  
House of Commons.  

The Judges & the Kings learned Counsell having since  
matt to frame an Inditement against the Earle of Bristoll,  
cannot fasten any treason upon him, Judge Dodridge &  
Sir Henry Yelverton overruling all the rest in this point.  
Whereupon yesternight was a night of great Joye & Tryumph  
at the Earle of Bristolls.  

The number of the Grievances to be presented against  
the Duke (from the House of Commons) are 13. His freinds would  
have had them sent immediatly to the King; but the House wan  
it by 36 voices, that they should goe to the Lords: so now  
they are ingrossed & sent up.  

Yesterday was a motion made by Sir John Elliott, that  
the Commons would be Suitors to the Lords, That their  
Lordships would become humble Petitioners to his Majestie,  
for safety both of King & State, that the Duke of Buckingham  
being publickly accused of High Treason may as well as  

a: The Duke was present.

9 After his charges against the Duke had been read in the House of Lords Bristol stated that “he conceived...[them]...to be treason”; ibid., p. 335.
10 On 1 May Bristol’s son George, Lord Digby, presented a petition to the Commons which included his father’s charges against the Duke; PP 1626, iii. 108, 116–17.
11 On 8 May it was reported that the “Judges in the accusation against Digby [Bristol] cannot finde either felony or treason”; PRO SP16/26/67 [folio l56r].
12 Thirteen grievances against Buckingham had been resolved in the Commons on Tuesday 2 May; PP 1626, iii. 126–27, 132–33, 134–35.
13 Although the details of the vote have not survived, it was agreed “upon question” on 2 May that the charges against Buckingham should be sent to the Lords rather than the King; ibid., pp. 121, 123–24, 131 (quotation from p. 121); Russell, Parliaments, pp. 303–04.
the Earle of Bristoll be restrained of his liberty, till he have purged himselfe. 14

Munke that was apprehended in Leycestershire for a lettre containing treasonable words & intimations against his Majestie is a Prisoner in the Tower, & hath twice bin upon the Rack. 15

Another London ditto.

A passage or two not in the former.

The Great Duke on Wednesday was transmitted unto the Lords House with the ordinary request of Judgment, but with a kind of extraordinarie proceeding in the transmission, as that all the Accusations which had beene brought against him should be kept upon record, so to remaine to posteritie; that howsoever he might by his power escape the danger of his person, yet he should not passe altogether without a wound. 16

To morrow is the Earl of Bristolls great day before the Lords, to be tryed upon those Articles wherewith he was charged, & are to be urged by the Attorney General. 17

The Bishop of Norwich made lately a very commendable speach concern[ing] the Power of the House. 18

There are still new Accusations dayly brought into the

14 *PP 1626*, iii. 157-58, 161, 164. Eliot's proposal was not taken up at the time by the Commons, but became part of their message to the Lords on 11 May; Tite, p. 197.

15 For "Munke" see above, p. 299 n. 17.

16 This probably refers to the step of both presenting the charges against the Duke orally and recording them in writing, a procedure that had not been followed in the previous Parliamentary "impeachments" of the 1620s; Tite, pp. 193-95.

17 The Lords had resolved on Thursday 4 May that the Attorney-General should bring his charges against Bristol to the House on Saturday 6 May, and that the Earl should be present to receive them; *PP 1626*, i. 351-52, 354-55.

18 This speech has not been identified. Samuel Harsnett, Bishop of Norwich, had made several speeches in the Lords in the previous week but none of them appears to justify the report in lines 107-08; *PP 1626*, i. 321, 337-38, 347, 354.
House of Commons against the Duke.  

A message delivered by the Lord Keeper  

Aprill 21 1626.

His Majestie having heard a petition preferred into this house by the Earle of Bristoll so voyd of dutie & respect to his Majestie, that his Majestie hath great cause to punish it; he hath also heard with what dutie & respectfullnes to his Majestie your Lordships have proceeded therein, which his Majestie conceives to have bin upon the knowledge you have that he hath bin restrained for matter of State: And his Majestie doth therefore give your Lordships thanks for the same, & is resolved to putt this cause upon the honour & Justice of this House.

And therefore his Majestie hath commanded me to signifie unto your Lordships his royall pleasure, that the Earle of Bristoll be sent for as a Delinquent, to answere in this house his Offences committed in his negotiations, before his Majesties going into Spaine; his offences while his Majestie was in Spaine; & his offence in scandalizing the Duke of Buckingham mediastly & immediatly, & by reflecti on scandalizing his Majestie, with whose privitie & by whose directions the sayd Duke did guide his actions, & without which he did nothing. All which his Majestie will cause to be charged against him, before your Lordships in this house.

To the Right honorable the Lords of the higher House of Parlament

The humble Petition of the Countesse of Bristoll.

Humbly shewing that whereas she dayly expecteth the Earle of Bristoll, being sent for, as she understandeth by your Lordships order to appcare before you in this House: for which favour she returneth unto his Majestic & your Lordships most humble thanks.

She therefore beseecheth, that in the interim, untill he shall be called for, your Lordships would be pleased to give him leave to rest at his Lodging in Saint Gyles: & have free libertie to conferre & advise with such freinds & others, as he shall

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19 Such as that reported to the Commons by Sir Lewis Dyve on 4 May that Buckingham had adored the Host while in Spain; PP 1626, iii. 156–57, 160, 164.

20 That read in the House of Lords on Saturday 19 April; see pp. 268–69 above.

21 For Charles’s message of 21 April see PP 1626, i. 295–96.

22 This petition was read in the House of Lords on 25 April; ibid. pp. 315–16.
think fitting, having had hitherto no restraint to the contrary. And she shall pray to God for your Lordships prosperitie &c.

London 25th April 1626.

Ordered that the Earle of Bristol may remaine in his owne house as a prisoner to the Gentleman Usher untill he be brought hither. And his freinds may have libertie to resort unto him in the Interim, as is desired.\textsuperscript{23}

primo die Maii 1626 anno 2\textsuperscript{do} Regis Caroli.\textsuperscript{24}

It is this day ordered, that the Kings cause shall be heard against the Earle of Bristol, & then the Earls cause against the Duke; but yet so as the Earls Testimonie be not prevented, prejudiced or impeached.

Ex\textsuperscript{25} per Elsing Cler. Parliament:\textsuperscript{25}

Textual Notes: line 4, sent altered from "send". line 24] (though of ^ in a MS. line 67, that man ^ that man MS. line 70] most confidently contemptuously MS. line 77, yesternight] Mead began to write "yesterday", but, realising his error, altered it. line 103] passe should ^ not ^ MS.

\textsuperscript{23} For the Lords' order of 25 April see ibid., p. 315.
\textsuperscript{24} "The first day of May 1626 in the second year of King Charles".
\textsuperscript{25} This order concerning the case between the Crown and Bristol was "read and ordered" on Monday 1 May; \textit{PP 1626}, i. 341. Line 151 is probably an abbreviation for "Extractum per Elsing Clericum Parliamenti", "extracted by [Henry] Elsing clerk of the Parliament". I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for advice on this point.
266


13 May 1626

(folio 57r)

Worthy Sir,

Master Howlett yesterday carried away my store which I doubt not, but ere this, is arrived with you.¹

What I use to add on these days by report onley, you may observe to be commonly imperfect, yet such as it is, you shall have it.

My Lord Digby acquits himselfe well hitherto: but the Duke is sayd to geere openly in Parliament all accusations a brought against him with too much appearance of insolencie.

I heare, that the Commons having chosen a Committie of 8 (each having two assistants) to deliver some 14 Articles against him unto the Lords,² Master Glanville & another appointed to speak; Master Glanville compared the Parliament unto the Universe, the Upperhouse to the Starres, the Commons to the Lower World, the King to the Sun: That the Starres received Light from the Sun, the House of Commons from them: But alas the firmament was become dimme & the Starres sent but little light by reason of a Great blazing Comet, which kept the Light of the Sun from them &c.³ His exordium being done, & he now in the

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¹ The transcript of London news dated Friday 5 May, pp. 257–45 above.
² Eight members of the Commons (each with two assistants) were nominated on 3 May to deliver fifteen articles against Buckingham; PP 1626, iii. 140, 146–47. They did so on Monday 8 and Wednesday 10 May; the eight (in order) were Digges, Herbert, Selden, Glanville (on 8 May); Whitby, Pym, Wandesford and Eliot (Sherland replaced Whitby who fell ill on Wednesday 9 May), Tite, p. 198 n. 37; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 304–05.
³ Sir Dudley Digges (not as reported here) in opening the Commons’ case against the Duke on 8 May made these comparisons; PP 1626, i. 408–49.
buisines, the Duke so geered & fleered him, that he was faine after some patience to convert his speach to the Duke with these or the like words, My Lord, do you geere me, are these things to be geered at? My Lord, I can shew when a man of a greater bloud then your Lordship, as high in place & power, & as deep in the favour of the King as you, hath bin hanged for as small a crime as the least of these Articles containe &c.5

On Tuesday were 4 sharp speeches made against the Duke in the House of Commons, the first by Sir Dudley Digges the last by Sir John Eliot,6 both which on Thursday morning being called out of the house,7 as if the King had sent for them were carryed to the Tower by water, & given out to be for High treason.8 As soone as the newes hereof came into the House they cryed presently Rise, Rise Rise; which Master Pim not well understanding stood up & began to insinuate an exhortation to patience & wisedome, &c. Wherunto one Walters replyed, that he seemed to mistake the voice of the House, which as he understood, had no other meaning

4 "[T]hese four [Digges, Herbert, Selden, Glanville] spent upp the day the Duke sitting ther outfacing his accusors outbraving his accusations, to the high indignation of the Commons, whose incensed therbie are resolute for his comitimeni"; D’Ewes to Stuteville, H383, folio 31v. Christopher Wandesford stated in the Commons on 9 May that “the Duke sat yesterday hearing his charge with more confidence then I could deliver it”; PP 1626, i.ii. 202.

5 D’Ewes reported that “In all...[Buckingham’s] charges which were some 12, or in most of them presidents & recorde[s] were cited that others for the like or lesser offences had been banished, degraded or hangd drawn & quartered &c. the Duke was absent”; ibid. D’Ewes was conflating the Monday and Wednesday conferences (from the second of which Buckingham was absent).

6 Mead or his sources probably confused events in the Commons for a phrase used by Digges in opening the Commons’ case (“upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the honour of the King our sovereign that lives”) and Eliot’s provocative comparison of Buckingham with Sejanus on 8 and 10 May respectively, for which both were sent to the Tower; PP 1626, i. 410, 462.

7 Around “eleven of the clockes”, according to D’Ewes; H383, folio 32r.

8 PP 1626, iii. 233; for this episode see Gardiner, vi. 109–14.
but that it was time to rise & go to dinner. Howsoever
the house was so much discontented, that it was thought
they would not sitt yesterday. The King went to the house on Thursday, but what
he did we heare not yet. The Lords had petitioned the King that
the Duke might be restrained till these matters were examined;
neverthelesse he attended, his Majestie to the House, but was
sayd he would that afternoone go to Newhall. His Majesties
affection no whit abates toward him, but seemes rather to encrease.
Lord help us, what will come of these thinges? The distraction
is great, & of strange consequence, & unlesse God shew the
way out, we are but in ill case. Domine miserere.

The Duke being in the bedchamber private with the King, his Majestie
was overheard (as they talk) to use these words. What can I do more? I have engaged
mine honour to mine Uncle of Denmark & other Princes; I have in manner lost the love of my Subjects &c what wouldst thou have me do? &c. Whence some think the Duke moved the King to dissolve the Parlament &c.

[b] Mansfeld is overthrowne by Count Walstein, nor can gather his men together againe for want of money which he hath long in vaine expected from us. Walstein is 30,000 strong & proceedes. All will be lost, & they say by our fault.

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9 Pym's intervention has not been traced. One account of proceedings on Thursday 11 May records that the Speaker was interrupted by the news of the commitment of the two members and that it was agreed no committees should sit that afternoon, "[everyone] crying "Rise, rise"; PP 1626, iii. 233.

10 The Commons did in fact sit on Friday 12 May. The debates were dominated by the committal of Digges and Eliot; ibid., pp. 235-52 and below, pp. 280-81 lines 87-115.

11 Charles went to the Lords on Thursday 11 May to inform the House of his decision to arrest Digges and Eliot; PP 1626, i. 398. For Mead's version of this speech see below, pp. 55-56 lines 40-45, 46-57.

12 This report of the Lords' petition is probably confused with the Commons' message of 11 May requesting that Buckingham be committed until his trial; ibid., pp. 398-99 and below, pp. lines 44-45. The Duke was present in the Lords on that day, and according to a later report sent to Dalham had accompanied Charles there; below, pp. 279 lines 30-31.

13 This comment recalls D'Ewet's of 11 May; see above, p. 251 n. 9.

14 "Lord have mercy on us".

15 See above, p. 220 n. 15.

16 This is the first report to reach Cambridge of the battle of Dessau Bridge fought between Wallenstein and Mansfeld on 15/25 April which resulted in a heavy defeat for the latter: Wedgwood, pp. 209-10; Mann, pp.
This of Mansfield, I saw now in a lettre. & That ^ the ^ King takes all the Duke is charged with upon himselfe, & told the Commons he would make them know he was their King, & so departed, the Duke being with him. It is generally thought (sayth the lettre) That the last Parliament of King Charles his reign will end within this week. Is it not time to pray? The Carrier wilbe gone
Thus with my best respect I rest & am Christ's Colledg
May 13
My pupil shall not need come home for close.
Master Scott hath lent Oxfords case; supposed it should have bin bestowed upon him, being his Sons hand. but will send it, I know not when; I have ^ sent ^ 4 or 5 times.

Your Carletons next week
I send you a new book
I almost repent me, it was

286-87. Line 61 reflects dissatisfaction at the continued lack of support for Mansfield and Christian IV due to division at home, a subject which Anstruther (under pressure from Christian to hasten supply) periodically mentioned in his dispatches; see for instance PRO SP75/7/folio 89v. For more on the battle see below, pp.284-44 and notes.
17 Mead's version was a garbled (and somewhat alarmist) account of Charles's speech to the House of Lords on Thursday 11 May, for which see below, pp. 279-79 lanes 26-45, 46-57.
18 Parliamentary disputes together with the latest defeat in Germany seems to have created something close to despair among the London newsgatherers, a state of mind with which Mead was familiar at this time; see above, p. 232. nn. 15-16.
19 For "Oxfords case" see above, p. 232 n. 12. The tract had presumably been copied by John Scott's son, although I have not identified him.
so deere; but the author, it
seemes hath the whole impression
himselfe.21

Textual Notes: line 14, Parlament] first letter altered from an "H".
ibid.] unto the world MS.
line 18] dimme & sent MS.
line 23] faine after MS.
line 54] What ean should I do MS.
line 64] know they-had-a he was MS.
line 75] supposed he MS.
line 78] send me it MS.
lines 53–57, 58–61] The position of these two marginal notes, written
vertically in the margin, has been indicated by broken lines, as elsewhere. I
believe note b concerning Buckingham was, however, written first (it continues
the subject of lines 45–52) and has been placed accordingly; that concerning
Mansfeld, based on the contents of a letter that had just arrived in Cambridge,
logically precedes lines 62.

21 This is probably STC 18964, G. Sandys’s translation of Ovid’s Metamorphoses, which Stuaville
appears to have returned; see Appendix I and below, p. 215 n. 21. Sandys had been given a patent on 24
You shall now receive, what came on Saturday at night, 
& by it rectifie what I last wrot confusedly upon report.

I have heard little since, but that Sir Dudley Digges was 5
sett at libertie on Tuesday morning & kissed the Kings hand: The
reason sayd, because he was falsely charged with what he never
spake, whereof the House made publck protestation: 1 but some
think this favour from his Majestie implies or may produce some
change of mind & diversion of his former zeale: that we shall
know by the event. 2 Just now I receive your lettre, whereby
/I see I need^ ed ^ not have told you this. I have ^ sent ^ my Sizar already
/with your lettre to Master Danford. 3

Do you not remember, that passage of Master Dewes his
relation of the Coronation, in a lettre he sent me to seale & send
you? Viz. That the Duke to disappoint Sir Robert Cotton of
presenting King Athelstanes book, at ^ Sir Robert Cottons ^ staires (prepared
for the Kings landing); commanded the Bargemen to put on & so
run his Majestie on ground at ^ the ^ Parlament staires? I took it
for an ill omen then & spake of it. God grant when all is done 20

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1 Agreed by the Commons on Saturday 13 May; PP 1626, iii. 254–56, 259, 261.
2 Digges did, it appears, make "a determined effort to regain favour" with the Duke over the collection of
the Privy Seal loan during the summer of 1626, but was still one of those removed from the Commission of
the Peace in July of that year and was later imprisoned by the Privy Council; Cust, F. L., pp. 188 n. 3, 207
(quote from p. 207).
3 Mead had four sizars as pupils at this time, John Clarke, Isaac Welham, John Hastier and Samuel Wright.
Peile has suggested that the very low expenditure by Wright (only £1 os. 4d. between July 1624– and
January 1627/28) suggests he was Mead's servant during this time (in effect, receiving tuition in exchange
for running errands for Mead) and he was perhaps the sizar in question here. It is impossible, however, to
be certain; Peile, i. 348, 353, 361.
his Majestie & those with him may gett on land drieshoo'd. 4

I heare that it was putt this week to voices in the Higher House, whether the Duke should be committed, or restrained or not; & that the partie for the Dukes libertie won it by 12 voices. 5

My Lord Spenser is supposed to have done himselfe some dishonour. Having it seemes lately received some favour from the Duke & willing to shew himselfe gratefull; when the Earle of Bristol had done his speach & made an end of his charge against the Duke, my Lord stands up, my Lord, quoth he, Is this all you have to say against the Duke of Buckingham? Yes my Lord, quoth Bristol, & am sorry I have occasion to say so much. Why then, quoth my Lord Spenser, if this be all, Ridiculus Mus. & so he sat downe againe. 6

Whereupon my Lord Cromwell having presently a gigge in his head, goes to Master Richard Spenser, one of my Lords Yonger Sons, & a great Speaker in the House of Commons & a Zelot against the Duke; 7 Dick (quoth he) Tell me what you do in your house? What is done against the Duke to day? My

4 D'Ewes's account of Charles' coronation is in H383, folio 24r-v (the episode mentioned here is described on folio 24r). This was not the only incident in the Coronation that could have been seen as a bad omen; see P. Welby, Lancelot Andrewes 1555–1626 (1958), p. 257. In H390 line 17 reads "presenting King Athelstan's book, at the staies * Sir Robert Cotton's " Arundel's staies (prepared"; Mead had probably forgotten the exact order of events on 2 February and Stuteville (who made the corrections) did so using D'Ewes's letter cited above. Sharpe has suggested that "the whole incident was intended as a snub to...Cotton"; Sir Robert Cotton, p. 140.

5 Perhaps referring to the Lords' decision (by a majority of nineteen) on Tuesday 16 May not to answer the Commons' message of 11 May (requesting Buckingham's commitment) for the time being; PP 1626, i. 488, 490–91.

6 Spencer's words after the Earl of Bristol had presented his articles against Buckingham on 1 May were "We expected great matters. Montes parturire et nascetur ridiculas mus"; ibid., p. 340. The correct quotation is "parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus", line 139 of Horace's Ars Poetica, meaning "the mountains will fall into labour, and there will be born an absurd little mouse". The episode was memorable enough for the Earl of Clare to recall it well over a year later; C. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica' (Cambridge, 1971), p. 60 (translation from T. S. Dorsch (ed.), Classical Literary Criticism (Harmondsworth, 1965; 1986 edn., p. 84); Holles, ii. 366. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leadham–Green for drawing the source of Spencer's quote to my attention.

7 Richard Spencer's sympathies are suggested by his defence of Dr. Turner in the Commons; Tite, p. 185.
Lord quoth he, He is charged with no lesse then High treason.

Tush, Dick (quoth my Lord Cromwell) High treason? Ridiculus
Must! 8

/ My Sizar hath brought back your lettre & sayes that
/ Master Danford (as they tell him in the Colledg) went out of Towne
/ yesterday. I feare he is gone, He was with me on Wednesday &
/ told me he was to go either the next day or day after, as I now
/ remember. I will keep it, & see if I can send it; if not, you
shall have it sent back on Saturday.

The newes of Count Mansfeilds defeat is true & by the
Duke of Freidland, though the inclosed sayes Walstein; I know
not whether the Duke of Freidland be not the same with him whom
formerly they called Count Walstein: It may be he is, though I
thought hitherto he had bin the Count of Negromont.9

The batell was upon the 15 of Aprill our style, & by Dessaw
a Towne upon the Elbe in the Principalitie of Anhalt.10 It lasted
from 9 in the morning till 3 in the afternoone.11 Count Mansfeild
himselfe changed horse 3 severall times, his Commanders & soldiurers
(as all lettres say) defended themselves bravely, were twice beaten from
their trenches by the Imperiallists & yet recovered them againe, &
beat their enemies, in such manner that the victory was a great
while doubtfull; till at last their powder & munition being fired 12
by treacherie (as some lettres report) they were overmastered; The horse
retreated & saved themselves indifferent well, but the foot were
for the greater part slayne & taken & 32 ensignes gotten by
the Enimie,13 besides 2 cornets of horse & 4 murdering

8 Thomas Cromwell, 4th Baron Cromwell and Viscount Lecale, had been present in the Lords on 1 May; GEC, i. 192–93; Journal of the House of Lords, iii. 575.

9 Mead was unaware that Wallenstein had been created Duke of Freidland in June 1623; Mann, p. 222.

10 STC 18507.179, The continuation...23 May has several reports on the battle based on letters from,
among others, Bremen (B3r–4r), Dessau (B4r), "the River of Wetra" (B4r–v), Prague, and Wolfenbüttel
(B4v). A copy of Mansfeld's own account of the battle is at PRO SP75/7/folio 93r–v.

11 The battle lasted six hours; Mann, p. 285.

12 Ibid., p. 286.

13 Reports from Dessau and Prague in STC 18507.179, B4r–v put the number at 37; Sir Robert Anstruther
estimated the number at 30; PRO SP75/7/folio 121r.
peeces &c. They were partly surprised (though not altogether) & partly overmatched. But Colonell Kniphousens defeat in the begining (who had a several quarter & is since thought, by the Enimies over kind usage of him to have bin scarce faithfull) is reputed the maine cause of Mansfields ill successse. Since, he is againe reenforced by the King of Denmark, who having lately received 4000 men from Holstain & 6000 from the King of Sweden, hath furnished him with a sufficient number of foot, & he is come againe to Dessaw & besiegeth the sconce there, being a passage of moment & the Enimie not full master thereof.

Marquis Spinola is preparing a strong Army about Ma= stricht, with an intention, as is thought to ayd the Imperialists in Germany: and that to defend Brabant Flanders & the other Provinces, the gentry & Country people are rising in Armes.

How they will compound their buisines in France, I yet heare not, onely that Monsieur is gotten away from his guard.

I sent now to Master Scott, & his wife sayes, he is gone.

14 STC 18507.179, B3r, B4v. A “comet” in this sense was “the standard of a troop of cavalry [originally a long pennon narrowing gradually to a point]”, OED, “comet”, s.v., 3; a “murdering peece” was a “small cannon or mortar”, ibid., “murdering piece”, s.v., from “murderer”, 2.

15 As occurred after the even heavier defeat at Lütter in August 1626, Protestant observers needed to find scapegoats; the letter from Bremen printed in STC 18507.179, B3v, reported that Mansfeld’s infantry “behaved themselves valiantly, untill such time they wanted powder, and could get none, and being abandoned by his horse which would not fight for want of pay (as it is reported) whereupon they fled, and there was a good number of them slaine on the place”; Kniphausen’s capture is related on B4r. Sir Robert Anstruther had warned that Mansfeld’s forces were in a potentially mutinous state due to lack of pay more than once; SP75/7/folios 89r, 91r. In all, 3,000-4,000 of Mansfelt’s army are estimated to have been killed; Mann, p. 286; Wedgwood, p. 210.

16 Both the report of Swedish reinforcements for Christian and Mansfeld’s seige of Dessau were false; the former because Gustavus’s military commitments in Livonia and Prussia would have made it impossible for him to send so many troops to the Danish army (and the long-standing distrust between Gustavus and Christian made such an event unlikely in any case), the latter because Mansfeld was in no position to raise an army until later in the summer. See D. Kirby, Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: the Baltic world 1492-1772 (1990), pp. 142-45; Roberts, passim, esp. i. 228-34; ii. 336-37. A “sconce” (line 73) was “A small fort or earthwork; esp. one built to defend a ford, pass, castle-gate”, OED, “sconce”, s.v., 1.

17 This false rumour concerning Spinola (one of many) has not been traced.

18 For the conspiracy involving “Monsieur” see above, p. 261 n. 6.
to London, but she can tell no newes of the Earle of Oxfords case nor whether he hath yet gotten it from I know not what gentleman to whom he lent it. He is a fitt man to deserve such a kindnesse another time, but I will promise you, it shall not be by my hand.19

I send you Carlton: It was bound last Saturday, but I stayd for the Thanksgiving Title-leaf: which was sent for from London, but yet comes not. I will wait for it no longer; If it comes, you may send the book back againe by Parkers man, to have it putt in, & for stringes, if you will have any.20 I could not get the Book of Jurisdiction but bound. The price of it & binding I have written in one of the leaves at the beginning. I received for Sands 6s, you guessed right, but tis a deere price.21

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady, I rest & am

Christis Colledg Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph
May 20 Mead

Here is a lettre to Master Suteville from Master Sleep,22 brought to me on Wednesday. My pupill is well.

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19 See above, p.252 n. 12. Mead's irritation at not being able to retrieve the "Oxford case" was largely due, no doubt, in having to disappoint Suteville. This episode illustrates how easy it was for manuscript material to go astray.

20 For this book see above, p.252 n. 14; no copy of the special title-leaf appears to have survived. The "stringes" suggested by Mead were presumably "short cords, ribbons, or leather straps, formerly often attached (in pairs) to the edges of book-covers, to be tied in order to keep the book closed"; OED, "string", 6b.

21 Mead had sent "Sands" the previous week to Dalham (with a note of its cost); above, p.230 n. 21. Lines 94-95 suggest, however, that Suteville had returned it for resale; if so line 94 means that Mead had "received" 6s. from the bookseller for the returned copy. If Suteville did send the volume back, it is the only occasion known to me when he did so. The "Book of Jurisdiction" has not been identified.

22 "Master Sleep" has not been identified with certainty. He was perhaps Anthony Sleep, Deputy Public Orator and Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge; Venn, iv. 89.
Textual Notes: lines 10–13, 42–46: Mead used penstrokes in the margin to draw Sir Martin’s attention to these lines, due to the letter for Richard Danford Mead was unable to deliver to him.

line 10] & a diversion MS.
line 21] Majestie may & MS.
line 35] goes to speak with Master Richard MS.
line 64] horse & as many 4 murdering MS.
line 67, quarter] Mead originally closed brackets here, then continued in parentheses, deleting this bracket.
line 80] not, haaa onely MS.
line 93] price of aH ^ it & binding ^ MS.
line 102, brought] altered from “being”.
London May 12 1626

On Saturday the Earle of Bristoll had his Accusation read in the Upper House by Master Attorney against him, but did not then answere the same in particular, but rather made an Explanation of his Articles against the Duke. The Earle is to come to his answere before the Lords to morrow, eleven of the Kings Counsell being to act their severall parts against him, & himselfe being assigned six Lawyiers of his owne Counsell.

On Munday halfe the Charge of the Lower House was presented to the Lords in the Painted Chamber by Sir Dudley Digges, Master Glanville, Master Selden, & Master Herbert, who spake so plainly of the Duke in his owne presence, as if he had bin the meanest man in the companie: They read first the charge ingrossed in parchment, then made aggravation upon it, & lastly delivered in their proofes in writing; all which proceedings, if I had, in writing, were the exactest pcece that ever was hammered in Parliament.

On Tuesday one Dyett a Lawyier was called to the barre, & after excluded the House, for somewhat rudely oppo=

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1 The previous Saturday, 6 May; PP 1626, i. 357–63.
3 On 6 May Bristol had asked for a week's respite in answering the charges against him "by reason of some dispatches of his in the country"; ibid., pp. 368, 372 and n. 22 below.
4 On 6 May the Lords had resolved that Bristol should be allowed "counsel for his own defense"; he had nominated Sergents Hedley, Brampton, Noy and Littleton. Sergeant Crawley and Anthony Low were substituted for Noy and Littleton on the 8th; ibid., pp. 372 and n. 84, 374, 379 (quotation from p. 372). The Crown lawyers have not been identified.
5 The Commons' charges of Monday 8 May are given in ibid., pp. 408–38; see above, p.266 n. 2. The metaphor approvingly used in lines 17–18 was taken from the making (by hammering) of a coin; like a properly minted shilling Pory thought the Commons' charges would pass as "current".
sing the common intention of the House of sending a message
to the Lords for commitment of the Duke. It was then put
to the question, whether a message or no message, & the affirma-
tive part won it by 121 voices.

On Wednesday the other four, namely Master Wansford
Master Shirland, Master Pym, & Sir John Eliott delivered the second
part of the charge against the Duke, at what time the
Duke himself was absent, as well became him.

On Thursday (May 11) his Majesty came from Whitehall
to the Parliament House accompanied in his barge by the Duke
of Buckingham, The Earls of Rutland Dorset, Carleile,
Holland, & the Lord Conway, where he made this speech
as followeth.

His Majesty's speech in the Upper House of Parliament on Thursday May 11.

The cause of my coming to day is to let you know,
how sensible I am of your honours, & in a great measure
concerning my selfe: I think it fitt to take order to punish
some insolent speeches spoken unto you by way of digression yester-
day. I have bin heretofore remisse in punishing speeches con-
cerning my selfe, for that Buckinghams much importunitie would
not suffer me to take notice thereof, least he might be thought
to set me on. As touching the Accusation against Buck-
ingham, I can be a witnesse to cleare him in every particular.
I speak not this to take any thing out of your hands, but to a: This clause should [b]e at the end, & that [a]t the end, should have bin
plac't here. Ita conjicio.

6 For defending the Duke's behaviour in the conference of the previous day (see above, p. 267 n. 4), Richard
Dyott was barred from the Commons until 23 May; PP 1626, iii. 201 and n. 10, 203, 208-09.

7 The majority on 9 May for sending a message to the Lords to commit Buckingham was 119 according to
the sources printed in ibid., pp. 201, 204, 212; see also Russell, Parliaments, p. 305 n. 1.

8 The Duke's absence from the second part of the Commons' charges against him may have been as a result
of the offence given by his presence at the first; see above, p. 266 n. 2; p. 267 n.n. 4-5 and n. 6 above.
Presumably because his source had forgotten the name. Mead had not filled in Wandesford's name on line
25; the gap has been filled in by another hand, presumably Stuteville's.
shew the reason, why I have not heretofore punished insolent
speaches against my selfe. But now I hope you wilbe as
sensible of mine honour, as I am of yours: It was not any
greedines of money makes me do this, but his innocency.9

About the time his Majestie had ended the speach, Sir
Dudley Digges, & Sir John Eliott, (understood for those insolent
Speakers) were sent for out of the House by 2 messengers
of the chamber, who shewed them their warrant to committ
them (as they did) close prisoners to the Tower.10

No sooner was his Majestie departed out of the
"Upper House, but
the Commons sent up to their Lordships by Sir Nathaniel
Rich the message following for committment of the Duke, him=
selte being present.11

The message of the House of Commons to the Lords

The Knights, Citizens & Burgesses of the Commons
House of Parliament taking into their considerations the mani=
fold & apparant mischeifes & inconveniences, under which this
renowned Kingdome doth now suffer, threatening manifest danger
to the State & Common-wealth, have by search & disqui=
sition of the causes thereof, found that they do principally flow

b: See before in the margin.

9 PP 1626, i. 398; in this version of Charles's speech (taken from the Lords Journal) the passage in lines
40-44 should read “I have been too remiss heretofore in punishing those insolent speeches that concerned
myself, not that I was greedy of their monies, but for that Buckingham, through his importunity, would not
suffer me to take notice of them lest he might be thought to have set me on, and he might come on the
forwarder to his trial to prove his innocency. For, as touching the occasions against him, I myself can be a
witness to clear him in every one of them”. Mead was correct in placing lines 50-51 earlier in the speech,
but not in removing lines 43-44 to the end as suggested in note a above (“Ita conjicio = I bring them
together in this manner”).

10 See above, pp.274-278 mn. 6-11.

11 The Lords had, in fact, begun to discuss other business before the Commons' message was sent up; PP
1626, i. 398, 401, 403. The Duke was present when it was delivered; ibid., pp. 399, 404.

12 Other members of the Commons including Sir Humphrey May and Sir Dudley Carleton had accompanied
Rich to the Lords; PP 1626, iii. 229.
from the exorbitant power & abusive carriage of the Duke of Buckingham, whereof he hath this present Parliament bin impeached before your Lordships by the Commons, besides an accusation against the sayd Duke by a Peere of your owne house who (as they are informed) hath charged him with high treason: They therefore with one voice make this intire declaration, that they hold it a thing of most dangerous consequent for the present & future, that a man of so great eminency, power, & authoritie being thus impeached & accused, should yet enjoy his liberty, hold so great a part of the Kingdom in his hand, sitt as a Peere in Parliament & be acquainted with the Counsells thereof, whereby inevitable mischeifes may suddenly fall upon the King & Kingdom: Therefore they have thought it their duties to recommend this their unanimous desire unto your Lordships as agreeable unto law & reason, that you would further be pleased to committ the person of the sayd Duke to safe custody.13

The Lords reply to this message was, That they would in due time send answere thereunto by a messenger of their owne.14

Upon Sir Nathaniel Riches returne from the Lords, it was perceived in the Lower House, whither Sir John Eliott & Sir Dudley Digges were gone; whereupon they brake off all busines, & suddenly departed.15 After dinner those of the House of Commons met in Westminster Hall; & having for the same afternoone appointed many Committies & much businesse to dispatch, they omitted all, sadly communicating their minds one to another.

This morning (Friday) being assembled & sett in the House, the Speaker arose, & putt them in mind, where they left off, to the end they might proceed: But they on the contrary cryed to the Speaker Sitt downe, Sitt downe, intending to handle no busines at all, till they had fully di=

13 The Commons’ message is printed in PP 1626, i. pp. 398-99; Mead’s version has a number of differences, such as “considerations” for “serious considerations” (line 64) and “manifest danger” for “apparent danger” (line 66).
14 Ibid., pp. 399, 404; iii. 229-30, 232-33.
15 The Commons did, in fact, continue with their business before the news of the arrest of Digges and Eliot ended proceedings for the day; ibid., pp. 229–30, 232–33 and above, p. 268 n. 9.
spatched that about the Commitment of the two Knightes, which for the present troubled them much.16
So there stept up a Lawyier & made a motion, That whereas they were bereaved of those two members of their body without any reason given; and that in their arrest the whole House stood arrested: a Committie might be appointed to frame a Remonstrance to his Majestie for conservation of their priviledges, which in this one Act (contrary to the advise of his privie Counsell the night before) were much infringed: & to beseech his Majestie, That when they were growen towards rypenesse in buisines of high consequence, they might not receive such rubbes & impediments, as in their due proceeding against the Duke they had done; setting the reso lution upon this, That untill they had their members restored, they would not once think of any buisines.17
The Judges have given their opinion, That no member of either House could be committed save in case of Treason, Felony or breach of the peace, in case he could procure no bayle.18

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16 On 12 May, "After long silence, Mr. Speaker rose and said 'I am sorry to see so general sadness and silence'. The House cry, 'Sit down'"; ibid., p. 236.
17 This is probably a version of John Wilde's speech of 12 May (which, according to Whitelocke's account, occurred before the Speaker was shouted down); ibid., p. 236; see also pp. 239–40.
18 In debating the continued sequestration of the Earl of Arundel, the Lords had determined on 18 April that "the privilege of this House is that no Lord of parliament, sitting the parliament, or within the usual times of privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned or restrained without sentence or order of the House unless it be for treason or felony or for refusing to give surety for the peace"; PP 1626, l. 281; Russell, Parliaments, p. 314. The Judges' opinion reported here was presumably based on this ruling.
Since my last I understand, the Vantguard of the King brought home all hir ordinance with her.\(^{19}\)

Another ditto.

After his Majesties departing from the Parlament House on Thursday, Sir Dudley Digges (who began the charge against the Duke (comparing him to a Comet) & Sir John Eliott who concluded (comparing him to Sejenu, Tiberius his Favourite) were sent to the Tower.\(^{20}\) Upon the newes thereof in the House of Commons, who were then in the midst of a great debate of buisines, they generally cryed Rise, Rise, & so rose instantly.\(^{21}\)

The Earle of Bristol on Saturday answered to his charge in generall, to the Lords good content: but for the particular answere desired leave till Munday next, that he might send for his papers, that were not here; which was granted him.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{19}\) For it was reported she had left 44 brasse peices of ordnance behind her.

\(^{20}\) The *Vanguard* had been one of the seven ships loaned to the French in the previous year. Sir Henry Palmer reported on 10 May that “though I heare that there are some rumors of purpose as I imagine dispersed in London [such as those alluded to by Mead in note c], that the Vanguard hath beene much wronged in the changinge, and spoyle, of her ordnance...there is not any one peece alterted”; PRO SP16/26/76 (folio 170r); see also PP 1626, p. 437 n. 12S.

\(^{21}\) See above, p. 214 n. 3; p. 217 n. 6. D'Ewes wrote to Stuteville on 11 May that “The King was this morning in the upper howse & ther complained of Sir John Elliot for comparing the a Duke a to Sejanus in which hee saied impliciteli hee must intend him for Tiberius”. Sir Martin was asked to keep this to himself by burning or hiding the leaf on which Eliot’s words were written; H383, folio 32r.

\(^{22}\) See n. 2 above. It was agreed on Saturday 6 May that Bristol should inform the Lords on the following Monday when he would make a full answer to the charges against him; PP 1626, i. 373–74.
Another ditto. 12 May 1626

This day I saw a letter which came by this weekes Post from Hambrough, which relates the certaintie of the late reported overthrow which Walstein hath given Count Mansfeild:23 It saith, the report of the losse is divers; Count Mansfeild himselfe (who hath most reason to know) saith he hath lost but 1500 men (though others say more) amongst which were diverse worthie Commanders, Colonell Sterling by name, a man, they say, famous & a brave Soldier:24 That Mansfeild lost also many wagons of provision (report saith 500) & much treasure, That himselfe is retiryed to Brandenburg:25 That Zerbst is taken in by Walstein who is 30,000 strong in the feild & well appointed,26 That Mansfeild on the other side dares not muster a man, having no money to pay them; & so (saith the lettre) all is like to go to wrack whilst we here (in England) demure upon sending ayd.27

Our Shippes are come from France into Stokes-bay at Portsmouth, laden with salt to pay for their hire.28

23 See above, p. 249 n. 16; pp. 231-74 lines 48-69 and notes.

24 Mansfeld’s reported estimate was (as one might expect) almost certainly too low; see above, p. 234 n. 15. Reports of this number of dead were evidently circulating in London, however, as in STC 18507.179, The continuation...May 23, B3r-v: “‘The Translator to the Reader’...whateuer they [differing accounts of the battle] report of the which were lost in the first conflict, which happened on the 25 of Aprill stilo novo...C. Mansfield mist not above 1500”. In a list of the Danish army drawn up at the beginning of April 1626 a “Colonel Sterling” is included as a commander of one of the cavalry regiments, although I have not determined whether this is the man referred to here; PRO SP75/7/folio 79r.

25 Perhaps the provisions in lines 142-43 were confused with the “500 little barrels of powder” reported to have been lost by Mansfeld; STC 18507.179, B4r.

26 Ibid., B4r-v; Mann, p. 286.

27 Reports of the state of Mansfeld’s army varied from gloomy assessments like this to accounts of his having captured the Dessau fortifications, in attempting to do which he had been defeated. See above, p. 234 n. 16 and below, p. 295 n. 21. The former analysis was more accurate.

28 As reported by Salvetti on 12/22 May; HMC Skrine, p. 65; see n. 19 above.
Textual Notes: line 17] I had, went in writing MS.
ibid., exactest] altered from “exactedit”.
line 67] Common-wealth, by have MS.
line 73, who] Mead originally opened brackets here before deleting the parenthesis.
line 109, Counsell] Mead continued in parentheses after having put a bracket after this word.
lines 151–52, Others sayd...overthrew him] Mead crossed this out once he realised the Duke of Freidland and “Walstein” (Wallenstein) were the same person, making the note tautologous.
The humble Remonstrance & Petition
of the Peeres  May 17 1626

May it please your Majestie, We the Peeres of this
your Realme now assembled in Parlament, finding the Earle
of Arundell absent from this place, that sometimes in this Parlament
sat amongst us, his presence was therefore called for: But hereupon
a message was delivered to us from your Majestie by the Lord Keeper,
that the Earle of Arundell was restrained for a misdemeanour;
which was personall to your Majestie & had no relation to matter of
Parlament. This message occasioned us to enquire into the acts of
our Predecessors, & what in like case, they had done, that so we might
not erre in any dutiful respect to your Majestie, & yet preserve our
right & priviledge of Parlament.

After diligent search both of all the statutes & records that
might informe us in this case, we find it to be a undoubted
right & constant priviledge of Parlament, That no Lord of
Parlament, sitting in Parlament, or within the usuall times of
priviledge of Parlament, is to be imprisoned or restrained (without
sentence or order of the house) unlesse it be for treason, or felony,
or for refusing to give suretie for the peace. And to satisfy
our selves the better, we have heard all that could be allcging
by your Majesties learned Counsell at Law, that might any way in=
fringe or weaken this claime of the Peeres; & to all that can

1 In their continuing attempts to have the sequestration of the Earl of Arundel lifted, the House of Lords had
drawn up a petition to Charles on 19 April which he had promised (on the 24th) to answer “with all
expedition”. He did not do so, and after the Lords had unsuccessfully pressed Charles for an answer on 2 and
9 May, the Earl of Lincoln proposed on 17 May that another petition be prepared, which was presented to
the King on Thursday 18 May; PP 1626, i. 286–90, 308, 310–11, 346 and n. 6, 348–49, 389–90, 393–
95, 495, 498–99 (quotation from p. 308). See also above, p. 245 n. 6. The petition sent by Mead on this
occasion, however, is not that of 17 May but the first one of 19 April; either Mead or (more likely) his
source had confused the two documents. It is probable (given the date in Mead’s hand) that he received it
during the last week or so of May but as there is no reference to it in his correspondence, certainty as to
when it arrived in Cambridge is impossible.

2 “That...peace” taken verbatim from the Lords’ resolution of 18 April; see above, p. 245 n. 18.
be shewed or alleged so full satisfaction hath bin given, as that all the Peeres in Parlament, upon the question made of this priviledge, have uná voce consented. That this is the undoubted right of the Peeres, & hath inviolably bin enjoyed by them.3

Wherefore we your Majesties loyall Subjects & humble Servants the whole body of the Peeres now in Parlament assembled most humbly beseech your Majestie, That the Earle of Arondell (a member of this body) may presently be admitted with your gracious favour, to come sit & serve your Majestie & the Commonwealth in the great affairs of this Parlament: And we shall dayly pray &c. etc.

[device]

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3 The discussion in the Lords of the Attorney-General’s precedents is in *PP 1626*, l. 273–81.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 27 May, and sent with two separate transcripts
by Mead: one of London newsletters dated Friday 19 and Monday 22 May, the
second of newsletters dated Thursday 25 and Friday 26 May. Mead also included
a letter from Simonds D’Ewes to Sir William Spring. Folios 66v–67r blank;
subscription (dated “May 27”) on 67v.]

27 May 1626

Sir,

For the price for perfecting & binding Bishop Carltons works
I have quite forgott what it was. When I payd the Book=
binder, I sett downe the particulars in one of the spare leaves
before the book: But when I wrot my last, the book was trussed
up, & I could not look it. This I remember that the Jurisdiction
being a bound book cost me 2s. How there comes to be 2s. 4d
more (for so you sent me) I know not; unlesse the binding be so
much.1

I hope I shall now furnish you with newes up to the
chinne, I meane to the last day the Parlament satt.2 Amongst
which you shall find a lettre ^ from ^ yong Master Dewes, directed to
Sir William Spring, but sent to me unsealed, with a complemen=
tall request, to send it ^ in ^ like manner to your selfe, & desire you
that having read it, you would seale it with some scale not
your owne, & send it to Bury on Munday. Sir William desired
this lettre from the author, which nevertheless he hopes by his
communicating the contents, you will accept, as if it had bin directed
to your selfe. So I have done my errand.3

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1 For these books see above, p. 252 n. 14; p. 295 n. 21. As STC 4633 had been “trussed up” (probably in
“Parkers mans Panyers”; p. 295 lines 13–14) Mead could not check the cost of binding the previous week;
as the text alone had cost 1s. 6d. it had cost another another 8d. to have it bound.

2 That is, up to Friday 26 May, pp. 391–395 below. Either the letters written on that day had arrived early in
Cambridge or Mead sent off his packet to Dalham later than usual, as he very rarely managed to send off
news written in London the day before to Sir Martin: see the Introduction, pp. 56–57.

3 The route travelled by this lettre illustrates the Suffolk “gentry network”, of which Mead was an important
part, in action; see the Introduction, pp. 42–44. D’Ewes’s request concerning the seal probably meant that
he did not want Spring to know others had read the letter before he had.
Yet we having received a lettre from the Doctor of the same date, could have wanted the better Master Dewes his paines, were it not for one jest of the new Lords borrowed from Sir Dudley Digges his comparing the Peerers to the Starres in the firma¬
25
ment. Whereupon some of these new Lords having no great earthly estates are taken to be such heavenly Lords, as do need no Land.  

Our Leading lettre this month or more, hath bin very com¬
plete, & from one & the same hand. Whereby the Doctors intelligence hath bin put in the end of the newes-paper, amongst the ordinary company of miscellaneous intelligencers.  

I cannot add any thing almost to what I enclose. For our Bishops, the author of the lettre in the enclosed paper dated Monday May 22 had a passage which I omitted in the exscription as having no joy in it, viz & That the Bishops were fallen into much neglect & scorne in the City as men who had disclaimed their Christendome. I am sorry to hear, they are so habituated to flatterie, that they seeme not to know of any other dutie that belongs unto or beseemes them. But all are not guiltie though the people (as they are wont to do) lay the imputation general.  

There are two good ones lately gone out of this ill world, Lakes of Bath & Welles, & Senhouse of Carleile. God grant them good

4 Digges had made this comparison on 8 May; PP 1626, i. 409; above, p. 266 n. 3. For the "new Lords", see below, p. 274 n. 6.
5 This is the only occasion I have found where Meddus's letter was relegated in this manner. Mead's use of the phrase "news-paper" antedates the earliest OED citation by 44 years.
6 Lines 34-40 probably refer to those such as Laud and Neile who were perceived to be too closely associated with the Duke, himself the object of increasing suspicion on religious grounds. While the subject of "Arminianism" was still, relatively, a minority issue in the Parliament of 1626 (compared to 1628 or 1629) Buckingham had been associated with it in one of the impeachment articles against him, and one of Dr. Turner's questions had explicitly linked him with the increase in popery. In addition, the debates over Montagu's books had highlighted the "threat" posed to Protestant England by such men, especially as the Duke had tacitly supported him; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 298-99; H. Schwarz, "Arminianism and the English Parliament, 1624-1629", JBS 12 (1973), 54-56. Lines 34-36, not transcribed by Mead from his London letter dated 22 May, were probably part of the report linking Buckingham with the "Montagutians" (below, p. 275 lines 129-32).
successors.\(^7\) The Bishop of Winchester is also very ill & hath bin long sick.\(^8\)

Some of our last Saterdays lettres, had this passage which the enclosed papers want, That it was written the Prince of Orenge was going up with some forces toward Rees, & as it was thought to hinder the Spanyards of their designe to divert the River Rhine another way.\(^9\)

Thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & my good Lady, wishing you a cheerful Whitson tide,\(^10\) I rest & am

Christ Colledg

May 27

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

My pupill is well.

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Textual Notes: line 5, sett| altered from "send".

line 6, trussed| altered from "trust".

\(^7\) Bishops Arthur Lake of Bath and Wells and Richard Sonhouse of Carlisle had died on the 4th and 6th of May respectively; Chronology, pp. 229, 236. Both Lake and Sonhouse have been identified as "puritan" bishops by Lambert; 'Richard Montagu', pp. 41-42; lines 40-42 follow on from the preceding passage by opposing these men to those perceived by Mead (and his source) to be in the ascendant in 1626. This throws an interesting light on Mead’s own religious affiliations; he had been considered a "puritan" himself in the early 1610s and evidently still felt more sympathy for this wing of the Church than for the "Durham House group", an impression reinforced by his forthright comments about John Cosin during the Parliament of 1628. (That Mead included Andrewes in the category of approved bishops probably owed something to the latter's patronage in Mead’s earlier career); Bondos-Greene, p. 208; H390, folio 370v; Introduction, p. 31.

\(^8\) Lancelot Andrewes suffered from constant ill-health during the early months of 1626 and died on 25 September; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, pp. 258–59; Chronology, p. 277.

\(^9\) Although I have not identified the reference to the Prince of Orange, this is the first report in Mead’s letters to the construction of the “Fosse Mariana”, which began in earnest in September 1626. In order to circumvent the United Provinces’ blockade of the Scheldt estuary and the upper Rhine (and hence the trade of Antwerp and much of Flanders) the Spanish attempted to build a canal, of about 35 kilometres in length, to link the Maas and the Rhine. This was intended to give the Spanish a considerable strategic advantage over the United Provinces and the latter made numerous attempts to stop work on the canal. Due both to technical difficulties and Dutch raids the canal was never completed; Israel, p. 221; Magurn, pp. 137–38, 142, 467; Reade, ii. 608–09.

\(^10\) Whit Monday fell on 29 May in 1626; Cheyney, p. 120.
line 13] lettre of ^ from ^ yong MS.
line 24] Digges h** his MS.
line 26, do] altered from “to”.
lines 48–53, thus with...Mead] a continuation of the letter in the margin.
On Saturday the Commons sitting in their house till 4 afternoone, took every one this Protestation concerning Sir Dudley Digges (two days before committed to the Tower)

"I protest before God & this honourable assembly, as I am a Christian, that I never gave consent Sir Dudley Digges should speak any such words, I never heard him speak any such words, "I do not believe, that ever he spake any such words, nor ever did I report so of him. ¹ Now the words, he was accused of, were, when in his speech before the Lords he mentioned the posset—ale & plaister applied to King James in his sickness, That "he would speak no more of that least he might touch the Kings honour, or to the same effect. ²

On Monday the Lords (all saving the Duke, the Earls of Dorsett, Carlisle, Holland, & Bridgewater; & the Bishops of Durham & Saint Davids) made the same Protestation in substance for Sir Dudley Digges. ³ And so the same evening the King sent for him out of the Tower, gave him his hand to kisse, & used him most

¹ PP 1626, iii. 254–56, 259, 261.

² Digges had allegedly spoken these words at the conference of the two Houses on the afternoon of Tuesday 8 May; PP 1626, i. 410; above, p. 257 n. 6. For the allegations concerning James's last illness see above, pp. 248–54 nn. 9–17. In this paragraph Mead was again probably quoting his source verbatim.

³ For the Lords' debate over the Protestation see ibid., pp. 477–78, 480–84. Apart from those mentioned in this report Lords Scrope, Morley and Percy refused to take the protestation: ibid., p. 483; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 306 and n. 5, 307. As the case against Digges was based on notes taken by eight members of the Lords on 8 May, whether he was guilty depended on differing interpretations of them; while several of the Lords admitted to hearing words similar to those alleged only a few did not exonerate Digges. It is noticeable, however, that all of the latter group were intimates of the Duke, and the report was probably written with this in mind. For Digges's words see n. 2 above.
what time also he took two clauses of the same protestation, &
added a third of his owne, namely, that he never thought any such
words. 5

But on Munday also in the morning there entred into the
House of Commons (no man can tell how, because all the windowes
were shut) a bird called the Kings Fisher in Latin Halcyon,
which naturally never useth to come neere houses, nor neare the
company of men. They caught her & let her goe. Some inte-
preted it Bonum omen, because this bird comes after a storme:
Others sayd the Kings Fisher signified the Lord Admirall, who
obtained his liberty after he was caught by the Commons.
Others resembled it to such sycophants as fish out of the house
false accusations to informe his Majestie.6

On Tuesday the Lords had a great & earnest dispute ab-
bout the Dukes sequestration from their House, & in fine it was
agreed, that he should stand free, untill he came to his answere,
from which time, till their Lordships gave sentence, he should be
sequestred.7

The same day the Commons appointed Committees to frame
a Remonstrance to the King about the release of Sir John Eliot,8
& that his Majestic would be pleased to give them the names of
his & Sir Dudley Digges his accusers, that they might be proceeded
against, as men that went about to breed sedition betweene

5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 263; some apparently thought the bird had come "to complain of the Lord Admiral because the
Narrow Seas were lost and she was disturbed by the Dunkirk[ers]". See also PRO SP16/27/36 [folio 53v].
The reference in line 25 is to the transformation of Alcyone into a kingfisher in Book XI of Ovid's
Metamorphoses, tr. M. M. Innes (Harmondsworth, 1984 edn.), p. 265. (In the 1567 and succeeding
editions of Arthur Golding's translation of Metamorphoses, STC 18956–62, a marginal note "The King's
fisher" indicated the moment of Alcyone's transformation; ibid., V3r.)
7 On 16 May there was "much and longe debate" over whether the Duke should be present during the debates
on the accusations against him by the Earl of Bristol, which was decided in Buckingham's favour. At the
same time an answer to the Commons' message of 11 May (requesting the sequestration of the Duke) was
deferred; PP 1626, i. 488–91 (quotation from p. 489); see above, p. 282, n. 5.
8 Edward Kirton had moved on Tuesday 16 May that the Commons should exonerate Eliot as they had
Digges, and the House "turned into a grand committee" on the following day; PP 1626, iii. 267, 269–81
(quotation from p. 269); Tite, pp. 200–01.
King & people. But the most remarkeable passage this day was a message delivered by Sir Richard Weston from his Majestie to the Commons quite against the release of Sir John Eliot, whose cause he sayd, was extrajudiciall to their Court. They craved the interpretation of the word Extrajudiciall, which he sayd, he would give them, when he had spoken with the King. So on Wednesday morning he told them, that Sir John Eliott stood committed for sundry crimes against the person of his Majestie committed without the walles of that House: But the Commons would not be satisfyed, unlese they might know the crimes in particular, that themselves might be his Judges.

The same day the Lords framed a remonstrance on behalf of my Lord of Arundell.

Yesterday being Holy Thursday, One Pyke a Common Soldier left behind the Fleet at Cadiz delivered a challenge to the Duke of Buckingham from the Marquesse of ...... brother in Law to the Conde d’Olivarez in defense of the honour of his sister: affirming moreover that he had wronged

9 The official reason for the imprisonment of Digges was that “the King, hearing by common report that such words were spoken, whereat the King highly offended, sent for 4, 5, or 6 notebooks [presumably those of the Lords present at the conference; see n. 3 above], and therein found those words, or such in effect”; PP 1626, iii. 283. The House considered this “a most willful and malicious information” and wanted those responsible punished for “breeding disturbance between the King, nobles, and Commons”; ibid., pp. 269, 273.

10 In a message delivered from Charles to the Commons on Tuesday 16 May Sir Richard Weston had said Eliot was charged “with things extrajudicial to this House”; ibid., p. 265–66. On 18 May Eliot was questioned by Sir Robert Heath and Sir Ranulph Crew over a number of allegations, including his alleged meetings with foreign ambassadors. Eliot denied the charges: ibid., p. 265 n. 4; p. 283 n. 1; PRO SP16/27/18 (folios 26r–27r).

11 By Sir John Strangways; PP 1626, iii. 265–67.

12 Ibid., p. 265.

13 According to Weston on 17 May, Eliot’s offences were “high crimes done to his Majesty out of this House”; ibid., p. 270, 273, 279 (quotation from p. 270). As a result of the ensuing debate it was resolved to frame a remonstrance on Eliot’s behalf; ibid., p. 272.

14 For the Lords’ petition of 17 May see above, p. 285 n. 1; the release of Digges made the Upper House anxious to obtain the same privilege.

15 Ascension Day fell on Thursday 18 May in 1626; Cheyney, p. 120.
Olivarez, the King of Spaine, & the King of England, & that therefore he would fight with him in any part of France.
This Pyke, a Devonshire man being presented prisoner to the Duke of Medina, he would needes have him fight at rapier & dagger with a Spanyard, supposing he would not stand him 2 thrusts: But Pyke by a dexterous slight presently disarmed the Spanyard of his Rapier without hurting him, & presented it to the Duke. Then he offered with a quarter staffe to fight with 3 Rapier-men, all which he vanquished & disarmed. Whereupon the Duke & Marques shewed him much respect & gave him money in his purse; & the Marquesse carried him along with him to the Court at Madrid, where he presented him to the King, who invited him to his service, & was answered, He would serve no King but his owne. So the King gave him 50 Double-ducets & a safe conduct, & sent him home.  

To day (Friday) Sir John Eliott (notwithstanding his Extrajudicall crimes) is released out of the Tower. This morning the Earle of Bristoll presented himselfe at the barre of the Upper house, against whom how farre their Lordships have proceeded, we do not, as yet know: But it is generally thought he will come clear of treason.

This aftermoone the Lords were instant with his Majestie to have my Lord of Arundell restored to their House, but could not obtaine it.

The Duke (they say) is shortly to go over into the Low countries.
As Count Mansfeld was beaten in the day, so the same night being reenforced by Colonell Fouks, he cutt the secure Enemy in pieces & gained both bridge & Fort & made himselfe Master of the feild.21

Another later, & from another hand.

Munday May 22. 1626

The two prisoners are now delivered from the Tower, & others have bin thought on, to take up their lodgings, Sir Francis Steward & Sir Thomas Lake: The warrants were procured by the Duke, & the pursuants expected every moment; but now that doubt is past, & that passion called Feare is banished the House of Commons by Act of Parliament, whatsoever danger befall them.22

On Friday the Earle of Bristol came to his tryall in the Upper house, & gave the Lords great satisfaction concerning the Articles then urged against him;23 but the Attorney hath more for another charge, which is thought shall be upon next Wednesday. Thus the result of the “suspicions of the more imaginative”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 433. Although Buckingham did not go to the Hague, rumours that he would persisted for some days.

21 This was false, as Fuchs did not reinforce Mansfeld; STC 18507.179, The continuation...23 May, B3v, B4v. A newsletter from the United Provinces dated 2 May had reported, however, that “By letters from a Serjeant Major, and a servant of Count Mansfield, it appears that Mansfield with 5000 horse and foot a second time attempting the Fort and bridge of Dessaw...there was great appearance he would soon maister it”; PRO SP/101/46/folio 1r.

22 Although I have not identified the rumour concerning Stewart and Lake, lines 98–100 perhaps referred to Sir John Eliot’s frank defence in the Commons on Saturday 20 May of his words concerning the Duke, and the resolution of the House on the same day that neither he nor Digges had “exceeded the commission given...[them] by the House in anything...in the late conference with the Lords; PP 1626, iii. 288–92, 294–98 (quotation from p. 289).

23 Anthony Low, Bristol’s counsel had read the Earl’s reply to the charges against him in the Lords on Friday 19 May, Bristol “explaining and enforcing (as occasion was) any part thereof”; PP 1626, i. 501, 531–32 (quotation from p. 501).
Dukes tryall is deferred till after Whitsontide. When the Earle of
Bristoll had ended his answere, he petitioned the House for some
more libertie to take the Aire this Spring-time; whereat
the Earle of Dorsett standing up told the Lords, the Tower was more
fitt for him, & the Keeper spake to the same purpose: but the Erle
of Devonshire took them both off with a speech full of resolution, which carried the whole House for him.

On Saturday Sir John Eliott was blamed from the King,
because in his charge he had not given the Duke his titles of Honour,
but often called him The man. To which Sir John gave in the
House, besides many other, this for his maine answere, That he
never took him for a God.

The House of Commons, lest this committing of the Knights
might be a warrantable precedent for the future, are now very
earnest about confirmation of their privileges, & will have this
Emprisonment enrolled to have bin upon the Kings misinformation.

And for the Informers they are resolved to find them out.

Here is a report at Court, which comes from Sir Ferdinando
Gorge Captaine of the Castell in Plimmouth Sound, That there are

a: It was in the house.

24 On Tuesday 23 May the Lords ordered that the Duke should answer the Commons' charges against him
"the first sitting day after Whitsontide", Friday 2 June; ibid., pp. 545-47.
25 On 19 May Bristol had requested and been allowed, for health reasons, to leave his confinement in the
custody of the Gentleman Usher, James Maxwell. I have not found any reference to Dorsel's and Coventry's
objections, although the Earl's request did "bid a little question" as to whether the Lords should ask the
King first, which was decided against; ibid., pp. 502, 531-32 (quotation from p. 532).
26 In his speech to the Lords on 10 May Eliot had referred to Buckingham as "this man" and "the man" more
than once; ibid., pp. 461-62. On Saturday 20 May Sir Dudley Carleton listed Eliot's language as one of the
objections against him, which became the "3rd particular", read by the Speaker, to which Eliot was required
to answer; PP 1626, iii. 288, 290-91, 293-95.
27 In replying to this point Eliot wondered "that there should be offense taken that I should call him "that
man", truly I doe yet believe he is no god"; ibid., p. 291.
28 The text of the remonstrance concerning Digger's and Eliot's imprisonment was read to the Commons
on Monday 22 May and, after debate, was recommitted for further consideration; ibid., pp. 302-07.
29 See n. 9 above.
80 sayle of Spanyards discovered at Sea making for Ireland.
But it will not take.\textsuperscript{30}

The French are already, or will quickly be quiet again;\textsuperscript{31}
The Duke is the great Protector of the Montagutians
so that the business of Religion is like to follow his standing or
downfall. Meanelye while the Archbishop is sick of a politick gout,
& hath lost time to prevent a Schisme.\textsuperscript{32}

Doctor Meddus

(Appendix out of other letters. May 1626)

That Pyke at the first bout killed one of the 3 Ra-
pier-men outright, & at the second struck downe another that he
lay a while for dead, which the third seeing, threw downe his wea-
pons, & kneeled downe craving life. That the Duke of Medina
asked if there were any more such as himselfe in the fleet, who
answered Many thousands better then he. That he was sworne
to deliver his message unto the Duke of Buckingham not in pri-
vate, but in a most eminent place & time, which accordingly he
performed on Holy Thursday in the Presence chamber as his Majestie
came from chappell.\textsuperscript{33}

That Count Mansfield by the treachery of Baron Kniphousen
one of his cheife Commanders, was putt to retreat & flight, having
lost about 12 or as some write 1500 men, & had 2 horses killed under
him, yet that the Enimies losse of men was double. That having ral-
lyed his men againe he brought 16,000 together, whom the Enimie

\textsuperscript{30} In a letter from Plymouth of 16 May Gorges had reported (on the basis of information sent from the
Mayor of Penryn, via Truro) that 80 ships had been sighted between the Lizard and Looe, "veryly thought
to be Spanardes"; PRO SP16/27/8 (1) [folio 14r].

\textsuperscript{31} For the conspiracy against Richelieu see above, p. 261 n. 6. Mead's source was incorrect; the arrest of
others implicated in the plot continued until July; Tapié, pp. 159–62.

\textsuperscript{32} According to his own account Abbot was prevented by illness from attending Council meetings for much
of 1626–27; Rushworth, i. Kk3r, Nnn1r; see also Cust, F. L., p. 26 n. 42 and above, p. 287 n. 6.

\textsuperscript{33} See n. 16 above.
durst not oppose but suffered him to take the passage, he formerly sought to have done.34

Textual Notes: line 39, Remonstrance | Remonstrane MS.
line 46, whose | used as a catchword at the foot of folio 60r.
line 54, on | altered from “of”.
line 107 | time; but whereat MS.

34 Anstruther reported 23 May/2 June that the Imperialists had lost more men than Mansfeld and that the latter was reinforcing his army; PRO SP75/7/folio 121r; for another rumour of Mansfeld’s success see n. 21 above.
[Half sheet folio (but see Textual Note to H390, folios 64-65). Taken from Dr. James Meddus’s London newsletter of Thursday 25 May. Folio 64v blank (but see Textual Note below.)]

Doctor Meddus

London Thursday May 25. 1626

On the last Friday forenoon, the Earle of Bristol
put his answer in writing unto the Lords in the Higher
House which gave them such satisfaction, that their Honors
gave him liberty with the gentleman Usher of the black rod
his Keeper (at whose house neere Charingcrosse he lieth)
to ryde abroad & take the aire. 1 He had with him his learned
Counsell by whose assistance he had pen’d his answer, but he
onely spake. 2 1ts sayd the Duke hath leave to have
the Kings learned Counsell to assist him in his answer, which
is thought strange. 3 It is now expected, what Master Attomey
can pick out to except against in the Earles answer. 4

The Commons motion for committing the Duke passed not
in the Higher House by 4 voices. 5 And His Grace is now
like to be stronger there; 3 more Lords being called thither by
writt already, as namely The Lord Mandevin, The Earle of
Manchesters Sonne & heire, The Lord Grandison & Sir Dudley
Carlton made English Barons; 6 And besides, there is speach

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1 See above, p.296 n. 25.
2 Anthony Low, Bristol’s counsel, had read the Earl’s answer, not as reported here; see above, p.295 n. 23.
3 Buckingham had requested on Monday 22 May that he might have King’s counsel for his defence (naming Crew, Richardson and Davenport), which was agreed after debate, subject to the King’s approval; PP 1626, i. 541–43.
4 On 19 May Heath had asked for a copy of Bristol's answer to the charges against him, and on the 22nd it was ordered that he begin his reply on Thursday the 25th; ibid., pp. 531, 541–42.
5 I have not traced this vote.
6 These three peers all took their seats on Monday 22 May. Edward Montagu, eldest son of the Earl of Manchester, took his seat as Viscount Kimbolton (which title had been conferred on his father in 1620); he was styled as both Lord Kimbolton and Lord Mandeville, hence line 17 here. Oliver St. John had been created Viscount Grandison in January 1621 but as this was an Irish peerage he could not sit in the Lords; his appearance there was due to his having been created Baron Tregoze. Sir Dudley Carlton entered the
as if 4 more were to be made, as Sir Thomas Salvage (who notwithstanding after the decease of his Father in law is to be Lord Darcy & Viscount Colchester) Sir John Savill, Sir Humphrey May, & Sir George Goreing; but time will shew how truly it is sayd.7

To day the Commons break up till this day sennight & none to be absent to morrow sennight on paine each man to forfeit £10.8

I know not yet what to write of any forraine affaires for certaine. Some still say France & Spaine have accorded though some others hope not.9

There is a great dearth in the Archduchess’s Countries, wheat being at 17 or 18° our bushell.10 The Hollanders have taken some Dunkirk & Spanish Ships one of them a great one worth £30,000, which had taken at severall times 16 English Ships.11

It is true, that Count Mansfeild lost some men, but at most not above 1400 with 2 pieces of ordinance &c.
but slew farre more of the Enimie. Its written out of his Camp, to be occasioned by the Elector of Saxony's treachery, who promising to be neutral & to suffer neither side to passe through his Country; yet permitted the Duke of Friedland by night to passe with his Army over Wittenberg bridge, which may perhaps occasion Saxony hereafter some disquiemes.

Though it be not now fresh newes, May 15
(Munday was sennight) came letters from the King of Denmark & was then rumoured to be for performance of promise, or he must be forced to make his owne peace; & also advising to hearken to the Parliament &c.

Textual Notes: H390, folios 64–65] Based on a close examination of the chain lines and torn edges of these leaves I believe that folios 64 and 65 were at one time conjugate. On the verso of folio 64 Mead wrote “Doctor Meddus last lettre.”
line 29, say] stay MS.
line 31, Archduchess's] Archduchesss MS.

12 See above, p. 288 n. 34.
13 This rumour may have been false; on 15/25 April Anstruther had reported that the Elector of Saxony had refused “quarter, provision, or passage unto the enemie”; PRO SP75/7/folio 91r. Whether true or not, however, the report is another instance of the tendency to find a scapegoat for Protestant defeats; see above, p. 294 n. 15.
14 I have not traced this letter, but Christian followed the progress of Parliament closely (in 1626 and 1628–29) since his chances of receiving money from England depended on its outcome. He had demanded payment of the promised subsidies for months; above, p. 217 n. 2. See also Reeve, Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule, pp. 58–59, 61, 107–08, 234–35.
The Earle of Bristol answered so fully & sufficiently at the barre of the Upper House Master Attorneys charge against him, that his Counsell had occasion to speak but little. The Lords caused a stool to be brought him, that he might sit down; which he thankfully refused; but growing at length weary, he besought their Lordships he might that afternoon take the air, which they granted, so that he is become a free prisoner to take his recreation when he will.

The House of Commons on Wednesday & yesterday had 15 grievances reported unto them by Master Whitby, over & besides those against the Duke.

On Wednesday Master Chancellor of the Exchequer in two hours could not get leave to speak; but at last, when he had obtained leave, his motion was, that the preamble of the bill of subsidy might be read. Which being done, the House would not allow of it, though passed by the general Committee, but would have it recommitted again, to the end (some say) that as they had capitulated the easing of other grievances, so now they might include the Duke himself, as the main grievance of all.

1 Untrue; see above, p. 21 n. 2.

2 Bristol did in fact sit on a stool provided for him; PP 1626, i. 501, 532.

3 See above, p. 22 n. 25.

4 There were seventeen grievances reported to the Commons (other than those against Buckingham); Edward Whitby reported the first eleven on 24 May and the rest the following day; PP 1626, iii. 318-26, 330-33, 335-36.

5 After the subsidy bill had been recommitted on Wednesday 24 May (see note below) Sir Richard Weston spoke on the subject again on the following day; the Commons ordered that the preamble to the bill would be debated on the first sitting day after Whitsun, Thursday 1 June; ibid., p. 334; see also p. 329.

6 The committee preparing the subsidy bill had presented the preamble on Wednesday 24 May, which was read twice and recommitted; ibid., pp. 318, 320, 322. It is likely that by this time Buckingham's enemies
Yesterday (Thursday) the Higher House at the instance of my Lord Say ministred an oath to all the Kings Counsell at Law, that they should be true & faithfull to his Majestie, to the intent, that none of them might plead for the Duke, who was desirous, that Sergeant Richardson, & Sergeant Crew might have beene of his Counsell. And when the Duke stood up to have spoken, they would not heare him; nor yet would they proceed in any buisines, for want of my Lord of Arundell.

To whom the House of Commons on Tuesday shewed their affection by not giving one voice against him, but all voices for him, in case of Recusancy: for his Lordship being presented for a Recusant by some out of the County of Surry, the House would not admitt of the presentation, but absolutely cleared him, where= as many other Lords & Knights all the Kingdome over stood convict.

The same day (viz Thursday) also His Majestie sent a message to the Lords, imparting. That whereas they had misconstrued his former message, whereby they conceived his Majestie would not restore the Earle of Arundell into their House during this

in the Commons had decided to use supply as a bargaining point with Charles; Russell, Parliaments, p. 304. The bill did not reappear from the committee stage.

7 In objection to the Lords’ decision to allow King’s Counsel to represent the Duke (see above, p. 299 n. 3), it was asserted on 22 May by Sergeant Davenport that “the King’s serjeants are tied by their oath not to be of counsel against the King, so that his conscience would not permit him”. It was decided to examine the oath (which included a promise “to take no wages nor fee of any man for any matter against the King, where the King is party”) to determine the matter; PP 1626, i. 545, 547–48 (quotations from p. 547 and n. 8). Lord Saye’s intervention on Thursday 25 May has not been traced; given that the Lords’ business on that day was, according to existing sources, entirely taken up with Arundel’s sequestration it is possible that Pory’s report dealt with events earlier in the week; ibid., pp. 553–54 and note below.

8 It was on Friday 26 May (not as reported here) that Buckingham attempted to speak concerning the business of counsel for his defence, but the Lords would not hear him “because they would entertain no business” due to the Arundel case; ibid., p. 556 and note below.

9 Due to the Lords’ exasperation over Arundel’s continued absence, the Upper House pressurised Charles into releasing him by refusing to sit. The Lords adjourned for a week on Friday the 26th; ibid., pp. 554, 556; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 319–20; above, p. 299 n. 14.

10 PP 1626, iii. 312–13.
Session, he now signified, his Lordship should speedily returne: But they (if it be not presumption to speak so of Lords) murmur'd at the word speedily as being too slow for their desires, who would have had him presently.\(^{11}\) My Lord Duke, My Lord of Dorcett, my Lord of Carleile, my Lord of Holland stood all up, one after another, to have spoken but could not be heard; and in fine An Order was this morning made in the upper House, that no Bill should be read, nor any business at all dispatched, till my Lord of Arundells actual restauration; they taking it for an high indignity, that the House of Com Mons had the power to redeeme two of their members in few dayes; whereas their Lordships cannot attain so much in some monethes.\(^{12}\)

And whereas there are some new Barons (videlicet my Lords Mandeville, Grandison & Carleton) called by writt into the Upper House, to waygh downe (as it is supposed) the ballance on the Dukes side; the Lords have found out an ancient order of the House, That no Lords called or created sedente Parlamento shall have voices during that Session, but onely shall have the priviledge of sitting among the rest.\(^{13}\)

And some say, my Lord of Suffolk having given his proxie to my Lord of Walden his eldest Son, \(^{a}\) & \(^a\) now finding him Ducall hath revoked it, & given it to the Earle of Barkshire his yonger Son, being the Dukes professed opposite.\(^{14}\)

\(^{11}\) Pory's point was that the Lords wanted Arundel freed "[a]t the very time, without any delay, at once, forthwith; immediately, instantly" (\textit{OED}, "presently", 3) rather than merely "speedily", which implied some delay. See note below.

\(^{12}\) For Charles's message of Thursday 25 May, see \textit{PP} 1626, i. 553; the phrase reported here as giving offence to the Lords was "I will use all possible speed to give you satisfaction". For the order of the Lords concerning the adjournment see n. 8 above.

\(^{13}\) For the new peers and their probable allegiance, see p.299 n. 6 above. Although I have not traced the "ancient order" it appears that the suggestion was made to exclude the new arrivals in the Lords from voting; Gardiner, vi. 115. "Sedente Parlamento" = "During the sitting of the Parliament".

\(^{14}\) The eldest son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk was Theophilus, "Lord Walden"; \textit{GEC}, xii (pt. 1). 465–66. In the week after this report was written Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, was selected by the University of Cambridge to stand against Buckingham in the election for the Chancellorship: given that
If the worst come to the worst, the Duke hath his Commission ready sealed, to go Ambassador Extraordinary into the Low-Countries, & my Lord Carleton goeth once againe Leidger, the States not being willing any new Ambassador should sitt in Counsell with them.\textsuperscript{15}

\textit{Textual Note: line 3, & sufficiently} an interlineation in the margin.

\textsuperscript{15} For another false rumour of Buckingham's departure see above, p. 294 n. 20. The Venetian Ambassador reported on 2/12 June that "they have decided to send Carleton thither, with a report of his continuing his ordinary embassy"; \textit{CSPV} 1625-26, p. 441. On 26 May/5 June Salvetti commented that the States were unwilling to have an English Ambassador as a member of their council as it would encourage the French to demand the same privilege, but that Carleton, as a former Ambassador there, would be allowed to do so; \textit{HMC Skrine}, p. 70.
3 June 1626

Worthie Sir,

That you might not altogether want newes this week through your aboundance the last: we have bred some; that the age being so fruitfull of wonders, we Academians might not be wanting to produce something for the world to wonder at. To tell you plainly we have chosen the Duke of Buckingham our Chancellour, & that with more than ordinary triumph; I will tell as much as my time will lett me.¹

Our Chancellour my Lord of Suffolk dyed on Sunday about 2 a clock in the morning;² which no sooner came to our eares on Munday, but about dinner time arrives Doctor Wilson (my Lord of London’s Chaplein) without letters, but with a message from his Lord, that we should chuse the Duke; such being his Majesties desire & pleasure.³

Our Heads

¹ Mead’s description of the election of Buckingham as Chancellor of the University is coloured by the fact that he was hostile to the Duke’s candidature and even more so to the methods used to elect him. He voted against Buckingham: his name (“Josephus Meade”) is at the top of the second column of Berkshire’s supporters in the voting list drawn up by the Registrary, James Tabor: Cambridge University Registry, 49.2*, 12a. For an entertaining account of the election and its wider significance see Morgan, pp. 6–26, 38–44; he has pointed out that Theophilus Howard, the new Earl of Suffolk, had been involved in negotiations with Henry Smith, Master of Magdalene (another Buckingham supporter) over the Chancellorship during the old Earl’s illness and eventually offered it to the Duke. If (as seems likely) rumours of this had been heard in Cambridge it is not surprising that so many of the Fellows decided on an alternative candidate; ibid., p. 22 and see above, p. 20 of n. 14.

² Thomas Howard, the 1st Earl; GEC, xii (pt. 1). 462–66.

³ John Wilson, D. D., canon of Westminster and Master of the Savoy; J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses. The members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714: their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees, 4 vols (1891–92), p. 1655. The anonymous author of “The maner of the Duke of Buckinghams Election for the Chancellour of the University of Cambridge with certaine observations on the same Junii 1° 1626” (BL Sloane MS 1775 folios 23r–30v) recorded on folio 23v that Wilson had said
meet after Sermon, where by Doctors Wren, Beale, Maw
Pask this motion was urged with that vehemencie &
as it were confidence of authoritie, that the rest were ^ either ^
awed & perswaded, & those that would not, yet durst
not adventure to make further opposition, though they
enlined (if it be lawfull to say so) to more advised
Counsell. It was in vaine to say that Doctor Wilsons
bare word from his Lord, was no sufficient testimony of
his Majesties pleasure, nor such as might be a ground of an
act of such consequence; That we should by this
Act prejudge the Parlament. ^ Th[at] in stead of Patro-
nage we sought for, we might bring a lasting scandall
& draw a generall contempt & hatred upon the Universitie
as men of most prostitute flatterie. That it would not
be safe for us to engage our selves in publick differences.
That at least to avoyd the imputation of folly & temeritie
in the doing, it would be wisedome to wait our full time
of 14 dayes, & not to precipitate the Election. ^

"it was the Kings expresse will and pleasure" that the Duke be elected. Written soon after the event,
probably by a Cambridge Fellow who was opposed to the Duke this account goes into particular detail
concerning the dubious practices of the Ducal party in getting Buckingham elected. I would like to thank
Victor Morgan for bringing this account to my attention: it is printed in full as Appendix I (pp. 688-99) to
his thesis.

4 The Heads of House named were, respectively, Matthew Wren, Peterhouse; Jerome Beale, Pembroke;
Leonard Mawe, Trinity; Thomas Paske, Clare Hall; Venn, i. 116; iii. 165, 316; iv. 470. It is probable,
although Mead did not mention him, that John Gostlin (Vice–Chancellor and Master of Gonville and
Caius) was a supporter of the Duke at this meeting as Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, had written to him
on 29 May to urge the Duke’s suit; Cambridge University Archives, Lett. 12, A1.

5 In its attempt to impeach Buckingham.

6 It was commented that “This therefore cannot but bring the Odium and hatred of the whole kingdome upon
the Electors, yea and of the whole world alsoe if these accusations [in Parliament] bee proved true, yea and
of God himself considering that hee [Buckingham] being yet uncleared we have wrapt ourselves in his
guilt”; BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 23r–v.

7 Chapter 33 of the 1570 University Statutes stipulated that the new Chancellor was to be elected within
fourteen days; J. Heywood (ed.), The Statutes of Queen Elizabeth for the University of Cambridge (12th
last was answered. The sooner, the better, & more acceptable. If we stayed to expect the event in Parliament, it would not be worth God–ha–mercy. 8

Upon the news of this Consultation & Resolution of the Heads, we of the Body murmur, we run one to another to complaine, we say, the Heads in this Election have no more to do, then any of us, 9 wherefore we advise what to do, & whom to set up: Some are for my Lord Keeper others for my Lord Andover (Berkshire), 10 but least we might be found over weak, being distracted we agree, that he that shall find most voices of these or any other set up, the rest should all come to him. 11 Hereupon on Tuesday morning (notwithstanding every Head sent for his Fellowes to persuade them for the Duke) some durst be so bold as to visit for the contrary in publick; others more privately inquired how their freinds and others were affected. But the same day, about dinner time the Bishop of London arrived unexpectedly, yet found his own College (Queenes) most bent & resolved another way, to his no small discontentment. 12 At the same time comes to towne, Master Mason (my Lord Dukes

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8 The House of Lords had adjourned on Friday 26 May for a week; since the Lords had also ordered that the Duke was to begin answering Bristol’s charges against him on Friday 2 June, the desire by some to await developments at Westminster is understandable (as indeed is the haste of the Ducal party); see above, p. 296 n. 24. Compare BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 23v: “the Ministers who employed themselves in it,...therefore hastened the effecting of it...and this notwithstanding it might have lyen void by Statute 14 dayes, which some alse much desired that they first might see the issue of things in Parliament”.

9 “Every Master of Arts having as much power as any other to choose and nominate, whom he pleaseth”; ibid., folio 23r.

10 Thomas Howard, Lord Andover, second son of the late Chancellor and created Earl of Berkshire in February 1626; GEC, ii. 150.

11 Mead’s account is more accurate than that in BL Sloane MS 1775; although the latter notes that there was support for the Lord Keeper, it also suggests that the decision to vote for Berkshire was not finally taken until the night before the election; folio 28r. For reasons why the University might want to elect Coventry see Morgan, p. 21 n. 136.

12 Montaigne, besides gaining his B. A., M. A., B. D. and D. D. from Queens’, had been a Fellow there from 1592 to 1611; Venn, iii. 223. In the vote itself only three members of Queens’ College voted for the Duke while sixteen voted against him; Mullinger, iii. 668–71.
Secretary) & Master Cosens & letters from my Lord of Durham expressly signifying in his Majesties name (as they told us & would have us beleee) that his Majestie would be well pleased, if we chose the Duke; My Lord Bishop labours, Master Mason visitits for his Lord, Master Cosens for the most True Patron of the Clergie & of Schollers. Masters belaour their Fellowes, Doctor Maw sends for his, one by one to perswade them, some twice over, On Thursday morning (the day appointed for the Election) he makes a large speech in the Colledg Chappell, that they would come off unanimously; when the Schoole bell rung, he causes the Colledg Bell also to ring as to an act, & all the Fellows to come into the Hall, & to attend him to the Schooles for the Duke, that so they might win the honour to have it accounted their Colledge Act. Divers in Towne gott

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13 Respectively, Robert Mason, Buckingham's secretary and Fellow of St. John's (in which capacity he voted for the Duke) and John Cosin, chaplain to Bishop Neile; Venn, iii. 157; Mullinger, iii. 668.

12 One of these letters was that to the Vice-Chancellor cited in n. 4 above. The author of the anonymous narrative was convinced that no such letters from the King himself existed: "notwithstanding they [the Ducal party] did beare them selves thus boldly upon the kings name (which they soe much used) pretending one while (to ascertaine men) that the kings letters should come, an other while, that they were come, and should openly be read to the discouragement of all opposers, who then might think it would be in vaine for them to appeare [vote against the Duke], yet none were produced. For indeed though the pretence of Letters served mainly thus to effect it, yet the having and producing them would have prejudiced the maine intendment of that Election, namely the honour of the testimony in it, which chiefly lying in the freenesse of the voting of it[,] by Letters had bin cut off"; BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 25r. In other words Mason, Cosins and the rest wanted to bluff the electors into believing Charles had backed the Duke's candidature in writing in order to obtain what would appear to be a voluntary choice.

15 At 9 am; ibid., folio 28r; see note below.

16 Mawe "went, as is said himself unto every Master of Arts and Fellows chamber, a thing unusually heard of for a Master to doe, and at the time of Election tolled the bell, brought them all out together with him, making also a speech unto them, and this he did least any should give him the slip or stay behind". By these means, according to this source, he persuaded 43 of the 50 Trinity fellows to vote for the Duke, although Mullinger (iii. 57) has suggested that the Trinity vote was split 26-10 in Buckingham's favour; ibid., folio 25v. Chapter 33 of the 1570 Statutes stated that the Congregation to elect the new Chancellor was to meet at 9am; Statutes, p. 19.
hackneyes and fled to avoid importunie. Very many &
some whole Colledges, were gotten by their fearfull
Masters, the Bishop & others to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against
the Duke, & kept away with much indignation: & yet
for all this stirre, the duke carried it but by 3 voices
from my Lord Andover, whom we voluntarily set up
against him, without any motion on his behalfe
yea without his knowledge. You will not believe
how they triumphed, (I meane the Masters above-named) when
they had gott it; Doctor Pask made his Colledge exceed
that night &c.

Some since had a
good mind to have questioned the Election, for some reasons
but I think they will be better advised for their owne ease.

"A horse kept for hire"; OED, "hackney", I, 2 (where this usage is cited).

The anonymous account listed four ways in which the "Courtier" Heads obtained votes for the Duke: (a) assuring waverers that he was innocent of the Parliamentary charges; (b) making it clear the King wanted the Duke elected; (c) threatening the recalcitrant, their exorbitant power as Heads of House allowing them to do so; (d) claiming the Duke had a pre-election majority of 40, thus discouraging potential opponents.

As we might expect, the account in BL Sloane MS 1775 has a lot to say about the result: "notwithstanding all these inforcementa, Arts and practices[,] in the upshot of all they obtained it in this tumultuous election but by five voyces according to their own, but by three, according to a right scrutiny...of the Duke's party two were absolutely void, according to statute, they being given the Vice-Chancellour but by compromise to him to dispose of, and he casting them upon the Duke, which the State...allows not". In addition to this the author believed that Pask had voted despite the prohibition on him doing so, making the Duke's legal majority only 2; folios 27r, 28v; see also Mullinger, iii. 668. Tabor's list of voters (CUA 49.2*, 12a) has a majority of 6, 108 to 102: Mullinger (iii. 56) has suggested that the voting was falsified, although the allegation is as old as Fuller's account of events in the 1650s. Whether the vote was rigged or not it appears more people were kept away from voting in the first place.

In the University of Cambridge to "exceed" is to "have more than usual at a meal, to have extra or holiday fare", OED, "exceed", v, 6 (Mead's usage is cited). The celebrations at Clare Hall were also noted by the author of the account in BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 26r.

Ibid., folio 29v.
We had but one Doctor in the whole Towne durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the Duke & that was Doctor Porter of Queenes. What will the Parlament say to us? Did not our Burgesses con-demne the Duke in their charge given up to the Lords? I pray God we heare well of it: But the Actors are as bold of Lyons & I halfe beleewe would faine suffer, that they might be advanced.

This long story makes me I can write but little else. It is constantly reported at London there hath bin a Conflict betwenee Tillies forces & the Duke of Brunswick, who defeated some troupes of his layd in Ambush for him. Some say Tilly was slayne but others upon Thursdays post, say he dyed about that time in his bed, which had it bin knowne, Brunswick had given a greater defeat.

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22 George Porter, LL. D., Regius Professor of Civil Law; Venn, iii. 382. “There were 17 Doctors with...[the Duke], and onely one against him”; BL Sloane 1775, folio 29v.

23 Secretary Sir John Cook and Dr. Thomas Eden, Master of Trinity Hall. Whether these two did in fact vote against the Duke during the impeachment proceedings in the House of Commons is uncertain. The latter certainly attempted to justify the Duke’s election in Parliament; see below, p.114 n. 4.

24 The anonymous author’s verdict on the affair was that “Doctor Maw, Wren and Pasch...bestirred themselves in their particular Societies...they being most interested in it, having most dependence at present upon the Court, being quickened alsoe by two Bishoppricks, which now ly actually void, and two more in expectation, Winchester and Exeter as we heare being dangerously sick”; BL Sloane 1775, folio 24r. (Since Cary of Exeter died on 10 June 1626 this account cannot have been written after about the 15th of the month; see below, p.326 n. 9).

25 This report proved false, although Anstruther had written on 26 April/6 May that Christian’s army had entered Hesse and had inflicted defeats on the Imperialists; PRO SP75/7/folio 138r. Salvetti reported the rumour of Tilly’s death on 2/12 June, “but” he continued, “as the news comes from Holland very few believe it”; IIMC Skrine, p. 71. Christian had in fact died of fever at Wolfenbüttel on 27 May/6 June; PRO SP81/34/folio 78r; Wedgwood, pp. 208-09.
Thus with my best respect I rest, & am

Christ's Colledg       Yours most ready to be
June 3               commanded Joseph

Had I a Clark as       Mead
you have, I could send
you copies of Sir Dudley Digges &
Sir John Eliot's speaches, &
many the like.26

Textual Notes: line 17, where] whereby MS.
line 27, That in stead] The in stead MS.
line 87, charge given up to] charge? of treason? given up to MS.
line 94, Brunswick, who] Brunswick, that who MS.
line 97, knowne, Brunswick] knowne, he Brunswick MS.

26 These were probably the speeches on Monday 8 and Wednesday 10 May respectively which resulted in Digges's and Eliot's imprisonment in the Tower; see above, p. 247 n. 6. Mead evidently had access to a much larger body of material than he was able to transcribe; given the amount he already had to deal with the wish for a scribe is understandable.
Worthie Sir,

You shall have at this present not much newes but what we Universitie men have bred.

On Saturday my Lord of Barkshire sent a gratefull lettre to expresse his obligation to us & who were his freinds; It was directed to Master Chester of Trinitie Colledg whose brother lives with him. We were an Headlesse Company, & he could not direct it otherwise. The Copie I send you.¹

The Parlament was wonderfully exasperated by our Election aggravating it, as an Act of Rebellion, had sent lettres to fetch up our Doctors to answere it, but the King stopped them, & commanded them not to stirre in this buisines of the Universitie, which belonged not to them but to himselfe.² So it stayd for that time, & they will (as I ever thought) find (notwithstanding their mightie threats) that they do but beat the wind & strike at Sprites. Sure I am that ours feare no colours, that I may say no more.³ Doctor Eden our Burgesse whilst the buisines was arguing in the House of Commons, made a speach desiring them (amongst many other things) not

¹ See below, pp.13-19. The letter was written to Robert Chester, whose brother Grenado was chaplain to the Earl of Berkshire; Venn, i. 330. A survey of CUA 49.2², 12a indicates that Robert did not, however, vote in the election; perhaps he was one of those "gotten...to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the Duke". The absence of any of the Heads of House among those who had voted for Berkshire explains Mead's reference in lines 7-8.

² On Monday 5 June the Commons had resolved to draw up a letter to the University that the Commons had "taken just offence at their election of the Duke"; on the following day, as the relevant committee appointed by the Commons was making its report Sir Richard Weston notified the House of Charles's intervention; PP 1626, iii. 369, 371, 374, 377-78, 380 (quotation from p. 369).

³ Mead was correct in supposing that the parliamentary investigation into the election would not get very far. For the attempt by the Commons to investigate the Cambridge election see Morgan, pp. 26–29.
to have so hard a concept of the Universitie, till they had more
information, when perhaps, they should find, that which was done, not
to be an act of rebellion but of Loyalitie & obedience. Whatsoever was
more in his speech, I know not, but that it was much
distasted. 4

On Tuesday at night late returned Master Reading (who went
to present our Election unto the Duke). The Duke gave him for
a reward a chaine of an £100. He brought with him letters
from the Duke, the King, & the 2 Bishops; the 2 first were
read publikly in the Regent house at the Congregation
on Wednesday at 3 a clock. The Copies whereof I send
you; perhaps you will imagine, that from his Majestie, was purposly
framed, to stop all gaps where the Parlament might enter upon
us. 5

This week was brought to me this note by a gentleman come
from London. Sir Alexander Temple June 6 1626. 6

Upon the heads of conference with the Lords, he putt the Commitie
in mind, that there was one head omitted of Arminianisme, that tended
most to faction & the disturbance of the Common-wealth of any other;
and thereupon he putt them in mind, that Doctor Eden yesterday affirmed
that in the Universitie of Cambridge was neither Arminianisme
nor BellArminianisme; 7 whereupon Sir Alexander told them, he could
as easily believe, there was not one whore in the Towne of
Cambridge, as that the Universitie was without an Arminian
&c. His humble motion was, that the Consideration of this faction
of Arminianisme might be added to the other heads as a business
of the greatest evill consequence against Religion & the whole

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4 On 5 June Dr. Thomas Eden had asked the Commons to “suspend your judgement” until they had more
details of the election. His defence of the University was evidently unpopular; PP 1626, iii. 370, 372-73.
5 See below, pp. 320-22. Mead did not send copies of the letters from the Bishops of Durham and London, the
former of which is now CUA, Lett, A2.
6 Temple was one of the County Members for Sussex; Return, i. 472.
7 Catholicism, derived from the name of the noted Catholic theologian and polemicist Robert Bellarmine.
In his defence of the University on 5 June Eden had stated (according to one account) that there was “no
Bellarminism nor Arminianism” in Cambridge; PP 1626, iii. 373.
Kingdome. Thus much of the busines which concerns us. There is little else. Our lettres which came on Saturday told us onely, that on Thursday that week the House of Commons met againe, but did nothing of consideration, but read Billes in one of which, they endeavoured to confiscate the goods of Sir Robert Sharpie for being a confederate in an imposition of 4d the pound upon Newcastle Coales. And that they made an order that Sir John Eliots lettres & papers which were taken away when he was carried to the Tower, & now offered him againe sealed by the Officers, should be opened & delivered him in the Parlament House, that he might receive nothing to his prejudice.

The Lords had received an answer, that his Majestie would either actually restore the Earle of Arundell unto them by Wednesday come sennight (which is now next Wednesday) or render them a satisfactory reason why he did not. Upon which answer they satt debating all Friday, but what they resolved was not knowne.

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8 Temple’s speech has not been traced, although on 6 June a Commons subcommittee was appointed to draw up the heads of a proposed conference with the Lords. Sir Alexander’s speech was presumably delivered at this time; ibid., p. 380. That the subject of Arminianism was raised at this point was due to the prominence of the Bishop of Durham and other supposed “Arminians” in the Cambridge election; Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 307.

9 The House of Commons had reconvened on Thursday 1 June after the week’s recess for Whitsun. The bill concerning Sharpeigh was given its second reading on that day (having received its first on 27 March), but was then recommitted; PP 1626, ii. 374 and n. 3, 375; iii. 340, 342. Other bills read on 1 June included one for settling a jointure upon the wife of Sir Thomas Littleton and another to enable the sale of lands of the late Richard Fust, hardly matters of national importance; ibid., 339-41.

10 Thomas Meautys, Clerk of the Privy Council, had impounded Eliot’s papers on the latter’s arrest in May. Together with Sir William Armine, Sir Thomas Hoby and Sir William Spencer he was ordered to be present at Eliot’s chamber (not as reported here) at 5 pm on 1 June to check “whether they [the papers] be all there”; ibid., p. 339. Some at least of Sir John’s papers were not returned; PRO SP16/26/72 [folio 165v], details of his speech of 10 May (for which he was arrested) is endorsed by a contemporary hand as “Found in Sir John Eliott’s chamber”.

11 Charles had sent this message on Friday 2 June; PP 1626, i. 558-59. It did not satisfy the Lords, and the House resolved that “All other businesses [were] to be adjourned but this of the Earl of Arundel’s”; ibid., p. 559; Russell, *Parliaments*, p. 320. For previous stages in the Lords’ attempts to free Arundel see above, p. 295 n. 1; p. 305 n. 9.
They affirme this week, that the Lords satt not from that day till Thursday last. 12

There was then also a strong & constant report, That Brunswick had given Tilly a defeat neere Hessenland, That Tilly was slayne; others sayd died at the same time of a feavour. But, since all is taken for a Gull, & Tilly sayd to be neere 40,000 strong, & to burne Townes about Hessenland. 13

The plague rageth sore in the West parts. In Plymouth die 60 weekly. 14 Upon Sunday before Whitsontide the Isle of Wight was all in armes upon that report of 80 sayle of Spanyards at Sea. At London the report of the Spanish Fleet for this yeares service, is but a Bugbeare. 15

I heard nothing of that intended Reconcilement you mention, but believe it to be probable enough. I heard yesterday that the Duke was made High Constable of England & President of the Councell of warre. The latter many affirme to be true, but of the former, I yet doubt, though they talk so at London. 16

I am willing to stay a competent time with you this Vacation

12 The Lords did, in fact, sit briefly on Saturday 3 June before Charles requested that they adjourn until the following Thursday, as stated here, to give him time to "take this particular business [Arundel’s case] into further consideration"; PP 1626, i. 561.

13 See above, p. 311 n. 25.

14 PRO SP16/29/46 [folios 61r-62v], a report written on 8 June by the Devon JPs concerning the serious plague epidemic in the region has a list of infected towns. Plymouth was "in extremity"; ibid., folio 62r. See also PRO SP16/27/74 [folio 103r]. For the plague epidemic in the West Country during 1626 see Shrewsbury, A History of Bubonic Plague, pp. 348-51.

15 For "true report" of lines 72-74 see above, p. 249 n. 30. Rumours of Spanish preparations against England continued to circulate throughout the summer, in spite of the (ultimately well-founded) scepticism here.

16 The Council of War had been appointed on 3 May. Buckingham’s presidency was reported in a letter from London of 6 June; PRO SP16/26/33 [folio 63r-v]; SP16/29/31 [folio 44r]; see also CSPV 1625-26, p. 449. Although the Duke was not appointed High Constable, the Venetian Ambassador reported this rumour on 10/20 February and 23 June/3 July 1626, although on the latter occasion he disbelieved it; ibid., pp. 325, 462.
but I doubt I must see Hull first. Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady, I rest & am

Christes Colledg
June 10
Joseph
Mead

Yours most ready to be commanded

Textual Notes: line 29] Congregation at 3 a clock MS.
line 46, consequence] altered from “consequent”.
line 48, (folio 75v)] dated “2 June 1626” in error by the “annotator”.
line 52, confiscate] confiscated MS.
line 54] in the pound MS.

17 Mead intended to travel northwards for part of the Vacation but his illness in July prevented him from doing so.
The Earle of Berkshires lettre

to Master Chester of Trinitie Colledge.¹

2 June 1626

Master Chester/

The infinite obligation which I owe to the University of Cambridge for the late most ample testimony of their great love & affection towards me, emboldens me to borrow your help, to make known unto them my unfained thankfullnes; wherein I confesse, that the love & favour, which they have expressed unto me, joined with the fashion of it, doth farre exceed the weak expressions of so feeble a style as mine is. For they have bin pleased out of their abundaut affection, to name me to one of the greatest Ho nors of this Kingdome, without any suit or meanes of mine, which was the Chancellourship of the University; the voting whereof in this noble fashion I account as much, as could befall me, & receive it with as much thankfullnes, as if I were in full possession of the place. I must therefore intreat you to disperse this my thankfull acknowledgement to all my worthie freinds there, who have so freely bestowed their voices & unsought for favours upon me: and this labour I do the rather lay upon you, because you know I put you to none in making meanes for me; which I should undoubtedly have done, if I had preconceived any intention of standing for this Dignitie so often wedded by men of high places & noble families of this Realme, whereof my honoured Father deceased enjoyed the late testimonie, & my unkle before him,² & not ceasing there, but expressed unto me now by an ha reditary affection. Thus much I pray you, to make knowne for me, with this farther assurance, that as I had my first

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¹ A copy of this letter is now CUA Lett. 12, A1*.

² Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton had been Chancellor of the University 1612–14 and was succeeded by his nephew Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk; Northampton had, therefore, been Berkshire's great-uncle;

GEC, ix. 676; xii (pt. 1). 464.
breeding to my great honour in Cambridge, so I will live
& die the

Saint James
27 Junij 1626

True Servant of
the Universitie

Barkshire

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3 Thomas Howard, later Earl of Berkshire, had matriculated at Magdalene in 1598 and taken his M. A. in 1605; Venn, ii. 416.
The Duke of Buckinghams letter.\(^1\)

*June 1626*

Master Vicechancellor, & Gentlemen the Senate of the University of Cambridge, There is no one thing, that concerns me in this life, I hold more deere, then the good opinion of Learned & Honest men; amongst which number, as you have ever held first rank in the estimation of the Commonwealth, & fame of the Christian World: so in conferring this honour of your Chancellorship upon me, I must confesse, you have satisfyed an ambition of mine owne (which I hope will never forsake me) and that is, to be well thought of by men that deserve well, & men of your profession: Yet I cannot attribute this honour to any desert in me, but to a respect you beare the sacred memorie of my dead Master the King of Schollers, who loved you, & honoured you often with his presence;\(^2\) & to my Gracious Master now living, who inherits with his blessed Fathers vertues, the affections he beare your Universitie. I beseech you, as you have now made your choise with so many kind & noble circumstances, as the manner is to me as much as the matter: so to assure your selves, that you have cast your votes upon your Servant, who is as apprehensive of the time you have shewed your affections in, as of the honour you have given him. And I earnestly request you all, that you would be pleased not to judge me comparatively, by the successe and happines you have had in your former choise of Chancellors, who as they knew better (perhaps by an advantage of education in your University) how to value the desert of men of your qualities & degrees: so could they not be more willing to cherish them then my selfe, who will make amends for my want of Schollership, in my love unto the Professors of it, & to the source from whence it comes; having now just cause ^\(^\wedge\) more cheerfully to imploy my utermost endeavours ^\(^\wedge\) (with

\(^1\) The original copy of this letter is now CUA, Lett. 12, A4.

\(^2\) James I had visited Cambridge on a number of occasions; Mullinger, ii. 517, 543, 574.
that favour I enjoy from a Royall Master) to the maintaining of the Charters, privileges & Immunities of your Universitie in general, & to the advancing of the particular merits of the Students therein. And since I am so far engaged unto you, I will presume upon a further courtesie; which is, that you would be pleased to supplie me with your advise, & suggest a way unto me (as my selfe shall not likewise faile to think upon some meanes) how we may make Posteritie remember you had a thankfull Chancellor, & one that really both loved you & your Universitie: which is a resolution writt in an honest heart by him that wants much to expresse his affection unto you, who will ever be

Your faithfull freind & humble Servant

Buckingham

Textual Notes: lines 31–32, more...endeavours] An interlineation in the margin.
line 41, you] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 71r.

3 Buckingham was to be reminded of this pledge during the contested election of Thomas Batchcroft as Master of Gonville and Caius College later in the year; see below, p. 344 lines 31–33.
5 June 1626
The Kings letter.¹

Trustie and Welbelooved, We greet you well.
Whereas upon our pleasure intimated unto you by the
Bishop of Durham for the choise of your Chancellor; you have
with such a dutie, as we expected, highly satisfyed us in
your Election: We cannot in our owne Princely nature, (who
are much possessed with this testimonie of your loyall & ready
affections) forbeare to let you know, how much you are made
therein partakers of our Royall approbation; and we shall
ever conceive, that an honour done to a person we favour
is out of a loyall respect had unto our selfe: And as we shall
ever testifie Buckingham worthie of this your election, so shall
you find the fruit of it. For we that have found him a faithfull
servant to our deere Father of blessed memorie, and our
selfe, can best undertake, that he will prove such a one unto
you, and shall assist him with a gracious willingnes in any
thing, that may concerne the good of your Universitie in
genrall, & the particular merits of any Students therein.

Given under our signet at our Pallace at Westminister,
the 5th day of June, in the second yeare of our Raigne.

¹ The original copy of this letter is now CUA, Lett. 12, A3.
Worthie Sir,

I will tell you the last & the worst first. It is the newes here, That the Parliament was dissolved on Thursday night. When the Commons, had made a Remonstrance to his Majestie, but would not grant him any supplie for his necessities, unlesse they might have justice against the Duke. But so fatall & invincible a distraction in times of so great danger cannot but produce a wofull event. Unlesse God be extraordinarily mercifull unto us; which let us all desire of him with bended knees & humbled hearts, & it may be, He will yet heare us.

We have had here much talke ever since Tuesday of a dreadfull tempest of thunder & lightening at London, with such a storne of Haile as made the Streets like Channells of Rivers & drowned many cellars &c & in the conclusion a strange spectacle upon the Thames neare WhiteHall drew the eyes of many with amasement to behold it. I received

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1 The "Declaration" had been completed on Wednesday 14 June. The Commons resolved that the whole House should join the Speaker in presenting it to Charles, but the session was dissolved on the morning of Thursday 15 June (not as reported here); PP 1626, iii. 445–46, 448–49; the text of the Remonstrance is in ibid., pp. 436–41. As Mead reported the dissolution so soon after the event this no doubt made the news of events at Westminster in his transcripts sent with this letter seem somewhat out of date.

2 Mead was by no means alone in fearing the consequences of the dissolution in a time of war; Rudyerd wrote on 19 June that "we {are} in great distraction, and in a most dangerous tyme": PRO SP16/30/29 [folio 54r].

3 Writing on 15 June one Henry Wicliffe provided an account of this freak storm for a friend in the country; HMC Rutland, i. 477.
no exact description thereof till yesterday; when I had a lettre from a Freind living in Westminster written the day after it happened, & so intended to have come to my hands sooner. It conteines as followeth.

Yesterday being Munday, we beheld a strange spectacle upon the Thames. For in the Great storme of Thunder lightening & Haile about 3 a clock in the afternoone, The water began to be much troubled hard by the Garden in Lambeth Marsh, over against Sir H. Fines Stayres. A Sculler (being then tide of Ebbe) creeping along under the shore was fallen into this troubled place before he could espie it, which was then so strong, that it turned his boat 6 times round, yet with hard labour He & his Fare escaped & ranne a shore amongst the willowes. Presently the water very much rarified like a mist, began to rise into the forme of a Circle of 30 yards compass & 10 foot high: The inside was hollow, & white with froath, without there was a list of water much condensate & very black. This Whirlwind of water (as those who wilbe wise call it; for you must not say it is prodigious) ranne very impetuously downe the water, as farre as the point, then took his course crossing the water, and beat it selfe amaine against the walles of York-House garden, at the very

b: The same day 12 month the Queene arrived at Dover, as I had noted in mine Almanack: was then Sunday. The day after the King came to her from Canterbury. Being Munday. Look your old lettres; but it is perhaps too idle an observation.

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4 This may refer to Sir Henry Vane (or Fane), but if so I have not identified his residence on the Thames.
place where the Duke is building a pair of New Staires close by the House. There with beating it brake it selfe, a thick Smoke, like that of a Brewers chimney, ascending from it, as high as a man could discern. All this time (the weather being very black) there appeared, & right above it (as the beholders thought) a very Bright cloud to the amazement of White Hall & many great Courtiers who beheld it out of their windowes, as did many hundreds more. During the Storme the wall of Saint Andrewes Church in Holborne, was beaten downe & many of the Coffins of the dead (which lay there buried) discovered. It was not done by a thunderbolt. But howsoever, the wall was very strong. Thus writes my freind.

And besides, That there was a rumour that Brunswick & Mansfied were both slayne or taken. But the authors he sayd were Papists, & he hoped, it was but to cry quittance with us.

And so vanished (sayes another lettre from an eye wiuies) with a crack or 2 of thunder after it. It lasted saith the same lettre halfe a houre.

5 For the new water-gate to York House being constructed at this time see Lockyer, p. 409. The author’s parenthesis in lines 37–38 was somewhat undercut by the following description of where the waterspout came ashore; there is at least an implicit link made between the phenomenon and the Duke. Mead was also aware that the event might have more than merely meteorological significance. His marginal note on lines 42–45 explicitly linked the storm with the arrival of Henrietta Maria in England, who had landed at Dover on Sunday 12 June 1625, Charles meeting her on the following day. Like his source, however, Mead did not commit himself to anything more than a cautious reading of the event; Cheyney, p. 137; Gardiner, v. 333. See also the following note. Line 44 is the only indication I have found that Stuteville used Mead’s letters for reference purposes although it is hardly surprising that the former did so.

6 Wicliffe had seen “12 or 14” coffins unearthed by the collapse of the church wall of St. Andrews Holborn; the church wall had been damaged at St. Botolph’s Bishopsgate and “the people that were dead taken out of their graves by the violence of the water and swim up and down the streets”. The writer also reported a rumour that a spirit had been seen “upon the waters” which terrified onlookers; IMC Rutland, i. 477. In a sermon preached in 1628 Jeremiah Dyke referred to this “stupendious sight upon the water” as a divine warning to the nation to preserve the true religion or else face annihilation, an indication how seriously the storm was taken by some: STC 7424, A sermon preached at the publicke fast. To the Commons House of Parliament. April 3rd 1628, B4r.
for our report of Tilly.7

That upon Saturday the Lord Digby (not the Earle of Bristol) went over Sea, (some say into the Lowcouniries) to fight with Sir Alexander Bret. The occasion of the quarrell this. Brett began a Health to the Duke which the Lord Digby pledged, & presently began another to the Earle of Bristoll, which Brett would not answere: So they fell to words, & now are gone for blowes. Sir Kenelme Digby is Second to the Lord, & Captain Killigrew to the Knight.8

Thus with my best & most respectfull service to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledg

June 17 Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

My Lord of Exceter (they say here) dyed on Saterday last.9

Master Danford hath some lettres & tokens from Sir John Ishams, which if he sends me, you shall receive with this.

My pupill is well.
line 18, spectacle] spectable MS.
line 20] I received ^ had ^ MS.
line 47] selfe, a Smoke thick MS.
line 49, (the wether] the (wether MS.
London Friday June 9, 1626

Yesterday was the first day of my Lord of Arundell's returne to the House, whither you must think, he was not a little welcome; but to day, I could not hear of his second coming, for some sayd he was gone to fetch his Countesse from Horsley; & therefore some sages are of opinion, that his former zeal is a little qualified.¹

Yesterday likewise the Earle of Bristol was heard speak an houre & an halfe in aggravation of his former charge against the Duke.²

The same day Even, his Majestie answered a Petition of the Commons occasioned by his Majesties prohibiting them on Wednesday to send their lettre to Cambridge to call up the Heads & others to give an account of their electing the Duke. The effect of His Majesties answere was (as I am told) That the Charters & priviledges of the Universitie were given & confirmed by him & his Ancestors, and therefore he would not have the Commons meddle with them nor with his Prerogative, That the Duke, though accused was not convicted, & therefore might welbe chosen your Chancellour and that if any of the University in time of the Election had miscarried themselves toward the House, let the House right themselves in Gods name.³

¹ Charles had finally allowed Arundel to take his seat in the Lords (although not to come to Court) on 5 June; PRO SP14/214/folio 128r. The Earl returned to the Lords on Thursday 8 June as reported here; PP 1626, i. 564, 587, 591.

² Bristol's "aggravation" delivered on the afternoon of 8 June is in ibid., pp. 585–86, 588–89; see also Russell, Parliaments, p. 320.

³ Pory's account appears to have moved the events of Wednesday afternoon to Thursday evening. Charles had sent a message on Tuesday 6 June prohibiting the Commons to send a letter to the University concerning the Duke's election. After drawing up a reply on the morning of 7 June (in which the House declared the election a grievance) it was presented to Charles in the afternoon; while rejecting the Commons' right to investigate the election further, Charles had conceded that if "anything be done against your privileges and in contempt of this House, his Majesty is pleased that you may examine it and punish
Yesterday also all the House was troubled till 2 of the clock with a lettre fathered upon Sir John Savill of Yorkshire written to four clothiers of Halifax his neighbours. The effect whereof was, That he had oft stood up to propound their business, but the House of Commons was so bent against one great man, as they would rather suffer the Common wealth to perish, then desist from pursuit of him. Much ado there was about it, & diverse witnesses examined; but Munday is appointed the peremptory day, when it is by most thought, Sir John wilbe found faultie.4

To day (Friday) the Commons sent a message to their Lordships intreating them, that they might have a copie of the Dukes answere (which He yesterday presented to the Upper House) to the end they might make a replye thereunto.5 The Lords sayd, they would answere by a messenger of their owne, & so converted their House into a generall Committie in the Painted Chamber, but have not as yet returned answere.6

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the offenders if there be any in that kind"; PP 1626, iii. 377-78, 380, 384-89 (quotation from p. 385). See also above, p. 313 fn. 2-3. The use of "your" on line 20 is understandable given the recipient of the letter.

On 27 February 1625/26 Savile had written a letter to John Harrison, Daniel Foxcrofte and Thomas Metcalfe (clothiers of Leeds, not as reported here) in which he had stated that, although he had tried to raise the issue of trade in the House the Commons were "so resolutely bent and with such eagerness upon the pursuit of a great man as rather than they will fail or surcease they are resolved to hazard the whole estate of the commonwealth". The matter of Savile's letter had been raised in the House by Sir Francis Foljambe on 22 May; the Commons debated the case at length on 8 June with an examination of witnesses (including Harrison and Foxcrofte), and it was resolved that further investigation would be deferred until Monday 12 June in order for more witnesses to appear; ibid., pp. 301, 303-04, 306-08, 392-401 (quotation from the text of Savile's letter, p. 303). Due to other demands on the House's time Savile's case was not dealt with further.

After a preamble from Buckingham, his answer to the Commons' charges against him had been read in the Lords on 8 June. On the following day the Commons requested a copy of the Duke's answer; PP 1626, i. 564-87; iii. 404, 406-09; Russell, Parliaments, p. 319; Tite, p. 201.

PP 1626, i. 593-95. The Lords stated that they would answer the Commons' request "with all convenient speed"; It has been suggested that, given the reluctance to press ahead with an examination of the Commons' charges against Buckingham, this phrase was ambiguously meant: Russell, Parliaments, p. 319.
cerning the Dukes answere, they, that have scene it, say it is
100 sheetes long at the least, but very modest & voyd of all
bitternes, & in some things satisfactory, his Sectaries say, in all. 7
In it he pleades his pardon twise, that is to say, the last
Parlament-pardon of King James, & this Coronation-pardon
of King Charles. 8

After the performance of this message of the Commons,
came a Lettre from his Majestie to stirre them up to conclude their
guift of Subsidies within 8 dayes, or else to be content with
a dissolution. 9

That Sir Edward Cook had this day his priviledge
to be free from a Sub-pena (which was served on him) is not
worth the mentioning; 10 though the Intention of another
Universall Fast this day agitated in the House, be 11

Reports are here (which will not be beleived) that the
King of Spaine hath 8 skore sayle of Ships in readines,
to assaile his Majesties Dominions; that 6 ships are lately gone
out of Dunkirk with 80 pilotts to conduct that Fleet;
that it brings 25,000 souldiers, with whom Spinola is to
joyne 15,000, the totall 40,000; 12 and that Spinola hath vowed,

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7 The text of the Duke's answer is in PP 1626, i. 566–85. On 14 June Lord Grandison wrote that
Buckingham's answer was "faire & full" and hopefully would "geve good satisfaction to the ^ world ^;"
PRO SP16/29/82 [folio 163r].
8 PP 1626, i. 579.
9 PP 1626, iii. 405–06, 408, 410. See also Russell, Parliaments, pp. 307–08. Mead sent a copy of this
message in his next transcript of London news; below, pp. 318–19 lines 92–122.
10 Although Coke had been "pricked" sheriff (above, p. 14–3 n. 21) he was granted Parliamentary privilege
on 9 June in respect of a suit in Chancery brought against him by Lady Clere; PP 1626, iii. 405 and n. 12,
407–11.
11 Sir Robert Harley reported from the committee concerning a general fast on 9 June, and it was resolved to
petition Charles for one; ibid., 405, 407–08, 410–11. A national fast was held later in the year; see below,
p. 349 n. 10.
12 On 22 May it had been reported that the Spanish fleet was almost ready and that in the previous week 150
pilots had been sent for from Dunkirk; on 6 June "Credible advertisementes" were reported by Buckingham
to the Council of War that 200 ships and 40,000 men were to comprise an invasion force; by 9/19 June the
Venetian Ambassador had heard a rumour that Spinola was to command the invading army; PRO
SP16/27/41 [folio 61r]; SP16/28/folio 4r; CSPV 1625–26, p. 447; Lockyer, pp. 338–39. Some of these
he will either gaine his Master this Kingdome or will leave his bones here: Others say, these are but Spanish Rodomontado's for these reasons 1. Spaine wants victuals, wheat being there at 50s the bushell. 2. They want cordage & other navall furniture restrained by the King of Denmark in the Sound. 3. They want money, because the Genoeses will not disburse any more for them. 13

Out of Germany the last is, That the Duke of Mecklenburg & the Lanig rave of Hessen, which hitherto have remained neutraals are joyned with the King of Denmark. 14 And that a present Rising of the Protestants in Austria will cause Tilly, (who is redivivus) 15 to bend his forces to those parts. 16

official discussions of the proposed Spanish invasion, indicating how seriously the threat was taken, must have filtered through to the “Paul’s Walkers”.

13 All these doubts about Spain’s ability to mount an invasion were well-founded: Philip IV did run into trouble with his Genoese creditors in the following year; see below, p. 70 n. 14.
14 Anstruther had reported in April that Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel intended to join the Danish against the Emperor. The Dukes of Mecklenburg, Adolf Frederick and John Albert, were also allies of Christian IV who were expelled from their possessions by the victorious Imperial armies in 1628; PRO SP75/7/folio 89v; Mann. pp. 258, 368-81.
15 “Returned to life”.
16 In 1620 the Protestant estates of Upper Austria had backed the Bohemian revolt and in retaliation the region was occupied by Bavarian troops. In the following year it was ceded by the Emperor to Maximilian of Bavaria as a pledge until the latter’s war expenses on Ferdinand’s behalf were repaid (partly out of the taxes to be levied in the region). After five years of both heavy taxation and increasingly severe religious persecution, however, the peasants had had enough: in May 1626 the execution of seventeen men for opposing the imposition of Italian Catholic priests in formerly Protestant parishes triggered a massive revolt against Bavarian and Catholic rule. The uprising, initially led by a farmer called Stephen Fadinger, lasted for the rest of the year and took a considerable amount of effort by Imperial and Bavarian forces to put down in the face of fanatical resistance. For these events, see Parker, TTW, pp. 83, 92-93; Wedgwood, pp. 213-16. The early stages of the uprising are reported in PRO SP101/29 (newsletter from Nuremberg of 27 May/6 June, folio 1r; newsletter from Ratisbon [Bratislava] of 29 May/8 June, folio 1r; newsletter from Augsburg of 31 May/10 June, folios 1r-2r). Several reports of the progress of the revolt reaching Mead suggested that Tilly would march southwards to reimpose Imperial authority in the region but he did not do so.
Another ditto.

The States of Holland have sent over to their Leiger here a List of all the Commanders of the Spanish forces now preparing with command to shew it to our King; which he did & his Majestie sent the Lord Carlton yesterday to acquaint the Upper House with this newes, who promised to take it into consideration.

The same day was the Duke sequestred from sitting any more as a Peere in the Lords House, & went out, as was thought, much dejected.

The same day, my Lord of Bristol aggravated his former charge against the Duke with many heavie & foule circumstances; & that if he proved them not, he would undergoe the censure of the Articles &c.

Textual Notes:
- line 15, told) told, MS.
- line 48, content] altered from “contend”.
- line 51, him] him, MS.
- line 64] navall provision furniture MS.
- line 82] Lord Digby of Bristoll MS.

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17 It was reported on 9/19 June that the States' Ambassador in London received a dispatch from the Prince of Orange concerning Spanish military preparations: "These particulars were communicated by the ambassador to the king...by the prince's order. He reported that it produced a good effect". The reporter continued (reflecting the scepticism of most of the reports reaching Mead) that "the parliamentarians laugh at it and do not believe it, imagining that this is a trick in concert with the Dutch to make them decide upon a prompt contribution"; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 447–48. See also n. 12 above.

18 On 8 June Carleton, doubtless armed with the information sent from the United Provinces, moved that the Lords' committee "for defence and safety of the kingdom" should reconvene; PP 1626, i. 590.

19 This report was false. After his answer to the Commons' charges had been read (see n. 5 above) Buckingham left the Lords but no such order was passed against him.

20 In his "aggravation" delivered to the Lords on the afternoon of Thursday 8 June; see n. 2 above.
On Monday afternoon about 3 of the Clock, we had a fearfull storme of Haile, raine, lightening & thunder: In it part of the Churchyard walles of Saint Andrewes in Holbourne & Saint Buttolphes without Bishopsgate fell downe; so that the Coffins of the buryed were seene in the former, & in the latter tumbled into the Towne ditch & did there swimme: And a Cataract or bursting of a cloud, (which Seamen call a Spowt) not heretofore knowne to have bin on land with us; brake & fell upon the Thames over against Yorkhouse the Dukes Palace, & so neare it that some of the water which fell came over his Watergate & there followed a foule smoke. ¹ After which the Duke with the Earle of Holland, some say the King, came thither in the Dukes coach, which went presently forth & fetcht the Earle of Carleile, then went out againe & after 4 a clock brought thither fourer more; at what time the gate & wicket was shutt, & as is thought, they went to consultation about some affaires.

The same day the House of Commons sate from 8 in the morning till past 4 afternoone, then arose to dine. It is sayd, there spake then in the House above 2 hundred persons; the busines was onely a question, whether the Bill of Subsidies or the Remonstrance to his Majesties lettre on Friday before, should first be perfected! By the clamour of voices, it could not, they say, be well discerned, but upon deviding of the House, the number of those that would have the Remonstrance first done, was farre greater, then of those for the Subsidies.  At 6 a clock againe they

On Wednesday they sent to beseech audience of his Majestie about serious busines concerning all the Commons of the Land; To which his Majestie answered, they should heare from him on Thursday morning.3

And on Thursday so they did, but not for audience but a dissolution of the Parlament, which makes us (& justly) to be much dejected & hang our heads.4 That night also was the Earle of Bristol committed to the Tower, & it is feared, some more may perhaps follow him thither.5

There is much sayd of the Spanyards preparation against us, which the hand of God must dissipate, in whose power alone it is.6

Letters from all parts of Upper Germany affirme That many thousands of the Boores which follow 2000 banished men of qualitie, are risen in Upper Austria against the Emperor, have taken divers good Townes, slayne the Garrisons, put in others of their owne, & swears the Inhabitants unto the Protestants; yea & some lettres say, have besieged Lintz on the Danube with 30,000 men,

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2 The "grand committee about the declaration" concerning the Duke which the Commons intended to present to Charles sat on Monday 12 June; it was also resolved to consider an answer to the King's message of the 9th demanding speedy supply (for which see above, p. 310 n. 9). In debating their reply to Charles the Commons debated whether to proceed with the subsidy bill or the Remonstrance first; the Privy Councillors in the House pressed for the subsidy to be passed but after long debate and a division the House decided to prepare the Remonstrance instead; PP 1626, iii. 423–30. Russell has commented that if "the Parliament had been kept in session in the hope of supply from the Commons, its usefulness was now at an end", making a dissolution inevitable; Parliament, p. 308.

3 PP 1626, iii. 445–46.

4 PP 1626, i. 633–38; iii. 448–49.

5 CSPV 1625–26, pp. 454, 463; HMC Skrine, p. 76; the Earl of Arundel was again restrained to his house at Horsley (in effect put under house arrest) by a warrant of 14 June; PRO SP14/214/folio 128r; see also CSPV 1625–26, p. 454. The Ambassador (writing some time later) noted that the Duke had "thought of imprisoning others but feared the scandal"; ibid., p. 603.

6 See for instance above, p. 310 n. 12. Although the usual attitude to such reports was one of disbelief the uncertainty caused by the dissolution of Parliament must have made the rumoured Spanish invasion seem much more threatening.
put the Governor to flight & slew many of his men.7

It's written from France, that there was a designe in deed against the King, who therefore, wheresoever he is, keepeth his brother Mo^u^nsier still with him under guard: That the Prince of Conde cannot be found, but the Kings 2 base brothers viz the Duke Vandosme & the Grand Prior, with a Marshall who was Mounsiers governour, are emprisoned in Saint Vincent.8

It is likewise sayd, the Queene—Mother seeks to revenge D'Ancre's death.9

There were 3 Dunkirk men of warre, which coming from Spaine, & taking their way homewards about Ireland found upon the North of Scotland a Holland man of warre, which guarded their Fisherman, & sett upon him; but he so well behaved himselfe, that at the first bout he sunk the Vice-Admirall took the second, caused the Admirall to flie. The Ship taken is brought to Amsterdam.10

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7 For the revolt in Upper Austria see above, p. 331 n. 16. The peasant army was victorious over the forces of the Governor of the province, Count Adam von Herberstorff and began its seige of Linz (the capital of the region) on 14/24 June which lasted, with intermissions, until August; Parker, TTW, p. 93; Wedgwood, p. 215. A newsletter of 1/11 June had reported that Linz had been captured, the entire garrison being put to the sword; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r.

8 For the conspiracy against Louis and Richelieu inspired by the marriage plans of Gaston d'Orléans see above, p. 261 n. 6. Alexandre and César de Vendôme (the illegitimate sons of Henri IV by Gabrielle D'Estrées; Tapié, pp. 21, 159) were arrested for their complicity in the plot on 3/13 June. The "Marshal" mentioned in lines 51–52 was the Marshal d'Ornano, arrested on 26 April/6 May; Knecht, p. 50; Tapié, pp. 156, 159.

9 After the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, Marie de Medicis became Regent of France during the minority of Louis XIII. Concino Concini, later Marquis d'Ancre, was an Italian courtier and Marie's favourite; his power at Court made him a hated figure, however, not least amongst Louis and his adherents. It was therefore decided to dispose of him; Concini was shot in the courtyard of the Louvre on 14/24 April 1617, ushering in the personal rule of Louis who banished his mother from Paris; Knecht, pp. 5–6, 12–13. The rumour in lines 53–54 evidently suggested the Queen Mother was involved in the Gaston plot to regain her lost preeminence at Court.

10 Due to the importance to the economy of the success of the yearly fishing-fleet the United Provinces provided an escort of warships to protect the herring buizen from attack by the Dunkirkers or Spanish; Israel, pp. 110–11. I have not, however, traced this episode.
Another London Thursday
June 15. 1626

This day between ten & eleven of the clock was the Parliament dissolved by a Commission under the Great Seal of England read publickly in the Higher House of Parliament.11

Yesterday the Lords sitting in Counsell at Whitehall to argue, whether it should be dissolved or not, were all with one voice against the Dissolution of it; And to day when my Lord Keeper drew out the Commission to have read it, the Peeres sent Fower of their owne body to his Majestie, to let him know, how dangerous, this abruption would be to the State, & to beseech him, the Parliament might sitt but 2 dayes:

He answered, Not a minute.12

The urgent motive of this disaster was a Declaration of the Commons in answere to his Majesties lettre sent them on Friday last, (whereby he required they should dispatch their subsidies by Saturday next).13 In the Declaration the Duke was declared A Common Enimy both of Church & Common-wealth, & sharply taxed in every clause thereof; and Hinc illae Lacrymae—.14 The Commons had prepared & refined it by Tuesday, yesterday (Wednesday) had ingrossed it, & ment this morning to have sent it to his Majestie by their Speaker, & therefore sent yesterday to know whether it were his Majesties pleasure, they should present it: To which the negative was returned, but with this intimation that they should this morning know more of his Majesties mind.15 (folio 78r)

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11 See n. 4 above; CSPV 1625-26, p. 453.
12 When it became clear that Charles intended to dissolve the Parliament on the morning of 15 June, Lord Montagu told the Lords that "the whole House [should] move the King to make a pause of this, for that it may be of a most dangerous consequence" and four peers (Lord President Manchester, Lord Chamberlain Pembroke, and the Earls of Carlisle and Holland) were sent to deliver a petition to the King. Charles, as this report makes clear, refused to alter his decision; PP 1626, i. 635, 637 (quotation from p. 635); Russell, Parliaments, p. 321.
13 See above, p. 330 n. 9; p. 334 n. 2.
14 The text of the Commons' remonstrance is in PP 1626, iii. 436-41. "Hinc illae Lacrymae" (line 80) = "hence those tears" (a quotation from Terence's Andria).
15 See ibid., p. 445 and nn. 2-3 above.
On Tuesday the Lord Conway put in his answer to my Lord of Bristol's accusations; and now this afternoon, I hear my Lord of Bristol is committed close prisoner to the Tower: For the preservation of whose Apologie for himselfe, & charges against the Duke, the Lords were yesterday very sollicitious.

His Majesty's Letter to the House of Commons Friday June 9. 1626

Trustie & welbeloved, we greet you well. Our House of Commons cannot forget, how oft & how earnestly, we have called upon them, for the speeding of that ayd, which they intended unto us for our great & weightie affairs concerning the safetie & honour of us & our Kingdomes. And now the time being so farre spent, that unless it be presently concluded, it can bring us neither money nor credit by the time which themselves have prefixed, which is the last of this month; & being further deferred would be of litle use (we being dayly advertised from all parts of the great preparations of the Enemy ready to assaile us). We held it necessary by these our Letters to give them our last & final admonition, & to let them know, that we shall account all further delays to be expresse denyalls. And therefore we will & require you to signify unto them, that we do expect, that they do forthwith bring forth their Bill of Subsidie, to be passed without delay or condition, so as it may fully passe the House by the end of the next week at the furthest. Which if they do not, it will

16 In addition to his charges against Buckingham, the Earl of Bristol had submitted 11 articles against Secretary Conway on 1 May; PP 1626, i. 331-34. Conway delivered his answers to these charges on Tuesday 13 June, ibid., pp. 616-20.
17 For Bristol's imprisonment see above, p. 334 n. 5.
18 For the text of this message see PP 1626, iii. 406 and above, p. 310 n. 9.
19 On 27 March the Commons had stipulated the last day of June as the date of payment of the first of the three subsidies then voted; ibid., ii. 375, 381. Charles had a point when he reminded the House of this.
20 As Russell points out, by the middle of June the effective campaigning season of 1626 was well under way, and much further delay would waste it altogether; the timing of Charles's message was to some extent probably dictated by this consideration; Parliaments, p. 308.
force us to take other resolutions. But let them know, if they finish this according to our desires, we are resolved to let them sit together for dispatch of their other affairs, & after their recess, to bring them together again the next winter. But if by their denyall or delay any thing of ill consequence shall fall out at home or abroad, we may call God & Man to witnesse, that we have done our part, to prevent it, by calling our people together to advise with us, by opening the weight of our occasions unto them, & by requiring their timely help & assistance in these actions, wherein we stand engaged by their owne counsells.

And further, We command you, that this lettre be publicly read in the House &c.

16 June 1626

His Majesties Proclamation prohibiting the publishing dispersing & reading of the Remonstrance &c intended to have bin preferred by the late dissolved Parliament to his Majestie.21

His most Excellent Majestie, taking knowledge of a Declaration or Remonstrance, drawne & penned by some Committees of the Commons House of the late dissolved Parliament, & intended to have been preferred by them to his Majestie, wherein are contained many things, which tend much to the dishonour of his now-Majestie, & of His late Majestie, his Royall Father of ever blessed memorie, deceased; & whereby, through the sides of a Peere of this Realme, they wound the Honour of their Sovraignes, Whereof His Majestie being sensible, hath refused to admit the presenting thereof to him: And whereas He understandeth, that some of the members of that House, ill affected to his service, to vent their owne passions against that Peere, at whom they specially aimed, & to prepossess the world with an ill opinion of him, before his cause were heard in a Judiciall way,

21 "His Majesties Proclamation prohibiting the publishing dispersing and reading of a Declaratio

n or Remonstrance, drawn by some Committees of the Commons-House of the late dissolved Parliament, and intended to have beene preferred by them to his Majestie" was proclaimed on 16 June; Larkin, no. 44, pp. 93-95. For the remonstrance see nn. 2, 14 above.
whereunto it was referred, have before hand willingly & purposely published & scattered Copies of that intended Declaration or Remonstrance, & thereby have endeavoured to detract much from the reputation of their Soveraigne, which in their allegiance to His Highnes ought to have bin deere & tender unto them.

His Majestie therefore for the repressing of such an insufferable wrong unto Himselfe, which might otherwise be of ill consequence, doth straitly charge & command, upon paine of his indignation & high displeasure, all persons of what degree, qualitie or condition soever, who have, or at any time hereafter shall have any Copie or Notes of the sayd Declaration or Remonstrance, intended to be preferred unto His Majestie, as aforesayd, or shall come to the view thereof, forthwith upon publication of this our pleasure, to burne the same, that the memorie thereof may be utterly abolished, & never give occasion to his Majestie, to renew the remembrance of that, which out of his Grace & Goodnes He would gladly forgett: And if at any time hereafter any Copie or Notes of the sayd Declaration or Remonstrance shalbe found or knowne to be in the hands or custody of any of his Subjects & not burnt or caused to be burnt by them as aforesayd: His Majestie doth hereby declare & publish his Royall pleasure & resolution to be, That He will proceed against all such offenders & wilfull contemners of this His Royall commandment, with that severitie, which by the Law or by his Prerogative Royall, He any wayes may justly doe; and further, that his Majestie will esteeme of all such, as Persons ill affected both to his Person & goverment.

Given at his Majesties Palace of Westminster the 16 day of June in the second yeare of his Majesties Raigne.

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22 In the House of Lords.

23 On 15 June Secretary Conway ordered Oliver, Lord St. John, and four members of the Commons to hand over their copies of the remonstrance; PRO SP14/214/folio 128r; see also HMC Skrine, p. 75. Sir Walter Earle, one of the four, returned his on the following day; PRO SP16/30/11 [folio 20r], 11 (I) [folios 21r–30r].
**Textual Notes:** line 73] 2 days longer MS.

H390, folio 77v] presumably because this page contained extracts of newsletters of different dates, the “annotator” dated it “15 June 1626”.

H390, folio 78r] dated “15 June 1626” by the “annotator”.

line 159, or] nor MS.
24 June 1626

Sir,

I sent my store on Thursday by Master Danfotd, & I hope it safely arrived with you.¹ I had no time then to write, to censure or correct any part thereof, as sometime I use to do;² but according to my time I will do it now & adde something else;

I heare the whirlwater upon the Thames confirmed by all I speak with according to the relation I sent you at first: but for the falling of a Cataract, (as Doctor Meddus in your last writes) as I heard it not before from any other so I meet with many that denye it, & that there was no other water fell over the Dukes watergate, then what came of the breaking there of the whirlwater, or as some call it the water pillar.³

But I will now tell you of an accident here at Cambrid rare if not strange, whereof I was yesterday morning an eye witnesse my selfe.⁴ A book in decimo sexto of the bigger size found in the Maw of a Codfish then opened in our fishmarket in the presence of many; in the same was 2 peeces of sailecloth one halfe an ell at the least, of

¹ The transcripts of London newsletters dated 15 and 16 June, pp.313-19 above.
² By correcting the previous week’s London news by material subsequently carried to Cambridge.
³ This account of the storm was derived from other cautious relations of the event; see above, p.325 n. 5. “Whirlwater” is not recorded in OED.
⁴ The appearance of the “Book-Fish” was one of the rare occasions when Cambridge news was reported in the capital; Mead also wrote to Archbishop Ussher (then in London) with an account of the episode, and the texts so fortuitously discovered were published later in the year; PRO SP16/31/39 [folio 58r–v]; The Whole Works of Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh, eds. C. R. Elrington and J. H. Todd, 17 vols (Dublin, 1847–64), xv. 346; STC 11393, Vox Piscis: or the book-fish, A6r–A7v. Mead’s use of “strange” in line 17 was probably the contemporary sense of OED, 10a: “Unfamiliar, abnormal, or exceptional to a degree that excites wonder or astonishment”. For more on this episode see Morgan, pp. 1–2, 4–5.
unequall breth but in some part very broad; the other about halfe
a yard long of the breth of a pudding bagg, these found wrapped
in the botomme of the stomack, the book above them.5

The title of the book being opened, was on the top of every
page Preparation to the Crosse, twas printed in an
English letter, which by the fashion, spelling of some words as Sonde
for sand Esyar for easier, & the like seemed to be written
about the end of King Henry the 8th, wherein I was afterward
fully confirmed by some other passages if all be of one author,6

When I first saw it, it seemed almost turned into a gelly &
stunk very much, the cover which had bin of pastbord was altogether
consumed: yet though it were loathsome then to handle or stand over
yet finding the Table of the 2 bookes of Preparation to the crosse
in the middle parts & so not so slymie, with a tender lifting with
my knife I read them all, put cleane paper betweene those leaves
to preserve them, & since exscribed all, being the contents of every
severall chapter. The first was A Preparation to the Crosse
& how it must be patiently borne.7

I took speciall notice of 2 other. 1. If thou be tempted of
the faith of thy parents: as wherefore beleevest not thou, that
which thy forefathers have beleeved. 2. If thou be tempted
of strange Religion of worshipping of Saynts pictures or Images

5 Samuel Ward (to whom Mead also related the appearance of the "Book-Fish" on Saturday 24 June) described the book as "a book of a large 16" which had been bound in parchment"; Ussher, Works, xv. 344.
The English ell (line 21) was 45 inches (OED, "ell", 1a); Mead's use of "pudding-bag" ("a bag in which a pudding is boiled") is cited in OED.
6 This book was probably a copy of STC 11393.5, Of the preparation to the crosse, attributed to John Frith the Henrician martyr. It had been published in 1550 in sexto decimo: Mead's estimate of its date was therefore commendably accurate. The reference to the "English letter" in which the book was printed indicated (correctly) that it was a "black-letter" text, as opposed to one in roman or italic type.
7 After Mead's visit Ward wrote to Ussher that "the leaves [of the book] were glewed together with a gelly. And being taken out, did smell much at the first; but after washing of it, Mr. Mead did look into it. It was printed; and he found a table of the contents"; Ussher, Works, xv. 344-45. It is surprising that Mead had so much time to examine such a strange artefact in a presumably crowded marketplace. "Pastbord" (line 32) is a "substitute for a thin wooden board made by pasting sheets of paper together" (OED, "pasteboard", 1).
or men. There was another book at the end of these in whose
title leaf, The first of the contents was A lettre which was written
to the faithfull followers of Christes Gospell.

I saw all with mine own eyes, the Fish the maw, the
peices of saylecloth, the book, & observed all I have written.
Onely I saw not the opening of the Fish, which yet many did
being upon the fishwomans stalle in the market, who first cutt
of his head, to which the maw hanging & seeming much stuffed
with somewhat, it was searched & all found as aforesayd. He
that had had his nose as neare as yestermorow, would have bin
perswaded there was no imposture here without wimesse. The Fish
came from Lynne, How they fed him there, I know not.

London will lend the King no money; Their excuses are
King James his great debts to them already, 2 Their impoverish[=]
ment by this late plague. 3. The breach of Parlament, wherein
their hopes lay for encrease of trade.

A report of the Earle of Bristoll to be tyred very suddainly
at the Kings bench barre, & the Lord Duke in the Starrechamber
some say next Thursday; but the 8 Parlamentaries who gave the

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8 The passages Mead quoted were taken from chapter fifteen of *The Preparation to the Cross*. In the edition I have consulted (the 1540 text, STC 11395) these are both on the same page, 11r. He read the "heads of the chapters" to Ward later on 24 June which the latter "very well liked of". Given the fears expressed in the recently dissolved Parliament over the threat to English Protestantism posed by the activities of Montagu and "Arminian" doctrine these passages, written in the early years of the English Reformation, must have had a particular resonance for those such as Ward (and presumably Mead) who watched recent developments with dismay; Ussher was in no doubt that the incident might be "a special admonition, which should not be neglected". The episode was also recalled nearly two years later by Jeremiah Dyke in his fast sermon to Parliament; the appearance of Frith's book in Cambridge could "be construed for no lesse, then a divine warning, and to have this voyce with it, England prepare for the Crosse"; Ussher, *Works*, xv. 345, 346; A sermon...To the Commons House of Parliament, B4r; above, p. 325 n. 6. See also Morgan, pp. 4–5.

9 Another work by Frith, STC 11385.5...a letter...wryten unto the faythefull folowers of Christes gospell.

10 The fish had evidently been carried from King's Lynn down the Great Ouse and Cam.

11 Salvetli reported these reasons for the city's refusal on 30 June/10 July, adding the seizures of English goods in France to the Aldermen's list; *HMC Skrine*, p. 77; see also *CSPV 1625–26*, p. 463.

12 After the dissolution of Parliament the government pressed on with the case against the Earl of Bristol: a bill listing the charges against him (which were to be answered in Star Chamber) had been drawn up by 24 June (a copy of which is now British Library, Stowe MS 365, folios 73r–78v). The Star Chamber case
charge against him to the Lords, will not accuse him in that Court. Master Attney had sent for them.\textsuperscript{13}

No other Parlament men committed, but Digby\textsuperscript{14} with whom they say, That Sir Francis Steward out of his noble courtesie went in the coach, & brought him to his lodging.

Some say Sir John Savill shalbe a privie Counsellor & President of York: & Dorsett a privie Counsellor.\textsuperscript{15}

There died none of the plague\textsuperscript{^} this\textsuperscript{^} last week at London & but 110 in all.

The Feare of the Spanish invasion is againe layd downe & contermined as a fable.

Thus with my best respect I rest & am

Chrisits Colledg Yours most ready to 
June 24 be commanded

Joseph Mead

I send you a book. There is in it an Admirable Discourse of Bees. If you like it not send it me againe.

Looke in it what tune bees sing at swarming, It is pricked

between Buckingham and Bristol dragged on for months, however (partly as a result of the latter's ill-health) and was never finally resolved; Ruigh, \textit{The Parliament of 1624}, pp. 378–80. For reports of Bristol's impending trial see PRO SP16/30/29 [folio 54r]; \textit{HMC Skrine}, p. 76; \textit{CSPV} 1625–26, p. 462.

\textsuperscript{13} The eight spokesmen of the Commons who had delivered the charges against the Duke on 8 and 10 May (for which see above, p. 264 n. 2) had been requested to participate in the impending Star Chamber case but "they excused themselves on the plea that as parliament is dissolved they no longer have any power to meddle in such matters"; \textit{CSPV} 1625–26, p. 462; see also Gardiner, vi. 123–24; PRO SP16/30/29 [folio 54r].

\textsuperscript{14} The Earl of Bristol; see above, p. 346 n. 5.

\textsuperscript{15} These rumours were correct although premature; Savile was appointed Vice-President of the Council of York before the end of July but did not become a Privy Councillor until 8 November 1626. Dorset did so on 22 July; \textit{APC Jun.–Dec.} 1626, pp. 117, 353; \textit{Cust, F. L.}, pp. 25, 194.
most accurately. 16

*Textual Notes:* line 16] accident rare-if here MS.
line 21] of sække sailecloth MS.
line 29, end] ended MS.
line 39] & how with-patience it must MS.
line 63] accuse them him MS.

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16 This book is probably STC 4193; see Appendix I. The reference on lines 82-84 was presumably to the madrigal for four voices contained in ch. 5, “Of the swarming of bees, and the Hiving of them”, on K4r-L2r; see also D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553–1700* (1975), pp. 108–09. “Pricking” (line 83) was to “write or set down (music) by means of ‘pricks’ or dots”, *OED*, “prick”, v., 13.
1 July 1626 (folio 84r)

Sir,

To be more fully satisfyed concerning that accident upon the Thames I wrote to Master Boswell, who answeres me thus.

There was such a meteor (June 12) as you enquire of: but whether a Turbo, Cataract, Thunderstone or Masse of Crustie matter is not yet certayne. I think it was the last: & that in the falling it opened, & so breathed forth a thick livid smoke, which wrought round & cochliarwise, as if it had bin out of a Brewers chimney: for halfe a quarter of an hower. The grosser parts fell into the Thames at the Sluce upon the banks side, & so moved (encompassed with a mist, all appearing together as big as a Colly Barge). I say so moved an arrow shot up the River, till it came right against the Princes stayers at WhiteHall, ever rowing & casting up the waters in a great & foaming wave, untill it thence discended as farre as York-House, where against the Garden wall it rustled the waters & sunk, raising a great & grosse smoke, as if a Boat

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1 See above, pp. 323-25 no. 3-6.
2 Boswell's terminology here is unusual and rather esoteric. A "meteor" (line 6) meant "Any atmospheric phenomenon"; OED, "meteor", 1 (see also S. K. Heninger, A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology with particular reference to Elizabethan and Jacobean literature (Durham, N. C., 1960), pp. v, 3-4). "Turbo" (line 6) was presumably used in the sense of "whirlwind, [or] tornado" (ibid., "turbo", 1; only citation 1677). "Thunderstone" appears in the sense of "thunderbolt" (ibid., "thunderstone", 1; see also Heninger, Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology, p. 76) and "Crustie matter" as in the "surface film of water" (ibid., "crust", 9; only citation 1653).
3 In a spiral? (compare OED, "cochleous": "Spiral, screw-like", first citation 1688).
4 Boswell conflated "coal" and "colly" (soot, [or] smut"; ibid., "colly", sbl, 1a) here.
of Lyme had sunk there. The violence thereof upon the water was such as 2 pair of oares & a Sculler were cast back at least 20 or 30 paces. I leave you to judge what it was in nature, ne quid dicam prodigij.⁵

On Wednesday * morning the Mayor Aldermen & Common Councell at London met the 3rd time to give the King their final answer, whether they would lend him any money or not. Some say they were not resolved on Thursday ^ at ^ noone, but it is now talked, they have denied.⁶

There hath bin a talk as though this Parliament should be called again, as not dissolved in Law, by reason of the Lords advise against it; The copie whereof I send you.⁷

The Committees would not be gotten to informe against the Duke in the Starre-chamber. Allleging they had bin but messengers of the Commons house to the Lords; themselves knew nothing, but spake onely what they were bidden. Besides that they could not, if they would undertake such a busines without danger of being questioned upon their lives, the next Parliament.⁸

This did put the Lords to a great non-plus especially some who ^ had ^ caused the dissolving of the Parliament onely for this Plott.

On Wednesday ^ last ^ came sudainly from the ^ King & ^ Councell a charge for a generall watch & ward all over the City, housholders themselves to watch in person &c. The cause not certainly knowne, but thought to be upon a rumour of some watermen

a: June 28.

⁵ "I will not talk of wonders".
⁶ On 22 June The Privy Council had ordered the Common Council of London to pay £100,000 to the King, which had been refused. The City was given until 25 June but still declined; Acts of the Privy Council of England, June–December 1626, ed. J. V. Lyle (1936), pp. 20–21; see also Ashton, The City and the Court, pp. 179–80; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 463, 603 and below, p. 153 n. 1.
⁷ See below, p. 255 and notes.
⁸ For this see above, p. 344 n. 13.
coming up the Thames to demand something of the Admirall.⁹

There is a Generall Fast at London next Wednesday
It will come into the Countrie.¹⁰

The begining of this week hath bin newes, at London
that the Duke of Brunswick, was dead of poysone, after 2 dayes
sicknes: which I am afrayd (as ill newes is wont) will
prove too true.¹¹

Doctor Maw is to be Bishop of Exceter, & hold all. He
hath gott well, by his forwardnes in the Dukes Election.¹²

Doctor White shall be Carleile, Lawd (of Saint Davids) shall be
Bath & Welles & as some talk, Doctor Feild (Llandaff) shalbe
translated to Saint Davids.¹³

Master Smithson of Kings Colledg hath gotten lately som Commis-
arie Ship, of some £10 per annum, came to some Officers
under the Duke, for the Seale &c, who gravely putt to (him)
these 2 interrogatories. 1. What it was worth? 2. Whe-
ther he had given his voice in the Late Election for or

⁹ CSPV 1625–26, p. 468. As a result of the considerable arrears in their pay large numbers of sailors came
to London during the latter half of 1626 and 1627 to demand their wages, and became a considerable threat
to public order: Lindley, ‘Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London’, pp. 112–13. He notes that
each “London householder was under a special obligation to render assistance in maintaining order and,
when trouble was expected, he could be required to equip himself with a halberd and remain ready for action
either within his home or on alert outside the door”; ibid., p. 120.

¹⁰ The London and Westminster fast of Wednesday 5 July and the national one of Wednesday 2 August were
proclaimed on 3 July; Larkin, no. 47, pp. 97–100.

¹¹ See above, p. 311 n. 25. Salvetti first reported Brunswick’s death for certain on 30 June/10 July; HMC
Skrine, p. 77. While it is symptomatic of the bias in the Continental news Mead received that his death
was ascribed to poison, Anstruther had reported similar rumours on 15/25 June; PRO SP75/7/folios 147r,
150r.

¹² Lines 53–54 are Mead’s bitter comment on the aftermath of Buckingham’s election in which Mawe
played such an important part; see above, p. 307 n. 4; p. 304 n. 16. This report was, however, incorrect:
Mawe was nominated as Bishop of Bath and Wells in succession to Laud in July 1628; Chronology, p.
229.

¹³ Mead’s information was correct although premature; Dr. Francis White was consecrated on 3 December,
Laud had been nominated as Bishop of Bath and Wells on 20 June but was not confirmed until 18
September, and Theophilus Field was not transferred from Llandaff to St. David’s until 12 July 1627; ibid.,
pp. 229, 236, 294.
against the Duke of Buckingham? Is not this fine! & yet we have Doctors defend it as worthily done! That the Duke would know his friends from his foes, before he would do any thing for them. You will not believe, how some great ones here applaud it, to the no small impeachment of their discretion.  

My Lord of Armagh preached at Court on Sunday

I will tell you more by my next.  

I send you another Book; It is too large to bind with Yates, There are others, as Wotton Rous, Burton will you have all or some?  

I would have had my pupil have sent his 2 quarters but he hath forgot to take time. The first is £5 8s. 9d. The second £5 11s. 9d besides Study not yet paid for £2. You shall have particulars when we have leisure. Thus with my best & wonted respect, I rest & am

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14 John Smithson, Fellow of King’s College since 1600, had been appointed Commissary of the University in 1623 which is perhaps the office mentioned here. He had voted for Buckingham; Venn, iv. 116; Morgan, p. 32 n. 219; Mullinger, iii. 669. Mead’s outrage at the Duke’s connivance in this sharp practice was not the last time he had occasion to criticise Buckingham’s involvement in the affairs of the University. The “great ones” of line 66 are, no doubt, to be identified with the Heads of House and Doctors who had masterminded the Duke’s election.

15 On 23 June Ussher had preached on the text of 1 Corinthians 14.33: “For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all Churches of the Saints”; Works, xiii. 337–31 (where the text is misdated 1627). For this sermon (addressed to the disputes between “Calvinist” and “Arminian” divines in the Church of England and advocating the silencing of the latter) see ibid., xv. 347; Tysacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 49.

16 The books mentioned were respectively STC 25083, STC 25003, STC 21347 and (probably) STC 4153; see Appendix I; that mentioned on line 73 is unidentified. That Mead grouped the four books in lines 72–73 together is not accidental, as all were published as replies to Richard Montagu’s works; Tysacke, pp. 155–57. Stuteville’s interest in the controversy can be gauged from the fact that he had all of these books sent to Dalham; see Appendix I.

17 Mead (unusually) got his sums wrong in respect of John Stuteville’s bills for Christmas quarter 1623 and Lady quarter 1625/26; the latter figure should have been £5 8s. 1d. On 24 July Mead was paid a total of £10 16s 10d. and the extra £2 for study rent on February 10 1627; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 48r–v (numbered 47).
Christ's Colledg  Yours most ready to
July 1  be commanded

Joseph Mead

I send you a
Corranto.  

Textual Notes: H390, folios 84, 86] Based on a close examination of the chain lines and the
dges of the leaves I believe folios 84 and 86 (which is blank apart from the subscription on 86v) were at one time conjugate.
line 10] wrought eoeheleer round MS.
line 14, Barge] altered from "Bardc".
line 28] were not ^ not ^ resolved MS.
ibid. ] Thursday by ^ at ^ MS.
line 39] especially those some MS.
line 40] who dissolved ^ had ^ caused MS.
line 78] particulars he when MS.

For this see Appendix II.
The Remonstrance of the Lords to his Majestie when the Commission came for dissolving the Parlament.

May it please your most excellent Majestie; we your Majesties most faithfull Subjects & Peeres of this Kingdome having received this morning a message from your Majestie intimating an intention to dissolve this Parlament, rememb= bring that we are hereditarily your Majesties Great Counsell of this Kingdome do conceive, that we cannot deserve your Majesties gracious opinion expressed in this message unto us,2 nor discharge our dutie to God, your Majestie, & our Countrie, if after the experience of our great & universal sorrow, we did not humbly offer our faithfull & loyal advice to continue this Parlament, by which those great & apparent dangers both at home & abroad & signified unto us by your command may be prevented, & your Majestie made happie in the dutie & love of your people, which we should the great safety & treasure of a King, & for the effecting whereof our humble & hartie endeavours shall never be wanting.

1 This was "Read and approved of generally but not presented to the King, for his Majesty refused to heare of any and commanded that this be not entered [in the journal of the House of Lords]"; PP 1626, l. 636.

2 On returning to the Lords after their unsuccessful attempt to have the session prolonged, Lord President Manchester (one of the four peers sent to Charles) reported that the King "expressed that his wound is not from your Lordships but from the Commons"; ibid., p. 635; see above, p. 336 n. 12.
when she eate two, she eat a couple.
There was an ape sate on a tree
when he fell downe, then downe fell hee.

There was a Fleet that went to Spaine,
when it return'd, it came againe.³

Textual Notes: line 1] The Petition ^ Remonstration ^ MS.
line 2] Commission was-given ^ came ^ MS.
line 13] offer our advice MS.

³ While it seems rather late to have sent this squib concerning the failure of the Cadiz expedition, the recollection of that failure in the aftermath of the collapse of Parliament constituted an even greater implied attack on Buckingham's administration; as well as being incompetent he had not learned from past mistakes.
London June 30. 1626

The affaires last emergent are, that whereas the Citty had 3 severall times upon three sollemne accesses to the Lords, utterly denyed to lend, although upon plate & jewells; yet yesterday in the aftermoone, the Aldermen are content to lend 20 thousand pound upon assurance out of the pettie customes.¹

Yesterday aftermoone also the High-Commissioners at Lambeth being the Archbishop himselfe, Doctor Balcanquell, Doctor Goad, Sir Henry Martin, The Kings Advocate &cet all of a contrary opinion to Montague, yet called the Stationers & Printers before them whom it concerned, & charged them neither to print nor sell any of those 7 or 8 bookees, which during the Parlament had bin published against Montague.²

Yesterday likewise the Duke of Buckinghams appearance in the Starre-chamber was formally taken of him by an Officer at York House, & the Earle of Bristolls appearance at

¹ After their refuisl to lend Charles £100,000 (see above, p. 347 n. 6) the City eventually agreed to lend £20,000, "scarce enough", as one observer (believing the sum to be £25,000) commented, "to buy a dozen of points"; W. H. Overall (ed.), Analytical Index to the series of records known as the Remebrancia, preserved among the archives of the City of London, A. D. 1579-1664 (1878), p. 195; PRO SP16/32/114 [folio 170v]; see also SP16/31/39 [folio 58r]; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 468, 479.

² This action by the High Commission was part of the attempt to quieten religious controversy in the aftermath of the Parliament (as was the proclamation issued on 14 June "for the establishing of the Peace and Quiet of the Church of England", Larkin, no. 43, pp. 90–93). This had been advocated by a number of divines; White, Predestination, Policy and Polemic, pp. 244–45. For differing interpretations of these matters see ibid., pp. 245–46; Lambert, 'Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship', pp. 58–60; Tyacke, p. 157 (citing ?Pory’s report). The commissioners named apart from Abbot were Dr. Walter Balcanquell, Dean of Rochester; Dr. Thomas Goad, Abbot’s domestic chaplain and Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty Court and Prerogative Court of Canterbury; DNB, i. 945–46; viii. 20–21; xii. 1146–47.

In spite of this prohibition Mead sent most of the books attacking Montagu to Dalham.
the Tower: & some say, they are to be included in one
Bill, & to answere ore tenus in that Court 3 weeks hence.³
And yet some report the Duke will go Generall to Sea
in this Fleet of 30 sayle.⁴

The King, they say, before his going out of Towne,
will resolve of a certayne time, when to assemble the Parlia-
ment.⁵ For all projects (otherwise called New Counsells) of
Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Savill & other Caterpillers of
the Common-wealth do fayle.⁶

The Duke Christian of Brunswick, who hath confi-
dently bin reported to have bin poysoned by an Italian
since run away, is sayd by some to be yet alive, and that
he hath bin mistaken instead of his Brother, who might farre

³ Another rumour of the impending Star Chamber trial between Buckingham and Bristol; see above, p. 343 n. 12. The reference in line 18 was to one procedure used in that court: the Attorney-General could, in prosecutions brought by the Crown, proceed ore tenus (orally) against the defendant(s) to hasten the progress of the case (rather than use the standard Star Chamber procedure of bill, answer, replication and rejoinder). If the defendant refused to answer he or she was considered to have confessed his or her guilt (known as pro confesso). For more on these matters see T. G. Barnes, 'Due Process and Slow Process in the Late Elizabethan–Early Stuart Star Chamber', American Journal of Legal History 6 (1962), 227–31; Sharpe, P. R., pp. 668–69. In spite of this report Bristol and Buckingham were not required to answer ore tenus.

⁴ A report on 30 June/10 July stated that the Duke was going because "he...[was] anxious to win back the affection of this kingdom"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 468. It soon became clear that the rumour was false; ibid., pp. 479–80, 490; HMC Skrine, p. 78 and below, p. 309 n. 7.

⁵ It had been reported on 23 June/3 July that "It is announced that the king will summon a new Parliament for All Saints [1 November]. We cannot say whether this report aims at reducing the universal discontent or whether it is due to urgent necessity"; CSPV 1626–26, p. 464.

⁶ A note of business to be debated by the Privy Council dated 17 June included Charles's injunction to "examine all projectes that may bee offered for leavyng of money". Between the dissolution of Parliament in June and the decision to introduce the Forced Loan in September the government tried various methods of raising revenue, none of which were able to replace the subsidies lost by the dissolution. Savile in particular came up with a number of suggestions; PRO SP16/30/18 (folio 39v); Cust, F. L., pp. 28–39, esp. p. 29 n. 53. Whereas the use of the word "projectes" in the government paper cited above was merely descriptive, ?Pory's was certainly perjorative.
better be spared.7

The Dunkerkers are now grown quiet men; for they
are blockt up by 35 sayle of Hollanders, whom it mainly
concerneth, not to have their fishing (the foundation of their
wealth & strength) disturbed, as it was the last yeare.8

And Some newly come out of Spaine affirm, that,
except it be a Fleet to guard home his Indies ships
of treasure & merchandize, the King of Spaine is not
able to arme 6 ships out to Sea.9

As you have " had " a Learned Fish at Cambridge so hath
it lately bin observed by the Fishermen of Dover, that a
skull 10 of Anchova’s (a Spanish or Italian fish, no bigger
then a Spratt) have now rendred themselves captive to their
nets, being never before heard of in these parts of the
world.11

Another London Thursday
June 29.

The Boores in superior Austria are above 40,000,

7 In spite of this rather callous dismissal of Christian’s elder brother Frederick Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-
Wolfenbüttel (Wedgwood, p. 149) the rumour proved false: the latter had written to Charles I with the news
of his brother’s death; PRO SP81/34/folio 78r. There were, however, rumours circulating that Christian
was still alive; see for instance Elizabeth of Bohemia’s letter from the Hague of 16/26 June (ibid., folio
92r).
8 Sir Henry Palmer wrote on 10 June that 35 Dutch ships were blockading Dunkirk; PRO SP16/29/61 [folio
129r]. Line 34 referred to a notable success for the Flemish naval forces: due largely to a violent storm that
scattered the States’ blockade, 12 warships had sailed from Dunkirk in October 1625 and attacked the Dutch
fishing fleet off the coast of Scotland. 84 herring buizen were captured as well as one of the States’
warships, the worst defeat inflicted by the Flemish at sea since the resumption of hostilities in 1621;
9 Yet another sceptical report of the “Spanish Armada”.
10 I. e., “school”.
11 The jocular tone of this item is in marked contrast to the more portentous treatment accorded the advent
of the “Book–Fish” by Ussher and others; see above, p. 34-3 n. 8. Presumably the reason ?Pory added these
lines was that stories about strange fish were suddenly in vogue.
now in order & armes under gentlemen &c good Leaders.\textsuperscript{12}

Brunswick (Halberstat) is dead non sine suspicione venenin.\textsuperscript{13}

In France they are very busie anew for a Patriarch of their owne, provoked by the Pope who lately sent 2 breifes 1. Hortatorie, the other Fulminatorie unto Sorbonne to revoke their late censure (although confirmed by the whole Universitie & Parlament of Paris) against Anthoni Sanctarelli de heresibus caput 30 &c, wherein the Jesuite printed at Rome maintaines his Holiness authoritie for deposition of Kings &c &c for heresie &c.\textsuperscript{14}

\textit{Textual Note:} line 39 have had at a MS.

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\textsuperscript{12} For the Austrian revolt see above, p. 331 n. 16. By enlisting one man from each house they passed, Fadinger's peasant army rapidly grew in size to an estimated 70,000; Wedgwood, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{13} "Non sine suspicione venenin" = "Not without suspicion of poison"; see above, p. 348 n. 11.

\textsuperscript{14} The book by the Jesuit Anthonio Santarelli, \textit{Tractate de Haresi, schismate, apostasis, sollicitatione in sacramento penitentiae, et de potestate Romani pontificis in his delictis puniendis}, was published at Rome in 1625. In chapters 30–31 he had asserted that the Pope had the power to depose kings for heresy, which had led to the book being censured by both the University and Parlament of Paris in March and April 1626 and ordered to be burned by the executioner; \textit{STC 14526}, \textit{The Articles which were propounded to the Jesuites...By reason of a...detestable booke...instiled...Antonij Sanctarelli...tractatus de hauresi}; A. F. Allison, "Richard Smith's Gallican backers and Jesuit opponents: Some of the issues raised by Kellison's \textit{Treatise of the Hierarchie, 1629}'', \textit{Recusant History} 18 (1987), p. 334. See also above, p. 197 n. 4.
8 July 1626

Worthie Sir,

You cannot expect much, now Master Howlet hath anticipatemeth my usuall time of sending.\(^1\)

Tis too true, that Christian Duke of Brunswick is dead, as is supposed of poysion, by drinking water of a well or fountaine in a village he had taken. But whether empoysoned there, or as it was brought unto him, I know not but belive the latter.\(^2\)

The money which the Alderman gave the King, they presented neither in the name of a loane, nor of their owne proper gift, but as that which was intended for a present to his Majestie if he had rode through the Citty.\(^3\) Thus I am told by some from London.

The armed watch in the Citty is sayd still to continue: no other cause knowne, but that supposed of the watermans coming to demand their wages of the Duke.

My Lord of Essex came to the King for leave to go to his Charge in the Lowcountrie. Before the Duke had offered him the Vice-Admirallship, but he refused. The King asked him why he would not accept it, who answered he would have accepted a farre meaner office to do his Majesties service, if his Majestie himselfe, had offered it. But to receive it from another he thought not so fitt, as for other reasons, so especially because he knew not his Majesties pleasure. Whereupon, the King displeased, bid him go whither he would, & come againe, when he sent

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\(^1\) By carrying Mead's transcript of news dated 30 and 29 June to Dalham during the week.

\(^2\) Mead evidently believed the report that Christian had been poisoned; see above, p.349 n. 11. He had actually died at Wolfenbüttel; Wedgwood, p. 209.

\(^3\) See above, p. 353. It had only been decided on 25 May to cancel the Coronation procession through London; Bergeron, 'Charles I's Royal Entries', p. 92; see also CSPV 1625-26, p. 464.
for him.4

Master Scott who made Vox populi &c is slayne, stab'd as he was coming out of Church. The murtherer taken hath lost his hand & head. Who employed him, I know not, but I shall heare.5

Some say Denmark is labouring his peace. Hessen already made it.6 Our Fleet of 30 sayle, which the Hollanders make up 50 to be ready by the beginning of August. The Duke to go Admirall, Lord Willoughby Vice-Admirall. Sir Thomas Love Re-re-Admirall.7

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
July 8

Yours most ready to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Note: line 21] if his Master MS.

4 In 1624 the Earl of Essex had contracted to serve in the United Provinces for three summers and, soon after his refusal to serve under Buckingham reported here, rejoined his regiment. His opposition to the Duke implied in his answer to Charles lost him favour at Court; Snow, Essex the Rebel, pp. 158–60; Cust, F. L., p. 109.

5 Thomas Scott the pamphleteer, preacher to the English garrison at Utrecht since 1623 had been murdered on Sunday 18/28 June; see below, p. 365 nn. 6–8. STC 22098, Vox Populi, was probably his most notorious publication; DNB, xvii. 1006–08.

6 A newsletter written from Bonn on 4/14 July reported a rumour that Christian IV would shortly come to terms with the Emperor, although this proved false; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v. Maurice of Hesse-Cassel did not join the alliance against Ferdinand; Wedgwood, p. 209.

7 It was reported in London on 9 July that a fleet of fifty ships (thirty English, twenty Dutch) was to be ready by 1 August with the Duke in command. Most of the fleet did not, however, sail until October due to lack of money and supplies; PRO SP16/31/39 [folio 58r]; CSPV 1625–26, p. 479 (and ibid., pp. 463, 467, 475, 484, 490); Lockyer, pp. 340–42, 344–45. After it became clear Buckingham would not take command (see above, p. 166 n. 4) Willoughby was nominated, under whom the fleet eventually set sail. Sir Thomas Love, who had attracted criticism over his behaviour at Cadiz did not play any part in the new expedition; it is likely that his name was put forward by the “Paul’s Walkers” without any basis in fact.
Worthie Sir,

I was out of tune all day yesterday, & to night
I feare I had a fit of an ague; I am sure, no quiet sleep.
If it continue, it will marre my intended journeys this Summer; but if I am well by Thursday, I intend for Essex & returne not till Munday, & within 2 dayes after am for the North: so that howsoever I am not like to write to you next Saturday & therefore to supplie that want I will transcribe you a lettre received yesterday dated the day before as followeth.

(It is from the same
London July 13 — (hand with the second
(in the enclosed

The Ambassador from the King of Denmark had yesterday
audience at Wansted."

On Sunday the 2 Extraordinary Ambassadors from Venice took
their leaves; And the same night was the Funerall Supper
at WhiteHall, whereat 23 Tables were buried, being from
henceforth converted to moderate bourd wages; some opining (which I
wish may prove true) that out of the surplusage the King may
victuall his Fleet."

1 Mead's ague did eventually prevent him from travelling north, and his journey into Essex probably contributed to the severity of his illness.
2 Palle Rosencrantz, Extraordinary Ambassador from Christian IV, had arrived at Gravesend on 6 July and had his first formal audience at Wansted on Tuesday the 11th, not as reported here; Finet, M6v, M7r-M8r.
3 Marc' Antonio Correr and Anzolo Contarini had arrived in England on 16 June and formally took leave of Charles on Sunday 9 July; CSPV 1625-26, pp. 454, 485; Finet, M6v-M7r.
4 Due to Charles's lack of money once the promised Parliamentary subsidies had been lost, one attempt to save money was to scrap most of the payment in kind (principally food) given to courtiers and royal
On Munday his Majestie presented to the Queene three English Ladies to be of her bedchamber, videlicet my Lady of Denbigh, The Marchionesse of Hammilton her daughter, & The Countesse of Carleile.®

On Tuesday, the Earle of Carleile invited her Majestie to a dinner at Sion, which cost £1000.ª

Doctor Turner was the man who first told me of it, who being then with a noble Freind of mine (to whom my Lord Cham= berlaine had sent his Secretarie with an antique Greek Seale with the figure of an Owle in it, to have the Greek lettres decy= phered) bid the Secretarie tell his Lord, That the Owle sig= nified one foolish man which troubles the whole Kinngdome.º

a: Sir Robert Cotton I suppose.
b: Doctor Turner bid him

servants, commuting this to a money payment, "board wages". For this subject see Aylmer, pp. 168-71; as he points out, "It was the lavish provision of diet for courtiers and court officials which made the Kings Household...the costliest single department of government"; ibid., p. 168. As such, it was an obvious target for retrenchment which did not, unfortunately for Charles’s finances, succeed; see below, p. 390 n. 7. Buckingham also wished to have relatives of his strategically placed in order to control a potentially "independent centre of patronage" at Court; Gardiner, vi. 4, 38, 134-35; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 263–66 (quotation from p. 263). The addition of Susan, Countess of Denbigh (Buckingham’s sister), Marchioness Hamilton (his niece) and Lucy, Countess of Carlisle to Henrietta’s household was, however, not popular with either the existing French servants of the Queen or Henrietta herself, who had resisted such a move the year before; GEC, iii. 32; iv. 178; vi. 261; Gardiner, vi. 4; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 494–95, 497–98.

I have not identified this feast.

7 Turner’s comment about Buckingham on line 33 is not surprising given his provocative questions concerning the Duke delivered in the Commons on 11 March 1625/26: see above, p. 194 n. 3. Mead’s identification of Cotton in line 34 suggests Pory was the author of the letter from which this paragraph was taken, as he had been a friend and associate of Sir Robert for over twenty years: Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 59, 90–97, 203, 206. As the possessor of a famous collection of coins and medals Cotton was a likely source of the information Pembroke required; ibid., pp. 66-68.
My Lord Denbigh being appointed Rere-Admirall goes out first with his Squadron to skoure the Seas. But I cannot believe what is sayd, that the King takes his journey Post for Scotland this next week. Thus my Author.

I received yours now. But you understand before what hinders me from resolving of my journeys. I send my pupills 2 quarter billes. I can stay for the money, till I can come fetch it. I shall send you to day I think, Yates, Wotton, Rous bound together. By the next Saturday you shall have I hope Featly, Burton, & Sutcliffes fragment, to which to make a full book, I care not though I adde Doctor Wards Clerum, of the same argument. I send you now 5 books more, one old but hard to be gotten, & such a one as I think you will delight in if you have it not already. It is Breerwoods Languages &c.

c: Some say next week, with Captaine Watts who was commanded this service by the Councell.

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8 CSPV 1625–26, pp. 490, 495. Denbigh did put to sea before the rest of the fleet, although not until the end of August; see below, p. 464 n. 18. I have not traced the rumour concerning Sir John Watts in Mead’s marginal note.

9 Pory was right to be sceptical; Charles was not crowned in Edinburgh until June 1633 but rumours had circulated since at least February 1625/26 (and continued to do so for a number of years) that he would soon be on his way to Scotland for that purpose; Lee, pp. 126–30; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 346, 395; HMC Skrine, p. 82; Bergeron, ‘Charles I’s Royal Entries’, p. 94.

10 See lines 3–5 above.

11 Mead’s continued residence in Cambridge due to illness led Stuteville to send the money to him at Christ’s. At the end of this letter (H390 folio 96v) under the address appears a reckoning in Sir Martin’s hand of his son’s bills together with the books Mead had sent: a total of £11 12s. 2½d. See below, p. 369 n. 1.

12 For these books see above, p. 349 n. 16.

13 Apart from Burton (STC 4153) the books mentioned here are respectively, STC 10735, STC 23743 and STC 25026; see Appendix I. Like the others in lines 45–47 these were products of the Montagu controversy, indicating once again the interest this had both for the book trade and for Stuteville; for Featley and Ward’s replies to Montagu see Tyacke, Anti–Calvinists, pp. 47–48, 156.
I light upon it by chance. 4 new ones. Fast book, Kings Declaration, Golden-Fleece, Running Register.\textsuperscript{14}

So the Reckoning is now

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Husbandrie & Bees & 0 — 5 — 6 \textsuperscript{15} \\
Fealvyes Parallele & 0 — 1 — 10 \\
Rous & 0 — 1 — 0 \\
Wotton & 0 — 1 — 6 \\
Breirwood & 0 — 1 — 6 \\
Fast book & 0 — 0 — 8 \\
Kings Declaration & 0 — 0 — 4 \\
Golden Fleece & 0 — 2 — 4 \\
Running Register & 0 — 0 — 10 \\
Binding Wotton, Rous, Yates & 0 — 0 — 10 \\
together Summe & 16\textsuperscript{4} — 4\textsuperscript{d}
\end{tabular}

The books against Montague are gotten at libertie againe. They wilbe so much the cheaper. They were all printed without license, which made the price so high.\textsuperscript{16}

Thus with my best respect & service, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
July 15.
Saint Swithin.

Shall we have faire wether now? \textsuperscript{17}

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 49, a] as MS.

\textsuperscript{14} These were, respectively, \textit{STC} 3618, \textit{STC} 16543 or 16544 (an order of prayer for the 2 August fast; see above, p. 349 n. 10), \textit{STC} 9246, \textit{STC} 24609, and \textit{STC} 18996; see Appendix 1. This mixed bag of official, historical and antiquarian texts together with the volume of replies to Montagu must have made a heavy load to Dalham that week.

\textsuperscript{15} See above, p. 345 n. 16.

\textsuperscript{16} See above, p. 163 n. 2. I have not traced the order to allow the replies to Montagu to be sold again, although Mead's implication that the books would have been sold anyway for a higher price is interesting.

\textsuperscript{17} Mead's reference to the proverb is no doubt explained by the exceedingly rainy weather in the previous weeks; see below, p. 367 lines 55–56. Presumably St. Swithin's day was dry.
ibid.] delight in it is MS.
London July 7. 1626

The Boores in Austria seeme still to continue their revolt; against whom great forces are prepared.¹

But there is ill newes, if true, & feared to be too true, that Cassels & Siegen in Hessenland 2 very strong Townes are taken, & with them the old Langgrave Maurice his Lady & eldest Son; And written further; that thereupon the Father is fallen Lunatick, & his Son to have taken oath unto the Emperor.²

We know no certaintie how the King of Denmark & Count Mansfeild succeed: But sayd, that another Ambassador from the King of Denmark is come to Gravesend & looked for here to day, or to morrow in more state, then the other here is.³

The States had sent up to Rees, besides the Garrison that kept there, 30 companies of foot, some of which going forth met with 2 Companies of Wesell Horse, & brought them all into Rees. That an 150 of Zutphen defeated a Companie of the Enemies horse of Groll, slue the Lieutenant & some others, & brought the Captaine & 26 others with their Horses into Zutphen. There are 130 Companies of the States Horse & foot to go & have their Rendevous at Tiel neere Bommel & Niemegen, as if they would either draw their forces into the field, or had some notable en-

¹ A newsletter from Ratisbon ( = Bratislava) of 29 May/8 June had reported that an army of at least 10,000 men had been raised to suppress the revolt; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r; another from Augsburg of 31 May/10 June put the number at 16,000; ibid., folio 1v; see also above, p. 331 n. 16.
² Tilly’s seige of Cassel and the likely capture of the town was reported in a Bonn newsletter of 12/22 June (ibid., folio 1r) but the seige was still continuing on 18/28 July according to another from the same place; ibid., folio 1r; see also Magurn, p. 137 and above, p. 158 n. 6. I have not traced the report in lines 8-9.
³ See above, p. 359 n. 2. The resident Ambassador was the recently-arrived William Below; CSPV 1625–26, p. 446; PRO SP75/7/folio 140r.
terprise in hand.  

Master Scott that wrot Vox populi; and should within a month or two have come to be the Queene of Bohemia’s household Chapleine; as he came out of the Church from preaching (being Preacher to the English Garrison at Utrech’t) accompanied with his brother & a merchant, was stabbed & murdered by a Souldier of my Lord Wimbletons: who being apprehended & examined, sayd he did it as a good work to take away an Enemie to the King & State, but being tortured, is sayd to have confessed, that he was hired for monie to do it, for preventing the coming forth of a Book, he was writing of our last Cales Action. His right hand was first cut off, & then He executed.

The Brewers here have bin all at Court before the Lords about an Imposition to be layd upon beere, ale or mault.

It's sayd to be in agitation, that his Majestie shall not diet

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4 Prince Frederick of Orange had sent his army in June to positions near Rees (on the Rhine) in order to deter the Spanish from sending reinforcements north of that river to attack the most easterly of the United Provinces, Gelderland and Overijssel; Israel, p. 168. I have not identified the individual engagements reported here.

5 See above, p. 358 n. 5.

6 According to STC 22106, A Briefe and True Relation of the Murther of Mr. Thomas Scott (1628) A3v, Scott had been accompanied by his brother William and nephew Thomas when he was attacked.

7 Scott was stabbed at around 2pm on 18/28 June; he died two hours later; ibid., A3r, A4r. The murderer, a soldier called John Lambert, under questioning “very audaciously and insolently replyed; that what he had done, he would answer; And that he [Scott] was a Traitor to his Soveraigne, and had injured him [Lambert] by hindring his preferment to the Queene of Bohemia”; ibid., A3v.

8 Lambert had been racked on 21 June/1 July but had denied he had been suborned to kill Scott; ibid., A4v–B1r. It appears that, rather than being an assassin Lambert was both deranged and obsessed with the Queen of Bohemia; he also blamed Scott for preventing his promotion (see note above). At one point he affirmed that “hee knew they all [his accusers] could not hurt him; For, saith he, my heavens, my Mistris, the spirits of my Soveraigne in the Queene of Bohemia will free me presently”; his "spirits" had "urged and enforced him" to do the deed; ibid., A4r; see also A4v–B1r, B3r–v. His sentence, carried out on 22 June/2 July, was commuted from being broken on the wheel to having his right hand cut off and nailed to the gallows, he hanged and his body laid on the wheel unburied; ibid., B1v.

9 I have not traced this meeting; it was probably part of the government’s attempts to raise money in the aftermath of the dissolution of Parliament; see above, p. 358 n. 6.
his Courtiers, but putt them to board wages.10

The Earle of Warwick & some others had prepared 4 or 5 ships to go upon adventure to Sea, being victualled & in part manned; but are now stayed for his Majesties service;11 yea the Earle also putt out from being Lord Lieutenant of Essex, & the Earle of Sussex putt in againe.12

Its constantly sayd, the Duke goes in person to Sea with the Fleet; yet some notwithstanding doubt it.13

Yesterday at Chelsie–House the Duke feasted the King & Queene.14

Another London ditto.

We say that the Hollanders keep the Hamburghers & their provisions for the Spanish Fleet in the River Elbe; else they had furnished the Spanyard long since & we had felt it upon our Coasts.15

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10 See above, p. 391 n. 4.

11 Warwick was involved in a number of privateering schemes in the wars of the later 1620s; W. F. Craven, 'The Earl of Warwick, A Speculator in Piracy', Hispanic American Historical Review 10 (1930), 457–79. Although he was not able to mount an expedition of this type in 1626 he did so in the following year.

12 Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex, had been Lord Lieutenant of Essex since 1603, but due to his inactivity he was effectively supplanted in the post in 1625 when the more energetic Warwick was appointed as joint Lord Lieutenant to oversee the county's preparations to face the expected invasion threat; Quintrell, 'Towards a “Perfect Militia”', pp. 97–103; above, p. 129 n. 8. However, in the aftermath of the proceedings against Buckingham during the session of 1626 Warwick's position came under threat; although he was not removed from the Lord Lieutenancy until September the decision was taken in early July; Cust, F. L., pp. 189 and n. 7, 198–99.

13 See above, p. 159 n. 4.

14 Chelsea House had been the property of the Earl of Middlesex. After his impeachment he offered it to the Duke in 1625 as part payment of the fine imposed on him; Prestwich, Cranfield, pp. 267, 474–75. See also Lockyer, p. 409.

15 The Baltic was the prime source for a wide range of essential shipping materials (especially copper, hemp, tar, and masting timber) so access to it was of considerable strategic importance. At least one report
It hath rained here (at London) every day more or lesse since the 10 of June.

There is newly sett forth by the King A Book de-
claring the true causes which moved His ^ Majestie ^ to assemble & after inforced him to dissolve the two last Meetings in Parlament.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16}STC 9246, sent by Mead with this letter; see above p. J12, n. 14 and Cust, \textit{F. L.}, p. 18.
To day is here arrived from Gravesend the Ambassadour of the King of Denmark, who they say, for want of promised supplies from his Confederates makes no progress in that warre: but that Tilly on the contrary proceeds with his victories like a Torrent, having lately taken Cassells the chief Towne of the Lantgrave of Hessen.¹

Being to day at dinner with a Privie Counsellor, his Lordship was pleased to ask me, what they discoursed in Pauls concerning the King of Spaines Preparation: I answered, they were confident, that King could performe no great matter this yeare: Then (sayd his Lordship) the King & we do in vaine sit in Counsell from morning till night, & it seemes, they understand matters there better then we do at the boud.² And this morning (sayd he) the King hath signed 120 letters to the Lieutenants of shires, to have all their forces both by Sea & land in a readines; the Fleet, that is to be employed Westward & Southward being to have its Rendez-vous at Portsmouth, & to be employed Northward at Harwich.³ The Duke certainly goes Admirall in person, my Lord Willoughby ViceAdmirall, & my Lord of Denbigh Rereadmirall, the whole Fleet consisting of 50 saile, which are victualled for 6 months, & are now a second

¹ See above, p. 194 n. 2; p. 364 n. 2.
² If Pory wrote this letter I would suggest that the Privy Councillor quoted was George Carew, Earl of Totnes.
³ APC Jun.-Dec. 1626, pp. 59–60; Totnes was present and signed this document on Friday 7 July; see also PRO SP16/31/39 (folio 58r). For Council measures to counteract the expected invasion, see Cust, F. L., p. 30 and n. 55 (misquoting PRO SP16/28/folio 4r; above, p. 330 n. 12).
Besides when I told his Lordship of a report, that the King of Spaine having visited many of his Provinces to gather contribution towards the warres, they utterly denye it, saying, they had rather give him money to make peace then warre: On the contrary his Lordship affirmed, that the people of Spaine had now for the advancement of the Catholick cause, given a larger contribution to this King then to any of his predecessors.\(^5\) I think (sayd his Lordship) the King of Spaine cannot under 3 yeares time conveniently prepare an Armada thoroughly sufficient to invade England; but what if the King of Spaine will straine himselfe to do some great matter on the sudden? Are we to stand secure? All persuaders to securitie at this time are the greatest Enimies to the State. Hitherto his Lordship.

After Sunday next all the tables in the Court are to be putt downe, & the Courtiers to be putt to bord wages, except onely for 4 persons, to wit, My Lord Chamberlaine, The Duke as Master of the Horse, The Secretary that waites, & The Groome of the Stoole.\(^6\) They say likewise the King meaneth to revoke the greatest part of his pensions, which at this present amount to 60 thou= sand pound a yeare.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) See above, p. 354 n. 4; p. 355 n. 7. To "grave" a ship was to "clean...[it] by burning off the accretions, and paying it over with tar or some composition, while aground on a beach, or placed in a specially-constructed dock", \textit{OED}, "grave", v.; to "tallow" was "to grease (formerly esp. the bottom of a ship or boat) [with tallow, or animal fat]", ibid., "tallow", v.

\(^5\) In March 1626 the King of Spain had gone in person to Saragossa to "secure a subsidy from his Aragonese vassals, and it had been thought that he would encounter even greater difficulties at Barcelona", although he was eventually successful; Reade, ii. 586. Reports were evidently circulating in London at this time supporting both Pory's scepticism and Totnes's belief that the Spanish were in a position to invade. The evidence suggests that, while the former was eventually proved right the government had every reason to take the threat seriously; see n. 3 above.

\(^6\) See above, p. 354 n. 4, and \textit{CSPV} 1625-26, p. 499 for the four remaining "tables".

\(^7\) On 1 July the Privy Council had appointed a committee to examine Charles's finances, and on the 11th a commission was issued to Sir Miles Fleetwood, Receiver of the Court of Wards, ordering him to "make staye of payment of all...somes of money upon anie Anuitye or pension...untill his Majesties pleasure be
On Wednesday the Earle of Bridgewater was sworne Privie Counsellor, but my Lord of Dorset not yet.8

The King goes no further in progression then Windsor forest; an argument (sayd that Lord to day) of dangerous times, which caused the King to retire himselfe nere unto this Towne.

Letters (I heare) to draw a voluntary benevolence are sent downe into all shires.9

And those Justices of peace who shewed themselves adverse to the Duke in Parliament are to be displaced.10

The King makes already some preparation for his Crowning in Scotland against the next May.11

[device]

Textual Notes: line 18] 26 others with their MS.

between lines 44 and 45] He constantly sayd MS.

line 87] told me affirmed, MS.

further signified unto you"; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 51; PRO SP16/31/108 [folio 148r]; Aylmer, pp. 333–34; see also ibid., p. 161.

8 John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater was appointed on Tuesday 4 July (not as reported here), Dorset on the 22nd; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 56, 117.

9 This measure was initiated by the Council on Friday 7 July, the text of which is at PRO SP16/31/30 [folios 42r–43v]. It was the first concerted effort to obtain a sizeable sum of money to replace the lost Parliamentary subsidies: for the background to this measure and its eventual failure see Cust, F. L., pp. 37, 91, 94–99, 153–64. On 15 August Sir Martin Stuteville and other Suffolk JPs wrote to Secretary Conway pointing out that the decline in fishing and commerce in the county caused by the Dunkirk privateers meant that few were in a position to lend; PRO SP16/34/17 (I) [folio 22r].

10 Seventeen of the Duke's most prominent opponents in the recently dissolved House of Commons were removed from the Commission of the Peace on 8 July, and more were displaced in the following months; Cust, F. L., pp. 188–89.

11 See above, p. 841 n. 9.
22 July 1626

Sir,

I am ill & faint at this present, yet faine would I write.
My ague proved a tertian, & growen a violent one. My fit on Wednesday was 7 hours. Yesterdays fit came 7 or 8 hours before its time & held me 12. In it I had a lax & ever since, which makes me very faint & weak. I desire you to pray for me, & I hope I shall do the better.\(^1\)

This strange sight of 4 Suns in a milk white circle, was

scene at Edinburgh the 15 of June, the time our Parliament was dissolved.\(^2\) That described in Latine was sent the King by the university of Edinburgh, The observation began 20 minutes before 8 in the morning. The other in English I know not from whom it is. But it was observed noeere an hour later then the former, & not in Edinburgh but a little out of the Citty, which difference of place & time maketh a great parallax & difference of aspect. If I had my health as I was wont, I had translated you the Latine.\(^3\) The event is like to trample

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\(^1\) A "tertian" ague was "Characterized by the occurrence of a paroxysm every third (i.e. every alternate) day", \textit{OED}, "tertian", a., A. 1; a "laxe" was "looseness of the bowels, diarrhoea", ibid., "lax", sb., 2.

\(^2\) See Mead’s diagram and explanatory text between pp. J7v–J7r below. Although I have not found any other reference to this apparition, a "relacion of the 4 sunnes scene at Edenburgh the 15th of June" was entered in the Stationers’ Register by Nathaniel Butter on 28 July 1626; Liber D (Entries of Copies at Stationers’ Hall, 1620–45), p. 125. Mead’s comment on lines 16–17 again illustrates the tendency to regard any unusual natural phenomenon in relation to events in the political world.

\(^3\) The description in English mentioned here, pp. J7v–J7r below, is in an unknown hand; it had presumably been sent directly to Mead or passed on to him by someone else in the University. Mead evidently felt well enough to carry out the task, since in the diagram of the "four suns" sent with this letter Mead translated the Latin text; see p. J7v below. "Parallax" (line 15) is "Apparent displacement, or difference in the apparent position, of an object, caused by actual change (or difference) of position of the point of observation", \textit{OED}, "parallax", 1a; "aspect" is the "relative positions of the heavenly bodies as they appear to an observer on the earth’s surface", ibid., "aspect", sb, 4.
upon the heeles of the apparition, for in Scotland they are growing into a combustion. The King sent to have Sir Francis Bruce sworne Master of the Ordnance. The Earle of Marre answered, He should not be Master of the ordnance come what would of it. About the same time my Lord Maxwell had sent up his rich & guilded Presidents chariot intending to come himselfe presently after it, but they hewed it all to piececes, & bid those who brought it tell him, that if he came himselfe, they would hew him into as many piececes.

On Munday the Judges satt in Westminster Hall to perswade the people to pay subsidies but there arose a great tumultuous Shout amongst them A Parlament A Parlament &c else no Subsidies.

They say, the Colledge of Physicians at London have given up their verdict that the State of the Dukes body is not fitt to endure the sea &c.

I heare not that the King is yet gone to Scotland. If it were not painfull to me, I could write somewhat more, but here I end desiring your prayers & am

Christis Colledg
July 22.

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph

I would my pupill your son were Mead

at home, and John Higham too.

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4 This rumour was probably false, as Sir Henry Bruce had been appointed “Generall of his Majesties Artillerie and Maister of his Munition of Warre and Armes of this Kingdome [of Scotland]” by 20 June; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, second series, vol. 1, ed. D. Mason (Edinburgh, 1899), 306-07.

5 Another confused report of Scottish affairs; Robert Maxwell, Lord Nithadale was not appointed President of the Scottish Privy Council although he was sworn as a member of that body on 25 July; ibid., p. 362. I have not traced the rumour of the destruction of his coach.

6 Cust, F. L., pp. 95-96; CSPV 1625-26, p. 495.

7 Salvetti reported this on 21/31 July; HMC Skrine, p. 81.

8 A hint to Sir Martin to send for his son.
London July 14. 1626 (folio 91r)

All forraine matters seeme yet for successe uncertaine.

The revolted Austrian & some Bohemian husbandmen yet hold out & prevale: but they seeme to hearken to a Treatie, & very great preparations are made against them.¹

Hessenland is in miserie: yet some affirm the old Lantgrave & his Lady escaped with some baggage of value, but I feare untrue.²

No certaintie of the King of Denmarks proceedings, nor of his associats, & all for want of supply of money.

On Sunday his Majestie feasted the Venetian Ambassadors, & on Monday morning dissolved all the Tables at Court save 4 of his owne.³ And sayd, that there being £110,000 yearly pensions payable out of the Exchequer, there shalbe no payment made in two yeares of them:⁴ Yet it is likewise sayd, there is a Commission granted to consider which afterward are fitt to be continued, & which not.⁵

¹ Newsletters from Augsburg of 7/17 June (PRO SP101/29, folio 1r) and 19/29 June (ibid., folio 1v) mentioned an uprising in Bohemia, although a third from Bonn of 4/14 July stated that it had been "allready brought againe to quietnesse", so these reports may have been exaggerated; ibid., folio 1r. Another from Ratisbon (= Bratislava) of 29 May/8 June had reported that an emissary had been sent to the Austrian rebels with promise of pardon if the revolt ended; ibid., folio 1r; one from Augsburg of 31 May/10 June gave details of an Imperial proclamation of 17/27 May pardoning the rebels if they returned home; ibid., folios 1r–v, and that of 19/29 June cited above stated that the "Comissaries both of the Emperor and of the Duke of Bavere [Bavaria] doe still continue their kinde admonitions and great promises to them [the rebels], But as yet in vaine"; ibid., folio 1r. See also SP75/7/folio 160v and above, p. 364 n. 1.

² I have not traced this report but see above, p. 364 n. 2.

³ See above, p. 359 n. 3–4; p. 364 n. 6.

⁴ It was later reported (on 28 July/7 August) that "the Lord Treasurer...[had] received express orders not to pay money to any one for any cause soever for two years or until further order from his Majesty"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 499; see also above, p. 364 n. 7.

⁵ This was probably the commission established on 11 July; see above, p. 364 n. 7. In his next letter Mead was able to give a list of the Commissioners’ names; see below, p. 391 lines 58–62.
The Earl of Carleile on Munday feasted the Queene; where it is sayd, were 4 Pheasants in a dish & 2 whole Salmons &c. 6

The Duke on Tuesday rode in his Coach with the Venetian Ambassadors to the baiting of a Lyon at the Tower. 7 Yesterday his Grace feasted them at dinner in Yorkhouse where afterward came the delegated of the Universitie &c to invest him into the Chancellorship &c. 8

On Wednesday evening (a thing unusuall) was proclaimed, that all whose Houses of Habitation are in the Coast Townes or towards the Sea, doe forthwith repaire thither with their whole Families, & there remaine during all this dangerous time of warres; least the absence of such might encourage the sooner ^ the Enimie ^ to invade us, & give him more advantage to enda^ mage ^ us. 9

Here is much speach that his Majestie intends about Munday next to ride post towards Scotland, with small attendance, as but with 20 or 30 in all of which some are sayd to be sent afore. 10

On Saturday last the Good Earle of Leicester having bin at Court, going returning by water to Baynards Castle, fell into an Apoplexie & thereof yesterday between 11 & 12 at noone dyed being in great debts. By his death is one good pension out of the Exchequer of a £1000 or £1200 by yeare fallen. 11

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6 The Earl of Carlisle treated Henrietta Maria to more than one feast at this time; see above, p.360 n. 6. Mead's source, however, dwelt on the extravagance of the occasion at a time when the Exchequer was nearly empty.

7 The Venetian Ambassadors visited Buckingham on Tuesday 11 July and again on the following day at York House, although they did not mention the trip to the Tower in their report; CSPV 1625-26, p. 486.

8 For accounts of Buckingham's installation as Chancellor of Cambridge University at York House see Mullinger, iii. 672-73; Morgan, pp. 29-30.

9 This proclamation (dated 10 July) "commanding all Inhabitants on the Sea-Coastes, or in any Ports or Sea-Townes, to make their speedy repair unto, and continue at the places of their Habitation there, during these times of Danger", is printed in Larkin, no. 48, pp. 100-01.

10 Another false rumour of Charles's imminent departure; see above, p.341 n. 9.

11 Robert Sidney, younger brother of Sir Philip, died on Thursday 13 July as reported here; GEC, vii. 553-54. Although I have not identified his pension, that it came to the letter-writer's mind at this point was probably caused by the current speculation in London over Exchequer payments.
Textual Notes: line 20, on] of MS.

line 30] to endanger" mage ^ us. MS. [I. e., the word was altered from "endanger" to "endamage", quoting the proclamation].
About 20 minutes before 8 of the clocke untill nine appeared unto us a sight of the Sun, which if not new, yet at least was very rare, and strange in these dayes, which sight, this figure (as much as wee could with bodily eyes declare) doth exactly represente. We did see a strange thing in the Aire, wee thinke it is not naturall: For the Meteorologicians doe require a thicke cloud to the making of diversity of Suns, for if it be thin, it letteth passe the Sun-beames, soe that they doe not rebound againe; a continuall: because a discontinuall makes no full and perfect image: plain and aequall: because it makes the image in a glasse seeme darke, and one while bigger, an other while lesser: but by at least 36 degrees neither thin, nor thicke, neither continuall, nor discontinuall was nigh the Sun: but on every side the skye was clere: And these 3 Suns seemed as big as the true Sun. Moreover reason shewes that that Sun toward the West, right opposite to the true Sun, by reason of the direct falling of the beames upon it, should be brighter than the 2 other, in the North and South points, which receive the Sun-beames sidewayes only: But sight sayd otherwise: for the 2 Suns on each side of the true Sun did not want much of its brightnesse, but that Sun which was opposite to the true, was

1 See Mead's diagram on the following page. This is a translation of the description in Latin underneath the drawing.

2 A sixteenth-century author explained that "Parelius", the apparition of multiple suns, occurred when "a clowde of the one side of the Sunne, shall be placed eyther of the East, or West, especially equall, and a like thicke, which as a Glasse receaveth and expresseth the image or fygure of the sunne": Thomas Hill, quoted in Heninger, Handbook of Meteorology, p. 136. In other words, "if reflections came from two clouds, one each side of the Sun...then three of the celestial bodies became visible" (ibid.). The apparition of four suns was evidently considered most unusual.
a great deal darker; as when the Moon is in the full; if it be but 3 degrees distant from the Sun. The North Sun was red, and white, but the white exceeded. The West Sun (as is before declared) was all white. The South Sun was somewhat red. But a sensible Parallax proves that it was in the second region of the Aire which we have set down in the Circle by these letters. F. G. H. K. which at first sight seemed to go through the Centers of all four; but when we went Westward about 3 hundred paces, it went out of the center of the true Sun, and when we came back Eastward, it returned again unto it.

3 According to contemporary meteorology (derived from Aristotle) the "second region of the Aire" was the watery region in which were formed all the "meteors resulting from the congelation of vapors" (clouds, rain, snow, hail, thunder and lightning). Because the phenomenon of multiple suns was believed to depend on cloud formations this was also produced in the second (or middle) region of the air; ibid., p. 45.
[Page content not legible]
...on the 12th of June, between 9 & 10 in the morning, the heaven was the Ferrumant [firmament] being very clear without any clouds, and a little above Edinburgh, one white clear half-circle of the same being there, with two points thereof tending to the Genie and Sun being a little inferior from it on the South-East side of the same. On the South side of the Circle was like a Cavill or a great eye consisting of all the colours of the Rainbow shining most clearly. And on the West part of the same another, like the former in colour by sunset, but not so clearly shining. From the Cavill or eye which was in the South part there came another quarter-circle white as bright like the former, with the point tending Northward.
Thursday the 15th of June betwixt 8 & 9 in the morning appeared in the Firmament (being very clear, without any cloud) direct above Edenborough, one white, clear half-circle of large compass, the two points thereof tending to the North; the Sun being a pretty distance from it, on the South East side of the same. On the South part of the Circle was like a Navill or a great Eye consisting of all the colours of the Rainbow, shining most clearly: And on the West part of the same another, like the former in colour & quantity, but not so clearly shining. From the Navill or Eye which was in the South-part, there came another quarter-circle white & bright like the former, with the point tending Northeast.¹

¹ See the smaller of Mead’s two diagrams on H390 folio 94v above.
I thank you for your lettre & religious admonition. I received by Harry Law £11 12s 2d. So he told me it was, & so I told it; but afterward putting the 2 Summes together £10-16s-10d I found it should be £11 - 13s - 2d. But his confidence before it was told that there was no more sent, made us not to have so much wit as to tell it over wholly the second time, for the odd shilling, before it was mingled with other money.

Yet we had told it for a 6d all save 50p. Wherefore if you sent it for a £11 13s 2d is so take it; if for lesse, you know the error.1

My last fit I thank God was shorter & milder then the former, but very irregular for time. Yet my lax continuing much weakens me. But before I had it, I had a worse infirmity, The stopping of the Urine, whereof I made none for some days without physick. But I thank God, that is gone, & I hope in his time he will take away the rest, & then I shall take more pleasure in the fresh ayre of Dalham then ever.2 Thus I tell you my maladie for newes, for I thank God It is newes with me to have an ague. Yet I will tell you something else from London on Saturday.

That which was then in agitation was a warrant come to the Citty to arme 4000 men even to their knapsacks, (over & besides the trained bands) & all to be Housholders & ready at an hours warning to go quarter themselves in the Isle of Sheppey; but there was made a double demur; One because the lettres came from some of the Lords & not from the King. 2dly for that by their charter they are for defence of the City not to go further then the Lord Mayor goes, unless it be for the guard of the Kings person.3

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1 Stuteville's miscalculation (above, p. 361 n. 11) had probably led to him sending 1s. too little.

2 Mead had by this time decided to abandon his trip to the north; see below, p. 399 n. 1.

3 On 10 July the Privy Council had ordered the City of London to keep their trained bands in a state of readiness. On 28 July/7 August it was reported that the Council had "ordered the Mayor of London to keep
The leavying of the Subsidies verbally granted in Parliament being propounded to the Subsidie men in Westminster, all of them (saving some 30 amongst 5000 & they all the Kings Servants) cryed a Parliament &c. They were called Munday Tuesday & Wednesday but they would not be gotten of at the last more then those who subscribed at the beginning.\(^4\)

The same was done in Middlesex on Munday also in 5 or 6 several places; but farre more are sayd to refuse, then grant. Att Hicks Hall the men of Midlesex assembled thither, when they had heard a speach for the purpose, made their obeysance, & so went out without any answere affirmative or negative.

In Kent the whole Countie denied, saying that subsidies were matter of too high a nature for them to meddle withall, & that they durst not deale therewith, least hereafter they might deeply be called in question.\(^5\)

This ill successse in these & some other places makes a speech in the mouthes of some, as if his Majestie would supply himselfe by the sale of Lands in capite; whereby, its very likely, he might be soone & plentifully provided, were there a Parliament to confirm the sales.\(^6\)

It is sayd that since the dissolving of housekeeping his Majestie is but slenderly attended, nor will the Countrie pay money in stead of viands in specie, nor the blackguard & other meane attendants on the Court be appeased.

So that it is thought, ere long, the Tables must & will againe be restored.\(^7\)

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4 See above, p. 392 n. 6.
5 On 7 July, the day the benevolence was launched, a letter from the Privy Council was sent specifically to the JPs of Middlesex; PRO SP16/31/31 [folio 44r]. As a result of the general refusal to lend a second letter was sent on 26 July to the JPs of Westminster and Middlesex to deal with potential lenders one by one, but by then the damage had been done as most subsidymen had already resolved to refuse payment; APC Jan.–Dec. 1626, pp. 133–34; PRO SP16/32/28 [folio 37r]; Cust, F. L., p. 96.
6 There were, in fact, considerable sales of Crown lands between 1626–30 to try to balance the books; F. C. Dietz, English Public Finance 1558–1641 (New York, N. Y., 1932), pp. 243–44.
7 Due to the lack of ready money the system of converting payments in kind to one in cash was not likely to succeed; Mead’s source was correct in supposing that the “tables” at Court would have to be set up again.
The Fleet now being almost ready to go to Sea; as the Duke by the advise of the Physitians stays at home: so my Lord Willoughby that should have gone Vice-admirall is gone into Lyncolnshire to cure himselfe of the yellow jaundies. Some affirme the Earle of Suffolk (who is chosen Knight of the Garter) goes generall of the Fleet, but most opinions give it to my Lord of Denbigh, who will not want to advise him the best old Sea= captains. Captaine Pennington hath the vogue to go as Vice-admirall,\(^8\)

There is lately a Commission established for advancing the Kings revenues. The Commissioners eleven viz. Lord Treasurer, Duke of Buckingham, The 2 Chancellors of Chequer & Dutchie, Sir Thomas Savage & Sir John Savill, Sir Walter Pye & Sir Robert Pye, Auditors Sutton & Gofton, & Sir John Cook Secretary.\(^9\) Sir Edwin Sandys (like Sal insipidus) being quite discarded; whose project was not to propound the leavvyng of Subsidies, as now, but actually without any asking leave, to leavvy the same.\(^10\)

The Lord Maxwell th'intendcd Viceroy of Scotlands coach was burnt to ashes, the riches would not save it, the Scotts belike fearing it might conteine some superstition.\(^11\) The King questionles meannes not to go for Scotland whatsoever was talked, ha\(v\)ing ordained his Gistes otherwise, as to Farnham castle &c. They of Scotland cry out amaine against the Duke of Buckingham, saying, they will know how King James, the Duke of Lennox & Marquess Hammilton came to their

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\(^8\) For the physicians' advice to the Duke see above, p. 372 n. 7. The rest of the rumours reported here were largely mistaken, as Willoughby was Admiral of the fleet when it eventually put to sea; Denbigh commanded a separate squadron. Suffolk (who was not elected K. G. until April 1627) was not given a command; *GEC*, xii (pt. 1). 467. It appears that a number of rumours about the officers of the proposed fleet were circulating in the capital; see for instance above, p. 358 n. 7.

\(^9\) For the commission of 11 July (which ten of those listed here had signed, Sir Robert Pye being the odd man out) see above, p. 369 n. 7. The “Chancellor of Dutchie” (line 60) was Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (*DNB*, xiii. 140–41). “Auditors Sutton and Gofton” (lines 61–62) were Sir Richard Sutton and Sir Francis Gofton, Auditors of the Imprest in the Exchequer; Aylmer, pp. 35–37, 78, 308–13.

\(^10\) Sandys’s “project” was just one of a number of radical schemes being floated at this time to supply Charles with money; Cust, *F. L.*, pp. 29–30. It is little wonder that Sandys was called a “Caterpiller of the Common-wealth” in an earlier letter to Mead; above, p. 354 lines 24–25. “Sal insipidus” (line 63) = “tasteless salt”.

\(^11\) See above, p. 372 n. 5.
The yong Lord Digby was for a short time restrained of his libertie, because he answered not Master Attumey interrogating ad oppositum; but since he is released, & word sent to the Countesse of Bristol, that both shee her children & servants may have free accesse to the Earle in the Tower.

For forraine matters. Six of the revolted husbandmen sent as Commissioners to th’Emperour (unto whom they have not accesse) being by his Counsell demaunded, who & what moved them to rise? one answered that did God the Father Son & Holy Ghost, for to defend their religion & lives. They yet encrease & prevaile as also 80,000 more in Bohemia, who are sayd, to have taken Pilsen, & besiedged strong Budwitz.

Thus by peece meales & patches you have all & I rest with my best service remembred to your selfe & my good Lady & am

Christ's Colledg

July 24

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Is it not strange wether?

How it raines!

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12 The rumours concerning Charles’s journey to Scotland were evidently laid to rest (for the moment); see above, p. 361 n. 9. The Venetian Secretary, reporting the likely agenda of a proposed Scottish Convention of Estates believed that the allegations against Buckingham reported here (the basis of Eglisham’s *Prodromus vindicat*) would be debated by that body when it met; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 499–500. While the Venetian’s information was not particularly accurate his report was an indication of the rumours circulating about the state of affairs in Scotland.

13 The same source reported on 28 July/7 August that the “Earl of Bristol has received leave to go all over the Tower, where his wife has permission to go to her husband. His son, who was confined to his father’s house in the country, has been set at liberty”; ibid., p. 500. See also APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 131–32.

14 A newsletter from Augsburg of 31 May/10 June had reported that six of the rebels had been sent to Munich (not Vienna as suggested here) to present their demands to Maximilian of Bavaria. Writing on 22 July/1 August Sir Robert Anstruther noted one of the peasants under questioning had stated that God the “father, the sone and the hoelie ghoste” had moved the Austrian Protestants to rebel, as did a later letter reporting news from Hamburg; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v; SP75/7/folio 175v; SP16/33/85 (folio 125v). For an entirely different viewpoint see Rubens’s letter of 14/24 July in Magurn, p. 137.

15 For reports of an uprising in Bohemia see above, p. 373 n. 1.
Textual Notes: line 11, error: error MS.
line 20, agitation in-the-Cittie was MS.
line 49, Tables will must MS.
Worthie Sir/

Though the fit of mine ague hath thrice missed me, yet I am so full of aguish symptômes, as distast of meat & drink & such like, that I am charged at every hand not to go abroad for feare of a relapse, which most agues are this yeare found subject unto. Otherwise I would gladly be at Dalham, if I durst.

For newes, a lettre even now telles me, That the going forth of our Fleet is yet hanging in suspense & for more discouragement great store of beefe & 200 tunnes of beere are throwne over bord because it stunke.¹

That the raying of moneys by the name of subsidies is now abandoned, & the Commissioners intreat the people for a benevolence. That on last Thursday the Borough of Westminster was called together, who have contributed freely & liberally, some £10 some £5 some £3 some £2 some 10s some 5s. And to this benevolence the poore are called as well as the rich.²

That the King went on Wednesday to Oatlands, & was to be at London againe as to day.³ That on Sunday (to morrow) the Earle of Pembroke should receive his white staffe for the office of Steward, & the Earle of Montgomery (whose eldest Son is contracted

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¹ Another report mentioned 800 casks of salt beef being destroyed; CSPV 1625–26, p. 498. PRO SP16/33/28 [folio 46r–v] is an account of the shortcomings in the victualling of the fleet.

² This presumably referred to the revised commision for the benevolence, issued on 26 July; see above, p.390 n. 5. The benevolence was a failure; only £948 16s. 4d. was paid by four counties, Middlesex being one; Cust, F. L., p. 91.

³ I have not traced this royal trip.
to the Duke of Buckinghams daughter) the Staffe for Chamberlaine.  

That the Lord Carlton was gone for France to make way
for the Duke of Buckingham who is to follow, they say, as a mightie Am-
bassador. What mysteries of State are in hand, time will dis-
cover, but this is certaine, that our Merchants Ships are againe
stayed in France, and such also of the Kings as use to transport
Tynne out of Cornwall; neither will there be one peny more of
the Queenes dowrie payd.

Count Ernst Governour of West–Freisland is about to sitt
downe before Lingen with 8000 men, to whom the King of Denmark
(as is sayd) sends 8000 more.

The King of Sweden hath taken Elbing (in Prussia) & is
upon his march to Dantzick, from whence he intends into Silesia.

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4 For this marriage contract and the promotions of Pembroke and Montgomery see Lockyer, p. 333;
Russell, *Parliaments*, pp. 326–27. The parties involved in the marriage, Charles Herbert and Mary Villiers,
were only six and four years old respectively and did not marry until January 1635; *GEC*, x. 419–20. The
reference in line 21 is explained by Aylmer, p. 30: “The Lord Steward... Treasurer, and the Comptroller were
known, from their badges of office, as the ‘whitestaves’.”

5 Carleton’s embassy to Paris had already been reported on 9 July, and on 28 July/7 August the Venetian
Secretary noted that “Carleton will set on foot negotiations for peace with the Spaniards, Gondomar will
proceed to Spain and will return to Paris whither the Duke of Buckingham will betake himself to conclude
the business”; PRO SP16/31/39 (folio 58v); CSPV, *i* 625–26, pp. 500–01; see also ibid., pp. 489, 495.

6 Both the Duke’s embassy and the reasons for Carleton’s journey proved to be false, as the latter’s trip was
chiefly concerned with the matter of the Queen’s servants. The instructions given to Carleton for his
embassy to France dealt at length with the misdemeanours of the Queen’s household: PRO SP78/79/folios
149v–51v.

7 I have not traced these incidents.

8 On 9 July Sir Benjamin Rudyerd had thought that the main reason for Carleton’s trip was to press for the
removal of Henrietta’s dowry to be paid; PRO SP16/31/39 [folio 58v]; see also *HMC Skrine*, pp. 81–82.

9 The report of the activities of Ernst Casimir von Nassau (cousin of the Prince of Orange) was confused by
Mead’s source with the siege of Oldenzaal, approximately 25 miles from Lingen, undertaken by Nassau;
Israel, p. 168. The rumour concerning Danish reinforcements was false.

10 This is the first reference in Mead’s letters to Gustavus’s campaign in Polish Prussia, which had begun at
the end of June; for the background to this important change in Swedish military planning, which took
Gustavus a step closer to intervention in Germany, see Roberts, i. 253–54; ii. 312–21. Elbing had fallen
to the Swedes on 5/15 July: Danzig, as the most important town in Polish Prussia with trading links all
over Europe, was one of the prime objectives of the Swedish campaign; ibid., pp. 323–24.
The Corrane adds that Mansfeld is likewise marching thitherward or to Bohemia to joyn or be General of the revolted Husbandmen, some say he is already broken through with 6000 horse. And that Bethlem Gabor will meet him & the Switlander, having found a devise to quarril with the Emperor about the Marquisate of Yagersdorf in Silesia whereof the late warlike Marquise of Yagersdorf was despoiled by the Emperor as being proscribed for joyning with the Prince Palatine. But this being part of the inheritance belonging to the House of Brandenburg (of which the late Marquisse was, Uncle to the now Elector) Bethlem Gabor gott it to be conferred upon him by the now Elector as a part of the dowrie of his new married Lady the Electors sister, & hath sent to the States of Silesia to enjoy it, else forcibly he will enter upon it. The late Marquesse Yagersdorfe dyed in Transylvania with Bethlem having no issue. Thus much of newes for the present, for the lettres we most depend upon are not yet come.

11 Although this report proved false it was not without foundation; a Swedish campaign down the Vistula into Silesia backed by a coalition of Protestant states had been seriously discussed in 1623–24; ibid., i. 237, 244; ii. 312; Parker, TYW, pp. 70, 74. Attempts were also made in 1626 to organise a joint campaign in Silesia between Gustavus and Bethlen Gabor, and both ambassadors’ reports and newsletters at this time suggested (or hoped) that the Swedes would join Bethlen; Roberts, ii. 329; PRO SP75/7/folio 147r, 150r; SP101/29/folio 2r (newsletter of 27 June/7 July).

12 This newsbook has not survived; see Appendix II.

13 The uncertainty in England about events in central Europe is indicated by the variety of possible allies Mansfeld’s army was thought to be joining, although there were reports reaching London during the summer that he might join the Austrian rebels (PRO SP75/7/folio 160r, SP101/29/folio 1r (Augsburg newsletter of 23 August/2 September)) and Bethlen in Silesia (SP75/7/folios 121r, 138r, 160r, 162r). In the event Mansfeld marched into Silesia and then Hungary to join up with Bethlen; Parker, TYW, p. 78. For the Bohemian “revolt” see above, p. 373 n. 1.

14 John George of Jagerdorff (who had died in 1624) was the brother-in-law of Christian IV, had been the military commander of the rebellious Bohemian Estates in 1618 and had been an ally of Gabor’s since 1621. The latter had married Catherine of Brandenburg, Jagerdorff’s niece, in March 1626 and soon afterwards laid claim to John George’s ancestral lands and other territory in Silesia; Mann, pp. 153, 173, 194; Parker, TYW, pp. 54, 325; D. Angyal, ‘Gabriel Bethlen’, Revue Historique 158 (1928), 58–60; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r–v (newsletter from Germany of 2/12 August); see also Roberts, ii. 309–11.
I shall send you now, (if the Bookbinder deceive me not)
Fealty, Ward, Burton Sutcliffe bound together.15

I send you a Paper of militarie orders from the
King.16

Marston the Musitian I heretofore told you of, who had
carnally knowne a child of 7 yeares old, was at our Assises
condemned for it & on Thursday executed.17

I have no more, but to remember my best respect & service
to your selfe & my Lady, & so rest

Christ's Colledg
July 29

Yours most ready to be
commanded Joseph Mead

Sir John Ogle (so one writes to me in a Postscript) hath lately
entred into orders & is a devout Preacher.18

Textual Notes: line 37] joyne * or * A be MS.
line 48, forcibly] altered from "forcible".
line 49, late] lately MS.

15 For this volume see above, p. 361 n. 13.
16 This was STC 7683.5; see Appendix I.
18 Although I have not determined whether Mead's information was true, Ogle had certainly considered
entering the Church. On 8 February 1625/26 he had written to Secretary Conway stating his wish to take
holy orders and requesting a pension in regard of his past military service; PRO SP16/20/52 [folios 147r-48r].
5 August 1626

Worthie Sir,

I thank God, I feele my selfe now strong & able to travell, my stomack good, my legges to have almost filled my stockings &c. If therefore you please to send Harry Law with an Horse on Munday I will make bold to be, as I am wont, a troublesome Guest at Dalham. You gave me warning I should take no other journey this Summer but to Dalham: I could not be persuaded by you, but now have bin forced to obey him, that will not be resisted.

The forgetfullnes of the Bookseller made me I could not last Saturday give you an exact reckoning for the Book or Books I sent, which is as followeth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burton</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutcliffe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>£ 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>£ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fealty was reckoned & payd for in your former Reckoning.

The newes which the last Saturday I sent you after an imperfect Relation, I now send better & more fully related in that intelligence, which I told you then I expected, but had not received. What newes I have heard since & will come in letters to day, I hope I shall either bring you or tell you, when I come on Munday to Dalham. Onely thus much now.

That on Munday betwoene 1 & 2 a clock My Lord Keeper & Lord Chamberlaine made proclamation at the Court gate That all French people of what condition, state quality or dignity soever should depart the Court to Denmark

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1 For Mead’s abortive journey northward see above, p. 159 n. 1; p. 371 n. 2.
2 For these books see above, p. 341 n. 13; p. 342 line 57.
3 See above, p. 155 lines 51-52.
House there to remaine till order should be taken for transporting them into France. Thus every one talks; me thinks it should not be so universall. They talk of one excepted. I have not yet seene our lettres, then we shall understand particulars better.

Thus with my best & wonted respect I rest hoping to see you & do my service on Munday so I am

Christ's Colledge
August 5.

Yours most ready
to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 1, 5 August 1626] the "annotator" began to write "28 July 1626" before writing the correct date above the deleted error.

line 32] we should shall MS.

4 Mead was wrong to doubt the extent of the dismissals: this is the first report of many to reach Cambridge of the expulsion of Henrietta Maria's French household, caused by Charles's quarrels with his wife's servants and the consequent bad feeling between the royal couple. For the background to and events of Monday 31 July see Gardiner, vi. 136-37; CSPV 1625-26, p. 506. Complaints about the behaviour of the Queen's servants were a prominent feature of the instructions given by Charles I to Dudley Carleton, Lord Imbercourt, concerning the latter's embassy to France (for which see above, p. 345 n. 5); PRO SP78/79/folios 149v-51v.

5 On 3/13 August it was reported that "The Queen...[had] only retained one French attendant, and that one because of her Majesty's entreaty"; HMC Skrine, pp. 82-83. The person in question was probably Madame de Vantelet, Henrietta's dresser.
London July 28. 1626

We say here that Maria de Medicis the Queene, mother of France hath made a preparative for a peace betweene Spaine & us; & that Gondomar leads the dance being first gone from the Archduchesse thither.¹ My Lord Carleton also took his journey on Munday towards the French King (fame sayes) to make an overture of the peace; whom the Earle of Carlile is to second, & if they can make of it a bolt or a shaft, then the Great Duke goes to make the conclusion.²

We heare of a falling out betweene the King & Queene, for hir going in a kind of devotion to visit that holy place of Tyborne. This can those damn'd Preists about her, make her doe.³ The three English Ladies Denbigh, Hamilton & Carlile are swome of hir

¹ In his dispatch of 28 July/7 August the secretary to the Venetian Ambassador thought that a major reason for Carleton’s embassy to France was “for some overtures for peace between them here and the Spaniards, by means of the Queen Mother, acting as mediatrix”; see also HMC Skrine, p. 82 and above, p. 385 n. 5. He also thought (correctly) that Carleton’s mission was related to the disagreements between Charles and Henrietta over the latter’s servants; CSPV 1625–26, p. 498.
² See above, p. 385 n. 5. The Venetian Secretary reported that Carleton had left for France on Tuesday 25 July, not as reported here; ibid., p. 497. Carleton arrived at Boulogne on 27 July/6 August; PRO SP78/79/folio 158r-v.
³ John Pory’s forthright condemnation of this episode reflected his low opinion of the French, as his next letter to Mead dated 5 August makes abundantly clear. In that letter Pory stated that the Queen visited Tyburn “no longer ago than upon Saint James his day last”, i.e. Tuesday 25 July, which seems clear enough; see below, p. 401 lines 73–74; Cheyne, pp. 53, 121. In discussing the incident, however, Gardiner (vi. 135, n. 2) dismisses Pory’s statement as “an impossible date” and suggests that Henrietta went to Tyburn on 26 June, which seems unlikely: setting aside Pory’s specific date, why was no reference made to the Tyburn visit in over a month after it had allegedly occurred? Whatever the date of Henrietta’s pilgrimage, however, it had serious repercussions: it was cited as a major reason for the expulsion of the French. See PRO SP78/79/folios 123r-v, 151r; Bassompierre, Memoirs, p. 138; Gardiner, vi. 135–36; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 517, 545.
Bedchamber, notwithstanding there was made in France a great Howbub about it.⁴

On Sunday next (July 30) here at Whitehall shall be Lord Chamberlaine the Earle of Montgomery, & the Earle of Pembroke Lord Steward of the household; there having on this day seennight passed a formall contract for a future marriage between the Earle of Montgomeries Son of 7 (being also my Lord of Pembrokes heyre) & the Dukes daughter of 3 yeares old.⁵ It is added moreover, that the Erles of Carleiie, Holland, & Bridgewater shall be sworn of his Majesties Bedchamber.⁶ And the Erles of Dorsett and Salisbury are already sworn Privy Counsellors.⁷

The Knights of the Garter have gott an addition on the left shoulder of their cloakes, being a faire Crosse inscribed within the words of the Garter Hony Soit &c after the manner of the Chevalry in France, Italy, & Spaine.⁸

There is now going an Ambassador to the King of Marocco for releasing the English Captives taken at Sea by the Moores of Sally, to the number of about a 1000 persons. This Ambassador undertakes to bring home a Hollandish Pirate called Campano, who in short time hath taken 130 saile of Ships, & desires to yeeld himselfe, his Ships & Followers to our Kings mercy.⁹

⁴ CSPV 1625-26, p. 498; above, p. 360 n. 5.
⁵ See above, p. 365 n. 4.
⁶ For Carlisle's and Holland's appointment to the Bedchamber see Schreiber, The First Carlisle, p. 100; GEC, iii. 32; vi. 539; CSPV 1625-26, p. 500. I have not found any reference to Bridgewater's promotion: it was perhaps confused with his admission to the Privy Council on 4 July; APC Jun-Dec. 1626, p. 56.
⁷ On 22 July; ibid., p. 117.
⁸ On 27 April 1626 Charles had decreed that the Cross of the Order, surrounded by a Garter, was to be added to "the left side of the Sovereign's and Knights-Companions Cloaks, Coats, and Cassocks, when they did not wear their Robes". The order was to come into force on 27 July; E. Ashmole, The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (1672), Co4r–v (quotation from Co4r).
⁹ Corsairs based at Sallee (modern Fez) had been a menace for some years, making numerous captures of English vessels and raiding coastal villages for slaves. Estimates varied as to how many captives had been taken, with figures of 1,500–2,000 being cited. The decision to send an emissary to Morocco to negotiate for their release had been rumoured for several months; this was John Harrison, who had been the English...
My Lord of Bristoll hath had leave to go from the Tower to his owne House in Saint Giles, but is returned thither againe, yet in the nature of a free Prisoner. Now at length there are come into the Starchamber two Billes, one against him & another against the Duke. This next week, it is reported, the Tables shall be restored in Court.

Textual Note: line 34, (folio 101v) the "annotator" dated this page "6 July 1626" in error.

agent to the Barbary States since 1610; K. R. Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics: seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 162–63; CSPV 1625–26, p. 336 and note; Lockyer, p. 327. The pirate mentioned on line 35 was correctly identified as a renegade Dutchman, Claes Gerritz Compaen: one of the most notorious of the Sallee raiders, he had been negotiating with the English government since at least June 1625 for a pardon in return for a payment of £20,000; Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, p. 163; PRO SP16/3/28 [folio 39r–v], 38 [folio 55r], 51 [folio 70r]; SP16/23/26 [folio 39r].

10 I have not traced this order concerning Bristol but see above, p. 382 n. 13.
11 Another stage in the lengthy Star Chamber proceedings between Buckingham and Bristol; see above, p. 343 n. 12.
12 As a result of the difficulties encountered by the Court in providing payment in cash rather than in kind. See above, p. 380 lines 46–50 and n. 7; for the "Tables" see p. 359 n. 4.
Though the former report of my Lord Carltons going over into France as was thought for an overture of a Peace betwene us & Spaine, sayd to have beene much laboured by the French Queen Mother, may have some truth in it; yet perhaps this going might also be for preparing of the French Kings & the Queen Mothers affections aforehand concerning a buisines to be after done; which how secretly soever it was carried, yet it seems, the Queenes Lord Chamberlaine scented it, & therefore went also over thither.

Last Sunday began this busines a little to work, though covertly, but on Monday fully. The Lady Duchesse the Marchionesse Hamilton, The Countess of Denbigh hir mother, & the Countesse of Carleile were swome of the Queens bedchamber, but were not by the French Ladies permitted to come in thither & give their attendance. Whereupon on Munday the King had the Queene to dinner, were very merry. Having dined & being withdrawne, his Majestie began by degrees to break the matter unto her, & to be short, told her he must needs cashier all her A(t)endants Preists & others, males & females (but give her

1 See above, p. 365 n. 5; p. 360 n. 1.
2 Carleton's embassy was now suspected by the "Paul's Walkers" to be to prepare Louis for the expulsion of Henrietta's servants; see CSPV 1625–26, p. 507; Gardiner, vi. 136. (Secretary Conway informed Carleton on 31 July that the Queen's servants had been expelled; PRO SP78/79/folio 169r). Tanneguy Leveneur, Count de Tillibres (Henrietta's Lord Chamberlain) had left for France on 28 July and was carried across the Channel on the 30th; ibid., p. 500; PRO SP16/32/68 (folio 90r). He reached the French Court one day before Carleton; SP78/79/folio 209r.
3 See above, p. 311 n. 4.
those that were better). & presently confines them all to Denmark House, save only one who upon importunate suit is said to stay with her. The rest are to be sent away on Saturday & Monday, & his Majestie gives amongst them (being about 300 besides their attendants & children, who in all are said to be 1100) £15,000. But the Bishop refuseth to go, pretending he hath the French Kings Commission of Ambassador, who never before made shew thereof, & therefore will not now serve his turne. She is to have two Preists for her Chaplains, Potter & Cotterell said to be men of a milder temper & farre from the Jesuites faction & humour. The cause of this discharge is doubtlesse great, & perhaps something of a higher nature, then their exorbitant & unsufferable outstripping of all measure of religion & dutie. Now we are to look how it will be taken in France, which me thinkes,

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4 It was reported that “After making every one go out he [Charles] shut himself in with...[Henrietta] and imparted to her the decision taken for the good of herself and the nation urging her to comfort herself with the assurance that in the future she would be better served and with more decorum”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 506.

5 See above, p.397 nn. 4 and 5.

6 The Venetian Secretary reported on 4/14 August that Charles would give £11,000 in cash and £19,000 in jewels to the departing French; CSPV 1625–26, p. 507. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd quoted a figure of £20,000; PRO SP16/33/30 [folio 49r]. Later in the month Mead was sent a list of the money and jewels paid out, pp. 430–31 below.

7 It was later reported that “the Bishop of Mande chose to be the last and endeavoured to remain behind under the pretence of being a sort of ambassador or agent from the Most Christian [Louis XIII], indeed he produced some commission to this effect; but he failed to make it good and shortly afterwards he had to follow the others”; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 514–15.


9 In spite of this sideswipe at the French, the behaviour of Henrietta’s servants was in fact the major reason for their expulsion. A document among the State Papers entitled “A Discoverie of practises of the Queenes French servantes prejudicial to Courte and State” made a number of allegations against them such as sending secret messages abroad and transporting money overseas; PRO SP16/32/92 [folio 134r–v].
should not be ill, seing themselves with Spaine & Spaine with them are presidents unto his Majestie herein.\textsuperscript{10}

It was constantly sayd, there would be a match betweene the Dukes daughter & the Earle of Montgomery's Son; & also that last Sunday the now Lord Chamberlaine should have bin made Lord Steward, & his brother the Earle of Montgomery Lord Chamberlaine. But there is a stay of all, by reason the Lord Chamberlaine demurres as it seems from present ensuring his estate upon his Nephew.\textsuperscript{11} There is also speech of another match towards, betweene the Dukes Nephew the Lord Feilding & the Earle of Somer sets daughter, which two matches would bring a great accession both of estate & allyance.\textsuperscript{12}

The Earle of Bristoll rydes dayly abroad (as is sayd) freed from the Tower following of his busines about the Crosse-Billes in the Starrechamber,\textsuperscript{13} & it is sayd the King will have those causes opened & heard in that Court in his owne presence before the Terme begin.\textsuperscript{14}

The King & Queene (which I forught before) rid on Tuesday after dinner to Nonsuch, & there, for

\textsuperscript{10} In 1613 (after years of negotiations) Louis XIII had married Anne of Austria, sister to Philip IV of Spain, who had in turn married Louis's sister. In 1622, however, the respective Spanish and French attendants of the two queens had been expelled from Madrid and Paris; G. Parker, \textit{Europe in Crisis 1598–1648} (1979; revised edn., 1988), p. 127; H389, folio 153r. Hibbard has commented in the context of French hopes for the marriage that the “expulsion of...[the] French attendants was...a real setback, however conventional the sacking of a foreign consort's household may have been”, 'The Role of a Queen Consort', p. 404; see also CSPV \textit{1625–26}, p. 515.

\textsuperscript{11} See above, p.315 n. 4. I have found no reference to the difficulty reported here.

\textsuperscript{12} Basil Feilding was son and heir to the Earl of Denbigh, Buckingham's brother-in-law; the marriage suggested here did not take place.

\textsuperscript{13} See above, p.312 n. 10.

\textsuperscript{14} This report (that the case between Buckingham and Bristol would be heard in Star Chamber before the start of the Michaelmas Law Term) proved false.
ought I heare, they are yet,15

As for Transmarine occurrents, the States of the Low-countries are sayd to have 2 or 3 severall Armies on foot; with one of which commanded by Count Ernestus of Nassaw, they have taken in Oldenzel, wherein were in garrison 7 companies of foot & 2 of horse; who at first in scorne hanged out at their steeple a goose & a gammon of bacon but within a few days seeing the stones to fly about their eares they took them in againe.16

It's held, that Count Mansfeld is gotten up into Silesia, where the Count of Thurne was to meet him with another Armie from Bethlem, who was also to follow being invited by the Austrian revolted Husbandmen, who have lost their first Generall Fedinger at their seidge of Linz. But that the Duke of Freidland followed Mansfeld either in person or some of his forces, On whom Colonell Fox attended.17

We have not yet any certaintie of Elbing being taken in, but beseidged & the places (neare) it taken by the King of Sweden, & particularly the place where the Jesuites were seated.18

It's written that 500 armed men hidden under

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15 For the royal journey see CSPV 1625–26, p. 507. Nonsuch Palace (near Sutton in Surrey) had been built for Henry VIII and was one of Charles's favourite residences; see H. M. Colvin et al. (eds.), The History of the King's Works, 6 vols (in 7) (1963–82), iv (pt. 2), 179–205. (I am grateful to Dr. John Morrill for this reference).

16 See above, p. 395 n. 9. "The town capitulated...[on 22 July/1 August] after a mere ten days' bombardment"; Israel, p. 168; see also Reade, ii. 601–03.

17 While reports were reaching London that Mansfeld had marched into Silesia to join with Bethlen Gabor, followed by Wallenstein (such as a newsletter from Bonn of 18/28 July, PRO SP101/29/folio 1r and above, p. 396 n. 13) Bethlen did not join the Austrian revolt as suggested here. Fadinger had, however, been killed at the seige of Linz; Wedgwood, p. 215. "Colonel Fox" (line 82) was probably General Fuchs, Christian IV’s General of Artillery.

18 For the capture of Elbing by the Swedes, see above, p. 395 n. 10. Lines 85–86 referred to Braunsberg, site of an important Jesuit seminary which Gustavus had captured on 30 June/10 July. He sent the Jesuits’ library to Stockholm; Roberts, ii. 323.
wood in Ships from Dantzick sent by the Polack came to surprise some Ships of the Sweden, but being dis-
covered were all sunk.  

Textual Notes: line 7] it-might this going MS.
line 24] (but would give MS.

19 I have found no reference to this incident. “The Polack” and “the Sweden” (lines 88-89) presumably referred to Sigismund III and Gustavus Adolphus respectively.
Sir, How much am I bound to your love, that are pleased
so far to dispense with your ague, as to lett me knowe from
your owne hande, what is become of our Common friend
whom (I suppose) if you had accompanied in his Northren
progresse, change of ayer and action would have exhausted
the dregges of your disease.¹

On Monday last About 3 afternoone the king passing into the Queenes side²
& finding some Frenchmen her servants unrespectfully
dauncing & curvetting in her presence, took her by the hand
and led her into his lodgings, locking the doore after him,
and shutting out all save onely the Queen.⁴ Presently upon
this my lord Conway called forth the French bishop⁵ and others of that clergie⁶ into
Saint James his Parke, where he tolde them, the kings
pleasure was, all her Majesties servants of that nation, men
& woemen, young and olde should departe the kingdome
together with the reasons that inforced his Majestie so to doe.⁵

¹ I have not identified the “Common friend” with whom Mead would have travelled north had illness not prevented him. The length of Pory’s description in this letter of the abuses committed by the French, as well as giving him the opportunity to use some of his choicest language is explained by his desire to keep Sir Martin as well as Mead well informed; see lines 91–92 below.
² Of Whitehall Palace: the “King’s side” and the “Queen’s side” were “the separate but adjoining apartments embodying the two households”; Morgan, p. 91.
³ What Pory and other English observers took for irreverence the Venetian Ambassador described on 18/28 August as French “familiarity” more preferable to the Queen; CSPV 1625–26, p. 520.
⁴ See above, p. 396 n. 4.
⁵ A text of “Lord Conways speech to the Lords and Ladies the Queenes servanta” is now PRO SP16/32/91 [folios 132r–33r]; in it he stated that “the happy conversation that ought to passe betweene...[Charles]
The Bishop stood much upon it that being in the nature of an
Ambassadour he could not, goe unless the king his Master should command
him; but he was told againe, that the king his Master had nothing
to do here in England, & that if he were unwilling to goe,
England would finde force enough to conveye him hence. The
bishop had as muche reason to daunce loth to depart,
as the king & all his well affected subjects had to sende him
packing: for he had as muche power of conferring Orders,
and dispensing with sacraments, othes &ct as the Pope could
give, and so by consequence was a most dangerous instrument
to worke the Popes endes here. The kinges message being
thus delivered by my lord Conway, his lordship accompanied with
Master Treasurer & Master Comptroller went into the Queens
lodginges, and tolde all the Frenche likewise that were
there, that his Majesties pleasure was they should all departe
thence to Somersett house, & remaine there till they
knewe farther his Majesties pleasure. The weomen howled
and lamented as if they had bene going to execution, but
all in vaine, for the yeomen of the guard by that lords
appointment thrust them and all their countreyfolkes
out of the Queenes lodgings, and locked the dores after
them. It is said also, the Queen, when she understood
the designe, grewe very impatient, & brake the glasse
windowes with her fiste; but since I heare, her rage is
appeased, & the king and shee, since they went together

and his deare wife...hath not onely bin interrupted but wholly squenched or perverted by the over--much
authority that you, or some of you have excessively used” [folio 132r].

6 See above, p. 34 n. 7.
7 Although Pory’s bias led him to suspect the intentions of Henrietta’s clergy (see also lines 60–70
below), the Venetian Ambassador in Paris reported rumours of this nature on 12/22 September; CSPV
1625–26, p. 545.
8 The “Master Treasurer” of line 30 was Sir Thomas Edmonds Treasurer of the Household (as opposed to
Lord Treasurer Marlborough); PRO SP16/33/30 [folio 49r].
to Nonsuche, have bene very jocund together.\(^9\)

The same day, the Frenche being all at Somersett house, the king (as I have heard some \(^{4}\) to \(^{6}\) affirm) went thither & made a speache to them to this purpose that he hoped the good king his brother of France would not take amisse what he had done; for the French he said (particular persons he would not taxe) had occasiond many jarres & discontents between the Queen & him, suche indeed as longer were insufferable; he prayed them therfore to pardon him, if he sought his owne ease & safety, and said moreover, that he had given order to his Treasurer to reward every one of them for their yeares service.\(^{10}\) So the next morning being Tuesday there was distributed among them eleven thousand pound in money, & about 20 thousand poundes worth of Jewells.\(^{11}\)

Of this Magnanimous acte I thinke the king hath such satis= factory reasons, as will stop the mouths of all gainsayers. One might be the extravagant power of this Frenche bishop, who when he was last in France, suing to be a Secretary of estate, fell short of that, and so tooke instructions from the Popes Nuntio which in case he could bring to effect, he was promised a Cardinalls hatt, which nowe lyes in the duste.\(^{12}\) The reste of that clergy were the most superstitious, turbulent, & Jesuited Priests that could be found in all France, very flu to make firebrands of sedition in a forren suite; so that his Majestie so long as he gave them intertainment, did but nourishe so many vypers in

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\(^9\) See above, p. 346 n. 15. Rudyerd reported that Henrietta had taken “this act exceedinge passionately, but since the retourne of hir Nurse is reasonably pacified”; ibid. [folio 49r–v]; see also CSPV 1625–26, p. 506; Gardiner, vi. 136–37.

\(^{10}\) According to the Venetian Secretary, Charles’s words on Tuesday 1 August (not as reported here) were: “I have decided to possess my wife, which was not allowed me while she was surrounded by you others. I do not mean thereby to give offence to the French nation. I pardon you the wrongs and will try and get you favourably received by your master...I have given orders for civility to be shown to those who have served my wife”; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 506–07.

\(^{11}\) See above, p. 344 n. 6.

\(^{12}\) I have not traced this incident. The Papal Nuncio in Paris was Cardinal Spada.
his bosome. Nay their insolencies towards the Queen were not to be endured; for besides that those bawdy knaves, would by way of confession interrogat her Majesty howe often in a night the king had kissed her, &ct, no longer agon then upon Saint James his day last those hippocrit=

ticall Dogges made the pore Queen to walke afoot (some adde, Barefoot) from her house at Saint James to the gallowes at Tyborne, therby to honour the Saint of the day, in visiting that holy place, where so many Martyrs (forsooth) had shed their bloud in defense of the Catholique cause. Had they not also made her to dable in the durte in a fowle morning " from Somersett house to Saint James, her Luciferian Confessour riding along by her in his coache. Yea they have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to eat her meat out of tryne dishes, to wait at the table & serve her servants, with many other ridiculous & absurd penances. And if these Rogues dare thus insulte over the daughter, sister, & wife of so great kings, what stangry would they not make us, the People, to undergo. Besides all this, letters of some of these Frenche about her Majesty are said to have

a: Remember mine humble service to Sir Martin Stotewill & his lady, and tell him I have bene somewhat the lardger for his satisfaction [written vertically by Pory in the margin, parallel to lines 82-90, 93-103 of his letter.]

13 Compare Hibbard’s statement: “the Oratorian...chaplains with whom...[Henrietta] was provided were chosen from the cream of the [French] missionary body”; ‘The Role of a Queen Consort’, p. 404.

14 Although I do not believe Gardiner’s dating of the Tyburn incident is correct (see above, p.390 n. 3), lines 70–86 suggest the “exaggeration in its passage through the mouths of men” of the activities of Henrietta’s household; vi. 136. The practices described by Pory must, however, have had some basis in fact (to English eyes at least); in their reply to a paper presented by Marshal Bassompierre in November 1626 the English Commissioners referred to the “many base and servile acts” forced on the Queen by her clergy; Memoirs, p. 137. The Queen’s confessor (line 82) was Père de Berulles: Negociation, c5r.

15 i.e. “treen”, “made of ‘tree’...wooden” (OED, “treen” A, 1).

16 Henri IV, Louis XIII and Charles I respectively.
a bene intercepted; by which it hath appeared, they have not only practised with the Pope on the one side & the English Papistes on the other side, but have had intelligence also with the Spaniard. It was intended they should presently have departed, but they are not yet gone; & Munday next is said to be the peremptory day of their departure. Meanwhile they took possession of all the Queens apparel & linen which they founde at Somersett house, as being their vales, (whether plate and Jewells also, I cannot certainly tell) but the Queen having left her but one gowne & 2 smocks to her back these Frenche freebooters were intreated by some of the lorde of the Counsell to send her Majesty some apparel & so they sent her onely one olde sattin gowne, keeping all the residue to themselfes. Her Master of the horse likewise, the Count de Scipieres layd claime to all the horses & furniture under his chardge but in vaine.

It is hoped, after they are gone, the Queen will by degrees finde the sweetnes of liberty, in being exempted from those beggerly rudiments of Popish Penance.

Twoe English priestes she hath nowe allowed her, videlicet Potter & Godfrey, some adde a third, to witt Preston, all three of them have taken the oath of Alleagance some say, of supremacy also. Twoe of the Queens Weomen-servants doe stay with her, namely her Nurse and one Madame Vanteclet that hath used to dresse her: besides there be some douzen others of the inferiour

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17 PRO SP16/32/92 [folio 134r-v] listed the sending of "lettres...[and] advises with strangers" as one of the offences committed by the French [folio 134r]. On 2 August Sir John Hippesley reported the arrest at Dover of Cruttey (servant to the Bishop of Mende) and Barnville (servant to the Postmaster of Calais) who were attempting to carry letters to France: SP16/33/20 [folio 33r]; see also SP16/33/20 (I) [folio 34r-v] and CSPV 1625-26, p. 514.

18 In the sense of "immediately" (OED, "presently", adv., 3).

19 I have not traced the incidents mentioned in lines 99-109.

20 For the priests allowed to remain with the Queen see above, p. 314 n. 8. I have not found any reference to their taking the oaths mentioned.
sorte, as bakers, Cooks, &ct retained here. But the 4 English ladies sworn of her bedchamber, are The Duchesse of Buckingham, the Marques Hamilton, and the Countesses of Carlile, & Denbigh, against whom at their first being appointed, the French shut the dores, as presaging what would befall them, whereas nowe ours have cryed quittance with them. And upon this occasion the Count de Tillieres her lord Chamberlain, rode post on Thursday was sevenight into France, but some say, he was stopt at Dover, till suche time, as a messenger went from his Majesty to carry the Frenche king word of the deed done, & the reasons thereof. Nowe it is thought that my lord Carleton who went for France on Munday was sevenight, wente to give the first advertisment thereof, although it were given out, he wente to treat of a peace with Gondomar. Yesterday my lord of Pembrook was sworn lord Steward of the household and his brother the Erie of Montgomeri, lord Chamberlain in his brothers stead. My lord of Pembrook, in case he have no heyer of his owne body is nowe presently to assure my lord of Montgomery his sonne £4000 a year lande and when the marriage between him & the Dukes daughter come to be accomplished, to make it up

21 Sir Benjamin Rudyerd wrote on 3 August that on the night of Tuesday the 1st "the queen obtayned of his Majestie that Vanelet one of hir dressers, hir Tayler, and Cooke might slaye. And this daye hir Nurse after much entreatie hath leave to retorne, and remayne with hir"; PRO SP16/33/30 (folio 49r); see also CSPV 1625-26, pp. 515, 517.

22 "Ours" (line 124) referred to the English ladies added to the Queen’s household; see above, p. 360 n. 5; p. 313 n. 4; p. 313 lines 14–19.

23 For Tillières’s journey to France, see above, p. 313 n. 2. Pory’s report probably confused Tillières “arrest” with that of a courier from the Bishop of Mende, for which see n. 17 above. The Venetian Ambassador reported that Mende was “well aware that this device was arranged to give Carleton time to make his statement before the arrival in France of the remonstrances of the malcontents here”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 514, and see ibid., p. 497. In spite of these precautions Tillières reached the French Court before Carleton did; see above, p. 313 n. 2.

24 See above, p. 385 n. 5; p. 313 n. 2.
10 thousand pounds a yeare. The Duke to give his
daughter 10 thousand pounds at the perfecting of the
marriage, & 10 thousand pounds more, within a yeare after. 

The Duchesse of Tremouille is come over out of Holland
with her daughter, who is lately married to my lord
Strange, & hath brought him downe upon the naile a
portion of £24000 he making her but £1200 a year
Jointure. Sir Thomas Edmonds Treasurer of the housholde
is married to the Lady Zouche, who is mother to
the Erle of Huntingdon. The confi[den]t report that
affirmed about the Downe my lord of Essex his death
is prooved but a fable. Thus being driven into straites
both of time & paper, I must of force take my leave, & rest

London this Saturday morning, being the 5th of [August] 1626. Your faithful! servant John Pory.

Textual Notes: line 1, 5 [August] 1626] 5 July 1626 MS.
line 2, pleased] pleaseed MS.
line 103, left her] lefter her MS.
line 125, dorcs against them, as presaging MS.

25 Whatever the hitch had been in the marriage negotiations, if one had existed at all (see above, p. 315 lines 45-52) it had evidently been resolved. Pory's details were not wholly correct; although Buckingham agreed to pay a dowry of £20,000 the first half was not to be paid until his daughter Mary was fourteen which would not be until 1636; Lockyer, p. 333; GEC, x. 419–20. For more details of the marriage settlement see Russell, Parliaments, pp. 326–27; PRO SP16/33/30 [folio 49v]; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 512, 515.

26 James Stanley, eldest son of the Earl of Derby (incorrectly styled Lord Strange; see above, p. 162 n. 6) had married Charlotte, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille on 26 June 1626. Charlotte Duchess of Tremouille was the daughter of William, Prince of Orange; GEC, iv. 214. While in England the Duchess attempted to get a place in the Queen's household for her daughter; CSPV 1625–26, p. 520.

27 This report was somewhat premature: Sarah, widow of Francis Hastings (father of Henry, 5th Earl of Huntingdon) married Sir Thomas Edmonds Treasurer of the Household on 11 September 1626; GEC, vi. 657–58.

28 I have not traced this "fable" but, like a similar one heard by Mead earlier in the year (see above, p. 137 n. 3) it evidently involved some accident said to have befallen the Earl of Essex. "Downe" in line 150 may refer to the "Downs" off the coast of Kent, the supposed scene of the Earl's death; or did Pory miswrite "Towne" [ = London]?
lines 147–51, The Duchesse...rest] In writing his newsletters Pory often continued in the left-hand margin of the last page, as here. I have, therefore, numbered each line. line 152, 5th of [August] 5th of July MS.
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[Bifolium; now included among the correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes in H383. A holograph letter by John Pory (apart from Mead's marginal notes on lines 67, 97-98; see the Textual Notes to lines 47-50). This letter sent to Charles Chauncey at Cambridge and forwarded to Mead at Dalham by the Bury Carrier. Folio 38v blank; subscription on 38v (see Textual Note below).]

11 August 1626

Sir, Although I be muche dishartned to write unto you this week, not having had so much as an intimation from you of the letter I sente you by Master Chancey of Trinity Colledge on Saturday last;\(^1\) yet since you are pleased to esteem of any trifle from me, neither will I nowe be wanting to your appetite.

On Munday last was the Peremptory day for the departure of the Frenche, what time the kinges officers attending them with Coaches, Cartes, & bardges they contumaciously refused to goe, saying they would not departe, untill they had order from their king; and above all, the Bishop stood upon his puntillos. This newes being sente in post to the king, on Tuesday morning his Majestic dispatched away to London the Caplaine of the guard auended with a competent number of his yeomen, as likewise with Heraults, Messengers, and Trump\(^e\)ters, first to proclaime his Majesties pleasure at Somerset house gate; which if it were not speedily obeyed, the yeomen of the guard were to putt it in execution, by turning all the Frenche out of Somersett house by head & shoulders, & shutting the gate \(^a\) after \(^a\) them.\(^2\) Which newes so soon as

\(^1\) Charles Chauncey, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge 1624–27 (and later President of Harvard College) was evidently sufficiently trusted by both Mead and Pory to forward correspondence between the two; Venn, i. 319; DNB, iv. 169–70.

\(^2\) The Venetian Ambassador reported on 11/21 August that even after the matter of payment had been settled, "the French said they would not depart unless expressly commanded, so as to justify themselves to their sovereign on the score of violence. Thereupon, after several consultations the Council decided that...Secretary Conway with some other members of the Council should read an order enjoining the
the Frenche heard, their courage came downe, 25
and they yielded to be gone the next tyde.
The time being come, my lord Conway, Master Treasurer, 30
and Master Comptroller went to see them performe
their promise, and brought the Bishop out of the gate
to the boot of his coach, wher he making a
stand, tolde them, he had one favour more to crave
at their handes, namely, that they would permitte
him to stay till the midnight-tide; to the ende he
might go away private & coole, which was not denied him.3
So on Tuesday night they lay at Graves End,
(folio 37v)
on Wedensday night at Rochester, yestermight at
Canterbury, & to night they are to lodge at Dover,
from whence God send them a faire winde.
My lorde Carleton just a weeke before they were
cast out of Whitehall, videlicet on Munday was fortnight
was sent expressely to the Frenche king to signifie
the full performance therof, which was determined
to be brought to passe before suche time as he could
have his audience with the Frenche king,4 & when
the thing was done, Monsieur de Vicque wente to relate
the certainty therof.5

For all the kinges Royall bounty amongst
them, mentioned in my former, they patroniz{ed)
immediate departure of the French from Denmark House, the city of London and the kingdom, force being employed in case of refusal, for which purpose the secretary took the guards with him”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 514; see also PRO SP16/33/78 [folio 115r]; Gardiner, vi. 137. Pory’s use of “puntilios” [ = punctilios] in line 13 is OED’s second recorded use of the word in this sense (5a: “A minute detail of action or conduct...a small or petty formality...A fine-drawn or fastidious objection, a scruple")

3 I have not traced this concession to the Bishop of Mende.

4 For Carleton's journey see above, p. 385 n. 5; p. 393 n. 2.

5 For the journey of Henry de Vic to inform Carleton of the expulsion of the Queen's household see CSPV 1625–26, p. 507. De Vic was later paid £100 for his services; CSPD 1625–26, p. 574.
a upon the Queen debts, to the value of above (£10000) which the Queen at first tooke upon her to owe; (but) after being asked more earnestly by the king, (she) confessed freely, those debts were but Counterfakt.6 Of the Frenche sixe persons onely remaine about her, videlicet her Nurse, Madame Vantelet, that dresseth her, A Cook, a Baker, a Pantler & Taylour.7

By the treaty she was to have but 3 skore servants which were noe augmented to 440.8

She hath also a Frenche priest left, but the sillest of them all, as also Philips a Scottish Priest, with Potter and Godfrey (Antagonistes to the Popes Supremacy here) English priestes.9

To the 4 protestant ladies of the Bedchamber are added 2 or 3 Popishe ones, namely the Countesses of Buckingham & Rutland, & (some saye) my lady Savage.10

The Duchesse of Tremouille being defrayed here by the king, was appointed to have lyen at Saint James, a: £19000.

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6 Although I have not traced this incident, PRO SP16/33/55 [folio 81r] is the petition of the Bishop of Mende and others to Charles requesting payment of their wages and debts incurred on Henrietta's behalf. Pory's use of "patronized" in line 47 is OED's first recorded use of sense 2 of the verb: "To lay the responsibility for (a thing) upon some one; to make or declare a person responsible for; to father upon any one".

7 See above, p. 403 n. 21. The word "pantler", originally meaning a baker, was by the 17th century "usually applied to the officer of a household who supplied the bread and had charge of the pantry" (OED, "pantler").

8 A list of Henrietta's household drawn up around April 1625, PRO SP16/3/113 [folio 175r-v] lists over ninety persons, with the proviso that "Cet estat n'a eate fait que comme pour une princesse de Gales, maintenent qu'elle est Roine, son Train augmentera, de plusieurs officiers" [folio 175v]. This suggests that Pory's comment about the growth of the Queen's household above the terms of the marriage treaty may have been correct.

9 For the priestes allowed to remain as part of Henrietta's household see above, p. 344 n. 8.

10 For the admission of the the Duke's mother Mary, Countess of Buckingham to Henrietta's household see CSPV 1625-26, p. 515; for the "protestant ladies" see above, p. 340 n. 5; p. 341 n. 4.
had not the house keeper sent the king word, the French had so defiled that house, as a weeks worke would not make it cleane.11

Every week they say our fleet is going out the next; but I thinke it wilbe mid-September ere it be gone, if then. My lord Willoughby goes Admiral, Denbigh Viceadmiral, & Pennington Rereadmiral.12 The plague is gott into some 2 or 3 of their ships, as it was the former yeare at Plymouth.13 The Holanders being 20 Saile ly ready about the Forland, which added to the Englishe, do make 51 Saile.14

This City hath yielded to sett out 12 ships, but are urged for 20.15

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11 See above, p. 404 n. 26. Although I have not traced this incident it was reported that Tremouille received "many honours in England, such as board and lodging at the king's cost"; CSPV 1625-26, p. 520. The Duchess's diet was set at £30 a day on 5 September, backdated to 11 August; PRO SP16/35/25 [folio 35r].

12 On 7 August Captain Richard Giffard wrote to Edward Nicholas the Navy Secretary that the fleet was nearly 1,000 men short due to desertions and that he saw "no possibiltye for...[it] to goe to Sea in any short tyrne" PRO SP 16/33/53 [folio 79r]. Contarini had earlier reported that the fleet had "orders to be ready by the 12th...but without some money for the captains, they will find it hard to carry this into effect"; CSPV 1625-26, p. 509. Both men (and Pory) were right; the fleet did not sail until October.

13 For these appointments see above, p. 359 n. 7; p. 344 n. 8; p. 381 n. 8.

14 A letter of 28 July had reported that "Plimouth is verye much infected with the plage"; PRO SP16/32/59 [folio 78r]; also see above, p. 316 n. 14.

15 The Dutch had been expected to send reinforcements to the English fleet for some weeks; see above, p. 359 n. 7, and CSPV 1625-26, pp. 504, 515. They did not in the end do so.

16 This is the first reference in Mead's correspondence to the saga of the "twenty ships", which dragged on for months. The Privy Council ordered the City of London to provide and furnish twenty ships at its own expense as part of a national exercise in naval defence, which led to conflict between both the City and the Privy Council and between the City and its own ratepayers; M. C. Wren, 'London and the Twenty Ships, 1626-7', American Historical Review 55 (1950), 321–35. In reply to the government's request, made on 4 August, the Common Council of London had agreed to furnish ten ships and two pinnaces as reported here which was not, however, accepted by the Privy Council; ibid., pp. 323–24 (Wren, following the C. and T. text, misquotes lines 80–81 on p. 324 n. 18); see also PRO SP16/33/78 [folios 115r, 115v, 116r].
The king and the king of Denmarke have contracted with the Hamburghers for all the (Navall) & warlike provisions which they were sending for Spaine, had they not bene blockt up by the king of Denmarke, being the lading of 35 ships wherein (among other) are about 130000 barrells of poulder, enough for the conquest of a kingdome.16

My service I pray you remember to that right worthy knight & lady where you are. Whom with your selfe I recommend to the divine protection, & rest

London, Friday Your affectionat servant
August 11th. 1626.

John Pory

b: patronized
c: (ab)ove £10,000

Textual Notes: line 23] gate ^ after ^ against them MS.
lines 29–30, making a stand] making a stand MS.
line 34, Graves End] Graves Ennd MS; altered from “Grayes Inne”.
lines 47–50] in opening the letter Mead tore away part of Pory’s text. He rectified his mistake by adding note a on H383, folio 37v and notes b–c on 38r (lines 67, 97–98 in the edited text), together with a siglum over “above” on line 48 to direct Stuteville to note c.
line 62, Countesses ] Countess’s ^ MS.
lines 83–84] Mead also tore away some text at the end of these lines, adding the lost words, “Navall” and “sending” above the lacune.
line 86, lading ^ of ^ 35] interlined by Mead, not Pory.

16 Reports had reached London since May that a fleet was preparing to carry munitions from the Elbe estuary to Spain, in defiance of the blockade on such goods by both the Dutch and English: PRO SP16/26/86 [folio 186r]; SP16/26/87 [folios 188r–89r]; SP16/27/68 [folio 97r], SP16/33/79 [folios 117r, 118r], 85 [folios 125r, 126r]. I have not identified the contract between Charles and Christian.
Pory addressed this letter "To my worthily esteemed friend Master Joseph Mead fellowe of Christes colledge in Cambridge". Underneath Mead added the date, "August 11".
London August 11. 1626

Since my last you shall understand that Munday last were attending at Summerset-house 30 coaches & 50 carts to have after dinner carried the French & their goods away, supper being provided for them at Rochester, but soe they would not depart till they were disingaged of moneys they stood ingaged for the queene: 1 As one bill of £4000 for necessaries of the queenes: A second was the Apothecaries bill of £800 for druggs; & the third of the Bishops but of £1500 for his unholy water. 2 Yet on Teusday after dinner most of them went away; Its sayd some few stay with the queene; but the Bishop standing upon his com-mission still of Ambassadour, its sayd will not depart, till the French King hath recalled him. 3 Its certaine as they most shamefully tyrannized of the yong queenes body & mind, so they very grossely wronged his Majestic: but the manner how of both, I would rather you shou(l)d heare by others report then by my relation. 4 Yet thus much; at their departure they dealt, it seemes, noe better but as is sayd left not the queene any thing in apparell jewells &c but what shee had on hir: for which some

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1 See above, pp. 406-07, lines 8-37 and note.
2 The departing French servants had already petitioned Charles for the payment of their wages and debts; PRO SP16/33/55 [folio 81r]. The Queen's Apothecary was Pierre Plancy; SP16/3/112 [folio 173r].
3 See above, p. 74 n. 7; p. 69 n. 6.
4 The author of PRO SP16/32/92 (for which see above, p. 194 n. 9) asked, after he had listed a number of complaints against the French, "let any man judge whither these people neyther of birth, education, worth, honestie, honneur, pietie nor religion are fitt to be domestique servants to yonge princes in their secret cabinets charges and affairs?" [folio 134v]. See also above, p. 402 n. 17.
trunks are stay'd. Ther are sayd to be 4 English Papists attend hir; The Earle of Rutland hir Lord Cham–berlaine: Sir Thomas Savadg hir Chancellour: The old Countess of Buckingham & the Lady Savadg of hir bedchamber. Its sayd most yf not all of the Parlament men that were Justices & against the Duke are put out of Commission. Its sayd now that the Earle of Pembrook his Lord s(ship) is belike to be Marquess of Glamorgan: And his Broth(er) the Earle of Montgomery is Lord Chamberlain. On Monday came his Majesties lettres to this citty for their present furnishing of 20 warlik shipps; whereupon(a) a common Councel was called that aftermoone: whose resolution was; that forsomuch as in [15]88 when they were better able they set out but 10 & for that the seas(on) is now unfisting to brew beere, & kill meat, and that most profitt goeth to the Lord Admirall; yf they may joyne with other port-townes; have a seasonable time to provide their victualls & have toward their charges what they gett (except to pay the King his Customs) they would furnish 20 shipps: Hobeit afterward they yielded for 10 shipps & one pinnace, which on Wenesday Evening they notified to the Lords; but that not being accepted of they had yesterday new message, & held a common Councel in th(e)

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6 Although there were persistent rumours that Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland, would serve in the Queen's household he did not do so. Sir Thomas Savage was, however, later appointed as Chancellor of Henrietta's household; PRO SP16/33/30 [folio 49v]; Hibbard, ‘The Role of a Queen Consort’, pp. 405, 406 n. 37. For the ladies mentioned here see above, p. 401 n. 10 and references cited.
7 This step had been decided over a month before and reported by ?Pory on 7 July; see above, p. 379 n. 10.
8 The report of Pembroke's elevation to a Marquessate was false, although his brother's appointment was by 11 August relatively old news; see above, p. 395 n. 4.
9 The Privy Council's initial request had been made on Friday 4 August; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 158–59; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 322. The City London had already been asked to provide half the cost of fitting out ten ships in January 1625/26; ibid., pp. 321–22.
10 This is a condensed account of the City's conditional refusal on Monday 7 August to provide the ships requested; the full reply is given in ibid., p. 323. Wren points out that the Common Council was wrong in asserting the City had only fitted out 10 ships in 1588. It had provided 20; ibid., p. 323 n. 11.
afternoone; but I not having bee since abroad hear not
what was of new demanded or of what thei resolved on.  

The newes hath held these 7 dayes, & yet doth, that
the revolted husbandmen of Over-Ens have slaine 8000
of the Duke of Bavaria & Archbishop of Salzburg that
came against them, taken about 10000 of them prisoners, disor-
dered & scatterd the rest: Which seems the likelyer
for that Antwerp post, who was there and came this day
sevennight in the morning tells mee the Antwerpians lookd
sadly, hanged downe their heads, and in generall termes sayd
In Austria it went not well for them.  
Count Mansfield
is sayd to be entred yt not passed Silesia marching
towards Bohemia & to the boores, & that Bethlehem also
is marching towards him.  

The States are now sayd to be in besiegd 2 places
at once Groll & Lingen: The Antwerp post likewise
sayth, that Marquess Spinola goeth noe more into the
field, but come from Dunkirk was at Brussels giving
Counsail: And that Count Henry Vanderberg commands
the Spanish army.  

The Prince of Orengh hath lent unto the States
for the present furthering of their warrs £180000 Sterling.

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11 After the Privy Council's refusal to accept the proffered twelve ships the Common Council added the Recorder of London, Sir Heneage Finch, to their delegation and made the same offer again which drew a stinging rebuke from Secretary Sir John Coke; ibid., pp. 323–24.

12 Newsletters from Augsburg had provided continuing reports of the success of the Austrian rebels in their siege of Linz, although the details reported in lines 47–55 were (as so often) exaggerated; PRO SP101/29, letters of 7/17 June, 21 June/1 July, 3/15 July; see also Wedgwood, p. 215.

13 For reports of Mansfeld's movements see above, p. 324 n. 13; p. 336 n. 17. Reports of an uprising in Bohemia reached London in July and August 1626 but Mansfeld did not march there; see above, p. 343 n. 1.

14 Although a newsletter from Augsburg of 26 July/5 August had reported the siege of Grol by the States' army the rumour was false: after the capture of Oldenzaal Prince Frederick's army did not attempt any further sieges in the campaign of 1626; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v; Israel, pp. 168–70.

15 A newsletter from Brussels of 2/12 July had stated that "Marques Spinola doth not intend to goe unto the feild this yeare, because he wants money and credit"; PRO SP101/2/folio 1v. For the Netherlands campaign of 1626 see Israel, pp. 168–70; Reade, ii. 601–04.

16 I have not traced Frederick's gift.
Its now againe sayd, the King of Sweden hath taken Elbing in Prussia and is come before Dantzik. 17

I have lettres from Master Barnes parson of Grayes beyond Hondly, that the Papists about them feasted jollyly, when their neighbours were at the fast. 18

Yesterday were the English French merchants sent for to the Lords, and inhibited to trade into France especially, I suppose, lest our shippes shoulde be there stayed, as it is sayd this week[s] Antwerp post, & other passengers are stayed at Calis, & not suffered to come over hither. 19 and indeed I feared, when I heard the Queene-mother laboured a treaty for peace between us and Spaine, that France & Spaine might both combine against us. 20 God of his mercy discover & disappoint all evill designes.

Cambridg August 13.

This morning, Saint Maryes bell ringing to sermon, God shewed his judgement on a drover, or one in their company (some say a Scottish Knights son) who following some beasts into the mill-pitt on horseback fell into the mill—damm, yet kept his saddle: being wisht by some to give his horse the head, did soe; but his bridle falling caught one of his horse feet & hindred him from swimming: see that man and horse were drowned. 21

17 For Gustavus’s campaign in Polish Prussia see above, p. 795 n. 10.

18 The national fast had taken place on Wednesday 2 August; see above, p. 798 n. 10. Robert Barnes was Rector of Rotherfield Greys (approximately two miles west of “Hondly” [Henley-on-Thames]); Foster, p. 75.

19 I have not found any reference to this prohibition, although the merchants trading to France had appeared before the Privy Council on Tuesday 8 August and had been ordered to use English vessels to carry their goods, which may have led to this report; APC Jan.–Dec. 1626, p. 169 (see also ibid., p. 184; PRO SP16/33/78 [folio 115r]). Writing to Secretary Conway on 13 August, Captain George Alleyne reported that the English in Calais had all been arrested; SP16/33/99 [folio 142r].

20 For rumours of Marie de Medici’s role in peace negotiations involving England and Spain see above, p. 310 n. 1.

21 I have not traced this incident.
Benet-Colleg business shall be determined on
Tuesday next. Its sayd, yf the Election be
found faulty, & proved nulle, that there is a mandate
for a third man: Doctor Weamss is named. 22
Master Sterne is come home, who left Master Chappell well
near York. 23

What you heard of £20,000–worth of jewells
to be given to the French, I heard questioned
by some who belong to the Kings jeweller,
& heare of noe such matter. 24

Wee are all heer in health, God be praysd.
Doctor Chadderton (whose lettres came to him late last night
& to mee this morning at 8) desires to be remembr(ed)
to you kindly, as also Doctor Meddus in his lettres. God keep you.

Yours Robert Gell.

Amor Oxleye.

Textual Notes: line 55, Count] Counted MS.
line 94, Weamss] altered from “Weamos”.
line 97, 20,000] 200,00 MS.
H390, folio 109v] Gell addressed this letter “To my worthy friend Master Mead
at the right Worshipfull Sir Martin Stutevile his house in Dalham” and below,

22 The Master of “Benet” [Corpus Christi] College, Samuel Walsall, had died on 31 July. The reference on
line 94 to the “third man” indicates the controversy over the choice of Walsall’s successor. John Munday
and Henry Butts both had their supporters, and the latter was eventually elected as Master; Morgan, pp. 32–
33, 493. The rumour of the third candidate proved false: the man in question was probably Lodovicus
Wemes, a Fellow of Queens’ College Cambridge; ibid., p. 33 n. 231. Gell’s use of “mandate” (line 93)
probably meant a “letter mandatory” which “compulsorily requir[ed] the election of a particular individual”;
for a description of the different types of letters missive used in University elections in the early Stuart
period and a discussion of their increasing use see ibid., pp. 419–28 (quotation from pp. 427–28) and chs.
VII–VIII.

23 I have not identified “Master Sterne” with certainty. He was perhaps the Nathaniel Sterne who graduated
at Christ’s (B. A. 1609/10, M. A. 1613) and was Rector of Bradfield Combust, Suffolk (about ten miles
south–east of Dalham); Peile, i. 258.

24 Gell was in error; see above, p. 376 n. 6; p. 400 lines 55–57 and below, pp. 400–41. The “Kings jeweller” was
Sir Henry Mildmay, Master of the Jewel House; DN8, xiii. 372–74.
“Deliver this at Master James Fysons at Kenningford at the chaine to be sent as above sayd with speed”. The additional direction indicates that the letter was given to the Bury Carrier to be left at Kentford; see the Introduction, pp. Below the subscription Mead added “August 11”, the date of the original London newsletter.
[Bifolium. A holograph letter by John Pory (although he forgot to sign it; see Textual Note to line 119). \*Sent to Mead at Dalham by the Bury Carrier. Pory dated this letter Friday 17 August in error and the annotator followed suit at the top of each page. Folio 114r blank.]

1[8] August 1626

Sir, Yours from Dalham by the carrier of Bury I received much to my contente; yet in this you are not to expect muche, because my other busines have beaten me off almost to the last minute.

This citty have at last in their common Counsell yielded to sett out 20 ships.\(^1\) The day following they made 4 requestes to the lordes; 1. That they might have the appointing of their owne Commanders which was absolutely denyed them: 2. That they might have poulder at the kinges price. To have at the first price they were refused, but admited for the second price. 3. A commission to prese mariners was graunted them. 4. But not that all dwellers here at London besides citizens should also contribute to this fleet.\(^2\) Great shew is made that the kinges fleet will presently sett saile. But wise men doe

\(^1\) This had finally been agreed at a meeting of the City’s Common Council on Monday 14 August; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 324.

\(^2\) The City had made five requestes, not four as stated here (the fifth, granted by the Privy Council, was that the City’s ships could have letters of marque to capture prizes at sea if they still had any provisions left after the allotted time of three months in the royal service had expired). Pory was also in error on lines 14-16: “In the assessment for this service, all the inhabitants of the City and Liberties…should be contributory, according to their estates within the City and Liberties only”; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 191; Overall (ed.), Remembrancia, pp. 246-47 (quotation from p. 247; the document is misdated 1624); Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 325. Lines 10-13 referred to purveyance, the “traditional right of the crown to take provisions for the royal household at below market cost” which was known as the “king’s price”; Sharpe, P. R., p. 109. The City was allowed to buy any of the royal stock of gunpowder (at the “King’s price” of 81/2d. per pound) not required by the Crown, and any further supplies at 10d. per pound; APC Jun.–Aug. 1626, p. 191.
yet doubt, whether they goe this yeare or no?
and doe wish rather they should not go at all, then
make another winter voyaige. At Dunkerke Spino-
la had built a huge gally that carried 8 pieces in
her prow, which having stolen out one night, took a
prize & brought it into Newport, where the cheife
officers being gone a shore to refreshe themselves,
the slaves layd hold on the rest & threw them over
bord, and then besook them lustily to their oares,
The fort in vaine shott at them, twoe ships were
sent out after them; but they gott under the favour
of the Hollanders riding before Dunkerk, ere those
twoe ships could fetche them up. So noe they are
at Flushing, and have the pillage & price of the
gally distributed amongst them. One of our
East Indy-companies ships was lately burnt by
the Portuailles in the Gulph of Persia, who doe
now strictly besiege Ormuz, and are said to be
stronger at sea then ever they were since we
began to trade there. The Queens household is now
setled; Queen Annes old servants that had pensions
being all intcitained. My lord of Rutland refuseth
to be her lord Chamberlain. Sir George Goring is

3 For the delay in the preparation of the fleet see above, p. 409. Lines 19–20 refer to the Cadiz fleet,
which had not sailed until October 1625; the lateness of the expedition contributed to its failure.

This incident (unusually for a newbook, from an English source at Dover) was reported at length in a
letter dated 20 August in STC 18507.181, The continuation...August 24, B4r-v. “Under the favour” (line
28) means “Aid, support, furtherance” (OED, “favour”, sb., 5); “riding” (line 29) is “[t]he fact of lying at
anchor...anchorage” (ibid., “riding”, vbl. sb., 3).

The East India Company had been engaged for over a decade in intermittent warfare with the Portuguese in
the Indian Ocean, and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf had been captured in 1622 by a joint English and Persian
force (which led to considerable repercussions at home); K. R. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement:
11. Rumours of the siege of Ormuz had reached Paris as long before as December 1625; M. F., xi. 1083,
1179.

6 For this see PRO SP16/33/50 (folio 49v); HMC Shrine, p. 85, and the Earl of Holland to the Earl of
Salisbury on 6 August quoted in Hibbard, ‘The Role of a Queen Consort’, p. 400 n. 22.
her Vicechamberlain. My lord Percy Master of her horse.
My lord of Holland her Steward. The erle of Totnes
alias lord Carew her Receiver. Sir Thomas Savage her Chancelour. She hath
some 20 Frenche about her, whereof 12 are
Musitians. The Countesse of Buckingham is also got
into the Bedchamber. I have spoken with the man
(one of my lord Conwayes secretaries) who on
Saturday laste sawe all the Frenche imbariked
at Dover and the same evening saw the ships
that transported them all come to an anchor upon
the English shore. They were very
sullen & dogged at their first setting out from
hence, but their kinde intertainment by the way
made them more tame, by that time they came
at Dover. A fellowe there threwe a stone at
Madam Saint George, as she was nearly entred the
boat, wherupon an English knight that sate
next her, stept on shore, and gave the fellow
a wound which cost him his life.*
The Bishop
being come to Rochester mett there with his commission
from the French king to ordaine him Ambassador
notice wherof hee presently sent his Majesty but the
king utterly rejected him, saying he had done
him so many wronges, as he should never

7 For Rutland and Savage see above, p. 413 n. 6; for Goring and Percy, PRO SP16/33/30 (folio 49v) and
Hibbard, ‘The Role of a Queen Consort’, p. 406 n. 37. Holland’s inclusion in this list was probably in
eerror as I have found no reference to his being part of the Queen’s household at this time.
8 See above, p. 406 n. 21; a list of Henrietta’s musicians drawn up in 1625 (presumably the same who were
allowed to stay with her) is now PRO SP16/3/112 (folio 173v).
9 See above, p. 406 n. 10.
10 I have not identified Pory’s informant.
11 The dispersal of £500 among “the meaner sort at Dover” must have improved the temper of the departing
French; see below, p. 431 line 37.
12 I have not traced this incident. Jeanne de Harlay, Madam de St Georges, had formerly been governess to
Henrietta and subsequently her Lady-in-Waiting; Gardiner, v. 334; PRO SP16/3/113 (folio 175v).
see his face more. What success my lord Carleton (that carried the message of this proceeding to the French king) hath had is not yet known, Monsieur de Tillières the Queen's late Chamberlain having got the start of him, and a currier also that expressly carried the news. Here is a muttering that the earl of Bristol's son should marry into the kindred of the Duke. The great assembly in Scotland lately gathered together at Edinburgh were dissolved by commission from his Majesty carried theer by the Earl of Anandell, & the same Assembly adjourned till the month of November. Here is much talk of raising both silver & gold Coine in the pound, that the king may make gaine thereof. There are now some 200 mariners & sailours come up from Portsmouth for their wages, some 20 whereof I sawe this day, take the Dukes Coachhorses by the

13 On 18/28 August Contarini reported that while the Bishop was at Rochester he had received a commission as Ambassador from Louis, but that Charles had refused to accept it; the new credentials was presumably part of the "pacquet" delivered to Mende on Thursday 10 August; CSPV 1625–26, p. 520; PRO SP16/33/67 [folio 97r].

14 Sir Henry Vane (after talking to the courier that delivered the "pacquet" to Mende cited in the above note) reported the general opinion among the departing French that both Tillières and the Bishop's courier would reach Louis at Nantes before Carleton did; PRO SP16/33/67 [folio 97r]; see also above, p. 393 n. 2. Mende's courier had been stopped at Dover but presumably allowed to continue his journey; see above, p. 492 n. 17.

15 This rumour proved false, as the Earl's son George Digby eventually married Anne, second daughter of the 4th Earl of Bedford; GEC, ii. 321.

16 For reports of a proposed Scottish Convention of Estates in the summer of 1626 see CSPV 1625–26, pp. 499–500, 522, 577 and above, p. 392 n. 12; although the editor of the RPCS did not believe that such an assembly was ever planned; i. 353 n. 1. John Murray had been created Earl of Annandale on 13 March 1624/25; GEC, i. 165.

17 A project to debase the coinage had first been been suggested in March 1624/25 and was discussed in detail throughout August 1626, only being rejected by the Privy Council in early September after consultations with, among others, Sir Robert Cotton; W. A. Shaw, Select tracts and documents illustrative of English monetary history (1896), pp. 3–38.
head & stay his coache, who therupon gave them faire wordes, & promised that at twoe of the clock he would give them an answere that should contente them: but when twoe of the clock came he beguiled them in coming by water, & made them more eager to speak with him then before. On Wedensday last there was a certaine knight that asked the Duke, when the fleet should sett saile? The Duke answered, within ten dayes. Knight. So it hath bene said these 6 moneths, that the fleet should sett saile within 14 dayes, and therfore I cannot beleev it wilbe gone within ten dayes. Duke. If it be not gone within ten dayes, I will give you ten of my teeth. Knight. One of your horses (my lord) would do me more good then ten of your teeth. I will lay money against one of your horses, the fleet will not be gone by then. Duke. I will lay no wagers. Knight. I will tell your lordship a reason why the fleet cannot be gone so soon. Your victuals are naught, your beere stinkes, and those that should go, take exception at both. Duke. Tis true, there are bad victuals and bad beere, but better is provided to putt in the place. &ct. In fíne this knight tolde somebody in my hearing, he did not bcleeve the fleet would go from the coast of England this yeare. O témpora. O mores.

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18 I have not traced this incident, although Pory’s understated humour in lines 87–90 suggests the sailors’ growing anger with Buckingham over the arrears in their pay which spilled over into violence in the coming months.

19 A certificate dated 24 July “from certayne Commissioners appoynte[d] to survey the victualls at Portesmouth” recorded that nearly all the beer examined was found to be “stinccking” or “sower”; PRO SP16/33/110 [folio 156r].

20 Although the unnamed knight was closer to the truth than Buckingham the fleet did eventually sail in October; Lockyer, p. 344.

21 “What times! What manners!” (from Cicero’s In Catilinam).
offending your sight I will sowe no more patches
upon this beggers cloke, but will cutt the thred of
this motley discourse. My service most re=
spectively lett be remembred to the knight and
the lady, whom together with your selfe I recom=
mende to the favour of the most high, & rest

London this Fryday night August 1[8]. 1626. [John Pory]

Textual Notes: lines 50–51, upon the English shore] upon upon the English shore MS.
line 55, at] that MS.
line 119, John Pory] His signature is missing in H390.
ibid.] August 1[8]] August 17 MS.
London August 18 1626

Wee doe not yet certainly understand how in France our dismission of the French is taken. But 'tis muttered as if very ill: 'tis said that King, was in Britany when the Lord Carleton came to Paris, & that the King haith sent for him thither. The Queene is sayde nowe well to digest their dismission, on whom now many of the late Queene Annes officers and servants doe attend. And 'tis saide the Earle of Rutland craves to be excused of his not accepting to bee her Lord Chamberlaine.

This City must, and now doth, (for the avoyding of a further inconvenience) provide & furnish 16 great ships, & 4 Pinnaces. Yea many water men, & Chirurgions, and others are pressed. And yesterdaye all such proclaimed by stroke of drum to be on paine of death sene on Saterday at Chatham, and others on Mundaye at Ports-mouth.

Here, and through out the Land, is proclamation for the sayle of Crowner Lands, as of Coppie-holdes and free-manners

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1 For Carleton’s account of his first audience with Louie XIII at Nantes see PRO SP78/79/folios 213r–16r, 217r–20r. See also CSPV 1625–26, pp. 526, 531; Gardiner, vi. 137–38. In a letter of 22 August/1 September Carleton complained about his treatment by the French; SP78/80/folio 18r.

2 See above, p. 400 n. 9. The newly-arrived Venetian Ambassador Contarini, however, thought Henrietta still looked downcast at his first audience with Charles on 20/30 August; CSPV 1625–26, p. 525.

3 For the reemployment of Queen Anne’s servants see above, p. 419 n. 5.

4 See above, p. 413 n. 6.

5 Another report of the City’s decision of 14 August to furnish the ships requested; see above, p. 419 n. 1.

6 Measures to provide enough surgeons for the coming expedition led to the “humble petición of the Chirurgeons now Prest into his Majesties Fleete”, PRO SP16/33/81 [folio 121r]. I have not traced the incident mentioned in lines 11–13.
to make them Freeholds.7

It holds that the King of Sweden prevailes greatly in Prussia, haith taken in very many peeces, & as is written, brought the strong and rich City of Dantzig under his protection, & thereby purchased to himself no small benefit and perhaps better Security, though many thousand Polonian Horse were come downe as far as Thome against him.8 But if our relations from Germanie be true, they are doubtlesse ethe time recalled for defence of Poland it self. Seing it is written Gabriel Bethlem is fallen in there above, with 30000 of his owne men, ayded with 40000 Tartars. And likewise Count Mansfeild after he had taken, and well manned three good Townes in Silesia, is also fallen in the middest into Poland.9

It yet holds that the Revoluted Husbandmen in Overens, have greatly prevailed against the Bavarian Forces, though with no small Losse unto themselves. As also that after that overthrowe given to the Bavarians, the Duke of Bavaria for the releaving and better securing of Lintz, having sent downe the River of Danube 16 great flat-bottomed Boats Loaden with victuals, Arms, and munition 8 peices of Ordinance, and 200 souldiers, the Husband-mens have intercepted and taken them all.

7 This proclamation, "to declare and publish his Majesties resolution, to ascertaine His Revenue, by granting His Lands aswell by Copie, as otherwise in Fee-Farme", is printed in Larkin, no. 50, pp. 102-05; see also CSPV 1625-26, p. 521. "Crowners Landa" is probably a corruption of "Crown lands" and "free-manners" of "fee-farm" (a "kind of tenure by which land is held in fee-simple subject to a perpetual fixed rent, without any other services"; OED, "fee-farm") the sale of which was the object of the proclamation. Dietz has noted that as a result of this measure £98,862 was paid into the Exchequer in the year up to Michaelmas 1627; English public finance 1558-1641, pp. 234-35.

8 Although the Swedish had captured a number of important towns in Polish Prussia, Gustavus had not come to terms with the city of Dantzig, which remained loyal to Sigismund III. This was a serious setback for the Swedish campaign; Roberts, ii. 326-27, 335-36. A later newsletter from Bonn (of 5/15 September) reported the advance of Polish forces to Torun ("Thome"); PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.

9 Bethlen and Mansfeld had not marched into Poland, although a Tartar invasion of that country had been reported on 10/20 April in a newsletter from Innsbruck; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r. The report in lines 20-27 is similar to that in a newsletter of 4/14 August from Augsburg: "The King of Polonia, who is now as much afraid of Gabor and of Mansfeld as of the King of Sweden, is sayd to come in person with 100,000 men, But he is yet consulting, which way to take first"; SP101/29/folio 1r. "Fall in" (lines 24, 27) was probably used in the sense of OED, "fall", 63b ("fall into"), "To make a hostile descent or inroad upon" (first citation 1665).
And that since there are come unto their aide, 4000 Horse, amongst which are many Nobles, & Gentlemen; 3000 Foote old Souldiers.\textsuperscript{10}

The States of the low-Countries after their taking of Oldenzael have dismantled it, laying the walls and fortifications thereof, æquall with the ground.\textsuperscript{11} Since 'tis sayde they have had some losse: And count Adolph of Nassawe, the Governer of Groningen, by his misadvisednesse slayne of the Enemie;\textsuperscript{12} But they have gotten a fine Galley (devised by Count Mansfeild) serving the Spanyard, and called by the devisers Name Mansfeild. This galley laye at Ostend. When the captaine and most of the Souldiers, were on shoare, The Slaves mutined against the rest, rowed awaye, & though they were in vaine made after, yet they recovered to the Holland men of warre that lay before Dunkirck. Some of which brought them safely with the Galley to Flushing, in it were 8 peices of ordinance. The slaves 85, were freed and rewarded.\textsuperscript{13}

Its written that the Jesuies of Florence having first buggered and after murthcred twoe boyes, of Noble Families, putt unto them by their Fathers to learning, are for it Banished out of Tuscany: but the Pope labors to accommodate that foule businesse.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{align*}
\text{Our Burialls this weake were} & \quad 119 \\
\text{whereof in 4 Parishes of the Plague} & \quad 5 \\
\text{Baptised} & \quad 155
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{10} See above, p. 444 n. 12. The Austrian rebels attempted to block the passage of supplies along the Danube to Linz by stretching iron chains along the river side of the city which is probably the incident referred to in lines 30–34; Wedgwood, p. 215, and see also PRO SP101/29/1v (newsletter from Augsburg, 16/26 August).

\textsuperscript{11} For the capture of Oldenzaal see above, p. 346 n. 16. The slighting of the city's fortifications was reported in STC 18507.182, The continuation...Austin 29, B4v; see also Israel, p. 168.

\textsuperscript{12} I have not traced this incident.

\textsuperscript{13} See above, p. 449 lines 20–32 and n. 4. The "Mansfeld" who built the galley was almost certainly not the Count Mansfeld currently in Danish service, but the Flemish naval officer and mercenary Philipp von Mansfeld, formerly in Swedish service and from 1628 one of Wallenstein's naval advisers. Mead's source, not surprisingly, confused the two; Mann, pp. 377–78, 401, 454.

\textsuperscript{14} A different version of this story was sent in a newsletter from Augsburg of 4/14 August, PRO SP101/29/folio 1r; according to that source the Florentine Jesuits had attempted to cover up the homosexual liaison of one of their number (named Tassoni) with one of his students. The affair had become public, however, and the Pope threatened severe punishment against the malefactors.
Cambrídg.
August 20. 1624

Doctor Chadderton desires kindly to be remembered to you
et habet salutem, quam mittat, Deo est gratia: 15
His ague first mist him on Friday night last.
Doctor Meddus also remembred you in his lettres.

There is a report, but I knowe not upon what
grownds, of a sea-fight between 30 Hollanders and
40 Spanish shipps, and that the Hollanders went away with
the better. But wee will give you leave to suspend
your belief till you heare more. 16

Our Master Sympson is for sea againe: He goes
this voyage chapleine to the Admiral Lord Willowghbie.
He leaves Cambrídg this day, and saith, that he hath wa(m-
ing to be at London 8 dayes hence: He heares
that our fleet is to joyne with the Algierians, and
intercept the returne of the plate fleet. 17 Deus
vertat bene! What may wee feare, if wee make
flesh, especially such knaves flesh as theirs, our arme!
I hope better. 18

I heard it from a courtier, who hath this intel-
ingence from marchants and others in Spaine; That how-
soever our late Cáliz fleet did us litle advantage, and
the enemy as litle positive hurt, yet thus much disad

15 “And he is in good health, thanks be to God”.
16 This rumour (as Gell suspected) appears to have been false, although the likelihood of Dutch and Spanish
ships fighting in the Channel or North Sea was ever-present.
17 “Our Master Sympson” was John Simson, Fellow of Christ’s from 1622 to 1628; Peile, i. 312. The
destination of the fleet remained a matter of speculation until it sailed but was finally ordered by
Buckingham to intercept the Plate-Fleet and attack any enemy ships in Cadiz harbour; Lockyer, p. 344.
Willoughby himself told the Venetian Ambassador that the fleet might cruise in the Mediterranean; CSPV
1625–26, p. 516.
18 Gell’s fears that the Barbary corsairs would join Willoughby’s fleet (recalling Hezekiah’s words in II
Chronicles 32.10, “With him [Sennacherib] is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God to help us,
and to fight our battels”) were not realised. “Deus vertat bene!” = “may God see that it comes out well!”.
A townsman coming from London saith; That a knight very lately had bought an old keel for £15 to try an experiment upon; which was, to blow it up, by means of a shipp artificially made to goe underwater; The shipp was newly made, and he, upon the lanching, made the experiment himself upon the keel, blowing it up very violently and breaking it all in pieces. The Duke of Buckingham hearing of his exploit sent for him, and desired to know how he did it; which he denied to tell him; but sayd, that, yf his Grace would give him some unserviceable vessell, upon which he might shew his skill, he should see it done; which he granted assigning him one: Upon Munday or Tuesday last therefore he did the same feat againe, the Duke and many, among whom my author was one, beholding the vessel lost farr above water, and with great violence and noysc broken in pieces. Its sayd, the king hath taken notice of the knights exploit, a: For the fleet being sent for, upon returne of ours, they would not believe the safety, but thought the messengers instruments to entrap them, and bring them in danger of our fleet.

Sir Thomas Woodhouse was wrong; the Plate Fleet for 1625 arrived at Cadiz two dayes after the English fleet had left there; see above, p. 126 n. 2. Writing on 2/12 November 1626, however, Rubens reported that "the last consignment was ordered back, for fear of the English, and so did not arrive for the period just past", which suggests that some at least of the silver that should have reached Europe in 1625 was delayed a year; Magurn, p. 155. Although there was indeed a shortage of silver currency in Spain due to the massive amounts of copper villon minted since 1621 it has been noted that the Peninsula was not seriously short of grain until 1630; J. H. Elliott, The Count Duke of Olivares: the statesman in an age of decline (New Haven, Conn., 1986), pp. 75–76, 304–08; Israel, p. 211. "Privatively" (line 80) is "the taking away or absence of something; negatively" (OED, "privatively", 1; first citation 1659).
and promoted him, injoyning him to accompany our navy
with this his new devise. He could not tell me the
knights name, but I suppose it is Sir Henry Mannering:
for a shipwright in March last, one whom I well know,
sent mee word, that he was then building a modle of a
shipp of 700 tunns at Somersett house for a knight and for such a
purpose as I heare, and I have scene a patterne of his by him some
yeares since. If the thing be true (for I put all upon the
credit of my author) it may prove an instrument of notable
mischeife to the enemy.20
You will pardon me, I hope, though I write quiequid
in aurem venerit.21 God keep you. Nos valemus, Tu revalesce,
et vale pancratice et athletice,22 as wee

Yours Robert Gell.
Amor Oxleye. 120

Textual Notes: line 15, Crowner Lands, as of Ceppe-holdes, as of Coppie-houlds MS.

H383, folio 40v] The letter was addressed in Oxley’s hand (recalling his time at
Christ’s), “To the Reverend, my very worthy Tutor Master Joseph Mead, at the
Right worshipful Sir Martin Stutevilles at Dalham. These.”

20 I have not traced this business but it may be related to the warrant issued in June to Sir William Heydon,
Lieutenant of the Ordnance “with a view to the construction of explosive machines to be used under water”;
PRO SP16/30/53 [folio 86r]; see also SP16/30/52 [folio 85r].

21 “Whatever comes to my ears”.

22 “We are in good health. Do you recover and go from strength to strength”.
His Majesties diiecions to Sir Henry Vane knight, (folio 112r)
Cofferer, for the disbursement of the several summes
of mony given as Rewardes to her Majesties late servantes
at their departure out of England August 1626.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inprimis to Madam Frugesse</th>
<th>£1000</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the two governesses and 5 maydes of honor—</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Madam Russe and her husband</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Semstress</td>
<td>0050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Starcher</td>
<td>0050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Laundresse</td>
<td>0070</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 5 Chamberers</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Treasurer</td>
<td>0150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 2 gentlemen ushers of the privy Chamber—</td>
<td>0400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Physician</td>
<td>0300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 4 Squires</td>
<td>0400</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 6 Cupbeareers, Carver and Servers</td>
<td>0360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 3 gentlemen ushers dayly waiters</td>
<td>0300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 4 grooms of the privy Chamber</td>
<td>0140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 3 gentlemen ushers, quarter waiters</td>
<td>0150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Chirurgion</td>
<td>0060</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Apothecary</td>
<td>0050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the 2 pages of the wardrobe</td>
<td>0100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 4 [pages] of the presence</td>
<td>0160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 8 grooms of the Chamber</td>
<td>0160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the yeomen of the wardrobe</td>
<td>0040</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 My placing of this item is conjectural, but it must have been after the French left Dover on Saturday 12 August and was presumably before the end of the month. A list of the sums (apart from jewels) presented to the French at their departure, PRO SP16/33/62 [folio 89r] has a total of £8,560, rather less than in Mead’s version (CSPD 1625–26, following the faulty addition of the original, has a total of £8,260). As the title of this document suggests, Sir Henry Vane the Cofferer (a post he held simultaneously with Sir Marmaduke Darrell between 1625–30) was the officer responsible for making payments to the royal household; Aylmer, pp. 30, 85–86. The names of some of those mentioned here are given in PRO SP16/3/112 [folio 173r–v], “Estat des offitiers et serviteurs de la Royne” drawn up in the previous year; see also the list printed in Basompierre, Negotiation, c5r–c7r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the yeomen of the pantry</td>
<td>0040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the grooms of the Robes</td>
<td>0030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To them of the wardrobe</td>
<td>0030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the grooms of the privy kitchin</td>
<td>0030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To six footmen</td>
<td>0120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To two pages of the Robes</td>
<td>0040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To two Children of the kitchen</td>
<td>0040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Sadler</td>
<td>0020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To two Scourers of the kitchen</td>
<td>0030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Aide of the kitchen</td>
<td>0012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the preistes</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the meaner sort at Dover for their charges</td>
<td>0500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Bishop a Jewell of the value of</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Count de Tillieres and his wife in)</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewells</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Madam Saint George in Jewells</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Count de Scipieres in Jewells</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summa Totalis</td>
<td>£22732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Howsoever it be true that the King of Sweden
greatly prevails & is like to doe, & Mansfield also,
(many by reason of his Commission from the King
of Bohemia, & proclamation made in his name in
Silesia, flocking unto him), hath taken sundry
townes there, & his owne army of 16000 be
much increased, & is likely to doe more especially
when Bethlehem shall approach neare unto him: &
in like manner the revolted Boores yet hold their
owne, & many Boores in the north syde of
Danube in Machland waxe strong too: yet it
seemes there remaines no small feare of danger
to all this great worke, if the Lord of heaven
& earth doe not mightily support it, beyond mans
reason & hope. For there hath bin of late
diverse sharp conflicts betwene some of the King
of Denmarks forces & of the Imperialists;
soe as I heare by good hand, that the
King of Denmark is hardly able to
subsist & hold out, unles he be hence
supplied with moneties, he being at £180000
sterling monethly charg, & wee owne much
unto him, which how he should be furnished

a: Hundred & eighty thousand.
from us I see not.\textsuperscript{1} 

It's true indeed there hath been a project to make the gold & silver lighter, & some new gold of that stamp weighing 10 grains in the piece lighter than the former coine was but seeing ther is noe proclamacion for the passing thereof, there is not any found that I can heare of that will receive it.\textsuperscript{2} Its talked as [if] this were well digested by the lords,\textsuperscript{3} nor yet imparted unto them, but done by some few, amongst whom some seem to imagine the Earle of Midlesex to be a chief contriver of it.\textsuperscript{4} It was conceived, as is sayd, it would have brought a yearly profit to the King (£)3 or (£)400,000, but now some are of opinion, if it goe on it will rather much impoverish both King & kingdom: for coynage of a pownd weight the King was wont.

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\textsuperscript{1} This (somewhat optimistic) summary of Continental events ends with a rather more sombre assessment of Christian IV's campaign, news of which came to dominate Mead's foreign news for some weeks as a result of the Danish defeat at Lütter on 17/27 August. (Meadus was not, however, referring to Lütter in lines 16–21 as news of the battle did not reach London until early September). A marginal note was added at line 22 because the figure in the text was unclear (the figure was altered from £100000 to £180000). I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for pointing this out to me.

\textsuperscript{2} See above, p. 42.1 n. 17. On 1/11 September Contarini mentioned the reluctance of sailors to spend the lighter coins, "on the plea that they...[could not] spend it abroad except at a loss"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 534.

\textsuperscript{3} A paper attacking the debasement scheme was drawn up between 14 August and 3 September (PRO SP16/36/102), printed in Shaw, p. 15; this opposition to the scheme contributed to the decision to abandon it on 4 September.

\textsuperscript{4} Although I have found no evidence that the Earl of Middlesex was involved in the proposed debasement, rumours that he was making a return to favour (even that he was going to regain his post as Lord Treasurer) reached the ears of Venetian observers; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 537, 539. The Earl was in the news at the time, having received his pardon for offences allegedly committed as Lord Treasurer, and some London newsgatherers evidently assumed that he was involved in the project; Prestwich, Cranfield, pp. 489–90; below, p. 444 lines 84–85.
434

London September 1.

This weeks foreign occurrences chiefly are that the treaty between the King of Sweden & the city of Dantzig was cleane broken of, by reason the King of Poland had sent unto Dantzig that he would defend them: and as is sayd hath to that purpose sent downe against the King of Sweden 24000 horse; but that the King of Sweden soe straitly besiegeth Dantzig, that nothing might goe in or out by sea or land, nor the Pol be easily able to rayse the siege & relieve the city, yf at least his other occasions will at all suffer him to attempt it. 6

It's written of Count Mansfield, that he prevails well in Silesia, & holds soe good martiall discipline, that noe violence is offered by his men unto persons, nor any thing taken by them or for himself, but for their money, which procures him there much love & honour. But that the Imperialists set there to defend them doe exceedingely rob & spoyle all before them: which different cariage causeth many of the county fall to Mansfield, & but few or none to the Emperours syde. Likewise that a messenger had been from Bethlehem with Mansfield who soone after went

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5 Under the Mint regulations of July 1619 which the intended debasement was to supercede, out of every pound weight of 22 carat Crown gold, James I received 15 shillings as seignorage (his "cut") out of a total of £41 worth of coins made with that amount of metal. Under the new Mint indenture, Charles was to receive 52 shillings out of a total of £44 of coin made with a pound of the same metal. The £3 difference in the extrinsic value of the same amount of gold represented the extent of the debasement, most of which was to be paid to the King. Each coin minted would of necessity be lighter; Shaw, Select tracts, pp. 13-14.

6 See above, p. 435 n. 8. Danzig had received a message from Sigismund III on 17/27 July that he intended to relieve the city, which considerably stiffened their resolve to endure a siege; Gustavus blockaded Danzig with his navy before the end of the month and finally declared war on the city on 4/14 August. By the end of that month the Poles had gathered an army of 8,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry to face the Swedes; Roberts, ii. 326-27, 330.
back in hast towards his Master in OverEns also. That the revolted Boores still hold their owne, & had sent unto the Emperour, that they would not at all enter with him into any further treaty, until he should first have fully eased them of all their grievances. And that now the Emperour to be proclaimed in Bohemia, that all Protestants banished thence may freely returne thither & receive their lands & goods paying what they cost or sell them at their just valew, & implead the officers that have unjustly taken away any thing from them, giving them 8 moneth space therunto & appoint Solicitors to follow it, yf they will not come & remaine there. But its like that few will trust it.

Here is newes by many lettres and believed, that the King of Denmark hath taken many prisoners, & slaine 2000 men, some write 6 or 7000 of Tillyes army, taken all his ordinance & baggag, & put him with the rest to flight, as he came from Gotten-game in Brunswick-land, which after a long siege he had taken by composition, & was marching to have besieged North-beam, & that yf the night coming on had not hindered, he had utterly defeated all Tillyes armie, who flying to a towne nere hand is sayd to be therein besieged by the King of Denmark.

7 Mansfield's strict military discipline in Silesia (shown by his order that his men "pay for all...they receive[d]" from the local population) and the spoilations committed by Imperial troops are reported in STC 18507.182, The continuation...August 29, A2r; the dispatch of a messenger from Bethlen Gabor to Mansfield is in ibid., A4r. It is probable that the same sources were common to both Meddus's newsletter and the newsbook reports. Given the frequently appalling behaviour of both sides in the Thirty Years' War, this version of Mansfield's activities was optimistic to say the least: for an account of the atrocities committed by his army at Weiss Kirchen in Moravia later in the campaign of 1626 see Wedgwood, p. 217. A newsletter of 30 August/9 September from Augsburg reported the capture of several towns in Silesia by Mansfield's army; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v.

8 Lines 68–79 of Meddus's letter are similar to the account of the continued resistance of the Austrian rebels and the report of the Imperial decree allowing the return of sequestrated goods to the Bohemian Protestants, printed in STC 18507.182, The continuation...August 29, A2v–A3r. As with lines 57–67 above, the same sources were probably used by both Meddus and the newsbook publishers. Tilly's siege
On Wednesday at Somerset house the queen feasted the Duchess Dowager of Tremouilles of France, & her daughter the Lady Strange as its said ere long the King intends to doe at Whitehall. Its said that the 2 extraordinary French Ambassadors landed at Dover whereof one is Count Tilliers the Queenes late Lord Chamberlaine; but whether they come to expostulate about the dismissal of the French as is conceived or for some other cause time ere long will manifest.

Now the Earle of Rutland accepts the office of Lord Chamberlaine to the Queene.

Its said some of the States soldiers being abroad to seek purchas have taken some persons of quality & 60 horse: before Dunkerke lie 30 of the States men of war 15 of which its said shall joyne with our 30 at

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and capture of Gottingen, followed by his defeat by the Danes was also reported in this newesbook (on A3v, B3r–B4r); see also the German newsletters of 18/28 July (Bonn: PRO SP101/29/folio 1r), 26 July/5 August (Augsburg: ibid., folio 1v) 2/12 August (ibid., folio 2r). The capture of Gottingen was reported in a newsletter of 14/24 August from Bonn, which continued that “Tillie having put an Imperiell garrison...[there], went victorious before Northeim, where he was received so that hee lost neare 7 thousand men and much of his bagage”; ibid., folio 2r. The reports of Tilly’s defeat proved false, however; part of the tremendous shock felt in England at the news of Christian IV’s defeat at Lütter was due to persistent reports that he had been victorious.

9 See above, p. 404 n. 26; p. 419 n. 11.

10 The two Ambassadors mentioned were Tillières and François, Marshal Bassompierre, sent by Louis XIII principally to obtain the readmission of the Queen’s household; for their projected arrival see CSPV 1625–26, pp. 526, 530 and n. 19 below.

11 This was untrue; see p. 419 n. 6.

12 I have not traced this incident. “Purchase” as used in line 105 means “That which is obtained, gained, or acquired...exp. that which is taken...in war” (OED, “purchasa”, II, 8a).
Plimouth & with the first setled wind hoyse sayl under the Lord high Chamberlaines command. Lastly its said were about 200 saylors tumultuously at the Dukes house at Chelsey for pay. One died of the plague the whole of burials: 121 Christened 135

You may remember wee have long since heard of a conspiracy against the French King & some were in hold about it: Now is Count Chalon captaine of the guard (who should have acted the Kings death) beheaded & should have been 2 monethes agoe, but that there could not any executioner bee gotten, all of them being or pretending to be sick.

Its sayd this Count hath accused other great persons as privy therto: wherupon the Prince of Condee, who at the first discovery fled is besieged in a Castle, Duke Chevreuse who was our last Ambassador here & his Lady in disgrace banished the Court upon the Kings coming to Paris, Count d'Sioeson & Duk de Longevile as Conscios presently withdrew themselves thence into their governments, & the King hath

13 Reports that a Dutch squadron would join the English fleet had been circulating for several weeks but proved false; see above, p. 352 n. 7.
14 In his letter of 18 August Pory had mentioned that "some 200 mariners" had come to London to demand their pay; see above, p. 421 lines 80-82.
15 For the conspiracy against Richelieu involving "Monsieur", Louis XIII's brother, first reported by Mead in May 1626 see above, p. 264 n. 6.
16 The Comte de Chalais (the only nobleman implicated in the conspiracy against Richelieu to be executed) was sentenced to be beheaded at Nantes on 9/19 August. However, as the executioner (and his axe) had been removed by Chalais's friends, a shoemaker due to hang in three days' time was offered a pardon if he would perform the task. After an attempt with a Swiss sword had failed the makeshift executioner was forced to use twenty-nine blows with a cooper's adze to behead Chalais; Tapié, pp. 162-63; Knecht, p. 50.
17 A newsletter from Paris of 23 August/2 September reported that the "most part of those that Chalais accused...[were] vanished away from the Court, As there are the Count of Soissons [and] the Duke de
married Mounsier his brother to the Lady he intended. The French Ambassadors are not yet arrived here, The chieuest is Duke Bas-sompire, but Count Tilliers our Queen[s] late Lord Chamberlaine our Soveraign hath caused to be left out, & another to be ap-pointed in his place.

Here hath been much ado about our new coinage of silver & gold, for which the King is to have in a pound weight of gold 52 shillings, whereas it was before but 15s & 5s-6d for a pound-weight of silver which before was but 2s-6d. The Lord[s] have sitten many times about it, & sent for some marchants for their opinions of it, who I heare are of opinion it is a most dangerous project for the King & kingdom. For although at first the King may perhaps get money by the Coynage, yet will it overthrow trade by the altering of the Exchang, much empower the King, & all men in their revenewes, improve Spanes Bullion, enhance the prices of all things, & for the profit occasion forraine countries to counterfeit truely our Coinés, & thereby deprive the King of his hope by coynage:

Longueville"; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)/folio 1r. "Conсios" (line 132) was presumably a misspelling of "concious" in the sense of "having guilty knowledge [of]" (OED, "conscious", 4b).

18 Gaston d'Orléans had married Mademiselle de Montpensier on 26 July/5 August; Magurn, p. 468 n. 6.

19 Contarini had reported on 25 August/4 September that "whether he [Tilliers] sets out for this country as ambassador or in any other capacity, he must not come, as the king is determined not to receive any of the persons late in the queen's service. They will not receive him because of past affronts"; CSPV 1625-26, p. 527; see also ibid., pp. 532, 536.

20 See n. 5 above. Under the existing Mint indenture a pound weight of silver was to coin £3 2s., the King receiving 2s. 6d. as seignorage; under the proposed changes the same weight of metal was to coin £3 10s. 6d., Charles receiving 5s. 6d.

21 On 31 August Sir Robert Cotton and eight others were ordered by the Privy Council to "meete and conferr together touching such business of the Mynste as is recommended unto them"; APC Jun.-Dec. 1626, pp. 240-41; see also CSPV 1625-26, p. 534.
Therefore is thought will not hold. Its sayd to be the Earle of Middlesex his project, who now hath his pardon under the great seal at last, but with more restriction then the former draught & caution given also to some things. The Lord Vicount Wallingford was last week created Earle of Banbury. I heare not that our Fleet is yet gone from Portsmouth. The London fleet is making ready with all possible speed.

Here is newes that Sir Thomas Savill hath in duel slaine Sir Francis Worsly; his second slaine Sir Thomas Savil & his friend & himself by flight escaped.

**Textual Notes:** line 17, some of the] at this point either Robert Gell took over the transcription of the letter or altered the script in which he wrote; the hand changes from one with largely secretary characteristics to that seen in Gell’s letters to Dalham earlier in August 1626. (The same hand that wrote lines 2–17 of this letter prepared the transcript of London newsletters of Friday 22 December 1626 sent to Dalham; see the Headnote on p. below).

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22 For a series of arguments against the debasement, see Mead’s copy of a paper delivered to the Privy Council on Sunday 3 September, pp. 459-61 below. The project had been introduced principally in order to gain more revenue as the increased seignorage rates indicate, but, as Shaw points out (Select tracts, p. 15), ‘If half-a-crown’s worth of gold were taken out of the sovereign, then it became, whatever kings or law might say, only [intrinsically] worth 17s. 6d. Its international value would be that, and on that basis there would be the same bullion transaction as before’. This explains the reference to Spanish bullion in line 151; if English gold and silver coins became lighter while retaining the same face value Spain’s bullion would buy more English goods then before. Lines 152–54 indicate another potential flaw in the scheme; if (to take Shaw’s example) half-a-crown’s worth of gold were removed from a sovereign without a reduction in face value it would be profitable for forgers to produce coins to the new, lower, weight.

23 See n. 4 above.

24 William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, had been created Earl of Banbury on 18 August; GEC, i. 400.

25 Although the main body of the fleet did not sail until October a squadron under the Earl of Denbigh put to sea on Tuesday 29 August; PRO SP16/34/33 [folio 87r]; Lockyer, p. 344.

26 The City fleet did not, in fact, sail until the end of December due to a series of delays and considerable difficulty in raising the money to pay for it; Wren, 'Twenty Ships', pp. 325–32.

27 This rumour proved false. Savile and Worsley appeared before Star Chamber in the following year as a result of their quarrel; British Library Additional MS 48057, folio 30r–v.
lines 43–44, —nage...52s] a continuation in the margin, note b above, written vertically by Gell.

line 109, this...page] Gell presumably added this comment because lines 91–108 and 110–16 should have been included in his transcript of London news dated Friday 25 August, lines 2–44 above.

line 115, burialls — 435^ 121^ MS.
Worthie Sir,

I received a letter from Master Pory as soon as I came home, which I send though it containe not much more then you have.¹

On Monday Doctor Corbett gave over, & presently Doctor Eden was chosen Master of Trinity Hall.²

Doctor Topham telles us, that Sir Francis Steward lately gone into Scotland hath there in duell slayne both my Lord Maxwells brothers, the first challenging him upon a quarrell he would not discover, nor yet grant him time to be free of an ague in a fit whereof he was at the time of the challenge; the other pursued Sir Francis in revenge of this brother, & so had the same fate with him. They fought in the medowes by Barwick.³

I was at the Faire yesterday a little after 12, I askt a Hopman what price hops bore; he tellcs me they had 3 prices, 40³, 4 mark & £3. As I came back about 3 a clock, I askt againe of an Essex man; he tellcs me some 50³, some £3, some 5 mark that himselfe had refused 50³ & his neighbour by him £3 that they hoped the prices would hold. Besides he

¹ Mead had returned to Cambridge during the previous week and found Pory's letter dated Saturday 2 September waiting for him.
² Dr. Clement Corbett, Master of Trinity Hall since 1611, became Vicar-General of the diocese of Norwich; Venn, i. 396; Morgan, p. 742.
³ This rumour reported by Dr. Anthony Topham, Fellow of Trinity College, was false (not uncommon, apparently, from this source); Venn, iv. 252; Morgan, p. 493 and n. 273; below, pp. 41–43.
⁴ Stourbridge Fair, the great annual fair held near Cambridge which began on 7 September. For more on the Fair see Siraut, 'Some aspects of the economic and social history of Cambridge', pp. 73–110.
told me their hops in the picking deceived them much not arising to that quantitie they looked for, by reason of their smallnes & lightnes, howsoever they came on beyond expectation. This about Braintree & all those parts of Essex.

I have some freinds this morning Hopmasters (I meane merchants of Hops Sussex men) gone to the Faire of purpose to leame the prices. I will if I can put in their report & judgment, before I seale.\(^5\)

Thus with my best & wonted respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

\begin{center}
Christ's Colledg
September 9
\end{center}

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

This morning the best new hops sold for 4 marks.

The third part of the Faire old hops which are 38\(^{e}\) these keep downe the prices of the new.

A great fire at Barwell this morning 7 horses burnt.\(^6\)

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\textit{Textual Notes: } line 6] Corbett eame gave MS.  
 line 10] 2-of both my Lord MS.  
 line 12] time to Sir Francis to MS.  
 line 30, Hops] Mead originally closed brackets here before continuing in parentheses.

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\(^5\) Sir Martin’s estate evidently produced hops (one of the most important commodities sold at Stourbridge Fair), so Mead knew the details in his letter and postscript would be of interest; ibid., p. 101. A “mark” (lines 19, 21, 39) was two-thirds of a pound sterling, 13s. 4d.

\(^6\) I have not traced this incident. “Barwell” was presumably Burwell, northwest of Newmarket.
Sir, Since the writing of my last it hath bene reported here, that Sir Thomas Savile and Sir Francis Wortley knight of Yorkshire have slaine one another in single combat.¹

It hath bene here reported, that my lord Willoughby generall of this fleet now bound to sea, hath had newes by a letter that the Spanish fleet doth auende ours at the mouth of the channell, which if a man dare be so bolde as to tell upon the exchange they will laugh him to scorne, and say, it is a report coined to drawe money from the people.² The Londoners doe actually sett forth the 20 saile formerly mentioned; whoe here tofore pretending, they could not finde ships enough in the river to serve for men of warre, some of the lordees answered; you shall have 7 or 8 of the kinges ships, into the which you may putt victual & munition: No (sayd they) the kinges ships are sacred, we dare not medle with them, considering with themselves, if they should once have victualled the kinges ships, it would have bene drawn in to president. Then they were sent to, to sett out so many

¹ For this see above, p. 491 n. 27.
² Reade has noted that the "invasion panic gradually ceased. By the beginning of September [1626] people began to whisper that the preparations for defence had been thrown away and that the rumours were a mere trick of the King's for getting their money out of them"; ii. 605; see also Cust, F. L., p. 94. Doubts of this nature had, however, been present all summer; see for instance above, p. 316 n. 15; p. 34 lines 72-73.
ships to defend the coast. By no means (said they) dare we be so presumptuous as to take the king's office out of his hands; but we will prepare so many ships, let his Majesty do with them, what he will. On Monday last the matter of coinage of the newe light pieces being argued pro & con at the Counsell table, & the inconveniences palpably demonstrated, the lords checked Palmer the chief officer of the mint for giving out such coine without authority, and did, as it were, publiquely condemn it, saying when some complained against it, because it would not passe in payments, that they knewe not of the divulging therof, notwithstanding (as it is said) there have bene 3 score thousand pound therof coined. And as yet there is no order taken about it, although men have bene borne in bande it should either have bene called in, or sett at the just value. Now there is a project on foot to proportion our silver coine to the golde because all king James his lime, & hitherto it hath bene too riche, & that is the reason why golde hath bene more frequent in

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3 For the City's agreement to furnish twenty ships as requested see above, p. 419 n. 1. The meeting referred to here, (prompted by the Privy Council's irritation at the City's delays in fitting out their ships) took place on Monday 28 August. The Common Council of London, no doubt for the reasons advanced by Pory, refused the offer; Wren, 'Twenty Ships', p. 325; APC Jn.–Dec. 1626, pp. 230–31.

4 Andrew Palmer was the Assay–Master of the Mint; the "chief officers", however, were the Wardens (Sir Edward Villiers and Sir William Parkhurst); Shaw, Select Tracts, pp. 11–12.

5 The Privy Council meeting of Monday 28 August was the first of a number at which the debasement scheme was discussed, which finally resulted in the proposal being withdrawn in the following week. I have not found any reference to the amount of debased currency coined, although some at least of the royal plate sold during August (for which see below, p. 465 n. 11) had been sent to the Mint; Public Record Office, LC5/107 (Lord Chamberlain's warrants, Jewel House), folios 24v–25r. According to the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, volume 33, only examples of the "light" shillings have survived, nos. 393–95, 396, 399, 400–02.
payments then silver, because strangers
have gained by exporting the silver. And
therefore whereas all the said time there have
out of a pound of silver bene coined but 63\(^6\)
nowe there shalbe coined 65\(^7\). In France
there is lately discovered against that king
one of the greatest conspiracies that ever was
heard of, consisting of all the Princes of the bloud,
(Monsieur being the head) and of most of the great
persons in France, the Duke of Guise onely
excepted, aiming at no lesse, then to take the
crowne off the kinges head, & to put it on Monsieurs.\(^8\)
Pasquilis \(^9\) being throwen about Paris, that
they will allowe of no kinges that cannot begett
children; and by some it hath bene reported that
the French kinges person is surprized.\(^10\) My lord
Carleton (they say) hath bene roughly handled
by that Counsell, but afterwards hath bene
smoothed by the king & the Queen mother
and so hath bene disgraced in publique, though
countenanced in private.\(^11\) So they say the resi-
due of the Queens portion is denyed there, and

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\(^6\) Pory referred to a long-standing problem: the ratio of the prices of silver and gold was such that gold was overvalued in relation to silver, so that foreign dealers in bullion could buy a disproportionately high number of silver coins with gold ones, export the silver to buy more gold and repeat the process. This led to the removal of silver coins from circulation with the attendant troubles this caused the economy; Shaw, *Select Tracts*, pp. 3–4.

\(^7\) These details of the proposed debasement in silver coinage were an underestimate; see above, p. 43\(^5\) n. 20.

\(^8\) Although the “Chalais conspiracy” had first been reported in May, Pory treated it here as a recent occurrence: the recent execution of the Comte de Chalais probably explains this. See above, p. 43\(^5\) n. 16.

\(^9\) A “pasquil” is “a lampoon posted up in a public place; any circulated or published lampoon” (*OED*, “pasquil”, 2).

\(^10\) For Louis’s alleged impotency see above, p. 260 n. 4. The rumour on lines 64–65 was false.

\(^11\) See above, p. 42\(^1\) n. 1. The Venetian Ambassador had reported on 25 August/4 September that a dispatch had recently arrived from Carleton, “announcing his first offices with the king and the queens, though effected with some trouble”; CSPV 1625–26, p. 526.
her joincture not proceeded in here. The joinclure not proceeded in here. And where there are two extraordinary Ambassadours coming out of France, videlicet Monsieur de Bassompierre & the Count de Tillieres late lord Chamberlain to the Queen; his Majestie hath by Master Walter Montagu sente an expresse prohibition to Tillieres, that he (shall) not presume to sett foot in English shore in (that) quality; because he will not admitt his late sworne servant to be checkmate with him. But the truth is, Tillieres is too much Jesuited for our state to endure, and hath lately done ill offices there against us. It is said, that the Earle of Middlesex, now he hath (gott) his pardon, tells the Duke plainly, that (all) these projectes will vanish into smoak, & wilbe a disgrace both to the inventers & countenancers, that the State is sick indeed, but will admit none other remedy but a Parlament. And it is thought, we shall have one before Allhallowtide, for the list of the grievances hath lately bene perused, and faire answers framed thereunto. All Lowcountry letters are full of the king of Denmarke's defeat of Tilly, & how Count Mansfield being approched within 26 mile of Vienna, the Emperour is fled

12 £120,000 had been received as part payment of Henrietta's dowry in 1625, although due to the disagreements (and eventual war) between France and England the remainder was never fully paid. By 1635 the total sum received in England had only increased to £163,803; Dietz, English public finance 1558–1641, pp. 223, 271 n. 46.
13 See above, p. 433 n. 19.
14 It was reported on 25 August/4 September that Charles would not "receive...[Tillieres] because of past affronts, declaring that he aimed at subverting the kingdom by aiding the projects of the Catholics"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 527. "There" (line 83) referred to the French Court.
15 For Middlesex's pardon see above, p. 433 n. 4.
16 Rumours that a Parliament would be called at the end of October had circulated earlier in the summer; see above, p. 354 n. 5. The "grievances" mentioned presumably referred to those prepared by the Commons during the session dissolved in June; for these see Russell, Parliaments, p. 271.
from thence to Gratz situate on the Alpes.\textsuperscript{17}

To that right worthy knight and lady returne my
service in answere of their favour. God have
you all in his keeping. And so I rest Your faithfull friend & servant
London this Saturday morning. September 2. 1626. John Pory

\textit{Textual Notes:} line 16, they altered from "there".
line 31, matter used as a catchword at the foot of folio 41r.
lines 75, 78, 81–82, [T]jillieres Villieres MS.
lines 78–79, 85–86 Mead tore away some text in opening the letter, and wrote
the missing words above the lacunae: "shall" and "that", "gott" and "all".
lines 92–95, grievances…have Another continuation by Pory of his letter in
the left–hand margin. As before I have indicated the extent of each line.
H383, folio 42v Pory addressed his letter "To my worthy friend Master Joseph
Mead, with Sir Martin Stotewill, at his house at Dalham".

\textsuperscript{17} For the rumours concerning Christian IV's victory over Tilly see above, p. 435 n. 8. A newsletter written
around the end of August had reported that due to the victories of Mansfeld, the Duke of Saxe–Weimar and
Bethlen, the Emperor had fled Vienna "and betaken himselfe to another place of strength a good distance
from thence" (PRO SP101/96/folio 161v); another of 23 August/2 September from Augsburg reported that
"[Mansfeld's] intentions bee much inquired for, but not found out: Some thinking hee intends to joynge with
the [Austrian] boores (beeing now but three dayes journies from them)"; SP101/29/folio 1r. While these
rumours were false Ferdinand had long–standing links with Graz, the capital of Styria (Inner Austria); he
had been born there in 1578 and, as Archduke of the region it had been his capital before he became
16 September 1626

Worthie Sir,

The ill newes of the King of Denmarks overthrow partly intimated, partly expressed in the enclosed (but then scarce beleived) is mightily encreased this week at the Faire.\(^1\) Their lettres I have not scene, nor how this agrees with the former report, or whether that were wholly false, or whether, if true, this ill successe hath fallen out since, I know not, but they say; That his horse would not fight but demanded gilt;\(^2\) that himselfe was once taken, but rescued by a souldier escaped with some 15 men; that his foot were most slayne & 26 pieces of Ordnance lost.\(^3\) This is as bad almost as can be, if it be true in every particular: yet I see not but his horse may be yet safe, if they came not in to fight. They say, the Duke of Freidlands forces were joyned with Tilly & that for this purpose he lingered from following after Mansfeld: If this were so, then our newes is false which sayd he was

\(^1\) For these rumours see Mead’s enclosure, lines 66–69, 115–16; on 15/25 September the Venetian Ambassador reported that certain news of Christian’s defeat at Lütter reached London on Monday 11 September; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 547–48. Christian’s own description of events was considerably less detailed than those transcribed by Mead in the following weeks: on the day of the battle he noted in his diary that he had “Fought with the enemy and lost” (quoted by Parker, TYW, p. 78). Mead’s perplexity at the complete alteration of Christian’s fortunes is evident; see above, p. 415 n. 8.

\(^2\) As with Mansfeld’s defeat at Dessau in April, Protestant observers claimed the treachery of part of the defeated army explained the outcome; Parker, TYW, p. 78 and above, p. 244 n. 15. “Gilt” (line 10) was used in the sense of “Gold, money” (OED, “gilt”, s.v., 3a).

\(^3\) During the battle Christian “had been surrounded by the enemy, his horse had been shot under him, and he had with difficulty been saved by the self-sacrifice of one of his officers”; Wedgwood, p. 212.
gone after him. When we receive this days lettres
we shall understand better, how this disaster came to passe
& whether it were so great as is reported.

There is also a rumour that Sluyse is beseiged
& in such sort as will go hard with it. Others in stead
of this, talk, that Flushing is surprised; but this seems
to come from mistake & ignorance, nor do I well conceive
how likely the other is. By the manner of their relation
they should seeme to be mistaken in both; but something it
is like there is, which we shall understand to day.

A freind passing lately this way shewed me a printed
Copie of Doctor Eglishams Book, which cutting in
pieces I distributed to 3 of my pupilles to transcribe, & here
I send it you to read & retume me againe
sooner or later as you please.

The Earle of Warwick is put out of his Lieutenant
ship & (which is more) out of the Commission for the peace
as I was yesterday told for certaine by some who had re-
lation to him. It may be, the Duke would not have him
joy & glory too much, in his service of overseeing the work
at Harwich.

One told me this week, he saw Sir Francis Steward at

4 The reports that Wallenstein had marched after Manafeld through Silesia into Hungary to prevent the
latter's joining with Bethlen Gabor were not false; Mann, pp. 288-93. Units of Wallenstein's army had,
however, been stationed in Lower Saxony close to Tilly's quarters, the fact of which Christian was unaware
when he began his campaign in early August; Parker, TW, pp. 77-78.

5 STC 18507.182, The continuation...August 29, had reported that "it is thought Marquis Spinola will
besiege Sluce, seeing that great provision of graine is brought up and sent to Ghent and Brug"; B2v. He did
later attempt to take the town; see below, p. 550 n. 7. The rumour concerning Flushing, as Mead suspected,
was false.

6 This was the English translation of Prodromus vindictae, STC 7548; see above, p. 261 n. 7 and Appendix I.
The pupils responsible for the transcription have not been identified, although it is likely that one or more
of Mead's sizers were involved (for whom see above, p. 291 n. 3).

7 For the Harwich invasion scare of 1625 see above, p. 128 n. 8; for Warwick's removal from the Lord
Lieutenancy of Essex, p. 366 n. 12. A possible source for this item of news was John Pory, who was often
employed to carry out Warwick's "earnest busines at court" and elsewhere; H383, folio 71r; see also H389,
folio 494r; Quintrell, Towards a "Perfect Militia"’, p. 100.
London; & so Doctor Tophams newes of the Duell (according to his wonted ill luck in this kind observed) is neither true nor possible.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady I rest

Christ's College

September 16.

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 6] Their letters are not I have MS.
line 8] false, & or MS.
line 15] if they fought not came not MS.
line 19] newes is false false MS.
line 20, receive] received MS.
line 25] Flushing was surprised MS.
line 31] cutting in peice MS.
line 33] you to return read MS.
lines 44-46, Thus...Mead] A continuation of the letter in the margin.
H390, folio 124v] under the subscription Mead added “I am made believe the venison came in this poke.” This presumably referred to gift from Dalham which had gone astray (“poke” = “a bag; a small sack”, OED, “poke”, sb').
London Friday September 8 1626

The Proclamation against the new Coine having
bin printed now the 4\textsuperscript{th} day, through the iniquitie of the time
or of the Man, is not yet proclaimed; howbeit having
passed the great Seale, it stands in force:\textsuperscript{1} & the truth is
He is ashamed of the great repulse he had on Sunday by a
man of no greater outside then Sir Robert Cotton, & on
Monday by his Majestie & the whole Councell-Table.\textsuperscript{2}

For on Sunday in the aftermoone, all the disputants
on both sides being warned to come before the Lords (his
Majestie being then present & president) Sir Robert Cotton drew
a
out a paper & by his Majesties command began to read it unto
him. But being come to the third article, the Duke began
to startle, & looking with a sterne countenance over his
shoulder, sayd, Sir Robert Cotton, are you come hither to
instruct the King & the Counsell? & so stopped his mouth
from proceeding any further.\textsuperscript{4} Sir Robert notwithstanding (maugre
his threats) kneeled downe presently to his Majestie, & (the Duke

\begin{footnotes}
1 This proclamation is printed in Larkin, no. 52, pp. 106–07; Mead included the text on lines 80–93
below. It is dated 4 September, the probable meaning of “printed now the 4\textsuperscript{th} day [before ?Pory’s letter was
written]” and was proclaimed on Wednesday the 6th; ibid.


3 See p. \textit{fifty} lines 15–19 below; the attack on the Elizabethan “projectors” not surprisingly drew forth a
sharp response from the Duke. Although it has been argued that Sir Robert Coton was not the author of the
document entitled “Certaine generall rules” referred to in lines 12 and 19 (sent by Mead, pp. \textit{fifty} below).

\end{footnotes}
being next him) delivered the same into his Majesties hand & besought his Majestie, that he would by no meanes omit the reading of it over. So the same night, before he went to bed, the King read it over very advisedly. Moreover the same after noone the Duke seeing his party very strong, & few of the contrary side present; with all his might & maine urged, that the Lords might presently sitt downe to consultation. Whereupon Sir Robert Cotton kneeling once againe before his Majestie signified unto him, that the better halfe of their number was absent; & therefore, that so great a buisines might not be treated on by halves, he humbly besought his Majestie, the Counsell might be adjourned to the next day, which was on Munday last, & so the King grunted his request against the Dukes motion.5

On Monday the King carried himselfe before the Lords so consideratly, as till the upshott no man could discerne by his countenance, to which side he inclined. In fine he declared himselfe in such a manner, as it appeared to their Lordships he thoroughly understood the buisines; & so his Majestie went against the Duke & my Lord President; taking part with all (as I have heard) of the Counsell-table besides.6

On Wednesday, The Houghton sonne & heire to the Earle of Clare married the daughter & heire of my Lord Horace Vere.7

Yesterday the question at the Counsell-table was what punishment should be inflicted on them, that do refuse to pay privy seales.8

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5 A draft paper containing orders for the regulation of Council meetings was drawn up in 1625, now PRO SP16/8/79 [folios 128r-30r]; fair copies are at SP16/8/79 [folios 131r-32r], 80 [folios 133r-34v]. Pory’s description of the manner in which the Privy Council discussed the debasement of the coinage followed these orders closely; the relevant passage is quoted by Cust, F. L., p. 9.


7 According to GEC, iii. 248 and Holles, ii. 332 n. 1 John Holles, Lord Houghton married Elizabeth (daughter of Horace, Baron Vere of Tilbury) on Monday 4 September, not as reported here.

8 Due to the failure of the Benevolence launched in July 1626 (for which see above p. 370 n. 9) the Privy Council had authorised a loan in mid–August, under which a small number of men were expected to pay
Now it is sayd, the Citties Fleet of 20 sayle (seing no composition money will come from them) is to be sett forth, for which purpose, every housholder is to be taxed so much, as he payeth in 4 yeares to the poore.\(^9\)

Two of the Kings Ships, & 3 other tall ships of the Merchants, are with all expedition to go lye before the mouth of the River of Hamburgh.\(^{10}\)

The designe of the present conspirators in France was no lesse, then to have murthered that King: It was plotted (some say) in Spaine; But among 500 persons of qualitie interrassed in so damn'd a buisines, not one Protestant is found. And therefore the King asking the Princesse of Conty, whether there were any Huguenots in the Plott? hir answer was: Les Huguenots ne font pas de Moines. That is, The Protestants do not make Monks; alluding to the first overture of the treason, by which it was given out, they ment to have thrust him into a Monasterie.\(^{11}\)

Now to tell you a Paradox or two against the Common opinion: Yesterday the Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador (who commonly have none of the worst intelligence)

\(^9\) On Tuesday 5 September the Common Council of London had decided that all "residents of the City who were assessed toward the relief of the poor were to pay an amount equal to four years’ poor relief"; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 326. Not surprisingly there was considerable opposition to this order.

\(^{10}\) A document dated 3 September, PRO SP16/35/11 [folio 17r] proposed that five ships should sail to the Elbe estuary and remain there for four months, to prevent munitions and naval stores being carried to the Iberian peninsula; the cost was estimated at £5,010.

\(^{11}\) Referring to the rumour that the conspirators intended to thrust Louis XIII into a monastery and replace him with his brother Gaston, a newsletter from Paris of 23 August/2 September had reported that "his Majestie asked the princesse de Conti, how it came that there were no protestants that had hand in that matter: She answered, The protestants doe make no monks"; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)folio 1v; see also Lockyer, p. 336.
did affirme to some in WhiteHall, that the King of Denmarke hath sustained a losse both of men & ordnance. Item, that Bethlem Gabor is not yet come out of Hungarie, & before he will mount on horsback, he hath sent his Ambassador (who is now at the Hague), to know, what the Princes & States of these parts will do. But to salve these two, in case they should be true, it is given out of a certaintie, that the King of Sweden hath won Dantzick & so now is Master of the Baltic Sea: And Count Mansfeld to the astonishment of the world (in despight of the Bavarian & Imperiall forces) is penetrated into Austria.

By the King September 1626

The Kings most excellent Majestie by the advise of His Privie Counsell, for divers important Considerations, doth publish & declare to all His loving Subjects, That all Coines of Gold & Silver within this his Realme of England, shall be, & shalbe taken & received, to be Current in all Receipts & Payments, in such species, & at such weight, Fine=  

12 As the Venetian Ambassador stated that the first certain news of Lütter reached London on Monday 11 September, that his secretary had some intimation of it by Thursday the 7th is interesting. Presumably the latter was quoting an unconfirmed report; CSPV 1625-26, pp. 547-48.

13 Bethlen's emissary, Dr. Mathias Quaedt, had arrived at the Hague on 12/22 August after visiting Christian IV at Wolfenbüttel, who had given him 20,000 rigsdaler (about £4,200). Quaedt's mission at the Hague was to secure financial help for Bethlen from the signatories of the Hague Convention, particularly England and the United Provinces, in which he was unsuccessful; PRO SP75/7/folio 187r; Angyal, 'Gabriel Bethlen', pp. 62-63.

14 This was incorrect; see above, p. 429 n. 8; p. 434 n. 6. "Salve" (line 74) was used in the sense of to "heal, remedy, make good, make up, smooth over" (OED, "salve", 3a).

15 For rumours of Mansfeld's advance into Austria see above, p. 449 n. 17. He had promised Quaedt on 10/20 July that he and Saxe-Weimar would advance into Silesia to join Bethlen, which he subsequently did; Angyal, 'Gabriel Bethlen', p. 64.
nes & Value, as the same were Currant the first day of August last past; & not otherwise. And that all moneys of Gold & Silver coined sithence the sayd first day of August, shalbe esteemed but as Bullion, & not be Currant.

Given at our Pallace of Westminster, the fourth day of September, in the second yeare of our raigne of England &c.16

An another London Friday ditto.

Upon Tuesday last the Lord Willoughby went from hence towards Portsmouth with a Commission very large; to bestow Knighthoods, where he shall find desert, to place or displace any Officer. But what his instructions are is unknowne. When they come home againe about Christmas, we shall know: for they have some 4 months victualls.17 But Marquess Hamilton out of the abundant care of his Uncle the Duke of Buckingham must not adventure upon a winter voyage.18

Tilly is not besieged in Gottingen as the Courantier would perswade us, But thanks be to God that King (Denmark) is master of the feild & that is generally beleved.19

16 See n. 1 above. “Bullion” as used in line 90 was “coined or manufactured gold and silver when considered simply with reference to its value as raw material” (OED, “bullion”, II, 2) as opposed to legal tender; the object of the proclamation was to demonetize the “light” coinage produced during the previous month.

17 After weeks of speculation and delays the English fleet was finally approaching readiness; on 7 October, however (as the fleet was finally preparing to get underway) John Pennington reported there were only 10 weeks’ victuals left; PRO SP16/37/49 [folio 76r]. For the preparation of the fleet and its objectives see Lockyer, pp. 340–44.

18 James Hamilton the 3rd Marquis had married Margaret Feilding, Buckingham’s niece, in 1620. Richard Gyfford had reported on 29 August that Hamilton would not be sailing with Willoughby “as he at the fyrst determyned”; GEC, vi. 261; PRO SP16/34/52 [folio 86r].

19 The newsbook in question was presumably one published since STC 18507.182 on 29 August, where Tilly’s retreat towards Gottingen had been (falsely) reported; see above, p. 435 lines 80–90 and n. 8; Appendix II.
Mansfeild & Bethlem are mett, as I am assuredly told.20

Another London ditto.

That Mansfeild was marched out of Silesia into Moravia, whither (as is written) the Duke of Freidland marched after him with an Army of 7500 horse & 20,000 foot besides the Imperialists there already.21

A rumour yesterday, that Count Ernst of Nassaw should have received some losse, we know not what in or about Freisland.22

And as though it were not so well with the King of Denmark as was formerly sayd & hoped.23

That 3 Jesuites out of Brabant coming from Cali[s] to Flushing disguised were there taken, with letters about them to some in Holland.24

The French treason was more then formerly sayd & the King should by Count Chalois (lately executed at Nantes in Brittane) have had his throat cutt in bed at the putting on of a cleane shirt, as himselfe hath confessed & discovered above 500 men of qualitie Temporal & Ecclesi(a=) stical in the conspiracie.25 For this discoverie he was pard(o(n=) ed his sentence of being torn in pieces with 4 wild horses

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20 This report was slightly premature, as Mansfeld did not march from Silesia into Hungary and join Bethlen’s forces before early September, too soon for certain news to have reached London: Angyal, ‘Gabriel Bethlen’, p. 64; Parker, TYW, p. 78.

21 Wallenstein’s army closely pursued Mansfeld in his march through Silesia into Hungary; Angyal, ‘Gabriel Bethlen’, pp. 64–66; Mann, pp. 288–93. A newsletter from Bonn of 14/24 August had put the strength of the Imperial army at 7,500 cavalry and 20,000 foot, as in this report; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r. For reports of Mansfeld’s march into Moravia see newsletters from Augsburg of 23 August/2 September (SP101/29/folio 1r) and 30 August/9 September (SP101/29/folio 1r).

22 I have not traced this rumour.

23 See above, p. 444 n. 1.

24 I have not traced this incident.

25 For a report of the role Chalais was supposed to play in the conspiracy see the newsletter from Paris of 23 August/2 September, PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)/folio 1r, and also above, p. 437 n. 16.
having onely his hand first cutt off & then his head. 26

Burialls —— 152

Plague —— 0

Baptised —— 172

[device]

Textual Notes: line 49] taxed so much MS.
line 74] they should prove MS.
line 80] As well as "September 1626" the "annotator" wrote "1 August 1626", presumably referring to the text of the proclamation on lines 86–87.

26 Given the manner of his death the commuting of the form of Chalais's sentence was not a particularly merciful act: Tapié, p. 162; above, p. 437 n. 16.
September 1626  Certain generall Rules collected concerning money & bullion out of the last Consultation at Court.\(^1\)

1. Gold & silver have a twofold estimation; In the extrinsick, as they are monies, they are the Princes measures given to his people, & this a prerogative of Kings. In the intrinsick, they are commodities valuing each other according to the plentie, or scarcitie, & so all other commodities by them; & that is the sole power of trade.

2. The measures in a Kingdom ought to be constant. It is the Justice & Honour of the King. For if they be altered, all men at that instant are deceived in their precedent contracts, either for Lands or Money, & the King most of all: for no man knoweth then, either what he hath, or what he oweth.

3. This made the Lord Treasurer Burghleigh in anno [1573] when some Projectors had set on foot a matter of this nature to tell them, they were worthy to suffer death, for attempting to put so great a dishonour on the Queene, & detriment & discontent upon her people.

4. For to alter this publick measure, is to leave all the markets of the Kingdom unfurnished: And what will be the mischief the Proclamation of 5th Edwardo 6 th Mariae et 4th Elizabethæ will manifest; when but a rumour of the like produced that effect so farre, that besides the faith of the Princes to the contrary delivered in their Edicts, they were enforced to cause the Magistrates in every Shire respectively to constraine the people to furnish the Markets, to prevent a Mutiny.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Printed by Shaw, *Select tracts*, pp. 42–45. This document is distinct from Sir Robert Cotton's own speech to the Privy Council (for which see ibid., pp. 27–35) and was probably not written by him; ibid., p. 24. Simonda D'Ewe also acquired a copy of the "Certaine generall Rules": British Library, Harleian MS 38,folios 228r–29r.

\(^2\) This was probably a reference to three Acts concerned with the regulation and provision of markets: the Act "against Repraters Forestallers and Engrossers" (3rd and 6th Edw. VI, c. XIV); the act "that Purveyours shall not take Victalles within v. miles of Cambridge or Oxford" (2rd and 3rd Phil. and Mar, c. XV), and the
To make this Measure then at this time short, is to raise all prices, or to turne the Money or Measure now currant into disuse & Bullion. For who will depart with any, when it is richer by seven in the hundred in the Masse, then the new Moneys, & yet of no more value in the market.\(^3\)

Hence of necessitie it must follow, that there will not in a long time be sufficient minted of the new to drive the exchange of the Kingdome: And so all Trade at one instant at a stand, & in the meane time the Markets unfurnished: which how it may concerne the quiet of the State is worthie care.

And thus farre as Money is a Measure.

Now as it is a Commoditie, it is respected & valued by the Intrinsicall qualitie: and first the one mettall to the other. All commodities are prised by Plenty or Scarcitie: by dearnes or cheapnes, the one by the other. If then we desire our Silver to buy Gold, as it late hath done, we must let it be the cheaper and lesse in proportion valued; & so contrary: For one equivalent proportion in both will bring in neither. We see the proofe thereof by the unusuall quantitie of Gold brought lately to the Mint, by reason of the price we rate it above all other Countries, & Gold may be bought too deere.\(^4\) To furnish then this way the Mint with both, is all together impossible.

And at this time it was apparantly proved both by the best Artists and Marchants most acquainted with the Exchange in both the Examples of the Mint masters, in the Rex Doller & Ryall of 8, that Silver here is of equall value, & Gold above, with the forraine Parts in the Intrinsick; & that the Fallacy presented to the Lords by the Mintmasters is

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act "towching Badgers of Corne and Drovers of Cattell" (5\(^{\text{e}}\) Eliz, c. XII). For these Acts see Statutes, iv (pt. 1). 148–50, 289–90, 439–41.

\(^3\) The author's point being that any coinage with 7% more metal than the "light" coins but the same face value would soon disappear from circulation, either being hoarded or melted down into bullion (the latter fate befell the debased coinage; see n. 16 above).

\(^4\) For this problem see above, p. 445 n. 6.
only in the Nomination or the Extrinsicall qualitie. But if we desire both, it is not the raising of the value that doth it, but the ballasing of Trade. For buy we in more then we sell of other Commodities, be the money never so high prised, we must part with it to make the disproportion even: If we sell more then we buy, the contrary will follow.

And this is plaine in Spaines necessities: For should that King advance to a double rate his Ryall of 8; yet needing by reason of the barrennes of his Country, more forraigne wares, then he can countervaile by exchange with his owne, he must part with his money, & gaineth no more by in= hancing his Coine, but that he payeth a higher price for the Commodities he buyeth, if this work of Raising be his owne.

But if We shall make improvement of Gold & Silver being the Staple commoditie of His State, we then advancing the price of His, abase to him our owne Commodities.

To shape this Kingdome to the fashion of the Nether-landers, were to frame a Royall Monarchie by a Societie of Merchants. Their Country is a Continual Faire, & the price of Money must rise & fall to suit their occasions: we see this by raising of the Exchange at Frankfort & other places at the usuall times of their Marts.

The frequent & dayly Change in the Lowcountrys of their Moneys is no such injustice to any there as it would be here; For being all either Mechanicks or Merchants, they can rate accordingly their labours or their wares, (whether it be Coine or other Merchandise), to the present condition of their owne money in Exchange.

And our English Merchants, to whose profession it properuly belongs, do so, according to the just Intrinsical value of their Forreigne Coine, in all Barter of Commodities or Exchange except at usance; which we, that are ruled & tyed by the Extrinsick Measure of Moneys in all our constant

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5 In a paper presented to the Privy Council on 2 September 1626, the intrinsic value of English coinage was compared to that of the “Rex Doller” and “Ryall of 8”; Shaw, Select tracts, pp. 35-37.

6 An early recognition of the desirability of a balance of payments surplus.

7 “The practice or fact of lending or borrowing money at interest” (OED, “usance”, 4).
Reckonings & Annual Bargaines at home, can not doe.

And for us then to raise our Coine at this time to equall their proportions, were but to render our selves to a perpetuall incertaintie: For they will raise upon us daily then againe which, if we of course shall follow, (else receive no profit by this present change) we then destroy the Policie, Justice, Honour & Tranquillity of our State at home for ever.

Textual Notes: line 46, and] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 117r.

line 89] & tyed to one MS.
21 September 1626

Worthie Sir

It is Saint Matthews day, & I am to go on horseback presently for Essex, not to retume till Munday.¹ Yet I have folded & subscribed my newes against Saturday hoping Master Oxley will convey it safely unto your hands. You shall see enough of the King of Denmarks overthrow, though the precise certainty be not yet known: yet we hope we heard the worst first. Here I leave A Coranto which I hope will be sent you.² Thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Collordg

Matthew. September 21.

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Textual Note: line 5] I have MS.

line 7, King] "K" altered from a "B".

¹ Mead was presumably travelling to visit Sir John Mead at Wendon Lofu. St. Matthew's day, 21 September, fell on a Thursday in 1626; Cheyne, pp. 56, 121.

² No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.
I must now write lamentable newes of a maine defeat, if not an utter overthrow of the King of Denmark given by Tilly upon the 18 of August. 1 It is diversely related. Some say, that Tilly retyr'd 3 dayes before the King, till he had trayned his Infantry into a Bog neere a wood where his ordnance was planted (which brake their order) & certaine battalions hidden, which suddenly put them to execution.

Others affirme, that the King having retyr'd orderly 2 days before Tilly, at last encamped in a place of advantage, having a Wood on his right hand, a Bog on his left, his waggons on his rere, & his ordnance in the front, so that the Enimy durst not attempt him: Yea while he was in his retreat, Tylly (being a man of 75 yeares old, & an old souldier), 2 would have left him, for feare he might be drawne into some unknowne danger. But Van-Holt a great Com= mander in Tilties Army urged him to the contrary. The King being thus advantagiously incamped, (whether out of superaboundance of courage & choller, or out of want of money & victuall long to hold out), drew forth his squadrons & bravely gave the onset. The battaile continued disputable from 8 in the morning till 3 in the afternoone, when Tilly having broken some of the Kings troupes, putt all his Army to rout. Some say the King being taken by a Cosack, wrung his pistoll out of his hand, & killed him there= with, & so escaped with some 60 horse. Others that of his Horse he lost not above 300 & that he went off with all the rest. Others that his horse cryed out for pay, when they should fight & so betrayed him, being before corrupted with Spanish gold. And all say, the King himselfe fought that day liker a

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1 The battle of Lütter took place on 17/27 August after several days' skirmishing between the two armies; Wedgwood, p. 211.

2 Tilly was born in 1559, and so could only have been 67 at the most; Parker, TTYW, p. 337.
Lyon then a man. Tilly (according to a copie of a lettre that passeth here from hand to hand) wrot to the Archduchesse that after the victory he had brought into his hand 6 Ensignes of 30 foot & 8 cornets of horse, & (which God forbid) he hoped ere long to take the King in person. Great triumphs & bonfires have bin made in hir Country, which sometimes heretofore among them have flamed out of fiction & falshood as well as out of truth. Neither doth our King as yet here from Sir Robert Hanstrudder his Ambassador; nor doth the King of Denmarks Ambassador heare ought from his Master. Nor hath the States Ambassador understood any thing out of Holland. Howbeit, we are as well to feare the worst as to pray for the best. One letter that came yesterday morning to my Lord Conwey, saith, that the King hath reunited his scattered forces into a body; But the cleare truth, we are yet ignorant of.

His Majestie doth much compassionate his Uncles disaster and will strengthen him with 10 thousand men, if he can find any means

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3 For descriptions of the battle see Wedgwood, pp. 211-12; Magurn, p. 140; PRO SP75/7/folios 218v-19r; SP101/96/folio 161r-v (an identical account to the preceding item) and above, pp. 44f-47 a9, f-4.  
4 Count Tilly's dispatch of 18/28 August reporting his victory reached the Archduchess Isabella in Brussels ten days later; Reade, ii. 589-90. A "cornet" (line 31) was "the standard of a troop of cavalry [originally a long pennon narrowing gradually to a point]", (OED, "cornet", sb2, 3).  
5 Rubens wrote on 1/11 September that the "Most Serene Infanta had a Te Deum sung, and fires of joy were lighted first in Brussels and then in the other cities subject to the King of Spain"; Magurn, p. 141; see also Reade, ii. 604. The comment in lines 33-35 was an understandably sour comment from a Protestant observer.  
6 On 20/30 September Sir Robert Anstruther wrote separately to both Secretaries of State that he had sent a messenger overland with news of the battle who had been forced to return to Hamburg (from where Anstruther was writing) due to the danger of capture; the Ambassador intended to send the news by sea. It is not surprising that his dispatch had not reached London by Friday the 15th of September, Old Style; PRO SP75/7/folio 209r, 211r, 221r.  
7 The Venetian Ambassador noted on 15/25 September that Palle Rosencrantz, Danish Ambassador to England, had not yet received any news from Christian IV; CSPV 1625-26, p. 548.  
8 I have not determined whether this was true.  
9 Although I have not traced this dispatch, such reports were sent to London: see for instance a newsletter of 28 August/7 September from Bonn; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.
to rayse money for their pay;\(^{10}\) which is now so scant with him, as on Munday morning he sett his hand to a warrant for the selling of 40 thousand ownces of plate at 5\(^{a}\) the ownce, which cost his progenitors with the guilding & fashion a mark & 20\(^{a}\) an ownce.\(^{11}\)

Privy scales do fayle, & Contributions are but mockeries, so that there is no way left but Parlament, although his Majesty hath willed the Lords to think of all other wayes saving that one; & the Duke will keep off that, as long as he can.\(^{12}\)

The Citizens should in all hast sett out their Fleet of 20 sayle, but doubt, they never shall, because they shall never dare to levy the money of the people.\(^{13}\) Some Masters of the Portsmouth Fleet are here making merry in Towne, &

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\(^{10}\) The Venetian Ambassador reported on 15/25 September that Charles "told the [Danish] ambassador that he would render his uncle every assistance, even at the risk of his own Crown, and hazarding his life, such being his precise words, as communicated by the ambassador...[Charles] added, almost with tears, that he was in distress for his personal wants and household necessaries"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 548; see also Cust, F. L., p. 39 (where part of this passage is cited).

\(^{11}\) For this order see APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 252–53 (the price there quoted is 5s. 8d. per ounce); CSPV 1625–26, p. 534. A total of 70,000 ounces of plate had already been sold by the Crown in August; Gardiner, vi. 133; see also above, p. 444 n. 5.

\(^{12}\) Only £948 16s. 4d. was paid into the Exchequer as a result of the Benevolence, and the Privy Seal loan had been an equal failure; see above p. 346 n. 9; p. 452 n. 8. On 1 October John Poulett wrote to Buckingham from Somerset that when news of the battle of Lütter had reached his locality a Parliament was expected: PRO SP16/37/5 [folio 7v]; see also Cust, F. L., p. 40.

\(^{13}\) A major difficulty in collecting this levy was that, quite apart from the unpopularity of the tax the Common Council of the City had "neglected to enact the usual provision to 'save harmless' the assessors and collectors [of the tax]'". This meant that the constables and others responsible for collecting money would not be able to receive financial aid from the City if they were sued for seizing goods without proper authority. This crucial flaw was only rectified a month later; Wren "Twenty Ships", pp. 326–28 (quote from p. 326).
being asked, when their Fleet wilbe ready to go forth, they
answere by way of geere, about Michaelmas come twelve=
month.14

Another London ditto.

Here is much lamentation for the King of Denmark whose disa=
ster is voyced by all to be exceeding great; which caused our King
on Wednesday morning to come in hast to White-Hall from
Theobalds to advise with his Counsell about some present succours,
which were then concluded to be 9000 men, who shalbe sent from
us immediatly besides those 3000 Redshanks, which went lately
out of Scotland, but are come to late.15

At Hicks-Hall to morrow the names of all Recusants
in the County of Middlesex are to be given up, & there are
Juries already empanneld here for their conviction; after which
the Statute shalbe executed which makes two thirds forfaict
to the King.16

14 The men in question were those serving in Willoughby's intended fleet, not in that provided by the City
of London. "Geere" (line 58) was a contemporary form of "jeer" (as in "a derisive speech or utterance; a
scuff, stout, gibe, taunt": OED, "jeer", 1).

15 Finet's account (M8v-N1r) confirms that Charles cut short his progress and left Theobalds for London
on Wednesday 13 September. At the Privy Council meetings of 13 and 14 September the decision to raise
the Forced Loan was taken: Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls was present at the Council meeting on 13
September and his notes anticipated most of the features of the measure; Cust, F. L., pp. 39-41, 46-47;
British Library, Additional MS 34324, folio 256r. The specific contemporary meaning of "Redshank"
(line 66) was "One of the Celtic inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands and of Ireland" (OED, "redshank(s)",
1); the delays in sending vital Scottish reinforcements to Christian IV are discussed by J. A. Fallon,
'Scottish Mercenaries in the service of Denmark and Sweden, 1626-1632' (University of Glasgow Ph. D
thesis, 1972), pp. 191–93. He comments on p. 192 that "British troops had...failed to arrive for the
critical juncture".

16 Although I have not traced this episode, the statute cited was 29* Eliz, c. VI. Under section iv of this Act,
the Crown was empowered to seize two-thirds of the land and all the goods of recusants who had not paid
the £20 a month fine for not going to Anglican worship; Statutes, iv (pt. 1). 771. Hicks Hall, completed in
The second Son of O-Roirck & another Irish Gentleman, whose Lands were confiscate, & themselves allowed a £100 per annum, but confined to the City of London are fled into Spaine for the want of their pay.\footnote{17}

The Lord Willoughby is very much discontented at Portsmouth, finding the Fleet weakly provided, & the Earle of Denbigh gone to Sea with 10 Sayle, having taken with him all the best men & the choisest victualls.\footnote{18}

[device]

Another London ditto.

Concerning the wofull accident befallen the King of Denmark, it is written, That a fortnight after the defeat given by him unto Tilly, the 2 Armies againe meeting & fighting long, the victory was doubtfull, till at length a great supply of about 18,000* fresh men coming unto Tilly's ayd, they set fiercely upon the Kings wearyed men, rowted & putt them to flight, slaying many (but how many, is yet uncertaine) the King

a: Alij. 11,000.

1612, had been built as a house of correction for the county of Middlesex. It stood at the south end of St. John Street near Smithfield and was both a prison and a meeting place for the local JPs; D. Freist, 'The Formation of Opinion and the Communication Network in London 1637 to 1645' (University of Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1992), p. 114.

\footnote{17} Although I have not traced this incident, the "second son" mentioned was the nephew of the Earl of Tyrconnell, the Ulster magnate who had rebelled against English rule in the 1590s. In Spanish plans for an invasion of Ireland (drawn up in the winter of 1626–27) he was to be sent on the expedition to persuade the Irish to support the invading army. For this see Reade, iii. 7–18, 20–22, esp. p. 9.

\footnote{18} Denbigh did not, in fact, put to sea with his full complement of ten ships due to lack of supplies; PRO SP16/34/53 [folio 87r]; SP16/35/26 [folio 36r]; in the second letter cited John Pennington noted that Willoughby's ships were "most behind hand for their victualls"; ibid. In spite of line 80 of Mead's letter Denbigh's dispatch of 18 September criticised the supplies sent with his fleet; SP16/35/102 [folio 145r].
hardly escaping to Wolfenbottle the prime seat of the Duke of Brunswick, having lost his ordinance & baggage.\(^\text{19}\) It was sayd, that the losse was such, as that the King should not be able to make head againe & then might the Enimy have freely gone, & mastered both the River Elve & the Sownd; where= by all Germany, Denmark yea the Lowcountries & we here our selves might be in the greatest danger of ruine.\(^\text{20}\) Tilly is sayd, to have sent the Ensignes he won to the Duke of Bavaria (who is sayd was dangerously sick) to be sent to the Pope.\(^\text{21}\) But the French Lieger at Brussells writes, the losse is not so unrepaireable as was sayd.\(^\text{22}\) And besides here is newes that 6000 English are gone out of the Lowcountries unto the King of Denmark & 3000 out of Scotland, & hath most of his owne men left: So that its hoped ere long by Gods blessing he may recover his honour & be revenged on his Enimies.\(^\text{23}\)

\(^\text{19}\) For the battle see nn. 1–4 above; Meddus’s account tried in lines 83–85 to reconcile the supposed victory by the Danish reported in earlier letters with Christian’s subsequent defeat. Mead’s marginal note indicates the diversity of reports circulating about the battle: according to Sir Robert Anstruther’s “Relation” (PRO SP75/7/folio 218r) seven regiments of Wallenstein’s army reinforced Tilly’s army on 15/25 – 16/26 August; see also above, p. 4^n. 4.

\(^\text{20}\) In 1626–27, due to the continued victories of their armies, there was a real possibility that Imperial and Spanish forces could gain control of the Baltic (and hence, among other things, of both the corn supplies of the United Provinces and the most important source of English naval stores). Olivares had fostered plans since 1624 to establish a Spanish naval presence in the Baltic, to the alarm (once his plans were known) of the English, Dutch, Danes and Swedes. See Elliott, pp. 218–19, 272, 322–23, 332–34, 361; Parker, TYW, pp. 79, 104–05; Roberts, ii. 315–18, 347–51. Fears for the safety of the “Sound” recur in several letters Mead received from London, presumably based on reports such as that in a newsletter from Augsburg of 30 August/9 September: “A Spanish fleete, in better order then that of 1588 is readie to goe directlie towards Denmarke for to take the Sound”; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r.

\(^\text{21}\) A newsletter from Augsburg of 16/26 August had reported the “dangerous sicknes” of the Duke of Bavaria, but another of 23 August/2 September noted that he was recovering; PRO SP101/29/folios 1v, 1r. For the standards captured at Lütter see above, lines 28–31 and n. 4.

\(^\text{22}\) “Leiger” is a form of the word “ledger”, meaning an “ordinary or resident ambassador” (OED, “ledger”). The resident French Ambassador at Brussels was Nicolas de Baugy, although I have not traced his letter; Tapié, p. 138.

\(^\text{23}\) For these reinforcements see n. 15 above. In spite of several rumours of Danish success against Tilly, however, Christian IV was not able to regain the military initiative in northern Germany.
The Prince of Orange his designe against Ostend was aforehand by some treachery discovered to the Enemy & he prevented.24

Of the King of Sweden Mansfeild & the Boores is lide more then last week; save it is sayd the Pole sends 60,000 men against Sweden.

It is sayd, the French King would not receive our Kings packet, being by the Popes Legatt required not to treat with us, till our Queenes late Bishop be returned from Rome, who soone after his coming into France went thitherwards to compleaine to the Pope of our dismissing of the French;25 the Pope taking it as done against himselfe, & therefore, that the French King should follow the Popes directions. Its also sayd, the French King will have 30 of qualitie French to attend on the Queene, or he will dismisse his Scottish Guard, & resume his pensions from them.26

We had here a great speach of the galliots about 50 at Saint Sebastians, & 4000 men come thither over land from Catalonia to imbarque in them, pretended for Dunkirk, but feared by some here, rather to be for Silly Illands: Howbeit it is now sayd, they were to have surprised a good Piece a Towne in Bretagne, which being discovered to the French, & the place well manned & provided, the Spanyard is sayd to have disbanded them.27

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24 I have found no reference to an intended itlick by Prince Frederick on Ostend.

25 The Venetian Ambassador reported on 15/25 September that "it is generally reported...[in London] that the Bishop of Mandes is going to Rome to acquaint the pope with these events [the expulsion of the French] and take his advice"; CSPV 1625-26. p. 547.

26 I have not traced Louis threatened cashiering of his attendants.

27 Reports had reached the government for a number of weeks that considerable naval preparations at the Basque ports of St. Sebastian and Santander, mostly involving vessels of small burthen, were underway; PRO SP101/91/folios 4r-v (newsletter of 22 July/1 August from St. Jean de Luz), SP16/33/23 [folio 39r] (report dated 2 August); SP101/91/folio 5r (newsletter of 19/29 August from Bayonne); SP16/34/8 [folio 11r-v], (report of 20 August); the last cited suggested that a fleet of 250 ships was being assembled against England. A newsletter of 16/26 September from St Jean de Luz, however, suggested that the fleet was bound for the Gironde to attack the English wine fleet leaving Bordeaux; SP101/91/folio 14r. The rumour that the
At Whitechappell a mayd child of halfe a yeare old,
having beeene a week sick, dying this day sennight & the Searchers
coming to view the body, found on the right leg on the
outside at the gartering place (which the mother sayd she
had not perceivd) certaine Characters, & as it were
Schratches with a pen & pricks all of them red, thus
\[ 0921 . \quad \text{the Skin under them stiffer} \]
then the rest. The Curate viewing it againe the next day
3 times, they still came neerer and neerer together. The child being
buried, was on Wednesday againe taken up & reviewed, when
the characters & scratches were gone & a very hard bump
in the place they were, & a blew streak in the gartering
place rownd about the leg. Master Crashaw carryed to the
King the form of it. Some seeme to guess at it, but I
think it is onely knowne to God what it meane.\(^{28}\)

Another London ditto.

The favourablest relation of Denmarks defeat (as an Alderman had
it from his Factor at Wolfenbottle) is that he came in thither with 80 Companies
in very good order, missing only 200 of his horse & 2000 of his foot; of which it is
hoped many are not slayne. He filleth up his numbers & addresseth himselfe to the feild. Others
say he lost 4000 &c.\(^{29}\)

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Spanish had disbanded the fleet was false, A "galliot" (line 120) is a "small galley or boat, propelled by
sails and oars...in English applied esp. to Spanish and Mediterranean vessels" (OED, "galliot", 1).

\(^{28}\) News of this incident reached Dr. Thomas Goad as he was writing his preface to Vox Piscis, the published
version of the tracts found in the Cambridge codfish in June 1626 (which Mead later sent to Dalham: see
below, p. \(77^\text{r} n. 6\)). Goad believed that the "letters and characters imprinted, and...found in the flesh of a
childe of halfe a year old" were, like the appearance of the "Book-Fish" one of the "strange and prodigious
signes and presages" showing divine intervention in human affairs: STC 11395, Vox Piscis, A5v–A6r
(quotations from A5v, A5r). "Master Crashaw" was William Crashaw the noted divine (father of Richard the
poet), former Fellow of St. John's College Cambridge and Vicar of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, from 1616 to
26; Venn, i. 414. A "Searcher" (line 129) was a "person appointed to view dead bodies and to make report
upon the cause of death" (OED, "searcher", 2e).

\(^{29}\) That Mead's source supplied only the "favourablest relation" of the battle is not surprising; as we might
expect it was an underestimate of Christian's losses. Contemporary estimates put the number of dead at
6,000 with 2,500 more prisoners; Wedgwood, p. 212.
The Lord Digby is gone from the Tower to his House at Sherburne, at least for some weeks. The Lord Steward & Keeper procured that grace for him from the King, which when they made the Duke to understand (who met them as they came away) he told them, he was sorry he was not the first mover of it.  

The King pressed the Lords much to devise, how more money may come in by privy seals, bidding them send those to Denmark that denyed to pay. When the Lord Mandevile moved that by way of motive he would insert into the letters that they should be payd the next Parliament, the King disliked it utterly.  

The City murmureth much at the taxe lately imposed upon them, to raise £18,000 by the payment of a fourefold proportion to that which is payd in the poorea Book: Many deny to pay it.

Textual Notes: line 121] the 50 galliots MS.  
line 133] as it were Sehmatehes MS.  
lines 158–60, The City...it] A continuation of Mead’s letter in the margin, written at right-angles to the preceding text (see the photocopy of this page facing p. 470).

30 The time initially allowed to Bristol (once again incorrectly titled in line 150) to return to his house at Sherbourne was six weeks, according to Salvetti; *HMC Skrine*, p. 85; see also Lockeier, p. 333.  

31 This is a report of the Privy Council meeting of Thursday 14 September at which the decision to levy the Forced Loan was finally taken; Cust, *F. L.*, pp. 40–41. According to *APC Jun.–Dec. 1626*, on the 14th “[Charles] did...expressly commande their Lordships to devise, advise and deliberate by what meanes and wayses his Majesty might most speedily and fitly be provided and furnished with money for the effecting of those so necessary and important desseignes”; p. 268. The Venetian Ambassador reported on 22 September/2 October that Charles had stated to the Council “that every effort must be made to find money, regardless of cost, and they might pledge his word and his crown, but there was to be no question of Parliament”; *CSPV 1625–26*, p. 558. Lord Treasurer Manchester was incorrectly identified (by his earlier title of Viscount Mandeville) on line 155; see also Cust, *F. L.*, pp. 40–41 and p. 41 n. 7.  

32 For this “fourefold proposition”, see above, p. 453 n. 9. Wren points out that the “twenty ships were expected to cost London £18,000”; *Twenty Ships*, p. 325.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 30 September (misdated 31 September by Sluteville), and sent with Mead’s transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 22 September. Lines 22–745 taken from a newsbook. This letter and the enclosed transcript were not delivered on Saturday 30 September as intended due to a mistake at Geffery Finch’s shop (see below, p. 483 lines 3–14) and was not sent to Dalham until the following Tuesday, 3 October. Folios 132v–33r blank; subscription (dated “7ber 30”) on 133v.]

3[0] September 1626

Sir,

I suppose you have received, what I left with Master Oxley to send. Since I have received this enclosed to which I cannot adde much unless from the Corrantio. But of do mestick first.

The report of a prize taken by the Earle of Warwicks ship is wholly false; his Ship is not yet gone forth of the River; the ground of the mistake seemes to be the taking of the 4 Hamburgers upon the Scottish shore mentioned in the enclosed.

At London they say, when the Officers come to ^ di ^ straine for the taxe lately imposed, the people rescue one another; whereupon the Lords of the Counsell have satt, but more I know not, save that a Parlament being mentioned in their Consultation the King (who was present) sayd he did abominate that name.

It was supposed the French Ambassador came with such a errand, as the King would give him but Tom

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1 Mead’s letter of the previous week with its enclosure; see the Headnote to p. 462 above.
2 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.
3 See Mead’s transcript of London news dated Friday 22 September below, p. 492 lines 115–19. I have not found any reference to the rumour concerning the Earl of Warwick.
4 This was part of the considerable resistance to the collection of the levy to pay for the City Fleet; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, pp. 327–30.
5 The Council meeting mentioned here presumably took place in the week before Saturday 30 September, but the Register of the Privy Council does not record Charles’s presence at any meetings between the 23rd and the 29th; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 289, 292, 296; see also Cust, F. L., p. 42 n. 10.
Drummes entertainment. How it proves I yet know not.  
Some say he brings 6 Sorbonists with him, Divines & Lawyiers.

The Bishop of Winchester (Andrewes) dyed [on]  
  Munday in the forenoone. A great Prelate is gone.

The King of Denmark (sayth the Corrant) is gone  
on the other side the Elbe to reenforce his Army, others say  
he maketh proclamation to expose the Dukedome of Lunenburg  
to pillage to such as will serve him. This Duke is a Lutheran  
a scurvie one. In the yeare 1623 he revealed the Consultation  
of the Princes of Lower Saxony (whereof he is one) & under hand  
gave the Imperialls ayme to overthrow & defeat his Cosen  
Brunswick, hoping thereby to inherit the Dukedome of Bruns-  
wick, the elder Duke having no child, & his brother he hoped  
by this meanes would be proscribed. And now he hath merited  
the second time by bringing fresh ayds to Tilly whereby the  
King lost the field.

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6 This was one of several rumours that Bassompierre’s embassy might not be well received by Charles; see  
below, p. 171 n. 14. “Tom Drummes entertainment” (lines 17–18) was presumably similar to “Jack Drums  
entertainment” (“a rough time”); M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in the sixteenth and  
seventeenth centuries* (Ann Arbor, Mi., 1950), pp. 344–45.

7 While this report was exaggerated Bassompierre had brought the Oratorian priest Père de Sancy with him,  
who Charles commanded was to be sent back to France. Bassompierre refused; Memoirs, pp. 26, 44–46.

Due to his association with Andrewes Mead’s comment was doubtless sincere; see the Introduction, p. 31.

9 After his defeat at Lütter Christian was forced to retreat to Stade near the Elbe estuary in order to regroup  
his forces; Wedgwood, p. 212. I have not traced the proclamation mentioned in lines 24–25.

10 Duke George of Brunswick–Lüneberg had served in the Danish army since 1614 but changed sides once  
the collapse of the Danish army became apparent; Parker, *TYW*, pp. 168, 321. The “Circles” had been  
organised in the early sixteenth century for local defence; that of Lower Saxony referred to on line 27  
comprised Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Bremen and Magdeburg; ibid., pp. 14–15; Wedgbury, pp.  
464–65. For their consultations of 1623 which eventually drew Christian IV (as Duke of Holstein) into the  
war see Parker, *TYW*, pp. 73–75; Wedgwood, pp. 182–83, 190. I have not found any reference to Duke  
George’s alleged treachery, although as a result of the events of 1623 culminating in Tilly’s victory at  
Stadtlöhn on 27 July/6 August Christian of Brunswick forfeited any chance of reconciliation with the  
Emperor; ibid., pp. 182–85.

11 Although Duke George had reportedly reinforced Tilly’s army before the decisive engagement at Lütter I  
have not determined whether this report was true; see below, pp. 426 – 427  1610  14, 16 – 14.
Mansfeld went out of Moravia into Hungary, the
Lord Palsi giving him passage & afterwards blocking up the way
to exclude the Duke of Freidland, who now is passed
Silesia to follow him. Mansfeld is sayd to have bin in per=
son with Bethlem Gabor at Cashow in High Hungary,
& now to be marching back having joynd to his Army the
aysd Bethlem sends him, Who likewise prepares to follow him.12

The Husbandmen of Austria have forsaken the seige
of Lintz & some of them are gone home, but about 30,000
a are assembled upon a Heath resolved to fight it out & die
I unlesse they may obtaine from the Emperor free exercise of their
I Religion.13

Thus having no more to adde I rest remembring my
service to your selfe & my Lady & wilbe
Christi Colledg                      Yours at Command
September 30.                        Joseph Mead

a: Master Reading the Bedle dyed on Tuesday night.14

Textual Notes: line 1, 30 September 1626] dated “31 September” in error by the “annotator”.
line 8] ship who is MS.

12 For Mansfeld’s march through Moravia into Hungary see above, p. 456 n. 20. A newsletter
from Bonn of 5/15 September reported that he had been forced to retire in the face of a larger Imperial army
and was now in Hungary, “about Nitra, where without doubt hee doth meditate upon some advantage to
march towards Cassaw, expecting Betlem Gabors aide”; PRO SP101/29/folios 1v–2r. I have not traced the
rumour concerning the “Lord Palsi”.

13 Linz was finally relieved on 20/30 August by Bavarian and Imperial forces but throughout September and
October the rebels still posed a considerable threat, largely due to the severity with which the uprising was
put down; Wedgwood, p. 215; PRO SP101/29, newsletters from Augsburg of 30 August/9 September (folio
1r), 20/30 September (folios 1v–2r). The newsletter of 30 August/9 September cited above reported that
after the raising of the seige of Linz the peasants were not dispersed, “But keepe yet some campes, the
chiefest whereof is at Wiberow, Where they now require nothing but libertie of their religion”; ibid., folio
1r.

14 Richard Ridding had been Esquire Bedell since 1596; Venn, i. 457. John Milton’s second Latin elegy
commemorated the event; Campbell (ed.), Complete Poems, pp. 110, 510.
line 12] people res*te rescue MS.
line 29, the] altered from “that”.
line 40] ayds of Bethlem MS.
line 43] upon a h*he Heath MS.
lines 46–49, Thus...Mead] a continuation in the margin.
H390, folio 133v] under the address Mead added “This was sent on Saterday last
[30 September]”, referring to the delay in sending this letter to Dalham.
London September 22. 1626. (folio 127r)

A Copie of a lettre sent * from beyond Sea
containing a true Relation of the Battaile
betweene the King of Denmark & Tilly, &c.1

In my last I did acquaint you with the magnanimous resolution, which this brave King had taken to prosecute his Enemies.2 But it fell out so crossely, that Gottingen had yeelded upon reasonable good conditions, before the King could come to it.3 Whereupon his Majestie sought to sett upon Tilly, who avoyded to fight, notwithstanding that the King gave him many provo- cations thereunto: but Tilly like an old fox would not bite.
The King having spent much time, by reason of his great traine & much baggage did resolve to retyre, to give order in his Army, & to make new provisions. But in the meane

a: Some say from Sir James Hanstrudder our Ambassador in Denmark. 15

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1 Lines 5–58 (apart from Mead’s marginalia) are almost identical to a newsletter calendared among the Rutland papers, printed in HMC Rutland, i. 479: it seems likely that due to the importance of the news numerous copies were made of the original and circulated to various correspondents in the country. This account was probably not written by Sir Robert Anstruther as suggested in Mead’s marginal note: the former’s “Relation” of the battle, PRO SP75/7/folios 218v–19r, while similar in some details is evidently a different version of events. The author (with the date and contents of his previous letter mentioned on line 5) remains unidentified. For accounts of the battle see above, p. 479 n. 3 and references cited.
2 If “prosecute” is the correct reading here (the HMC Rutland text has “persecute”) it was presumably used in the sense “[to] follow quickly with hostile intent...to chase” (OED, “prosecute”, v., 5a).
3 Unlike the outcome of the battle this had been correctly reported by the newesbooks and other newsletters reaching London in late August; see above, p. 475 n. 8.
time (as I am advertised) Duke George of Lunenburg came to second Tilly with 5 or 6 fresh Regiments & took the passage from the King, between whom & Tilly sundry skirmishes happened the 15 16 & 17 of August near unto Lutter.4

The King (as is sayd) having many waggons & much baggage did the night before give order for the removing of his baggage & artillery; but divers of them had their carriages broken, which hindered the passage of the Army. In this confusion the troopes of the Enemie appeared, & the fight was furious. The King prepared & ordered his Army to Battaile, gave charge of the maine Battell to Generall Foucks, of the left wing to the Count of Solmes, & of the right Wing to Lantgrave Philip of Hessen second Son to the old Lantgrave Maurice.5

The King held still upon a little Hill to view & behold, & then to dispose as he should see it to be needfull: And seeing that the right wing was in danger, went in person to succour it, then retyréd, but seeing it againe in perill returned the second time to succour it, not without very great hazard of his person being unarmed. The yong Lantgrave was shott through the neck whereof he dyed; Generall Foucks was killed, & the Count of Solmes was cutt in pieces. It so fell out, that the wind, dust & smoke did beate in the face of the Kings Army to their great disadvantage.6 His Majestie had much ado to escape, but in the end did retyre with 5 canons & all his baggage; except 17 waggons & 11 pieces of Ordinance that were lost.

It is most true, the Enemie hath lost as many men & more then the King. For the King arrived the next day at Wolfenbottell

4 The two armies had skirmished for three days before the final battle; Wedgwood, p. 211. For Duke George of Brunswick-Lüneberg see above, p. 473 nn. 10–11. Anstruther reported that seven regiments of Wallenstein's army reinforced Tilly on 15/25 – 16/26 August; PRO SP75/7/folio 218r.

5 Ibid., folio 218v.

6 Roberta (ii. 266) has noted the importance attached to the "selection of a position: to have the sun behind you, and the prevailing wind in the enemy's face, was a great advantage in those days before smokeless powder". The suggestion that the Danish defeat was largely due to Christian's tactical blunders is borne out by the unfavourable disposition of his army reported here; Parker, TYW, p. 78. "The yong Lantgrave" of line 35 was Philip of Hessen.
with the losse but of 200 horse & about 5000 foot with
those that were scattered.7 Fuoks, The Lantgrave, Count Solmes,
Colonell Gorth, Povitish, Colonell Cripp a Dane, Wolfe,
Henry, Worsby are accounted to be slayne. Lohousen,
Linston, Frankin, &c to be prisoners.8 The speach is,

7 Characteristically, even after such a heavy defeat the best construction was put on Christian's situation; the rumour of Tilly's death on lines 48-49, the reports of Danish troop movements in lines 51-56, 58 and those of Mansfeld and Gustavus Adolphus in lines 59 and 63-64 were similarly (and/or falsely) meant to give the reader some reassurance. As note b indicates, Mead soon realised that the rumour concerning Tilly was false.

8 For those killed and captured on the Danish side see the accounts cited on p. 464 n. 3 above, and Magurn, p. 141; the "Extract of a letter written by General Tilly unto the Elector of Collen [sic] = Cologne]" added to a newsletter from Augsburg of 23 August/2 September, PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.

9 For those killed and captured on the Danish side see the accounts cited on p. 464 n. 3 above, and Magurn, p. 141; the "Extract of a letter written by General Tilly unto the Elector of Collen [sic] = Cologne]" added to a newsletter from Augsburg of 23 August/2 September, PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.

10 The newsletter from Bonn of 28 August/7 September reported that "the King of Denmark retired to Wolfenbüttel and there hee made and gathered againe his Armie, by the Armie of the Archibishop [sic] of Hall"; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.

11 Several secularized Bishoprics (and the lands and revenues belonging to them) in northern Germany were by the early 1620s in the hands of Protestant princes; Christian IV's younger son Frederick was by 1624 ruler of the wealthy sees of Bremen and Verden. It was partly to defend his son's rights (against a resurgent Catholicism determined to repose such lands for the Church) that Christian entered the war in 1625; Gardiner, v. 291-93; Parker, TTYW, p. 73; Wedgwood, p. 205.
is prevented.\textsuperscript{12}

Mansfeild doth proceed with good success in Moravia; Walstein (the Duke of Freidland) doth follow him nere.\textsuperscript{13} It is most certaine, the Turkes do make shew of attempting some thing.\textsuperscript{14}

The King of Poland is much troubled, being assaulted on the one side by the Tartars; & on the other by the King of Sweden, who proceed with victory.\textsuperscript{15}

God grant the States of the United Provinces may spare the Count Ernest of Nassaw to second the King; for there was never more need then at this time of such as he is.\textsuperscript{16}

So farre that Letter, the best Relation

\begin{center}
I have seen.
\end{center}

I heare we shall have publick prayers for that valorous King.\textsuperscript{17}

This weeks burialls are 168. Of the plague in 4 Parishes 5. Baptised 159.

\begin{center}
[device]
\end{center}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] The Administrator of Halle had occupied the castle of “Ruisbeulell”, belonging to the city of Hamburg on July 28/7 August, according to a letter written on 11/21 August; PRO SP16/33/79 (folio 117r); see also SP16/33/85 (folio126r); SP101/29/folio 2r (newsletter of 14/24 August from Bonn). Christian no doubt ordered the restitution of the fortress in order to prevent an open breach with Hamburg (the “Inconvenience” of line 56), all the more necessary in the aftermath of Lütter: for the return of the fortress see SP101/29, newsletter of 27 September/7 October from Augsburg (folio 1r).
\item[14] Part of the Ottoman army joined Bethlen Gabor in Hungary to fight the Imperialists, although in the event they were not needed; Parker, \textit{TPW}, p. 78.
\item[15] Rumours of this nature had been circulating for several weeks; see above, p. 425 nn. 8-9.
\item[16] No provision was made by the United Provinces to reinforce Christian, but the States had taken a secret resolution on 1/11 September that in view of the Danish defeat Prince Frederick should again go on the offensive to raise morale at home and abroad. Frederick did not, however, do so; Israel, pp. 169-70.
\item[17] I have not determined whether this was true.
\end{footnotes}
Another London ditto.

My Lord of Denbigh is returned to Portsmouth, some say, by reason of the mutiny of his mariners; others that he may go out in one body with my Lord Willoughby.18

The City go on with their Fleet, notwithstanding they can levy little or no money by the way, they have projected; because the Constables will not straine mens goods according to the warrant, though against their wills.19 Some of their Fleet shall go northward, as is thought to guard the Sea's against the Dunkirks, who begin to play their old Rex, having lately taken 5 Colliers out of the whole Fleet: & had they not bin terificed with the countenance of a good Ship bound homeward from Greenland, it is thought, they would have done, what they had listed with the whole Fleet.20

There is hammering by Noblemen, Gentlemen, & Merchants a brave designe, to set forth the next Spring for the WestIndies a Fleet of 60 sayle of Ships, with 6000 Landmen & 4000 Seamen.21

The Regiments lately dissolved in the Westcountry, are to be lodged in divers other shires, as some think (and I pray

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18 After sailing in late August (see above, p. 467 n. 18) Denbigh's fleet had returned to England with several of his ships in an unseaworthy state. After a number of delays the fleet sailed again on 7 October; PRO SP16/37/32 [folios 50r, 51r], 49 [folio 76r].

19 Wren notes that 16 constables and 3 churchwardens were imprisoned for refusing to "strain" (= distrain) the goods of those refusing to pay their assessment; taken together with the widespread refusal to pay the levy this meant that nearly all the money assessed was not collected. £9,334 16s. 8d. was still owing to the City twenty years later; 'Twenty Ships', pp. 326, 328.

20 I have not traced these incidents, but they were symptomatic of the naval power of the Dunkirk privateers at this time: see for instance Reade, ii. 607.

21 It was reported on 20/30 October that Charles "lately consulted some experienced persons about starting a company to trade in the West Indies, as already proposed by the late Parliament [see above, p. 242 n. 16], in consideration of its being extremely profitable for this kingdom and no less injurious for the enemy"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 596. In citing this report and lines 87–90, Appleby has suggested that "in essence...this implied nothing less than the formation of an unofficial company, organised on the basis of a privateering joint-stock, which would spearhead an informal assault on the Spanish Caribbean"; 'An Association for the West Indies?', p. 227. The plans, however, came to nothing.
God they be deceived) to force the Inhabitants to pay Subsidies.\textsuperscript{22} 

The great Ambassador Monsieur de Bassompierre is dayly expected here out of France (as we hope)\textsuperscript{6} to make a new Con=b federacie to underproppe the King of Denmark. For it should startle the French rather then us, because there is no Sea betweene them & Germany.\textsuperscript{23} The French King hath lately published an Edict for the demolition of all Castles & strong holds in France, saving those upon the frontires; which is thought, will cost many a broken pate, ere it be effected. 

Meane while in the Duke de Tremouilles absence in the Lowcountries, the King lately being in Brittany hath demolished 3 strong Houses of his, & that in reward of his loyall service.\textsuperscript{24}

\[device\]

\textsuperscript{c: But others say he comes of a worse errand & therefore not like to be so welcome.}

\textsuperscript{22} The rumour in lines 94–95 was false (although indicative of the apprehension in London surrounding the government’s attempts to raise revenue). It had been decided on 11 August, before the decision to levy the Forced Loan had been taken, to move the regiments billeted in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset to new quarters in Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; PRO SP16/33/78 [folio 116v].

\textsuperscript{23} For Bassompierre’s arrival in England see n. 24 below. This passage was being somewhat optimistic as to the reason for the Ambassador’s arrival as Mead’s note on lines 107–08 suggests: the embassy was concerned with the dispute over the Queen’s household, not reinforcing Christian IV.

\textsuperscript{24} In an attempt to prevent any further aristocratic uprisings, in July 1626 Louis XIII had promulgated an edict that all castles at a distance from the frontiers were to be demolished. A newsletter from Paris of 23 August/2 September had called this “a matter of no small moment”; Knecht, p. 51; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)/folio 1v.
Another London ditto.

All the Councell Table should have bin bound to Burlamach for the disbursing of 80 thousand pound to the King of Denmark, but Burlamach refuseth their bonds.\textsuperscript{25} I heare now that the demand of 4 subsidies & 3 fifteenes will be harder pressed in every shire then before.\textsuperscript{26}

I should have told you the former week, of the taking of 4 Hamburghers in Bruntillon about the north of Scotland, as they rode there at anchor, the Pilots being drunk on shore. They were laden with ordnance, powder, shott, cordage, pitch & tarre &c. All bound for Spaine.\textsuperscript{27}

Sir Edward Villiers President of Munster in Ireland is dead.\textsuperscript{28}

The French Ambassador Bassampierre landed at Dover on Thursday i.e. yesterday.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} lines 25–26] gave the left wing to the Count of Solmes charge of the MS.
line 31] seeing that \textsuperscript{aaa} MS.
line 48, that] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 127r.
line 84, taken] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 127v.
line 85] had it \^ they \^ not.
line 122, i.e.] .1. MS.
[Bifolium. Written on Tuesday 3 October and carried to Dalham on that day by Harry Law. This letter was sent with those not delivered to Dalham on the previous Saturday (see above) together with Mead’s transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 29 September. Folios 134v–135r blank; subscription (dated “8ber 3”) on 135v.]

3 October 1626

Sir,

I am sorry my letter miscarried, at a time you had so good company. Did not I write last week? Did not I come out of Essex before that time? I use not to stay everywhere as I do at Dalham. I have enquired what became of it, for it was written on Saturday before 11 a clock.\(^1\) I learn it was Geffery Finch’s man’s forgetfulness, & they gave it Harry Law to put in his pocket. You should have had in it an exact description of the Battell between Denmark & Tilly, being a copy, as I was told by some, of a letter written by Sir James Hanstrudder out of Denmark.\(^2\)

With this which is now stale I send you, such as came on Saturday. I hope they will both arrive safe. The Bell rings to Master Readings Funeral.\(^3\)

My Lord of Winchester (they say) died not worth above £12,000 which make many change their uncharitable conceit they had formerly of him. Finding that he gave much to the poor & prisons in London, & other good uses, the author not being known till now he is dead, & no doubt but hath received of God a reward openly of what he did in secret. He gave by his last will to Pembroke Hall £1000, to the poor in London £2000 to a kinsman 1000, the rest among

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\(^1\) For the importance of completing Mead’s letter before 11 am see the Introduction, pp. 54–55. Stuteville had evidently written to Cambridge to enquire why Mead’s last letter had not arrived as usual; in lines 4–5 Mead quoted Sir Martin’s questions in order to answer them.

\(^2\) Sir Robert Anstruther; see above, p. 476 n. 1.

\(^3\) See above, p. 474 n. 14.
his Kindred chaplaines & servants.\(^4\)

Thus with my best respect to your Selfe & my Lady

I rest

Christ's Colledg

October 3

Yours most ready
to be commanded

Joseph Mead

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4 For Andrewes's death see above, p. 473 n. 8. He left Pembroke College Cambridge (of which he had been Master between 1589–1605) £1,000 to provide two Fellowships; Welby, *Lancelot Andrewes*, pp. 41, 47–48; for other details of his will see ibid., p. 260.
London September 29, 1626

All we have from Germany since last week, is, that the King of Denmark having reinforced his Army to 30,000 strong gave them 2 months pay, made proclamation, they should be of good courage & valourous, & he would truly pay them all their due, hereafter subsisting of himselfe, & not relying on his allies. And it is sayd, there hath bin since a sharp encounter betwene the King & Tilly; of the succes whereof we can hardly yet learn the truth. For from Anwerp is written, that Tilly hath quite defeated the King; but from Holland, that the King had the better, as likewise I heare, the States Lieger Ambassador here hath it. This afternoone at 4 a clock we are to be before my Lord of London for directions how to pray for the King of Denmarks succes in these warres.

On Wednesday afternoone arrived at Tower Wharfe Duke Bassampierre the French extraordinary Ambassador, & was brought thence to his lodging in Leadenhall street (hired by his Herbinger) with 25 Coaches. The Duke came that evening to visit him, but was not admitted, yet returned at

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1 I have not traced this proclamation.

2 These reports of a second battle between Christian and Tilly proved false, but it is characteristic that letters from Catholic Antwerp and Calvinist the Hague differed so much.

3 I have not traced these "directions". This passage indicates that a clergyman (such as Meddus) was the author of this letter.

4 For the Ambassador's arrival at Dover and journey to London see his Memoirs, pp 11-14. Contarini reported on 29 September/9 October that Bassompierre had arrived on Wednesday 27 September, and that "Neither at Dover nor at any other place was he boarded, lodged or visited"; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 564-65. Finet noted (on N2v) that the lack of ceremony accorded Bassompierre was in retaliation for that given to Carleton in France (see above, p. 424 n. 1), and that his lodging was in Leadenhall St.
9 in the night, & had together an howers private conference.\(^5\)
That night his Cook made a fire against a Loame-wall,
which being pierced, the fire smothered backward all that
night & yesterday, with a great smell, till nere 6 at evening,
& then the flame burst out, but was soone quenched; yet
did about £200 of hurt to & in the neighbour house, being
a widdows, whose husband a chirurgian dyed in the late Cales
voyage.\(^6\)

There is a Proclamation for recalling & inhibiting the
payment of Privy Seales & benevolences, with order taken for
the repayment of what is payd.\(^7\) But in place thereof is a
Royall subsidie required of a mark in the pound according as
they are in the Kinges bookes;\(^8\) & they have begun with Westmin-
ster, where though at first it was perhaps opposed, yet at
length they have under their hands consented thereunto.\(^9\)

Its sayd Souldiers are going to lye along the Seacoast
in Kent &c.\(^10\)

This weeks buryalls are — 190

Of the plague in 2 Parishes — 2

Baptised ———— 189

\(^5\) For Buckingham's visit to Bassompierre on the night of the latter's arrival see the latter's Memoirs, pp. 20-24; Lockyer, p. 349; CSPV 1625-26, p. 565.

\(^6\) I have not traced this fire or those involved: "smoother" (line 23) is a variant of "smother", as in OED, 4a; "To deaden or extinguish...by covering so as to exclude the air; to cause to smoulder".

\(^7\) Printed in Larkin, no. 53, pp. 107-08, and proclaimed on 26 September: the final recognition of the failure of both the Privy Seal and Benevolence schemes launched earlier in the summer. By this time the decision to levy the Forced Loan had been taken; Cusi, F. L., pp. 37-39. For the earlier measures see above, p. 370 n. 9; p. 452 n. 8; p. 465 n. 12.

\(^8\) The seventh point in Sir Julius Caesar’s notes of the Privy Council meeting of 13 September, during which the prospective Loan was discussed, was "let every man pay so much as he is set in the Subsidy booke’s"; BL Add. MS 34324, folio 256r; see above, p. 466 n. 15.

\(^9\) The process of collecting the Loan began in Westminster and, as lines 50-52 below noted, went well; Cusi, F. L., p. 100.

\(^10\) For the decision to move regiments billeted in the West Country to new quarters see above, p. 481 n. 22, and for reports of the progress in moving them, PRO SP16/35/83 [folio 123r]; SP16/36/67 [folio 106r] and 67 (1) [folio 107r].
Another London ditto.

29 September 1626

After the Proclamation for cancelling Privy Seales & Benevolences; that before reported concerning the pressing of Subsidies home & in a new manner, is now come to passe in effect though not in name. For the Lords of the Counsell have called the Subsidie-men of Westminster man by man, & demand of them the value of 5 Subsidies but under the name of loan: They who are £5 in the Subsidie-book must lend the King 5 marks; for £3 3 marks &c & this rate holdeth in all: The Inhabitants of Westminster do all yeeld, not daring to deny the Counsell-Table.

Here is great suite for the Presidency of Munster:
Sir George Goreing stands hard to it, & divers others; but it is beleived, that Sir William Saint-Leger will carry it, who must allow £500 per annum to the widdow Lady^ of^ Sir Edward Villiers the late President deceased, & resigne up the place to hir Son, when the yong Gentleman shall come to be of age.11

The French Ambassador Bassompierre came to London upon Wednesday, & lyeth at his owne charge; his house costing him £50 a week.12 He hath gotten no audience as yet, nor shall have very speedily.13 He calles for a Parlament to settle the Queenes joynture, & requires the restoring of the French, the Preists especially; else biddeth defyance & open warre.14

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11 For Villieri's death see above, p.492, n. 29. Sir William St. Leger, one of those entrusted by Buckingham with overseeing the latter's considerable interests in Ireland, was duly appointed as President of Munster on 2 March 1626/27; Lockyer, p. 216; Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1625–1632, ed. R. P. Mahaffy (1900), p. 212.

12 On 17/27 September Carleton had reported Bassompierre's intention to pay all his own charges (after his first audience with Charles) himself; PRO SP78/80/folio 32v. This was considered most unusual; CSPV 1625–26, p. 565; Finet, N3v.

13 The French Ambassador had his first audience, in fact, on Sunday 1 October; Memoirs, pp. 34–43; Finet, N3r; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 565, 573.

14 For a report of Bassompierre's demands see ibid., p. 565. No attempt, in fact, was made to confirm Henrietta's jointure by statute until 1640–41 (when the bill was not passed); N. R. R. Fisher, 'The Queenes
The King Fleet is not yet gone out of the sleeve.\textsuperscript{15}

Courte in her Counsell Chamber at Westminster', \textit{EHR} 108 (1993), 332–34. (I would like to thank Dr. John Morrill for this reference).

\textsuperscript{15} Willoughby himself in a letter of 17 September stated his intention of sailing by the 20th, but did not leave until the following month; PRO SP16/35/107 [folio 151r-v]; Lockyer, p. 344; below, p. 499 n. 4. The "sleeve" = "the English Channel": Mead's source was presumably thinking of the French term for the Channel, "la manche".
7 October 1626

Worthie Sir,

I suppose you are weary of the book I sent you ere this. I would not Forerunne your opportunitie, but if you have done with it, you may please to send me it the next week; if you have not, I can willingly stay longer.\footnote{A hint that Mead wanted his transcript of The Forerunner of Revenge back. It arrived as he was writing this letter; see above, p. 449 n. 6, and lines 42-43 below.}

I have nothing to adde to the last I sent by Harry Law but that the Bishop of Ely died on Wednesday,\footnote{Bishop Nicholas Felton had died on 5/6 October; Chronology, p. 245.} & that it is sayd The Archbishop of Canterbury is dangerously sick.\footnote{Abbot was not in good health during 1626; P. A. Welby, George Abbot: the unwanted Archbishop (1962), pp. 122-25; see also Abbot's "Narrative" in Rushworth, Kkk3v; Cust, F. L., p. 26 n. 42.}

What a Companie of Bishops have died in a small time! 1. Senhouse-Carleile. 2. Lakes-Bath & Wells. 3. Exeter. 4. Andrews-Wincheiser. 5. Felton-Ely. If Canterbury follow, York will not be farre behind.\footnote{For the deaths of Senhouse and Lake, see above, p. 199 n. 7; for Cary, p. 326 n. 9; for Andrewes, p. 493 n. 8.} Of all these, there is none yet disposed except Carleile to Doctor White.\footnote{Francis White had been nominated to the see of Carlisle in June, but did not receive the Royal Assent until 19 October and was not consecrated until December; ibid., p. 236; CSPD 1625-26, p. 576. Laud had, in fact, been nominated to the see of Bath and Wells on 18 June and was confirmed on 18 September; Chronology, p. 229.} To have power of disposing so many cheife Bishopricks together, is a matter of moment either to build or pull downe that Faction in the Church which the present State or cheife Statesmen like not.

The Bishop of Ely overcome with kindness to Doctor Meddus
for his intelligence, & surprised at London at the instant, bestowed within this twelvemonth a Living in his gift in his Essex of £160 * per annum upon the Doctors Son (a yong Master of Art & an Oxford man) to the no small offence of his chaplaines especially Master Tilman, who was unprovided, & had disfurnished himselfe to depend upon him. The Doctor complained the last week, his Son was dangerously sick, & I am now told he is dead, & that the Bishop not above 2 dayes before he left his life gave Master Tilman a Presentation to the Benefice, as though he stayed to die, till he had corrected his error.6

By this meanes we are like to want the Doctors Intelligence a week or two, till his mourning be over. For I think he was his onely Son, & seemed a pregnant yong man. He had married the former incumbents widdow, which some thought did facilitate his getting of the Parsonage. But I rather think the aire then marriage kild him, for the Towne is in the Hundreds though but bordering; yet his parsonage stood remote from the Channell, upon a high ground & a most pleasant woodland Country to the eye, but the aire as the winds stand brackish. I knew the place once very well, before I knew Dalham.7

Just now I received your lettre, & see I might have spared a labour in the beginning of my lettre.

When I was in Essex, they told me new lettres were come downe to those in Commission, requiring them (after some insinuation of the ill managing of the former demand of supply) to sett

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6 This suggestive paragraph indicates that Dr. Meddus supplied newsletters on a regular basis to the Bishop of Ely who, evidently, was as interested in the news as Mead and Chaderton were in Cambridge. One wonders how many clients the Doctor had; John Pory certainly wrote letters to a number of customers. Meddus’s son Joseph was born c. 1603 and proceeded M. A. from Exeter College Oxford in 1624. “Master Tilman” (line 25) was probably Edward Tilman, a former Fellow of Pembroke College Cambridge; Foster, p. 998; Venn, iv. 242.

7 I have not identified the parish referred to in this paragraph. “Brackish” (line 40) was used in the sense of OED, 1: “Of a somewhat salt and saline taste; partly fresh, partly salt”.

a: Or better.
downe themselves under their hands according to the proportion of 4 Subsidies, & then to move the people by their example to give accordingly. 8

If this be so, it will not be long before you heare of the like; I heare say, Sir Robert Cotton, (the last called in Westminster) should say, He was glad to see yet the aw the people had of the Lords of his Majesties Counsell, & wished the Councell Table could be carried into the Countrie also, for then perhaps some good would be done. Which words being spoken before the Lords, were ill taken by the Duke, as intimating, the buisines would not so easily be effected in the Country, as it was in Westminster. 9

I heare againe of the King of Denmarks second encouter by such as come from Lynne where they report he went off with the better. But it is Holland newes. The first Battle tell all say was not lost by cowardise, but by disadvantage of number & place as appeared by so many chief Commanders slayne upon the ground, before they fled. 10

I heare the French Ambassador hath had audience but what I know not. 11 Nor dare stay to read this days lettres. 12 And therefore remembring my best service

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8 PRO SP16/36/43 [folios 68r–73v], “Instructions which our Commissioners for the loane of mony are Exactly and effectually to observe and followe” stated on folio 68r that “before your departing from...[the] first place and tyme of your meeting you shall your selves for a good example to others, lend unto us those several summes of mony...testified by the writing of your names with your owne hands”. See also Cust, F. L., p. 50.

9 For Cotton’s comments, see ibid., p. 100. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd later wrote to Nethersole that in spite of the success in collecting the loan in Westminster, “what willbe the successe further from London, and the awe of the Councell, is much doubted”; PRO SP16/39/25 [folio 51r]. A feature of the collection of the Loan was that Privy Councillors attended the meetings held in the counties around London to take advantage of the “aw the people had of the Lords”; Cust, F. L., pp. 100–01.

10 While this rumour concerning the supposed battle between Christian and Tilly was (as Mead suspected) false, his comments of the reasons for the defeat at Lutter were largely correct; see above, p. 444 n. 4.

11 See above, p. 447 n. 13.

12 As, presumably, the carrier was about to leave Mead did not have time to wait for his London newesletters written on the previous day.
to your selfe & my Lady, I scale & rest

Christ's Colledg
October 7.
Yours most ready to be commanded
Joseph Meade

Textual Notes: line 9, died] altered from "deed".
line 19, like] likes MS.
line 67] stay to heare ^ read ^ this MS.
line 72, Meade] a very rare spelling.
Worthy Sir,

14 October 1626 (folio 139r)

I send you our last week & the then Corran= to with 2 other books in all 8d; but one of them, I see is not worth 2d.1 I have since light upon a span new Proclamation which I send you, in time because you say you heare not of the Ayde by a loane of Subsidies: One of the Books I send containes Instructions to the Clergie to perswade you to come of. So I trow you will heare of it at length.2

It is affirmed from London That the Duke was so hotely encountred by the Saylors about this day sennight that he was since faine to sett a guard about his house, They demanded their pay with very high words & that if they were not satisfyed they threatened they would &c.3 I know not what you take the cause to be of the Kings not coming to Newmark[ett] as was expected & he purposed; but I heare some of opinion, that the Duke likes not so

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1 The “last week” of line 3 was Mead’s transcript of London news dated Friday 6 October enclosed with this letter. No copy of the newsbook mentioned has survived; see Appendix II. One of the other two publications sent was STC 9247; see Appendix I and, for a discussion of its contents, Cust, F. L., pp. 47–50.

2 Sir Martin had evidently written to Mead that he had not heard of the Forced Loan. The proclamation mentioned, STC 8843, “A Declaration of His Majesties clear intension, in requiring the Ayde of his Loving Subjects, in that way of Loane which is now intended by his Highness”, is printed in Larkin, no. 55, pp. 110–12; see also Cust, F. L., pp. 48–49. “Span” (line 5) was used in the sense of “span–new”, “Quite or perfectly new” (compare “spick and span”): OED, “span–new” (Mead’s use is cited, although the earliest dates from c. 1300).

3 Salvetti recorded that the incident occurred on Saturday 7 October, suggesting Mead’s report was accurate; HMC Skrine, p. 89. See also Contarini’s account in CSPV 1625–26, p. 587; PRO SP16/37/74 [folio 106r]; Lindley, ‘Riot Prevention’, p. 113.
unguarded a place.⁴

The new Corrant of October 11 which I have seene ⁵
telles us in divers lettres of a great victorie obtained by
the Austrian Husbandmen against the Imperialists or Bavarians
upon the 19 & 20 of the last month. That they first
defeated all Colonell Holsteins forces of 10,000 men,
whereof 4000 are sayd to be destroyed partly slaine partly
drowned in the river Donaw in their flight. Besides that
they defeated a Regiment of Colonell Hubber the next day (September 20), slew
the Colonell himselfe, with 2 Colonell-Lieutenant ⁶ of his Captains
a Captaine-Lieutenant, 7 lieutenants, 4 Ensignes, 8 Sergeants
besides divers other Officers. Thus from Reben in Austria
& from Vienna it selfe, & from the last that the Husband-
men took many rich booties of silver & gold to the value
of 100,000 gilders besides many horse & weapons &c.⁶

Mansfeld is yet in Hungarie. & joyned with Bethlem
Gabors brother, & Bethlem himselfe is strong in the mountaine
Townes, & there is a report also of a great defeat he
hath given the Imperialists by a Stratageme.⁷ And some
write he was marching toward Moravia.⁸

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⁴ Although I have not traced this rumour, Buckingham's unease at travelling to Newmarket was understandable given the threat of violence from the unpaid sailors then in the capital.
⁵ This newsbook was a later one than that mentioned in lines 3–4 above as Mead made clear; see Appendix II.
⁶ A report of the peasants' victory over forces commanded by the Duke of Holstein was included in a newsletter from Augsburg of 20/30 September; PRO SP101/29/folios 1v–2r; more on this victory (and an account of another over Bavarian troops) appeared in a newsletter of 27 September/7 October from the same place; ibid., folio 1r. While these reports were probably exaggerated, Salvetti noted on 20/30 October that the news was "not universally believed, [but] still the report produces its effect"; HMC Skrine, p. 90.
⁷ Count Mansfeld had entered Hungary on 24 August/3 September and had eventually joined with Bethlen's forces, but the joint army did not engage with Wallenstein's forces because it did not have enough artillery; Parker, TYW, p. 78; Angyal, 'Gabriel Bethlen', pp. 64–66. Bethlen's brother was named as "Istuan" in an Augsburg newsletter of 4/14 August; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r.
⁸ Reports of this nature had been heard before; Sir Robert Anstruther had, for instance, written on 1/11 August that Mansfeld and Bethlen had met "on the frontiers of Moravia"; PRO SP75/7/folio187v. See also above, p. 494 line 59.
The King of Denmark was retired on the other side of the Elbe, is now againe 7000 horse & 14,000 foot besides the forces of the Administrator of Hall coming to him, & the English which he expects coming out of the Lowcountries, & that he is about to passe the Elbe againe toward the Bishopricks of Breme & Verden, where Tilly finding little resistance doth much hurt. That Wolfenbutle will endure a seige, being well provided of all things, & the King hath written to his other garrisons to defend themselves bravely till he can releive them.  

The King of Sweden now batters Dantzick.  

The States Armie is marched up with 75 pieces of Ordinance towards Wesell & have strongly entrenched themselves betweene Rees & it, as though they ment to beseige it. Count Henry Vandenbeig watcheth them.  

All this I have from the Corrantio, & according to the modestest relations, but there is no mention at all of the Duke of Bavaria of his Sicknes, or of his death; so that I am afraid, the newes of his death in my lettre will not prove true, though I wish it would.  

I will not tell you how our Bishopricks will be bestowed till next week, onely it is worth a telling, that there is a talke, that Sir John Ogle shalbe Bishop of Saint Davids.  

Thus with my best respect & service to your...

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9 This appears (once again) to be a rather optimistic account of Christian's situation. After his defeat at Lütter he had had no alternative but to retreat to a more defensible position around Stade on the Elbe and did not mount another offensive in 1626; Wedgwood, p. 212. While Sir Benjamin Rudyerd wrote on 13 October that "There is an intention to send presently [immediately] 3 of the 6000 men in the Low Countries...to the King of Denmark" there was considerable delay in sending the English reinforcements mentioned in lines 42-43; PRO SP16/37/74 [folio 106r]; Better, 'Sir Charles Morgan', pp. 529-30.  

10 For the Swedish siege of Dantzeg see above, p. 415 n. 8; p. 414 n. 6.  

11 I have not traced this report.  

12 This was one of several rumours of Maximilian's death to reach London during the year, although he had recently been ill; see above, p. 464 n. 21.  

13 For the vacant bishoprics see above, p. 489 n. 2-5. Lines 60-62 (as Mead suspected) proved false, although Sir John's inclination to a clerical career had been reported before; see above, p. 567 n. 18.
selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledg

October 14

Yours most ready

Joseph Mead

to be commanded

I would buy my pupil
some books, he hath but a
poore Study, & nothing but
such books as he must needs
have. Are you willing I
should lay out a matter of
30 or 40 shillings to that
purpose? John Higham (who will
not make so much use of them) did
so the last quarter.

Here is My Lord Bacons
Naturall Historie in English of
6d price: will you have a Book
of such an argument.

Prompted no doubt by Mead's favourable comparison of John Stuteville with John Higham, Sir Martin must have agreed to this request since Mead's accounts show that he bought a number of books for John Stuteville in Michaelmas Quarter 1626; Alsted's Encyclopaedia (a two-volume set for 19s.), Aristotle's Ethics (2s.), Eustachius's Physics (2s. 6d.), and Magirus's Physics (2s. 6d.), a total of 29s. 4d.; CCA, T. 11. 3., folio 49r. H. F. Fletcher has discussed Mead's book purchases for his pupils in Appendix II of The Intellectual Development of John Milton (ii. 553–622). For the titles mentioned here see pp. 558, 562, 588, 598, 602.

In Annunciation Quarter 1626 [between April and June; this must be the period referred to in line 77] Mead had bought Higham a Bible (for 7s. 6d.), the Psalms (6d.), Aegidius's Physics (4s. 6d.), Javill's Metaphysics (2s. 4d.), works by Masius and Keckermann (9s. 6d. together), "Persius Bond" (1s. 2d.), Scaliger's "Subtilitate>" (3s. 6d.), Seneca's Works (6s.), Tolet's De Anima & Collegium de Anima (4s. 8d. together), and a Hebrew grammar (2s.), a total of 41s. 8d.; CCA, T. 11. 3, folios 39v–40r. For these titles see Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, ii. 555, 576, 597, 602, 606, 618. Higham's future career at Christ's indicates that (as Mead suggested) he did not apply himself too strenuously to his studies: he left in disgrace the following year. See below, p. 691 n. 8.

This is STC 1168; see Appendix I.
Textual Notes: line 17, Newmarke[t] ^ as ^ was] Newmarked ^ as ^ & was MS.
line 24 ] 10,000 men, &c MS.
line 28] with 2 other Colonell– MS.
line 33, 100,000] altered from “10,000”.
line 40, 7000] £7000 [i.e., Mead wrote “7000b”] MS.
line 50, Armie] the “A” altered from an “F”.
London October 6, 1626.

Though the Parishes of Saint Margarets & Saint Martins in Westminster have yielded to lend the King according to the Rate demanded of 5 subsidies; yet Saint Clements Parish the Strand & Dutchie with the Savoy have caused a rubbe the most of them denying to lend & stand ready for a presse groat rather then to yeeld a jott. Amongst them the Prophet Ball the Taylor is the cheife man, who for his boldnes in advising the Lords to more lawfull courses, is fast in the Messengers hands: He quoted Scripture to them mightily. Of these aforementioned were those who at the first when the Subsides were demanded, cryed for A Parliament.¹

The Citizens Fleet is almost ready; but the Chamber of London must beare the charge; for the people will not pay.²
And the Constables though commanded to distreine, refuse to

¹ PRO SP16/39/24 [folio 50r] is a list of thirteen subsidymen of St. Clement’s parish who were pressed for military service for refusing to pay the Loan; there is no “Ball” among them. See also APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 313; Cust, F. L., pp. 56–57, 100. For the initial refusal mentioned on lines 11–12 see above, p. 372 n. 6. A “prese groat [4d.]” (lines 6–7) was evidently the early Stuart equivalent of the “Kings shilling”.

² The Common Council of the City informed the Privy Council on 20 October that the ships were ready; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 331. There is a list of the fleet at PRO SP16/35/63 [folio 96r]. For the large-scale refusal to pay the levy see above, p. 485 n. 13; p. 494 n. 32; p. 480 n. 19.
take an Aldermans warrant,* saying they are the Kings Officers
as well as the Aldermen, & if they talke of imprisonment, the
constables reply they will begin with the Aldermen. Yet one
Constable hath distreined, & the partie will sue him this next
terme for his pains.3 Howsoever the Masters & Officers of
this Fleet have gotten a months victualls before hand.

The Kings Fleet is gone; God be their speed. They are
30 sayle. Before they could gett out of the channell, they were
beaten with a Michaelmas Flaw; The Royall–Defence sprung
a leak; Another Ship sprung hir maine mast, & these two putt
into Torr–Bay 3 leagues on this side Dartmouth; Some
of the others putt into Falmouth & some into Foy: But as
I am now informed, They all mett together at Falmouth &
about some 4 or 5 dayes since, they went away to the
Southward. We shall know their meaning before Christmas, for
they have but 3 months victuall, or but 4 at the most. It
must be the Iland voyage for the Plate–Fleet.4

Bassampiere the French Ambassador had audience at Hampton
Court the last Sunday, when he is sayd to have bin very bold
& peremptory; howsoever his buisines was cheifly conteined in

a: I heare, they would have their warrants from my Lord Maior himselfe &
securitie for being troubled by the parties afterward. But my Lord will
none of that; least all comes upon his neck being once out of his
Maioralie.

3 The Constables’ behaviour was probably related to the City’s failure to enact the “save harmless” clause,
thus making those distraining the goods of non-payers liable to the threat of prosecution without
financial protection by the City; see above, p. 466 n. 13.

4 After months of preparation and speculation Willoughby’s fleet, with less than three months’ supplies on
board finally left harbour; PRO SP16/35/107 [folio 151r]; SP16/37/19 [folio 28r], 29 [folio 44r].
Buckingham sent orders that the fleet was to intercept the returning Plate Fleet off Cadiz, a plan suggested
as long before as 7/17 July by Salvetti; Lockyer, p. 344; HMC Skrine, p. 78. A “Flaw” (line 24) is a
“sudden burst or squall of wind; a sudden blast or gust, usually of short duration” (OED, “Flaw”, s.v., 1).
letters, & we know no more then formerly. But it seemes in France we are toward a falling in againe, for my Lord Carlton is sudainly much made of, & had a cupbord of plate of the value of £1200 sent him for a present.

There is an Ambassador come from the King of Denmark whom his Majestie royally entertaineth; And the French Ambassador entertaineth himselfe as bravely.

This morning his Majestie came to Whitehall, & went presently, as I heare to the Counsell Table. The Queene is also expected here to day.

The late designed Bishop of Bath & Wells Lawd (& now sayd faire for Winchester) was in the meanes time on Tuesday last the 3d of this month sworne Deane of the Chappell; whereupon the Deane of Winchester (Yong) is retrayted from the Court much discontented, as having expected this place with 16

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5 See above, p. 447 n. 13. Bassompierre himself contradicts Mead's source, in that the first audience with Charles was kept deliberately short in order to prevent a scene (such as the King losing his temper or the Queen bursting into tears); Memoirs, pp. 38–43; see also Contarini's account, CSPV 1625–26, p. 573 and PRO SP16/37/74 [folio 106r].

6 Carleton had reported on 26 September/6 October that he had been courteously treated at his final audience with Louis XIII and given a present of gold plate; PRO SP78/80/folio 54r. Sir Benjamin Rudyerd wrote on 13 October that Carleton's gift was worth £1,200; SP16/37/74 [folio 106r]; see also CSPV 1625–26, pp. 575, 583.

7 This was probably Palle Rosencrantz; Finet, N1r. The French Ambassador paid his own charges; see above, p. 447 n. 12.

8 Charles is not recorded as attending the Council meeting on Friday 6 October; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 306–10; Cust, F. L., p. 42 n. 10.

9 Laud had been confirmed in the see of Bath and Wells on 18 September; see above, p. 449 n. 5. The rumour concerning his elevation to Winchester proved false although he had, it appears, considered petitioning for it (which probably led to the repeated rumours of his imminent translation). As Laud told Lord Scudamore, however, as he had so recently been promoted to Bath and Wells he knew "not how in modesty to be a present suitor again"; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, p. 260. Andrewes's death had also left the Deanery of the Chapel Royal vacant, to which post Laud was preferred; ibid., p. 261; H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud 1573–1645 (1940; revised edn., 1962), p. 78; see also Holles, ii. 339. To "design" someone (line 50) was to "appoint to office, function, or position; to designate, nominate" (OED, "design", v., 4).
A Bishop of this land & a Cambridge
man offered to persuade the Duke, that it was the best for
him to take the Bishoprick of Winchester himselfe: whereat
the Duke starting & asking how he could be a Bishop; If
your Grace (quoth he) will procure me the Bishoprick &
take the revenues your selfe. Fie on such Traytors.  
Concerning foreign affairs, The Duke of Bavaria
is dead & hath left his Dukedom to a Lay-brother, who
hath onely one daughter.

Here is a report at Court of a great defeat given
to the States by Henry Van-der-Berg: The States Horse

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10 John Young, a former tutor to James I, had been Dean of Winchester since July 1616. It was rumoured
that he had offered £15,000 for the bishopric which, if true, explains his irritation; F. R. Goodman (ed.),
*The Diary of John Young S. T. P.: Dean of Winchester 1616 to the Commonwealth* (1928), p. 6; Venn, iv,

11 I have not identified the Bishop referred to here.

12 Although this proved false (see above, p. 495 n. 12) these rumours persisted. Louis de Marillac informed
Richelieu on 12/22 November 1626 that Maximilian was dead; Sir Robert Anstruther (reporting the same on
16/26 December 1626) added that Maximilian's brother Ferdinand, Elector of Cologne "was to succeed to
the Dukedom by Imperiall decree"; Grillon (ed.), *Les Papiers de Richelieu*, i. 528; PRO SP75/7/folio 243r;
Parker, *TYW*, p. 3.
went upon a designe to surprise a Towne in Brabant, of which the Enimie having notice, partly by a Sally from the Towne partly by an Ambuscado, many were slayne, & amongst the rest the Duke of Bullion.\textsuperscript{b} \textsuperscript{13}

The Bishop of Ely died on Thursday betwene 4 & 5 a clock in the morning.\textsuperscript{14} Alderman Cockin also is dead, & Alderman Johnson dyed on Munday sudainly, having eaten grapes at Bow, as he was stepping into his Coach.\textsuperscript{15}

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<td>77</td>
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<td>177</td>
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b: This is now contradicted and affirmed that neither the young Duke of Bullion was slayne nor any more than 50 of the States horse & taken prisoners about 250 which are already ransomed.

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\textbf{Textual Notes:}

- line 20: Masters of & Officers MS.
- line 25: two putt in MS.
- line 35: conteined in his MS.
- line 54: discontented altered from "discontended".
- ibid. place by \textsuperscript{16} with ^ 16 MS.
- line 56, [t] is MS.

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\textsuperscript{13} This is probably a report of the victory gained by Count Henry Van der Bergh over Prince Frederick's forces at Ysselbourg on 23 September/3 October as the latter attempted to prevent construction work on the channel between the Rhine and the Maas (for which see above, p. 711 n. 1); Reade, ii. 608; Magurn, pp. 144-46. Mead evidently soon found out that the scale of Van der Bergh's victory was less than first reported and added a marginal note to that effect.

\textsuperscript{14} For Nicholas Felton's death see above, p. 491 n. 2.

\textsuperscript{15} According to the \textit{DNB} (iv. 684) Sir William Cockayne the notorious "projector" died on 20 October; perhaps line 71 referred to his last illness. Robert Johnson (of the Grocers' Company) had died on Monday 2 October; A. B. Beaven, \textit{The Aldermen of the City of London, Temp. Henry III-1913}, 2 vols (1908-13), ii. 54.
line 59] your Lør Grace MS.
Worthie/ 21 October 1626 (folio 145r)

Of the staying of the Commission for the Royall-Subsidie-Loane we have yet heard nothing here: But that it hath bin somewhat urged & absolutely denyed, as in Kent. That they would have layd this burden also upon the City of London, who are already troubled enough to gett up their Navie-tax, but upon some intimation by the Recorder to the Lords, it was not then pressed. This is all I have heard, & that according to rumour onely, How true I yet know not. It is like we shall know by this dayes lettres.

It is true the King of Denmark is about Stoad & the Bishoprick of Breme, but not upon any new overthrow fled thither, but retyr&d upon his first disaster thitherward, both to secure his owne frontires, & the better to reinforce his army. Yet there was such a talk here some fortnight agoe, as you speak of, but now silent.

Doctor Hanmer the Bishop of Saint Asaph is dead. Doctor Gostlin some think will hardly escape. I heard on Sunday that Mistris Warner was dangerously sick, but on Tuesday Jeffery Finch told me she was somewhat 

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1 Stuteville had evidently heard a false rumour that the Forced Loan was to be suspended and informed Mead in his latest letter. Although individual subsidymen refused to pay it the Loan did not run into any serious opposition until the refusal of several peers to contribute, and of the judges to subscribe to the legality of the measure; Cust, F. L., pp. 102-03.

2 The Privy Council decided to start collecting the Loan in Westminster rather than the City itself because the latter already had the burden of paying for the "twenty ships"; ibid, p. 100.

3 Stuteville in his latest letter had referred to another defeat suffered by Christian IV, but Mead (who had heard such rumours before) was able to reassure him. For Christian's movements after the battle of Lütter see above, p. 445 n. 9.

4 For once in this year of numerous episcopal vacancies Mead's information was false. Dr. John Hamner did not die until 23 June 1629; Chronology, p. 296. Dr. John Gostlin, Vice-Chancellor and Master of Gonville and Caius College since 1619, however, died on the day this letter was written: J. Venn, 'Dr. Gostlin', The Caian, 3 (1893), 89, 91.
better having gott some sleep the night before.

I think I shall send you Bacon & the Conference now.\(^5\)

I will see for Montagu next week.\(^6\)

Just now I saw letters from London, but I want time to tell you the contents. The Commission goes forward, is not recalled. Middlesex at Hickshall appeared but few, & most denied.

On Thursday the Lords sat at Lambeth for Surrey. Yesterday at Greenwich for Kent \(^\wedge\) to day \(^\wedge\) at Rumford for Essex.

Twas a false rumour our Fleet was returned. The King of Denmark had no second overthrow. The victorie of the Boores true. Mansfeild privailes.\(^7\)

Mistris Warner I heare now \(^\wedge\) is \(^\wedge\) very sick.

Thus in great hast with my service I rest

Christ's Colledg
October 21

Yours to command
Joseph Mead

Bacon's Natural History — 6\(^e\) — 0
Conference Hampton Court — 0 — 10\(^d\)

---

\(^5\) Stuteville had evidently asked Mead to send Bacon’s *Sylva sylvarum*; see above, p. 4\(^n\) n. 16. The second book is probably *STC* 1458; see Appendix I.

\(^6\) This was a volume of the collected works of Richard Montagu, sent the following Saturday; see below, p. 310 n. 2.

\(^7\) The latest news from London dated Friday 20 October had just arrived in Cambridge, and Mead hurriedly scribbled down the “headlines” before the carrier left for Dalham. The only point at which lines 23-29 differ from the fuller report Mead sent the following Saturday concerns the success of the Loan commission at Hicks-Hall; compare pp. 314, 916 below, lines 22-26, 69-74.
Concerning the success of the imposition laid upon the city, though it was imposed by an Act of Common Councell, hath bin denyed by the generalitie, so that none have payd except some 2 or 3 in a parish, & this denyall they still persist in, notwithstanding they have bin threatened by the Maior & Aldermen with imprisonment & distraining their goods: Some Constables for refusing to distrain have kissed the Counter & some have taken up their lodgings in Newgate, but have bin since released: others have made distresse in divers places, but for the most part they took nothing but old ends, such as nobody much cared for; & where they took better commodities, yet could they get no customers to give money for them, though they might have had Robin–Hoods peniworths.¹

So the business now stands, & for ough I can heare, unlesse some other project come to help, the Fleet will not get out of the Thames.²

In the mean time our Enimies the Dunkirkers

¹ For the arrest of City constables for refusing to seize the goods of those refusing to pay the levy see above, p. 480 n. 19. In spite of the threat of imprisonment, some officers still refused to distrain property because they claimed to know nothing of the goods’ value; they were eventually ordered to take any items and bring them to the Guildhall for valuation. Even after this the distrained property was not actually sold until 1633, underlining (as Wren notes) the rather half-hearted attempts to sell off distrained goods described here. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the City was owed over £9,000 as a result of the ship levy; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, pp. 326, 328–30. The “Counter” (line 9) referred to the London prison of that name (OED, “counter”, s², III, 7); a “Robin–Hoods peniworth” (line 15) was “a thing or quantity sold at a robber’s price, i. e. far below the real value” (ibid., “pennyworth”, 3d, first citation 1631, although the first example in Tilley (A Dictionary of Proverbs, p. 573) dates from 1582).

² Pory was not alone in this view; Salvesti reported on 13/23 October that the “twenty war–ships provided by the city for His Majesty are ready, but they are very slow about sending them to sea; so much so, that many think that they will not leave the river this winter”; IMC Shrines, p. 89.
play Rex in our Sea's & have this week taken three
Amsterdammers & a Holland Man of warre which came
for their convoy hitherward.3

The last week Count Henry van den Berg sent to
the Prince of Orange, to tell him, that such a night he
would come & see what watch he kept; whereupon the Prince
(fearing he would be as big as his word (as indeed he was)
enforced his watch & prepared to make him welcome. In
the morning about 7 a clock, the watch, it seemes sus-
pecting nothing, (the night being safely passed over), dispersed
themselves, when presently the Enemy came upon them within
their owne Trenches, killed some few, took others, & drave
away 400 of the Princes best horses. The Prince being
started with the alarum, makes after them, & with some
small field-pieces that he had shott at them & killed many
but could not recover the booty.4

Of the King of Denmark the last I heard was
that he was not farre from Hamburgh, & followed by
Tilly; I hear not yet what else this week brings
of him.5

All the good newes we heare is from the further
parts of Germany, That Count Mansfield hath given an
overthrow to Count Walstein, & that the forces of
Bethlem Gabor & the Boores are still on the pre-
vailing hand.6

The great French Ambassador is here still.
Of his errand, diverse men report diversely, some sayd

3 Although I have not identified these captures by the Dunkirkers the Venetian Ambassador noted their
effective control of the seas at this time; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 586, 596; see also Reade, ii. 607.
4 For this engagement see above, p. 502 n. 13. On 5/15 October Rubens reported the "skirmish and the
foray of Count Henry de Bergh into the encampment of Dutch cavalry" and that Prince Frederick had lost
"about one thousand horses"; Magurn, pp. 145–46.
5 For Christian's movements in the aftermath of his defeat at Lütter see above, p. 495 n. 9.
6 This rumour concerning Mansfield's victory was exaggerated, as ?Pory recognised in his newsletter
written on Friday 20 October (see below, p. 520 lines 105–09). A newsletter from Augsburg of 20/30
September had, however, reported a rumour that Mansfield had been victorious over Imperial forces; PRO
SP101/29/folio 2r. For Bethlem and the "Boores" see above, p. 494 nn. 6–7.
to complaine of the Duke, because he desired audience in private & was with the King an houre alone.7
Others say the Duke & he understands one another. This I am sure, the Duke is almost every day with him, & they ride often abroad together, themselves alone in the coach.8 Yesterday at the Exchange they sayd he demands the restoring of 30 French Preists.9
You cannot but hear of the 2 Proclamations. One is for the restraint of Soldiers & mariners disorderly resorting to the City of London in Companies, & was occasioned by an affront that some of them offered to the Duke in a tumultuous demanding of their pay.10 Two days since my selfe saw some of them walking before me in the street non sine strepitu,11 & sayd they had bin with the Duke for money, & they should have it they sayd, when the Divell was blind on both

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7 Bassompierre had had a private audience with Charles and then Buckingham on Thursday 5 October; Memoirs, pp. 51-53; see also CSPV 1625-26, pp. 581-82.
8 After the private audience with Charles, Bassompierre had “had a long conference with the duke, speaking very freely”; ibid., p. 582.
9 Bassompierre had “asked for the appointment of commissioners for the discussion of his claims” and this body of 12 Councillors had had their first meeting on Wednesday 11 October: “From what has transpired so far he...[asked] for the re-establishment of a bishop, twelve priests, two ladies, a chamberlain and some other French gentlemen, the entire number amounting to thirty persons”; CSPV 1625-26, p. 582; see also HMC Skrine, p. 94. It was agreed on 28 October to readmit some French servants (including a Bishop and twelve priests) to the Queen’s household; Memoirs, pp. 77-78; see also Lockyer, p. 350; PRO SP16/39/25 [folio 51r]; SP78/80/folios 128r, 130v. Rumours of these negotiations had evidently filtered through to the Exchange, although (characteristically perhaps) the “Paul’s Walkers” thought the readmitted French entourage would only consist of priests.
10 The first proclamation mentioned was STC 8842, “for the restraint of the disorderly repair of Mariners and Soldiers unto the Kings Court, or Citie of London”, printed in Larkin, no. 54, pp. 108-10; see also APC Jun.-Dec. 1626, p. 306. The second was that officially announcing the Forced Loan, for which see above, p. 493 n. 2.
11 “Non sine strepitu” = “not without crying out”; a comment on the sailors’ rowdiness.
eyes.\textsuperscript{12} I knew not their meaning, but they are a terror to all Costard-mongers as they passe, who are afrayd of them more then the Duke.\textsuperscript{13}

The Bishop of Winchesters funerall is on Thursday come sennight.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 53, Preists\} "P" altered from an "F".
line 62\} blind with on both MS.
line 64\} passe, who feare-them MS.

\textsuperscript{12} This phrase is probably related to "when the devil is blind", meaning "at a date infinitely remote" (\textit{OED}, "devil", 22d, first citation 1662; see also Tilley, \textit{A Dictionary of Proverbs}, p. 155). The sailors evidently had little confidence that they would receive their back pay.

\textsuperscript{13} "Costard-monger" (line 64) = "costermonger", originally "an apple seller, a fruiterer; \textit{esp.} one that sold his fruit in the open street" (\textit{OED}, "costermonger", a). The meaning of lines 64–65 is probably that the apple-sellers of London were more afraid of the sailors than the Duke was, as (unlike Buckingham) they could not rely on the City's trained bands to protect them.

\textsuperscript{14} Either this was incorrect or the ceremony was delayed; Andrewes was buried at St. Saviour's Southwark on Saturday 11 November, not Thursday 26 October as suggested here; Welsby, \textit{Lancelot Andrewes}, p. 260.
Worthie Sir,

Since your pay is so good, I have sent you

a 2 books more, 1. The Book of Homilies. To which I caused

1 to be annexed The Forme of Consecration of Bishops Priests &

Deacons. 2. Montagu's { Gagg } all bound together as

{ Appeale } { Invocation }

you desired, but (such is the wit of Bookbinders) The Appeale

is before the Gag: which is a Solecisme, but no mightie fault.

It was so bound at London, & I could not get another, nor could

^ hope ^ to have one so neatly beaten &c. But if you like it not

& will stay upon hazard for another, send this back againe. 2

a: price

Homilies 8s

Montagu 7s 6d.

summe 15s 6d

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1 This volume comprised two texts, the exact identity of which are impossible to determine since there
were so many editions. The most recent published texts of the "Book of Homilies" were STC 13659 and
13675, and that of the Ordinal STC 16468. See Appendix I.

2 Mead had bought a number of books for Sir Martin attacking Richard Montagu's works earlier in the year,
and now sent the "offending" texts themselves in one volume, keeping Dalham's "Church-librarie" well
abreast of developments. The books were STC 18038, STC 18030 and STC 18039; see Appendix I. As STC
18030 (the "Appeal") was published in 1625 replying to the controversy caused by STC 18038 (the
"Gagg", published in 1624) the former should have been bound first, as Mead pointed out. Sir Martin was
evidently pleased with the book, however, since he did not return it. (See Appendix I, pp. 99, for a
discussion of these purchases). "Beaten" (line 12) could refer to one of two processes in book manufacture;
the even applying of ink on the forme during the printing itself, or the beating flat of the completed pages
with a hammer and block, several gatherings at a time, to achieve the required thickness of the book; see P.
Your Church–librarie I suppose is now complete: I know nothing you want.

I perceive by your lettre (by Master Danford) that it wille no newes to tell you of Doctor Goslin’s death. He died the evening after I wrot my last. He fell a sleep at 4 that morning and awaked not till after 2 in the afternoone, when he was speechlesse & knew nobody & his Apothecarie coming sayd he was drawing \( \wedge \) on \( \wedge \) to death. Many of his fellowes would not beleve he was deadly sick, though himselfe had told them so, but thought it was onely fearfullnes. And till the Apothecarie told them he was dying, some thought \( \wedge \) rather \( \wedge \) he was not perfectly awaked.\(^3\) They have chosen Doctor Badgecraft their Master: It seemes they mane to be Quarter–masters themselves.\(^4\) I heare by some, that they first offered to elect Master Stokes, if he would accept it, who answered (ita aiunt) \(^5\) that he would not leave his Companie for 20 Masterships. But how true this is I know not, therefore I pray name not your author.\(^6\)

I forgott to tell you last week. That Master Pagitt (my Lady called him Cosen) his wife is dead. He certifyed me so by his lettre of October 19 as \( ^{\wedge} \) a \( ^{\wedge} \) reason why he could not himselfe as he purposed come to Cambridge with his son being in mourning. He had written to me but a fortnight before, & then all was well.\(^7\) Thus you see how death is on every side, & we know not when our owne turne comes: which God prepare us for, whensoever

\(^3\) For an account of Goslin’s death see Venn, ‘Dr. Goslin’, pp. 90–91; see also above, p. 584 n. 4.

\(^4\) The election of Dr. Thomas Batchcroft (Fellow of the College since 1595) led to controversy through the alleged interference of the Duke in attempting to overturn the election, which caused Mead considerable anxiety and indignation over the following weeks; Venn, i. 104; see also Morgan, pp. 33–35, 445, 492–93 and n. 215. I presume the reference to “Quarter–masters” in line 25 implied Mead’s belief that the Fellows of Gonville and Caius intended to use Batchcroft as a figurehead and effectively run the College themselves.

\(^5\) “So they [the sources of Mead’s story] say”.

\(^6\) Matthew Stokes was a Fellow of Gonville and Caius senior to Batchcroft (he was elected in 1592), which probably explains the rumour that he was the first choice as Master; Venn, iv. 167.

\(^7\) Catharine Pagitt’s sister Judith was the wife of Sir John Isham of Lamport, making her the sister–in–law of Susan Lady Stuteville (and explains Susan Stuteville’s reference to Pagitt as her “Cosen”, line 31); Peile, 69, 378. Given the close family link between the Pagitts and the Stutevilles her death was perhaps already known to Sir Martin.
it shalbe. But I am glad to heare that Mistris Warner mendeth & that they hope the worst is past.

Whether the Commission for the Subsidies be like to come amongst you, you shall conjecture by that I send.\(^8\) I heard that as the Lords managed the buisines neere London, so one of the Counsell, should be sent into every shire to further it.\(^9\) But unlesse the successe of their first proffe give hope of an universall yielding, perhaps some other way will be taken. & it may be as much beyond this, & this is beyond the former. Shall I tell you what they talk at London? That the Duke should say He would have money, if it were in the Kingdome. That the French Ambassador having gotte\(^n\) an inclination from the King to a Parlament to settle the Queenes joynture the Duke should say to his Majestie, By God, Sir there shalbe no Parlament.\(^{10}\)

Some Londoners which told me this, told me also, That at Hicks-Hall, when some denied to subscribe the loane, the Duke should say, Sirra, Take heed what you doe; Did not you speak treason at such a time &c. The Earle of Dorsett asking a fellow (who pleaded he was unable) what trade he was of, & being answered a Taylor; Come come sayth he, one Snip will make amends for all & other such like, which they say was not wont to be in dayes of yore. God dispose of all to the best.\(^{11}\)

The magnanimous Queene of Bohemia who hath hitherto with a fortitude beyond hir Sex borne so many calamities undauntedly; is now suddenly marvailously dejected & will not be comforted. The reason I heare not, nor know whether it be

\(^8\) Mead recalled the rumour in one of Stuteville's letters to him that the Forced Loan was be suspended (see above, p. 558 n. 1) and referred him to the latest news concerning it in the transcript of London news enclosed with this letter.

\(^9\) For this aspect of the collection of the Loan see above, p. 491 n. 9.

\(^{10}\) I have not traced this rumour, which presumably originated in reports circulating in London about Bassompierre's audience with Charles and Buckingham (for which see above, p. 599 n. 7-9).

\(^{11}\) Citing the Duke's and Dorset's language reported in lines 50-56, Cust has suggested that this aggressive attitude towards Loan refusers was characteristic of the government's attitude at this time, which continued until more serious opposition to the measure made a change of tactics necessary; F. L., pp. 101-03; see also D. L. Smith, 'The Political Career of Edward Sackville, Fourth Earl of Dorset (1590-1652)' (University of Cambridge Ph.D thesis, 1989), pp. 80-81. For "Hicks-Hall" (line 51) see above, p. 446 n. 16.
knowne; but the Countesse of Bedford (from whom my author saith he had this) hath a purpose to goe over unto her.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus with my old & best respect I rest not forgetting
my service to my good Lady

Christ's Colledg
October 28
The even of the fatall [day]
wherein Prague was lost
this time 6 yeare, being
then (as it is now) Sunday.\textsuperscript{13}

I receive just now a lettre from
Master Dew's as I guessc by the hand:
for I had nothing but an emptie case
to keep it cleane. What newes is in
it, I know not, the dore is lockt.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Textual Notes: line 19] you want want MS.}
\textbf{line 30) first offered Master to elect MS.}
\textbf{line 39] how freinds fell death is MS.}
\textbf{line 43] Subsidies be like be like MS.}
\textbf{line 55, subscribe] subscribed MS.}

between lines 67–68] at this point ten lines have been heavily deleted, probably by Stuteville after reading them (although the possibility exists that Mead himself did so before sending the letter rather than committing such a

\textsuperscript{12} I have not yet traced this incident but it did have a basis in fact; Lucy Harington, later Countess of Bedford had been a childhood friend of Elizabeth Stuart and remained her confidante and political advisor; S. Adams, ‘Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624’, in Sharpe, Faction and Parliament, p. 143.
Several reports of Elizabeth's illness reached London over the next few weeks.

\textsuperscript{13} Mead was correct: the battle of the White Mountain, which ended Frederick's rule in Bohemia, had taken place on Sunday 29 October/8 November 1620; Parker, \textit{TYW}, p. 61; Wedgwood, pp. 125–27; Cheyne, pp. 135, 141. See the Introduction, pp. 41–44 for the significance of such chronological references.

\textsuperscript{14} Unlike some of the letters sent by Simonds D'Ewes to Dalham via Cambridge this one was sealed, so Mead could not read it. He was sufficiently worried that the letter might pre-empt some of his own news to send a postscript with the latest "headlines" from London later on Saturday 28 October, p. 521 below.
I heard of a dream of the Kings about the end of the last Parliament [but I will not **** it] crying out in his bed, the bedchamber men ran [***] in, ask what ailes his Majestie he replyes with his eyes open Lay hold on him, He telles me, I must leave Averise & not loose the affections of [**] my people. They answer there was nobody in the roome; the King cries still, lay hold on him, take him away, Do you not see him Look yet he telles me now. My raigne will be short & troublesome &c &c ** after some while came to himselfe & was silent I pray shew not this lettre It wilbe ***** to publish such relations

Mead appears to have interlined "did" above the (doubly) deleted word "will" in the second line, the siglum prefacing the word to draw Stuteville's attention to the alteration. I have not found any other reference to Charles's dream; it is not surprising, however, that this report was so heavily deleted.

I have supplied this probable omission in the MS.
London October 20. 1626

We have from Germany this week onely one lettre
written from Collen to our Dutch Postmaster ¹ of our third
of this present, which he shewed me 2 dayes since & is to
this effect. That the buisines above began
" to go otherwise then it formerly did, & all by the subtile
" policie of Count Mansfeild, who began (so are the words
" of the lettre) now to play the Devill: for though himselfe
" were still in Hungary, yet he sent thence the Duke of
" Saxon-Weymar with 18,000 men into Silesia; which the
" Duke of Freidland understanding sent presently some thousands
" out of his great Army under the Count of Slicks com=
" mand, to encounter with Weymar, as they did; & betweene
" them was a fierce fight; but the Duke of Weymar kept
" the feild & took 18 ensignes of the Imperiallists. Here=
" upon the Emperor wrot presently to Count Tilly, forthwith
" to send up all the men, he could any way possibly spare.²
" That the Turks had taken some Townes from the Emperor,
" & the Boores gotten a third victory.³ And lastly that
" the King of Denmark was not yet any stronger, then of late
" he was. So farre that Lettre.

¹ Probably Matthew de Queiter, who had superintended the sending of letters to and from the Continent
since 1619. For his activities see K. M. Sharpe, "Thomas Withersings and the reform of the foreign posts,
² This rumour proved false, although a newsletter from Augsburg of 27 September/7 October had reported
(on the basis of news from Bavaria) that "it is certaine, that Mansfield, against whomne Wallstein [ =
Wallenstein] had sent before, the Count of Slick and the yong Count Serin with great forces, hath defeated
them, taking from them more then 14 Colours, and killing almost all"; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v.
³ For reports of the Austrian peasants' victories see above, p. 45 n. 6; for those of the Turks see below, pp.
552–53 nn. 15–16.
On Monday last were the Lords at Hicks-Hall neere Smithfield, whither that side of Middlesex were summoned, & where (it is sayd) all by one meanes or another yeelded under their hands to pay the new loane of 5 Subsidies. Afterwards the Duke & some 7 more rode & dined with the French Ambassador, who, is sayd, stayes not now much longer.

Of whose negotiation I cannot learne any certainty; yet some speech is, that he labours our readmitting of the French about the Queene, & That his Majestie should renonce all ayd in future to the Rochellors, Also that he mediates a peace betweene us & Spaine, with excluding the United Provinces, & therefore not like perhaps to take effect.

Also on Wednesday came ill newes from France to our Merchants which trade thither, videlicet that all our goods & shipping every where are anew arrested.

Our London Fleet being all ready there is a stay of it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burialls</th>
<th>214</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plague</td>
<td>3 in two parishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptized</td>
<td>170</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Another ditto.

There was a rumour here in the end of the last week, that my Lord Willoughby was returned with the

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4 The meetings at Hicks Hall took place on Tuesday 17 and Thursday 19 October according to a correspondent of Lord Montagu; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 307-08; see also PRO SP16/39/25 (folio 51r).

5 The Venetian Ambassador had reported on 13/23 October that Bassompierre had made considerable efforts to “advance the negotiations and for the rest announces his intention of departing very soon”; CSPV 1625-26, p. 383.

6 Bassompierre’s negotiations were primarily concerned with the Queen’s household; see above, p. 360 n. 9.

7 The seizure of English goods in France reported here was in retaliation for the capture of French ships at sea, in particular three richly-laden vessels taken by Lord Denbigh’s squadron; Lockyer, p. 351. See also PRO SP16/38/90 (folio 120r).

8 The Venetian Ambassador reported on 13/23 October that Buckingham had ordered “that the twenty ships now fitted out by the City of London shall not put to sea without fresh orders”; CSPV 1625-26, p. 586. The London fleet was probably at last declared ready for sea on Thursday 26 October; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 331.
Fleet, but now, we heare, it is not so. But from a very good hand I heare, That about 3 months since there were 2 ships set out from Bristol with lettres of mart, who took upon the coasts of Spaine a good prize having in Cuchinelle to the value of £5000 sterling. They took also another Ship with good booty, having among the rest divers lettres written from the Friars in Spaine to the Friars in Ireland, exhorting them to play their parts among the Irish & to assure themselves, that his Catholick Majestie will not faile to land an Army in Ireland this next Spring. As for our Fleet going out this yeare, they should need no more to be dismayed, then at the last. For that there was now ready an Armado to waft home the Platefleet & appointed to stay for it at the Tercera's or Saint Maries Islands, (where the Plate-Fleet useth to touch or make land), whither our Fleet is bound to surprise them, but the Spanish ready to guard them. If this be true (as it needs not much to be doubted in regard of the Intelligence Spaine may have thereof from hence) one of them must lye by the lee.

We know not yet what will become of the Royall Subsidie: it still goes forward, some pay & some stand

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9 This rumour proved premature but not false, as Willoughby's fleet was driven back to England before the end of October by heavy storms in the Bay of Biscay; Lockyer, p. 344. On 20/30 October the Venetian Ambassador had heard a rumour that the fleet had returned; CSPV 1625-26, p. 595.

10 I have not traced this capture although a Portuguese ship valued at £2,590, the Second Prince, had recently been brought into Bristol; Appleby, p. 267. "Cuchinelle" (line 50) is the dye "cochineal" (OED, "cochineal", 1).

11 The letters mentioned in line 52 have not been identified, but detailed plans were drawn up in Spain in the winter of 1626–27 for an invasion of Ireland during 1627; Reade, iii. 7–11.

12 Newsletters from Bayonne of 3/13 and 18/28 October reported that a sizeable fleet from the Peninsula was preparing to escort the Plate Fleet home; PRO SP101/91/folios 17r, 19r. The "Tercera's" (line 60) were the Azores, the first point at which the returning ships could touch land and receive fresh food and water (and hence the best place to attack them). The phrase "lye by the lee" (line 66), specifically meaning "to leeward [the sheltered side of any object]" was used in the colloquial sense of having the worst of an engagement at sea; OED, "lee", s², 2b.
out, as yet do many of Saint Clements in Westminster. On
Munday the Duke with the rest of the Lords Commissioners
sate at Hicks hall for the parts of Middlesex adjoyning to
London, & as is sayd, the most agreed to pay, though there
were not many which appeared; but the Justices all sub=
scribed. 13 Yesterday they dined with my Lord of Canterbury
& sate at Lambeth in the afternoon for those parts of
Surry, but I heare not what was done. They sitt to
day at Greenwich for the Countie of Kent, next at
Rumford for Essex, then at Waltham for Hertfordshire,
& thus for all the Shires that border upon the City of
London. 14

Our Commissioners for the City Fleet certifyed
the Lords the last week, that 10 of their Ships were ready to
fall downe to Gravesend & the rest not long after to follow
them. The Lords replyed, there was no hast, & bad them
stay a while, for the service was not yet ready for them;

13 For the Loan meetings at Hicks Hall see n. 4 above.
14 The eleventh of the notes taken by Sir Julius Caesar at the Privy Council meeting of 13 September (for
which see above, p. 466 n. 15) was “That this beginning [of collecting the Loan] is fit to bee * first * here in
London, Westminster, & places adjacent”; BL Add. MS 34324, folio 256r; see also PRO SP16/38/25 [folio
51r]; Cust, F. L., pp. 100-01. Archbishop Abbot’s account of the Loan meeting at Lambeth Palace is
included in his “Narrative”, printed in Rushworth, l. Nmm2r.
about some 20 days & hence they would informe them
further. Their whole victualling is for 3 monthes, of which
this 20 dayes must be abated. Our difference about the French, some doubt is almost
compounded, & that we must have another Bishop & the
same Clergie againe amongst us, with some other French,
though not the whole Court of them to retorne any more.16

Yesterday Marquess Hamilton went toward Scot-land, & as I understand, hath wholly left the Court of
England; yet his Lady is left behind him.17

We heare that Count Mansfeild hath caused divers
townes both in Silesia & Moravia to come in & sweare
to King Frederick, & that he quarters his Army among such
as stand out & makes them both pay such summer of mo-
ney as suffice for the paying his Army, & to bring in all manner

a: But another a Citizen writes, as if there had bin no time sett;
whereupon the Commissioners askt, what they should do with their
men & victualls, & were answered, they might put off the men & lay
up the victualls.

15 See n. 8 above. The Common Council of London had informed the Privy Council on Wednesday 11
October that the fleet was "now almost fitted and furnished"; Wren, 'Twenty Ships', p. 331 n. 49; see also
APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 314, 324. "Abated" (line 88) means "reduced, lowered in quality or amount"
(OED, "abated", 2). I have not traced the rumour added by Mead in his marginal note.
16 For the agreement concluded with Bassompierre see above, p. 508 n. 9.
17 The Marquis of Hamilton was dissatisfied both with the erratic payment of his pension of £2,500 a year
(for which see below, p. 545 n. 18) and, it appears, with his wife (he had married her in 1622 but the
marriage was still unconsummated) and left London to return to his estates in Scotland; J. J. Scally, "The
Political Career of James, Third Marquis and First Duke of Hamilton (1606–1649) to 1643" (University of
594; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 5–6; HMC Skrine, p. 91.
of provision of victuals for them. As for his victory against Count Walstein (alias Duke of Freidland) which was talked of the last week, they were divers skirmishes & blows wherein he put Freidland to the worse but none of any great moment: But this week we have newes, that the Duke of Weymer sent by him, hath taken 18 Ensignes from the Count of Slick, who encountred him with part of the Duke of Freidland's army.

Textual Notes: line 33, he] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 143r. line 62, land] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 143v. I have added the parenthesis after this word, omitted by Mead.

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18 A newsletter written in late August had reported that Saxe-Weimar had "caused divers Townes and places in Silesia to swere there fidelitie to the King of Bohemia", and another of 13/23 September from Augsburg had reported the capture of several towns in Silesia by Mansfeld, into which he had put garrisons; PRO SP101/96/folio 161v; SP101/29/folio 1v. "Stand out" (line 99) means to "resist, persist in opposition or resistance, refuse to yield or comply" (OED, "stand", v, 99).

19 See above, p. 504 n. 6.

20 See n. 2 above.
Sir,

The Cheesman is gone, before I saw this dayes letters.\
The Fleet is returned all wetherbeaten, being found unable & too weak for service. My Lord Willoughby came to Court on Wednesday.\

The Duke frowned.

My Lord Denbigh the next after his coming rode post to Scotland to bring back, if he can, his Son in law the Marques Hamilton: who hath not yet lyen, & least not known his Lady.

The Lords sat on Tuesday at Rumford for Essex, all subscribed save Sir Francis Barrington & his Son in law, Sir William Massam, who were both next day committed Sir Francis to the Marshalsea's & Sir William to the Fleet. They refused the oath which the Lord Commissioners tender. Kent all yielded. They all subscribed at Barnet for Hartfordshire, but there was but a small appearance. Many go resolved to deny, but when they come to the push dare not.

The French Ambassador departs on Monday, some say unsatisfied others feare we shall have Bishop & Priests againe.

The London Fleet is now commanded to fall downe, some think for to follow my Lord Willoughbys intended service.

Thus in hast, lest it should not be newes on Saturday. I suppose now, Master Dewes writes of these matters.

October 28.

Yours to Command

Joseph Mead.

Textual Note: line 8, yet] altered from "yed".

1 In order to forestall the possibility that D'Ewes pre-empted his news (see above, p. 513 n. 14), Mead sent this postscript with the latest "headlines" from London in the afternoon of Saturday 28 October: a Christ's man was about to travel along the road to Bury and Mead evidently asked him to carry this addition to the day's news. For fuller details of the material reported here see Mead's transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 27 October, pp. 517-18 below.
27 September 1626

May it please your Royall Majestie,

Amongst other your royall commandments layd upon me, the last was to advise your Majestie playnly & truly of the estate of all matter that had any reference to my employment. I call God to winesse, I have, as in duty bound, obeyed it; & now finding the approaching danger, I have presumed in all humilitie to demonstrate unto your Majestie, that if this King be not speedily supplyed with summes of money (humanely to speak) he is lost, his Crowne & Posteriour in hazard, the publick cause concerning the good of Christendome will receive a mighty blow, & these Princes made Tenants at will to the Emperor, the Imperiall Townes wilbe overthrowne, the Imperialists made Masters not onely of the Townes, but also of the Rivers & portes; & the Lowcountries exposed to great & speedy danger.
Your Majestie will doubtles find it then very chargeable, either to maintaine the Lowcountries from being overthrownne, or the restitution of the King & Queen of Bohemia & their children to their ancient Honors Lands & dignities. This King is so perplexed, that there is publike notice taken of it, & doth not stick to say, that trusting too much to your Majesties promise (made first by me & confirmed & seconded by my Lord Duke of Buckingham his grace, & my Lord of Holland in the Hague by a publike league) hath brought him & his freinds to this extremitie: and all his Councell & Ministers do say the like; so that I do not meet with them so often, as I had wont, but we do interchange letters & messages oft.3

It would be tedious, to trouble your Royall Majestie with so large a paper, as the relation would require; & the danger both of Sea & Land in sending is great: therefore I have sent this breife letter, in all humilitie to acquaint your Majestie with the true estate of all things here. The King is resolved, (if possible he can get any money to pay his Army) he will not abandon the good cause; although the Duke of Brunswick hath joyned with the Duke of Luneburg, and upon forfeit of lands have ^ jointly ^ charged all their subjects not to serve the Kings Armie, & have declared themselves wholly for the Emperor:4 yet the King having given good hopes to his men, hath passed againe this River of Elbe, & intends (God willing) to hinder the Enemie from coming over into the Land of Holst & Mecklenburgh, which is their cheife ayme.5

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3 Under the Hague Convention signed on 29 November/9 December 1625, Charles (represented by the Duke of Buckingham) had agreed to pay Christian a subsidy of 144,000 thalers (£30,000) a month towards the latter's war expenses; Parker, *TYW*, p. 77. Due to the continued non-appearance of the money Christian became increasingly disenchanted with English promises, and Anstruther went to considerable effort to convince him that the subsidy would be paid; see for instance PRO SP75/7/folios 122r, 147v, 176r.

4 For the defection of the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg see ibid., folio 219r.

5 Although the Imperial armies under Tilly and Wallenstein were not able to cross the Elbe and advance into Holstein during 1626, they did so in the following year and eventually occupied the entire Jutland peninsula; Parker, *TYW*, pp. 78–79.
I am in good hope, that if one hundred thousand pounds be payed before Christmas, that he would not only satisfy his Armie, but would give your Majestie time till Easter next for the other payments; and so much his Treasurer certified me of, being sent from the King to communicate with me.\(^6\)

This business being of so great importance hath moved me to represent the same to your Royall Majestie, hoping that God almighty will send unto your Majestie means answerable to your Royall heart; whereby all these imminent dangers may be prevented, & your Majestie receive that general approbation of Christendome, to have bin not only the procurer, but also the maintainer of the peace thereof. I do in all humility beseech your Majestie not to take this disaster to heart, as to think, all is lost: for I am confident, God will send us help from heaven, it being his owne cause.

And now also the time is, that it may easily & with small charge be helped: For we do now receive advise, that Count Mansfeld & the Duke of Weymer have several Armies, & that Bethlem Gabor hath joyned a great number of men to Count Mansfeld; and the discontented Commons have lately given a great blow to the Imperialists, & the Turk is like to give the Emperor enough in Hungary: so that we do beleive, that the Emperor is gone out of Vienna, as not daring to trust himselfe there.\(^7\)

Having made appeare unto your Majestie the state of the publick affairs; I do in all humility beseech your Majestie to be pleased, to take into your gracious consideration my present necessities, who am not able to subsist, to do that service, which the present occasion requires, if I be not from your Majestie supplied & payed those allowances, which your Majestie heretofore hath allowed me. So long as my

\(^6\) Anstruther had mentioned this offer before; PRO SP75/7/folio 219v.

\(^7\) In order to convince Charles and his government that the Danish cause was still worth supporting, Anstruther pointed out (after some judicious flattery) that the Imperialists appeared to face difficulties on a number of other fronts during the autumn of 1626. This account of events would have been familiar to Mead and Stuteville from news reaching London from September to November.
credit here or at home could reach, I have willingly in-
ployed my selfe in your Majesties service, & am most
willing to contribute my faithfull endeavour & blood in
this or any other service your Majestie shall command
me. 8

Thus craving humble pardon for this my presumption,
& prolixitie, praying the God of Heaven & Earth to
blesse your Royall Majestie, in giving you a long & prosperous
raigne & victorie over all your Enimies, I remaine

From Hambrough
this 27th of
September
1626. 9
Your Majesties most faithfull
& obedient servant
till death

Robert Anstrudder

Textual Notes: line 16] will then doubtles MS.
line 58] it may be easily MS.
H390 folio 130v] on this page Mead added “A lettre to the King from Sir
Robert Anstrudder our Lieger Ambassador with the King of Denmark.”

1 A paper titled “An accompt of such moneyes as have beene disbursed by Sir Robert Anstruther for his
Majesties service in this last employment”, probably drawn up in the last quarter of 1626, put his arrears at
£1217 10s.; PRO SP75/7/folio 261r-v. During the year Sir Robert had made numerous appeals for payment
of his allowance; ibid., folios 8r, 35r, 91v, 96v–97r, 132r, 147r, 160v, 179r, 207r.
9 This letter was dated 26 September (probably Old Style) from Altenau, near Hamburg; ibid., folio 215r.
A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF THE REVEREND JOSEPH MEAD, 1626 – 1627, CONTAINED IN BRITISH LIBRARY HARLEIAN MS 390

David Anthony John Cockburn

Christ's College

A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 1994

VOLUME II
Worthie Sir,

4 November 1626

I send you now the whole volume of that you had a tast last Saturday by a Postscript sent by an extraordinary hand, after the cheesman was gone with his load. I could almost have bin angry with Master Dews, that he gave me never a bitt for my penny, but as I supposed had made mine owne hand an instrument to marre my newes by prevention: yet now I can pardon him, understanding his thoughts are wedded as yong married mens are, & all litle enough to wait upon his mistrisse. So that I hope your lettre had litle other newes but raptures & extasies.

But shall I tell you a jest; I sent my Postscript by one of our ^Societie^ who at Barrow gott a fellow to undertake the delivery on Sunday morning with the plausible hope of getting a good dinner for his journey. The foole to meritt the more must needs rise too soone in the morning, & when he had done came home at 12 a clock almost ready to cry that he was not sollemnly invited. Ah Foole! could he not have delivered his lettre just at dinner time!

I have not yet scene this dayes lettres but I tieare. That the Earle of Carleile (Hayes) is this week committed or confined; the cause sayd to have relation to Marquess Hammilton, from whom some say he received lettres soone after he was gone, others that he was conscious of his journey before he wen.

Here is ^a^ strange talk ever since yesterday, that the Queene

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1 See above, p. 521 n. 1.
2 Simonds D'Ewes had married the Suffolk heiress Anne Clopton on 24 October; D'Ewes, Autobiography, p. 322.
3 Barrow is a village just south of the road from Cambridge to Bury St. Edmunds, about two miles from Dalham. The unnamed member of Christ's entrusted with Mead's postscript was presumably on his way further west and so could not deliver it to Stuteville himself.
4 This rumour proved false, as Mead rather irritably informed Sir Martin in his next letter; see below, p. 519 lines 8-12. For Hamilton's departure from Court see above, p. 519 n. 17.
beeing desirous to see my Lords Maiors Shew, the Duke to accompa-
nie her was dress'd like a gentlewoman, whether maskt or otherwise
I know not, but that being discovered by the people, & a "cry" rising, The Duke, & thereupon the Marriners being
rowsed & marshalling themselves as for some dangerous attempt he was
forced to convey himselfe away privatly. Something of this is true
but what likelihood of such particulars, I understand not.5

We say here That Caius-Colledg men being gone up to
signifie their Election according to the manner, the "Duke" Questions it
because their statute being to chuse within 15 dayes, they
stayed not untill the 15th day. Certainly tis but a money matter,
& Badgcraft is rich. In the mean" time what Chancellour shall we have
God give them joy who were so eager.6

Thus with my "best" respect to your selfe & my good Lady
I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
November 4.

Yours most ready
to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 3, that] altered from "thay".
line 12, sent] altered from "send".
line 13] our fellowes ^ Societie ^ MS.
line 14, morning] morneing MS.
line 19] I heare, That the MS.
line 27] & a shout "cry" MS.

5 Mead was correct to suspect that this report was only partly true; Buckingham had not disguised himself
to see the procession of the new Lord Mayor (Cuthbert Hacket) but a letter from the capital of Tuesday 31
October had recorded that "The Queen was yesterday in Chepeside, at Captain Henshaw's house, to see the
new Lord Mayor Pagents; there were with her the Duke and French Ambassador"; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 310;
see also Bassompierre's Memoirs, pp. 80-83; Beaven, ii. 54.

6 For Batchcroft's election see above, p. 511 n. 4. Batchcroft was (for a Fellow) a wealthy man, and it has
been noted that, whether the motives behind Buckingham's alleged intervention were financial or not, "it
is significant that there were those in the University who were prepared to believe this of their new
Chancellor"; Morgan, p. 34 and n. 240.
[Bifolium; folios 146 and 147 have been numbered in the wrong order in H390 (for which see the Introduction, p. 14). Lines 2–84 (apart from Mead’s note on line 54) taken from ?John Pory’s London newsletter of Friday 27 October; lines 86–168 from ?two others of the same date (see n. 21 below).]

London October 27 1626. (folio 147r)

My Lord Willoughby on Wednesday last is come to Court, where my Lord Admirall frowned upon him for his so suddaine returne: but his Lordship under the hands of the 4 Masters of England with whom he surveyed the Ships at their returne into Portsmouth, pleaded the insufficiency of all the Kings Ships sett forth this voyage; two whereof my Lord had bin constrained to leave behind him in harbor, & the residue proved so leakie & withall so weak under the weight of their Ordinance, as all agree, that had they bin but an 100 leagues further at Sea, they could never have returned. The Triumph Admirall of the Fleet a new Ship that never was at Sea before, in this his first voyage was found to be the weakest of all the rest which spent both his boltspritt, his foremost, & his mainyard, and likewise sprung a principal knee forward-on, whereby had they disputed with the winds but halfe an hour longer & not suddainly

1 Willoughby’s inadequately prepared fleet, which had finally set sail on Monday 9 October was driven back to England due to heavy storms in the Bay of Biscay by Friday the 20th. For an account of their voyage see PRO SP16/38/82 [folios 10r–13r]. Buckingham (while not blaming Willoughby personally) ordered the commanders of the fleet to come to London to explain the failure of the expedition, and the deficiencies of the fleet described in Tom Pory’s letter led to a detailed investigation of the navy; Lockyer, pp. 344–45.

2 Although I have not traced the document referred to here, PRO SP16/38/40 [folios 52r–55v], 41 [folios 56r–59v], 42 [folios 60r–62v] are detailed accounts of the deficiencies of the ships under Willoughby’s command.

3 Two of Willoughby’s ships (the Esperance and the Vanguard) and one pinnace (the John and Fortune) had been left behind before the fleet had set sail; PRO SP16/37/19 [folio 28r], 29 [folio 44r], 31 [folio 46r]; Lockyer, p. 344.
ly borne up, they had never escaped the furie of the Sea.\(^4\) The Merchants ships & Colliers were far more able to endure those surges, save onely the Bonadventure, which is thought to be perished.\(^5\) Eleven ships came in with my Lord Willoughby, & 15 were wanting, which ere this time by Gods blessing be harboured.\(^6\) They were no further then 60 or 70 leagues at Sea, where they were taken with those hideous stormes & contrary winds which dispersed them. Their victualls were good generally, saving their beere, which the Brewer told them would stink before they went out, because he could not brew better at 30\(^\circ\) the tunne.\(^7\) They mett with 27 Hamburghers bound for Spaine, which having examined they found to have authenticall passes under the hand of the Captain of one of the Kings Ships riding before the mouth of the River of Hamburgh, & so lett them goe.\(^8\)

The London Fleet of 20 Sayle, (whose Admirall shalbe Captaine Philpott a Kentish man who heretofore fought a Duell between the 2 Armies in the Lowcountries) being all ready have

\(^4\) The Triumph had sustained this damage during a severe storm on Thursday 12 October; PRO SP16/58/82 [folio 103r]. For a detailed account see the “Certificate of the Defects of his Majesties good Shipp the Triumph” PRO SP16/38/42 [folio 60r–v]. Line 15 is ?Pory’s description of serious damage sustained by the Triumph in the bows; “sprung” used, as here, “of planks, masts, etc.” means “Split, cracked, ‘shaken’” (\textit{OED}, “spring”, \textit{v}, 4b; compare “spring a leak”); a “knee” is a “piece of timber naturally bent, used to secure parts of a ship together, esp. one with an angular bend used to connect the beams and the timbers” (ibid., “knee”, \textit{sb}, 7a); “forward-on” denotes the position of the knee, “at the fore end, forward” (ibid., “forward”, B, \textit{adv.}, 8b).

\(^5\) The rumour concerning the merchantman the Bonadventure was false, although the ship had sustained considerable damage; PRO SP16/38/40 [folio 54r], 41 [folio 57v], 42 [folio 61v].

\(^6\) Salvetti noted on 27 October/6 November that 12 ships were still missing; \textit{HMC Skrine}, p. 90; see also \textit{HMC Buccleuch}, iii. 310.

\(^7\) Willoughby had told the Venetian Ambassador that “the provisions sufficed for four or six weeks only, so this deficiency would have brought them to the same pass as the storm did, a few days sooner”; \textit{CSPV 1626–28}, p. 12; see also ibid., p. 6.

\(^8\) For this incident see PRO SP16/37/31 [folios 46v–47r]. The certificate was signed by three English captains on duty in the Elbe estuary; SP16/37/31 (III) [folio 49r].
this fortnight bin sucing for their dispatch. So now they are appointed to sayle to the Downes, whither they shall have their Commission sent, which is thought wilbe all one with my Lord Willoughbies, videlicet to try if they can perchance meet with the West Indie Fleet about the iflands of the Azores.

Over & besides 2 former EastIndian Ships there are 2 more come in from the EastIndies, which 4 are valued to be worth 400 thousand pounds.

My Lord of Denbigh the next day after his coming hither

(my Lord Willoughbie, took post & rode toward Scotland after the Marquess Hamilton his Son in law, who departed hence ye=sternight, some say discontented & with a purpose to returne no more, because his pension is taken from him, for that he would never condescend to lye with his wife: others affirme notwithstanding, that he went away highly favoured of his Majestie & the Duke, that he is to returne againe at Christmas, & he will lye with his wife, when once she is capable.

The Lords on Tuesday last sat at Rumford about the Commission of the Loane, where all subscribed saving

a: For Essex

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9 For the completion of preparations of the London fleet see above, p. 546 n. 8; p. 549 n. 15; CSPV 1626-28, p. 23. The Globe, Philpot’s ship, was (at 400 tons) the largest of the fleet which probably explains his selection as Admiral. I have not traced his duel in the Lowcountries (something Ben Jonson claimed to Drummond of Hawthornden he had done in the 1590s); PRO SP16/53/63 [folio 96r]; O. Parfitt (ed.), Ben Jonson: The Complete Poems (Harmondsworth, 1984 edn.), p. 467.

10 Buckingham had sent orders on Friday 13 October to Willoughby to intercept the returning Plate Fleet, although this had been rumoured for months; Lockyer, p. 344; HMC Skrine, pp. 78-79; above, p. 475 n. 45. For the decision to send the London ships to Gravesend for further orders see Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 331; HMC Skrine, p. 90.

11 The four East Indiamen were the Charles, the Hart, the Great James and the Jonas according to the Venetian Ambassador; CSPV 1626-28, p. 13. Their cargoes are listed on ibid., p. 12. I have not identified the two earlier arrivals. The return of ships from the Indies at this time was something of note; between 1601-20 only 35 of 81 East India Company vessels leaving England came back (although some of the remainder stayed in Eastern waters); Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 23.

12 For the reasons for Hamilton’s departure see above, p. 579 n. 17.
Sir Francis Barington & Sir William Massam his Son in law: who on Wednesday for refusing an oath minisired unto them by the Lords were committed, Sir William to the Fleet & Sir Francis to the Marshalsea's.\textsuperscript{13} Yesterday the Lords satt upon the same buisines at Bernet, where all subscribed, yet but a small appearance.\textsuperscript{14} On Saterday last their Lordships sitting at Greenwich, the Kentish people of that district subscribed all, save onely the Mariners, Masters, & Owners of ships of Woolwich & Deptford, who refused not onely to subscribe, but also to take the oath.\textsuperscript{15}

In France there is now an Assembly of the States gather­ed, being an Epitome of those that should be; & that especially to take off the heads of the Duke & Chevalier of Vendosme being the Kings base brothers, because the Parlament of Paris would not meddle with them: Then in a second place to resolve upon a demolition of all the Strong Houlds in France, save onely upon the Frontires, to the end, that all meanes of suddaine rebellions may be taken away.\textsuperscript{16} Further they say, that Count Soissons hath bin so highly entertained by the Duke of Savoy, as hath made the French King suspect him (the Duke) & to abandon & give him up to the hazard of


\textsuperscript{14} The Loan meeting at Barnet was reported by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd on 4 November; PRO SP16/39/25 [folio 51r].

\textsuperscript{15} PRO SP16/38/22 [folio 26r], a report by the Loan commissioners for "the hamlets of the Towre division" (including Wapping, Rotherhithe and Limehouse) listed a number of subsidymen who refused to pay the Loan. Some (such as one John Brookes of Whitechapel) "refuse[d] to lend but alse to take an oath" and William Webb of Wapping both refused and "peremptorily said these wordes, you may take a halter and hang me if you please". For the oath mentioned see below, p. 535 n. 25.

\textsuperscript{16} Although César and Alexandre de Vendôme, Louis's half–brothers, had been arrested on 3/13 June for their complicity in the plot against Richelieu (for which see above, p. 261 n. 6) they were not executed; Tapié, p. 159. For the measure referred to on lines 69–72 see above, p. 487 n. 24.
the Genoese backt by the King of Spaine.\textsuperscript{17}

The French Ambassador is to depart on Monday, but unsatisfied, having stood upon 2 principall Articles. 1. Confirmation of the Queenes joynture by Act of Parliament.

2. A Restitution of some Preists & others to their places about the Queene.\textsuperscript{18} Sir George Goring is the man now spoken of to goe Leiger Ambassador into France: and the Lord Carlton againe for the Hague.\textsuperscript{19}

Sir Edwin Sandis is sayd to lye a dying.\textsuperscript{20}\\

*Our Fleet, which before it got clear of the Lands End, the Vantguard springing a greivous leak, was faine to put into Falmouth & there discharge both her & the Esperance a very good ship;\textsuperscript{22} & so upon the 9th of October (one day after the
Calends of Cales) departing againe (with 2 months & 2 dayes victuals, no more) had beat up to the height of 48 & a halfe; was there on Thursday the 19 of this present taken with a Tempest, which hath brought them home againe. The Lords Willoughby, & Denbigh & Captaine Pennington are come to Court & now in Westminster, except my Lord Denbigh, who is either gone this morning or ready to go into Scotland, to fetch back his Son in Law the Marquess Hamilton.

Upon this newes of the retourne of our wetherbeaten Fleet (which hath done nothing that we hear of, but onely taken some French Ships & so caused our merchants goods to be arrested in France) the Lords sent a precept to the Lord Maior, to have our Cittie Fleet (which before was stayd) to fall downe to Gravesend, whither the most of them are gone already; but for what service I can not learne: Some say, they are ready provided of other things, but cannot get Seamen, who will not goe unless they may have their whole wages before they go; & the despaire of that hath made some hundreds to fly over Sea to serve the Dunkirk.

The Lords Commissioners for the Royall subsidie are, the

23 The ill-fated Cadiz fleet of 1623 had sailed on 8 October; Cadiz, p. 14. "Calenda" originally meant the "first day of the month in the Roman calendar" but was more figuratively used here in the sense of "beginning, first taste, prelude" (OED, "calenda", la, 4).

24 That is, the fleet had reached a latitude of 48° 24' degrees before encountering the storm. For the small amount of provisions carried by the fleet see n. 7 above.

25 According to PRO SP16/58/82 (folio 103r) the heavy storm first hit the fleet in the Bay of Biscay in the early hours of Thursday 12 October.

26 On 18 September the squadron commanded by Lord Denbigh had captured three French merchant ships (the Harry Francois and the Notre Dame from Rouen and the St. Francis of Le Havre) which led to the seizure of English goods in Rouen and elsewhere as a reprisal; PRO SP16/36/31 (folio 44r), 32 (folio 51r); Gardiner, vi. 142; Reade, ii. 607; above, p. 516 n. 7.

27 See n. 10 above.

28 Apart from the continued arrears in pay, Trinity House had complained to Parliament earlier in 1626 that the low levels of pay in the King's service (only about 4d. a day for common seamen) had caused many to serve in foreign fleets, even enemy ones; Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, p. 78, n. 55. The problem became so serious in the following decade that a number of proclamations were issued to prevent sailors leaving the country; ibid., p. 75 and n. 50.
Duke of Buckingham, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlaine, 29 Lord President, Earle of Holland, Earle of Carleile, Earles of Salisbury, Bridgewater, Lord Imbercourt (Carlton), Lord Colrane (Hare), 30 Lord Conway &c &c. Essex at Rumford came off roundly, all but Sir Francis Barrington & his Son in law Sir William Massam, who desired a days respite to give their answere, which they did on Wednesday at the Counsell & were that night both committed. Kent & Hertfordshire &c ut supra. 31 D« », M« », told me that he heard the Lord Peters in Essex was likewise for refusing this subsidie committed to the Tower. 32

This day I was told, that there are Commissioners sent into Ireland, to assemble the Lords there upon the 15 of Novem= ber, for the maintenance of the Garrisons there at their owne charge for a while, till his Majestie hath dispatched the buisinesses now on foot, which require all the money he ^ can ^ make: And they say, upon condition they will undertake this charge, the Popish Lords there shall not be troubled with the oath of Supremacy. Vix credo. 33

29 Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery; see above, p. 365 n. 4.

30 Hugh Hare, created Baron Coleraine on 31 August 1625; GEC, iii. 365. Hare was ennobled at only nineteen years of age and it is possible that his name was added in error: all the others named in lines 109–11 were included among the “List of the Lords Designed for his Majestyes service in the business of the Loanes” drawn up on 12 November, PRO SP16/39/35 [folio 100r].

31 “Ut supra” = “as above”, i.e., that (as in Essex) the Loan commissioners in Kent and Hertfordshire were successful in obtaining money; see Cust, F. L., pp. 100-01; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 372–73.

32 William, 2nd Baron Petre, was later one of the most energetic supporters of the Loan in Essex so this report was probably wrong; Cust, F. L., p. 248. “D. M.” may have been Dr. James Meddus but certainty is impossible.

33 In spite of Mead’s (or his source’s) disbelief at this report on lines 125–26 (“Vix credo” = “I have difficulty believing this”) it was based on fact. Due to the pressures of financing the war with Spain (in which the defence of Ireland was a prime objective) it was proposed in September 1626 to maintain an army of 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. This was to be paid for by the Irish Catholics in return for concessions such as the suspension of fines for recusancy and the abolition of religious tests for inheritance and appointment to office. These proposals, known as the “Graces” were resisted on both sides of the Irish Sea and were eventually abandoned; T. W. Moody et al. (eds.), A New History of Ireland, volume 3: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691 (Oxford, 1976; revised edn., 1991), pp. 234–42; C. S. R. Russell, The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1990), pp. 56–58.
A The French Ambassador is not yet gone. For the readmitting of the Preists, I heare nothing, but the contrary is generally thought: & they say, all the King will yeeld to is, to lett the French King have the nomination of our Queenes 3 cheife Officers provided that he name none but English men, & such as shall take the oath of Supremacy & Allegiance. *Though some yet beleev
hir Chamberlaine shall againe returne with 2 Ladies of the Bedchamber, 2 of the privie chamber, & some Preists &c.* But Our merchants intend to rayse the price of white wine & clarea, unlesse the Treatie will procure a quick dispatch of their Ships homeward.

A The Earle of Holland & the Duke of Buckingham fell out in the Kings presence, about some promises, which Holland (warranted (as he sayth) by the Duke as from the King, had made in France: Now the Ambassador came to claime them; the Duke denied, that he gave any such warrant; Holland stood to it; the Duke (they say), gave him the lie. Hereupon Holland was confin'd, but they are made freinds againe by the King & go about the subsidie together.

A You heard of the Great channell which the Archduchesse is cutting to divert the Rhine, & by that meanes to have free passage at any time upon the backs of the States. To hinder this the Prince of Oranje came with a good part of his Armie, but came hardly off, himselfe being wounded, & 1200 of his horse taken & killed.

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34 Source B was correct; for the agreement with Bassompierre see above, p. 99 n. 9.
35 I have not traced this rumour. The agreement concluded with Bassompierre did not, in fact, prevent the seizure of the Bordeaux wine fleet by the French in December 1626; see below, p. 99 n. 2.
36 I have not traced this report, although the Earl of Holland (with the Earl of Carlisle) had been one of the Ambassadors negotiating the marriage treaty between England and France in 1624–25; Gardiner, v. 215–17; Lockyer, pp. 188, 198–201, 204–05, 207–08, 232, 238–40. Buckingham and Holland were later nominated as two of the Lords to travel to Buckinghamshire to further the collection of the Forced Loan; PRO SP16/39/55 [folio 100r]; Cust, F. L., p. 113.
37 For the Spanish project to construct a channel linking the Rhine and the Maas see above, p. 99 n. 9. On 31 October another newsletter writer reported the rumour that "the Prince of Oranje and great numbers of his men were suddenly surprised and slain in his camp". While the writer added that this rumour was untrue he commented that Frederick Henry had "newly lost about seven hundred horse and some men by negligent
B. * The King of Sweden & the Prince of Poland (as our Factors from those parts advise) have had some blows, wherein the Pole lost 4000 men, & so retyred into Dantzick, whither the King pursued him, & intendeth to block up the City.  

B. * If there be any credit to be given to the rumours of this Towne, they say, that Mansfeild hath given a foule overthrow to Esterhasi the Palatine of Hungary & prevaleth much in those parts. But the Danish affaires lye dead.

A  
Tis too true, that the magnan[im]ous Lady Elizabeth begins now to be dejected. The reason is sayd to be, because hir pension which she should receive from hence is not payd, & because she sees her Uncle the King of Denmark left to too much hazard, & neglected by those she most relyed upon. The truth is, she hath had long cause enough & now perhaps she begins to apprehend it. *But it was the sore travaile she had of this hir last child, which hath abated hir wonted courage & disposes her to more apprehensivenes then formerly. And this is true.  

B*  

[device]

Textual Notes: line 7] my Lord was had bin MS.  
line 40] Over the & besides MS.

improvidence"; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 310. Both these reports were probably exaggerated accounts of the engagement at Ysselbourg on 23 September/3 October, for which see above, p. 564 n. 13.

38 This may be an account of the Swedish victory at Mewe on 21 September/1 October; see below, p. 546 n. 1.

39 I have not found any report resembling that here (although rumours of Mansfeld’s successes in Hungary were circulating in London; see above, p. 515 n.2); as Mead’s source half suspected, it was probably false. The Palatine of Hungary was Nicholas Esterházy; Parker, TTW, p. 87.

40 Reports reached London during the autumn and winter of 1626-27 that relations between the exiled Palatines and the Duke of Buckingham (in particular) were strained, especially due to Buckingham’s tortuous diplomacy and the setbacks to the Danish cause. The reference in lines 165-66 was presumably to Henrietta, Elizabeth’s ninth child and third daughter; Lockyer, pp. 357-58; C. Oman, Elizabeth of Bohemia (1938; revised edn., 1964), p. 458.
line 44, with used as a catchword at the foot of folio 147r, but omitted by Mead in the next line.
line 46, discontented second “i” altered from a “d”.
line 67] the heard heads MS.
line 70, Houlds] Houldds MS.
line 88, her] altered from “hir”.
line 127, (folio 146v)] the “annotator” dated this page “November” in error before correcting it by an interlineation.
line 136, the] altered from “this”.
line 151, Sweden] Swedens MS.
line 153] lost 4000 & ^ men ^, MS.
line 159, magnamimous] magnanimous MS.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 11 November, and sent with Mead's transcript of London newsletters dated Saturday 4 November. Lines 14–34 taken from a letter that had arrived in Cambridge on Friday 10 November; lines 58–62 from a letter that had just arrived there. Folio 158r blank; subscription (dated "September") on 158v.]

11 November 1626

Sir,

I have even now received your lettre with the money (15s 6d) for the books. & I perceive I was mistaken concerning the Barrough-man, whom I took to be a fool, but now shrewdly suspect to be a knave.  

I send you what we had last Saturday. Unto which I will adde no more of our Towne rumors, because they are commonly false or mistaken, as were those two the last week one of the Earle of Carlie for some Gentleman then committed near unto his name, & partly perhaps out of Sir Robert Nantons bizines &c the other was but some foolish fancie or apprehension of sillie people. But I saw a lettre from London last night, That on Sunday the Duke feasted the King & Queen at Yorkhouse, where he discharged the Guard, & their Majesties lay there all night, His Majestie very jocund & merry, being entertained royally with playes & disports: Yet is the talk now (& probable enough) that the Earle of Bristow was againe on Thursday last committed to the Tower, which it may be was in speech the week before, & holpe the mistake of the Earle of Carlie.

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1 The money was for the books sent two weeks before; see above, p. 510 nn. 1–2. Lines 4–6 presumably reflect a complaint Sir Martin had made about about the "Barrough-man".

2 For these "Towne rumors" see above, pp. 526–27 nn. 4–5; for "Nanton's busines" see below, p. 544 n. 11. The man mentioned on lines 10–11 has not been traced. "Holpe" in line 20 was the strong past participle of "help" (the weak inflexion being the modern "helped"); OED, "help", A2.
& stayed there nere all the next day.³ Whereupon some sawcie people stick not to prate, that his Majestie is in very great favour with the Dukes grace &c.

Sergeant Richardson is now made cheife Justice of the Common plea's (Lord Hubbards place) & gave £7000 for it, & is besides to marry the Dukes Aunt.⁴

Somebody (the name in the lettre was forgotten & omitted) gave the Queene a Jewell the second in the Kingdome, as a bond of hir affection to the Duke. The Duke answerably not to be wanting on his part, hath on the Queenes behalfe obtained from the King the readmission of 12 French Preists a Chamberlaine & some other Officers to attend her.⁵

There is (saith the same lettre) a Scurvy Book come forth called the Devill & the Duke, for which on Wednesday was much inquisition in Paules Church yard.⁶

And that the King gave the French Ambassador a Present valued at £14,000. But me thinks it should not be so much.⁷

Thus that lettre.

Caius Colledg buisines is like to produce some strange President to the utter overthrow of all elections of Masters for ever. On Saturday came downe Doctor Maw with a Commission

³ The feast and masque (in the presence of the French Ambassador) had taken place on Sunday 5 November; Bassompierre himself called it “the most magnificent entertainment I ever saw in my life”: Memoirs, p. 94; see also Lockyer, p. 350; HMC Skrine, pp. 94–95; CSPV 1626–28, p. 22.

⁴ The vacancy caused by Sir Henry Hobart’s death in December 1625 was finally filled: Richardson was formally appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas on 28 November. It was rumoured that he had paid £17,000 for the post as well agreeing to marry Elizabeth (daughter of Sir Thomas Beaumont, a relative of Buckingham’s mother Mary) which he did on 14 December; DNB, xvi. 1133–34; Lockyer, pp. 72, 74; see also Holles, ii. 337; PRO SP16/61/3 [folio 4r]. Aylmer (on p. 89) has commented that “Buckingham had a particular penchant for marrying off his female relatives to his official dependants”.

⁵ I have not traced the jewel given to the Queen, but for the agreement with Bassompierre see above, p. 508 n. 9. Lists of those to be readmitted to the Queen’s household under the agreement are now PRO SP78/80/folios 128r, 130v; see also Bassompierre, Négociation, m6r–m7r; idem, Memoirs, pp. 148–52.

⁶ No copy of this book has survived although the churchyard of St. Paul’s, in and around which were based so many of London’s booksellers was a logical place to search for it; STC, iii. 243–47.

⁷ Mead was correct to doubt the sum involved; Contarini reported that the gift (in jewels) was worth £6,000; CSPV 1626–28, p. 22.
from the King to the Heads, to inquire & certify him. 1. What publick proofe of his sufficiencie in learning by any publick excercise, & of his manners by his carriage, the new elect hath given, as is fit for a man to be in that place & ranke. 2. What he is in respect of his degrees taken in the Schooles to his Predecessors the former Masters of that Colledg. 3. Whether he were elected & qualifyed according to statute. The Doctors have had 3 meetings & are devided. The Courtiers Doctor Maw Wren & Beale overfurious against him. Vicechancellor indifferent. Collins, Mansell, Ward, Butts eager for him. He was chosen with [Unanimous] consent of all the Fellows, one onely that was absent, sent notwithstanding his consent under his hand. There is no exception will fasten against the proceeding of the Election. So that now all exceptions are against the sufficiencie of the Elected, in regard of the Credit & honour of the Universitie. For according to the Colledg Statute he is every way qualified. There is neere 200 of us have give our hands we think him fit for the place, at the intreaty of the Fellowes &c. The Turks have given the Emperor a Blow in Hungary. Mansfeild feares no colours. Saxon-Weymar in Silesia takes all before him. Tilly being forced to ayd the Emperor with some of his forces, is not able to pursue his victory against Denmark. The Boores prevaile.
Christ's Colledg

November 11

Yours to Command

Joseph Mead

The newes of the Prize

by my Lord Willoughbies Ships

is false. 12

Textual Notes: line 27] gave her MS.

line 29, answerably] altered from "answerable".

line 30] wanting of on his MS.

line 31, French] "F" altered from a "P".

line 33] There is (they saith MS.

line 42] Heads, to ^ to inquire him ^ MS.

lines 52–60, He...&c] a continuation of the letter in the margin.

line 52, [Unanimous]] Unanimous MS.

12 Sir Benjamin Rudyerd reported on 6 November the capture of a ship worth £120,000; PRO SP16/39/25

[folio 68r].
London. November 4. 1626. (folio 153r)

Upon the Commitment of Sir Francis Barrington & his Son in law, the Judges & Sergeants at Law (notwithstanding they had before payd their moneys & stricken tallies 1 in the Exchequer) were required to subscribe. 2 So on Saterday last, they had a generall Meeting at Sergeants Inne, & there resolved the contrary & sent their answere to the King by Justice Whitlock & Sergeant Towze. 3 Whereat his Majestie seeming to be displeased, 4 the Lord Keeper & Lord Treasuror besought him to have patience, & not to urge them to that, which they held contrary to Law & against their oath: nor yet to enforce them to deliver the reason of their refusall. 5 Yet, it is sayd, the Commission for Loans goes on under my Lord of Sussex, in Essex.

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1 For a report of the Judges' payment of their Loan assessments directly into the Exchequer see PRO SP16/39/25 [folio 51r]. The use of tallies (notched sticks split in two, half being kept by the Exchequer and half by the payee) as a credit system is described by Aylmer, pp. 36–37.

2 After the meetings in October between Privy Councillors and subsidymen the second stage in collecting the levy was "to persuade prominent judges and peers to subscribe to the loan's legality"; Cust, F. L., p. 102.

3 On 1 November it was reported that "The Judges and Sergeants lent the King and have paid, without subscription, but that is not thought sufficient, the Council desiring that their hands may witness their loan"; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 311; see also Cust, F. L., p. 54.

4 Charles was reported to have said "that he will sweep all...[the Judges'] benches"; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 312.

5 In return for which advice Charles reportedly threatened to sack them both; Clare reported some days later that "my Lords, the Keeper, and the Tresorar ar supposed to totter in their places"; Holles, ii. 337; see also Buccleuch, iii. 312; Cust, F. L., p. 55 (citing lines 11–14 of Mead's letter).
no where else, so far as I can learn.  

... All my Lord Willoughbies Fleet are certainly come home, save 2 Ships; & those that came last have brought home a rich Prize of Jewes goods valued at 100 thousand pound.  

The London Fleet are fallen downe to Gravesend, & yesterday here was a drumme beaten up with Proclamation, that all mariners upon paine of death, should be found abord this night; what their Commission is, we cannot yet penetrate.  

... But on Monday last, when my Lord Treasurer gave my new Lord Mayor his oath; he highly commended the City for being so expeditious in setting out this Fleet, & all to be sprinkled them with his Majesties thanks, not onely therefore, but also for so freely lending & so patiently for= bearing that 60 thousand pound at his Majesties first coming to the Crown; which his Lordship hath promised shalbe repayd them, so soone as moneys shall come in.  

Gondomar being come within 40 miles of Madrill gave up the Ghost, & I hope many mischeivous plotts against our State are dead with him.  

Sir Robert Naunton for speaking his mind freely & honestly against these new projects, is turned out of his Lodging at Court, & (if somebodies power continue as great as his will) shalbe cassheired of his Mastership.

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6 After the removal of the Earl of Warwick in September, Robert Radcliffe Earl of Sussex once again became sole Lord Lieutenant of Essex; *GEC*, xii (pt. 1), 526; above, p. 544 n. 12.  

7 See above, p. 544 n. 12.  

8 For the removal of the fleet to Gravesend and speculation as to its “Commission” see above, p. 530 n. 10.  

9 The City of London had loaned Charles £60,000 in April 1625 in return for securities in respect of a previous (and still unpaid) advance made to James I in 1617; Ashton, *The City and the Court*, p. 179; *idem,* *The Crown and the Money Market* 1603–1640 (Oxford, 1960), pp. 127–29. Both loans were repaid by the sale of Crown lands in 1627–28; *The City and the Court*, p. 180. For the installation of Cuthbert Hacket as Lord Mayor see above, p. 527 n. 5.  

10 A newsletter from Bayonne of 13/23 October had reported Gondomar’s death of fever (perhaps plague) near Valladolid; PRO SP101/91/folio 17r; see also CSPV 1625–26, pp. 564; Reade, ii. 607. Given his reputation among many English observers the comment on Gondomar’s death is hardly surprising.
of the Wards, &c.\textsuperscript{11}

Against Sir Robert Maunsell's Patent for making of glasses, being his chief livelihood & onely reward for all his services, there is a writ of Quo warranto brought, by which it will be forfeit to the King, if his great Enemy may prevail against him.\textsuperscript{12}

There is a Gentleman lately committed close Prisoner to the Gatehouse for speaking against the Duke.\textsuperscript{13}

The Bills of lading of the two last Ships now arrived out of the East-Indies, amount to 300 thousand pounds, & the other two that came before them valued at 200 thousand pounds.\textsuperscript{14}

Now I have heard it confidently reported, that Bishop Laud the Duke's Minion shall be Bishop of Winchester.\textsuperscript{15}

Another ditto.

That Sir Francis Barrington & Sir William Massam his Son in law are delivered out of prison; and that the cause of their imprisonment, was not for refusing the Subsidie,

\textsuperscript{11} Naunton, a former Secretary of State, had been Master of the Court of Wards (one of the most lucrative government offices) since September 1624, but had lost favour with the Duke as a result of his activities in the Parliamentary session of 1626. The rumour that he would lose office proved false, however, as Naunton did not relinquish the post until just before his death in 1635; R. E. Schreiber, The political career of Sir Robert Naunton 1589–1635 (1981), pp. 96, 119, 127–28.

\textsuperscript{12} Mansell had been granted a share of the monopoly of manufacturing glass in 1615, but an investigation of his patent was begun in June 1626 and resulted in a writ of quo warranto ("a writ which lay against a person who usurped any franchise or liberty against the King"); Motley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary, ed. E. R. H. Ivany (1988 edn.), p. 377). After debating the matter, however, the Privy Council decided on 6 December to dismiss the complaints against him; DNB, xii. 974; PRO SP16/41/37 [folio 56v]; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, pp. 343, 394–95. See also Cust, F. L., p. 189 and n. 7, who has suggested that these proceedings reflected a campaign by Buckingham against those who had opposed him in the Parliaments of 1625 and 1626 (Mansell had been removed from the Commission of the Peace on 8 July).

\textsuperscript{13} This was perhaps the man whose imprisonment had led to the rumour that the Earl of Carlisle had been committed; see above, p. 599 lines 10–11.

\textsuperscript{14} For these four ships see above, p. 590 n. 11.

\textsuperscript{15} Another false rumour of Laud's translation; see above, p. 590 n. 9. Note the derogatory epithet applied to him.
but for refusing to be upon the Commission to leavy it in the Country, because they had bin lately without any cause alleged thrust out of the Commission for the Peace.\textsuperscript{16} The Lords have not imprisoned any for refusing the Subsidie, & sayd to be^\textsuperscript{a} the Kings expresse Command: But they do as much, as that comes to, if it be true which one confidently affirmed to me even now, That there is a Commission come from the Counsell, with 13 Privie Counsellors hands at it, to press such & such men by name without Templebarre, all of them, being onely such as refused to pay the Subsidie.\textsuperscript{17}

Marquess Hamiltonts departure is upon discontent partly occasioned by the stopping of his pension, & his place in the Spicery worth £2500 per annum taken away in regard of the benefit; all which are thought to have bin at the first but suspensions, to make him more willing to be persuaved to bed his wife the Dukes neece, which he refused to doe though the Duke (they say) brought her to him to that end &c.\textsuperscript{18}

\textit{[device]}

\textit{Textual Notes:} line 16 1 can heare learne MS.  
line 39  shalbe turned eh cassheired MS.  
line 62  & sayd to be^\textsuperscript{a} be^\textsuperscript{a} MS.

\textsuperscript{16} Sir Francis Barrington had been removed from the Essex Commission of the Peace (and as a Deputy Lieutenant) during September; Masham was removed as a JP in June 1627. The report that they had been released from prison was, however, incorrect; Cust, \textit{F. L.}, pp. 189, 199.

\textsuperscript{17} Charles had ordered on 20 October that those “which shall refuse to assist with their purses for the common defence...will...performe it in their persons”, and thirteen subsidymen had already been pressed for military service abroad; PRO SP16/38/23 [folio 27r] (quoted by Cust, \textit{F. L.}, p. 56); \textit{APC Jan-Dec. 1626}, pp. 322-23 and above, p. \textsuperscript{448} n. 1.

\textsuperscript{18} Hamilton’s father, the 2nd Marquis, had been granted a pension of £2,500 a year out of the customs revenue which was inherited by his son. Payment of this was, however, in arrears: by May 1628 the 3rd Marquis (who was heavily in debt) was owed £4,750; Scally, ‘The Political Career of James, Third Marquis and First Duke of Hamilton’, p. 18. For Hamilton’s relations with his wife see above, p. \textsuperscript{414} n. 17.
Sir,

Here you have our last received from London; since which I have heard yet nothing thence.

Onely the new Corrant yesternight telles us of a great overthrow the Swede hath given the Polack not farre from Dantzick. In one place that there were 9000 Polacks slayne, all Ordinance baggage & munition taken; but in another place in a lettre from the Enimies parte, but 4000, yet but 600 Swedians. That hereupon the Polack raised his seige of Mera. That the Sweden had raysed a mount by Dantzick by which he could command the Citty, which now offered to accept the conditions, he would formerly have given them, but he sent them word the time was past, & they must treat for new ones.

I heare there are Visitors or Advisers against the Royall Subsidie gone abroad into all parts of the Kingdome. For yesterday a gentleman was with me, & told me that the last week or begining of this, Doctor Turner came to Sir John Cages, desired to speak with him, did his errand that he would both himselfe, & use his power with others to resist the Subsidie for it was the Dukes last refuge; if it fayled, he was assured of a Parlament; being desired to stay, he would not a minute, but instantly took horse, saying he had more places to go to & time was precious.

That there was a companie of them had divided themselves into all parts, every one having his quarter assigned him to performe this service for the commonwealth. The partie affirmed to me, he was told it privately from

1 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II. The "overthrow" was the Swedish victory over the Poles at Mewe ("Mera") on 21 September/1 October, after which the latter were forced to raise their seige of that town; Roberts, ii. 331–32. However, the casualty figures in lines 7 and 9 were considerably exaggerated as the battle was only a relatively minor one; ibid., p. 331.

2 I have not traced Danzig's offer to Gustavus, although the "mount" (line 10) was the fortified position at Danziger Haupt, which Gustavus had started to build as soon as he had reached the Vistula estuary in July; ibid., p. 325.
Sir [John] Cages owne mouth.  

The Vicechancellors funerall was on Thursday.  

The Doctors have not yet, as I heare returned their certificate, concerning the new Elect; the impediment hath bin, their division among themselves.  

But some of the Fellowes with the new Master went up this day sennight, with a Testimonial of 6 or 7 score hands which they had procured in the University, & a Petition to the Duke, (as I heare) very home & downright remembring him of his oath, & of his promises to defend the priviledges of the University.  

But what successe they have I yet heare not.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledge

November 18.

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

a: Doctor Ward preached

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3 I have not found any other reference to this incident which Cust (citing it), suggests indicates some concerted opposition to the Forced Loan; F. L., p. 229 n. 29.

4 John Gostlin was buried on Thursday 16 November, the funeral costing the considerable sum of £117 16s. 8 1/3d; Venn, 'John Gostlin', pp. 91-92.

5 A copy of this 'certificate' (written in reply to the questions concerning Batchcroft's suitability as Master; see above, p. 540 n. 8) is in CUL Add. MS 22, folio 8r. The delay in sending it to London – it was not delivered until Wednesday the 22nd – was apparently due to the absence of most of the Heads of House from Cambridge (three of whom were in London attending the funeral of Lancelot Andrewes). After six meetings to discuss the issue between 7 and 20 November only six of the sixteen Masters (Smith of Magdalene, Vice-Chancellor; Hills of Catharine Hall, Ward of Sidney Sussex, Collins of King's, Bainbrigg of Christ's and Mansell of Queens') signed the document; ibid., folios 7v, 8r. It is noteworthy that on the previous Saturday three of the signatories had been named by Mead as Batchcroft's supporters (see above, p. 540 line 51).

6 This 'Testimoniall' was presumably the document Mead had signed; above, p. 540 n. 10. I have not traced the petition to Buckingham, although it probably reminded him of his promise (in his letter to the University on his election) "to imploy...[his] uttermost endeavours...to the maintaining of the Charters, priviledges & Immunities of your Universitie in generall"; see above, pp. 540-41 lines 34-45.
I heare now, that my Lord Cheife Justice
is againe restored,7 but that my Lord Keeper shall
out, & Sergeant Richardson ^ is ^ restrayned or in prison, both
for opposition to the Subscription.8 That they are
required to subscribe, that this course is according
to law & that there is a President for it.9 That
in Essex they ^ would ^ pay their money but refuse subscription,)credit. For I have
That the Earle of Dorsea should use publickly a
strange speach upon the Judges refusall to subscribe
viz, That the King should do well to hang up halfe
a dozen of them for example to the rest.10

Textual Notes: line 7, 9000] £9000 MS. [i. e., Mead originally wrote “9000⁷”]
ibid., baggage] third “g” altered from a “d”.
line 9] 600 of Swedians MS.
line 12, sent] altered from “sends”.
line 29] Fellowes this day with the MS.
line 44, Subscription] “p” altered from a “b”.

7 Mead referred to an item of news in the enclosed transcript, the dismissal of Sir Ranulph Crew as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Plea; see below, p. 555 n. 26. On 19 November the Earl of Clare reported that Crew might be reinstated; Holles, ii. 338; see also HMC Buccleuch, iii. 313.
8 There had been several rumours that Lord Keeper Coventry might lose his place, along with some or all of the Judges; see above, p. 542 n. 5. These did not, however, prove true.
9 I have not traced this rumour.
10 Although I have found no reference to this outburst from Dorset he had already shown himself as one of the most forceful supporters of the Loan, and reports of his strong language had already reached Cambridge; see above, p. 512 n. 11; Cust, F. L., pp. 29, 45, 55–56, 58.
Last Sunday at night the Dukes Grace entertained their Majesties, & the French Ambassador at York-house with great feasting & shewes; where all things came downe in clouds; amongst which one rare devise was a representation of the French King & the 2 Queens with their cheifest attendants, & so to the life, that the Queens Majestie could name them. It was 4 a clock in the morning before they parted, & then the King & Queen together with the French Ambassador lodged there.¹ The King & Queen dined likewise there on Monday, & in the afternoone from 4 till 8 in the night was dancing: after which the King went to Whitehall to supper.² Some estimate this entertainment at 5 or £6000.

There are 10 French Preists with a Bishop or Supervisor, a Lord Chamberlaine, a Secretary, 2 Ladies of the Bedchamber, 2 maides of honour, & one Frenchman in every Office to be readmits: ¹³ Yesterday was the Queenes Silver Sacring-Bell stolne. ¹⁴ Divers new Honors are conferred, as the Lord Denny is Earle of Norwich, Sir Nicolas Tufton of Kent is Lord Tufton of Tufton in Sussex, Vicount Colchester is Earle Rivers, & his Son-in Law Sir Thomas Savage is made Baron & Viscount.⁵ The Earle of Bristol is againe in the Tower, &, as is sayd,

¹ For this entertainment see above, p. 574 n. 3.
² The Duke's guests had "the next day [Monday 6 November] a continuance of their, and the Ambassadors entertainment of Feasting, Dancing, &c.;" Finet, N4v.
³ For the agreement to readmit French servants to the Queen's household see above, p. 508 n. 9.
⁴ I have not traced this incident. A "Sacring-Bell" is a "small bell rung at the elevation of the Host" (OED, "sacring-bell", 1).
⁵ Edward Lord Denny had been created Earl of Norwich on 24 October; Sir Nicholas Tufton had been created Baron Tufton of Tufton on 1 November; Thomas Darcy, Viscount Colchester, had been created Earl Rivers on 4 November; and Sir Thomas Savage had been created Viscount Savage on the same day; GEC, ix. 768; xii (pt. 1). 690-91; xi. 25, 458; see also above, p. 200 n. 7.
Marquess Spinola had a shrewd designe by night to have surprised Sluyce, & not to have left one therein alive. To which purpose he sent 2500 choise men to force open the gate, himselfe with 9000 more lying ready neare hand, to have upon newes of an entrance made, presently seconded them. The first came thither about 4 in the morning, & with their petards & other strange engins forced open the Pass-gate, cryed Victoria, & sent for Spinola, not thinking there had bee another gate yet fast. The Garrison was soone up & ready, & so played on the Enemy with their great Ordinance & musket shott, that they were forced to retreat, with the losse, as is thought, of 5 or 600 men, though there were but 12 bodies left in the place, the rest being carried away in 3 long boats & wagons, which wagons Spinola mett as he was marching on. Its written among others, that there perished 3 prime men of note, the Earle of Horne, the Earle of Reux, & Monsier Fountein Governour of Cortright, which last is most lamented by the Enemy.

Its written in Saturdays letters (for we had no Post in a fortnight before) that the Boores in Over-Ens had doubled their Files, were againe growne to 80,000 men, had received 20 Commanders sent from Count Mansfeld (or Bethlem) to order their discipline, (the defect of such having formerly bin their cheifest want), had given a 4th great overthrow to the Bavarian & Salzburg Forces: For letters of the 7th of October from Hamburgh relate, that they had slayne 3000 of their Enemies, entred Bavaria's Countrie where they are Masters of the feild: & Letters of the 18th of

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6 In September 1626 Bristol had been allowed to leave the Tower and return to his house at Sherbourne for some weeks; see above, p. 471 n. 30. Lines 21–22 presumably referred to his renewed confinement in London; he remained ill-health for several months.

7 On the night of 20/30 October Spinola tried to capture the fort of Het Pas, a strategic position near the city of Sluis; for an account of the engagement (in which Count Horn had both his jaws broken and some 400 of the attackers were killed) see Reade, ii. 604. Rubens reported that M. de la Fontaine, the Governor of Bruges took part in the attack but had survived; in a later letter he (rather optimistically) stated that only 17 of the attackers had died; Magurn, pp. 153, 155.
the same, say, they have since given him another great overthrow.\(^8\)

Whereupon, it is sayd, that Generall Tilly (who intended to
winter in the land of Holst) is now gone up against them,
having \(^A\) left \(^A\) the Baron of Anholt Generall in his stead, over the
Forces he had in these hether parts.\(^9\)

But not long before his departure, he had an Enterprise
upon the City of Breme to have taken it, & sayd to be on this
wise. Himselfe disguised & under the name of his Provant Master,
came with fortie Horse desiring leave to buy Provision for the
supply of his Leaguer, & having leave they bought very much &
kept themselves employed till toward 10 a clock at night, &
then by much intreaty obtained of the Lords of the Towne, that
the Gates might be opened, to lett out their provision, in regard of
the great distresse the leaguer was in. No sooner were the Gates
opened, but presently he & his Company sett upon the Watch, intending
to have slayne them, & so kept open the Gates till 4000 of his men
(who by that time were ready according to his appointment) might
enter & so surprise the City; but some of the Watch presently
lett downe the Portcullis & shutt in most of his 40 men, himselfe
& some others being happily on the outside, as is likely, to give
the word to the Army that lay without; but thus he was de=
feated of his purpose, & his men slayne by the Citizens, who are
now growne wiser, then ever to trust him againe.\(^10\)

The last

\(^8\) Although the details of the progress of the Austrian revolt reported here are rather confused, the peasant
army had defeated an Imperial army at Wels on 30 September/10 October, perhaps the victory described on
lines 48-49: Wedgwood, p. 215; see also the report of 3,000 Imperial soldiers killed in battle with the
"Boores" in PRO SP101/29/folio 1r-v (newsletter of 8/18 November) and the accounts in STC 18507.184,
The third newes...this monath of December, A2v-A3v, A4v, B2v, B3v.

\(^9\) There had been rumours since June that Count Tilly would march south to put down the Austrian revolt, but
he did not in fact do so; see above, p. 331 n. 16. Sir Robert Anstruther wrote on 2/12 November that he
hoped, due to reports of Mansfeld’s and the peasants’ successes, “Tyllie wilbe Calld thither, or els must
send of his troops thither”; PRO SP75/7/folio 230v.

\(^10\) Although I have not identified the incident reported here Rubens had reported on 19/29 October that
Tilly was in the neighbourhood of Bremen and that he intended to besiege the city; Magurn, pp. 150-51. A
"Provant-Master (line 56) is the "officer in charge of the commisariat...a supplier of or dealer in
provisions" (OED, “provant-master”; last citation 1620).
Letters from Hambrough relate also, That the States of Denmark have now yeelded to supply the King with money & men; that he hath received his long promised 3000 Scotts & levied divers souldiers & payes them Corrantly; that he hath fortified Stoad & Buxtahow (a Towne not farre thence). But yesterday (I know not upon what ground) it was bruited that he was betrayed & surprized in Stoad, & that which encreased the rumor & made men suspect somewhat the more, was that his Ambassador here was yesterday morning sent for in great hast to the Court: But we hope better.

Count Mansfield is written to be above 30 thousand strong, & thought he intended to march back into Moravia, as the Duke of Saxon—Weymar is in Silesia with 18,000 men, to whom many of the Country come, where he takes in one place after another & although for the Emperor the 5th man be summoned to go against him, yet will not a man stirre, saying, they are bound by nature & Religion to preserve & defend their wives & Children. The Turks are written to be 80,000 strong, that they besieged Novigrad, yea some letters say, taken it, & that neere Nitra in Hungary, there was a sore Battell between them & the

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11 This was probably false, as Sir Robert Anstruther wrote on 16/26 December that Christian was trying, “by all possibill means to git monnie out of Denmark”, implying the King had not done so already; PRO SP75/7/folio 242r.

12 Colonel Mackay’s regiment had finally arrived at Glückstadt on 12 September, but of the 3,000 men stipulated in the commission granted to him in April 1626 only 1,921 actually arrived in Germany; Fallon, ‘Scottish mercenaries in the service of Denmark and Sweden’, pp. 192, 194–95; above, p.44 n. 15. The fortification of Stade by Christian was reported in STC 18507.184, The third newes...this moneth of December, B3r. “Corrantly” (line 76) is probably a variant of “currently”, in the sense of “now, at the present time” (OED, “currently”, 2).

13 As Meddus hoped this rumour was false.

14 Saxe-Weimar’s successes in Silesia were reported in STC 18507.184, The third newes...this moneth of December, A4v, B2r, B3v, where it was also stated that Tilly’s army would march there; an indication of the conflicting rumours concerning the latter’s movements. An Augsburg newsletter of 16/26 August had reported that the Imperialists were levying “the fift man” in Moravia to raise an army; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v.

15 Reports of the seige of Novigrad (modern Nagyvarad) by the Turks are in STC 18507.184, The third newes...this moneth of December, A2r–A3r.
Palatine of Hungarie ayded with some Germans commanded by the Earles of Merode & Serin; but the Imperiallists were beaten out of the feild with the losse of many & of the Earle of Merode himselfe, being of the Archduchesses Country. And it is likewise written, That Bethlems Army is marching downe toward Pressburg. We have not much from the King of Sweden, but that he still blocks up Dantzick & hath given a defeat to the Prince of Poland, who some say is come into Dantzick, though others doubt it. But lettres from Elbing say, the King of Poland suspects the Prince his Son, to have intelligence with the Swede & therefore seeks to disgrace him, & have the Polacks admit of his second Son to succeed him.

Count Gondemar that did here work so much mischeife & drew the French King by making peace with Spaine to break the Articles with us; at his going out of France coming to Burdeaux feasted our English Factors & Masters of Ships, & told them, that before a yeare came about, there should againe be peace, & they see him in England in as great favour as ever before; but about some 30 or 40 miles on this side Madrid he dyed in the way, as some say, not without suspicion of a Spanish figge. He was

16 A newsletter from Augsburg of 27 September/7 October had reported a Turkish victory over Hungarian Imperial forces “near Nitra” and that “It is thought Monsieur Merode bee slaine, and Serein hardly escaped”; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v; see also STC 18507.184, The third newes...this moneth of December, B2r.

17 I have not traced this rumour. “Pressburg” = Bratislava in the Slovak Republic.

18 The “Prince of Poland” was Wladyslaw, who succeeded Sigismund as King in 1632; Kirby, Northern Europe in the early modern period, p. 427. As the Polish monarchy was elective rather than hereditary the threat to pass over Wladyslaw was a real one, and reports that attempts of this nature were being made reached London from time to time; see for instance PRO SP101/29/folio 1v (Augsburg newsletter of 12/22 April 1626). For a discussion of the Polish constitution at this time see N. Davies, Gods Playground: A History of Poland. Volume I: the origins to 1795 (Oxford, 1981), ch. 10, esp. pp. 324–25, 331–35, 338–41. Elbing (line 102) was a port near Danzig in Polish Prussia.

19 For a report of the meeting between Gondomar and some English merchants at Bordeaux on his way to Spain see PRO SP78/80/folios 89r, 91r.
counted in Spaine the greatest freind to England in all that Court.\textsuperscript{21}

About 6 weeks since Duke Soubiezze, (who lyes at Greenwich) sent his Secretary over into France, but in his returne is taken with his lettres & imprisoned.\textsuperscript{22}

There is a new Offer made to the City, that if they will victuall their Ships for 3 months more (& as some say give the King £1200) they shall have liberty to go Southward & what they get shall be their owne, & they shall have 2 of the Kings ships to assist them & 15 Hollanders. The Cittie hath bin this three days in consulting about their answere, but it is not yet known what they will resolve upon: It is thought by some, they will not accept it, for feare the Royall Subsidie come upon them, if they should change the setting out of these Ships into a private Charge.\textsuperscript{23}

For the Prize reported to be taken, I can meet with no man can tell me of any such by my Lord Willoughby or any of his worth 100 pence.\textsuperscript{24}

It is generally beleived, that the Royall Subsidie shalbe urged

\[ \text{a: £12,000} \]

\textsuperscript{21} Although this report alleged he had died of poison, Gondomar's death was due to fever (possibly plague); see above, p. 94 n. 10. He had left Madrid in April 1625 on a mission to England in order to improve relations between the two countries, but when news reached Spain of James's death he travelled to Brussels instead, to "keep a close eye on English affairs"; Elliott, pp. 228, 230. On hearing the news of his death the Venetian Ambassador in Madrid thought this would "throw everything into confusion, because it will not be easy to find another whom the English will trust"; CSPV 1625–26, p. 564.

\textsuperscript{22} I have not traced this incident. Soubise had remained in England since the defeat of his fleet off La Rochelle in September 1625 (for which see above, p. 135 n. 24), and had arrived in London in late September 1626 to meet the Duke of Buckingham (with a view to incite the Huguenots to continue their resistance against Louis XIII). He was soon ordered to remove to Greenwich from London to keep his negotiations more secret; Lockyer, p. 347; CSPV 1625–26, p. 566.

\textsuperscript{23} In early November the Privy Council requested that ten of the City's fleet should be provisioned for an extra two or three months and sail with two royal ships and fifteen Dutchmen in search of Spanish prizes. The City accepted the Council's offer, but upon terms to which the Privy Council could not agree. The idea was dropped; Wren, 'Twenty Ships', pp. 331–32; see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 23; HMC Skrine, p. 96.

\textsuperscript{24} Mead's note on line 130 presumably referred to another version he had read of the the sum to be paid to the Crown.

\textsuperscript{24} See above, p. 94 n. 12; p. 93 lines 17–20.
universally in the manner, it hath bin already in Essex, Kent, Middlesex
Surry, Hertfordshire. Three yeomen of Hertfordshire being
called before the Commissioners at Watford refused to pay: it is
likely some others have done so to, but the oath which they take not
to divulge their answers hinders us from hearing the passages of that
buisines.25

This morning (as I am now told) my lord cheife Justice Crue
is displaced.26

Another ditto.

The attempt upon Sluyce as before. &c.

The King of Denmark hath written to the King of Boeme,
to acquaint him with his present estate, that he hath reinforced his Army,
& that soldiery draw thick towards him, so that he hopes very speedily
to be in the feild, & prays heartily for old Tilly, that he may once
again meet him before he dies. This letter was sent from the Hague
& came to our Kings hand last Saturday. But what, if it be
best treating for peace with sword in hand? 27

In France the Duke of Vendosme & his brother &c expect the
sentence of death dayly.28 The French ^* King ^* hath not gotten as yet the 12
ships, which the Hollanders build for him; but they wilbe ready by the
Spring: & then, woe to Rochell.29

At home the bold speakers begin to go to pound; Captain Brodeman

25 I have not traced the incident at Watford. In an attempt to prevent reports of those denying to pay the
Loan from circulating widely, one of the instructions issued by Charles I to the Commissioners for the
Loan was that “you shall...charge every...person in our name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any
other what his answer [to the request for money] wast”; PRO SP16/36/43 [folio 70v].
26 Sir Ranulph Crew, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was dismissed for his refusal to subscribe to
the legality of the Forced Loan. For his dismissal see DNB, v. 81; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 312-13; Holles, ii.
337.
27 I have not traced this letter. The comment on lines 146-47, however, reflects worries that Christian
would make a separate peace with the Emperor after his disastrous campaign of 1626. He finally did so in
1629; Parker, TYW, pp. 79-80.
28 For the imprisonment of César and Alexandre de Vendôme see above, p.514, n.16.
29 On 20/30 November it was reported that six of these vessels had arrived at Newhaven (Le Havre); PRO
SP78/80/folio 160r.
was sent to the Gatehouse this last week for speaking more then his part, & if he be not saved by 12 men, He may have liberty perhaps to speak his mind at his last confession. I must not repeat his words, but himselfe is taught better manners, to putt a greater difference hereafter betwixt a Duke & a King.

Upon Thursday the 10 Regiments of Souldiers were all cast saving three. One the Dukes, which must lye in Kent; another my Lord Wimbletons which must lye in Sussex, & Sir Edward Conways which must lye in Ireland; where the Captaines awhile may traile pikes & are promised Captaines pay till they be againe employed. &c.

The French Ambassador Bassompierre is sayd to have made a good treaty, but a bad Conclusion: for yesterday, when he desired the confirma=tion of all things, Himselfe sayd, the Duke ment to stop his mouth with a dish of meat. He hath refused the great Diamond, & all other rewards saving the great Feast at Yorkhouse on Sunday night last.

Here is much bickering before the King betwixt my Lord Maxwell & the Chancellor of Scotland, who hath kept the seale hitherto, but now must yeeld, though as the generall voice is convict in nothing. The Earle

b: Sir Georg Hay

30 Captain Thomas Brodeman (or Brediman) had allegedly stated (while visiting one John Brangston of Drury Lane) that an attempt would be made by disaffected soldiers in London to assassinate Charles and Buckingham, and that the Elector and Electress Palatine would come to power. The allegation was taken seriously, an extensive investigation was undertaken, and a warrant for Brediman's arrest was issued on 2 November; PRO SP16/38/84 [folio 113r]; SP16/39/35 [folio 68r]; SP16/39/40 [folio 76r], 41 [folios 77r-78r]: APC Jun.-Dec. 1626, p. 348.

31 I have not traced the order to cashier these regiments; for the movement of troops to the southern counties see above, p. 481 n. 22. To "cast" is to "throw or set aside, reject, discard...to dismiss (soldiers, etc.)" (OED, "cast", v., 27). The furious reaction of six officers to this was reported in a later letter to Mead; see below, pp. 583-84 lines 52-62, 65-67. To "trail a pike" is "to serve as a soldier" (OED, "trail", v', 2a).

32 For the treaty agreed between Bassompierre and Charles see above, p. 488 n. 9; for the York House entertainment p. 577 n. 3. The "great Diamond" worth £7,000 (which Bassompierre, in fact, accepted on 19 November), was described by Finet, NS5r-v; see also Bassompierre, Memoirs, p. 107.
Marshall of Scotland is also sent for.\textsuperscript{33}

Sir John Savill was made a privie Counsellor yesterday;\textsuperscript{34} when the Judges\textsuperscript{4} also\textsuperscript{4} who yeeld to be Lenders in this loane but not to subscribe were called to Subscription; but the Lord cheife Justice Sir Randoll Crew, & the Lord cheife Baron Sir John Walter sent the Lord Keeper to acquaint his Majestie they were in a Præmunire as soone as they should have done it.\textsuperscript{35} Whereat his Majestie was much displeased; and as I understand This morning a Quietus est is sent to Sir Randall Crew to sitt no more in judicature.\textsuperscript{36}

\vspace{1cm}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 4] amongst which was one MS.  
line 72] The last Anwerp Post brought certayne intelligenee MS.  
lines 104–05, admitt of his] admitt of of his MS.  
line 111] but now about MS.  
line 177] as they had done should MS.

\vspace{1cm}

\textsuperscript{33} Rumours had circulated over the previous few weeks that Sir George Hay was in trouble over "his firm intention of upholding the privileges of [Scotland]"; CSPV 1625–26, pp. 587, 594; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 11, 24.

\textsuperscript{34} Savile was admitted to the Council on Wednesday 8 November; APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 353.

\textsuperscript{35} Walter probably meant that if the Judges were to endorse the legality of the Forced Loan in this manner they would, in effect, prejudge the issue and violate their responsibilities as interpreters of the law. I am grateful to Dr. John Morrill for this point.

\textsuperscript{36} For Crew's dismissal see n. 26 above. In spite of his persistent refusal to subscribe Sir John Walter (Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer) did not lose his place, nor did any of the other Judges; Gardiner, vi. 149.
Sir,

I received from Master Pory last night a piece of newes, whereof some was wondrous strange (if it prove true) & I suppose he wrot a day before his time, that he might be the first relater, as he was. I will excribe his whole letter: Judge as you shall see reason, when you come at it.

London November 23.

Master Batchcroft was yesterday accomplished according to his wish, both by his Grace & also by his Majestie; whereupon to day he is gone to give thankes to them both: and all this (he telles me) hath not cost him a groat.

Those 13 housholders, who for refusing to subscribe, were prest to serve the King at Portsmouth, went thither on Friday last, where being arrived, they could find nobody, that would owne them as their Captaine, & so on Tuesday, they are returned to their houses without controll.

To day I was told by Sir N... N... N... that many of the Lords (not privy Counsellors) being sent to about subscription, have refused both that & payment. Another related to me, that the first that were sent to were the Earle of Warwick.

1 This departure from his Friday schedule by Pory was unusual enough for Mead to comment on it.

2 Pory was a graduate of Gonville and Caius College and his interest in Batchcroft's election (doubtless shared by Mead) is indicated by the prominence given this item; Powell, pp. 6, 9. The certificate signed by six of the Heads of House (for which see above, p. 547 n. 5) was delivered by Dr. Henry Smith the Vice-Chancellor on Wednesday 22 November, and Charles agreed to Batchcroft's election as Master later that evening.

3 For these thirteen subsidymen pressed for foreign service see above, p. 498 n. 1; for their return to London, HMC Buccleuch, iii. 314. The failure of the Privy Council to take effective action against the Loan refusers is discussed by Cust, F. L., pp. 147-48.
the Earle of Bullingbrook, the Earle of Lyncolne, & my Lord Stanhop
who ad hoc unum, are proved all Recusants.

Here is a speach of a peace with Spaine, & that no
more letters of Mart wilbe granted.

The mounting of a Cheife Justice upon each Bench is
now more rife in mens mouthes, then hath at any time bone
since the Terme began. Sergeant Davis (who hath written
lately in favour of the Kings prerogative) is named for the
Kings bench, & Sergeant Richardson for the Common plea's
yet it is sayd, that all both Judges & Sergeants have hitherto
kept their grownd in not yeelding to subscribe, no not to a
medium, as they have lately bin required.

a: In this one thing onely

4 Charles had written to each peer personally requesting them to support the Loan, but by the middle of
November a group of about fifteen had refused to pay with potentially disastrous consequences for the
success of the measure; ibid., pp. 55, 102 and n. 13; PRO SP16/41/3 [folio 4r]. The 1st Earl of
Bolingbroke was Oliver St. John; "Lord Stanhop" was Charles, 2nd Baron Stanhope of Harrington; GEC,
ii. 203-04; xii (pt. 1). 242. The point (and the joke) of line 34 was that the four peers mentioned were
among the more strenuously Protestant of the nobility who would not otherwise be "recusants": Roger
Manwaring was not, therefore, the first man to (offensively) use the term in his sermons preached in the
following year polished as

Religion and Alegiance,
as suggested by Cost; F. L., p. 213. I have not
identified Pory's source with certainly; according to Shaw,
Knights, ii. 170, the only knight in this period
with the initials "N. N." was Sir Nathaniel Napper (or Napier), but certainty is impossible.

5 Contarini had also heard rumours of this nature, which proved false: CSPV 1625-26, p. 586; CSPV 1626-
28, pp. 30, 32. Letters of marque authorising the capture of Spanish ships were first issued in September
1625 and were not stopped until the peace with Spain was signed in November 1630; Appleby, pp. 11, 46,
39.

6 For Richardson see above, p. 539 n. 4, and for the refusal of the Judges to subscribe to the Loan, p. 557 n.
36. Clare had reported on 13 November that Sir John Davies (the poet and former Attorney General for
Ireland) would succeed Crew; Holles, ii. 337; DNB, v. 590-93. I have not identified Davies's defence of the
Forced Loan mentioned on lines 28-29.
But the sweetest newes (like marchpane) I keep for the Banquet.⁷ Now the French Ambassador is departed,⁸ a certaine heteroclite ⁹ Ambassador is coming upon the Stage. A Youth he is (as I heare) with never a hayre on his face; & the Principall by whom he is sent, & whom he is to represent, lyes concealed in this Towne, and (in one word to solve this riddle) is the President of the Society of the Rosy Crosse, whose sayd Ambassador on Sunday afternoone hath appointed to come to the Court with 13 Coaches. The proffers he is to make his Majestie are no small ones, to witt, if his Majestie will follow his advise, he will presently putt 3 millions videlicet 30 hundred thousand pounds into his Coffers, & will teach him a way, how to suppresse the Pope, how to bring the Catholick King on his knees, how to advance his owne Religion all over Christendome, & lastly how to convert Turkes & Jewes to Christianity: Then which you can desire no more in this world.

Thus he & promises me a letter this night. What think you? for I know not.¹⁰

Is it a game or a verity?

But whatsoever this be, the Corranto ¹¹ tells us in the Conclusion as a Postscript of a terrible overthrow, which Mansfeild & Bethlem joyned have give to the Duke of Freidland. The words these.

Concerning the late battell betwixt the Duke of Freidland Generall for the Emperor & Count Mansfeild & his Associates, it is

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⁷ “Marchpane” was the standard English form until the German “marzipan” replaced it in the nineteenth century (OED, “marchpane”, 1a); a “Banquet” as used here was a “course of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine, served...as a continuation of the principal meal” (ibid., “banquet”, 3).

⁸ Busompierre had taken his final leave of Charles on 21 November and left London on Wednesday the 22nd; Memoirs, pp. 110-12; CSPV 1626–28, p. 38.

⁹ “Heteroclite” means “Deviating from the ordinary rule or standard; irregular, exceptional, abnormal, anomalous, eccentric” (OED, “heteroclite”, 2).

¹⁰ I have not traced this incident, although Mead was correct to suspect that it was a massive hoax. The “Catholick King” (line 48) = Philip IV of Spain.

¹¹ No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.
reported diversly: some report that 17,000 of the Duke of Freidlands men should be slaine, others say but 12,000, all do conclude of a great overthrow he hath received. It is further reported, that they fought the space of 8 hours, the first 5 hours the battell was very doubtfull, but at last Count Mansfeild obtained, & utterly vanquished the Duke of Freidland. He took all his ordinance, baggage & 200,000 Florins. But time will shew the truth.

In a former part of the Corranto, It was written from Vienna, that a Post came out of Hungarie with newes of a great Conflict betweene Freidland & Mansfeild assisted with Bethlen's forces but it was thought he durst not tell the successe, It was so ill. Presently after in another letter from those parts it was written, That Mansfeild had utterly overthrown the Duke of Freidland, beaten him quite out of Hungarie, & was pursuing him in Moravia.

And I was told yesternight, that it was for the generall Exchange newes, & affirmed by other intelligence: I pray God it be but halfe of it true, & we shall be glad.  

From Noremberg November 2.

It is certaine, that the revolted husbandmen of the Land of Ens have given six severall overthrowes in six weeks to the Imperiall & Bavarian forces, & in this last overthrow they have defeated a new Generall of the Duke of Bavaria which came lately out of the Veltoline to ayd him with 8000 men strong besides the Country people (viz of Bavaria) which were rayed to assist him.  

12 In spite of these reports and Mead's hopes none of the reports in lines 59–76 were true. Although the joint armies of Bethlen and Mansfeld had nearly fought a battle with Wallenstein on 20/30 September – 21 September/1 October, due to the weakness of both sides no engagement occurred; Parker, TYW, p. 78; Angyal, 'Gabriel Bethlen', pp. 65–66.

13 Although the Austrian rebels had hitherto managed to resist Imperial and Bavarian forces, the appearance of Gottfried Heinrich, Count Pappenheim (probably the "new Generall" of lines 83–84) with reinforcements from northern Italy (the "Veltoline" = "Valtelline", line 84) turned the tables decisively against the rebels. He entered Upper Austria on 29 October/8 November and proceeded to crush the revolt; Wedgwood, pp. 215–16. Reports had, however, reached London that Pappenheim had been defeated; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r (newsletter from Augsburg of 2/12 November); folio 1v (newsletter of 8/18 November).
from Vienna. That they had now gotten a very skillfull Generall who by a Stratageme had taken the City of Wiles in Austria. 14

Tilly is now marching towards Silesia to mend the world in those parts. Who (it was thought) if these necessities in the high Countries had not recalled him would have gone neare to have marched to Elsenore & wintered in the Land of Holst. 15 But now the Emperor vouchsafed to send an Ambassador to offer him conditions of peace, notwithstanding the overthrow he had given him; but tis hoped, he will not accept the offer for his honour. 16

Doctor Hill Master of Katharine Hall well on Saturday & eat his meat & was merry (though troubled with a cold), died yesterday morning at Fulburne his parsonage. 17

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady I rest

Christ's Colledg
November 25.

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 38] A certaine youth MS.
line 43, afternoone] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 165r.
lines 59–79, Concerning...glad] Mead used a penstroke in the margin to emphasise these lines, indicating they had been transcribed from the latest newsbook (with his own interpolations).

14 Probably an account of the peasanta's victory at Wels ("Willes") on 30 September/10 October; see above, p. 551 n. 8.
15 This proved false; the uncertainty over Tilly's movements is indicated by a similar report sent to Dalham the previous week suggesting that he would march against the Austrian rebels; see above, p. 551 n. 9.
16 On 20/30 December Sir Robert Anstruther reported the likelihood that the Emperor would send peace terms to Christian IV which the latter would be advised to accept; PRO SP75/7/folio 252r; see also above, p. 555 n. 27.
17 Dr. John Hills had been Master of Catharine Hall since 1607; Venn, ii. 371 (which gives his date of death as Sunday 26 November).
London November 17. 1626.

Our hopes in Westminster Hall for the restitution
of Sir Randall Crew to his place of Lord Cheife Justice
are frustrate; for he will by no meanes subscribe to the
legalitie of this new loane: and it is thought, if his deposing
were againe to be acted, it would not be done.¹ My Lord
cheife Baron though constantly of the same opinion, stands
fiirme in his place, & so do the rest of the Judges, being
all in the same predicament.² The Sergeants also are
unanimous with them; which is the reason why Sergeant
Richardsons warrant to be Lord cheife Justice of the Common
Plea’s was tome, when it came to be signed by his Majestie.³
And it is thought by some, the consequence of all this
wilbe a Parlament.⁴

Yet the Lords Itinerant are appointed for severall
Counties, & they say, Sir John Savill shalbe made a Vis= count, to be one of the prime Commissioners that shall
prosecute the loane in the North.⁵

The Lady Falkland is newly banished the Court,
for lately going to Masse with the Queene: in whose

¹ For Crew’s dismissal see above, p. 535 n. 26; for rumours of his impending reinstatement, Holles, ii. 339
and above, p. 398 n. 7.
² For the refusal of the other Judges to subscribe to the Loan see above, p. 535 n. 36.
³ I have not found any reference to this episode. Richardson was formally appointed as Lord Chief Justice of
the Common Pleas on 28 November; DNB, xvi. 1133.
⁴ Cust has commented that the uncertainty over the Loan’s future as a result of opposition by the Judges and
a group of peers led to speculation that Parliament might be recalled; F. L., p. 54.
⁵ The rumour concerning Savile’s Viscountcy was false (he was given a barony in 1628). In the “List of the
Lords Designed for his Majestyes service in the business of the Loanes”, drawn up on 12 November, Savile
was nominated as one of the Commissioners for Leicestershire; GEC, xi. 460–61; PRO SP16/39/55 [folio
100r]; Cust, F. L., 112–13.
conversion the Romane Church will reape no great credit, because she was called home out of Ireland for hir greivous extortions.

My Lord Wimbledon (upon my Lord Willoughbies refusall, in regard of the indisposition of his bodie) is to goe Generall of our 4 Regiments in the Lowcountries, to ayd the King of Denmark.

The French Ambassador is to morrow to take his leave; but how matters are concluded with him, I cannot yet relate.

The Danish Ambassador here extraordinary, is within a day or two to go to the French King in the same quality; & having dispatched in France to returne hither, & here to continue in Ordinary.

The London Fleet doth yet ride at Gravesend.

Yesternight one of the EastIndie Ships riding at Eryth had like to have beene fired; for by negligent looking to a Candle, the Gunner-roome was blowne up with a barrell of poudcr, & the fire took hold on the shrowds: the mariners taken with a panick feare

6 Elizabeth, Lady Falkland, had become a Catholic in c. 1604 but did not publicly reveal this until 1625 when she separated from her husband (the Lord Deputy of Ireland); DN8, iii. 1151; GEC, v. 240. I have not found any reference to her “extortions”.

7 After Lord Vere’s refusal (see n. 14 below) Willoughby was selected to command the four English regiments in the service of the United Provinces but withdrew to be replaced by Sir Charles Morgan; PRO SP14/214/folio 131r; SP16/39/35 (folio 68r); HMC Skrine, p. 96; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 22, 33; Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’, p. 529; Snow, Essex the Rebel, p. 161. I have not found any other reference to the proposal that Lord Wimbledon should command the English forces.

8 Bassompierre formally took leave of Charles and the Court on Sunday 19 November and left London on the 22nd; Memoirs, p. 107; above, p. 560 n. 8. For the agreement reached with him see above, p. 508 n. 9.

9 Palle Rosencrantz, Extraordinary Ambassador from Denmark, had been instructed by Christian IV earlier in the month to go to France to negotiate for financial assistance before returning to England as permanent Ambassador. He left the Court on 19 November; Finet, N3v–N4r; CSPV 1626–28, p. 42; see also PRO SP101/10 (bundle 14)/folio 1r (newsletter from Paris of 13/23 November).

10 The London fleet was trapped in the Thames estuary for weeks due to contrary winds; Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 332; PRO SP16/40/35 (folio 64r–v).
fled from the ship, but others that were there in harbour, by their valiant example made them resume courage & quench the fire.11

I can heare of no collectingyet of this new loan, for all that Westminster & the parts neere London have so long agone subscribed.12

To day these belles rang merrily in remembrance of famous Queen Elizabeth.13

Another London ditto.

The last letters from Hamburgh of October 25 say, That the King of Denmark is to receive within few dayes 6000 men under the conduct of my Lord Vere.14 That he is also to receive much money for the payment of his Army out of the treasureys of his owne Kingdome, by the consent of the States there.15

They say also, that the last Noremberg Post brought newes, that the Boores have cut off 2 regiments more of the Duke of Bavaria’s forces; & that Bethlem & Mansfield have done strange exploits in Hungary.

That Tilly is not yet gone against them but is to goe shortly.16

[device]

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11 I have not traced this incident.
12 This probably reflects the period of uncertainty over the future of the Loan as a result of the refusals both by the Judges and leading peers; Cust, F. L., pp. 54–56, 102–03; see also PRO SP16/39/25 (folio 51v).
13 The date of Elizabeth’s accession, 17 November, became an integral part of the English “Protestant Calendar” and was celebrated in this manner in churches across England right up to the Civil War (and even later); Cressy, Bonfires and Bells, ch. 8.
14 Christian IV had suggested that Horace, Lord Vere, should command the four regiments to be transferred to Danish service, and earlier in November it was thought the latter was ready to do so. He turned the appointment down, however; PRO SP75/7/folio 230r; SP14/214/folios 130v–31r; Holles, ii. 339; CSPV 1626–28, p. 33.
15 This rumour had been heard before; see above, p. 352 n. 11.
16 For the rumour on London see 64–66, see 7hund., ff. 3a–6d in 12–15.
Textual Notes: line 33] hither, & h*** MS.

line 38] for my by negligent MS.
I would not have you judge of my witts by the enclosed for so you might think me halfe mad. The truth is, I was somewhat distracted on the exscribing of my lettres, but it was, by busie people often knocking at my dore, which made me forget which was the wrong & which the right end of my paper & not to distinguish one side from another but I hope your patience, by following my directions for turning, will not be unwilling to pardon my incongruitie of posture. ¹

There is nothing I can adde, save that they talk the mariners were againe coming in some dangerous number to speak with the ^ Duke ^, whereupon, ^ a warrant ^ came from the Lords of the Counsell to my Lord Maior to send some 300 men of their trained bands to guard his Graces person. Upon the hearing whereof the Saylors returned.²

Some say, the Loane is now coming into our shire, & that they have altered it, not to be after the Subsidie book, but after some other rate. But this you will know sooner & better then I. It more concerns you.³

For the Rosy Crosse President you shall see his Ambassador appeared not at the time appointed, by the

¹ Mead's "incongruitie of posture" is explained below, p. 571 n. 1.
² For these incidenta see APC Jun.-Dec. 1626, pp. 370-71; CSPV 1626-28, p. 55; PRO SP16/41/3 (folio 4r); Lockyer, p. 343.
³ This rumour concerning the alteration in the levying of the Loan was false. Under letters patent granted the University of Cambridge in 1561, confirmed in 1571 (13° Elizabeth, c. XXIX), Fellows and scholars were relieved from having to pay Parliamentary subsidies (and hence, in 1626, the Forced Loan based on the subsidy rate): Stuteville, however, was liable to pay and the details of how the Loan was to be assessed would naturally be of interest to him; Morgan, pp. 267-68; Statutes, iv (pt. 1), 585-86.
enclosed of Master Pory dated on Sunday afternoone. It seemes
his Majestie would not give him audience. You shall see here
his lettre to the King superscribed with his Ambassadors name
Origines, & subscribed with his owne Phillipus. The
Contents, me thinks argue it comes from some whose braines
croak. It is sayd here, that the King should say, if he
could tell where to find him, unless he made good presently
his proffer of gold, he would hang him up at the Court gates
whereby it seemes, he is latent & undiscovered & ment so
to be, but to use a child for his minister & messenger, whose
innocencie & age might secure him from such usage, as
himselfe the Principall was like to find. Some think it is
somebody whose braines are crackt; others a plott to have
gott accessse unto the King in private for discovery of some
matter against the Duke, others otherwise as their fancies
lead them.

Katharine Hall men have chosen Master Sibbes for their
Master & admitted him. I know not what good turne they
have done him, having no other preferment but the Lecture at
Grayes Inne: & the Mastership is not worth 40 mark ayeare
some say not £20 communibus annis, save the benefit of con=
venient Lodgings.

I am troubled with Master Highams backwardnes, who is £10
in my debt besides this quarter which will make it nere £15. Neither he

4 See p. 560 above. For Pory’s report see below, p. 575 lines 100–08.
5 The editor of C. and T. has suggested that the episode was “one of the several attempts made about this
period to draw the king’s attention to the mischievous influence of the Duke of Buckingham; but Charles
had too completely given himself up to the fascinations of the favourite to heed such manœuvres”; i. 178
n. 1. “Latent” (line 32) means “Hidden, concealed... (The opposite of patent)” (OED, “latent”, a).
6 Dr. Richard Sibbes the noted divine and author had been preacher at Gray’s Inn since February 1616/17
(the reference on lines 42–43) and was appointed Master of Catharine Hall on Monday 27 November, DNB,
xviii. 182; CUL Add. MS 22, folio 7v. For the relative poverty of the College in the early seventeenth
century (in 1622 the Master’s stipend was only £7 p. a., which, with other sources of income probably
only amounted to a figure similar to that quoted by Mead) see W. H. S. Jones, A History of St. Catharine’s
College, once Catharine Hall (Cambridge, 1936), p. 225; see also ibid., pp. 75, 228–29. (The Mastership
of Christ’s, by comparison, was said to be worth £82 7s. 4d. in 1623; Cambridge University Library, Mn.
5. 47, folios 60r–61r). “Communibus annis” (line 44) = “per year”.
nor Master Tracy are so good Paymasters as I hoped for but the latter
I think is loth to forgoe his money. The other is not so well stored.7
(b) I send you a couple of Books according to my ordinary commission
the bigger is 4* 6d The other is 8d. I thought at first, it had beene
the Relation of your Voyage, but afterward I found you were then but
yong.8 I had thought to have sent my Lady for a Newyear's gift
our Fish-Book entitled Vox Piscis printed at London with Doctor Goads
Preface, & a good one were it * not * for some few too youthfull & conceited passages 55
which I would had bin left out.9 The Bookbinder pleased me not in binding else
it had bin sent, but I will owe it with my best service to hir Ladyship & your selfe.
[a] Christ's Colledg
December 2. 1626.
Yours to command
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 6] was, by by buisy MS.
line 9] by the following MS.
line 10, will] altered from "wilbe".
line 19, not] altered from "to".
line 22, his] altered from "he".
lines 22–23] his appeared Ambassador MS.
line 41] admitted them him. MS.

7 Mead's hints to John Higham evidently had their effect: the latter's debt of £10 in respect of the previous
two quarters was paid on 11 December; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 40r. Higham's account for the current quarter
(£5 7s.) was settled on 3 March 1626/27; ibid., folio 40v. Although Mead did receive money in respect of
John Tracy's account, the latter's bill was not settled in full until 25 October 1628, after he had left
Christ's; ibid., folios 61r–v, folio 63v.
8 The more expensive of the two books mentioned here is unidentified: I assume that "it" in line 51 refers to
the smaller volume sent to Dalham, STC 18344 (for which see Appendix I). The events described in this
book occurred during Francis Drake's voyage of 1572–73: as Mead realised, Stuteville (born in 1569)
would have been far too young to have taken part.
9 This was the printed text, STC 11395, of the "Fish-Book" described by Mead in his letter of 24 June
1626, with a preface by Dr. Thomas Goad: see Appendix I. The "youthfull & conceited passages" (line 55)
probably included the "flashes of yongue witts in Cambridge" occasioned by the arrival of the fish,
included in Goad's preface (on A10r–A11r).
lines 50–57, 58–61, I send...Mead] The position of these two marginal notes, written vertically in the margin, has been indicated by broken lines as elsewhere. I believe, however, that note b detailing Mead's book purchases was written first and have placed it accordingly.
London November 24. 1626

This week hath brought some forraine occurrents, yet not so plaine & certaine that we may be confident, especially of the successse of that great battell sayd to be fought between Count Mansfeild & the Duke of Freidland. For howsoever it be true, that his Majestie hath lettres, that they fought 7 or 8 howres, & that at length Count Mansfeild had the victory slaying many thousands of the Enimie, putting the rest all to rout & flight, & taking all their Ordinance & baggage: yet from Anwerp is written, that Count Mansfeild had the worst, was forced to secure himselfe & his Army by passing over a River, & after causing the bridge to be broken downe, where notwithstanding he was in distressse. Howbeit the Lettres from Noremberg affirm in generall, that Mansfeild & the Boores had the better & prospered, yea & that the Boores of themselves had gott 6 great victories also against the Bavarian Forces: but they referre the more certaine particulars of the foresayd battiell to the next relations, for that the last lettres were by a Jesuite corrupted; so that we yet hope well of Mansfeilds victory.

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1 As he explained to Sir Martin in his letter of 2 December with which this enclosure was sent, Mead transcribed this letter in a particularly confusing manner; H390 folio 164r–v was written upside down. Mead numbered folios 163r–64v as pages 1–4 of the transcript; I have omitted these together with his instructions at the foot of folio 163r, “Turne to page with number 2 on the other side”, and 164v, “Turne to the back side of this leafe”.

2 This passage illustrates both the uncertainty about events in central Europe and the bias continually found in different accounts of the same incident. Not only had the battle in question not occurred at all (see above, p. 361 n. 12): the letter delivered to Charles (presumably from a “Protestant” source such as the Hague) reported Mansfeld’s victory, while that from Catholic Antwerp asserted the opposite. It was entirely characteristic, however, to blame the general uncertainty on the nefarious activities of the Jesuits. For reports of victories by the “Boores” see above, pp. 364–5 nn. 13–14.
There be Ships come this week from Coningsburgh in Prussia, which affirme, that the King of Sweden, after he had well garrison'd the Townes which he took, & the forts which he made to cutt of all trade from Poland & them of Dantzick, was himselfe in person for this winter season sayled into Sweden, yet with intention to retume the next Spring.  

And a Ship come also from Hamburgh, driven out thence with ise, relates that Tilly was gone with some of his forces up to the Emperors ayd; which, if true, it may seeme to confirme Count Mansfield's victory: And that hereupon the King of Denmark was with 4 or 5000 choise men gone upon some notable designe. 

From the United Provinces we leame litle or nothing, by reason the last Post with 16 other passengers were cast away on the Goodwin Sands. But its sayd, the Enimie continues his course in digging & casting up the earth for bring[ing] the Rhine into the River Mase. 

We heare not yet of the restitution of our French Merchants goods moneys & Ships, but hope only. Meane while here goes a double rumour, one that the French King is thought to intend the besieging againe of Rochell this winter. The other, that there are overtures for a peace betweene us & Spaine.

3 Gustavus had returned to Sweden for the winter soon after his victory at Mewe on 21 September/1 October; for the military dispositions of the Swedish forces in his absence see Roberts, ii. 332-33. “Coningsburgh” (line 19: Königsberg in Polish Prussia, modern Kaliningrad) was one of the most important ports in the Baltic, exporting vital commodities such as grain, flax and hemp to the rest of Europe; Kirby, *Northern Europe in the early modern period*, pp. 8, 13, 22. As such it was a natural source for news from the region. 

4 Sir Robert Anstruther reported that Christian IV had left Stade with 4,000 men on 2/12 November; PRO SP75/7/Folio 233r. For (false) rumours that Tilly had marched south to aid the Emperor see above, p. 551 n. 9; p. 554 n. 15. 

5 I have not traced this incident. 

6 As reported by Rubens on 19/29 October; Magurn. p. 150. For the construction of the “Fosse Mariana” see above, p. 281 n. 9. 

7 Not only were these hopes misplaced, the arrest of the English wine fleet at Bordeaux made matters even worse; see below, p. 554 n. 2. 

8 Although La Rochelle was not fully besieged until October 1627, plans for such an operation had been in existence since June 1626 at least; Clarke, pp. 140-41; Knecht, p. 76.
The Vacant Bishopricks are not yet supplyed, but as is sayd, a sixth Bishoprick voyd by the death of the Bishop of Worcester.9

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Another London ditto. 24 November (folio 164v) 45

1626

The great victory of Count Mansfeild & utter overthrow of the Duke of Freidlands Army is here yet strongly confirmed by all. Tilly is gone to undertake the husbandmen who have taken the Governour of Lintz; And Colonell Morgan shall go with the 6000 men to the King of Denmark.10

Our Saint Clements men which were prest for recusancie of the loane were very brave when they went last week towards Portsmouth, being well mounted upon excellent horses at their owne charge, & well cloathed in their Buffe-Coats & their colours in their hatts; seeming to go as pleasantly as ever they went into Tuttle feilds upon a mustering day.11

Our Ships are stayd againe in France, & this we have gott by taking Saint Mallo’s ships at Sea & vaunting of our rich prizes.12

Captain Jobson is now ready to weigh anchor, if not already gone. The Ship wherein he goes must leave him there with a pinnace & 2 boats for his discovery & fetch him home this next yeare. His stay hath bin thus long occasioned by the sicknes of the Captaine of the Ship, at length grown Lunatick; & so a new

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9 For the "Vacant bishopricks", see above, p. 499 n. 4. Bishop John Thornborough of Worcester did not, however, die until July 1641; Chronology, p. 280.

10 The rumours concerning Mansfeld and the capture of Adam von Herberstorff the Governor of Linz were false; see n. 2 above; Wedgwood, p. 215. Colonel Sir Charles Morgan had, however, been appointed to command the four English regiments in Dutch service to be transferred to Danish service; Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’, p. 529; PRO SP75/7/folios 237r, 248r-v.

11 See above, p. 557 n. 3 for the return of these thirteen Loan refusers from Portsmouth. “Tuttle fields” (line 57) presumably referred to the Artillery Yard, for which see above, p. 125 n. 23. "Brave" (line 53) as used here means “Finely-dressed...splendid, showy.” (OED, "brave", adj., 2).

12 For the capture of French prizes at sea see above, p. 573 n. 26.
There is a stranger hath bin this 2 yeares at London, & as some say is the same, who as hath bin heretofore reported, told the Prince Palatine at the beginning of his Election to the Crowne of Bohemia of all the misfortunes & calamities which have befallen him since that time, & neverthelesse advised him to accept it. Whosoever he be, he yesterday sent a lettre to our King by David Ramsey of the Clock: a copie whereof we took from the Originall immediatly after he had bin with the King. & it sounds thus.

The Superscription

Glorioso, & dilecto Fileo Dei et nostro Domino Carolo Imperatori Britannico, quindecim Regnorum Regi Ωrigines.

Indicatur hisce presentibus Regis tuae Majestati prodigionem summam adversus tuam & meam personam a me detectam esse; Ideoque velim mihi dari tres satellites Regios, qui comprehendas proditores ad turrim deductant.

M. Phillipus.

a: To the glorious & beloved Son of God & our Lord Charls Emperor of Britanien King of 15 Kingdomes. vrigines.

b: These presents shew unto your Royall Majestie a great Treason discovered by me against your Majesties person & mine; & therefore I desire three of your Royall guard to be sent me, to apprehend the Traytors & carry them to the Tower M. Phillipus.

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13 Although I have not traced this voyage Captain Richard Jobson was an experienced seafarer and explorer, having been to the Gambia in 1620–21; Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 115.

14 I have not traced this incident, if indeed it actually occurred.

15 David Ramsey was the King's Clock Keeper, hence Mead's reference to him.

16 I have not traced this letter.
Thus was the lettre & besides he gave Master David further in=
structions, \ as \ to tell his Majestie, that if he pleased to grant him audi=
ence, he would send this next Sunday & impart many things unto
his Majestie of moment & secrresie, \ that he would performe it
by the mouth of a yong child, whom he had already annointed
& such like.  \ I tell it you for newes, but for my part
I have but a small faith in the buisines, supposing it is either
some phantasticall folly, or if more, that it will tend to impo=
sture.

London Sunday
November 26.17

The yong Ambassador of our President of the Society
of the Rosy Crosse did not appeare this afternoone at White
Hall; but they say, he proffereth his 3 millions to be payd in
May next.  \ We all feare he will prove but a Montebank
& his project a second part of Englands joye.18 He sent a lettre
unto the King, the Copie whereof is this.

The same with that in the former.

His name, (they say) is Phillipus Ishbertus, & his Ambassador
or messengers name (which is but a youth) Origines.

My Lord of Essex & Sir Peregrine Berty are newly come
out of the Lowcountries, having left the 4 Regiments of English,
which should go to the King of Denmark, almost empty of men.19

Master Burlemacchi (who heares every week from her) sayth the

17 Probably due to the intense interest generated by the "Rosy Crosse President" and his youthful harbinger
Pory once again departed from his usual schedule and wrote on a Sunday, the day of the proposed "audience"
at Whitehall.

18 Given the Rosicrucian "Ambassador's" alleged offers of help against the Pope and the King of Spain (see
above, p. 560 lines 47-48) this may be a reference to STC 22076, T. Scott's England's joy, for
suppressing the Papists, and banishing the priests and Jesuites (1624).

19 Essex returned to Court on 24 November. He had returned to England to complain at the choice of Sir
Charles Morgan as commander of the forces to be sent to Christian IV; CSPV 1626-28, p. 43; Snow, Essex
the Rebel, pp. 161-62. The lack of men reported here did not improve over the winter; only 2,472 were
present in March 1627 when the troops finally embarked for northern Germany; Beller, 'Sir Charles
Morgan', p. 530.
Queene of Bohemia was never in more perfect health then at this present.20

The French Ambassador departed on Thursday night who besides his guifts (which do amount almost to 12 thousand pound) hath licence to transport an huge quantity of leather, & as many horses as he will.21 He hath besides (as I heare) had all his de\-mands, though nothing be done for us in France: At Burdeaux the craftie malicious French suffered our Merchants to lade their wines, but no sooner had they payd for the same, but the French arrested Ships & wines & all, & told the English in scorn, that they should be permitted to transport them, so it were in French bottomes.22 Here is speech of an Extraordinary Ambassador to be sent into France. Viz: either my Lord Carlton, or the Earle of Dorsett.23

To morrow, it is sayd, Sergeant Richardson shall appeare Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Plea’s, & Sir John Davis is nominated for the Kings Bench, because he hath written a book in defense of the Legalitie of this new Loane.24

The London Fleet hath all this while bin windbound at Gravesend, so that if they go any voyage, they must revictuall before they go out.25

Shall I further tell you, that the Moores of Sally do

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20 For Elizabeth’s illness see above, p. 513 n. 12.

21 See above, p. 546 n. 32 for the jewels given to Bassompierre; p. 544 n. 8 for his departure. The horses given to him and the grant to transport leather were reported by the Venetian Ambassador: Bassompierre also obtained the release of sixteen priests; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 22, 97; Bassompierre, Memoirs, p. 97. Unfortunately, due to the severe weather he encountered in crossing the Channel twenty-nine of the horses given to him died of thirst; ibid., pp. 119–20.

22 I have not traced this report.

23 The Venetian Ambassador reported on 1/11 December that Carleton would accompany the Duke on his proposed embassy to France (for which see below, p. 392 n. 5); CSPV 1626–28, p. 54. Smith has pointed out that although the rumour of Dorset’s involvement was false it was not an unreasonable supposition, as the Earl had been appointed Ambassador to France in 1621 (although he had not, in the end, gone to Paris), ‘The Political Career of Edward Sackville’, p. 78.

24 For Richardson’s appointment see above, p. 574 n. 4; for Davies and his book, p. 539 n. 6.

25 Salvetti made a similar comment on 1/11 December; HMC Skrine, p. 98, quoted by Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, p. 332 n. 54.
now presume to come to the Streight between Calais & Dover & there to take our Ships. 

This other day a Captaine of one of the Kings Ships riding in the Downes, coming of the Shore in the night, to go aboard his Ship mistook in the dark a Man of Dunkirk, in stead of her, & so was taken Prisoner & fairly carried to Dunkirk.

The Duke of Bavaria lyes, a dying.

[device]

Textual Notes: line 95, I have used as catchwords at the foot of folio 164v; they are largely obscured by the guard mount of the letter in H390. line 115, who Mead originally opened brackets here, then deleted the parenthesis. line 122, & wines & wines & wines MS. line 131, The London used as catchwords at the foot of folio 164r.

26 I have not traced this incident, but it is not inconceivable given the threat posed by the Sallee corsairs at this time; Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, pp. 161-65; above, p. 391 n. 9. 27 I have not traced this incident. 28 A newsletter of 2/12 November from Augsburg reported that Maximilian was still "in an evill disposition...in bodie and minde, And it is esteemed, that he will never right recover"; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v. This (once again) proved false.
Bifolium. Written on Saturday 9 December; sent with Mead's transcripts of London newsletters of Friday 1 December, a book, a newsbook and a ?manuscript copy of a speech. Folios 171v–72r blank; subscription on 172v.

9 December 1626 (folio 171r)

Sir

I received not your last till I had sealed. My pupill was more negligent then I knew; but now he is about a declamation & must have pardon till it be over.1

The Commissioners for the loane have bin heere Thursday & yesterday. They come off here roundly, few or none refusing, They are to pay hälfe within 14 dayes. The Commissioners I heare, are now at Newmarket, what they do there, you can know better.2

Bassampier being driven againe on shore, my Lord Duke Holland & Carleile, went to Dover or Canterbury to kisse his hand, & returned on Wednesday. What will become of his journey into France I ken not. Some thought he had bin gone, but deceived.3

On Wednesday morning came newes to the Earle of Warwick that his 3 Ships had brought in each of them a prize; whereupon he presently rode poast to Portsmouth.4

I have no more, but I send a Corrant, whereby you may gather I think. That the report of Mansfields defeat of Freidland, though true, yet for the particulars

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1 John Stuteville had presumably been “negligent” over the sending of his bill.
2 Cust has commented that Cambridgeshire and Suffolk (unlike Essex or Lincolnshire) were “by and large co-operative” in agreeing to pay the Loan; F. L., p. 3.
3 Bassompierre had left Dover on Wednesday 29 November but was driven back there due to storms in the Channel. On Saturday 2 December Buckingham sent him a message to meet at Canterbury (in order to arrange his proposed embassy to France, for which see below, p. 592 n. 5) and did so, with Carlisle and Holland among others, on the 3rd; Bassompierre, Memoirs, pp. 114–16; see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 59.
4 This report was exaggerated: one of the Earl of Warwick's fleet of privateers, the Jonathan, had captured a Spanish vessel; PRO SP16/41/55 [folio 74r], 69 [folio 100v]. There is an account of the incident (one of the very few letters from an English source in any newsbook) in STC 18507.184, The third newes...this moneth of December, B4r–v.
is confounded with an overthrow given by the Boores, or that of the boores with it.  

I send my Lady the Fish-book bound in the same order it was taken out of the Fishes belly: For our Bookbinders use to putt the Preparation to the Crosse first because the Treasure of Knowledge being almost wholly consumed, they mistook the place of it when the book was pulled asunder. The Preface is Doctor Goads. I humbly desire my Lady to accept it as a pledge of my service, & an acknowledgment of many undeserved favours, & to call it, if she please, a Newyeers Gift. Thus with my best & wonted respect I rest & am

Christ's Collège
December 9.
1626.

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph
Mead

I send you Sergeant Richardsons speach, where, if you mark, he useth to putt God in the second place. I desire to have the speeches againe if you please.

I pared of much of the superfluities of my letters enclosed, & yet there yet remains some, which I hope you will omit in the reading to others. My

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5 The newsbook in question was probably STC 18507.184; see Appendix II. For other (false) accounts of Mansfield's victory over Wallenstein see above, p. 537 n. 6; p. 537 n. 2; for the "Boores", pp. 537-42 nn. 13-14.
6 For Mead's gift of STC 11395, Vox Piscis see above, p. 569 n. 9 and Appendix I. When he had examined the original book extracted from the fish on 23 June, Mead had also "putt the Preparation to the Crosse first" because so little of the first work in the volume, The Treasure of Knowledge (a revised edition of STC 11211, The fountayne or well of lyfe (1534?)) had survived; see above, p. 342, lines 31-33.
7 I have not identified this speech, which was presumably a manuscript copy. It was perhaps delivered by Richardson on formally taking office as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for which see above, p. 524 n. 4.
author thought the Duke would have bin gone ere this.\textsuperscript{8}

Captain Brodeman, hath bin rackt, but I cannot heare it confirmed by any other that he dyed upon the rack. And therefore I think it untrue & my author deceived.\textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{Textual Notes: } line 29] to accept accept MS.

line 43] reading to the others MS.

lines 45–48, Captain...deceived] a continuation in the margin.

\textsuperscript{8} If the enclosure of London news dated 1 and 3 December was all that Mead sent with this letter it is difficult to suggest what these "superfluities" were. The rumour concerning Buckingham's departure (for France) was false; see below, p. 575 n. 5.

\textsuperscript{9} For this see below, p. 575 lines 103–05. Mead was correct in assuming the news was false: Brodeman remained in prison until September 1627; PRO SP14/214/folio 194v; SP16/52/57 [folio 79r–v]; SP16/55/67 [folio 96r–v]. For his offence see above, p. 576 n. 30.
London Friday
December 1. 1626

We have this week been much troubled with a report, that the principall of the Isles of Syly situate some 80 miles to the west of Cornwall was not onely taken, but fortifyed by the Dunkirkers, as if the King of Spaine did make that the first step toward the Conquest of England or Ireland: But the last report is, that they onely watered there, burnt downe a Mill & some few houses & so departed. A harbour there is amidst 9 Ilands capacious of the greatest Fleet in Christendome (where the King himself anchored at his returne from Spaine) 1 but very dangerous to come into, & where a Fleet might with small forces be fired or driven upon the rocks in their riding there; & therefore (though imminent upon the mouth of the Sleeve upon Cornwall, Wales & Ireland) yet no fitt subject for Spaines ambition. 2

It was sayd likewise the same Dunkirkers had taken the Royall James the greatest Ship belonging to the East Indian Company: but I heare she is returned rich & safe, being the fift Ship, that hath come thence within these 3 months. 3

Here was some 300 Saylors come up for their wages, which this other day brake ope the great gate of Sir William Russell Treasurer of the Navy, & would have pluckt him out by the eares had he not given them faire wordes. Since his house hath bin guarded with pikes & musketts, & my Lord Treasurer at Clerkenwell with halberds:

Of which Saylors & Mariners there are 5000 in all, whose wages

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1 In October 1623; B. W. Quintrell, 'Charles I and his Navy', The Seventeenth Century 3 (1988), 159.
2 Contarini reported the supposed capture of the Scilly islands in his dispatch of 1/11 December; CSPV 1626–28, p. 56. See also HMC Skrine, p. 98. The rumour was false, as soon became apparent.
3 Sir John Watts referred to the return of the Great James (presumably the same ship) in a letter of 2 December; PRO SP16/41/11 [folio 16r]. For the other four ships see above, p. 570 n. 11.
cannot amount to so little as 30 thousand pound.⁴

The importunitie of these & of those that are to come, have it seems made the great Duke willing to change this troubled aire. For now against the persuasian of some of his best freinds he will over in all hast (some say) to morrow, some say on Munday into France, to negotiate the Peace of Christendome.⁵ Others, that he may be absent during a Parlament, which would but little help;⁶ & others that he may procure a release for our English Ships & goods.⁷

They say also he mediates under hand to be reconciled to the Earle of Bristoll, the Earle of Arundell, & other discontented Lords; which what should it presage but a Parlament.⁸

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⁴ Contarini reported on 1/11 December that Lord Treasurer Marlborough’s house was being protected by the City trained bands; CSPV 1626–28, p. 55. For the order to protect Sir William Russell’s house see APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 390.

⁵ Buckingham intended to travel to Paris as an extraordinary Ambassador to settle the various disagreements between England and France. Bassompierre, knowing that the Duke's presence would not be welcome, persuaded him to remain in England until the agreement reached in London (for which see above, p. 598 n. 9) had been ratified by Louis. As the French repudiated the terms agreed with Bassompierre Buckingham did not go to France: Gardiner, vi. 146–48, 152; Lockyer, pp. 350–52; Bassompierre, Memoirs, pp. 113, 117, 121; HMC Skrine, pp. 95, 97–104.

⁶ On 1/11 December Contarini reported the rumour that Buckingham was going to France due to “the meeting of parliament, as anticipated, owing to the renewed difficulties about the subsidies [the Forced Loan], though this is not generally believed”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 53; see also HMC Skrine, p. 101.

⁷ Concerning these different rumours about the purpose of the Duke’s embassy, Salvetti astutely noted that the “talk about the project varies from day to day, and obviously has little accurate foundation”; HMC Skrine, p. 98.

⁸ It was reported on 22 December 1626/1 January 1627 that the Duke was “trying to conciliate some of the grandees... with whom he had quarrelled, and I understand he has already been seen with the Earl of Essex”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 77.
The Loan (some think) is at the highest: for not only the refusal of the Judges to subscribe to the legality of it, and the refusal of many Lords to pay upon letters sent unto them, doth much prejudice the current thereof; but also because that in Kent, though they have freely both subscribed & payed, yet detain they still the mony within their County, till the Regiment of Soldiers there lodged shall be answered their pay: for they say plainly, they meane not to lend the King so great a Summe, & maintaine the soldiers too. And those of Hartfordshire have by a letter with 600 hands to it, expostulated with my Lord of Salisbury for inducing them to subscribe, by making them believe, the Judges had already subscribed; & so are become non solvent till such time as they see other Counties (which have not yet bin med= led withall) to come off.

On Tuesday last 6 Captaines that had served in Ireland, entred forcibly into the Dukes chamber at White Hall as he sate at dinner, & told him, they had so long served the King without pay, & were cast without any pay at all, that it was not wont to be the use of his Majesties Predecessors, nor of any Prince in the world besides, & that they supposed all was long of him: Whereunto his Grace replyed, asking them, if they stood not in aw of the late Proclamation, which on paine of hanging forbade all soldiers & mariners to come to the Court in troupes about any buisines: to which the Captaines answered him againe, that if they were hanged, there would more others be hanged with

a: But tis not; We come off freely here at Cambridg & the Commissioners are now sitting in other shires also.

9 On 1 December Sir Benjamin Rudyerd wrote that the Judges’ refusal to subscribe had given “a greate blowe to this Designe”; PRO SP16/41/3 [folio 4r]; see also Cust, F. L., pp. 102-03. In his marginal note to this passage Mead was, however, correct in pointing out that the Loan was still being collected elsewhere.


11 Contarini reported this incident on 8/18 December; CSPV 1626-28, p. 62; see also PRO SP16/41/29 [folio 42r]. It has been suggested this reflected the change of attitude towards the Loan caused by the reports of the Judges’ and peers’ refusals reaching the counties around London; Cust, F. L., p. 112.
them for Company; & from this proceeded to such uncouth lan-
guage, as his Excellency was faine to yeeld & to promise them up-
on his honour, they should very speedily be satisfied.\footnote{12}

On the day before namely Munday it was debated in full
Counsell (his Majestie being present) whether those stubborne Lords
that refused to pay this loane should be committed or no? My Lord
of Dorsett besought his Majestie for the advancement of his service,
that they might; & his reasons were 1. The generall conformity
of Essex both to subscribe & to pay, upon the Commitment of
Sir Francis Barington & Sir William Massam. And 2\textsuperscript{nd}
ly Because if these Lords were not also made an Example, they would infect
the rest of the Kingdome. At last it being put to the question,
my Lord of Dorsets opinion proved to light by 2 voices onely;
& so was exploded. Howbeit their Lordships, for all this their
escape, are putt into the black book &c.\footnote{13}

This very day was there a new Counsell established at
Wallingford House, which highteth The Counsell of the Sea
consisting of divers Privy Counsellors, & other Lords & Knights.\footnote{14}

Sergeant Richardson on Tuesday the last day of the
Terme was by my Lord Keeper mounted Lord Cheife Justice
upon the Tribunall of the Common Pleas, being on Monday
(folio 168r) either married or contracted at least to the Lady Ashburnham
the Dukes Kinswoman & having formerly made her a joynture out
of his lands in Kent & Sussex.\footnote{15}

\footnote{12} These officers were reacting to the decision to dismiss a large number of soldiers without pay, for which
see above, p. 536 n. 31; see also Lindley, 'Riot Prevention', p. 113. For the "late proclamation" (line 59)
see above, p. 528 n. 10.

\footnote{13} Although there is no record in \textit{APC Jun.–Dec. 1626} of this meeting on Monday 27 November, the
importance of the decision not to imprison the "recusant lords" is discussed by Cust, \textit{F. L.}, pp. 55–56,
103. For the Earl of Dorset’s outspoken support for firm measures to be taken against Loan refusers see
above, p. 522 n. 11, and for the imprisonment of Barrington and Masham, p. 571 n. 13.

\footnote{14} As a result of the ignominious return of Willoughby’s fleet a commission of enquiry into the state of the
navy was convened, comprising Buckingham, the Lord Treasurer and nineteen others; Lockyer, p. 345;
PRO SP16/40/55 [folio 90r]; SP16/41/55 [folio 67r], 56 [folio 68r], 57 [folio 69r]; \textit{APC Jun.–Dec. 1626},

\footnote{15} For Richardson’s promotion and marriage see above, p. 579 n. 4.
Another London
November ditto.16

Yesterdays lettres confirme the great battell fought between
Count Mansfeild & the Duke of Freiland, wherein were 9,000 men
slayne besides horses, which made the rivers all run gore; 3000
slayne of Mansfeilds side & 6000 on Freildlands, but that
Mansfeild gott the day.17

Here hath bin ever since Munday many souldiers in the Streets
seeking for their pay, causing the trayned men to be in armes, & yester=
day 2 of the City Captaines with their Companies were by order
from the Counsell appointed to guard the house of Sir William Russell
who had some mony to pay the mariners lately employed in the
Kings service; but because it came short, he feared the pulling downe
of his House about his eares.18

Captaine Brodeman [who] was committed to the Gatehouse was
removed into the Tower, where upon Wednesday he dyed upon the
rack, as it is generally spoken.19

On Wednesday also the Strand Company was appointed to guard
Yorkhouse & the Dukes person.20

The City Fleet lyes still at Gravesend having now but 2
monthes victualls.21 Sir John Watts is now at Portsmouth, where the
Lyon of the Kings & 8 sayle more are preparing, but whether all these
shall make up one Fleet I know not.22

16 Mead’s dateline was incorrect; either the London letter was dated Thursday 30 November or, more likely,
he wrote “November” for “December”. Mead had already had to correct himself concerning the month; see
the Textual Note to line 1 below.
17 These reports were false; see above, p. 941 n. 12.
18 See n. 4 above.
19 See above, p. 940 n. 9.
20 For the measures taken to protect Buckingham against mutinous sailors see Lockyer, p. 343.
21 The London fleet was still windbound; see above, p. 940 n. 25.
22 Sir John Watt’s ship was the Lion; for his reports of the progress of the preparation of the fleet at
Portsmouth see PRO SP16/40/32 [folio 58r], 45 [folio 76r]; SP16/41/11 [folio 16r], 12 [folio 17r], 14
[folio 19r], 35 [folio 54r]; see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 69.
The Irrefragado's of Saint Clements are returned from Portsmouth & tell us, that they were sent to the Clerk of the Check there, who had no order to entertaine them, & therefore presently dismissed them under his hand:24 The Souldiers of that Towne bestowed a volly of Shot upon them, & during their abode there, called them up every morning with drumme & fife.25

London. Sunday December 3.

By the same that wrot the first Lettre.26

Since my last I heare my Lord Willoughby is to be created Earle of Linzey.27

And that yesterday in the forenoon Doctor White was made Bishop of Carleile by him of Durham, at Durham house: where was pasted over a dore, as the Spectators came forth from his consecration these words in print: Is an Arminian now made a Bishop & is Consecration translated from Lambeth to Durham house? 28

And now it is given out with more confidence, that Durham shalbe Winchester & Bath & Welles (others say Lyncolne) Durham. But how the rest I know not.29

On Friday at the first Assembly of the New Counsell for the Sea

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23 This form of the word is not in OED. Mead's source probably derived it from "irrefragable": "Of persons: obstinate, inflexible, stubborn" (ibid., "irrefragable", 3; last citation 1621).

24 These were the thirteen subsidymen of St. Clement’s parish pressed for military service for refusing to pay the Loan: see above, p. 493 n. 1; for their return, p. 559 n. 3. The Clerk of the Cheque at Portsmouth, responsible for paying the troops billeted around the town, was Matthew Brooke.


26 Probably John Pory; see Appendix III.

27 Lord Willoughby had been created Earl of Lindsey on 22 November; GEC, viii. 16.

28 Dr. Francis White was consecrated on 3 December. He had been on good terms with Neile for a number of years, which perhaps explains the latter’s officiating at the ceremony; Chronology, p. 236; Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 108; see also ibid., pp. 123–24. The absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury who would usually have performed the ceremony (at Lambeth Palace), as well as White’s role in licensing Montagu’s Apello Casarem (and, probably, defending Montagu at the York House Conference) inspired the placard quoted on lines 125–26; ibid., p. 159.

29 Richard Neile was translated from Durham to Winchester, but not until February 1627/28; Chronology, p. 277. Laud’s (or Bishop John Williams’s) translation to Durham did not take place. For the other episcopal vacancies see above, p. 499 nn. 2, 4 and references cited.
my Lord Duke with a great deale of seeming zeale to the busines appointed
3 dayes in a week to sit with his Fellow-Commissioners in the Court of Wards & never to fayle a day:30 but yesterday being the second day of meeting he made all the Commissioners & other Lords of the Counsell attend him at Wallingford house till eleven of the Clock, & then word came, he had beene lockt up 3 howres in private with the King: so they all departed (re infecta) 31 not onely discontent but angry, that they should be thus (as they took it) dallyed with and concluded in one generall opinion that now he was hammering his journey for France.32 Queene Dido did never more importune Æneas his stay at Carthage, then his Mother & sister do his continuance here at London, yea even with teares upon their knees ——,33 But now he is past Rubicon; for not onely his ingenious architect Gerbier is gone before to provide him an house at Paris,34 but his Instructions also are drawne, & his purpose is to be gone on Wednesday or Thursday next,35 I heare not of any Lords or men of qualitie that go with him (save onely Sir William Beecher one of the Clerks of the Counsell, who is to act his Secretary) nor that he intends to have any great trayne.36 It is generally thought that in his absence we shall have

30 For this “Counsell for the Sea” see n. 14 above.
31 “The deed not done”.
32 I have not identified the meeting referred to here. For the Duke’s proposed embassy to France see nn. 5–7 above.
33 Contarini reported on 8/18 December that Buckingham’s family tried to dissuade him “on their bended knees” from going to France; CSPV 1626–28, p. 59. In lines 138–39 ?Pory (no doubt amused by the alleged scene involving the Villiers family) referred to the passage in Book IV of The Æneid where Dido, finding that Æneas was planning to leave Carthage unannounced unsuccessfulely pleaded with him to remain with her; The Æneid, tr. R. Fitzgerald (Harmondsworth, 1985 edn.), lines 417–54, pp. 106–07.
34 For Balthazar Gerbier’s mission to Paris see CSPV 1626–28, p. 54. He had acted as the Duke’s agent in acquiring works of art for several years, and came to occupy an important place in the Duke’s diplomatic negotiations; Lockyer, pp. 213–15, 357, 394–95. ?Pory’s confidence that Buckingham would go to Paris was, however, misplaced; see n. 5 above. (His use of “past Rubicon” (line 140) in the sense of “to take a decisive or final step, esp. at the outset of some undertaking or enterprise” is OED’s first cited usage; the passage is, however, misquoted as OED cites the C. and T. text).
35 Buckingham’s instructions as Ambassador to France are now PRO SP78/80/folios 240r–43r; see also Lockyer, pp. 350–51.
36 A later report concerning the Duke’s likely attendants suggested that a number of noblemen would accompany him; CSPV 1626–28, p. 77, and see below, p. 600 n. 12.
a Parlament &c.\textsuperscript{37}

His \textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} Grace\textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} took a shape upon him the other \textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} Thursday \textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} night, which many thought too histrionicall to become him: when in the presence of King Queene, Ambassador & the flower of the Court he acted a Master of Fense to teach the great Porter \textsuperscript{38} to Skirmish, as my Lord of Holland a Privy Counsellour also taught him the Mathematicks & Sir George Goreing to dance. For in the great mask on Thursday was sennight, that overgrown Janitor hight Gargantua son & heyre to Pantagruell, after whose decease Gargamela his mother desirous to breed up the young gentleman in virtuous qualities; recommended the care of his youth to those 3 grave Tutors;\textsuperscript{39} whereof although the third might be excused, yet never before then did any Privy Counsellor of England appeare in a Mask &c.\textsuperscript{40}

Postscript

The Walkers in Paules relate. That the Duke went his way towards \textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} Dover \textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} between 2 & 3 this Sunday morning.

But on Wednesday following, he returned back to London, having bin no further then Canterbury to meet the late French Ambassador, whom the wind & tempestuous Seas yet detain upon English shore.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{37} See n. 6 above.

\textsuperscript{38} The "Great Porter" was Sir John Millicent, who often played giants' roles in Court masques. I am grateful to Dr. Claire Preston and Jeremy Maule for this reference.

\textsuperscript{39} Buckingham, Holland and Goring appeared in a masque on Thursday 16 November. It was intended that Bassompierre should have had his last public audience at the event, but the business of the masque meant that this was deferred until Sunday the 19th; Finet, N4v. The plot of the masque was taken from \textit{Gargantua and Pantagruel}, although ?Pory's memory was faulty: Pantagruel was Gargantua's son, not his father, and the former's mother was Badebec, who died in childbirth (suffocated by her huge offspring!); F. Rabelais, \textit{Gargantua and Pantagruel}, tr. and ed. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, 1955), Book 2, chs. 2–3, pp. 174–78. "Histrionicall" (line 149) means "of or relating to stage–players...theatrical, dramatic" (\textit{OED}, "histrionic", \textit{adj.}, 1).

\textsuperscript{40} ?Pory was incorrect; Privy Councillors had been participating in masques at Court since at least the reign of Henry VIII. I am grateful to Dr. Marie Axton for this point.

\textsuperscript{41} For Bassompierre's enforced stay in England due to bad weather and the Duke's journey to Canterbury see above, p. 57\textsuperscript{\textasciitilde} n. 3. Lines 163–65 were presumably added by Mead during the week after he received ?Pory's letter, based on more recent information from London. See the Textual Note to these lines.
Textual Notes: line 1] London Friday November the last. MS. 
line 31, Munday] Munday MS. 
between lines 82–83] The object whereof MS. 
line 84] Termes ascended was by MS. 
line 103, [who] was] was was MS. 
line 115] sent dismissed them MS. 
line 128, (others say Lyncolne)] Mead placed this interlineation in the margin. 
line 161] towards France ^ Dover ^ MS. 
lines 163–65, But... shore] Mead contradicted his primary source in the margin based on more recent news, but this is a continuation of his account and I have treated it as such.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 16 December, enclosing Mead’s transcript of a London newsletter dated Friday 8 December and a newsbook. Folios 176v–77r blank; subscription on 177v. This letter and enclosures were not delivered on Saturday 16 December due to a mistake at Geffery Finch’s shop and were sent with Mead’s next letter on Monday 18 December.]

16 December 1626

Sir,

I received your last, & do confesse I forgott to make answere for my coming, though it was ever in my mind when I first took my pen; but at the Conclusion of my lettres I am wont to be straightened for time, & as it seemes in memorie also. But now I will make it the first, & therefore if you please to furnish me with an Horse on Saturday next, I hope, God willing, to sup at Dalham that night. I cannot come sooner, I have some buis=<br/>sines to dispatch, & my 2 Tasburghs are not yet sent for, which their Father told me he would do the week before Christmas.

I send you enclosed what came last Saturday; not much, for all our Novillantes failed save the Doctor. You shall receive likewise a Corranto, though the one halfe be of elder or as old date as the last I sent. But all will serve to make up the yeare. I shall I hope bring you on Saterday both this dayes newes, & that also, & then I think I have fullfilled a prentiship of 7 yeares. So long it is since I began.

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1 Sir John, father of Charles and Cressy Taysborough, lived at Flixton Abbey near Bungay in East Suffolk; Peile, i. 374. Mead wanted all his students safely away from Cambridge before he visited Dalham.

2 No copy of this newsbook (about which Mead was characteristically dismissive) has survived; see Appendix II. A “Novillante” (line 15) was a “relater of current events, a newsmonger” (OED, “novelant”, derived from the Italian “novellante”). The term appears in H389 as a description by Mead of his own activities, but not in H390: H389, folios 31r, 37v, 40v, 42r, 90v, 99v, 169v, 174r, 176r, 184r, 192r.

3 As Mead was usually accurate when drawing attention to these anniversaries, we can be reasonably sure that he began sending news to Dalham on a weekly basis in the late autumn of 1619; see the Introduction, p. 38.
This of the death of Sir John Davis, for ought I can heare, holds true. It is added, He was at supper with my Lord Keeper that evening before, & was told by him, That he should be Lord Cheife Justice of the Kings Bench; but he lived not to see the morning. My Lord of Huntingdon rode up upon this newes: for he is his heire.*

I heare there are some 5 or 6 Scottish Lords at Huntingdon, but having received a message from the King they dare not yet come any further.^ The Scottishmen say here that his Majestie requires they should receive their Lands & estates anew of him, which their Predecessors have held without any such reacknowledgment ever since the dayes of Fergus.6

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4 Sir John Davies, appointed as Chief Justice of King's Bench, died on 7/8 December; DNB, v. 593 and above, p. 591 n. 6. Ferdinando Lord Hastings (eldest son of Henry the 5th Earl) had married Lucy, daughter and heiress of Sir John Davies in 1623; GEC, vi. 659.

5 This was a further development in the Revocation controversy (for which see above, p. 144 n. 14). A delegation of Scottish peers travelled south in December 1626 with a petition against Charles's proposed Revocation. Charles initially refused to see them but changed his mind, probably on the advice of William Graham, 7th Earl of Menteith; Lee, The Road to Revolution, pp. 28–29, 43–44. See also CSPV 1626–28, p. 78.

6 Fergus was the mythical founder of the first ruling dynasty in Scotland, and hence a symbol for the foundation of the Scottish state. The reference to him here illustrates the views held by some of the far-reaching (and unwelcome) nature of Charles's proposed reforms: for other examples see Lee, The Road to Revolution, p. 46; MacInnes, Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, p. 53. The importance of Fergus in sixteenth-century Scottish historiography is discussed by D. Norbrook in 'Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography', in Sharpe and Zwicker (eds.), The Politics of Discourse: the literature and history of seventeenth-century England (Berkeley, Ca., 1987), pp. 86–87. One of the Scotsmen referred to in line 30 was probably Andrew Sandelands, Fellow and Bursar of Christ's College; Peile, i. 326; Morgan, p. 714.
In the French arrest, the Scottish suffer a greater injury than we, for having been ever heretofore free for wines &c. They were made against this time to pay not only the same customs with our English, but also the new impost & yet arrested when they had done. They are nettled & talk I know not of what finger in it. Thus having no more yet to write, I rest with remembrance of my most respectfull service & am Christ’s College. Yours most ready to be commanded.


a: Some say the cause is the delay of the demand for settling the Queen’s jointure by Parliament. Others talk otherwise. Yea some that the Duke might go over to release them, & so merit of the Commonwealth & be well employed in a Parliament time. But all are conjectures.

Textual Notes: line 11] my Suffolk 2 Tasburghs MS. line 24] that night evening MS. line 31, that altered from “That”.

7 For the arrest of the Bordeaux wine fleet see below, p. 594 n. 2. On 26 November it had been reported that the French had imposed a new tax of four crowns per tun of wine: PRO SP16/40/29 [folio 54r]. On 22 December/1 January Contarini reported Scotia dissatisfaction at paying it; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 76–77.

8 “On this day and each of the octave [“The period of eight days beginning with the day of a festival”] the anthem sung at vespers begins with an O”; Cheyne, p. 57; OED, “octave”, 1b.

9 For these rumours see above, p. 592 nn. 6–7.
London December 8, 1626.

Though we have not any certaine particulars of the affaires of Germany, yet we hope, it goes tolerably with our partie in Hungarie & the Emperors hereditarie & possessed territories, especially in the Province of Over-Ens with the Boores. And we hope well of Count Mansfield & his associates successse, not crediting the Popish rumour here spred abroad, that he should be taken & hanged on a tree neere the Highway; which they doubles wish were true.  

But our worst newes is out of France, That not onely our merchants goods & money are still there under arrest; but also, that at Burdeaux a all our English & Scottish Ships which went thither for wines are still deteined, & as is sayd, their Masters & Masters mates emprisoned; yea & many, if not the most of them, after they had brought their wines, payd for them, customed & laded them, yea & payd the new impost of 4 crownes more upon a tunne, then was usuall; besides, the yards & sayles taken from the masts, & brought a shore. There are in this arrest 200 sayle, an 130 English & 70 Scottish, & at Roane say others.

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1 It was characteristic that, while admitting that no certain information was available concerning events in central Europe Meddus should hope for the best; for another example see above, p. 591 n. 2. The rumour concerning Mansfield was false: he had died of fever near Sarajevo on 20/30 November 1626 (news of which reached London early in the New Year). Meddus's distinction between Ferdinand II's "hereditary" and "possessed" lands (lines 4–5) was between the Habsburg patrimony (such as Austria) and those territories forcibly conquered (such as Bohemia).
wherein are above 300 pieces of great Ordinance, besides small shott, 4000 saylors, 16,000 tunne of wine & other merchandize. What this meanes or will come to, we know not.²

The last Sunday (newes being come over night, that Duke Bassampierre was by tempest b driven back by Sea to Dover) the Duke, the Earles of Dorset & Holland with the Lord Carlton, rid early to visit him & returned on Monday night or Tuesday.³ It was sayd, his Grace was gone for France but was not: yet it is sayd yesterday, that both his Grace & the Earle of Holland do speedily go thither, & that their necessaries for their journey are packing up.⁴ (folio 173v)

The Contrary winds first, then tempestuous wether & the dark night tydes hindred our London Fleet above a month from getting into the Downes (where now a day or two since, we hope they are); by which their stay, they lost the opportunitie of meeting with 30 or 40 sayle of Biskainers, that are come to Dunkirk with soldiers, saylors, ammunition, & money.⁵ A Ship of the Earle of Warwicks

b: The Wednesday before having bin 8 hours at Sea.
c: Earle of Carleile say others.

² The arrest of the English and Scottish wine fleets at Bordeaux represented a dramatic increase in the series of tit-for-tat reprisals between France and England that eventually led to open war in 1627; Gardiner, vi. 146–48, 150–52; Lockyer, p. 351. Salvetti reported that the news of the arrest reached London on 8 December; HMC Skrine, pp. 99–100. “Roane” (line 22) = Rouen, the Parliament of which had ordered the seizure of English vessels in October; Gardiner, vi. 142.

³ For the Duke’s journey on 3 December to visit the stranded Bassompierre at Canterbury see above, p. 598 n. 3. Mead’s marginal note c was correct; the Earl of Carlisle, not Carleton, had accompanied the Duke. They had returned on Wednesday 6 December, not as reported here; HMC Skrine, p. 99.

⁴ Holland’s inclusion in those thought to be going with Buckingham to France may have been inspired by his accompanying the Duke to Canterbury to meet Bassompierre; ibid.; Bassompierre, Memoirs, p. 116. For reports of the Duke’s preparations for his embassy see HMC Skrine, pp. 100–02.

⁵ This was the fleet that was thought to have captured the Scilly Islands; see above, p. 591 n. 2. The lengthy delay in the sailing of the ships provided by the City of London is described by Wren, ‘Twenty Ships’, pp. 331–32.
fell amongst them, & yet not onely gott away, but also
brought one of theirs home with her to Plymouth: What
then might our 20 sayle have done, had they bin in the
way.6

I heard last night that Serjeant Davis (who is
sayd, look ed to be Lord cheife Justice of the Kings Bench in
place of Sir Randoll Crue) was found dead in his bed.7

Burialls this week — 121
Of the Plague — 0
Baptized —— 152

Textual Notes: line 29, Duke] Dukes MS.
line 31, or Tuesday] Mead, perhaps because he was not sure whether the
information was correct enclosed these words in dotted brackets.
ibid., It was sayd] It is was sayd MS.

6 For the capture of a Spanish "patache" by one of the Earl of Warwick's ships see above, p.448 n. 4. The
comment on lines 45-47 was an apt summary of the ineffectual preparation and bad luck that dogged the
London fleet throughout its existence.
7 For Davies's death see above, p.541 n. 4.
5%

[5]

[Bifolium. Written on Monday 18 December, and sent with the letter and enclosures not delivered to Dalham on the previous Saturday. Folios 178v–79r blank; subscription on 179v.]

18 December 1626

Sir,

I think I am unlucky. I wrot & sent the enclosed at 11 a clock on Saturday, sooner by neere an hower then I have done this month, & yet it is not gone. For passing through the Pettie Curie some 2 howres since & by great chance encountering a Townsman & so staying a while right over against Jeffery Finches shop, his Prentise espying me comes out & telles me my lettres were not gone. How it affected me you may guesse: he layd the fault on the mans not calling as he was wont, but Jeffery Finch confessed, (when I told him, how much the sending thereof concerned ^ me ^, & that, ^ if ^ I had known of it but on Sunday at night, I could have sent by Bury Carrier) that had it not bin for my standing so neere his shop & because I use to ask, they never ment to have given me word thereof. Had I not bin in a fine pickle then? But this good hap at least to know my mishap in some time, I hope portends I shall see Dalham for all this before Christmas. I hope the messenger I send will not play the Knave, but I could desire at his retume to have a certificat thereof in 3 words, least I might still continue in a sollicitous expectation. For now I dare trust nobody.1

I have some more newes, but I am loth to make my letter to heavie. We heare you are generally come off like good Subjects, but That Hampshire whither my

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1 This long explanation of the previous Saturday's letter and enclosure did not reach Dalham underlines the problems sometimes encountered by Mead even if (characteristically) he made the most of them; see the Introduction, pp. 64–66. The "messenger" sent to Stuteville was presumably one of Mead's pupils; I have not identified Finch's apprentice.
Lord Conway was sent, hath universally refused.\(^2\)

Thus desiring you would not be too much offended at my misery, nor laugh at me on Saturday for my neglect in driving off so long before I mentioned my time for coming.\(^3\) I rest with my best service & am

\[\text{Christ's College} \quad \text{Decembe 18} \quad \text{at 6 at night.}\]^4

\[\text{Yours to command} \quad \text{Joseph Mead}^\text{30}\]

**Textual Notes:** line 3, sent altered from “send”.
line 23, now know MS.
line 31 driving off so long MS.

\(^2\) Although several Commissioners had failed to subscribe to the Loan at the initial meeting in Hampshire on 8 December, and several leading subsidy men had refused to pay, the situation in Hampshire was not as clear-cut as suggested here; Cust, F. L., pp. 123–25; PRO SP16/42/92 (folio 128r–v). For the situation in Suffolk see Cust, F. L., pp. 3, 128, 144–45.

\(^3\) To “drive off” was to “protract, prolong...put off, defer” (OED, “drive”, v., 22).

\(^4\) The unusually late hour at which this letter was completed indicates that Mead wrote it almost as soon as he had heard the previous letter had not been sent, “some 2 howres since” (line 6).
This weekes lettres from Noremberg say, Bethlen & Mansfeld cutt out work enough for the Emperor: That the Emperor hath casheired his cheife Generall the Duke of Freidland; That the Boores of Over-Ens had lately slayne 2000 Bavarians, & had since that had a greater encounter, wherein they also at last prevailed, though with the losse of 4 or 5, some write 6000 of their owne.¹

Ships come this week from Prussia & Dantzick report, that since the King of Swedens departure into Sweden, the Prince of Poland hath out of Dantzick made 3 or 4 great sallies against the Swedes forces; but was ever with losse to himselfe repelled & beaten back.²

And Lettres from Hambrugh say. That both the King of Denmark & his Son were in the feild, & that one of them beseiged Voerden an Episcopall seate not farre from Breme, within which was Count Anholt & his Lady: and yesterday was sayd, that the place was forcibly taken, but as with great losse to Denmark, so also, that Anholt & his Lady had secretly & disguised got away;

¹ These rumours were all false; the joint armies of Bethlen and Mansfeld did not gain a significant victory over Imperial forces in Hungary (and Mansfeld was by this time dead; see above, p. 541 n. 12; p. 557 n. 1); Wallenstein, although he had had disagreements with Ferdinand II and had threatened to resign (probably the source of the rumour reported here), was not sacked; and the Austrian peasants had already been defeated by Pappenheim's Bavarian army; above, p. 561 n. 13. For Wallenstein's meeting with Ferdinand's emissary Count Eggenberg at Bruck-am-Leitha on 15/25 November 1626 see Mann, pp. 323-30.

² I have not traced this report, but as the Polish and Danzigers effectively controlled the eastern Baltic after the lifting of the Swedish blockade of Danzig in late October, and gained several successes against the Swedish occupying army it is likely to be exaggerated if not actually false; Roberts, ii. 333; below, p. 60.5 n. 3.
of the truth whereof we must expect further confirmation.\textsuperscript{3}

The Burdeaux Fleet is still detained, to the great damage, if not undoing of our French Merchants both English & Scots. There is a French Ship of very great worth, by a leak put into Plymouth & arrested. But what is one, though very rich, against above 200?\textsuperscript{4} The French Ambassador is sayd to be still at Dover & hovers there, some feare, for no good. God grant France & Spaine joyne not at length against us.\textsuperscript{5} Its still sayd the Duke goes over into France, but not till Bassampierre hath receiv-ed letters of it thence.\textsuperscript{6}

Here is speech, as if there were dealing for a connivency with the Romanists, & as if also, the Commissions were taken from the Pursivants from further meddling with them.\textsuperscript{7}

As I wrot last of Sir John Davis (who is sayd, was writing or had written a Book unto his Majestie in defence of the Royall Subsidie, & looked to be Lord Cheife Justice of the Kings Bench) how that he dyed suddainly in his bed, after he had supped the evening

\textsuperscript{3} Count Anhalt was second-in-command, under Tilly, of the army of the Catholic League in northern Germany.

\textsuperscript{4} For the arrest of the Bordeaux wine fleet see above, p. \textsuperscript{3} n. 2. It was reported on 6 December that a French ship worth £300,000 had been driven into Plymouth by bad weather and a leaky hull; PRO SP16/41/38 [folio 58r]; see also SP16/41/48 [folio 70r].

\textsuperscript{5} Bassompiere's continued presence in England was due to the bad weather which prevented him from crossing the Channel, so Meddus's comment on line 26 was a rather unfavourable construction on events; see above, p. \textsuperscript{3} n. 3. The Ambassador had, in any case, been ferried over to France on 8 December; Bassompierre, \textit{Memoirs}, p. 120; PRO SP16/41/51 [folio 74r], 52 [folio 76r]. Meddus, not surprisingly, portrayed Bassompiere's activities as part of another Catholic plot against England, although no formal agreement of this kind was reached between France and Spain until 10/20 March 1627; Knecht, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{6} As Buckingham seriously intended to go to France Bassompierre, aware of the Duke's likely reception in Paris dissuaded him from undertaking the embassy, at least until the latter had returned to France and received an answer from Louis XIII and Richelieu; Gardiner, vi. 147; Lockyer, p. 352; \textit{CSPV} 1626–28, p. 67.

\textsuperscript{7} On 25 November/4 December Salvetti reported that (as agreed with Bassompiere) the pursuivants were to be ordered to "desist from molesting Catholic subjects in their persons and from searching their houses for priests or for objects appertaining to their religion"; \textit{HMC Shrine}, p. 96; see also \textit{CSPV} 1626–28, pp. 9, 39, 51. The plan came to nothing once the agreement with Bassompiere had been repudiated by the French.
before at the Lord Keepers, & then thought to be well: So on Friday
night last week also Master Gunter Parson of Saint Georges in Southwark, & one of the Mathematique Lecturers in Gresham Colledg,
having there at the Colledg had divers Gentlemen at Supper with him
in his chamber, who departed not till 12 at night; he went afterward
seeming well to bed, but was in the like manner next morning
there found dead: And a great yong Lady having the Kings
Evill, came thither in the afternoone to have hir tumour stroked
ed with his dead hand for cure of hir maladie.  

On Thursday last week at 2 after noone was high
water here & at 8 at night high water againe & so a double
tyde, & at 10 flowed againe of ordinary course. 

| Burials —— 151 |
| Plague —— 1 |
| Baptized —— 163 |

Another London ditto.

The Dukes going for France in mens opinions doth
yet hold, & that 4 Earles Privy Counsellors are to be his Com-
panions, though not his Collegues videlicet Dorset, Salisbury,
Suffolk & Holland.  

It is confidently reported by some, that the French King
hath released our whole Fleet at Burdeaux English, Scottish
& Irish; & that upon the humble Petition of the Citizens of
that Towne, as likewise of the Gentlemen of the Countries adja-
cent, alledging they were in danger for this present yeare to

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8 See above, p. 595 lines 48–50 and n. 7. This passage indicates that Meddus was the author of this letter.
9 Edward Gunter, one of the ablest mathematicians of his day, had been Rector of St. George's Southwark
since 1615 and Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College since 1620; DNB, viii. 793–94.
10 I have not identified the lady involved in this rather macabre episode.
11 I have not traced this incident.
12 Contarini also reported that Buckingham would have a number of noblemen in attendance on him in
Paris, "but all young, better fitted for the ladies than for business"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 77. ?Pory, on the
other hand, had reported on 3 December that no peers would accompany the Duke (another example of the
conflicting rumours surrounding the Duke's proposed embassy); above, p. 587 lines 143–46.
loose two thirds of their revenues & for the time to come to be utterly undone, in case the English were thus beaten from the trade. Whereupon that King excusing himselfe, layd the fault upon the Duke of Lucembourgh Governour of that Province; who under a pretence of a duty out of the wines belonging to him by right of marriage, did arrest the whole Fleet. For which cause the vigneron's & Country people burnt his vines, pulled downe part of his house, & threatened to cutt his throat.

There was lately mett at Paris L' assemblee des Notables (in latine Concilium Notabilium), being an Epitome of the Treis Estats, consisting of prime persons drawn out of all the Provinces. The end of their Calling was especially to have taken off the heads of the Duke & his brother the Chevalier de Vendozme, which the Parlament of Paris refused to meddle withall. So soone as the questions of precedence were decided, up stood the Premier President of the Court Parlament of Paris & made a most eloquent & vehement Oration or rather a bitter invective against the Cardinall Richelieu to his very beard; saying that the cause of all the disorders & miseries of France was, that whereas the Princes of the blood under the King ought to governe that Kingdome, they were at the present all dispersed; that the Kingdome suffered, yea groaned under the governement of one man (meaning the Cardinall there present) who monopolized all power to himselfe, & that untill the Princes & other great Persons were restored to their wonted dignitie & authority, that Realme would but languish like a body in a Consumption &c.

13 This rumour was untrue, although in the following week it was reported that the Scots vessels had been freed; CSPV 1626–28, p. 76; HMC Skrine, pp. 101–02.
14 In a petition of 20/30 November sent to Charles I by the wine merchants at Bordeaux the "Duck de Luxanbourgh" Governor of Blaye, was stated to have ordered the arrest of the wine fleet; PRO SP78/80/folio 163r; see also Gardiner, vi. 146–47. I have not traced the incident mentioned on lines 68–70.
15 The "Assembly of Notables" was a council assembled by the King of France in times of national emergency. That referred to here was opened by Louis XIII on 22 November/2 December; PRO SP78/80/folios 167r–68v, 169r; Parker, La Rochelle, p. 78.
16 For the arrest of these two over their part in the conspiracy against Richelieu see above, p. 131 n. 16. They were not executed in spite of the persistent rumours that they would be.
Which harangue being ended, the Assembly arose, & the next morning came forth an Edict for the dissolving thereof, as was ours for a like reason. 17

The last newes out of France is the death of the Prince of Conde, for whom the Queen mourneth. 18

Yesterday I was told by a good intelligent man, that the French King had lately by Edict forbidden all of that Nation from coming into England, which if it be true, the discharge of our Ships may be doubted of. 19

Here hath bin a speech also, That a new Favourite of the French Kings called Monsieur de Barrada's is banished that Court, together with Blainville that Devil of a Jesuited Ambassadour, who this time twelvemonth went away in our Kings disfavour not being suffered to take his leave of his Majestie, because he had been haved himselfe so sawcily & had attempted to set all in a Combustion. 20

Barrada's (they say) was discountred by the power (habet etiam sua fulmina Juno) 21 of the Queene mother, because he had married a great Inherittresse to a freind of his, which she had designed upon a servant of hirs. 22

This last night my Lord Carltons Chamber at WhiteHall

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17 Pory's report was false, as the Assembly of Notables sat until February 1626/27. In a summary of the events of the opening day of the Assembly, Louis XIII and Richelieu are reported to have made speeches: I have not found any reference to the rumour concerning the "Premier President"; PRO SP78/80/folio 169r; Knecht, p. 34. Although Pory's information was in error, lines 89–91 suggest a link between Richelieu and Buckingham in that the latter had also been attacked in the Parliament of 1626, which had been dissolved to prevent his impeachment by the House of Commons.

18 This was false. Henri II de Condé did not die until 1646; Tapié, p. 603.

19 I have not traced this edict.

20 The expulsion from the French Court of François de Barradas (with whom Louis XIII had "suddenly become infatuated" earlier in the year; Tapié, p. 157) and Blainville was reported in a letter from Paris of 1/11 December; PRO SP78/80/folios 189v–90r. For the ill-feeling surrounding Blainville's embassy to England over the winter of 1625–26 see above, pp. 183–84 nn. 6–8.

21 "And Juno also has her thunderbolt".

22 Pory's version of events was incorrect. The offence for which Barradas had been allegedly expelled from Court was the marriage of his sister to the Marquis de Nantouillet, whom Louis XIII had intended to marry off to one of Marie de Medicis's Ladies-in-Waiting (which explains the Queen Mother's anger alluded to in Pory's aside on lines 104–05); PRO SP78/80/folio 190r.
situate towards the waters side, betweene the Queenes Lodgings & my Lord Treasurers, was set on fire, no man knowes how; and had not a Catt skorched in the flame, made a great noise, the whole House had run an hazard of being burnt to ashes.23

A double Platefleete is safely arrived in Spaine with 25 millions, whereby this next Summer we are like to heare from them.24

Ten of the Kings Ships are by the New-Counsell of the Sea appointed presently to be putt into the Dock. And it is thought two men, videlicet Sir William Russell late Treasurer of the Navy & Burrell the Carpenter wilbe found horrible Delinquents.25

Textual Notes: line 17, Anholt altered from "Anhold".
line 39, in MS.
lines 57-107, It is...of his] Mead used a penstroke to emphasise this passage.
line 58] English, & Scottish MS.
line 94] told by a man good MS.

23 I have not traced this incident, although fire was an ever-present hazard. The Banqueting House, part of Whitehall Palace, had burned down in January 1618/19; Colvin, The King's Works, iv (pt. 2). 328.
24 The 1626 Plate Fleet had arrived in Cadiz on 31 October/10 November with approximately £3,400,000 in silver, a particularly rich haul (partly because treasure had been kept in the New World in 1625 on account of the Anglo-Dutch expedition to Cadiz); Reade, ii. 600; Elliott, Olivares, p. 299. Ruben had referred to the expected shipment as a "double" Plate Fleet on 2/12 November; Magurn, p. 155. On lines 114–15 Pory assumed that with such a boost to their finances the Spanish would once again go on the offensive in the summer of 1627.
25 The commission to investigate the navy questioned William Burrell on 16 December and afterwards ordered that his papers be seized, which probably led to the rumour that punitive action would be taken against him; PRO SP16/42/25 [folio 29r], 26 [folio 30r]; SP16/42/47 [folios 60r–61r]. SP16/42/127 [folio 178r–v] is a list of vessels then in drydock at Chatham as a result of the Navy Commissioners' investigations; SP16/52/52 [folio 71r–v] details ten ships built by Burrell that were found to be defective.
The German letters are so various this weeke & uncertaine that we know not what to thinke of them; as that Bethlem was in treaty with the Emperor about peace; that Count Mansfeild distrusting Bethlem made shew to give over the wars, & goe live at Venice especially for not being aided & supplied with moneys by the undertakers. Yet some letters say he made but a shew therof & deceived the Emperor, & was come backe with his army into Silesia on a sudden in but about 40 houres space. Before that ever the Emperor or his forces could heare of his marchinge.\(^1\)

The Popish letters affirm the Boores to be quite broken & utterly overthrowne; but Protestant letters say that though in a forenoon they were put to flight, & lost 5 or 6000

\(^1\) Although (as ever) there was considerable uncertainty these rumours were based on fact: Bethlen, after he had failed to defeat Wallenstein’s army on 20/30 September and on hearing of the Turkish defeat at Baghdad which deprived him of Ottoman support, declared an armistice with Ferdinand II and soon afterwards signed the treaty of Bratislava; Parker, \(TYW\), pp. 78–79; Wedgwood, p. 212; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r (Augsburg newsletter of 15/25 December); ibid., folio 1r (Bonn newsletter of 22 December 1626/1 January 1626/27). Although his final intentions remain somewhat obscure Mansfeld was on his way to Venice when he died of fever near Sarajevo on November 20/30, and his retinue travelled there; A. C. Hennequin de Villeromont, \textit{Ernest de Mansfeldi}, 2 vols (Brussels, 1865), ii. 343; Wedgwood, pp. 212–13; British Library, Additional MS 34311, folio 48r; PRO SP757/folios 242v, 247v; SP101/29/folio 2r (newsletter from Germany of 8/18 November). For a report of Mansfeld’s advance into Silesia see Magurn, pp. 156–57.
men: yet meeting with a good power of their fellows, made head againe, marched afresh against their enemies, put them to flight, had the slaying of them all that afternoone, & took all their ornance, & baggage: which of them is true time will determine.  

Here are also letters from the Hage, of this later newes, as also that the King of Sweden hath had a notable victory against the Pole without the losse of one man of the Swede's side.  

And likewise this is for certaine said by our 3 men of war that went to waft over our Merchants cloth ships to Hamburg, that the King of Denmark hath had a great losse by the casting away in the mouth of the Elve, in the last tempest of 3 ships, 2 Danish 1 Holland, laden with victaile & munition.  

And lastly from the Hage that the Spanish goe on with their worke in cutting a passage out of the Rhine into the Maze; which will be exceeding prejudicial! to the united Provinces, & yet is not scene how it can be prevented.  

The Scottish ships by their unanimity by sending to the French King from Burdeaux have all their ships discharged: but our men by their disagreement among themselves not

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2 This time the "Popish letters" were correct as the Austrian revolt had finally been crushed in October and November by Pappenheim's forces; see above, p. 541 n. 13.

3 This report was false. The Swedish garrisons in Prussia had considerable difficulty in fending off Polish counterattacks during the winter of 1626–27; Roberts, ii. 332–34. Gustavus himself had returned to Stockholm in early October; see above, p. 592 n. 3.

4 Although I have not traced this report, three English warships had been on duty in the Elbe estuary since the summer of 1626: the Nonsuch, Charles and John Bonadventure, commanded by John Hide, Francis Ledyard and William Driver respectively. To "waft" (line 26) was to "convoy (a ship or fleet of ships" (OED, "waft", v, 1).

5 For this project see above, p. 289 n. 9.
taking that course are there still. Howbeit there is good hope they will be released. & that for 2 reasons. One because the peasants there are ready to rise in commotion being as they say undone, if they may not have free trade with us, they having but from hand to mouth. Which the sale of their wines chiefly supplies. The other for that we are now aforehand with them, God beyond expectation by the adverse winds unto them having brought unto our Western Ports 70 or 80 French ships well laden from Spain with goods above the value of 2 or 300 thousand pound.

This weekes French Post brings, that it is yeilded there, the Spanish ships of war may harbour in their ports, which if true is to annoy us. Rochell hath now bin surprized & 5 Regiments are said to be marched towards it.

The Lord Vicount Wimbleurn is said to be a Privy Counsellor the Duke to have his commission for France sealed: & the Scotch Lords come out of Scotlond to have had audience of his Majesty on Wednesday last. But in private & the busines as seems kept secret.

6 For reports of the release of the Scottish wine fleet see above, p. 601 n. 13.
7 This was probably another report of the opposition to the cessation of trade between England and the wine-growing regions around Bordeaux; see above, pp. 600-01 lines 57-64.
8 On 3 December the Privy Council had ordered the arrest of all French ships in English waters, and a large number of French prizes were detained in English ports during the remainder of the month; PRO SP16/41/15 (folio 20r), 13 (folio 18r), 38 (folio 58r), 48 (folio 70r), 69 (folio 100r), 74 (folio 111r); SP16/42/4 (folio 5r), 6 (folio 7r), 9 (folio 11r); see also Gardiner, vi. 148; CSPV 1626-28, p. 86.
9 PRO SP16/42/80 (folio 109r), Buckingham’s instructions to John Pennington of 24 December (for which see below, p. 611 n. 5) refer to this concession; see also CSPV 1626-28, pp. 86, 96.
10 A newsletter from Paris of 27 December 1626/6 January 1626/27 reported that four regiments were marching towards La Rochelle; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 15)folio 1r.
11 This was premature; Wimbledon was sworn to the Privy Council on 4 February 1627/28; Acts of the Privy Council of England, September 1627 – June 1628, ed. J. V. Lyle (1949), p. 265.
12 For the Duke’s commission as Ambassador to France see above, p. 583 n. 35.
13 See above, p. 591 n. 5 for the journey of a delegation of Scottish peers to London, and also CSPV 1626-28, pp. 86–87; HMC Skrine, p. 103.
A marchant arrived here from Calais on Wednesday tells me there came over in the barke he came in 12 dry full of curious Anwerpe pictures for the Duke to furnish some roomes with, valued at many thousand pounds. 14

| Burialls | 144 |
| Plague   | 0   |
| Baptized | 130 |

Another London ditto.

Clerke with the one hand a Secretary of the Dukes, being returned lately out of France, 15 it is now confidintly beleved, that his altera 16 goes presently to the French Court, where he is met not only with the Commissioner of the Christian King, but also with Ambassadours from the King of Spaine, the Archduchesse, King of Denmarke, the States of the United Provinces &c: the subject to be treated of being no lesse then the generall peace of Christendome, the Queene mother being made Umpress of all differences that " may ^ hinder a Conclusion. 17 As foiles to set of his lustre do accompany his Grace diverse Earles of the Privy Counsell & others being joyned with him. Not in the Commission, but only in Attendance; (the

14 Buckingham had been in negociations with Rubens since 1625 over the purchase of the latter’s art collection, and it was even rumoured that the painter himself would travel to London; Magurn, p. 161; CSPV 1626-28, p. 100. Rubens’s collection did not arrive in England until September 1627, but Sir John Hippesley informed Buckingham on 11 December that goods belonging to him had arrived at Margate, which was perhaps the source of this report; PRO SP16/41/77 (folio 1Sr).

15 Edward Clerke, a servant of Buckingham and an agent of his in diplomitic negociations had travelled to France earlier in the month and was expected at Court on 22 December; CSPV 1626-28, pp. 69, 77. I presume that line 65 refers to his loss of a hand but have found no reference to this disability.

16 ?Pory probably derived “Altera” from Italian and Spanish “alteza”, meaning “Highness” (OED, “alteza”).

17 The possibility that Buckingham would attempt to negociate a general peace settlement while in Paris had been reported by both the Venetian and Tuscan residents; CSPV 1626-28, p. 53; IIMC Skrine, p. 98-99. This optimistic plan proved unworkable as Salvetti recognised; ibid.
Commission which hath already passed the great seal, being
directed to himself only). There was lately, by a stratagem from the Popes nuncio
surprised at Paris, & conveyed away with a strong guard,
in a coach to Brussels, one Master Barnes an English
Preist (who wrote a learned booke in Latine against Equivo-
cation) & from thence is to passe to Rome, where they will
either burne or poison him, for his opposition against the
Jesuits.

The Scottish ships are released from Burdeaux, &
bring newes that our’s are like shortly also to be sett at liberty.
But the duke I beleive must be in France first.
The tables at Court which were reestablished at Michae-
elsmas are this very day put downe againe, & are so to
continue for 5 yeares.

Here are newly come out of Scotland the Lord
Lesley Earle of Rothes, the Lord Leiston Earle of
Lithgow, Camell Lord Lowden, who are to be seconded
by the Archbishops of Saint Andrews & Glasgow, & the Bishop
of Ros, & likewise by 3 men from the cities & burrowes
of Scotland, all 9 being sent as Commissioners from the
3 States of the Kingdome to beseech his Majesty that those

18 For a report that Buckingham’s train would consist of a number of peers see above, p. 600 n. 12; for the
Duke’s commission, p. 597 n. 35 (Gell used italic script to emphasise “Commission” on line 77). The
image in lines 74–75 was taken from the setting of a jewel in a thin leaf of precious metal to increase its
brilliancy; *OED*, “foil”, s.v., s. 5a.
19 The arrest of the Benedictine monk John Barnes, who had written “some thinges in favour of the
temporal liberty of princes, and against equivocation” and his conveyance to Brussels under heavy guard
was reported in a letter from Paris of 1/11 December. Efforts were later made by the English to secure
Barnes’s release but I have not determined whether they were successful; PRO SP78/80/folio 190r
(quotation from this page); SP78/81/folios 12v–v, 19r–v. I have not traced Barnes’s book.
20 For an earlier report of the release of the Scottish wine fleet see above, p. 601 n. 13.
21 I have not traced this renewed attempt at retrenchment at Court; for the “Tables at Court” see above, p. 359 n. 4.
who sent them may have the ordering of the great affaire{s} of that Realme. It being too great a burden for any one man to undergo.\textsuperscript{22}

Yesterday I saw with mine eyes above 40 or 50 labourers which had bin employed for the duke at Yorke house mutining at his lodging at Whitehall for their wages, but were dismissed with a faire answear: & which is more strange, I heard yesterday a most understanding man say that the duke hath not in all the world a foot of land unmorgaged, notwithstanding the great summes of money he dayly attaineth unto.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 1, 162[6] misdated “1627” by the “annotator”. line 33, uniting altered from “uniting”. line 62, Plague none 0 MS. line 64, ditto dicto MS.

\textsuperscript{22} The peers mentioned here (who comprised the delegation that had travelled south to protest at the Revocation scheme; see above, p. 571) were respectively: John Leslie 6th Earl of Rothes, Alexander Livingston 2nd Earl of Linlithgow, and John Campbell 2nd Lord Loudoun; \textit{GEC}, xi. 197; viii. 27; viii. 158–59. ?Pory’s report was, however, in error on lines 95–97: the clerical delegation was a separate mission to that of the nobility. It was made up of Patrick Lindsay Bishop of Ross, John Guthrie Bishop of Moray and two ministers, Walter Whiteford and William Struthers; they came to London to press for the strict enforcement of the recusancy laws in Scotland: Lee, \textit{The Road to Revolution}, p. 36; \textit{RPCS}, i. lxxvi; see also ibid., p. 456 n. 1; \textit{Chronology}, pp. 317, 320. For more on these two delegations see \textit{RPCS}, i. clxvi–clxxx. I have not traced the “3 men from the cities & burrowes” (line 97).

\textsuperscript{23} Although he had received numerous grants and gifts from the Crown, Buckingham’s finances were continually in a parlous state due to the houses, works of art and entertainments he had paid for (as well as his considerable expenditure on behalf of the government). He was found to be over £70,000 in debt at his death, and the number of mortgages on his numerous properties held up the probate of his will until 1635; Lockyer, passim, esp. pp. 61–63, 119–21, 211–13, 460–61.
Sir

11 January [61] (folio 335r)

We cannot find the packet. I pray take what time permits; you shall have the rest on Saturday.¹

Guttier the Lutenist as you heard,² Mansfield by the latest newes not dead but at Venice.³

Sir Dudley Digges committed, though he subscribed, & was for the Loane, yet for some fault about it.⁴

Our London Fleet went out on Newyear's day with Commission to burne & Spoile the French Ships in Newhaven & elsewhere. Threatening messages betweene our King & the

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¹ Mead wanted to forward a newsletter to Dalham but did not have it to hand; he found it just before he sent this letter. See the Textual Note to H390, folio 335v below.

² Jacques Gaultier (a lute player in the Queen's household) was arrested on Saturday 30 December and sent to the Tower, initially charged with raping a nine year old girl: the real reasons were probably his indiscreet threats against the Duke of Buckingham, his suggestion that he could (if he wished) charm his way into the Royal bed through his music (see below, pp. 44-45 lines 24-27) and his liaison with Lady Anne Hay, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle; Schreiber, The First Carlisle, p. 101; CSPV 1626-28, p. 93; IIMC Skrine, p. 104.

³ In spite of his imprisonment Gaultier retained his position in the Queen's household and an annuity of £100 per annum; Schreiber, p. 101.

⁴ This false rumour was doubtless derived from the fact that, as Sir Isaac Wake the English Ambassador in Venice informed Conway, Mansfield was "in his Waye hitherward" when he died; BL Add. MS 34311, folio 48r; see also ibid., folio 42v.

⁵ Lord Tufton had accused Digges of some irregularity regarding the Loan, and the latter's angry denial of this before the Privy Council led to his imprisonment; Acts of the Privy Council of England, January - August 1627, ed. J. V. Lyle (1938), p. 2; Cust, F. L., p. 207; PRO SP16/42/65 [folio 91r].
Bassompierre not welcome home nor will the French stand to his Conclusion here.\footnote{This fleet, which sailed on the night of 31 December 1626, was under the command of Captain John Pennington. His instructions were to seize ships at Le Havre (Newhaven) bought by the French in the United Provinces; PRO SP164826 [folio 75r]; Gardiner, vi. 150–52; Lockyer, pp. 351–52.}

The Earle of Bristoll sick at Harrington house some say he is sped. He shewed his arme to \(^a\)\(^\) a \(^a\)\(^\) merchant full of pimples & sayd his back was in like manner.\footnote{At the end of December 1626 Louis rejected the agreement reached between Charles and Bassompierre in the previous October (for which see above, p. 508 n. 9). It was the realisation that the treaty agreed in London would not be ratified in Paris that finally persuaded the Duke not to go on his proposed embassy to France: Gardiner, vi. 152; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 82, 92, 97, 124; Lockyer, p. 352.}

The Hollanders sayd to have entered a league defensive & offensive with the French, & thereupon letters of mart have bin offered by the Councell to our Merchants here if they have bin wronged to right themselves against the Hollanders.\footnote{Bristol had been ill for some weeks; on 5/15 January Contarini reported that he had "but little life left in him"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 94. Although a number of reports reached Cambridge over the coming weeks of Bristol's ill-health the Earl recovered.}

Some talk of a Parliament the Duke being to come \(^a\)\(^\) to \(^a\)\(^\) his answere about the beginning of the Terme, that he may be unquestioned then.\footnote{Although (as Mead noted in his next letter) this rumour was false, it was reported to Secretary Conway on 15/25 January that the French had unsuccessfully proposed such an alliance; PRO SP101/47/folio 7r. The granting of letters of marque against the Dutch was also untrue, although this measure had seriously been considered in the early months of 1625; Appleby, pp. 28–31.}

It is sayd there is a Bull come from the Pope against our King & Kingdome.\footnote{I. e., it was suggested that the case between the Earl of Bristol and the Duke of Buckingham would soon be heard in Star Chamber so that in the proposed Parliament the allegations would not be heard again. This also proved false.}

50 Spanish with many Landmen to come this way &

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9 I. e., it was suggested that the case between the Earl of Bristol and the Duke of Buckingham would soon be heard in Star Chamber so that in the proposed Parliament the allegations would not be heard again. This also proved false.

10 On 20/30 1626 Urban VIII had issued a Bull forbidding English Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance; copies of it are at PRO SP1627/35 [folios 49r–50r]; SP85/6 (State Papers, Italian States and Rome, 1625–April 1630)folios 16r–v, 18r–19r. See also CSPV 1626–28, p. 63 and below, p. 44 n. 8.
to have her bour in Brest—port in Bretaigne.11

I send you a Corranto.12 You shall have all more
full on Saturday. Thus with my best service & thankfulllest
respect I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
January 11 162[6]7

Yours to command

Joseph Mead

Master Pagget found his
Son 13 sick in bed, fearing
his ague, but we hope better.

His remembrance is to your
selfe & my Lady.


lines 13, 25] in the left hand margin next to these lines a pointing finger was
added for emphasis. If this was done by Stuteville he presumably felt these
items were of particular interest.

line 22] Parliament about the MS.


H390, folio 335v] beneath Stuteville’s address and referring to the “packet”
mentioned in line 3, Mead added “Harry Law brings the whole paper, if you can
read it, a freind vouchsafed it me”.

11 This had been reported on 29 December 1626/7 January 1627 by the Venetian Ambassador; CSPV 1626–
28, p. 86; see also PRO SP16/47/26 (I) [folio 29r]; SP78/81/folio 14v and above, p. 606 n. 9.
12 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.
13 This presumably referred to Mead’s pupil Justinian Pagitt and his father James.
Sir,

If you have received, what I sent by Harry Law you cannot expect much more this week. Yet something since.

Count Mansfeld is dead, the Corranto says at Spalato, but a lettre yesterday from Court intelligence says he dyed at Venice not without suspicion of poysen. A brave Commander is gone.

The same lettre says, That Captain Pennington commands over our Fleet of 20 sayle partly merchants partly Kings Ships (the Vantguard one) which is go'ne to France either to fetch our ships from Burdeaux or to bune them; we having now in our hands sufficient French goods to make recompense for that losse, if we loose them. He knowes not whether he hath in his Commission also to releive Rochell now besieged.

Also That the French King will admitt no Ambassador from us till the Queenes household &c be restored as before.

That within lesse then these 14 days there is as strong a

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1 For this "packet" see above, p. 610 n. 1.
2 The newsbook was more accurate than the letter from Court: Mansfeld had died near Spalato (Sarajevo) in the early morning of 20/30 November 1626. The confusion with Venice was probably due to reports that he was travelling there when he died; it was, however, widely rumoured that he had been poisoned by the Turks: Wedgwood, p. 213; above, p. 604 n. 1. (For the newsbook mentioned on line 5 see Appendix II).
3 For this fleet see above, p. 611 n. 5; for English success in capturing French prizes, p. 606 n. 8.
4 Pennington did not have orders to proceed to La Rochelle (which was not, in fact, fully besieged until October 1627); see above, p. 611 n. 5 for his "Commission". The first "he" in line 13 presumably referred to the source of Mead's information.
5 For Louis's refusal to ratify the agreement reached with Bassompierre see above, p. 611 n. 6.
league defensive & offensive concluded between France & Spaine.

This is that I suppose mistaken in the former newes as between France & the Hollanders. 6

That Guttier the Lutenist had no Pistolls, hath not bin racked nor examined by any but the Duke. And that some talk strangely of it. Alius. He was apprehended on Wednesday the sollemnization of a marriage at Sir Robert Killegrewes, betweene Master Kirk & Mistress Killegrew Sir Roberts Sister the King & Duke there present, & that the King or Duke made the match.7

That the Popes Bull forbidde our Catholicks upon paine of Anathematisme to take the Oath of Allegiance, which it calles illicitium & noxium Juramentum. My authors author saw it shewd him by Potter one of the Queens Preists, a Secular who rayled on the Jesuits for it.8

That my Lord of Bristoll breaks out in blisters &c.

That my Lord of Hunsdon being fallen into a relapse & without likelyhood of recovery, hath contracted or married his Son & heire to Sir John Butlers daughter the Dukes kinswoman.9

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6 Although no formal Franco-Spanish alliance against England was agreed until March 1626/27 reports reaching London of increased cooperation between the two countries (such as allowing Spanish ships to harbour in French ports) probably started this rumour; Parker, TTW, p. 76. For the initial report of Dutch involvement see above, p. 611 n. 8.

7 See above, p. 610 n. 2 for Gaultier's arrest. "Alius" (line 23) = "another"; lines 23-27 were from a different source. Sir Robert Killigrew was Warden of Pendennis Castle, although I have not traced the marriage referred to here; DNB, xi. 110-11.

8 For this see above, p. 611 n. 10. The full version of the phrase on line 30 was "Quod si eosque progradietur, ut vos ad noxium illud, & illicitum Anglicanæ fidelitatis Juramentum adigat" ("And if violence proceed so farre, as it compell you to that pernicious and unlawful oath of Allegiance of England"); STC 4137.3, H. Burton, The Baiting of the Pope's Bull, A2r (misnumbered C3r), A4r. A "secular" priest (line 31) is one living "in the world" and not in monastic seclusion" (OED, "secular", A, I, 1a).

9 This rumour was false; Henry Carey, 4th Baron Hunsdon and Viscount Rochford, did not die until 1666; GEC, xl. 52. Similarly, his son John did not marry any of the daughters of Sir John Boteler (whose wife Mary was the Duke's half-sister); ibid., iv. 446; Lockyer, pp. 72, 75.
Thus that Lettre.

I saw besides of last week, That the King had made a match betwene Sir Robert Stanley 2d Son to the Earle of Darby & one of the mayds of Honour to the great discontentment of the Countesse his mother, notwithstanding the King had wrot lettres to pacify her. First because it was done upon expectation of the death of hir eldest Son irrecoverably sick. 2. Because she was never made acquainted with it. 10

I send you something I know not what, but it came from London in the same manner I send it you. I know you will not think it fitt to be shoen, though I send it you. If you do, at your owne perill. Ie deny it: if it prove naught. 11

I think I send you a Corrantio. 12

I hope my lettre to Master Higham is delivered. 13

I find now I am come home, that your son is in my debt for the last quarter & for so much as was of Midsommer or Vacation quarter. You shall have a bill by the next. 14

Thus with my best respect I rest & am

January 13

Your most ready to

be commanded Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: H390, folios 181 and 183] on a close inspection of the chain lines and watermark on these leaves I believe they were at one time conjugate, following

10 I have not traced this wedding. The rumour concerning James Stanley, eldest son of the Earl of Derby on lines 42-43 was false (he did not die until 1651); GEC, iv. 215.

11 Probably the squib on p. 617 below. As with other such items concerning the Duke, Mead was at pains to impress on Stuteville the need for secrecy.

12 For this newsbook see Appendix II.

13 As the village of Barrow (where the Highams lived) was only some 2 or 3 miles from Dalham, Mead had evidently sent this letter to Stuteville to be delivered by one of Sir Martin’s servants. The subject of the letter probably included Higham’s continued indebtedness to Mead: he still owed him £5 7s. in respect of the previous quarter; CCA, T. 11. 3, folios 40v–41r; above, p. 569 n. 7. This would have led Mead on to mention John Stuteville’s bill immediately afterwards.

14 John Stuteville owed a total of £9 12s. 12d. for these two quarters, which was paid by Sir Martin on 10 February; ibid., folio 48v.
Mead's usual practice of using bifolia for his personal letters to Stuteville. Folio 183r is blank; Mead's subscription appears on folio 183v.

line 6] a pointing finger was again added in the margin, presumably by Stuteville, who no doubt thought Count Mansfield's death particularly important.

line 22] that men some MS.

line 30] authors author say saw it MS.

lines 49–55, I...Mead] a continuation in the margin.
Where onely one doth rule and guyde the Shippe, that neither Card, nor Compas knew before;
The Master, Pilot, & the rest asleepe, The stately Ship is splitt upon the shore. 
But being awake, they start up, stare & cry, 5
Who is in fault? Nor I; Nor I; Nor I;
So fares it with the rich, and royall State
Not guyded by the Master; but his Mate.¹

Our intelligence which came on Saturday was small, & you had the summe in what I then sent. But that which was & that which I heare since, I will putt together.

It was sayd then, that the Earle of Bristoll was either dead or past recovery, although he was full of pimples, blisters botches & sores upon his body & extreamly tormented under his nayles, the usall symtômes of recovery in such a case.

Now, some say he dyed this week; others contrary, that his haire & nayles are come off, & that there is hope of Recovery.\(^1\)

It was confirmed that Sir Dudley Digges was committed to the Fleet, notwithstanding as some say, that he clee red himselfe before the Lords concerning that of the loane which he neither him[=]selfe had refused, nor perswaded others as he was accused, but contrary.\(^2\)

Gottier the Queenes Lutanist was then sayd to be merry in the Tower with his 3 dishes at a meale; but whether he should have any sauce to them they knew not. But it hath \(^3\) bin \(^4\) reported since, that he had stab’ed himselfe in the Tower, but I give no credit thereto. His offence is sayd now generally not to have bin any intention of violence either to his Majestie or the Duke, but perhaps of an higher nature, but not bloudie.

Some say, That having bin too bold with one of the Ladies

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\(^1\) For Bristol’s illness see above, p. 611 n. 7.

\(^2\) Digges’s attitude towards the accusation made against him by Lord Tufton had landed him in trouble rather than his payment of the Loan; see above, p. 610 n. 4.

\(^3\) It was reported on 19/29 January that Gaultier had been tortured in the Tower and that his liaison with the Earl of Carlisle’s daughter Anne had thereby been discovered, which probably led to the false rumour that he had stabbed himself; CSPV 1626–28, p. 107; Schreiber, The First Carlisle, p. 101.
of honour, & reproved therefore by the Queene for so great
presumption, he answered he would do as much to any woman if
she were willing, yea to the Queene hir selfe. But others tell
a more dangerous tale, as though he had moved for somebody,
& that Her Majestie had thereof complained to the King &c.4
The Commissioners for the Navy were then gone downe
to Chattam to survey the Kings Ships.5
The8e re ^ should have bin a Mask on Monday (was sennight)
but for want of money to pay for the clothes it was deferred
till Sunday (Last). They talked in London, that there were
Warrants out, to fetch the Clothes from the Taylors without
money.6
There is a Rumour, That we are excommunicate by the Pope
& that among other Princes, the French King had proclaimed warre
against us.7 Captaine Pennington sends in prizes taken
from the French.8
Some would yet make us beleve, that Mansfeild is not
dead or hoped he is not. & from Court. But I fcare ill newes

4 For Gaultier's offences see above, p. 610 n. 2. In reporting the affair on 5/15 January Contarini had
reported Gaultier's boast "that by the dulcet tones of the lute he could make his way even into the royal bed
and he had been urged to do so"; CSPV 1626-28, p. 93. I do not understand the meaning of lines 27-29.
5 The commission instituted to investigate the state of the navy after the failure of Lord Willoughby's
expedition (for which see above, p. 584 n. 14) went to Chatham to investigate the dockyard there; PRO
SP16/42/10 [folio 12r], 12 [folio 14r].
6 This masque had been planned for Epiphany, Saturday 6 January, but due to the Queen's toothache it was
defferred first to the 9th and then to the 14th, so Mead's source was somewhat in error; HMC Skrine, pp.
102, 104-06; CSPV 1626-28, p. 107; PRO SP16/49/20 [folio 30r]. I have found no reference to the
rumour on lines 34-36.
7 Probably a rumour connected with Urban VIII's Bull concerning the Oath of Allegiance; see above, p. 611
n. 10. The rumour on lines 39-40 was false: even though England and France engaged in hostilities
between the summer of 1627 and the spring of 1629 no formal declaration of war was made on either side.
8 Another false rumour: John Pennington's gloomy assessments of the fleet under his command make it
clear that nothing of note was achieved; PRO SP16/48/26 [folios 75r-78r, esp. 78r]; SP16/49/28 [folios
39r-40v, esp. 40r-v]; see also Wren, 'Twenty Ships', pp. 332-35.
will not easily be amended. 9
You heare what Norfolk hath done, even as you did: 10
My Lord Russell is gone to Devonshire. Earle [of] Devonshire to Darby.
Imbrecourt to Oxfordshire, my Lord Chamberlaine & Steward into Wilt-
shire, Cornwall hath a Commission appointed of their owne,
Sir John Savill is gone for Yorkshire. 11  Some say Barkshire
I will not come off. 12
[b] I send a Corranto. 13 Thus with my best respect & service
I rest & am

Christ's College

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph
Mead

[a] The English of the enclosed is
1. A Deluder of King & people.
2. Go thou Deluder of King & people.
3. Thou carriest the enve of the people. 14

Textual Notes: H390, folios 186, 188] H390, folio 186 was originally the first leaf of a
bifolium which has become separated into two leaves. What is now H390 folio

9 A newsletter from the Hague of 3/13 January had stated (on the basis of news from Vienna) that Mansfeld was still alive; PRO SP101/47/folio 6r. Hopeful rumours of this nature continued to circulate in London for several more weeks.
10 For the progress of the Loan in Suffolk see above, p. 578 n. 2. There had been some opposition to the Loan at the Norwich meeting on 12 January, although a mixture of coercion and bargaining eventually secured satisfactory payment; Cust, F. L., pp. 114-17.
11 After the break for Christmas the business of levying the Forced Loan got underway again, with Privy Councillors dispersing to the shires to further the measure; ibid., pp. 112-13. For the progress of Carleton in Oxfordshire see PRO SP16/49/34 [folio 50r-v]; SP16/50/36 [folio 99r-v]; the collection of the Loan in Cornwall is described in F. L., pp. 125-26. The success of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery in Wiltshire was described in a later letter to Mead; see below, p. 635 lines 22-29.
12 The Loan had received a lukewarm response at the Reading meeting on 12 December; Cust, F. L., p. 112; PRO SP16/40/39 [folio 69r].
13 No copy of this newesbook has survived; see Appendix II.
14 See p. 622 below. As has been commented, "a popular indoor sport in England at this time consisted in adding up the letters of the Duke's name, or making anagrams out of it, in order to see what the fates held in store for him" or to libel him as here; Lockyer, p. 452.
188 was the second leaf, indicated by the date added beneath Mead’s subscription, probably by Stuteville: 188r is blank, the subscription (dated “Janu 20”) is on folio 188v.

line 9] symptoms of Symptoms of recovery MS.

line 10, say] sayd MS.

line 17] Lutanist which was MS.

line 28] moved ^ her ^ for somebody MS.

line 39] sends in French prizes MS.

lines 50–58, I send...people] continuations of Mead’s letter in the margin. I believe note b was to be read first and have placed it accordingly.
Georgius Villerus
Anagram
Regis, Vulgi Elusor

______________________________
Georgius Villerius
Anagram
I Regis, vulgi Elusor.

______________________________
Aliter.
Georgius Villerius
Livores vulgi geris.¹

¹ See above, p. 620 n. 14.
Sir

27 January 1626

I have made my pupil write out a bill to send you of the 2 former quarters. I hope he will not forget to send it as I have hitherto.1

All the news I have is in the enclosed. In the matter of Gottier there is a void space & a name left out; I did it of purpose, because I know you shew such papers to many & the honourable respect I bear to Ladies made me not willing to prostitute a Ladies name in a relation of such aspersion. But to yourself in aurem, the name omitted is Doncaster.2 I had that part of my intelligence & the rest there marked with a * out of a friend's letter who told me the Author had good relation to the Court, & that he had adjured him to write him nothing but what he knew to be true & certain, & so I saw intimated in the Exordium of the letter.3

I have no more yet, & therefore with my best respect to yourself & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's College
January 27, 1626
Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

I hear nothing from Master Higham, nor how my Letter is digested. I suppose they

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1 For John Stuteville's bill see above, p. 615 n. 14.

2 Mead very rarely censored his own letters in this way: his fastidiousness towards the fair sex did not, however, extend to keeping the fact from Stuteville. He should have written "Carlisle" for Sir Martin's benefit since James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, had been created Earl of Carlisle in September 1622; GEC, iii. 32.

3 See the Headnote to Mead's enclosure dated Friday 19 January below.
had rather have heard no ill,
but I cannot mend it.⁴

Textual Notes: line 3} have gotten made MS.
line 25, they} altered from "that".

⁴ For this letter see above, p. 615 n. 13; Mead's language here suggests he had had rather more than Higham's indebtedness to complain about.
Not yet much from abroad; only it holds that Count Mansfield died at Spalato in his way to Venice, as is said Sir Isaac Wake our Leiger writ thence. Yet the Venetian Ambassador knows nothing of it; which may be because he hath had no letters these 3 weeks, they perhaps, as he also suspects, being intercepted by the French.

This week's letters from Rouen in France, say, our Merchants goods there are confiscated. Our London Fleet by reason of the long East & East-north-east winds could not come near the French shore. <

Alius. There was a letter sent this week from the Duke to the Commissioners for the City Fleet, to inform them, that some of their ships were not serviceable & must be repaired: & whereas he heard, they were about to discharge & call home some of themselves, he told them, it was his Majesties pleasure, they should not: for his Majestie would victual them again for 2 months; whereupon some here demand who shall

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1 For Wake's dispatch from Venice see above, p. 610 n. 3.
2 The Venetian Senate had first heard of Mansfield's death on 7/17 December 1626 and had written to Contarini on the 13th/23rd to inform him, receipt of which letter he acknowledged on 12/22 January 1627. Mead's source was therefore in error; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 58, 67, 102. Contarini had, however, complained on 5/15 January that his letters had been interfered with due to "immoderate inquisitiveness"; ibid., p. 94.
3 The Parlement of Rouen had ordered the sequestration of English goods as long before as October 1626 in retaliation for Lord Denbigh's seizure of ships from that town; see above, p. 533 n. 26.
4 John Pory gave a lengthy account of the failure of the London fleet in his next letter, pp. 63–77 below, lines 59–95.
pay for the hire of Ships & Men.> 5

The States Extraordinary Ambassador who hath bin expected this moneth is not yet come.6 Its sayd, & probable enough, that the French labour to draw the States from us to themselves, as also to make a peace betweene the Spanyard & them: which, if they be not the wiser may occasion some division by faction among them.7

The Lords Commissioners have gone their several journeys notwithstanding the Season. Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon shire are roundly come off.8 But in Northamptonshire, or some one division thereof, especially on the syde towards Oxfordshire, it was by Petition generally excused, unlesse by Parliament, for which they besought the Commissioners to be humble Sutors to his Majestie. Upon which refusall many are sayd, to be putt over to the Counsell Board, & that Sir Erasmus Dreden of Ashby is already come up. They were as is sayd 205 Freeholders & above 20 Knights & Esquiers refusers. * Alius. < 22 Gentlemen & 200 Commoners.> 9

It is sayd, there is Order for the making ready 20 of the Kings Ships.10 Here is litle trading, & at the Custome house they are sayd, to have lesse doings, then in the time of the late great plague.11

It is sayd that the buisines betweene the Duke & the Earle

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5 Due to deteriorating relations with France, the Privy Council had decided on 4 January to keep the City fleet in service for an extra two months. When news of this reached the fleet, however, there were mutinies on board several ships which led to the abandonment of the idea; Wren, 'Twenty Ships', pp. 333–34.

6 The Ambassador, James Catz, did not in fact arrive until early March; see below, p. 615 n. 6.

7 This rumour was probably related to that concerning a Franco–Dutch alliance earlier in the month; see above, p. 611 n. 8.

8 For the extension of the collection of the Loan see above, p. 620 nn. 10–12.

9 This was the first serious opposition the Loan encountered in the shires away from London: at the Northamptonshire meeting on 12 January the Privy Councillors present (Lord President Manchester, Sir John Coke, and the Earl of Exeter) found twenty-two leading gentry opposed to the Loan and bound them over to appear before the Privy Council in London. This was to be repeated on numerous occasions over the coming months; Cust, F. L., p. 117–18; PRO SP16/49/8 [folio 9r].

10 On 8 January Buckingham had ordered "about Twentie" of the King's ships to be made ready for service by the end of February; PRO SP16/47/66 [folio 114r]; Lockyer, p. 360.

11 Contarini had reported the depression in trade since early December 1626; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 55 (1/11 December), 68 (15/25 December), 105 (19/29 January).
of Bristol (who beyond all mens hope is like to recover) goes
on in the Star-chamber, & is this Terme like to come to hearing. 40
The Earle is to come to lye at the House, that was Sir
Francis Lieges in Fanchurch Parish.12

Its sayd that Master Nicolas Hyde is like to be Lord
Cheife Justice.13 My Lord of Durham Bishop of Winchester & my
Lord of Lyncole Bishop of Durham.14

The Quenes Mask held last Sunday, which is sayd was
in preparing & performing from 3 afternoone till 4 the next
morning. Another an Eyewitness. < The King took
much paines in placing the Ladies & Gentlewomen with his
owne hands. The mask ended, his Majestie with the Duke &
14 others of the Noblemen & Knights led the Queene being one
& the rest of the Ladies then Masquers a daunce. Doubles
it cost aboundance. Twas sayd, that one Master Challenour sould
a thousand yards of Taffat & Satin towards it.15

Another ditto. 55

The Commissioners for the Navy are still at Chattam
where they are measuring ships, timber Cordage bolts &c, by
the rule. The strictnes of which survay hath already found
out much false dealing, & thought that Master Burrill one of
the Late Commissioners & the Cheife Carpenter over these works
a man freindles & yet full of money must pay for all; whether

12 Preparations were being made for the long-expected Star Chamber case between Buckingham and Bristol
(for which see above, p. 343 n. 12). Sir William Beecher, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, had been
authorised to appear if necessary as a witness on Buckingham’s behalf, and the Judges were preparing to
deliberate on Bristol’s reply to the charges against him; Lockyer, p. 359; BL Stowe MS 365, folios 89v–
90r. For Bristol’s illness see above, p. 611 n. 7.

13 Sir Nicholas Hyde was sworn as Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench on 6 February; DNB, x. 399.

14 These (false) rumours had been heard before; see above, p. 586 n. 29.

15 For this masque see above, p. 619 n. 6. The author’s disapproving comment on the cost of the event
reflected Mead’s own views, if his praise of Prynne’s Historiomastix in a letter of 16 January 1632/33 to
Justinian Isham is any guide; NRO, I. C. 205, folio 1r.
by his neck or purse or both I know not.16

The Scottish Lords are sayd to have good satisfaction;
but not yet their Bishops & Ministers, whose petition what
it is, I heare not. * Another. < The Buisines
of Scotland is referred to the hearing of 44 Peeres of that King-
dome, whereof the King to appoint one halfe & the Lords the other;
yet will not the Kingdome of Scotland stand to any censure
or sentence of theirs; onely their opinions must be sent up to the
King, but the next Parliament in Scotland must decide it.17

There are divers Commissions granted to Scottish Captaines
to levy men in Scotland against the next Spring to be with the
King of Denmark early in the yeare.18 for Tilly will speedily
be againe in those parts with his forces in the feild, now that
the Boores by his ayde have bin dispersed & defeated.19

Of Captaine Pennington we have many idle tales: the last
certaintie we could heare was of his riding at the Black Nesse.20
Since his going thence, they talk now, that he is ere this at
the mouth of the River of Burdeaux.21 * Another. *
< Our Merchants have taken as many Ships of the French as will}
countervail the losse of their owne. Most of them lye at Plymouth. Two Spanish Ships are likewise taken, which were onely furnisht with men & munition. Tis likely they were Rovers: They are very large; the one beareth 32 pieces of Ordnance.

Sir Dudley Digges is still in the Fleet, & Sir Francis Barrington in the Marshalseas stout & resolute. The Company of Seamen about this Towne are more busie then ever they were formerly. They ly much about my Lord Treasurer's House. Whereupon there is dayly watch kept to prevent their doing of mischeife. A fortnight agoe 2 of them were slayne by the watchmen for some disorder.

Cottier is or shalbe removed from the Tower to Newgate. His offence was, the ravishing of the Earle of [Carlisle]'s daughter being his Scholler for the Lute & dancing. Wherefore he deserves not the first honourable imprisonment, but had it, as it seemes, the better to dash the report of the true cause, thereby if it could be to avoyd the aspersion that wilbe undeservedly cast upon her.

a: The pretence of his detainment is, because having cleered himselfe of the accusation about the Loane, he sayd unseasonably before the Lords, that he was persecuted with malitious Informations.

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22 For the capture of French prizes in retaliation for the seizure of English goods see above, p. 606 n. 8.
23 I have not traced these captures. A "Rover" was a "sea-robber, pirate" (OED, "rover").
24 For Digges's imprisonment see above, p. 610 n. 4; for Barrington's, p. 531 n. 13. Cust has commented that Barrington (who was sixty-five when he was imprisoned) "maintained his stance as public spokesman and 'father' of the gentleman refusers" and the adjectives in line 86 indicate such behaviour was admired; F. L., p. 221.
25 For an account of renewed disturbances after New Year involving the unpaid sailors still in London see CSPV 1626-28, p. 119. I have not traced the incident mentioned on lines 90-91.
26 Contarini noted on 19/29 January that the Court wanted to "hush up the matter and there was some idea of forbidding any mention of it, but that would only have made the mischief greater"; ibid., p. 107.
Textual Note: line 78, his j this MS.
Bifolium. Written on Saturday 3 February, and sent with Mead's transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 26 January. Lines 6–10 taken from ?John Pory's letter of 26 January. Folios 194v–95r blank; subscription on 195v.]

3 February 1626

Sir,

I received yours. Besides what is in the enclosed, holding the bottom of my second letter against the fire till it grew brown, I read as followeth.

Sir, will you believe, that the Duke should be carried in his box by six men to Saint James to Tennis, and the King walk by him on foot? Tis true. I doubt not, but you have heard of the play in Christmas, which was begun again at the Dukes entering, the King having heard one full Act &c.

Because my Author was so private I thought fit not to make it so common as the rest. But for the King of Denmark, there is no more news in Cambridge than what you have here, which was in a letter to myself. The weakness of that King is not by any new overthrow, but want of means to reinforce his Army, & yet I suppose the Scottish gentleman who tells it doth somewhat hyperbolize, the better to further his business at Court for a supply from hence, which he comes for. Tilly in person was never among the Austrian Boores, but sent only part of his Army. Yet was himself with the rest marching either thitherward or to Silesia, but upon news of the overthrowes given the Boores &c he marched back again, being entred as farre as the Marquisate of Brandenburg.

1 Pory's use of invisible ink was a novel way of relating "doubtful" reports concerning Buckingham. I have not traced these rumours but, as has been pointed out, "popular imagination seized on incidents, true and imagined, to build up its own fantasies" about the Duke's supposed influence over Charles; Lockyer, p. 359.

2 The "Scottish gentleman" was probably Sir John Borlase, whose mission was successful; see above, p. n. 18. Lines 14–15 were correct: the collapse of Christian's military effort in the face of overwhelming Imperial superiority did not occur until the summer of 1627. For Christian's efforts to raise money see below, p. n. 5.
& now it seemes is returned not farre off from his wonted quarter.\(^3\)

I heare that since Master Knightly there are some more of the Northamptonshire Gentlemen committed, as by name Sir Erasmus Dreden Sir John Pickering &c. Is Sir John Isham one of the number? \(^4\) They say Bedfordshire hath refused.\(^5\)

Concerning my Pupills keeping; It is an exchange for use but not propriete betwenee Tracy & him. There are but 2 Studys in the Chamber, one being Tracyes; in the other, I have put Master Pagits son, & that his Cosen might lye with him \(^6\) 1 took this course for the present, but meane as soone as I can to dispose otherwise.\(^6\)

I pray let me know, whether you have Markhams Epistles of Honour. The bookbinder told me, it was a new book; whereupon I took it to my chamber to have sent you; but finding it printed 1625 my fancie gave me I had seene some such book at Dalham. If you have it not, I will send it. It is fit for a gentleman or nobody.\(^7\)

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady, I rest & am

**Christ's Colledge**

February 3 Shrove eve, which hath not bin so this threescore & thirteene

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Meade

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\(^3\) Mead was also correct in stating that Tilly did not march south to crush the Austrian rebels. The Bavarian general Count Pappenheim had been responsible for this during October and November 1626; see above, p. 561 n. 13.

\(^4\) For the refusal of a significant number of Northamptonshire gentry to pay the Loan see above, p. 626 n. 9. It has pointed out that Knightley, Dryden and Pickering (among others) were all close friends and belonged to a clearly defined group among the "gentlemen recusants"; Cust, *F. L.* p. 233. Sir John Isham was not, however, a Loan refuser.

\(^5\) This rumour was probably false. It was reported on 2 February that only two of the Loan Commissioners for Bedfordshire had refused to pay the levy; PRO SP16/53/13 (folio 13r).

\(^6\) Mead shuffled around his pupils' beds so that John Stuteville and Justinian Pagitt (who were cousins) could share a chamber. Tracy was temporarily moved elsewhere: as Mead commented, there had been no change in the "propriety" ("right of possession or use; ownership", *OED*, "propriety", 1a) of the room.

\(^7\) This book, *STC* 17331, had been published in 1625 as Mead noted; see Appendix I. As the book was sent in the following week Mead's "fancie" had evidently misled him.
THIS VOLUME HAS A
VERY TIGHT BINDING
I received your letter. Besides what I told you in my last, I have added the reason why I should not request the King to send you a stone from his court.

Sir,

I was with the Duke and he informed me that the stone would be sent to you from his court. I was also told by Sir in his last letter that the stone would be sent to you. However, I was not able to send it as requested.

Because my services were not needed, I thought it best not to ask the King to send it. But for a stone to be sent from Denmark, it would be more appropriate to send it from another country. However, I was not able to send it.

I hope this letter finds you well and that your affairs are in good order. Let me know whether you have received the stone.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
yeares before. For Easter day
fell not upon the 25 of March
our Lady day) since the yeare 1554 the first of Queen Mary when all our Reformed
clergie were deposed, & the Pope received by Parliament.
I suppose this to have
bin the occasion of the
Proverb, when Christ falls
in our Ladies Lap: Then
Clergie man look to thy
hap. It fell so also 4 yeare afore
King Harry died 1543.8

Textual Notes: line 6] Sir, you will you MS.
line 13, then] altered from "that".
line 40] & my Lady good MS.
lines 42–56, Christs...1543] Mead used a vertical penstroke to set apart lines
42–49 from its continuation in the margin, lines 50–56; the date "1543" was
in addition written at right-angles to the continuation (see the copy of this
letter on facing page).

8 Given Mead's interest in chronology it is not surprising that he was correct here; Cheyney, p. 90. For his
interest in such anniversaries see the Introduction, pp. 82–84. That the conjunction of Easter Day and Lady
Day was noted by others is indicated by a letter written in London on 2 January 1626/27; "Our Blessed Lord
send us a happie year now that Our Lady falls on Our Lord's lap"; HMC Rutiland, p. 481.
Private letters from France, as they give us little or no hope of having our Ships & men released, so they relate of some Stirres yet there by reason of the late intended murthering of the King; as likewise of the Princes opposing the Cardinall-Favourite, who rules all both at Land & Sea, being made Superintendent of the Admiralty affairs, & as may seeme with no good intent to us ward.¹

For there were 2 Spanish Ships sent upon our Coast, one of which was split on the sands, or overthrown with the wind, & all the men therein lost save 7 or 9: yet by our peoples art & diligence was the Chest found out wherein were their Instructions, videlicet To go to our Coast as nere the Shore as they could, To take all the Fishermen they mett with, To learne what Shipping, with what number of Ordnance & men belonging thereunto was in every of our Ports; which done to hasten over to the French coast & first port they could come to, there to acquaint the Governour thereof with all they had learned; & so leaving the Fishermen to returne back into Spaine: But in case any of them should be taken, then to cast their Instructions overboard into the Sea, that they might not come into our hands.²

¹ As part of plans (inspired by Richelieu) to increase French sea power and trade Louis XIII had appointed him Grande Maître, Chef et surintendant général de la Navigation et Commerce de France in October 1626; Knecht, pp. 151–52; see also Grillon (ed.), Les papiers de Richelieu, i. 511–15. This was correctly seen as a potential threat to England's maritime security; Lockyer, p. 352. The rumour of a new conspiracy was, however, false.

² For a report probably referring to this incident see PRO SP16/51/12 (folio 17r). The author, sending the Spanish captain's instructions to London, mentioned the "beneficence of the Frenche in openinge there portes & the Chariye of the Welche in victuallinge our enemies". The instructions themselves, however, are no longer among the State Papers Domestic.
On Tuesday the Lord Steward & Chamberlaine returned to Court from Wiltshire & Somersett, where it's sayd, most gave willingly, the Justices all of them their money downe, save only one who subscribed; & two Villages neere Marleborrough who pretended disabilitie, yet subscribed & had three months time for payment; who also at Marleborrough as their Lordships returned for London, presented on Saturday last their Petitions in respect of disabilitie, but none was received.3

On Saturday night last divers prime Citizens supping at the Popes Head neere the Exchange, sent for Master Shepherd (an Apothecary in Bucklers bury) to come unto them, intending to have had him sup there: who though he had new supped, yet went unto them, & when he came sitting downe in a chaire sayd he was ill, & should then dye, & beseeching God to be mercifull unto him dyed instantly.4 The like suddaine death is sayd to have befaln the Butler of Grayes Inne.5

Burialls this week — 174
Plague ———— 0
Christenings ——— 144

[device]

Another London ditto. 26 January 16267 (folio 191v)

The present Estate of the King of Denmark is much to be lamented, upon whom Tilly presseth very hard; and (as I heard it from a Scottish Gentleman come from that King to leavy 3000 Scottes more with all possible speed) he hath not 4000 foot in his Army nor many horse: with these He keeppeth some passages of disficultie upon his owne syde of the Elbe, Tilly lying on the other

3 John Poulett wrote to Nicholas on 12 February to inform him of the success of the Loan in Somerset; PRO SP16/53/88 [folio 116v]. I have not traced the conditional agreement of the two Wiltshire villages described in lines 25–29.

4 I have not traced Master Shepherd's death although – if Meddua was the author – as this incident occurred near the London Exchange (one of the latter's usual haunts) he probably drew on an eyewitness account.

5 I have not identified this incident.
side with 25,000 old Souldiers; To whom if this Froast give an advantage of transportation over that River, the whole Kingdome of Denmark will fall into a dangerous hazard. It is reported here as if the King of France would send 12,000 French into Denmark & maintaine them for 3 yeares in his service; & yet we say also, there is a presse going out with us for 10,000 men to be sent for the releife of Rochell, with all those Commanders who were at Cales; yea besides 3000 more to be sent into the Low-countries for the Recrewes of those 6000 which have bin so long intended thence for Denmark. But this is but talk & such as can not easily be reconciled.

The Citty Fleet is returned, which having parted Company sometimes by Stormes sometimes by reason of the long dark nightes putt in, some into Plymouth, some into Portsmouth. The undoubted Journall of this Expedition is as followeth. From the Bridge at London they went to Gravesend; From Gravesend into the Downes. From the Downes to the Black Nesse nere to Boloigne; From Boloigne they sayl'd & came to an anchor before Newhaven; From Newhaven they next anchored before Saint Mallo's, where their victualls were drawn to a small pittance & the Saylors began to think of home, yet with a reserved patience, till they should come into the Sraightes of 4 or 5 dayes allowance. Then fell there a difference betwixt the Captaines & the Saylors: the Saylors would home, the Captaines would stay, purposing to put 6 or 7 to a messe, which as it was somewhat too short for the cold wether, so will not a Saylor en-

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6 For the "Scottish Gentleman" and the state of Christian's army see above, p. 631 n. 2.

7 As Pory suggested, this passage included several mutually incompatible rumours; an attempt by England to defend La Rochelle would not dispose the French to send military assistance to Christian IV. (It was written from Paris on 15/25 January that the Danish Ambassador there had failed to obtain any financial support from the French; PRO SP78/81/folio I6r). On 9/19 February it was reported that the English were inclined to assist La Rochelle because of the proximity of Louis's army to the city; CSPV 1626-28, p. 125. Lines 56-57 referred to the proposed reinforcement of the Danish army; it had been agreed in September 1626 (in the immediate aftermath of Christian's defeat at Lütter) to send 6,000 men to Denmark; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', p. 528. "Recrewe" (line 56) is an early form of "recruit" (OED, "recrew", sb.).

8 Pory probably used "mess" in the sense of a "company or group of four persons or things" (OED, "mess", II, 5: see also ibid., sense 4a). This would imply a considerable reduction in rations for each man.
dure it when he is neere the Coasts. This quarrell grew to that height, that in one Ship the Saylors had gotten their Captaine halfe over board, & had not the Master & his Mates interceded the other halfe had followed. Captaine Philpott also had a faire warning amongst them; who being gone to the Counsell of warre to consult how these mutiners should be punished, his men in the meane time watching his returne had cutt one of the ropes by which the Ladder hung upon the Ships side; But as the Captaine was coming againe aboard, it chaunced his Cock-Swaine was very officious & went first up the Ladder to hand up his Captaine; who no sooner had sett his foot upon the first step, but the Ladder came round & the poore fellow dropped into the Sea, & so was drowned in his Captains stead.9

When things were come to this passe, there was no longer striving; & so immediatly they came home bringing with them 14 sayle of small French Ships with some good merchandise, to make good our Ships at Bley & Burdeaux. As soone as these mutinous fellowes were come into the harbour, the Captaines desired their hands for testimony that their victualls were all spent, & that they would not to Sea, till they should be revictualled. A sheet of Paper being layd before them they accordingly wrote therein their names & marks, but in a round & circular forme, that so none might appeaie for a Ringleader; but if any suffer, they will go to it, as themselves sayd, One & All One & All.10

Here is a rumour, that the Dutch should have putt themselves

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9 Thomas Philpot's ship was the Globe; the loss of his coxswain is mentioned in APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 37; see also PRO SP16/51/43 [folio 60r]; SP16/53/8 [folio 8r].

10 Lines 59–95 are quoted in full by Wren 'Twenty Ships', pp. 334–35 (with, however, a number of errors derived from the C. and T. text). The State Papers Domestic contain numerous accounts of the mutinous state of the fleet; PRO SP16/49/37 [folios 54r–55r], 43 [folio 62r], SP16/50/6 [folio 7r–v], 20 [folios 61r–62v], SP16/51/7 [folio 11r–v]. For reports of examination of the mutineers see APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 37; PRO SP16/51/65 [folio 87r], SP16/52/47 [folio 55r], SP16/53/8 [folio 8r]. Andrews has described the increase during the 1620s "of mass protests, refusals of duty, desertions and marches ashore" and that, in order to curb this, the use of the phrase "One and All" and the signing of names in a circular fashion to hide the identity of the ringleaders were banned by an Admiralty decree of 1631; Ships, Money and Politics, pp. 63–64.
into the protection of the French King.\footnote{11} They say, that we are going about to labour a peace with Spaine, \& our Ambassadors to go to Brussells \footnote{\textsuperscript{1}1} for that purpose. But all this is without any apparent ground or certainty of truth.\footnote{12}

There was this week committed to prison a Schoolmaster, for receiving or writing some book against the Duke about that former Accusation of poysoning the late King \&c.\footnote{13} But it is expected dayly that his Grace should be accused of some of these matters in the Starrechamber, that so he might judicially acquitt \& cleere himselfe.\footnote{14}

Here is againe a mighty Preparation of Shipping towards, as it is given out; \& yesterday it was begun by the pressing of 10 Ships.\footnote{15}

Another ditto.

The Northamptonshire Gentlemen were on Wednesday before the Lords, at what time Master Knightly was committed \footnote{\textsuperscript{1}1} to the Fleet \footnote{\textsuperscript{2}1}, nor for the refusall of the Subsidie, but as is sayd, for not kneeling at the Counsell Table, when he was called to answere.\footnote{16}

\footnote{11}{The Venetian Ambassador in Paris reported on 1/11 February that the Dutch had refused Richelieu’s offer of a treaty aimed against England and the Huguenots; \textit{CSPV 1626-28}, p. 117. See also above, p. 611 n. 8.}

\footnote{12}{In spite of ?Pory’s comment this rumour was true: unofficial negotiations were underway in the Low Countries between Balthazar Gerbier (representing Buckingham) and Rubens (for the Archduchess Isabella). Persistent rumours of negotiations in Paris between Edward Clerke, Buckingham’s servant, and the Spanish Ambassador to France, Antonio Zúñiga, Marquis of Mirabel, reached the ears of Contarini and the States’ Ambassador in London; Lockyer, p. 357; Magurn, pp. 166–68; \textit{CSPV 1626–28}, pp. 85, 93, 100, 113. Preparations were also in hand to send an official delegation to Brussels; see below, p. 640 n. 8.}

\footnote{13}{I have not found any reference to this incident. The “former Accusation” was that made by Dr. George Eglisham in \textit{Prodromus vindictae}, for which see above, p. 241 n. 7.}

\footnote{14}{Another reference to the impending case in Star Chamber between Buckingham and the Earl of Bristol.}

\footnote{15}{On 18 January it was ordered that ten of the best of the returned London ships were to be retained in royal service for another three months; PRO SP16/50/18 (I) (folio 54r). For further naval preparations see above, p. 626 n. 10.}

\footnote{16}{\textit{APC Jan.–Aug. 1627} does not record Knightley appearing before the Privy Council on Wednesday 24 January; he had, however, done so with seven others on the previous Friday, 19 January; ibid., p. 25; see also Cust, \textit{F. L.}, p. 233. Although Knightley did refuse the Loan the Council also imprisoned those who did not behave in a sufficiently humble manner before the Board, illustrated by Sir Dudley Digges’s case earlier in the month; see above, p. 610 n. 4.}
The Duke is gone in person into Buckingham Shire & Bedfordshire to further the Loan in those parts.\(^ {17} \)

Tis true that my Lord of Bristoll is upon recovery & hath by permission taken an House in Fenchurch street; yet was that of his strange pimples & other symptoms very true also.\(^ {18} \)

Sir Francis Barrington continues in the Marshallseas with his Lady & daughter with him: where he hath every Sunday 2 Sermons & on Sunday last old Master Dod preached before him forenoone & afternoone. His text, say those who heard him Apocalypse 2. 10. Fear "none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold the Devil shall cast some of you into prison, that you may be tryed, & yee shall have tribulation ten daies."\(^ {19} \)

**Textual Notes:** line 57, intended] altered from "intended".

line 65] anchor at \(^ {\wedge} \) before \(^ {\wedge} \) Newhaven MS.

line 99] Brussells about \(^ {\wedge} \) for \(^ {\wedge} \) that MS.

line 100] apparent [\^]nd gr\^\#nd MS.

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\(^ {17} \) Buckingham had left to serve as a Commissioner for the Loan (accompanied by the Earl of Holland) on 25 January; CSPV 1626–28, p. 114. The meeting held at Aylesbury on 26 January is described by Cust, F. L., pp. 119–21.

\(^ {18} \) For the grant of a house in Fenchurch Street to the Earl of Bristol see above, p. 627 lines 41–42.

\(^ {19} \) The importance of Barrington’s religious beliefs in helping him maintain his opposition to the Loan, and the role played by Puritan divines in providing encouragement is discussed by Cust, F. L., pp. 220–21, 232–33 (citing this passage). The text from Revelations indeed suggests that, for Sir Francis, “the act of resisting the loan...[was] an extension of...[his] religious experience”; ibid., p. 220. “Master Dod” (line 121) was John Dod, born in 1555, a former Fellow of Jesus College Cambridge and a noted Puritan divine and author; DNB, v. 1050–51.
Sir,

I received even now £9 13s. —0 in discharge of the 2 former quarters. For the difference betweene the grosse summe & the particulars of 1st —3d, I cannot find it in my book after thrice casting over whereby I suspect some error in my pupills bill by omission; for I confesse I compared it not. I find but one just 15d & that is the latter quarter for Chamber-rent betweene Lecturer & Landresse. If that be omitted you may easily espie it otherwise it is some mistake of the figures.1 I heartily thank my Lady for my cheese. I shewed my pupill your lettre.

I send you now old Geffery Chaucer — 13s — 4 Markhams Epistles 2

I received on Sunday at night a lettre from Sir Symonds Dewes directed to your selfe & unsealed. I read the contents & finding no great noveltie worth the cost of 2d more to Bury Carrier, & knowing that Will Perkin would be gone

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1 For John Stuteville’s bill see above, p. 615 n. 14. On occasion Mead allowed his pupils to copy out their bills from his account book to send home (a practice abused by John Higham; see below, p. 632 n. 14). Stuteville had omitted one of Mead’s two entries of 15d. for “Chamber-rent” in respect of the previous two quarters (the second of which Mead identified on lines 7–8; he missed the first); CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 49r–v. The sum total of £9 13s. would, therefore, be 15d. more than the amount of the individual items added up, which Sir Martin must have mentioned in his last letter.

2 The edition of Chaucer is impossible to identify (STC lists fifteen editions printed between 1532 and 1602); the high price paid for it suggests, however, the book was one of the older sixteenth century editions; see Appendix I. For Markham see above, p. 632 n. 7 and Appendix I.
to Bury before you received it, I deferred it till now.\(^3\)

What the book there mentioned contains, you may guess by my intelligence, & if that I have so much time, I will exscribe you a parcel that you may know ex ungue Leonem: I have not the book but saw it, & exscribed two or three passages.\(^4\)

Sir William Chauncy's committing to Newgate is said to be upon this. He had been in his younger time guilty of a robbery for which being upbraided by the Earl of Dorset before the Lords & threatened by him to have his pardon questioned, he replied, after he had seemingly confessed his sin, that yet he thanked God, that he was never guilty of blood, & neither had nor needed any pardon for it & something more to that purpose aiming at the Earl of Dorset.\(^5\)

The Sailors after they had on Thursday bin with the King went to Tower Hill; set a boy upon the Scaffold there, who with Oyes was made proclaimed that they had been with King Charles, that he had promised them their pay in that place on the morrow being Friday. But if they had it not then, they made known that the Duke should lose his head there on Saturday. This was the talk.\(^6\)

The traine bands were all in arms, from Thursday till Shrove-

\(^3\) Mead's decision to keep D'Ewes's letter for six days indicates the premium he put on good "intelligence"; if the letter had had anything worth reporting he would have spent the extra 2d. to send it via Kentford.

William Parkin (line 17) was one of Stuteville's most trusted servants, who received an annuity of 40s. per year for life in the latter's will: PRO PROB. 11. (PCC 85 St. John), folio 126r.

\(^4\) For this book see below, p. 649 n. 21. Mead did find time to transcribe a passage which he sent with this letter, pp. 652-53 below. "Ex ungue Leonem" (line 21) = "from a sample we can judge the whole" (literally, "from the claw, the lion"). Mead expected Stuteville to gain a good impression of the book by the extract sent to him.

\(^5\) The death of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloss in a duel with Sir Edward Sackville (later Earl of Dorset) in August 1613 "was one of the minor sensations of Jacobean England"; Smith, 'The Political Career of Edward Sackville', pp. 21-29 (quotation from p. 21). The account of Chauncey's appearance before the Privy Council on Wednesday 31 January, when he reminded Dorset of the incident and was thereupon imprisoned in Newgate, is in APC Jan.-Aug 1627, p. 42; see also ibid., p. 33.

\(^6\) For the sailors' meeting with Charles see below, p. 429 lines 36-42 and n. 14. Contarini reported (but did not believe) a rumour on 9/19 February that the unpaid mariners had "put a price on the duke's head"; CSPV 1626-28, p. 125.
Tuesday; what they are since I know not. Thus with my best respect I rest & am Christ's Coll'dg Yours to command
February 10 Joseph Mead

Sir John Hanningham is in the Marshalseas. Sir John Corbett hath absolutely denied at Counsell Table; as I saw by his owne lettre but was not then committed.

Textual Notes: line 14) letter from Master Sir Symonds MS. Mead had evidently forgotten that Simonds D'Ewes had recently been knighted; after writing "Mr" he began to write "D" before changing the "D" to an "S" (for "Sir").
line 24) He was had bin MS.
line 26) threatened to by him MS.
line 31) The South's Saylors MS.

7 In early Stuart London Shrove Tuesday was traditionally the day when apprentices and others caused disturbances, usually against targets such as playhouses and brothels. Twenty-four of the thirty-nine years between 1603–42 saw such incidents; Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control', pp. 109–10. The authorities had reason to fear serious trouble in 1627, as the reports dispatched by the Venetian and Tuscan residents made clear; CSPV 1626–28, p. 125; HMC Skrine, p. 109.
8 Sir John Heveningham and Sir John Corbett had been the two most prominent opponents of the Loan when it was launched in Norwich on 12 January, and were ordered to appear in London as a result; Cust, F. L., p. 115. For their committals to the Marshalsea and the Gatehouse respectively see APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 40, 78. As Corbett was a relative of Mead's (being the brother-in-law of Sir John Mead of Wendon Lofts) Joseph no doubt took a particular interest in his case: if the letter mentioned on line 45 was not written directly to him he was probably shown it because of the family connection.
London February 9. 1626

There is a new pott now on foot for money. Every Knight Batchelor shall have a ribband with a Jewell of £5 from the King to weare continually for distinction between them and gentlemen: for which they must pay presently £25 & the Refusers to be degraded. Baronets for the like to pay £40.²

Sir Nicolas Hyde sat yesterday in the Kings Bench Lord Cheif Justice.³

The Kings Attorney moved the other day before the Barons of the Exchequer to have a Scire facias granted out against those, that had contracted for the payment of the Royall-Subsidie, & now refuse to pay. The Barons sayd it was an hard case, & took time to give sentence therein.⁴

Thus much out of this days lettres.

What is more, you shall know by the next.


1 This postscript (as indicated on lines 13–15) was taken from newsletters that had just arrived in Cambridge, leaving Mead little time to write out the "headlines". Only one of the letters he received on Saturday 10 February, however, has survived in H390 (see below, p. 640 n. 8); lines 2–6 and 8–12 were taken from a source or sources since lost.

2 Although I have not traced this project, Mead gave it such prominence because of its interest to the Knight Bachelor Stuteville; the prospect of paying £30 on account of such a scheme cannot have been welcome. Fortunately for Sir Martin, however, this "pott" was not put into effect.

3 For Hyde's appointment as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench see above, p. 627 n. 13.

4 I have not traced this incident. A "Scire facias" (literally, "that you cause him to know") was "a judicial writ founded on some matter of record, and requiring the person against whom it is brought to show cause why the party bringing it should not have the advantage of such record"; Ivamy (ed.), Motley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary, p. 428.

5 Mead added this sum on realising he had forgotten to put down the price of Markham's book; see above, p. 640 line 13.
Textual Note: line 4] distinction sake between them MS.
Fornaine affaires are still dead: yet so much sayd; That the Boores are in a bad case, many of their cheife being taken, others quieted, & 12,000 Imperialists billeted in their Country.¹ That Saxon Weymar as yet prevails in Silesia, but great forces marching against him;² Yet that Bethlem this Spring lookes for great ayd to renew the warres.³ That also the King of Denmark intends a great Army this Spring.⁴

It still holds, that in France are like to be new Stirres, yea that the Duke of Rohan & others are againe in armes upon the Kings giving liberty for the Spanish Ships of Warre to come into the French ports.⁵ We heare not any thing, that our

¹ I have not traced this report, although a number of the leaders of the Austrian uprising were put to death at Linz; Wedgwood, p. 216.
² This report was false; John Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, had died of fever “upon the borders of Silesia” on 23 November/3 December 1626 (according to Sir Robert Anstruther); PRO SP75/8/folio 1v. Reports of his death had reached Bonn and the Hague during January; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r (newsletter of 17/27 January); SP101/47/folio 7r. A report dated 16 February from the Hague reported that Weimar was still alive and victorious in Silesia; SP101/47/folio 10v. His death was not confirmed in London until April 1627.
³ Behlen had, in fact, already signed the Peace of Bratislava with the Emperor and did not stage another campaign before his death in 1629; Parker, TJW, pp. 78–79; Angyal, ‘Gabriel Behlen’, pp. 67–72.
⁴ It was later reported from Bonn (on 14/24 February) that Christian intended to raise an army of 45,000 for the coming year; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r.
⁵ It had been written from Paris on 15/25 January and 3/13 February that Spanish warships would be allowed to harbour in French ports; PRO SP78/81/folios 14v, 35v. See also above, p. 606 n. 9; p. 612 n. 11. I have not traced the rumour concerning the Duc de Rohan.
Ships & men are like to be released; Yea that the French disannul all that was concluded here with Bassompierre; whereupon it is sayd, the Lord Percy shalbe the Queens Chamberlaine. Master Nicolas Hyde is made Serjeant & sayd shalbe Lord cheife Justice.

Divers have beene this week committed of Dorset & Northampton shire. Of the first, Sir John Stranguige, Sir Walter Earle, Master Treguny, Master Savage &c. And of the latter Sir Erasmus Dresden, Sir John Pickering, Sir William Wilmor, Sir Edward Hampden, Sir William Chancey (who is in Newgate) Master Elmes & others. And it is thought, some may perhaps be sent to serve the King of Denmark in the warres.

There hath bin a terrible Earthquake in Somersetshire at & about Welles & Glastenbury twice morning & evening upon the 13 & againe on the morning of the 15 of the last month. It was accompanyed as they write, with a great noise in the aire but the first time was the most terrible.

Gotier the Queens Musitian now in [the] Tower was accused by 2 others, not of treason, but some foule matter or report concerning the Earle of C[arleile] his daughter: but being confronted with

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6 Rumours that the English wine fleet would be released by the French had reached London before New Year; see above, p. 608 lines 87-89.
7 For Louis’s repudiation of the agreement with Bassompierre see above, p. 611 n. 6. Lord Henry Percy had become Master of the Queen’s Horse in the rearrangement of her household in August 1626 and remained in that post until 1629; C. Hibbard, ‘The Role of a Queen Consort’, p. 406 n. 37.
8 For Hyde’s appointment see above, p. 627 n. 13.
9 The Privy Council set aside their meeting of Monday 29 January to commit all those named in lines 19-22 to various prisons; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 40. (For Chauncey’s imprisonment in Newgate see above, p. 641 n. 5). Strangeways, Earle and Treguny had been committed to the Fleet, and William Savage had been sent to the New prison.
10 Dryden, Pickering, Wilmor and Hampden had been sent to the Gatehouse; Thomas Elmes was committed to the Marshalsea with Sir John Heveningham of Norfolk; ibid., pp. 39-40.
11 Although the Privy Council had considered this step on several occasions it appears that men were pressed for foreign service only twice as a result of refusing the Loan; Cust, F. L., pp. 56-57. After the difficulties faced by the Council over the “Chelmsford seven” (for whom see below, p. 901 n. 12; p. 942 n. 7) the procedure was finally abandoned in April 1627; ibid., pp. 57-58, 145-46.
12 I have not traced this incident.
his Accusers is sayd to have answered so well for himselfe, that he hath the liberty of the Tower, & his Accusers to be there detained.\footnote{Salvesti reported that Gaultier had been examined by the Privy Council on 26 January and as a result "a Frenchwoman and two Frenchmen were immediately arrested and imprisoned"; \textit{HMC Skrine}, p. 107. For their identities see nn. 22–23 below.}

Yesterday, some hundreds of Saylors went for their pay to WhiteHall; against whom the Gates were shutt: but his Majestie coming into the Gallery to see them, sent unto them a gentleman with a message, that they should depart & to day neere the Tower, they should of such a man have their pay. Whereat they threw up their Hatts, leaped & cryed, God save King Charles & so departed.\footnote{Although I have not found any reference to the sailors’ visit to Whitehall, Contarini reported on 9/19 February that between £20,000 and £30,000 had been promised to them and part paid over, which satisfied the mariners; \textit{CSPV} 1626–28, p. 125. Charles’s promise reported here probably referred to such measures.}

The Ten pressed London Ships, & some of the Kings are making ready with all speed that may be.\footnote{For this fleet, to be commanded by John Pennington, see above, p. 638 n. 15. Buckingham changed his mind about using some of the London ships (probably due to the criticisms made against these vessels by Pennington) and commissioned ten others; Lockyer, p. 360; PRO SP16/51/44 [folio 61r].}

\begin{tabular}{l}
Burialls — 148 \\
Plague — 0 \\
Baptised — 168
\end{tabular}

\textit{Another London ditto.}

This week are 10 Knightes & Gentlemen of quality of Northamptonshire committed to several prisons for refusing to subscribe & lend, & of them Sir William Chancey sent to Newgate because he threatened the Earle of Dorsett at the Counsell Table; 3 likewise of Dorsetshire, one of Buckinghamshire, & Sir John StIveUi reported that Oiultier had been examined by the Privy Council on 26 January and as a result "a Frenchwoman and two Frenchmen were immediately arrested and imprisoned"; \textit{HMC Skrine}, p. 107. For their identities see nn. 22–23 below.
Heveningham of Norfolk, Lynecolshire did little better than rebell; for they would not heare the Commission read, & as is sayd went about to have untilded the House over the Commissioners heads, Shropshire hath utterly denied; & so hath Devonshire; & the Gentlemen of Warwickshire that are sent for up do refuse to come. What dire events may this next Summer follow upon this, together with the Eminetie of Spaine, Fra[n]c[e] & Flanders, God onely knowes & can aver. It is much talked of a Pamphlet come from Frankfort of 4 Sheets of Paper called Instructio Secretissima written by some Jesuite or Illwiller of our State. The scope is to putt a jealousie betwixt his Majestie & the Queene of Bohemia, as though the King hir husband were advising to make some adventure to gett footing in this Kingdome, & that he hath here a great

a: True that they refused generally only 2 excepted; but the rest (as a gentleman of that Country telles me) is mistaken. The Commission was all of the Country no Privy–Counsellour there.

16 For some of these commitals see p. 641 n. 5 and nn. 9–10 above.
17 Contarini had heard a similar report and referred to “signs of almost open rebellion” in his report of 2/12 February; CSPV 1626–28, p. 119. The strength of the Lincolnshire opposition derived largely from the Earl of Lincoln, who took a leading part in defying the Loan Commissioners and who sponsored (if he did not actually write) a manuscript tract attacking the measure; Cust, F. L., pp. 170–75, 232. Mead was, however, correct to point out in his marginal note that the opposition was not as violent as first reported: Gardiner was moved to comment (vi. 135 n. 3), on the basis on this note that the “rumours of the day contained in this correspondence must be received with great caution”.
18 Both Shropshire and Devon largely agreed, in fact, to pay the Loan, in the latter case after the resolution of the problem of how to pay the thousands of soldiers billeted in the county; Cust, F. L., pp. 125–26; PRO SP16/53/96 [folio 124r–v]; SP16/54/28 [folio 51r).
19 For a discussion of the reaction of Warwickshire society to the Forced Loan see A. L. Hughes, Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620–1660 (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 93–99 (I would like to thank Arnold Hunt for this reference). Three men (Edward Bentley, George Willis and Thomas Newsham) all refused either to lend or to appear before the Privy Council; ibid., p. 97; see also PRO SP16/54/29 [folio 67r], 29 (I) [folio 68r].
20 Given the gloomy (if somewhat inaccurate) assessment of the internal divisions caused by the Forced Loan it is understandable that Mead’s source ended with a fearful glance at the international situation.
faction of Puritans & other Enimies of the Duke ready to assist him. Which lewd Libell (they say) is shortly to be burnt in publick.21

Another ditto.

Gottier hath more of his Countrymen sent to accompany him in the Tower viz One Monsieur Seivitt & another.22 Mistris de Laster also who was formerly the Earle of Carleiles eldest daughters woman is gone the same way, for dishonouring hir Lady, as to have forcibly suffered or bin attempted by Gottier, hir Master in musick & dauncing when she was but 11 yeares old; Mistris de Laster upon the cry coming to the rescue as she hath prated: But to what purpose & with what truth time perhaps may make more evident.23

The Prisons are full of Northamptonshire Gentry: One Lord & 3 Knightes are in the Gatehouse in Westminster. Master Knightly hath bin ever since the former week in the Fleet, because he would not kneele at the Counsell Table, least (as they interpret it here) he should seeme to acknowledge a fault, & crave mercy where he is not guiltie. Many of his Countrymen are with him in the same prison, & many more in the Marshallscas.24 As for

21 Although I have not traced the order to burn it, the book was probably Tertia Secretissima Instructio Gallo-Britannio-Batava Friederico V data (?Brussels, 1627), part of which Mead had transcribed and sent with this letter; see pp. 652–53 below. As rumours circulated about Buckingham’s negotiations with Spain through the Archduchess in Brussels (see above, p. 638 n. 12) it was reported that relations between the Palatines and the Duke were strained. While Buckingham sent his relative John Ashburnham in March 1626/27 to the Hague to reassure the Electress Elizabeth, the appearance in England of this inflammatory pamphlet was probably part of a propaganda campaign against the Duke; Lockyer, pp. 357–58; see also T. E. Cogswell, ‘The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s’, JBS 29 (July 1990), 187–215, on p. 191. (I would like to thank Michael Frearson for drawing my attention to this article, and Professor Cogswell for sending me a copy).

22 The other person committed was M. Vallienne, accused of carrying letters to France written by Seivitt; PRO SP16/61/106 [folio 156r].

23 This de Laster was probably the “nurse” with whom Gaultier had been linked at the time of his arrest in late December; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 97–98.

24 For Knightley’s committal see above, p. 638 n. 16; for the other Northamptonshire “recusants”, n. 10 above.
the Freeholders who refused with them, they were commanded to muster upon this day at the Artillery yard; whether it hold I know not: from thence they should be sent to Denmark.  

Our Saylors are very buisy here in Towne to the number of 500, have broken Sir William Russells windowes, & threaten besides, that if they find not satisfaction quickly, Shrovetuesday shalbe as mad a one as ever London saw.

A Ship of the Earle of Warwicks called the Neptune, of but 120 tunne & bearing but 13 small pieces, the biggest saker, having 64 men & 6 boyes, counted upon the 11 of January neere the coasts of France with a Dunkirk of 250, having 36 great pieces of Ordnance & not lesse then 200 men. The fight continued some 10 glasses in all & 4 of them in the height of fury. The Sea going somewhat high, the Dunkirk could not beare out his Lower tyre of ordinance & his upper tyre shott quite over the Neptunes Hull. My Lords spent upon the Dunkirk 140 great shott in all tearing her from sterne to stemme, with such execution that the blood gushed out of her skupper holes. So she was glad to take hir leave of ours which a while chased her, but in vaine, our sayles being over much torne. The Dunkirk was forced to putt into Brest in Brittany. The Neptune retyred safe into Plymouth without any one man slayne, but onely Captaine Kemock Captaine of the Ship shott through the Knee & 3 others hurt.

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25 These Northamptonshire subsidymen were not pressed for service abroad; see n. 11 above. For the Artillery Yard (line 91) see Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia*, pp. 215–16, 262–63.
26 For the threatened rioting on Shrove Tuesday by the unpaid sailors see above, p. 642 n. 7.
27 A "saker" was an "old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin [which was of about 4.5 inches bore], formerly much employed...on ships" (*OED*, "saker"); see also Appleby, pp. 224–25.
28 A "glass" (filled with sand), the standard nautical timepiece in this period, could equal either half an hour or one hour. As the engagement had taken place on the evening of 11 January (see note below) it is likely that the former was meant; D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and early Stuart Times* (1958), p. 580.
29 The ship involved was the pinnace the Little Neptune. John Pennington met with her the day after the engagement described here: his account, PRO SP16/49/28 [folio 39r–v] largely corroborates Pory's report, even regarding the detail of the blood running out of the Dunkirker's scuppers. Captain Susse Camock recovered from his injury and served in Warwick's privateering fleet that sailed later in the year.
Textual Notes: line 6] Bethlem in this Spring MS.
line 32, Carleile] Mead (or his source) only wrote "C" at this point, but the
reports he had previously sent to Dalham indicate that the Earl of Carlisle was
meant; see above, p. 623 n. 2.
lives 54–57, Lyncolnshire...heads] Mead used two sigla (letters in my text) to
indicate a report contradicted by another source, note a above.
line 62] Pamphlet ^ come from ^ printed-at Frankfort MS.
line 81] she prated hath prated MS.
line 98, having...boyes] Mead placed this interlineation in the margin. The
word "having" was interlined within the addition.
line 105, spent] altered from "spend".
If the Batavian states, however little and however slowly succeed, so as to threaten Britain, everything in that kingdom will come to the boil and you could oust the young King at the first push as hateful to his nobles; Buckingham the murderer of your father-in-law claims the defence of the just cause of vindication. As son-in-law you would avenge the slaughter of your father-in-law neglected by his son. Nothing would be more pleasing to the Kingdom to which no-one is more hateful than Buckingham. No-one could unite minds in your favour better than the King (himself) who has alienated them from himself. Every delay is against you; start moving through friends and conspirators. There (still) live and flourish those architects of white dust [or, white architects of dust?] who were the allies of Hamilton and your father-in-law. Undertake the cause and the kingdom will take you to its heart. Make overtures to your cousin’s friends secretly; (and you will) shake him into solitude. Make a show of largesse and the might of the clergy, and the adherents of pure religion enticed by that bait will lift you as their leader to the throne. The nobility of Scotland is dry and greedy; offer them rewards. There is offence from the corruption of the bishops whom your father-in-law restored; increase the offences. In England most of the nobles are needy, ambitious, extravagant, luxurious and envious of one another; your virtue may use the vices of others to achieve the ultimate glory. All such men are discontented with the present state of things; inconstant in the expectation of things to come; trusting no rulers; easily bribed. By their means you may throw down Charles, and by your own means, them.

1 The States of the United Provinces.
2 Recalling the allegations contained in Dr. George Eggesheim’s Prodomus vindictae, for which see above, p. 261 n. 7.
3 The author may be referring to the unease in Scotland over Charles’s intended reforms, especially the Revocation scheme; see above, p. 141 n. 14; p. 571 n. 5. James I had taken considerable care to “breathe life into the shell which was all which was left of Scottish episcopacy”; Russell, Causes of the English Civil War, pp. 45–49.
Having advised the Prince Palatine to make
some use of the jealousies betweene the
States & the Prince of Orange as suspected
of Arminianisme & not beloved for some
other qualities, & thereby to get some
footing there, &c he goes on in this
manner.\footnote{The following passage taken from \textit{Tertia Instructio Secretissima} (for which see above, p. 649 n. 21), was
the "parcell" mentioned on p. 641 line 21. The paraphrase on lines 1–7 was taken from ibid., C3v–C4r.;
the remainder of the text from C4r–v. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for preparing the
translation on the facing page.}

XXIII

Si Batavica vel minus vel lente sub manum
succeedant; Britannias aggredere; omnia in illo
Regno tument; Regem adolescentem primo impetu
propelles, utpote invisum proceribus; justa vindictae
causa defensus Buxingamius Soceri interfector.
Gener necem Soceri, quam Filius negletit, ulciscéris.
Nihil Regno gratius, cui nihil odiosius est Buxingamio.
Jungere animos tibi melius nemo potest, quam Rex ipse,\footnote{The printed text from which Mead presumably transcribed this passage reads "Jungere animos tibi melius
nemo \textit{potuit}, quam Rex".}
qui eos a se abalienavit. Omnis tibi mora obstat,
per amicos & conjuratos rem incipe; Vivunt florentique
albi pulveris Architecti, qui Hamiltonio, Soceroque
miscuerunt; causam suscipe, te sinu suo legnum
suscipierit Affini amicos subtrahes, solitarium excuties.
Donativum ostenta, Præsulum et Cleri opes, Puræ
Religionis sectatores illâ illecebrâ inescati humeris
suis in thronum te extollent. Scotiae Nobilitas
arida est & avida, praedas pollicere. Offensa est
impuritate Episcoporum quos Socer reposuit, offensas
auge. In Anglia Proceres plerique sunt egentes,
Nor is the King of France a problem as a [potential] ally to his brother-in-law. The lilies will not cross the seas. France [ = the King of France] is a horseman not a sailor. The Dutch lately achieved a victory for him. Do not exchange words; every defence is made just by its success; the loser is held to be the offender. Victory needs no advocates, it simply shows itself. If the Frank approved the Dutch affairs, Britain will not damn them. They grow strong by the same law or the same lack of it. And why should not your son achieve a marriage in the land of lilies? Your cousin deserves to die seeing he has been so slow to help. It is just that the nobles of Britain should perish since they have hindered their king (?) and they are more concerned that Buckingham should die than that you should live. But these things you will dissemble; once you are master you will reap the excellencies of poppies.

4 I. e., the fleur-de-lys.

5 Probably a reference to the assistance provided by the Dutch in defeating the Huguenot fleet, commanded by Benjamin de Soubise, off the Île d'Oléron in September 1625; Clarke, pp. 129-30.
ambitiosi, sumptuosi, luxuriosi, æmuli aliorum: alienis vitii tua virtus ad summum decus con sequendum utatur; Omnes tales præsentium sunt fa stiosi, futurorum expectatione mobiles, regnan tibus infidi, pollicentibus faciles: Per eos Caro lum, per te illos evert.

XXIV.

I am not onely willing, but in some respect desirous to accept Sir John Ishams Son under my Tuition, if I can provide a fitt chamber for him; but whether I shall do or not, I know not. Our Master here hath the absolute dispose of chambers & studies, & howsoever the statute limits his power by discretion, to dispose according to qualitie, desert & convenience; yet himselfe being the onely judge, that limitation is to no purpose. And to tell tales forth of Schoole, our present Master is so addicted to, his kindred, that whereas they may have a benefitt, there is no perswasion, whosoever hath the injurie. I would desire no new chambers from him, but onely to hold what I have already & no man can challenge particu lar interest in. If this favour were possible, I could never so well provide for this gentleman as now. Master Corbet keeps in the Tower chamber, the onely chamber of but one Study in the Colledg, & expects ere long to be chosen Probationer.

1 Stusteville had evidently written (on behilf of hii brother-in-law Sir John Isham) to Mead to uk whether he would be prepared to accept Justinian Isham as his pupil. As Mead accurately foresaw, however, the problem would be to find Justinian a room.

2 Mead was referring to Statute VI of Christ's College, “Of the preferring of the worthy and of the assignment of rooms”, under which the Master was supposed to allocate College rooms on merit; H. Rackham (ed. and tr.), Early Statutes of Christ’s College, Cambridge: With the Statutes of the prior foundation of God’s House (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 51, 53. For the effective control in this period of the allocation of College rooms by the Heads of House see Morgan, pp. 300–01.

3 A later use of this phrase (“to betray damaging secrets”) by Mead in 1630 (H390, folio 501r) is cited by OED as one of the first usages: “school”, sb’. 1. 1e.
of Bennit Colledg. It is not yet voyd; but what if it be given in reversion, to stop the mouthes of other suiters, & yet an injurie not acquaint first him that hath the present interest. I doubt none but the Colledg Butler a junior Batchelor, & he wilbe hard enough for us all, though he have already one of the most convenient Studies in the Colledg. But the plot is first to gett the chambers which are convenient out of the Possession of others, & then to appropriate them to his kinsman-Fellowes so to allure gentlemen to chuse their tuition, stored with romths to place them. But all will scarce keep them from beggers yea perhaps palpable begging for tenants to take their houses. I have not yet spoken to our Master; because it is a little Hell to me to go about it, but I shall take the fittest opportunity, though I know not how it will prove. And I am so proud, that I must humble my selfe to sue for a toy, as some would scarce perhaps do for a Bishoprick. But if I am denied, I must also deny.

But to leave this; I send you our last, more then is a good I am afrayd. The single lettre in a single paper is Master Poryes which was delivered a day or two after his

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4 Edward Corbett had been a pupil of Mead's since 1621 and proceeded M. A. in 1627. As he became Rector of Syderston (Norfolk) in 1628 he was presumably not elected to the Fellowship at Corpus Christi College Cambridge referred to in lines 18–19; Peile, i. 335.
5 I have not identified the College Butler.
6 Morgan (on pp. 301–02) has commented on the tendency of Heads of House to take custody of the most prestigious students in their Colleges. Mead did not, however, have a very high opinion of the teaching abilities of Bainbrigg's dependants. "Romth" (line 28) is a variant of "roomth", "a chamber, apartment" (OED, 3b).
7 In the light of his comments here, Mead would have readily understood the complaint of the anonymous chronicler of the Chancellorship election of the previous year about the power of Heads of Houses within their own Colleges, for which see BL Sloane MS 1775, folio 25r–v; see also n. 2 above.
You shall find here Sir Nicolas Hyde chief Justice
2 of his sons dead & his wife Frantick; a third son, some say, is sick, which was the cause, they say, he sat not on Friday in the King's bench. If you will have a verse or two of some Crack=ropes about London, turn over the leaf.

Two b were prefer'd, & Two c layd asyde,

For to bring in Sir Nicolas Hyde.

Was there ever in England before 5 Lord Chief Justices living at one time? This strange mutabilitie, occasioned this rime.

I know not how Chaucer was sold ten yeare agoe but now I am made beleve you have an excellent pennyworth. The Bookseller proves it by his lettre, the author thereof affirming he was a fortnight in seeking the Book, & payd for

b: My Lord Harry Montague to be President Sir James Lee to be Treasurer.
c: Sir Edward Cook Sir Randall Creue. Layd aside.

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8 As this (H390, folio 196, pp. 659–62 below) is the only London newsletter dated Friday 9 February to survive, the others must have been lost; see above, p. 643 n. 1.

9 Although I have not traced this report, it must have been among the contents of the lost newsletter(s) since Pory did not refer to these incidents in his letter. The siglum in marginal note a referred to one added to Pory's newsletter of 9 February; see p. 659 below.

10 Mead's notes b and c were correct. Sir Edward Coke had been sacked as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench on 15 November 1616; Sir Henry Montagu succeeded Coke before becoming Lord Treasurer and then Lord President of the Council in 1621; Sir James Ley succeeded Montagu as Lord Chief Justice before becoming Lord High Treasurer in 1624. Crewe had recently been dismissed for refusing to subscribe to the legality of the Forced Loan; Gardiner, iii. 1–26; iv. 227; Hirst, Authority and Conflict, pp. 120–21; GEC, viii. 366, 488. A "crackrope" (lines 45–46) could either mean "a gallows-bird" ("one likely to crack or strain a halter") or, figuratively, "a rogue" (OED, "crack-robe", 1). For a fuller version of this rhyme see below, p. 643 n. 1.
I remember I sent you once a Guillims Heraldry, as I remember the price was not much above 6d. My pupil yesterday had found a second-hand shattered one in Vellam, (yours is worth 2 of it) & the price was 10s, & commended to him as a wonderfull prize, not easily to be attained to again.

He brought it to me, but I made him carry it back again & let even those have it, who he said, were very eager of it. And to comfort him, I promised you would send him your Accidence of Armory if he would study Heraldry.

I know not what the reason is, but books out of print grow unreasonable dear, & the price of some doubled almost within this 2 or 3 yeare.

Ile tell you a strange rise; I bought about some 10 yeare since Abbots defence of the Reformed Catholick for 10s - 6d. I am now offered by the Bookseller a piece, yea 22s if I would forgoe it. It is but An English book, in 4" as big as 2 Montagues.

11 As Stuteville only paid 13s. 44., he had indeed done well; see above, p. 640 n. 2. The passage of the book from (London?) broker to (Cambridge?) bookseller to Mead is interesting; did Mead specifically ask for a folio Chaucer, knowing Stuteville's tastes?

12 The book involved is STC 12500 or 12501, A display of heraldrie by J. Guillim. Mead's haggling (also seen in his dealings with the carriers to Dalham), as well as his eye for a book bargain probably frustrated John Stuteville. Mead had, however, indicated his preference for a leather rather than a vellum binding when, in 1625, he had sent Sir Martin an edition of Xenophon in the latter covering (having asked for leather) and irritably commented that "Thus he must be served that deals with knaves"; H390, folio 410r.

13 This is one of the editions (STC 15388-93) of The accedens of armory, by G. Legh; Mead had presumably sent Sir Martin his copy since he was so sure Sir Martin had one. The younger Stuteville's study of heraldry reflected the difference between the curriculum followed by gentleman students to that encountered by those intended for the ministry; Morgan, pp. 222-26.

14 In order to illustrate his thesis of the unreasonable rise in the price of second-hand books, Mead referred to a work in his own collection which he bequeathed to the College library; Christ's College, Bodley Library, Donations Book, folio 47r. (I would like to thank Mrs Michelle Courtney for drawing this document to my attention). As it was described as a two-volume set in 1638, by then it perhaps comprised STC 48, A defence of the Reformed Catholike of M. W. Perkins, STC 49, The second part of the defence and STC 50.5, The third part of the defence, by Bishop G. Abbot of Chichester. Like the works of Richard
Thus having yet seen none of this day's letters, I
rest with my best service & am

Christ's Colledge Yours to be commanded
February 17. Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: H390, folio 206] it is probable that the conjugate leaf with Mead's
subscription on the verso became detached at some stage and has been lost.
line 4] Tuition, if there be MS.
line 21] injurie & not to MS.
line 28] tuition, as & stored MS.
line 34] as as some MS.
line 37, you] your MS.
line 50] mutabilitie, & MS.
line 61] I thing remember MS.
line 65] him carried it back MS.
H390, folio 206v] beneath Mead's valediction another hand, presumably
Stuteville's, has written, seemingly at random, the letters "q hodpl".

Montagu sent to Dalham in the previous year these were printed in quarto; they have, unfortunately,
disappeared from the College. A "Peece" (line 74) presumably referred to a coin of 20s. value.
London February 9. 1626

Yesterday was Sir Nicolas Hyde sworn Lord cheife Justice of the Kings bench by my Lord Treasurer by deputation from my Lord Keeper who was not fully recovered of his late infirmitie: but this afternoon being with his Lordship in company of my Lord of Warwick, he sayd, he hoped to morrow to sitt in Chancery.¹

To day morning there was a cause to be heard in the Kings Bench somewhat concerning the Earle of Dorsett at the suite of a Fether maker in black Fryers, who had sold his Lordship fethers, two of his men being bound with him for the payment: so when the man could not gett his money, he sued the sureties. While the cause was this day sub Judice, came a letter from that Earle to Judge Dodridge,² intreating him to stay the suite, because the Fether-maker had committed great insolency in arresting his men, when as indeed the debt was properly his: & that he would gett him punished for his audacity. The Judge never opened the letter himselfe, but gave it to an Officer of the Court to read in publick; which being done, the Judge like a true Romane ordered the Suit should proceed against the Defendants.³

This afternoon the rest of the Northamptonshire men appeared before the Lords, and it is thought wilbe

¹ For Hyde's appointment to the King's Bench see above, p. 627 n. 13. I have not found any reference to his illness. It was characteristic of Pory to refer to his familiarity with the Earl of Warwick, as it was to refer to his other highly placed contacts; Powell, pp. 56-58.
² Sir John Dodridge, a former Solicitor-General, was one of the Justices of the King's Bench from 1612 until his death in 1628; DNB, v. 1062-63.
³ I have not traced this case.
committed as their fellowes.4

The last Sunday at 4 in the afternoone my lord Montjoy (without asking Counsell of his brother the Earle of Warwick) was married at WhiteHall to Sir John Butlers daughter one of the Dukes kindred. They lay in the Dukes owne bed, which some say, wilbe a great part of the portion he shall have with her.5

Yet some give out, he shalbe a Colonell of 600 horse, which shall scowre the Kingdome, to fetch up this loane:6 For most certainly there is yet but 20 thousand pound thereof come into the Exchequer, whereof 12 thousand pound payd in by the Nobility.

This I heard this afternoone out of the mouth of one, through whose hands all receipts & all payments do passe.7

The Lord Baltimore lately Secretary by the name of Sir George Calvert is sent for out of Ireland, to be employed at Brussels for a treaty of peace betweene Spayne & England. His Colleagues shalbe the Earle of Salisbury, honoris causâ, & Sir Richard Weston, & Sir Humfrey May.8

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4 Dutton Farmer, Thomas Fountain, Jobe Mathew and John Whetley were among them; APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, p. 54. For the committal of other Northamptonshire gentlemen see above, p. 646 n. 10.

5 Mountjoy was related to Warwick but not quite as stated by Pory here. He was the illegitimate son of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire by Penelope Rich (Sir Philip Sidney’s “Stella”), mother of Robert Rich the 2nd Earl of Warwick. Mountjoy was thus Warwick’s illegitimate half-brother. He had married Anne, youngest daughter of Sir John Boteler (whose father-in-law was the Duke’s father) on 7 February 1626/27; GEC, ix. 345-46, 348; xii (pt. 2). 405-07; Lockyer, p. 75. Given Pory’s links with him, one wonders whether the ascerbic verdict on the size of Anne Boteler’s portion came from Warwick himself.

6 Contarini had reported on 2/12 February a rumour that the employment of Dutch cavalry to coerce the stubborn to pay the Loan was being considered; CSPV 1626-28, p. 119. The proposal was never made.

7 On 9/19 February Contarini put the figure collected at £24,000, although by 2 March only £11,403 6s. 8d. had been paid in by the nobility and gentry (out of a total of over £43,000); CSPV 1626-8, p. 126; PRO SP16/56/14 [folio 23r]. I have not traced Pory’s informant.

8 Calvert had been Secretary of State between 1619–25 but had resigned his post due to his conversion to Catholicism, was created Lord Baltimore, and retired to Ireland; DNB; iii. 723; Gardiner, v. 309–10. This intended embassy to Brussels was part of the continuing, and delicate, negotiations between England and
Some say confidently, that a Restitution is agreed on betweene France & us, yet I heard it yesterday spoken, that the King hath plainly professed to the French King, that in case he do besiege Rochell, his Majestie will do his best to relieve it: but they say it is at this time so well provided of victuall, as it may well hold out a twelvemonth. That King is making a journey towards Lyons, to make a new warre against the Protestants in Languedoc.

Here was a Petition delivered by Sir Henry Ley (a Captaine), to the King on Sunday in the name & behalfe of all the Captaine that had bin at Caliz, beseeching his Majestie, because their reputation was slaine for want of their Salary, to pay their debts, that he would dispose of their lives, as he pleased. This hath been interpreted by some of the Lords, as if they should taxe the King of Tyrannie. The Captaines deny they ment any such matter: The Lords demand, who was the Penman or Inditer: They answere All All. A warrant is out to commit Sir Henry Ley. The Captaines by the Lords are proffered a months pay. And henceforth weekly to be payd. They answere, so little

Spain that continued throughout the early part of 1627; see above, p. 638 n. 12. These four men were identified by the Earl of Clare on 12 February as the likely commissioners; *Holles*, ii. 345–46. "Honoris causa" (line 45) = "on account of the esteem (in which he is held)".

9 A correspondent from Paris reported the same on 2/12 March; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 15)/folio 1r.

10 I have not traced this report.

11 This was false, as Louis did not take the field until the summer (in response to the English descent upon the Île de Rhé). It was reported on 18/28 February that the King had removed from Paris to Fontainebleau but he had not done so by 2/12 March; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 15: newsletters of 18/28 February, folio 1r; 2/12 March, folio 1r).
will do them no good, & will not accept of the offer.\textsuperscript{12} [device]

\textbf{Textual Notes: line 1} in the left hand margin Mead wrote a siglum; see above, p. 656 n. 9.
line 46, May] "M" altered from an "N".
line 68] They answere, so little will do them no good and MS.

\textsuperscript{12} Clare noted Lee's imprisonment on 12 February; the latter had petitioned for his and others' wages for the previous eighteen months, before the Cadiz expedition had sailed in October 1625. The Privy Council issued a warrant for Lee's arrest on 8 February; \textit{Holles}, ii. 345; \textit{APC Jan.-Aug 1627}, p. 53. The officers' response over the authorship of the petition was very similar to that of the mutinous sailors of the London fleet under similar circumstances; see above, p. 637 n. 10.
Sir,

The Rime I should have sent you being committed to
a Scholler's fickle memory he dropt 2 verses by the way,
onely bringing their ^sense^ in prose: But take them now after
a fuller copie.

Learned Cook & Montague,
Grave Lee & honest Crue,
Two prefer'd, Two sett aside
Then starts up Sir Nicolas Hyde.¹

Yet there is a Syllable wanting in the second verse.
But I dare not correct the Magnificat.²

Yesterday morning was at my chamber, one Master Burton
which I once knew of Magdalene Colledg, now my Lord Brookes
Chaplain & beneficed in Sommersetshire, ^12 miles from Glastenbury^³

I asked him concerning the Earthquake. He affirmed there was such a thing observed
by those nearer Glastenbury, especially such as were then
in their beds being in the morning. But nothing was felt
where himselfe lived. That it was but one shock, but
as for 3 severall times, he never heard it, nor did believe
it. Thus fame keeps hir wont & made of one Earthquake

¹ For Mead's earlier version of this verse see above, p. 656 lines 47-48. The Earl of Clare reported it thus:
"Grave Lea, and honest Crew: Learned Cook and Montagew: Two prefer'd, and two layd aside: And up-start
Sir Nicholas Hide". He also called it one of "the symptomes and vapours of a diseased time"; Holles, ii.
346. Compare Mead's phrase on p. 903 n. 14 below.
² The Magnificat is, properly, the hymn of the Virgin Mary in Luke 1. 46–55; to "correct [the]
Magnificat", however, was "a byword for presumptuous fault-finding" (OED, "Magnificat", 1, 3). Mead
was, however, correct in noting that the second line does not scan.
³ This was probably William Burton, a former Fellow of Magdalene College Cambridge and Rector of
Clutton, Somerset between 1617 and 1643; Venn, i. 268.
Our Doctors (they may thank the Bishop of Durham) are to preach at Court this Lent. Doctor Wren was wonderfull ambitious of the first place, so that the Bishop wrote, that whereas the warning was short, & the Vice-chancellor full of busines, having besides a speach to make &c. It might please him to be excused & Doctor Wren would supply the place in his stead. Whereat not onely the Vice-chancellor, but some of the rest of the Elder Doctors were so offended, that they sayd playnly, if Doctor Wren began he should end too, they ment not to follow him. And so now the Vicechancellour preaches to morrow & with him go our Heads to do their homage to his Majestie, As for Doctor Wren, either he shall not, or will not have any course at all.

You shall here in the enclosed find newes of another prodigie from Boston of fire from heaven. I know the author of the lettre, & exscribed this from the Originall. That which I adde to it of other Relations, I knew before but suspected them; yet that of Master Langton of Lincolnshire a freind told me as related from his mouth at Ware &c. There is something in it: either we have more strange accidents then was wont, Or we take more notice of them or both. Things of this nature are lyable to fabulositie, but all is not false which so many talke of, & from divers places.

I hcare just now that Doctor Eden is dangerously sick at London & divers of his Fellowes gone up unto him.

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4 For the Somerset "earthquake", see above, p. 646 lines 25-29. As Mead commented on line 43 below, "things of this nature are lyable to fabulositie" and these tremors were no exception.

5 The Vice-Chancellor was Dr. Henry Smith, Master of Magdalene; Venn iv. 99. I have not traced Bishop Neile's letter to him.

6 I have not traced this incident: the list of Lent Preachers in PRO LCS/132 (Lord Chamberlain's Department, Warrant Book) begins in 1627/28.

7 For this see below, pp. 671-72. Mead evidently tried to be as judicious as possible concerning these heavenly apparitions, but of the options suggested on lines 41–42 a modern reader would suggest that he and his contemporaries took more notice of such events.

8 As Dr. Thomas Eden was Master of Trinity Hall, the Fellows of the College would want to be in attendance should he die in order to lobby for the vacant post. As it happened, their journey was unnecessary as Eden did not die until July 1645; Venn, ii. 84.
Thus with my best respect & service I rest & am

Christ's College Yours most ready
February 24. Matthe 9 to be commanded
Joseph Mead

The last Corrant says that Bethlem hath now made peace
with the Emperor compleatly.
The Emperor this Spring to
crowne his Son King of Bohemia.10

Textual Notes: line 5] their re as sense MS.
line 16, thing] altered from “think”.
line 19] lived. But That it MS.
line 31] they he should end MS.
line 38] Relations hath one of I knew MS.
9 St. Matthew's day (which fall on 25 February in leap years); Cheyney, pp. 56, 75.
10 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II below. The item concerning Bethlen was correct; see above, p. 604 n. 1. The Archduke Ferdinand was not crowned King of Bohemia in Prague until December 1627 but speculation over his crowning had continued for over a year; Wedgwood, p. 225; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v (newsletter from Germany of 9/19 March 1625/26).
London February 16. 162[^6]

What is the true state of the affaires of Germany at this present, we have yet no certainty. Onely
A private lettre from the Duke of Wittembergs Court of January
our 13 relates. Howsoever it were true of Count Mansfield's death, yet the Duke of Saxon-Weymar & the Administrator of Hall reported also to be dead, were alive again. That Saxon-Weymar had newly taken 2 good passages of importance, the one little-Glogaw in Silesia, the other, Stareenberg in Moravia, notwithstanding the Duke of Freidlands Army was so neere iL[^10].

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[^1]: For Saxe-Weimar's death see above, p. 645 n. 2. I have not traced the rumour concerning the Administrator of Halle.

[^2]: In a report of 16/26 January Sir Robert Anstruther had stated that although Weimar was dead his army in Silesia was in good order. In a later dispatch he mentioned the "good tounes and stronge houlda" in Silesia controlled by that army; PRO SP75/5/folios 1v, 8r.
It is certainly reported, there goe 6000 men out of Scotland to serve the King of Denmark, but that with the greife of the Protestants, the Lord Maxwell a man both unexperienced in the warres & a profess Papist goes Colonell of the moitie of them. 3

Its sayd the Dukes Servant & Master of his Architecture is come back from France, with direct answer, that the French King will not by any means permit the Duke to come thither, but for any other, he is content. 4 This man also is sayd to report, that there seems no hope at all of having our men & Ships released from Burdeaux, but that the French King intends to impoy those that are serviceable of them against Rochell. 5

A new Commission is sayd to be sent downe into

a: Others say there should goe 9000. & Lord Maxwell to command over 3,000. (W)hich the Scottishmen think he will hardly gett he is so ill beloved.

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3 Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale had offered to command 3,000 of the 9,000 men to be levied to serve in the Danish army (as Mead’s note a indicated) and had received a commission to levy that number of troops on 8 February 1626/27; RPCS, i. 531–32. Although Lockyer has stated that Christian was delighted with the news, an abstract of one of Anstruther’s letters suggests that it took some persuasion by the Ambassador before Christian would give Nithdale the command of a regiment; Lockyer, p. 358; PRO SP75/8/folio 31v; see also ibid., folios 39r–v, 40r.

4 Balthazar Gerbier (alluded to in line 17) had not returned from Paris, but Louis XIII’s refusal to receive Buckingham was reported by Salvetti on 16/26 February; HMC Skrine, p. 110. It had been clear for some weeks that the Duke would not go to France; see above, p. 611 n. 6.

5 Although it was expected that the French would employ the English ships and mariners they had arrested in the previous year, a report of 10/20 April noted that this had not yet been done; PRO SP78/B1/folio 105r.
Lyncolnshire about this Royall Loane. And that York=
shire hath wholly yeelded unto it; bowbeit with this
proviso, that the money remaine in their owne Treasurors
hands, to see it be directly employed for the good of the
Kingdome.

The death of Sir Nicolas Hydes 2 best beloved Sons
& his wives distraction is yet affirmed for true: Yet
his wife is somewhat amended.

On Saturday night last Sir Sackville Crow
made a Princely Feast onely for 4 persons, The Duke
The Earle of Holland, Sir Georg Goring & Walter
Montagu; where were 3 fresh Salmons in a dish,
& 6 pheasants, & the rest answerable. Is this a
time for Feasting?

On Tuesday last the Earle of Lyncolne being de=
fendant in the Starrechamber, he moved that he
might according to custome put in his answere upon his
honour & not upon his oath. But it was nevertheless
ordered to be upon oath.

The Earle of Bristoll who hath this 3 or 4
nights taken indifferent rest, put in his answere the

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6 After the failure of the first attempt to levy the Loan in Lincolnshire (for which see above, p. 648 n. 17),
careful preparations were made for the second attempt in March, including the imprisonment of the
opposition ringleader the Earl of Lincoln; Cust, F. L., pp. 117-18.

7 Lord Scrope wrote to the Privy Council on 25 February detailing the smooth progress of the Loan in
Yorkshire; PRO SP16/55/11 [folio 16r]. Lines 30-33 recall the concession made to other counties that a
significant proportion of the Loan would be used to defray billetting charges and other expenses; for an
example see Cust, F. L., pp. 119-20, 122-26.

8 I have not traced the death of Hyde's sons or the illness of his wife Margaret; DNB, ii. 400.

9 It was evidently not a time for feasting in Meddus's opinion: the conjunction of national poverty,
Forced Loan and Courtly extravagance led him to be unusually forthright here. The guests at the feast were
all Buckingham's friends or clients; Crow was the treasurer of his finances, Holland was a long-standing
friend "on particularly intimate terms with him at the time", Montagu was his cousin by marriage, and
Goring had been a client of his for some years; Lockyer, pp. 73, 363; Cust, F. L., pp. 25, 113 (quote from
latter page).

10 The Earl of Clare writing on Monday the 12th, however, noted that Lincoln's appearance in Star
Chamber was on the previous day; Holler, ii. 345.
last week.  
Burialls — 124  
Plague — 1 — within the walls  
Christenings— 181

Another ditto.

Our Merchants Ships at Burdeaux are making ready for the King of France his service at Sea; their ordnance mounted upon the Fort of Bloy; but what becomes of the poore marriners we know not.  
There are at this present 10 Ships all at Portsmouth designed for some new Action under the command of Captaine Pennington: & sayd, that the Commissioners for that preparation have taken all the sutes of sayles out of every Ship they meet with, leaving them no more then those at their yards. Whereupon some guesse, they go to take Ships out of Harbours as well as off at Sea.  
Their victualling shalbe but for 6 weeks or 2 months at most.

A gentleman come to Court this last week with a packett from our Leiger at Venice telles me. That Count Mansfeld dyed in Bosnia of a Consumption; that his Lungs were utterly spent, that he travailed upon his way to Venice the very day that he dyed. His Followers brought his body to Spalato; from whence some of them came before to Venice, there to make known to the Signory their Generalls desire, which was to be interred within their State. The Signory desired his Followers to repose his body for a small time at Spalato

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11 A common means of defence against a suit brought in Star Chamber was to present a demurrer pleading the insufficiency of the charges presented by the plaintiff(s); this aspect of the case had to be heard and resolved (by one or more Common Law judges) before any further action could be taken; Barnes, ‘Due Process and Slow Process’, pp. 227–28. A copy of the Earl of Bristol’s demurrer (probably the document referred to in line 49) is in BL Stowe MS 365, folios 79r–89v; see also Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624, p. 379.

12 See n. 5 above.

13 For this fleet see above, p. 638 n. 15. As Pennington’s capture of a number of French vessels in the following April proved, his fleet was intended for this purpose; see below, p. 763 n. 1.
till they could take order for the solemnity.14

That on the same day he (this Gentleman) came from Venice (which was about 25 days since) the King of Denmarks Ambassador departed thence, having bin ne-gotiating with that State for moneys; but he thought in vaine.15

That as he came through Savoy, there were 40 Captaines sent out to levy men & to draw them into the feild, in regard the State of Millaine & Genoa are full of Soul-diers, & the quarrell about the Volteline is like to renew againe.16

Another ditto.

The Freeholders which were ^ here ^ bound to the Artillery Yard for refusing the loane are gone home upon a sup-posed connivance & leave of the Lei-tenant of the Tower,17

The sedulitie of one Doctor Clark ^ a divine in Northampton was so great in this buisines, that he bound one woman that I suppose to be a Landesse to the rest: and if a Constable had not holden his hand, would have beaten the Refusers: He sent ^ one ^ man up for two pence, whom I b

b: He is Archdeacon of Darby.

14 In his will Mansfeld had asked to be buried in Venice. Sir Issac Wake the English Ambassador there had written on 29 December 1626/8 January 1627 that “Count Mansfelts Court, consisting of 70 persons, is just nowe arrived, having left the body of their Master at Spalato with some servants to attend the corps hither”; Hennequin de Villermont, Mansfeld, ii. 347; BL Add. MS, 34311, folio 55v. It is likely that the source of this and the following items was one Master Morton, who had left Venice later in January 1626/27 with a number of Wake’s dispatches; ibid., folios 61v, 62v, 64v, 66v, 69r, 70v, 71r.

15 The Danish Ambassador was Dr. Joachim Kratz. He was not successful in obtaining Venetian financial assistance for Christian IV, in spite of the intervention of both Wake and the State’s Ambassador in Venice. For the progress of Kratz’s negotiations see BL Add. MS 34311, folios 48r, 49r, 50r–51r, 53r–v, 54r–55r, 58v, 63v–64r, 67r–v; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 81, 185.

16 I have not traced this rumour, although it proved false.

17 The Lieutenant of the Tower of London was Sir Allen Apsley, although I have not traced the incident reported here.
saw & c & c. 18

Boston February 12, 1627 (folio 205v)

Some 12 dayes agoe was here seene a strange
suddaine kind of lightening (which every one that saw
it thought to be onely about him & he in the middest
of it); presently thereupon was heard a cracking in the
ayre, as if it were discharging of some great peeces of
ordinance at the first; & then many musquets; & present[=]
ly after a drumme playing a retrait as in warre. The
thundering I did heare my selfe & thought at the first
there was some Ship coming in: till a little while after Master
Cottons c man came in & related this with much astonishmen;
That as he was going in the Street about
6 a clock in the evening, there came a suddain lightening
as if there had bin many 100 fackells, d about
him, so that he thought it to be onely about him,
& thereupon he heard this noise afore mentioned:
the same was afterwards by divers trustie & godly men
confirmed. Pray certifie me with your convenience, if
you did see & heare the like by you. e What it portends
I think every Christian man may easly perceive; God
sending them as visible sermons to prepare the hearts
of his people for those times of great danger which

c: Minister of Boston with home this Gentleman sojourneth. 19
d: i.e. Faculæ Torchlights.
e: Cambridge.

18 Dr. Samuel Clarke was active as a Loan Commissioner in Northamptonshire and was a close friend of
Robert Sibthorpe, who published a sermon in defence of the levy; Cust, F. L., p. 248.
19 John Cotton, the renowned nonconformist and eventual emigrant to Massachusetts, was Vicar of Boston
between 1612 and 1633; DNB, Supplement, p. 493.
by reason of our Sins we may justly feare, &c. 20

Thus farre my Author.

They write also from Lynn of such a light with thunder

there scene & heard, but both a farre off. & as neare as I can learn

at the same time. It is written also from Hull February 4 of such

a spectacle to have bin scene, & addes to the former, of armed men

in the aire. But the lettre names not the place where; & it seems

not to be at Hull it selfe but there reported onely. The Doctor

also in Shrovesweek told us of lettres from Northamptonshire, of a fire the week

before, scene to fall from heaven, with a great light, not farre from Apthorp.

But I then regarded it not.

But a freind telles me, that one Master Langton of Langton Hall in Lyncolnshire

having beene a haucking with my Lord Willoughby upon the 25

of January (If his memory faile not for the time) after he had parted

in the evening & was riding

homeward with a Kinsman

who had some 4 miles to go

suddainly the heaven grew exceeding

black, whereupon saying to his cosen, it

would be a foule evening & desiring him to take

a bed with him, whilst they were yet talking

the cloud breaches, & from thence fell in their

sight fire spred like a sheet; with it a

terrible thunderclap & then a noise as if a 1000

muskets had been shott off together.

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Textual Notes: line 32, directly altered from "directed".

line 71] from when whence MS.

line 113] & there thereupon MS.

line 121, i.e.] .1. MS.

line 126] scene but-be heard MS.

line 135] having beene MS.

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20 The "moral interpretation of...atmospheric anomilies" (derived ultimately from Genesis 1.14, "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night: and let them be for signes and for seasons, and for dayes and yeeres") was the most common means of explaining such heavenly apparitions; Heninger, A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology, pp. 23–24.
line 136] memory fail fail MS.
lines 137–47, in the evening...together] a continuation of the account written
at right-angles to the preceding text, in the same small lettering used for lines
117–29 (see copy of text facing p. 672).
3 March 1627

Sir,

The Duke is coming to our Towne, which puts us all into a commotion. The Bells ring, The Posts wind their horses in every street, Every man puts up his cappe & whood ready for the Congregation, whither they suppose his Grace will come. He dines, they say at Trinity Colledg, shall have a bankett at Clare-Hall. I am afraid, somebody will scarce worship any other God, as long as he is in Towne.

For mine owne part, I am not like to stirre, but hope to heare all when they come home. I send you our last. Together with the King of Denmarks lettre to our Duke, wherein is no great matter, & was dated before Christmas: yet curiositie will desire satisfaction if but in trifles.

The Copie of the Letter from Hull, was sent by Master Mervell Preacher of the Towne. I saw a lettre thence of the 4 of February which made mention thereof, & related the Substance of the contents. So the fact was true. But whether the information it conteines be so too I know not. Either it is counterfeited by some that wishes well to the Towne, & would by putting them in jealousy, make them carefull to provide against danger.

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1 Lines 8–9 were another disparaging reference at the Heads of House who had been instrumental in getting the Duke elected as Chancellor in the previous year: it was no coincidence that the Masters of the two Colleges named here (Mawe and Pask) had been among Buckingham’s strongest supporters.

2 Christian IV’s address to the Duke dated 8/18 December 1626 is misplaced in H390 among Mead’s letters for that month; see the Introduction, p. 17 and n. 65.

3 Andrew Marvell (father of the poet) was Master of the Charterhouse of Hull from 1624 to 1641. As a graduate of Emmanuel College (B. A. 1605, M. A. 1608) he probably had friends in Cambridge to whom he sent this letter; Venn, iii. 154.
or if it be true, the Enimie should by the circumstances be rather French then Spanish; what should make him so careful of not ruining it, or what means the keeping it but for 2 yeares! Will the French King surprise it for his sisters joynture? It is the kay of Yorkshire &c. So indeed she may have hir joynture without a Parliament. But God forbid.

Sir Dudley Digges was sett a libertie on Saturday last, say those who come from London.

Thus with my best & accustomed respect to your selfe & my Lady, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg Yours most ready to be commanded

March 3. about 10 a clock. Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 5] streit, AH Every man MS.

ibid., up] us MS.

line 24] should make the-Enimie ^ him ^ MS.

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4 One of Bassompierre's demands on his embassy in the previous year had been the summoning of Parliament to settle Henrietta Maria's jointure; see above, p. 487 n. 14.

5 The scattering of counterfeit letters became something of a craze during the spring and summer of 1627. Bernard Smyth, the Mayor of Hull had forwarded this letter to Lord Scrope who sent it to London on 23 February; PRO SP16/34/73 (folio 137r). "Jealousy" (line 22) was used in the sense of "Suspicion; apprehension of evil; mistrust" (OED, "jealousy", s.v).

6 Digges had been released on Friday 23 February; Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1627–28, ed. J. Bruce (1858), p. 64; see also PRO SP16/54/75 (folio 137r).
London February 23. 1622

On Saturday last the new Commissioners for the Navy, otherwise called, the Counsell of the Sea, made a report to his Majestie & his privy Counsell of their proceedings hitherto. The Duke of Buckingham they appointed their spokesman, who having summed up the marrow & quintessence of their Consultations, drove mainly at this Conclusion; namely to perswade the King to employ his whole revenue of the Subsidies of Tunnage & Pondage towards the present defense of the Seas: his reason was, because it was given by the Parlament to his Majesties Predecessors to that end. For this yeare he sayd, all the whole revenue must be expended that way, but hoped, that the yeares to come would require the disbursment but of halfe. This yeare they would sett out 20 tall Ships for defense of the Coast; and 6 other such ships to intercept the Lubeckers & Hamburges coming forth of the Sound with provisions for the King of Spaine, and likewise would build some small vessells drawing little water, which might venture after a Dunkirkker over Flatts & Sholdes. In fine he besought his Majestie to command my Lord Treasuror to make assignement of this part of his treasure to this end: which the King willingly granted, and the Earle of Totnes told me to day, that order was taken accordingly.¹

1 pray God our Preparations come not abroad too late: for the Dunkirkers take good Ships of ours every day,

¹ PRO SP16/54/33 [folio 74r] is a paper of propositions by the Naval Commissioners presented to the meeting of Saturday 17 February mentioned here. The cost of building twenty ships and paying the seamen for thirteen months was estimated at £79,300; see also Lockyer, p. 364.
& were never so rife at Sea as now. I am told to day, that Spinola is building at Bruges in Flanders some 50 Ships of about 8 score tunne a piece; for every of which he is casting hard by the place ten brasse pieces.

Out of France from Burdeaux, are newly come into the River 40 saile of Scotts & Flemings: through the whole squadron of whom a Dunkirk but with 18 peices of Ordnance passed, & did much hurt, amongst them, notwithstanding they bore in all above 100 pieces of Ordnance among them, & had to waft the[m] a Holland man of warre, whom the Dunkirkers singled out of the heard, & so beat him, that he was faine to run a shore. These last reports come from one Master Rosse a Scottishman who is a kind of Agent between England & Dunkirk for redemption of prisoners.

At Burdeaux I heare, the French King detaineth onely 25 saile of our English Ships; which he purposed to employ against Rochell; the residue with the Mariners being escaped away.

Sir John Corbett on Wednesday last received his censure, & yesterday was committed to the Gatehouse.

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2 Although little had been reported of their activities over the previous few weeks the Dunkirk privateers still represented a formidable threat to English shipping: see for instance Contarini’s dispatches in CSPV 1626–28, pp. 148, 154, 161.

3 Contarini had heard by 23 February/5 March that twenty—two ships carrying 200 soldiers each were ready at Dunkirk; ibid., p. 137.

4 A Dutch man—of—war of 500 tons had been forced into the roadstead of Great Yarmouth by two Dunkirkers according to a petition from that town of 21 February. While this was probably not the incident reported here it was yet another indication of Flemish naval power; PRO SP16/54/56 (folio 114r).

5 Hugh Rosse of Ballamouchy had received instructions on 29 July 1626 and again on 10 January 1626/27 to negotiate in Flanders for the release of English and Scots prisoners held there: PRO SP77/18 (State Papers, Flanders, 1626)/folio 284r–v; SP77/19 (State Papers, Flanders, 1627)/folio 1r–v. See also CSPV 1626–28, p. 78. Lists of English and Scots prisoners at Ostend, Nieuwpoort and Dunkirk are now SP77/18/folios 312r–13r, 315v–16r.

6 I have not traced this report (but see above, p. 667 n. 3).

7 For this see APC Jan.—Aug. 1627, p. 74; Corbet was sent to the Gatehouse prison. For Mead’s interest in Corbet’s affairs see above, p. 642 n. 8.
Sir Gilbert Jarrett, high Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, being called in question for not waiting on the Duke, when he was at Aylesbury, is deferred till after the Assises when he is to be ready at their Lordships sending for; notwithstanding he had formerly subscribed to the Loane in Middlesex, & allegeth a faire excuse of his absence from the Duke, to wit, that as he was coming towards Aylesbury, his Coachman falling suddenly out of the boxe, made him misdoubt, the occasion thereof to be some contagious disease, & so thought it requisite to abstaine coming into such company. Sir John Jackson of Yorkshire is confined to his Lodging in Saint Martins lane for speaking some words against the Loane. And one told me, that yesterday in the afternoone there went out warrants for the Commitment of a dozen more.

Master George Catesby of Northamptonshire Esquire who was the last week committed to the Gatehouse, being demanded by the Lords the reasons of his refusall to lend, alleged three. The first was, for that my Lord President in his speech at Northampton had raised many doubts & objections like so many spiritts, which he could not allay. The Second was, because he heard his Lordship affirme there, that the setting a foot or practising of this loane was ipso facto a Precedent, & every Precedent a flower of the Prerogative. My Lord President told him he lyed. His

9 Jackson had allegedly said that if any of his servants had paid the Loan, “they should never hold land of him, and giff anie of my Tennants should give, be Gods wounds I could or would hang them with my own hands”; PRO SP16/51/35 [folio 52r]; for the examination of Jackson see SP16/55/29 [folio 45r], 29 (I) [folio 46r–v]; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 54; Cust, F. L., pp. 60, 289 (where Jackson’s words are quoted).
10 On Wednesday 21 February warrants to commit a number of Loan refusers had been issued by the Council; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 73–74.
11 Catesby was sent to the Marshalsea, not the Gatehouse; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 66.
12 The Earl of Manchester had addressed the Loan meeting at Northampton on 12 January; Cust, F. L., p. 68.
answer was, that was no fit place to contend with his Lordship, he came not to contend, but to suffer. Then my Lord of Suffolk intreated my Lord President, that he would not to farre urge Master Catesby his kinsman, but to permit that the payment of his money might purchase him his liberty. Whereunto Master Catesby answered, Although your Lordship be pleased to claim kindred of me yet I will be Master of mine owne purse & will not part with a penny. His third reason, why he would not lend, was, because there is a Starting hole in the Proclamation, whereby the King may evade his promise, that he will not make a President of this Loan.  

The recognisances of those Northamptonshire men, that departed lately without leave are estreated. Sir Thomas Savill eldest Son of Sir John Savill the Privy Counceller hath gott the office in the Custom house of Sir Phillip Carey deceased, being worth £800 a yeare.

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13 Although the Earl of Suffolk is not recorded as present at the Council meeting of Thursday 15 February at which Catesby was committed, he did sign the warrant for Catesby’s imprisonment; APC Jan.—Aug. 1627, p. 62.

14 For a detailed account of George Catesby’s examination by the Privy Council, which closely resembles ?Pory’s account, see ibid., p. 62. The passages in the proclamation announcing the Forced Loan to which Catesby objected were: “this course, which at this time is thus enforced upon us by that necessity, to which no ordinary course can give the Law, shall not in any wise be drawn into example, nor made a President for after times...And because Wee already heare, that some malevolent persons...give out...that this course may be taken every yeare, upon pretence of necessitie and lacke of Money; Woe do hereby publish and proclaime...that it is farre from our heart...to make this any annuall or usuall course of raising Moneys”; Larkin, no. 55, pp. 111–12. See also Cust, F. L., p. 166 (quoting part of ?Pory’s account).

15 A “recognizance” is a “bond or obligation...by which a person engages himself to perform some act or observe some condition” (OED, “recognizance”, 1). To “estreat” a document is to “extract...the record of (a fine, bail, recognizance...) and return it to the court of exchequer to be prosecuted” (ibid., “estreat”, v., 1). Although I have not traced this incident the Northamptonshire refusers had evidently forfeited their bonds by leaving London without permission and were liable to be prosecuted for it.

16 I have not traced Savile’s appointment.
An Appendix to the former weeks
ewes by the author of this.17

On Friday February 16 the Earle of Lyncolne was
ordered by all the lords & Judges to sweare to interroga-
tories in that Court not upon his honour but upon the
Evangelists as an ordinary man, contrary to an order for[=]
erly assented to by King James in Parlament.18

The Demurrer of the Earle of Bristoll, (whether
he be to be questioned in the Starchamber for misde-
meanors committed by him in Parlament & not objected
there) is referred to the two Lord Cheife Justices
& Judge Harvy.19

That they of Brittany in France were in
actuall rebellion against their King, because he attempted
to impose the gabella of salt upon them, who alwayes
heretofore had bin exempted from it, & therefore sett
the house on fire over the Commissioners heads.20

My Lord of Holland was sayd, should have the
Monopoly of Ribands for Baronets & Knights Batchelors
but that no man shalbe constrained to weare them; & that

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17 Probably John Pory; see Appendix III below.
18 For Lincoln's appearance in the Star Chamber ("that Court") on Sunday 11 February see above, p. 668 n. 10. I have found no reference to his appearance there on 16 February although the Earl of Clare noted the incident reported in lines 93–96; Holles, ii. 345.
19 For the practice of submitting demurrers presented in Star Chamber cases to one or more Common Law Judges for adjudication see above, p. 669 n. 11. On 13 February 1626/27 it was ordered by that Court that Chief Justices Sir Thomas Richardson (of the Common Pleeas) and Sir Nicholas Hyde (of the King's Bench) together with Sir John Walter (Chief Baron of the Exchequer) were to consider Bristol's demurrer. In the event of Walter not being able to do so, Sir Francis Harvey (a Justice of the Common Pleeas) was to take his place, as indeed happened; BL Sloane MS 365, folio 89v. According to the Earl of Clare, Walter and Justice Jones of the King's Bench excused themselves from sitting on the case; Holles, ii. 345.
20 Rumours were rife in the early months of 1627 that the French government "intended to impose a new tax on the salt of Guyenne, Poitou and Saintonge; Louis felt it necessary to make a specific denial of any plan"; Parker, La Rochelle, p. 69. Although these provinces are to the west and south of Brittany this report probably refers to such rumours. The "gabelle" (line 104) was the tax on salt levied in France until the Revolution; Pory, however, used the Italian version "gabella" (OED, "gabelle").
they shall (as the Nobility) be free from arrests. But how true, time would tell.21

Textual Notes: line 33] did much much MS.
   line 78, your] you MS.

21 For this project see above, p. 643 n. 2.
London February 23. 1626

Since the last week we have from abroad, That
the Emperor & Bethlem, as they write from Vienna (if truly)
have concluded at length a peace for life; but some doubted
how Bethlem would hould it.\(^1\) Besides it is confirmed,
that the Duke of Saxon–Weymar hath taken little Glogaw
in Silesia, & Starrenberg in Moravia: yea some lettres affirme
that Olmutz the cheife City of Moravia is taken by him; but
it is here doubted of.\(^2\) Commissioners were gone from Vienna
towards Lintz there to proceed criminally against about 200
prisoners of the cheife Husbandmen. But the remainders of them
are not yet quiet.\(^3\)

It is here delivered for certaine, That in Prussia upon
our 6th of January came 4000 Poles thinking to have surpri=
sed Elbing, but were discovered, mett & fought with about
halfe an English mile from the Towne by 1600 Swedes
from 9 in the morning till 3 afternoone, when the Poles were
putt to flight, there being many slayne on both sydes.\(^4\)

The King of Denmark hath bin in his owne Country,
where the Gentry was not willing to suffer him to go thence againe
to the warres: but he earnestly moved them, \& as is sayd, pre=
vaile also with them, to continue their aydes of money; he
being resolved onely for defence of the Protestant Religion, where
it yet is, \& restoring of it where it is put downe, \& no other re=

\(^1\) For Bethlen's peace with the Emperor see above, p. 604 n. 1.
\(^2\) Reports were still circulating that Saxe–Weymar was still alive; see above, p. 645 n. 2.
\(^3\) Twenty of the leaders of the Austrian revolt of 1626 were eventually beheaded; Wedgwood, p. 216; PRO
SP101/29/folio 1r (Bonn newsletter of 22 December 1626/1 January 1626/27; this letter also reported
continued resistance by the rebels).
\(^4\) I have found no reference to this engagement: it was probably, however, another false rumour of Swedish
success in their Prussian campaign during the winter of 1626–27, for which see above, p. 605 n. 3.
spect to mainaine the warres; well perceiving, if he should desist, the Reformed Religion would soone be suppressed in the Empire & bordering parts.\(^5\)

Here is newes, & held for true, that Rochell was neere surprized, there being by night 500 men with scaling Ladders gotten over the walles into the Towne, but were most of them slayne, as were not a few also of the Towne. That King is sayd to lead an Army upon some A designe or other. Its still held that our men & Ships there are like to be employed against Rochell.\(^6\)

The Speach yet continues, that divers Lords & others go over to treat of peace with Spaine.\(^7\)

The States of the Lowcountries have taken in Embden & will give the Earle a yearly pension in recompense of it.\(^8\)

Since his Majestie is gone downe hath bin a rumour here, that he shortly intends a journey into Scotland, which notwithstanding, some much doubt off.\(^9\) The Scottish Bishops & Ministers are gone back with Commission to proceed against Recusant-Papists.\(^10\)

On Wednesday came out a Proclamation here, for Papists or their Freinds to take Leases of their two Thirds

\(^5\) Sir Robert Anstruther periodically noted Christian's efforts to raise money during January and February 1626/27. The King had returned home to obtain money from his nobility and was eventually successful; PRO SP75/8/folios 1v, 7r, 26r, 29r, 57r; see also SP101/29/folio 1v (Bonn newsletter of 22 December 1626/1 January 1626/27). Attempts to persuade Christian to seek for peace were reported in SP75/8/folio 7r; SP101/29/folio 2r (Augsburg newsletter of 23 February/5 March 1626/27).

\(^6\) I have not traced the rumour concerning La Rochelle. That concerning Louis's movements were false; see above, p. 661 n. 11.

\(^7\) For this see above, p. 638 n. 12; p. 660 n. 8.

\(^8\) I have not traced this incident, although according to a newsletter of 12/22 March the Earl of Emden came to the Hague to complain about the occupation of Emden by Dutch troops; PRO SP101/47/folio 15r.

\(^9\) On 23 February/5 March it was reported Charles had recently gone to Newmarket to hunt until Easter; CSPV 1626–28, p. 137. His absence had evidently led to rumours that he would travel to Scotland, which like those in the previous summer proved false.

\(^10\) This delegation of Scottish ministers had travelled to London to press for the strict enforcement of the recusancy laws in Scotland; see above, p. 609 n. 22; p. 628 n. 17.
of Lands within 3 months, or others may. In Staffordshire, Shropshire, & Cheshire all have readily yielded unto the grand Loan, though in Cheshire many subscribed not, but paid down their moneys or promised to do within a week; the Papists as Alains being sessed double.

The Earl of Bristol continues still amending, but weak in his legs & in a Course of physick.

Burialls —— 167
Plague —— 0
Christenings — 168

Another ditto.

The Consultations now here, are for relieving the King of Denmark, who hath lately lost 500 horse more in a 1000 defeated. Sir John Burlacy came to London yesterday morning to fetch 4500 men which are to be pressed for that King & to be joined with those 6000 in the Lowcountries formerly spoken of, & now ready for his service upon the beating of the first drumme. This is from the best intelligence; but Alas!

11 This proclamation, “concerning the execution of the Laws against Recusants” is printed in Larkin, no. 62, pp. 128–31.

12 For the smooth progress of the Loan in Staffordshire see PRO SP16/56/89 [folio 138r–v]; for Shropshire, SP16/54/28 [folio 51r]; for the City of Chester and Cheshire, SP16/53/18 [folio 21r–v], 28 [folio 38r], 73 [folio 95r]. The City of Chester readily agreed to support the Loan while the county was initially less enthusiastic: after some prodding from the Privy Council the latter agreed to pay up, however; Cust, F. L., pp. 121–22. “Aliant” (line 49) is a variant of “Alien”, in the sense of one “separated, or excluded from (the citizenship and privileges of a nation)” [OED, “alien”, B, sb., 4]; both convicted recusants and foreigners were liable to pay double the subsidy rate (see for instance 3° Car. I, c. VIII, section 1; Statutes, v. 40) and therefore double that levied for the Forced Loan.

13 I have not found any reference to this engagement.

14 For the reinforcements granted to Sir John Borlase and “those 6,000 men in the Lowcountries” see above, p. 628 n. 18; p. 631 n. 2; p. 636 n. 7.
where is the money? the Loane being expended as fast as it comes into the Exchequer.

Notwithstanding which, they say we must believe, there is a Fleet now preparing of 100 sayle of Ships, besides 40 others for particular services: as, 7 for the guarding of the Coasts of Scotland (but have not they an Admiral?) 6 for blocking up the River Elbe; 5 for the Downes; 4 for the Narrow Seas; 8 for the Westcountry, as far as the Sillyes; 5 to guard the fishing at Newfound-Land; & 15 in all to transport Sir John Burlacy's men. Some wish our intentions may not prove too great for execution. 15

The Lord Feilding is lately come from France, who sayth, they prepare there mainly against us; And it is generally believed the Spanyard doth in like manner. 16

Hull. (folio 210r)

A copie of a Lettre cast into the Maiors house of Hull Wednesday night January 31. 1627

Sir,

I have given you to understand, that your Towne is to be besieged this next Summer; how soone I know not. There shall come a great Fleet of small ships, in each of them 40 Landsouldiers: It is determined, that after 2 or 3 vollies of shott, halfe of them shall land; then they will batter that syde of the Towne which is next the water, & after a breach made, assault it in the smoke: The other

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15 This passage illustrates the preparations being made for the campaigning season; the reference to the fleet of 100 ships is probably the first mention in Mead's newsletters of the armada later assembled to relieve La Rochelle (which landed at the Île de Rhé). The smaller fleets reflected ambitious plans for the re-equipping of the navy; see above, p. 676 n. 1 and below, p. 672 n. 5.

16 Basil, eldest son of William Earl of Denbigh, was known as Viscount Fielding from 1622 to 1643; GEC, iv. 179.
half are to enter at another place. They resolve not to
ruine the Fortification, or any other house in the Towne,
if they can doe otherwise: for they intend to fortify it
with ammunition to keep it for 2 yeares. This newes
comes from farre: I hope you are wise, & will make a good
use of it. The Lord be mercifull to the people of this Land.

Superscribed

To the Mayor of Hull
& his brethren.

Sealed with hard wax without any
impression.17

Textual Note: line 56, ditto] dicto MS.

17 For this letter (which was thrust under the door of Bernard Smyth, the Mayor of Hull on the night of 7
February) see above, p. 675 n. 5. Although the sense of the letter is the same, Mead’s version shows a
considerable number of variants from the PRO text, SP16/55/11 (I) [folio 18r].
Christian IV, by the grace of God King of Denmark, of Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, Duke of Schleswig Holstein, of Stormarn and Ditschmar, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst.

Our singular goodwill [to you], most worshipful Prince and dearest friend, granted; we have heard the praise of your worship’s diligence which contrived the conveyance of those troops which were to be sent hither to supplement our army. For this our greatest thanks are due to that name, praying at the same time that with the same zeal and friendly intentions towards us he might go further and please, above all, to procure that those funds of yours once again promised to us might be sent at the first opportunity. If any opportunity offers itself by which we can in turn do anything to his honour or advantage, he shall not find us wanting; but we shall demonstrate that same good will to your worship as we cherish towards him.

Given at Stade, 18 December 1626 [New Style]

Christian

To the worshipful Prince, our singular friend the Lord George Duke of Buckingham Lord Admiral to his Serene Majesty the King of Great Britain, Master of the Horse, Privy Councillor and Knight of the Order of the Garter.
18 December 1626

Christianus 4? Dei gratia Daniae, Norwegiae
Vandalorum Gothorumque Rex, Dux Slesvici
Holsatiae, Stormarix ac Dithmariae, Comes
in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorst.

Singulari benevolentia nostra pr?missa (Illustriissime
Princeps, amice charissime); laudata nobis fuit Illustriiatis
vestrae diligentia quae transfretationem eorum militum, qui
in supplementum exercitvus nostri huc mittendi sunt, procu=
rat. Idcirco eadem eo nomine maximas gratias agendas
duximus; simul ab ea contendentes ut in eo studio ac
amic? volutate erga nos porr? perger? & inprimis
promovere velit, ut pecuniae iste iam de novo nobis
promissa quamprimum huc perscribantur. Si qua se offe=
ret occasio qua vicissim eius honor? aut commodis
prodesse possimus, nihil in nobis desiderari patiemur:
verum Illustriiati vestr? benignum quem erga eum fo=
vemus aximum abunde testabimur.

Dabantur Stadæ 18 December 1626.

Christianus.

Illustriissimo Principi, amico nostro singulari Domino
Georgio Duc? Buckinghamiae Serenissimi Magna Britan=
niae Regis Archithalasso, supremo Stabuli Prefecto,
Senatori intimo & Ordinis periscelidis equiti.¹

¹ For this letter see above, p. 674 n. 2. I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for preparing
the translation on the facing page. Although Christian’s letter is not in PRO SP75/7 (State Papers
Denmark, 1626), it is calendared in The Forty-Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records
(1886), p. 68.
Textual Note: line 7, qui] altered from "qua".
Of the provision of a Curate I have heard nothing. I received a letter from Doctor Warner but on Thursday written the same day, but no mention of any such matter, no not that Master Howlett was going from you: Onely complements ushsherings a realitie, a good tongue Pie which Mistris Warner sent me & some other admonitions about newes, to furnish him with which he allowes my Sizer a pension. I suppose therefore he hath already designed somebody for the place.\(^1\)

The provision of a Chamber for Master Justinian Isham is a buisines that makes me almost sick. Our Master hath bin from home & is but newly returned & I have not bin with him. Next week you shall \(^{^\wedge}\) know \(^{^\wedge}\) my answere from him. Which I am very slow to know my selfe, as \(^{^\wedge}\) loath \(^{^\wedge}\) to know my paine too soone. Even as bankrupts are to cast up their accounts, suspecting it wilbe litle to their contentment.\(^2\)

Our Chancellor on Saturday sate in the Regent House in a Master of Arts gowne, habit cap & whoood; spake 2 words of Latine Placet & admittatur.\(^3\) Bishop Lawd was incorporated.  The Earle of Denbigh, Lord Imbrecourt, Lord Rochfort (miles de Malta) Master Edward Somersett nephew to the Earle of Worcester, Master Craven & Master Walter Montagu, were made Masters of Art though I think my Lord Imbrecourt needed no more but to be incor-

\(^1\) Dr. Thomas Warner had become Rector of Dalham before the end of 1625 and had evidently appointed a new curate to replace Robert Howlett; Wedgbury, p. 60 n. 24. It would be interesting to know whether copies of Mead’s letters regularly found their way to Warner via the former’s sizars.

\(^2\) For Mead’s likely difficulties in providing a room for Justinian Isham see above, pp. 654–55 nn.1–7.

\(^3\) Buckingham had come to Cambridge to preside over the granting of honorary degrees: it was his only visit to the University as Chancellor.
His Grace dined at Trinity College, had banquets at divers other Colleges, Kings, Saint Johns Clare Hall &c. He was on the top of Kings College Chapel, but refused to have his foot imprinted there as too high for him. He was wonderfully courteous to all Scholars of any condition, both in the Regent House, where everyone that came in had his Grace's congie, & in the Town as he walked if a man did but stir his hat, he should not loose his Labour. He professed himself our humble servant, that coming down to do his duty to his Master, he could not but come to do his service to us: but he could not stay long, because the watch stood still till he returned to wind it up; & so he went back that night.

Doctor Pask out of his familiarities must needs carry him to see a new Librarie they are building in Clare Hall, notwithstanding it was not yet furnished with books but by good chance being an open room, two women were gotten thither to see his grace out at the windows, but when the Duke came thither were unexpectedly surprised; Master Doctor quoth the Duke (when he saw them) You have here a faire Librarie, but here are 2 books not very well bound. I think I have told you enough & thus with my best service I rest & am

For these degrees awarded to William Laud (incorporated D. D., having proceeded to that degree at Oxford in 1608), William Feilding (Lord Denbigh), Dudley Carleton (Lord Imbercourt, incorporated M. A., having obtained his M. A. at Oxford in 1600), Sir Francis de Rochford, Edward Somerset and Walter Montagu see Cambridge University Archives, Grace Book Z (1620–45), pp. 134–35; Foster, p. 885; GEC, iv. 409. Rochford was called "miles de Malton" in the Grace Book (p. 134); Mead had evidently been misinformed on this matter.

This was evidently not uncommon; Sir Simonds D'Ewes's wife Anne had her foot imprinted there on 27 August 1627; D'Ewes, Autobiography, i. 359.

I have not traced this incident, although a considerable amount of rebuilding was being carried out at Clare in the decades before the Civil War; R. Willis and J. Willis Clark (eds.), The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1886), i. 93–100.

Mead omitted to mention that Christ's College had provided an "intertaynement" for Buckingham which had cost £2 2s. 4d.; Christ's College Archives, B. 1. 7 (College Accounts, 1622–39), folio 76v.
Christ's Colledg

March 10.

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

Master Higham was here on Saturday with his Sons Billes, where I found him to have purposely altered & falsified them to conceal from his father some expenses which yet he was most impatient at any time to be denied. He had left out some 17th in the particulars since Midsommer, & altered the general summes according unto it. And to do this took the pains not to send the Billes he writ in my chamber, or that I gave him with mine owne hand, but to write them over anew in his Study. What a foolish knavery was this? Must it not needs come out? 8

Textual Notes: line 14] you shall here know MS.
line 15] selfe, as unwilling loath MS.
line 34] Master, & he could MS.
line 38] a new they Librarie MS.
lines 49-55, Master...out?] Mead's continuation of his letter; the interlineation “since Midsommer” was written in the margin next to the addition.

As with John Stuteville's bill (see above, p. 623 n. 1) Higham copied out his under Mead's supervision; on other occasions, however, he was evidently given a copy to send home. Mead had written to Higham's father John in January 1626/27, both (it seems) to complain at the younger Higham's progress and to send the latter's bill. The elder Higham came to Christ's himself, no doubt, because he could not agree with Mead's figures and required an explanation; see above, p. 615 n. 13; p. 624 n. 4. From a survey of John Higham's account it is difficult to be certain which purchases he wished to hide from his father, but the "Boots and shooes" bought on 14 July 1626 and paid for in December (for 13s.) and some of his other clothing purchases in August 1626 were probably among them. As the bill (of £5 7s.) was settled on 3 March, John Higham senior evidently did so on the visit described here; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 40r–v. Higham did not return to Christ's after this episode; see below, p. 701 lines 32–33.
Master Pory.  
London March 2, 1626/7  
(on folio 213r)

On Wednesday besides Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston 1 were 3 Clothiers committed Suffolk men, whose imprisonment is of the more importance because so many poor do get their living under them.  

Here hath bin a Jealousie, that the Refractarie Lords should be called in question first of all my Lord of Lyncolne, but he hath bene in Towne this sennight remains yet unsent for. 2

This afternoone Sir Beauchamp Saint John, & Sir Oliver Luke were both before the Lords as Recusants of the Loane, but how they sped is not yet knowne. 3

Here are some 27 or 28 Saile of Ships going forth in the Kings service, some for the coast of Spaine, others to waft over the 3500 soldierys designed from hence to the King of Denmark, others to guard the Northsea-Fishermen, & the residue to lye at the Belt on this side the Sound of Denmark, to intercept such Lueckers & Hamburgers as carry provisions for the King of Spaine. 4

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1 Barnardiston had initially agreed to pay the Loan before changing his mind and being sent to prison; PRO SP16/55/10 (folio 15r); Cust, F. L., pp. 144–45.

2 These three wealthy clothiers were the Dedham men Richard Barker, John Wilkinson and Thomas Wood, who were committed to the Gatehouse; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 93; Cust, F. L., p. 146.

3 As Lincoln had already appeared on at least one occasion in Star Chamber this report was inaccurate; see above, p. 668 n. 10; p. 680 n. 18.

4 These two were the only Loan Commissioners for Bedfordshire who had refused to lend (see above, p. 632 n. 5), and had been summoned before the Council on 21 February, appearing on the 26th; PRO SP16/53/13 (folio 13r); APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, 73–74, 86. They were not imprisoned until July; ibid., pp. 403, 439.

5 For these naval dispositions see PRO SP16/54/52 (folio 110r); SP16/56/1 (folio 1r–v); APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 104–05; for Borlase's reinforcements, p. 628 n. 18; p. 631 n. 2. Fallon has noted that "the first
There is a particular Agent or Commissioner coming over from the Province of Holland, to require restitution of some ships & goods of theirs, which have bin adjudged prize & for default of restitution to denounce warre; although they vary in that from the States Generall.6

Here is a project now in hand, to sett out a Fleet of 120 Saile of men of warre in one fleet, wherein my Lord Duke hath vowed to all the Captaines, he will go himselfe: but some wise men do scarcely beleve the one or the other.7 And yet it is so farre gone, as there is a warrant sent to the Officers of the Ordnance to furnish out of the Kings Storehouse so much ammunition as will furnish 20 of the Kings Ships & a 100 Colliers & Merchants; & because that in their custody is not so much found as will serve the turne, Phillipo Bur=lamacki hath £14,000 out of the Exchequer, to procure 100 last of poulder from beyond the Sea’s; nothing (they say) so good as might have bin provided here by Master Evelin for £8000.8

Here is a speech, that here shalbe 3 Barons created; yong Craven, because he is to marry Mistris Ashbumham Sir Thomas Richar[d=] sons wives daughter; as also yong Cockin; & a Sherly of

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6 James Catz had been appointed in December 1626 (and had been expected in England soon after New Year; see above, p. 626 n. 6); CSPV 1626–28, p. 79. On his arrival in England he was to “obtain redress for the affronts and injuries which the people of the United Provinces complain of receiving from the English”; ibid., p. 154. For Dutch complaints about the behaviour of English privateers see Appleby, pp. 142–43.

7 As numerous references in Mead’s letters make clear there was widespread disbelief that the Duke would leave England until he actually sailed in late June; see also Lockyer, pp. 371–72.

8 From 1627–36 John Evelyn was the sole patentee for gunpowder production from saltpetre, under which he was to produce 20 lasts (48,000 lbs.) per year; Aylmer, pp. 80, 284–85; Keeler, The Long Parliament, pp. 168–69. Failure to meet this target, however, had led to an investigation by the government and continuing problems in supply are illustrated by the proclamations issued in 1625–27 on the subject; PRO SP16/11/27 (folio 70r–v); Larkin, nos 8, 58, 72 (pp. 16–20, 116–20, 157–62). For Burlamachi’s warrant (dated 6 March) see CSPD 1627–28, p. 81.
Leycestershire.9

The Archduchesse goes about to vent hir famished people of Flanders, Artois, Henault &c into Kent, where above 1000 of them have bin landed of late, having bin transported in small barks from Calais. The Kentishmen (by their courtesie proving Cæsars words true) tell them, that although they be Enimies they are content to spare their lives & give them one good meale, & victualls in their knapsack & so returne them back againe.10

This Summer is the marriage at Brussells to be solemnized betweene the King of Hungary the Emperors eldest Son & the Infanta of Spaine which our King went a wooing to.11

I have received from a good hand, that there is a great breach at this present betweene the Pope & the Duke of Savoy. The Subject is this. The Pope having consecrated an Archbishop of Turin (being the prime seat of the Duke) this new made Prelate sent his brother who was then with him to take possession of his Temporalities; which the Popes Nuntio at Turin having held for his Master during the vacancie & finding it a savoury morsell would not yeeld it up. Upon the mans

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9 William Craven was created Baron Craven of Hempsted Marshall on 12 March 1626/27. As he died unmarried in 1697 the report on lines 39–40 proved false; GEC, ii. 500–01. The rumour that Charles Cokayne (son of Sir William the London merchant and former Lord Mayor) would be ennobled proved considerably premature. He was eventually created Baron and Viscount Cullen on 11 August 1642; ibid., iii. 562. "Sherly of Leicestershire" (lines 40–41) is unidentified.

10 I have not traced this report, although Pory’s reference in line 46 was to Julius Cæsar’s Conquest of Gaul: “By far the most civilized inhabitants [of Britain] are those living in Kent” (from S. A. Handford’s translation (Harmondsworth, 1951), p. 136). “Vent” (line 42) was perhaps being used in the rare sense of “To rid (a kingdom) of people” (OED, “vent”, v, 7b; only citation 1613).

11 This report was premature; the marriage (by proxy) of the Archduke Ferdinand and the Infanta Maria did not take place until April 1629, and the ceremony did not take place in person until February 1630/31; Elliott, p. 369; Wedgwood, p. 337. A newsletter from Bayonne of 4/14 February had, however, reported the preparations for the Infanta’s journey to Germany (not Brussels), reflecting rumours that the marriage would occur soon; PRO SP101/91/folio 24r.
complaint to the Duke his Alteza did him right, & put him in possession, maugre the Nuntio. The Pope excommunicates the man. The Duke assembleth certaine grave Churchmen together with Civilians, to examine the validity of this Bull: They find in it Nullities more then one. His Holines & Colldg of Cardinalls are iranged, taxe the Duke to be a Fautor of Heretiques & cite his Commissioners to appeare at Rome. The Duke disdaining the calumnie protects his Subjects & in the Interim prepares for a warre, as also do the Venetians. And it is verily thought, if the Cardinall of Savoy the Dukes Son do not take it up, it may breed a great garboile in Italie. Master Walter Montagu (as folk say) is immediatly to go to that Duke, for which he hath £400 imprest out of the Exchequer.

[device]

Textual Note: line 33] Merchants; & much because MS.

12 This affair was reported in a letter from Turin of 10/20 January 1626/27 (perhaps the source of Pory's information); PRO SP92/13 (State Papers, Savoy and Sardinia, 1627 – July 1628)/folios 1r–2r. "Maugre" (line 62) = "in spite of". A "garboile" (line 71) is a "Confusion, disturbance, tumult" (OED, "garboil", sb).
13 Montagu's trip was to improve relations between England, Savoy and Lorraine, and particularly to make contact with French dissidents in Lorraine in an attempt to remove Richelieu from power; Readc, iii. 53; Lockyer, pp. 369–70. For the grant (made on 10 March) of £400 to Montagu "for secret service" see CSPD 1627–28, p. 86. An "impress" (line 73) is an "advance (of money) made to one who is charged with some business by the state" (OED, "impress", B, sb, 1a; see also Aylmer, p. 35). Mead's note on line 74 was presumably added for Stuteville's benefit; for ?Pory's earlier use of this term see above, p. 607 n. 16.
London March 2. 1626

Though there hath not this fortnight any Post
or Passenger come from the Lowcountries on either syde,
yet here is a rumour come, we know not whence nor
how, of some great overthrow lately given the King of
Denmark or his Son; But what likelyhood there is of
the truth, we cannot yet conceive.¹

From France also, though the French Post be not
yet come, it is here reported, that that King sent to
the Rochellors to have delivered up unto him 3 men
by name, 2 Ministers & their Prime Citizen, as those
whom he thinkes to be the cheife Encouragers of the
Towne for holding out & not yeelding themselves up.
But they excused themselves in regard of their Priviledges:
Whereupon its sayd, the King intends to besiege them
with a mightie power by Sea & Land, having as some
say 20 some 30 others 40 thousand men in Bretagne
& neere 200 sayle of Ships to that purpose. Yet
some seem to have a fearfull conceit, that all this
preparation may be for the invasion of us: which
God avert.²

The speach of divers great Commissioners to go
over about a Treaty of Peace still holds, & Sir George
Calvert Lord Baltimore sent for out of Ireland for
that service, is now come, & on Tuesday last rode

¹ This rumour proved false.
² It was reported on 3/13 February that Louis XIII had commanded the citizens of La Rochelle to "chase
away" one of their ministers, which may refer to the same business; PRO SP78/81/folio 35r.
with the Dukes Grace toward the Court. 3

It is said, Master Craven’s patent to be Baron &
Vicount for £16,000 is engrossing; & speach that
Master Cockin is also to be a Baron. 4

The Knights of the Garter as an addition of
honour, weare on the left shoulder of their cloakes
a Silver starry Crosse embroydered. 5

Sir Dudley Digges (who was imprisoned for some
speach before the Lords when he was sent for by
them upon a wrongfull information to have refused the Loane)
is now sett at liberty out of the Fleet; whence at his
going out he bestowed £30 to free divers poore men
who were in for small summes or onely for their fee’s. 6

By whose example, Others of the Gentlemen emprisoned
for refusall of the Loane, have resolved to ^ do ^ the like
in their severall prisons, at their going out. But when
that will be is uncertaine; some being still newly
imprisoned & others sent for. 7

On Tuesday the Undersheriffe of Kent, as he
was riding in Chauncery Lane, his horse ran violently
with him into an house, whereby his braines were
dashed out. A like dismall accident was the
last week of a Comfitt maker in Birchen, who
being in debt more then he was worth, threw himselfe
by night out of his window, & so was killed & bury=

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3 For the proposed mission to Brussels see above, p. 638 n. 12; p. 660 n. 8. Contarini reported that
Calvert had gone to the Court at Newmarket with Buckingham on Thursday 1 March, not as reported here;
CSPV 1626–28, p. 147.

4 The report of Craven’s Viscountcy proved false; see above, p. 694 n. 9.

5 It has been commented that Charles “attached enormous importance to the Order of the Garter” and
emulated Continental orders of chivalry (especially the French Order of the Holy Spirit) by adding “a huge
aureola of silver rays” to the Garter device: Sharpe, P. R., p. 219. For other examples of Charles’s concern
for the Order, see ibid., pp. 219–22.

6 For Digges’s imprisonment see above, p. 610 n. 4; for his release, p. 675 n. 6. I have not found any
reference to his generosity on being freed.

7 Such as Barnardiston, the Dedham clothiers, St. John and Luke; see above, p. 692 nn. 1–2, 4.
ed in the Highway. 8 Burials — 130
Plague —— 0
Christenings — 163

Another London ditto
after Exchange.9

Sir [Henry] Mervin hath a Commission to goe
to Sea, & take all the Hollanders he can light on.10

I heard to day at the Exchaunge, that the King
of France hath proclaymed open warre with England.11

Some say Captaine Pennington shall go with our Ship(s)
to the ayd of Rochell; but nobody beleeves it.12

Sir Nathaneil Barmston of Suffolk is in prison
in the Gatehouse.

It is written from neere Lyncoln February 27 that

they expected that day should have bin their Commissi-

on day for the Loane; but they were deferred a
week longer, & given to understand of 4 Privie
Counsellors then to come amongst them to further

b: Lyncolnshire February 27.

8 Although I have not traced either of the incidents in this paragraph, Meddus characteristically reported
these sudden deaths at the end of his letter; see Appendix III below. A "comfit," (line 48) was "a sweetmeat
made of some fruit... preserved with sugar" (OED, "comfit", 1).

9 After the business of the day had been completed there.

10 Sir Henry Mervyn had been reappointed as Admiral of the Narrow Seas in July 1626; Lockyer, p. 302.
The rumour reported here was false, perhaps caused by news of Catz's arrival and the suggestion that
England and Holland might go to war over disputes at sea (see above, p. 693 n. 6).

11 This was another false rumour which had been heard before; see above, p. 619 n. 7.

12 PRO SP16/56/18 [folios 27r–29r] is a text of the orders sent to Pennington on 3 March. Included among
these was the direction to sail to Bordeaux and release or sink the impounded merchantmen there as well as
take any prizes he could [folio 27v]; see also SP16/56/85 [folio 132r–v]. Rumours in London of the
content of Pennington's orders probably led to reports such as that here.
That an accident of evil tidings to the Earle of Lyncolne is lately happened concerning letters dispersed among the Freetholders by a servant of his, now discovered & sent for by a Pursevant. & like to prove a case of doubtfull issue. Many of the lettres were inscribed To all true hearted Englishmen.\[14\]

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The meetings of the revised Commission for the Loan with the gentry and subsidymen of Lincolnshire took place, in fact, on 7 and 10 March; Cust, F. L., p. 175.

The only surviving copy of this pamphlet, entitled "To all English freeholders from a well wisher of theirs" is now PRO SP16/54/82 (I) [folio 146r-v]; for a discussion of its contents see Cust, F. L., pp. 170-75. It is possible that the Earl of Lincoln was the author of this tract (he was apparently responsible for having it distributed) ibid., p. 170. The servant mentioned on line 72 was Thomas Perkins, who subsequently appeared in Star Chamber and received a heavy sentence; see below, p. \[16\] nn. 17-19.
Worthie Sir

Whilst I was writing my last lettre your Son
my pupill was wrastling with a fitt of an ague: but I knew
not of it till after dinner when I had sealed & sent: I had
thought to have acquainted you with it by Kenford. But
that himselfe was so well upon Sunday, that he would not
believe it would come againe. But on Sunday at 8 a clock
in the morning it againe visitted him, & held him some
3 hours or thereabouts. Whereupon I removed him that night
to Jeffery Finch's for the more convenient tendance.
His fitts anticipate; his last took him yesterday at 2 in
the morning, which he telles me was but a small one & he
hoped he should have no more. In his intermission day
he is well & cheerly. He hath not yet meddled with any
physick, but if it still continues, I purpose he shall this next
week.2

I have moved our Master in behalfe of Master Justiniian
Isham; & having no hope otherwise to prevaile I offered an
unreasonable bargaine to yeeld ^ up ^ a chamber of 4 Studies
& of the best, to be ^ put ^ in actual possession of a chamber having
but 2. & those also mine de jure by former assignation
& payment for them, but could not yet have the favour
to enjoy them. Upon this offer, being to be ^ very ^ beneficiary
to one of his Kinsman-fellowes, he says He will
do what he can, & I am sure he may do something

1 By the Bury Carrier.

2 John Stuteville's illness, a certain ague (hence the reference his "intermission day" in line 14) lasted for
weeks; he was eventually removed to Dalham by his parents. Mead's expenses incurred during the illness
are recorded in CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 50r-v. "Anticipate" (line 12) means to "occur earlier, to advance in
time" (OED, "anticipate", v., 6).
if he will, which is but to remove a couple of lawlesse people, which most of the fellowes would give consent to be expelled & unfitt they should keep in that manner.3

If I may obtaine this, my purpose is Master Justinian & your Son shall keep together; for it is his chamber I must make a surrender of.4 Two others whereof Higham[s] is one,5 I meane to cassheire, & the fourth to provide for else where. Is not this a slaughtering bargaine? Yet my many relations to your selfe & my Lady & Sir Johns eager desire in that respect to place his Son with me makes me willing to undergoe so hard conditions; having bin once written to & once moved to give answere since your last to me.6 Which I have promised to do by Easter. If I can light upon any Carrier to send by, which I yet know not off.7 Our Master was so kind as to say he would do what he could for your sake, when I Intimated your concurrence for good respects to place him here. I know not: but if you shall think fitt to take notice thereof by a line or two next Saturday, & to commend your desire for the accomplishment of the sute we shall be the more sure of performance, by having such a witnesse in the buisines. But do what you think becometh; Master Pagitt was here this day sennight very eager to have this disposition of his kinsman forwarded. Would needs have made himselfe a sutor to the Master, or procured others; but I told him, I should be ashamed to make such a commotion.

3 I have not identified the students referred to here.
4 Isham and John Stuteville were cousins, and Mead preferred to keep relatives together in arranging accomodation for his pupils: as so many of them were interrelated this was a relatively easy task.
5 Higham’s falsification of Mead’s bills led to his departure from Christ’s: see above, p. 691 n. 8.
6 Mead was at pains to indicate the troubles he had faced in accepting Isham as a pupil but we can accept lines 35–37 as sincere. As Justinian quickly became a favourite pupil of his (and remained a friend to the end of Mead’s life) he would not have regretted taking him.
7 Finding a carrier to take his letter to the relatively inaccessible Lamport would, no doubt, have caused Mead even more difficulties than delivering news to Dalham.
about a trifle. He is gone to Lyncolne with my cosen. Thomas Luther, is to meet a gentleman of some relation to Lamport, who hath solicited my answere by lettre to my pupill Pagitt, & I returned it upon this occasion by word of mouth, that I would do my uttermost, & the fault if it missed should not be mine. Master Pagitt returns by Cambridg in Easter week.

Since I received this enclosed, I heare & it is true that the Earle of Lyncolne is committed to the Tower. He desired to know his charge & accusers, but obtained no more at that time then this generall, that he had shewed himselfe an Enimy to the Kings proceedings, & done harme to others, both by his example & speeches. They say also, The Earle of Bullingbrook & my Lord Say are sent for.

There is a presse in Essex for the King of Denmark & upon such as pay not the Loane; but they all refuse to take presse money; & the Leitentants & Justices have had one or two meetings about it at Chemsford, in the first meeting they could perswade nothing. What they have done in a: about some Nisi prius.

8 The Master's words in lines 41-42 and Mead's invitation to Stuteville to write to him, in the expectation that Bainbrigg would be impressed, is an interesting reflection of the standing Sir Martin had in the College (perhaps due to the friendship he had had with the previous Master, Valentine Cary).

9 In spite of Mead's words on lines 51-53, most of the Stuteville-Isham-Pagitt family connection seem to have been determined to get Justinian admitted to Christ's. Thomas Luther (who came up to Christ's in 1606) was probably the son of Richard, son-in-law of Edward Mead of Berden (in which parish Joseph had been born in 1586), although the exact connection with Joseph is unclear; Peile, i. 104, 259. A "Nisi Prius" (line 72) was a judicial writ "whereby the sheriff of a county was commanded to bring the men impanelled as jurors in any civil action to the court at Westminster on a certain day, unless before that day...the justices of assize came into the county"; Ivamy (ed.), Mosley and Whiteley's Law Dictionary, p. 309.

10 The Privy Council issued the warrant for Lincoln's arrest on 9 March; APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, p. 128; see also Cust, F. L., p. 232.

11 I have not found any reference to these summons.
the second I yet hear not. 12

On Thursday was sennight, a servant of my Lord
Maynard's kitchen going to Dunmow (some mile & halfe from
his Lords) upon an errand espied just in his way a faire
white paper sealed & hung by a thread upon the twig of
a bush; which taking downe, he desired a tradesman of
Dunmow to whom he was sent to open & see what was in
it, which he did, & found the enclosing a paper a more blank
but within two lettres sealed & Directed To the Right Honourable the
Lord Maynard, with all possible speed. He meddled no further
but bad the fellow carry them to his Lord: which he did
but what they were, the Country listens, but knowes not. My
author a minister of Essex had it from his owne mouth who unsealed the blank. 13
This scattering of lettres is growne very
rife in divers parts. & they are but ill symptomes. 14

Thus with my best respect & service to your seife &
my Lady, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
March 17.

Benevolent

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 6] acquainted with you with MS.
ibid., it] altered from "bt".

12 At a meeting of the Chelmsford Assizes on 12 March the Loan Commissioners attempted to implement a recent Privy Council directive and pressed seven Loan refusers from the town. These men, however, both refused press money and questioned the legality of the Commissioners' actions, who referred the matter back to the Council. This led to a crucial debate on Friday 16 March (see below, p. 342 lines 23-42) which conceded that the seven men could not be forced to accept press money; Cust, F. L., pp. 145-46; PRO SP16/57/l (folio 1) 1 (f) [folio 22].

13 Although the letter mentioned here has not survived it was presumably connected to Maynard's efforts to get the Loan collected in Essex. As a consequence of the eclipse of the Earl of Warwick and the inefficiency of the Earl of Sussex Maynard was probably the most influential person in the county during 1627; Cust, F. L., pp. 200-01. While it is impossible to be certain that the contents of the letter were "threatening" (ibid., p. 225) the manner of delivery suggests that they were probably anonymous and libellous.

14 As Clare had earlier commented, "many suche other like frolicks walk up and down the streets...the symptomes and vapours of a diseased time"; Holmes, ii. 346; see above, p. 663 n. 1.
line 9] morning it eame againe to visitted him MS.
line 24] this offer he being to MS.
line 25] one of of his MS.
line 30] If I ean ^ may ^ obtenae MS.
line 32] whereof Master John Higham MS; the words "Master" and "John"
were probably deleted one after the other.
line 38] but ^ bin ^ once MS.
line 53, about...prius] an interlineation in the margin.
line 57, if i[t] if if MS.
line 80, enclosing] the last letter has been altered from a "d".
The Queene yesterday morning went to Theobalds where the King bestowed a dinner upon her; in requitall whereof hir Majestie gave him a supper at Denmark house where his Majestie lay all night; from whence this afternoone he is returned to Theobalds till Munday.1

This afternoone the Aldermen of this Towne presented themselves before the Lords to demand the repayment of their 60 thousand pounds this next month, which they had long since lent his Majestie.2

There are now almost ready to go for the releife of Rochell 4 of his Majesties ships & some 16 others which do transport 3500 Landsouldiers to be commanded by Sir John Burrowes. And in these 4 Ships are 4 of the best Seamen in England, as namely Sir John Watts, Captaine Best Captaine Gifford & ct.3

The last of the Straight-ships is come home single She was much doubted, being worth £150,000. Hir name the Sampson.4

Master Craven since he was made a graduate at the Uni= 20

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1 Charles's visit to Theobald's on Wednesday 7 March is noted in PRO SP16/56/35 [folio 49r.]
2 The City of London had lent this sum to Charles in April 1625; Ashton, The City and the Court, p. 179.
3 Sir John Burroughs was appointed as commander of the land forces on the expedition on 1 April, although Contarini first reported the possibility on 16/26 March; Lockyer, p. 371; CSPV 1626–28, p. 159. Captains Sir John Watts and Thomas Best (but not Richard Giffard) did command ships when it sailed in June; PRO SP16/70/26 (1) [folio 44r].
4 I have not traced the return of the Sampson. A “Straight-ship” was another name for a vessel of the East India Company (derived from the straits of Malacca; OED, “strait”, B. sb, 11).
versitie, hath taken the degree of Baron of Hampsted; for which & his Wardship he payeth £16,000, & is to marry Mistris Ashburnham one of the Queenes maydes & daughter in law to Sir Thomas Richardson.\(^5\)

Master Rosse a Scottishman Agent for the redemption of English & Scottish Captives from Dunkirk &ct after 18 weeks following the Counsell Table hath at length obtained his sute: and his Commission wilbe either to ransome all on both sides or none, there being 300 of the Kings Subjects there most slavishly used at this time.\(^6\)

The last week there was a man of warre of Dunkirk cast away between Yarmouth & Leystoff, seven of whose men having escaped drowning were apprehended by Sir John Wentworth & by him to be examined & sent up hither.\(^7\)

Another London ditto.

9 March 1627\(^8\)

The last storme on Sunday was sennight hath done much hurt. Many pinks are missing, all feared to be cast away, as it is knowne of some 5 of them to be perished or as good; for that 3 of them were forced into the haven at Dunkirk. The EastIndie merchants have hereby received a great losse of £8000 in ready money, which was brought out of the Lowcountries to have beeene sent for the EastIndies.\(^8\)

France is affirmed to make the greatest preparations both for Sea & Land that hath bin known; which is pretended

\(^5\) For this see above, p. 694 n. 9. The pun on “degree” (line 21) was no doubt included with a Cambridge audience in mind.

\(^6\) For Rosse’s commission to negotiate for the release of prisoners in Flanders see above, p. 677 n. 5. APC Jan.–Aug. 1627 records the “several petitions heretofore exhibited to the Board by Hugh Rosse”; p. 152. According to Rosse there were 284 prisoners in Flanders; ibid., p. 153.

\(^7\) A Dunkirker ran aground on Monday 5 March near Great Yarmouth; eleven men (four of whom were English) were washed ashore and questioned by Wentworth; PRO SP16/56/93 [folio 143r].

\(^8\) I have not traced this incident, although the storm was probably the same that shipwrecked the Dunkirker off Suffolk; see note above.
to be meerly against the Rochellors, but not a little feared
if not almost beleived, to be against us. To encrease which
suspicion our Merchants of the Straights have received
leterre from Livorne or as they call it, Legorne in Italy,
that the French had sent an extraordinary Ambas=
ador to accommodate the warres betweene the Duke of
Savoy & the Genoeses with their partakers; & that afterward
he went thence by Sea toward Spaine to make a league
for 5 yeares defensive & offensive against us.

Rochell is now given for lost, they being devided
& fallen to civill broiles within themselves; whilst some
would give up the Towne ere they be forced, others would
still hold it out. Their provisions it seemes being not
great, they went lately abroad to forrage & had gather-
ed some oxen & sheep together, which in their returne
the Governour of the Fort took from, them slew many
but not without his owne losse, & himselfe dangerously
hurt. Howsoever we have now some 10 Ships going
with Soubiez to their rescue & more preparing to follow.

Most of the Saylors in the French Kings Ships are as is sayd
of those English which were stayed at Burdeaux. A master of one
of them reports of about 60 English to be in one Ship.

In stead of the Spanish preparations, our merchants
say now that he is broken with the Genoeses his Creditors,
of whom having taken up 13 millions of ducks to be
repayd at the returne of this last plate Fleet, he now

9 Numerous rumours of French military preparations reached London over the coming weeks. Not
surprisingly, these were often thought to be directed against England.

10 Although this item cannot be referring to the fact of the treaty, a Franco–Spanish alliance against
England was in fact signed on 10/20 March. Lines 48–35 probably drew on rumours of an imminent
agreement between the two countries; Lockyer, p. 362.

11 This report of the likely fall of La Rochelle was premature. Beginning in October 1627, it took a seige
of over a year to force the city to surrender; Clarke, pp. 148–55.

12 Rumours that Soubise would sail with an English fleet bound for France had circulated since January
1626/27. He accompanied Buckingham when the fleet finally sailed in June; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 98
(12/22 January), 105 (19/29 January); Lockyer, pp. 375, 378, 380–81.

13 This report was contradicted by another of a later date from France; see above, p. 667 n. 5.
sends them word, he hath such use of moneys, that he cannot pay them in lesse than 10 yeares viz a 3rd part the first 3 yeare, & so the next, & that too without interest which was £100,000 per annum.\textsuperscript{14}

Still more gentlemen are bound over for their appearance before the Lords, especially many Justices of Peace in Glocestershire.\textsuperscript{15} Twenty gentlemen & Knights Refusers petitioned the Lords on Wednesday to have hearing.\textsuperscript{16}

Meane while divers of our Coast Barks & Coleships are ever & anon taken & carried away by the Dunkirkers.\textsuperscript{17} But it is sayd there shall go now some halfe a score ships to guard the narrow seas & more to follow them.\textsuperscript{18}

The Bishop of Lyncolne Deane of Westminster is forbidden to preach his turne at Whitehall & is therefore gone back into Lyncolnshire.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{14} Since the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish royal finances had been controlled by a syndicate of Genoese bankers, who provided money to pay Spain’s bills in the Low Countries and elsewhere on the strength of royal revenues, which derived principally from New World silver and internal taxes. However, due to the enormous sums necessary to fight her wars, even regular shipments of treasure to Spain could not balance the books, and there were periodic crises when the Crown was forced to declare the state bankrupt. In 1627, however, the situation was complicated by Olivares’s determination to break Genoese domination of Spain’s finances by turning to the Portuguese banking community of Jewish descent (known as murranos) to provide credit instead. Although this “bankruptcy” was settled like its predecessors Olivares was largely successful in his aim; for more on this subject see Elliott, \textit{Olivares}, pp. 299–304; PRO SP16/56/30 (folio 43v).

\textsuperscript{15} At the Gloucestershire Loan meeting on 16 February considerable opposition had been encountered by the Commissioners and six of the twelve most prominent refusers were bound over to appear before the Council on 9 March; Cust, \textit{F. L.}, pp. 117–18; PRO SP16/54/28 (folios 51r–52r), 28 (I) (folio 54r); \textit{APC Jan.–Aug. 1627}, p. 125.

\textsuperscript{16} I have not traced this incident.

\textsuperscript{17} On 16/26 March Contarini estimated that sixty ships had recently been captured by Dunkirk privateers; \textit{CSPV 1626–28}, p. 161.

\textsuperscript{18} For an earlier report of ambitious naval preparations see above, p. 685 n. 15.

\textsuperscript{19} Lines 86–88 may refer to William’s role as one of the Lent Preachers at Court. If so, the prohibition on his appearing at Whitehall reflects the disfavour he was in during 1626–27; see for instance Archbishop
The Persian Ambassador is going away & Sir Robert Sherley goes with him, though not in the same bottome. 20

Sir Francis Nethersole I heare is come as an Agent or messenger from the Queene of Bohemia. 21

1 March 1627
Norwich.

9 March 1627 (folio 220v)

A Copie of a lettre let fall in Master Osburnes shop of Norwich on Wednesday March 7 during the Assises there, by one as is supposed that bought some wares in the sayd shop.

March 1, 1627

Good Cosen, as before so now I desire you to make all haste to putt of all things & gett that the moneyle that possible you maye, & repaye to the place of health & deliverance, before Maye be much entred into, for before the end of that moneth there wilbe such a worke wrought in England as never was the like, which wilbe for our goods. All things are nowe almost rype, therefore make hast, for it is better to be there sooner then to staye too longe, things may be effected sooner then we look for. We had letters from my Lords grace 2 a I have no more tyme for haste, provide for your selve & your freinds, but be very secrett least itt be knowne.

a: So written & dasht in the originall.

Abbot's "Narrative" in Rushworth, i. Mmm1r. (Williams was allowed to preach at Whitehall in the following year; PRO LC5/132/folio 2r).

20 For the departure of Sir Robert Shirley and the Persian Ambassador Beg see PRO SP16/56/37 (folio 51r); SP16/57/53 (folio 91r); SP14/214/folio 135r. Their departure in different ships was due to their disagreements in the previous year; see above, p. 185 n. 11; p. 186 nn. 7–8.

21 Nethersole (secretary to the Electress Palatine since 1619; DBN, xiv. 230) had accompanied James Cattz on his mission to England, for which see above, p. 693 n. 6.
All things at Sea are ready. Send for him at Ye renthmouth to come, for there we thinke to begynne or neere. I say no more but haste.

Your true friend.

It was taken up ^ being ^ unsealed, & carried unto the Judges: & by many judged to be but a counterfaict scattered of purpose. Howsoever it is a Noveltie & a Symptome of the time.22

Textual Notes: line 5] night; then from MS.
line 51] had sent that an MS.
line 59, their] altered from "they".
line 73, use] uses MS.
line 93, 1 March 1627...9 March 1627] The "annotator" wrote both the alleged date of the letter given in line 98 and the date of the newsletter within which it was sent.

22 Although I have not found any other reference to this letter Mead was correct to identify it as yet another scaremongering fabrication; see above, p. 675 n. 5. Supposedly between two Catholics expecting an invasion (from France or Flanders) the deliberately crossed out reference on line 108 was presumably to Buckingham. thus implicating him in a traitorous plot. See Lockyer, pp. 358-59, for the "acute, almost, paranoid, suspicion" of the Duke which led to incidents such as this.
24 March 1627 (folio 227r)

Sir,

My pupils Ague hath not yet left him. I saw him in his fit yesterday about 3 a clock, having taken a vomitt in some convenient time before it came, which wrought very well with him & brought up much choler. The fits are much abated of vehemencie, his hott fitt being but a kind of languishing heat. On his good day he is very well. The Physitian (Master Nichols) would not let him have blood when he saw his water so much come downe, & wondered to hear his fitt came againe yesterday when I told him so. But I feaie he wronged himselfe by wearing a doublet over straight for him, which therefore under a coat he wore unbuttoned for ease exposing his brest unto the cold before Mistris Finch discovered it. But now he sent for his other doublet to weare.

The Dukes Son the Earle of Coventrie is dead, & buried in King Henry 7 his Chappell neere to King James.

The Saylors are againe busie at London & threaten

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1 John Stuteville’s medicine cost 1s. 8d.; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 50v. A “vomitt” (line 4) was a “powder, draught...an emetic” (OED, “vomit”, sb., 4) which produced “choler” (line 6). “Bile viewed as a malady or disease” (ibid., “choler”, 1a).

2 The physician was probably John Nichols, graduate (M. A. 1602, M. D. 1630) of Corpus Christi College Cambridge; Venn, iii. 255. He charged 5s. for his services which for some reason was not paid; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 50r.

3 John Stuteville’s doublet was too tight for comfort so he left it unbuttoned and was not wrapped up properly.

4 Buckingham’s son Charles Villiers, born on 17 November 1625 had died on 17 March; Lockyer, p. 286: HMC Skrine, p. 113.
to pull downe Yorkhouse unless they have their pay.\(^5\)

Here hath bin a presse of threeskore \& ten out of the shire, \& of other shires, as Leycester there have marched through this Towne.\(^6\)

On Friday last week I heare (but as a secret) that it was debated at the Counsell Table till 7 a clock, whether our Essex men, who refuse to take presse money, should not be punished by martiall law \& hanged up on the next trees to their dwellings, for an example \& terror to others. My Lord Keeper (who had bin long silent), when in conclusion it came to his course to speak told the Lords, that as farre as he understood the Law none were lyable to martiall law but martiall men; if these had taken presse-money \& afterwards run from their colours \&c they might then be punished in that manner, but yet they were no soldiers \& refused to be. Secondly he thought a Subsidie man by law could not be pressed \(^6\) against his will \(^6\) for a forraine service, it being supposed in law the service of his purse excused that of his person, unless his owne country were in danger and appealed to my Lord Treasurer \& my Lord President, whether it were not so; who both assented it was so, though some of them faintly as unwilling to havebeen urged to such \(^6\) an \(^6\) answere. So it is thought, that proposition is dashd, \& it will be tryed what may be done in the Starrechamber against these refractaries.\(^7\)

5 Unpaid sailors in the capital continued to present a threat to public order throughout the early months of 1627. This new outburst of violence led to the appointment of Provost Marshals for the counties around London to support the existing authorities; Lockyer, pp. 361–62.

6 A total of 3,000 men were to be levied from twenty counties, 150 of them from Leicestershire; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 101. See also PRO SP16/56/1 [folio 1r].

7 For the background to this debate see above, p. 703 n. 12; for a discussion of its importance, Cust, F. L., pp. 57–58, 145–46. On 15 March Attorney-General Sir Robert Heath had asked Sir Robert Cotton to investigate the precedents for those cases where press money had been refused. Cotton’s reply was presumably unfavourable since it was decided to proceed against the seven Chelmsford men in Star Chamber; BL Cotton Julius C. III, folio 192r. (The Star Chamber case was never prosecuted and the pressing of Loan refusers was abandoned; Cust, F. L., p. 146). Apart from those Councillors mentioned by Mead Charles was also present, underlining the gravity of the issue under discussion, but (unusually) Mead’s source did not reveal this; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 140.
There are many Lincolnsire gentlemen gone up for Recusancy of this loan. I hear some 10 of the Commissioners refused: one come from London yesterday telles there were some 60 Lincolnsire men newly come up. I heard of 17 gentlemen before.

The last week from Thursday morning till Friday night was a sore Seafight neere to Dover betweene 16 Hollanders & as many Dunkirks. On Saturday they were heard againe, but what was the event, is not yet knowne.

There is newly brought in a rich French Prize & letters of mart to take as many as we can meet with.

We talk here of a magnificent Library which our Great Chancellor will build & bestow no lesse toward it then £7,000 presently. All the houses betweene Caius Colledg & Saint Maryes must be pulled downe to make roome. I wish he might never do worse deed. But I doubt &c.

Thus with my best respect to your worthy selfe & to my good Lady I rest & am

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8 At the meetings held in Lincolnshire on 7 and 10 March to collect the Loan, seven of the Commissioners and sixty-four subsidymen refused to pay the levy; Cust, F. L., p. 175. A list of the refusers is now PRO SP16/56/39 (folios 53v–58r).

9 This engagement took place between 10 pm on Thursday 15 March and noon the next day according to Sir John Hippisley; PRO SP16/57/59 (folio 97r); see also CSPV 1626-28, p. 167.

10 Although I have not traced the captured French ship, the granting of letters of marque against French ships was authorized on 19 March. Initially limited to those merchants who had had goods impounded in France, on 20 April the grant was widened to anyone who wanted them, signalling the de facto opening of hostilities between the two countries; Appleby, pp. 54–55.

11 Although Buckingham’s assassination put an end to the scheme it appears that he was genuinely interested in it. Archbishop Ussher had written to Samuel Ward in April 1626 (even before the Duke’s election as Chancellor) that the Duke “seemeth to be forward for the erectinge [of a] library here”; Works, xv. 338; see also ibid., p. 339. A paper presented to Buckingham on 29 January 1627/28, PRO SP16/91/77 (folio 111r–v) is a note of the houses “betweene Caius Collodg and the Regent Walke” that would need to be demolished to make room for the new library: lines 55–56 indicate that this plan was in existence months earlier. In spite of this, Mead was still suspicious as lines 56–57 make clear: after the Bachcroft affair in November 1626 he evidently did not trust Buckingham to act in the best interests of the University.
Christ's Colledg
March 24. 1626/7

Yours most ready to be commanded
Joseph Mead

I send you a book — 65 - 10
A mappe ———— 15 — 0 12

Textual Notes: line 21, other] others MS.
line 30] were capable lyable MS.
line 34] not be a**ged pressed MS.
line 36] country were invaded MS.
line 37, in danger] invaded danger MS; the last three letters of "danger" were also altered.
line 39] as loth unwilling MS.
line 48] Seafight heard neere to MS.

12 Both these items remain unidentified although Mead's (probably unsolicited) purchase of a map interested Stuteville; see below, p. 720 n. 1.
This week affords various discourse of Count Mansfield & the General Duke of Saxon-Weymar, sayd both of them to be revived, notwithstanding so much heretofore written of both their deaths. Indeed Weymar's death was not at first much believed & seemes now to prove a misprison from the death of a yonger brother of his in Hungary by a surfett of fresh fish not enough boyled. And for the former, I ever hoped, it was but one of Count Mansfield's wily devises; as Archduke Albert after Newport battell caused himselfe to be bruited for dead, & accordingly kept close 5 or 6 months.

It is written the Elector of Saxony his trealie for a peace in the Empire is come to nothing; the Emperor & his standing stiffe upon unreasonable conditions. Whereupon the King of Denmark makes very great warlike preparations, intending not to desist till either

a: Vix credo of Mansfield. I do of Weymar. Whatsoever it be it is also Corranto newes.

1 Meddus's hopes that Mansfield and Saxe-Weimar were still alive owed more to wishful thinking than anything else, although earlier in the year rumours had circulated that the two men were still alive; see above, p. 620 n. 9; p. 645 n. 2; p. 666 n. 1. As these reports appeared in the latest newsbook Mead treated them with suspicion ("Vix credo" (line 16) means "I have difficulty believing"), although he believed Saxe-Weimar was still alive. No copy of the newsbook in question has survived; see Appendix II. I have not traced the rumour mentioned on lines 5-7.

2 In 1600 (provoked by the Spanish invasion of the United Provinces in the previous year) Maurice of Nassau had invaded Flanders in an attempt to capture Nieuwpoort and Dunkirk; on 22 June/2 July the Dutch and Spanish armies met on the beaches before the former. The Dutch were forced to retreat with heavy losses; Parker, Europe in Crisis, p. 132-33. I have not traced the rumour concerning the Archduke Albert.

3 It was reported from the Hague on 12/22 March that the efforts of the Elector of Saxony to mediate a peace between Ferdinand II Christian IV had failed; PRO SP101/47/folio 16v; see also SP75/8/folio 7v.
upon unreasonable conditions. Whereupon the King of Denmark makes very great warlike preparations, intending not to desist till either he hath settled a peace or shall loose his life. And it is now newly written (but how truly I know not) that he hath of late defeated 16 comets of Imperiall horse.  

Yesterday I saw letters of our 16 of January at Stockholme the Royal Citty of Sweden from a Factor there to his Master here; That the King of Sweden having with 7 or 800 sleds with horse & the labour of many men furnished his ships of warre with 10,000 muskets, with powder shot, match, victual, other ammunition, & with men, he caused the Ice to be cutt for above 60 miles with hatchets so making a channell through the great River there, being hard frozen; wherby his Fleet passed downe into the Sea to lye before Dantzick to prevent the relieving thereof; which we understand some Hollanders are gone to do in hope of gaine, which Merchants & tradesmen chiefly respect be it freind or foe. The same letter sayth, that King hath some great designe in hand, but that they may not write all. And that he & all his Subjects prepare also for a Westindian Fleet, toward which all adventure something: but this perhaps is but a colour to divert the suspicion of the end of his preparations; his people being not so flu for such a service.

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4 It was reported from the Hague on 12/22 March that the efforts of the Elector of Saxony to mediate a peace between Ferdinand II Christian IV had failed; PRO SP101/47/folio 16v; see also SP75/8/folio 7v.

5 For Christian's proposed military preparations for the campaign of 1627 see above, p. 645 n. 4. I have not traced the rumour on lines 20-22.

6 It was later reported that, in order to reestablish their blockade of Danzig the Swedes had cut a passage through the Baltic ice, which may be the episode reported here; PRO SP101/29/folio 2r (Bonn newsletter of 19/29 March). In the absence of the Swedish blockading fleet (which did not reappear until April 1627) the Swedish garrisons in Polish Prussia had been cut off from their supply-base throughout the winter of 1626-27; Roberts, ii. 333.

7 Gustavus took care to keep secret the details of his military preparations (before the Prussian campaign of 1626, for instance); ibid., p. 321.

8 While nothing came of the proposed Swedish Caribbean fleet, Gustavus was attracted the the idea: he entered into negotiations with the Duke of Buckingham to provide men and ships for an Anglo-Swedish expedition to the West Indies in 1628; Appleby, 'An Association for the West Indies', pp. 231-32.
It is now sayd, the King of Spaine hath accorded with the Genoeses to repay them their loan of 13 millions of ducketts (which he was to have discharged now) at 14 payments in 14 yeares with interest.9

It still holds, that both France & Spaine make exceeding great preparations both for Sea & Land.10 The Dunkerkers are sayd to have taken of English Scottish & Dutch above 50 saile within these 3 or 4 weeks & use insolently & barbarously such as they take. And their Preists to encourage them are sayd to preach, that God hath delivered us into their hands; wittes so many prizes brought in thither with little or no resistance.11 But if it would please God at length to prosper what we under= take, we might ere long cry them quitt; there being 4 of the Kings Ships & 16 others preparing to go out presently, partly to secure the narrow Seas, partly to releive Rochell; amongst which goes Sir John Burrowes Commander of the Land forces.12

On Friday was the Earle of Lyncolne sent to the Tower.13 On Munday at Chelmesford in Essex came (as is sayd) unto the Judges there some hundreds of poore people, to beseech them to move his Majestie for the release of their Workmasters emprisoned, without which they must starve, which they sayd, they would not do, what course soever they took; whereof, as I heare, the Judges presently gave advertisment unto the State.14

The Dukes Son is most dangerously sick, being both in a burning feaver, & nothing growing or nourishing on him but his Head: which makes a sorrowfull House there, & the Duke

9 For the Spanish royal bankruptcy of 1627 see above, p. 708 n. 14.
10 Spanish military preparations (rumoured to be against England) were reported to be at an advanced stage; see for instance PRO SP101/29/folio 1v (Augsburg newsletter of 23 February/5 March). For a previous rumour of French preparations see above, pp.706–07 lines 45–48.
11 It has been calculated that between January and March 1626/27 fifty-six Dutch and English ships were captured or sunk by Flemish warships; Israel, p. 192; see also Reade, iii. 27 and above, p. 708 n. 17.
12 For Burroughs's appointment see above, p. 705 n. 3.
13 The Privy Council issued a warrant for Lincoln's arrest Friday 9 March; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 128.
14 The "poore people" had petitioned for the release of the Dedham clothiers Barker, Wilkinson and Wood so that local clothworkers could find employment. The Privy Council promptly released Wilkinson and Wood to prevent possible unrest in the Stour valley area; Cust, F. L., p. 146; above, p. 692 n. 2.
yesterday not to be spoken with, in regard thereof, though upon urgent business. 15

On Friday night or Saturday morning dyed the good Countesse of Darby mother to the Lord Strange & was buried on S^a^ turday by night in Westminster. It's sayd, the greife she took for Sir Robert Stanley his second Son's marriage killed her. Yet she saw both him & his Lady before her death, prayed God to forgive them, & left unto him £400 & land & per annum. She hath preserved that Earldome & left it £7000 per annum, notwithstanding the Earle had said more than £10,000 yearly revenue. 16

The Earle of Warwicks pinnace hath brought into Silly a Portugall prize come from Brasile, estimated worth £10,000 if she may now come safe hither from the Dunkirkers. 17 On Tuesday the Queen went by water to Blackwall & there dined aboard the Earle of Warwicks Faire ship called the Neptune, 18 went thence by water to Greenwich; thence came on horseback to & through London, the Earle attending hir Majestic to Somersett house, 40 or 50 riding before bareheaded, save his 4 Preists with black Caps on hir selfe & Ladies in little black bever hatts & masked; but hir Majestie had a faire white feather in hir hat. 19

Burials 149  Plague 0  Christenings 161.

Another ditto.

Thought but few or none yet know of it, I can assure you there is in Agitation A Royall Visitation amongst the Clergie which will strike as deepe, as the Loane of 5 Subsidies doth with the Laytie & it is very likely to proceed; the particulars whereof with the Projectors you shall know hereafter. 20

Essex men about Chelmesford & Colchester refuse

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15 For Charles Villier's illness and death see CSPV 1626–28, p. 161; above, p. 711 n. 4.
16 Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, had died on Saturday 10 March; GEC, iv. 213–14. James Stanley, incorrectly styled Lord Strange (for which, see above, p. 162 n. 6) was son and heir to William the 6th Earl; ibid., pp. 214–15. For Sir Robert Stanley's marriage see above, p. 615 lines 38–44.
17 This capture was reported by Salvetti on 19/29 March; HMC Skrine, p. 112.
18 The Great Neptune was the flagship of Warwick's privateering fleet which sailed later in the year.
19 I have not traced this incident.
20 In spite of the confidence of this report the project was not carried into effect.
either to pay the Loane or to be prest for Souldiers, 21

Textual Notes: line 9] wily tricks devises MS.
line 70, Saturday] altered from “Sunday”.
line 82] Majestie till-she-eame to Somersett MS.
line 87, ditto] dicto MS.

21 For the case of the “Chelemsford seven” see above, p. 703 n. 12; p. 712 n. 7.
31 March 1627

SIR,

I will as soone as I can get you a Map coloured: but would you have it for a frame, or as our fashion now is with sticks, so that it may be rolled up as occasion requires? If this latter, then perhaps I could send you one sooner, & ready fitted. That which I sent, I will keep to my selfe or otherwise dispose of. I had it neere 6 weeks by me before I could remember to send it you. The book you have hath many & varietie of discourses full of histori­call matter, & so I think will be to your better liking. You may see them all in a Table before it & by it make a conjecture of the whole discourse. Though in some things, I differ my selfe from his Conclusions.

I would you had told me when Mistris Katharines ague left her: it may be, it came hither to Cambridg to be entertained of hir brother, who ever since Saturday at night last, hath had two such servants which their Master would be glad to be rid off. I meane, he hath now a double tertian, & is every day spoken with, though at divers houres. His second ague, came first on Saturday about 6 a clock or after, which was his well day, & his old ague the next day at his usuall time 2 a clock in the afternoone, as yet for dayes they both continue: The new was at first the longest fitt, but now it is abated & fallen under the other. But I

1 Mead had sent a map to Stuteville the previous week which evidently prompted the latter to ask for another; see above, p. 714 n. 12. The map is unidentified.
2 This volume, also sent the previous week, has not been identified but its relatively high price of 6s. 10d. (see above, p. 714 line 63) suggests it was probably a folio volume. Stuteville’s taste for historical and antiquarian texts no doubt made Mead more confident about sending the book unsolicited.
3 Catharine Stuteville was John’s half-sister. Sir Martin’s first wife Catharine probably died as a result of giving birth to her in July 1605 (the elder Catharine died on the 16th, the younger was baptised on the 30th). John was one of the children of Sir Martin’s second wife Susan; BL Add. MS 19150, folios 202r, 203v–204r.
think they will at last meet, for the old comes later every
day & the new prevents as much, so that the former comes now
at 3 afternoone & the new at 4 or thereabouts. His Fitts are
much shorter then they were wont, & he is but little sick when
they are upon him, & when they are gone he is well & walkes
about, but they have taken away his colour & some of his cheeks. He
told me this morning, he would send home by the cheesman if he could
carrie it in a bag, that ague which he suspected came from Dalham,
because himselfe was already provided.

For newes we had no lettres on Saturday, & what might be
gathered up otherwayes, I prevented in my letter wherein I enclos-
ed. Some have a Conceit there may be some alteration
before Midsommer, & seeme privy to the grounds thereof. Especially
since the King is sayd to be secretly inquisitive of late concerning the
Dukes actions & the estate of the affaires of his Kingdome. Besides
his Majestie (this is a secret) is thought will be informed by a great Prince
abroad, of that his owne Subjects dare not tell him; & to that purpose
is furnished from our owne, with almost every particular, not so
much but with speeches & home-behaviours. I know of this by a
strange accident, which a causelesse feare occasioned, in some whom
it concerned. I name no persons because of some trust reposed in me, &
desire you would keep, this wholly to your selfe. Though I think
the other side of the Sea doth by this time secure them, being no
lesse then Agents for Kings & for a King too nothing depending of us.

Our Master Mayor (I dining with him on Wednesday) told me another buisines tending
to the former purpose, That the King without the Dukes Knowledge having written
to the Chancellor of Scotland concerning some service he would have do there
the Duke as ignorant wrot to him at the same time in the Kings name to
another purpose as to come presently to Court about the old buisines &c

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4 John Stuteville's two separate agues, which gave him paroxysms each day had not surprisingly resulted in
some loss of weight.

5 This is one of the few indications that the "Cheeseman" went door-to-door from Dalham to Christa's
College and vice versa. For his activities see the Introduction, p. 68.

6 Because of the "trust" imposed in Mead he was deliberately extremely obscure and I have not been able to
determine his meaning. Whatever the proposed "alteration" was it was not carried out; this report (and that
on lines 49–54) were probably yet more examples of the "acute, almost paranoic suspicion" which
surrounded Buckingham; Lockyer, p. 359.
& that his Majestie understanding hereof, grew much discontented.\(^7\)

The London Magistracie I heare hath yeelded to the loane
whereupon the Citizens call the GuildHall the Yeeld AU.\(^8\)

There was now with me one John Ashwell, from
Lamport, to desire answere concerning a Chamber for Master Ju=

stinian which for want of a Carrier I could not yet give
& must now find a messenger of purpose. He telles me Sir
John hath often written to me, but I never received
ought yet from his owne hand, nor saw any but Master
Danfords lettre.\(^9\) Our Master sayes he will provide some way
or other, if he cannot or till he can do the way I mentioned.\(^10\)

John Ashwell remembreth his service to my Lady & de=
sires me make mention of an Apologie for him, that he
hath not of long time done his service to my Lady.\(^11\)

Thus with my best respect & auncient service
I rest

Christ's Colledg Yours ever to be
March 31. commanded

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 5] rolled up if as MS.
line 8, of] off MS.
line 15] My I would you MS.
line 24] fit, & but now it MS.
line 25] comes latter later MS.
line 26] that the the former MS.
line 27, 3] altered from “2”.

\(^7\) I have not traced this incident.

\(^8\) For the agreement of the Common Council of London to pay the Loan see CSPV 1626–28, p. 187; HMC

Skrine, p. 114.

\(^9\) The difficulty of getting a letter delivered across country (as opposed to along the major routes radiating

from London) was once again illustrated by the failure of Sir John Isham's letters to reach Mead.

\(^10\) For the bargain struck between Mead and Bainbrigge see above, pp. 700–01 lines 18–34 and notes.

\(^11\) It is possible that Ashwell had been resident at Lamport before Susan Isham's marriage to Stuteville and

so knew her well, hence his apology to her.
line 32, carry] carried MS.
line 39, Dukes] altered from “dukes”.
line 48] nothing of depending MS.
lines 49–54, Our...discontented] a continuation by Mead in the margin, intended to be read after his account in lines 36–48 of the supposed “alteration before Midsommer”. I have omitted his instruction to Stuteville (“Turne over”) at the end of the added lines.
line 50] Knowledge had ^ having ^ MS.
line 51] Scotland to-do concerning MS.
line 58, to] altered from “de”.
lines 65–66, desires] altered from “desired”.
Sir,

7 April 1627

My Pupils agues still continue, one day at 2 another at 4 afternoone: For time & manner of affecting him even as was before. I saw him eat his breakfast to day at 9 a clock, & he told me, he eat it with a good stomack, but at night his ague being but newly off he hath little mind to his meat or his meat to him, & so ^ he ^ takes ^ then ^ little else but broth.1

I sent on Monday to Sir John Isham, but the messenger found him at Northampton at the Sessions, & so brought me no answere back, yet one of his ^ men ^ rode presently with my lettre unto him, as the messenger I sent telles me.2

Our newes is but small, our Novillantes being out of the way.

Master Styles was on ^ Tuesday ^ or ^ Wednesday ^ to go to Sea with the Earle of Warwick, Sir Francis Stewart, Master Walter Stewart &c.3 as I understand by a lettre I received yestemight of Aprill 3 from Master Boswell who writes besides.

That the Soldiers for Denmark were to depart the same week with convoy of one Ship Royall & 4 or 5 merchant men

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1 Mead's account book indicates that John Stuteville's food bill was much lower than normal at this time. In Annunciation Quarter 1627 the latter only spent 1s. 9½ d. on food compared to an average of £2 12s. 9½ d. for the previous seven quarters; CCA, T. 11. 3, folios 47r-50r.

2 Sir John Isham was evidently present at the Easter Quarter Sessions at Northampton, so Mead's efforts to find a carrier to Lamport were temporarily frustrated; see above, p. 722 lines 57-60.

3 Jonas Styles was one of Mead's earliest pupils. He had entered Christ's in 1614 and proceeded B. A. in 1617/18, M. A. 1621; Peile, i. 299. I have not identified his links with the Earl of Warwick, but on the latter's privateering voyage later in the year Styles went with him as ship's chaplain on the Hector; N. P. Bird, 'The Earl of Warwick's Voyage of 1627', in N. A. M. Rodger (ed.), The Naval Miscellany 5 (1984), 15-93, on p. 58.
of warre, whereof Sir Samuel Trevor is Admirall, & after their transportation to ride in the Northward towards Lubeck &ct with that Squadron for 6 months.\(^4\)

That Sir Henry Wotton will shortly be in holy Orders having for that purpose leave of the King, which because hee tofore he hath bin so oft & so long a publick person &c he was in dutie to ask.\(^5\)

Doctor Barger the Deane of Canterbury his Sermon at the Kings Anniversarie Inauguration March 27 is printed by his Majesties speciall command.\(^6\) His text was 1 Samuel 15 verse 23.\(^7\) Toward the conclusion he in effect imputeth rebellion to those who refuse this loane & much urgeth obedience &c. Shall I transcribe you a passage?

It was the speach (sayth he) of a man renowned for wisedome in our age. That if he were commanded to putt forth to Sea in a Ship that had neither mast nor tackling, he would do it. And being asked what wisedome that were replied. The wisedome must be in him that hath power to command, not in him that Conscience binds to obey.\(^8\)

O let us all take heed that while we fly from Idolatrie we uime not into Rebellion. Farre be it from us to be found with Israel a disobedient & gainsaying people.\(^9\)

\(^4\) For this naval convoy see above, p. 692 n. 5; Mead should have written Sir Sackville Trevor on line 20.

\(^5\) Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton College, took deacon's orders in 1627 (apparently to obtain promotion in the Church in order to improve his finances); DNB, xxii. 969.

\(^6\) STC 1414, A Sermon preached before King Charles. March 27 1627 by Isaac Bargrave was one of several preached during the year in favour of the Forced Loan. As Cust has suggested, their insistence on the jure divino nature of kingship and on the "divinely ordained duty to obey [Charles's] commanda" probably reflects the attitudes of those at Court committed to the success of the Loan after the widespread refusal to pay it; F. L., pp. 62-63. For these sermons see ibid., pp. 62-67; for Bargrave in particular, pp. 66-67, 176-78.

\(^7\) "Rebellion is as the sinne of Witch-craft, and stubbornesse as the wickednesse of Idolatry"; A Sermon, A2r.

\(^8\) This paragraph was quoted verbatim from ibid., C3r-v, the only difference being the phrase "put forth to the sea" on C3r; compare line 33.

\(^9\) Quoted from ibid., C3v, which read "O let us all therefore take heed", "we runne not into Rebellion"; compare lines 38-39.
Another

I would there were none to tell us, that to obey our Prince
is to betray our Country; none who stamp it as a maine brand upon
the Clergie. That they preach obedience.\textsuperscript{10} I chose these passages
out of Order; read them as the figures in the margent direct
the last first &c.;\textsuperscript{11} In these you may see the reason I think
why the Sermon was commanded by the King himselfe to be printed.

Thus with my best & wonted respect I rest

& am

Christ's Colledge

Yours ever to be

commanded Joseph

Aprill 7

I gave Master John Higham\textsuperscript{a} on Thursday\textsuperscript{b} (Sir Clements Mead
Son) a little book to bring you Taylors Armado.

It will make you laugh. & then all is done.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 14\textsuperscript{c} on Thursday\textsuperscript{d} Tuesday\textsuperscript{e} or yesterday\textsuperscript{f} Wednesday\textsuperscript{g} MS.
line 30\textsuperscript{h} this loane & MS.
line 35, 2\textsuperscript{i} altered from "1".
line 38, 3\textsuperscript{j} altered from "2".
lines 48--54, Thus...done\textsuperscript{k} a continuation in the margin; the words "on
Thursday" were interlined next to the continuation on line 52.

\textsuperscript{10} Quoted \textit{verbatim} from ibid., C2v--C3r.

\textsuperscript{11} The slight variations between Mead's version and the original text suggest he was writing from memory.
I do not understand his reasons for ordering the passages in the way he did, especially as he appears to have
changed his mind while doing so; see the Textual Notes to lines 35 and 38 below.

\textsuperscript{12} This John Higham was not Mead's former pupil of the same name who had left Christa's after falsifying
his College bill but his father John (eldest son of Sir Clement Higham of Barrow in Suffolk, hence Mead's
parenthetical note); Peile, i. 357. The book Mead sent was \textit{STC} 23726; see Appendix I.
London March 30. 1627

Yesterday the Lords were at the Guildhall, where

the Aldermen subscribed a to the loan: The rest shall be called
according to their several Wards. Tis sayd, His Majestie requires
of the City to mainaine 1500 souldiers to be billetted about
Wapping & such places neere the Cittie.1

Here are great preparations for warre both by land &
Sea. Souldiers from all Shires marching to the ayd of the King
of Denmark.2 And another Fleet with some thousands of
souldiers ready to putt to Sea, for the ayd of Rochell,
which was sayd last week to have displayed the English

Flagge b upon their walles as putting themselves under our
Kings protection, & that the French King thereupon makes
offer to release all our Ships & satisfie all damages, so that
his Majestie will withdraw his help from the Rochellers.3

We have many scaling Ladders here made & a multitude

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a: Yet some refused to subscribe but not to pay downe. As I am since
told.
b: Tis not credible nor do I heare any more of it.

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1 For the City's agreement to pay the Forced Loan see above, p. 722 n. 8. I have not traced the rumour on
lines 4–6.
2 For the pressing of levies see above, p. 712 n. 6; PRO SP16/56/1 [folio 1r]; SP16/58/32 [folio 41r].
3 The fleet mentioned on lines 9–10 was that which eventually sailed for the Ile de Rhé, news of the
preparation of which featured prominently in Mead's news from London over the coming weeks. He was
correct in his marginal note to doubt the rumour on lines 11–13: the burghers of La Rochelle did not
openly support England until September when the chance of liaising with Buckingham's expeditionary
force had passed; Clarke, p. 148.
of Fire-poles hardned at the ends in the fire.\textsuperscript{4} Besides it is sayd the Lord Montjoy goes over for 600 horse. But the Dunkerkes still do a world of mischeife to us & grow rich with our spoiles.\textsuperscript{5}

The Earle of Warwick hath in readynes some 6 Ships of his owne, & meanes to go with them in person \textsuperscript{c} if his sick Lady hinder not, who is much discontented thereat.\textsuperscript{6}

It is sayd againe, the Duke entends to go to Sea, though his Dutches & Mother have bin both upon their knees to diswade him.\textsuperscript{7} And that of late he hath professed to the Councell, that howsoever heretofore for his mothers sake he hath beene a Favourer of the Papists, yet hereafter she shall not sway him, but that he will spend his strength in the advancement both of Religion & State.\textsuperscript{8}

The Lord Conway shalbe made an Irish Viscount of Cillulto by reason of great landes there befallen him c: He is by this time at Portesmouth.

\textsuperscript{4} The provision of scaling ladders for the fleet had been noted by both the Venetian and Tuscan residents; CSPV 1626–28, p. 166; HMC Skrine, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{5} For the losses incurred by the English and Dutch to Flemish warships at this time see above, p. 708 n. 17; 717 n. 11.

\textsuperscript{6} The Earl of Warwick had obtained a commission from the Crown on 22 March to set out a fleet to capture Spanish ships, modelled on a similar one granted to the Earl of Cumberland in 1589; Appleby, p. 114. This commission gave Warwick greater powers than ordinary letters of marque and it had been resisted by the Admiralty (especially Edward Nicholas, Buckingham's secretary) for weeks; ibid., p. 113; idem, 'An Association for the West Indies?', pp. 229–30. For Warwick's interest in privateering see Craven, 'The Earl of Warwick, A Speculator in Piracy'. The Countess of Warwick was Susan, daughter of Sir Henry Rowe (former Lord Mayor of London); GEC, xii (pt. 2). 411. I have not traced the report of her illness.

\textsuperscript{7} The opposition of Buckingham's family to his proposed journey with the fleet was noted on 2/12 May; CSPV 1626–28, p. 217. The Villiers family had reportedly been on their knees to the Duke before, when he had intended to travel to Paris in December 1626; see above, p. 587 n. 33.

\textsuperscript{8} I have not traced this statement by Buckingham to the Privy Council. Mary, Countess of Buckingham, had converted to Catholicism in 1622; Lockyer, p. 115.
by the death of Sir Foulk Conway his brother issuelesse.\(^9\)

It was rumoured he should be Lord Deputie or Viceroy of Ireland, & the Lord Carleton be in his place of Secretary; but now it appears to be otherwise, Viscount Faulkland, as is said, being lately confirmed in his place for 3 years more.\(^10\)

The gentlemen that are in the Fleet & other prisons shall (tis said) be removed to other places,\(^4\) some to Nottingham Castle, some to Pomfret &c farre from their homes.\(^11\) The Sheriffe of Glocestershire with 6 other cheife gentlemen of that County are brought up by Pursuivant for refusing the loan,\(^12\) & do attend with some 20 Lincolnshire Knightes, the Mayor present & the last yeares Mayor of Boston;\(^13\) Besides divers others of Northamptonshire & Warwickshire, who these 8 weekes have attended at Whitehall terrace.\(^14\)

The Devise of the ribbands is for a while at a

d: I suppose it was no more but a Consultation.

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\(^9\) Edward Lord Conway was created Viscount Killultagh in County Antrim on 15 March 1627; GEC, iii. 400.

\(^10\) Contarini had heard rumours that Conway was to be dismissed as Secretary of State due to his new title, "his ailments and political opinions" to be replaced by Carleton; CSPV 1626-28, p. 177; see also HMC Skrine, p. 113. Although the rumour proved false for the moment Conway was succeeded by Carleton as Secretary in 1628; GEC, iii. 400. Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, remained Lord Deputy of Ireland until 1629; ibid., v. 239.

\(^11\) The Privy Council eventually decided on 30 June to move Loan refusers from their confinement in London to other places in the country; APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, pp. 395-96; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 318; Cust, F. L., p. 234.

\(^12\) Five Gloucestershire Loan refusers (including the Sheriff, Thomas Nicholls) had appeared before the Council on 24 March, and a sixth on the 30th; APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, pp. 157, 176; List of Sheriffs, p. 51.

\(^13\) For the widespread opposition to the Loan in Lincolnshire see above, p. 713 n. 8; Cust, F. L., pp. 131-32, 298; PRO SP16/56/39 [folios 53r-58v]. The "Mayor present" of Boston (line 50) was John Whiting (ibid., folio 54r).

\(^14\) Once it became apparent that it would be impossible to imprison all the Loan refusers being summoned to London, another way of punishing them during the early months of 1627 was to order them to attend the Council every few days on a kind of parole system; Cust, F. L., p. 58-59.
stand, although many meddalls are prepared: & so is also the Patent for the Kings sole Exchanger.  

Its sayd my Lord Keeper hath brought to passe two faire marriages e one for his eldest Son, another for a daughter. His Son to marry Alderman Cravens daughter & his daughter to be married to Alderman Cravens Son, who was lately made a Baron for £16,000 with condition to marry some kinswoman of the Dukes: But it seems he is now unwilling to keep that condition. And for it it is thought, my Lord Keeper will go neere to be made quitt his place.  

The Lady Bruce neece to the Countesse of Bedford is dead. & on Tuesday Sir John Suckling Comptroller of the Kings house died also of the Stone & a Fever. His place not yet disposed of, though many be named.  

[device]  

e: That of his Son with Alderman Cravens daughter is consummate with £27,000 portion & they say 3000 more litigious to make it up 30 thousand, if my Lord Keeper can do himself right. But that it should be  

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15 For the "Devise of the ribbands" see above, p. 643 n. 2; for the second project (which was eventually adopted), PRO SP16/56/6 [folio 8r-v], 10 [folios 15r-16r]; B. Donagan, 'A Courtier's Progress: Greed and Consistency in the life of the Earl of Holland', HJ 19 (1976), 323 n. 17; below, p. 62, n. 14.  

16 As Mead suggested in his note to this report, it was only half correct. Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Coventry the Lord Keeper had married Mary, second daughter of Sir William Craven (and sister of the newly created Baron of Hempsted Marshall) on 2 April; GEC, iii. 477. The report of Lord Craven's marriage to Coventry's daughter was, however, false (as was the earlier rumour of his agreement to marry into Buckingham's family; see above, p. 694 n. 9). The rumour of Coventry's impending dismissal over this affair was not the only one circulating at this time; Buckingham reportedly said some weeks later that "the Lord Keeper begins to be so great that it is more than time to remove him"; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 318.  

17 Anne, the wife of Thomas Bruce, Baron Bruce of Kinlosse had died on 20 March. Her mother Frances was daughter to John Harington, 1st Baron Harington (whose other daughter was Lucy, later Countess of Bedford). The Countess was therefore Lady Bruce's aunt; GEC, ii. 78; v. 41.  

18 On 4 April Sir John Savile petitioned Buckingham for Suckling's post, to which he was appointed in December 1627; PRO SP16/59/35 [folio 57r]; Cust, p. 85 n. 34.
a Crossematch & Baron Craven marry the Keepers daughter, I heare no confirmation, & suppose it to be a mistake or a meere conjecture.

Textual Notes: line 54, The Devise] after "The" word Mead added a siglum, but omitted the marginal note to which it was meant to refer.
line 70, His place] Mead wrote another siglum after "His" without an accompanying note.
Worthie Sir,

12 April 1627

You have prevented me of what I meant to have written on Saturday. It was the Physicians counsell to have him change the ayre, his ague of a small one, being so extraordinarily pertinacious, that that would be the likelyest remedie & presentest. ¹ He told me also it was unsafe to continue so long in a lingring ague, least it might hurt his liver. He took some physick yesterday after a long cessation, ² because the fit immediately before was something vehement; but that he then took made it very gentle & small. I would have had him let blood, but himselfe & his hostesse ² were both against it, & the Physician indifferent & inclining but not very eager in it. I suppose the change of aire ³ will do all, & desire of God it may. ³ I cannot now stirre, looking to heare from Langport every day, & also expecting some others requiring my presence. Thus with my best & wonted respect & service I rest & am

¹ Due to John Stuteville's lingering illness a consensus had been reached between Mead, Nichols the physician (for whom see above, p. 711 n. 2) and Sir Martin that John should return to Dalham to convalesce. Mead had just received a letter from Dalham (brought by Harry Law; see line 25) and wrote this note to confirm his agreement.
² Geffery Finch's wife; see above, p. 700 line 11.
³ John Stuteville spent thirty-eight days under the Finches' care; as he had been moved there on the night of Monday 12 March (see above, p. 700 lines 10-11) he must have travelled to Dalham on 19/20 April, presumably after the relapse mentioned in this letter had passed. A total of 7s. 1d. was spent on medicines while he was in Cambridge, apart from £2 paid to Mistress Finch for nursing him; CCA, T. 11. 3, folios 50r-v.
Christ's Colledge

April 12 at 9

at night.

I have not yet spake

with Harry Law being absent

with a freind, when he came.

Textual Notes: line 7] presentest. The He told MS.

line 10] sation, by-reason ^ because ^ MS.

line 15] aire would ^ will ^ MS.
London April 6. 1627

The great warlike preparations continue on both sides, of the Imperialists & Danish in the Empire & of Sweden against Danzig & the Pole. The Duke of Saxon Weymar yet holds out & prevails in Silesia. And they write from Vienna as if they feared the joining of Bethlem & the Turk to annoy the Emperor this Summer.

The French & Spanyard scheme now to have quit the Valtelline, but the Popes forces are entred into it, with little content of the Country.

Many as Dutch so English Captaines, gentlemen, soldiers, sailors, women & maidens are taken by the Dunkerks & Ostenders; the better sort are in Innes at a mark a day charge, the meaner inhumanely used & more then half starved, whereby many die, & then are cast out like dogges: yea some women & maidens have shamefully in open view bin deflowred on the sands. There is an exchange to be made of those we have of theirs, for some of

1 Saxe-Weimar's death in the previous year had still not been confirmed; see above, p. 645 n. 2. Reports of the success of his army in Silesia continued to reach London, however; see for instance PRO SP101/29/folio 1v, Augsburg newsletter of 23 February/5 March.

2 Although reports reached London that hostilities between Bethlen and the Emperor were likely to be renewed they proved false. The latter did not mount another campaign after that of 1626; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r (Augsburg newsletter of 23 February/5 March); ibid., folio 1v (Augsburg newsletter of 13/23 March); above, p. 604 n. 1.

3 Under the Treaty of Monzón between France and Spain signed in the previous year (for which see above, p. 206 n. 6) Papal forces were to reoccupy the Valtelline. In his reports from Venice Sir Isaac Wake reported the movement of Papal forces into the valley; BL Add. MS 34311, folios 71r, 75r, 77r, 78v.

4 For the English and Scottish prisoners held at Dunkirk see above, p. 706 n. 6.
ours there. One of theirs here is a Preist, in lieu of whom we are to have an 100 ordinary men thence, as I saw this week a warrant under many Lords hands.⁵

The French King sent Commissioners to Roan there to debate with his merchants about the utter breaking off all trade with us; which though some were forward to apprehend, yet the most were for trades continuance, alledging that otherwise they should sustain great detriment, if not be utterly undone.⁶ Hereupon begins speech as if France & we should reaccord, & as if the French King intended to ayd the King of Denmark with 100,000 French Crownes monthly: which some suspect will prove but a trick to divert us from relieving Rochell.⁷

The Danish Ambassador that about 5 months since went hence into France & had his chamber & clossett when he was at abroad rifled at Paris, is thence returned hither:⁸ But another his Collègue, who was to retume thence by Sea into Holland is sayd to be taken by the Dunkerkeres with his papers & all that he had & thereby many secrets discovered to the Enimie.⁹

The Earle of Warwick had fallen downe on Munday last with his 6 or 7 good ships of warre, upon large lettres

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⁵ This exchange of prisoners was due to the activities of Hugh Rosse (for whom see above, p. 677 n. 5). The priest, Father Adrian, was a Portuguese Franciscan for whom forty English sailors were to be returned; PRO SP16/57/70 (folio 101r); see also CSPV 1626–28, pp. 241, 277–78.

⁶ It was later written from France (on 24 April/4 May) that Louis XIII had sent a commissioner to Rouen to persuade the merchants there to cease trade with England; PRO SP78/81/folio 111r. I have not traced the opposition to this proposal reported here.

⁷ As lines 30–31 suggested this report of Anglo–French reconciliation was false. A newsletter from Antwerp of 27 March/6 April had, however, reported that the French had sent financial aid to Denmark; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r. The opposite had earlier been asserted; see above, p. 636 n. 7.

⁸ Palle Rosencrantz had travelled to France as an Extraordinary Ambassador in November 1626; see above, p. 564 n. 9. Finet (on Olv) noted that he returned to London on 30 March 1627. I have not traced the rumour on lines 33–34.

⁹ Dr. Joachim Kratz, the Danish Ambassador who had unsuccessfully tried to obtain financial aid from Venice earlier in the year (see above, p. 670 n. 15) was captured by Dunkirk privateers on his return to Holland; PRO SP101/47/folio 23v; CSPV 1626–28, p. 185.
of Mart, but that one of them having sprung hir maine mast, hath beene fittt a new one, & on Monday next intends to fall downe: the ship that had lost its mainmast was the Hector; Burd, pp. 21-22. For Warwick’s “large letires of Mart” see above, p. 728 n. 6.

11 In order to prevent both intelligence of military preparations from being carried overseas and also (according to Contarini) to stop sailors deserting abroad for better pay, the Privy Council had decided on 31 March to close all the ports in England to outgoing vessels and letters: PRO SP6/89/69 (folio 86r); CSPV 1626-28, p. 194.

12 Although it had been decided that the fleet was to head for La Rochelle, speculation about its likely destination continued up to and after it sailed in late June. The rumour on lines 49-50 was false: the commission granting letters of marque was extended on 20 April (see above, p. 713 n. 10). For the provisions to be sent with the fleet see CSPV 1626-28, p. 175 and above, p. 728 n. 4.

13 On 13/23 April Contarini reported that “The duke declares he will go out with this fleet. All speak about this, but no one believes it”; CSPV 1626-28, p. 195.

14 While Bristol’s allegations against Buckingham (presented to the House of Lords in May 1626) were not heard in Star Chamber as suggested here the case against him was eventually dropped; all records were removed from the court’s files in June 1628; Rushworth, i. LIIIv-4r.
Sergeants Inné before the Judges. On Tuesday last a malignant humour shewed it selfe in 4 or 5 houres space upon the small of one of the Earles legges & that foot, a red spott as big as a shilling with swelling & sore paine, and 4 blisters in it, one blister in the Insteppe another upon a toe & 4 under the sole of the same foot: the malignitie of which was such & so sharp, that in that short space it did eate into the flesh.

Sir Thomas Love (who was cheife at Sea in the Cales voyage) lyes also sick, & hath these 5 moneths more, & now is given over by the Physitians, having after an ague & feaver the scurvey, dropsy, jaundis & cough of the Lungen.

On Monday our Commissioners for the Loane began to deale with the Commons, but I heare not of any great forwardnes wrought therein. We heare not any more of the Earle of Lyncolnes coming to the Starre-chamber, but he still remains close prisoner in the Tower.

Another ditto.

The Fleet preparing for new service (wherein report still holds that his Grace will adventure in person) will not rise to the full number of 30 sayle, but there shalbe

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15 For this see above, p. 669 n. 11; p. 680 n. 19. I have not traced the report in lines 60–63 but the adjudication of the Earl's demurer, originally to be carried out in February, was further deferred until Monday 30 April and then Friday 4 May; BL Stowe MS 365, folio 90r. These continual delays meant that, in the end, the case was never heard. See note above and Ruigh, The Parliament of 1624, p. 379.

16 Although I have not traced this incident it was evidently a result of the illness that had afflicted Bristol for months.

17 Given this (no doubt exaggerated) combination of diseases it is not surprising that Love had not much longer to live; see below, p. 943 n. 10.

18 Salvetti reported on 13/23 April that the City would not readily pay the Forced Loan due to the depression in trade and previous loans to the Crown; HMC Skrine, p. 116.

19 For Lincoln's imprisonment in the Tower see above, p. 702 n. 10.
The Earl of Warwick is ready to go to Sea with 4 Ships & 2 pinnases. His Commission hath martiaill law, libertie to give protection to such as he shall meet at Sea to joyne with him, & so thought being once at Sea like to have Ships enough; freedome also from the Admiralls tenths paying the King onely his customes. But at this present all the Shipping in England is stayd, & his yet amongst the rest.

a: I heare since, that with some adoe they have gotten loose & went away on Tuesday the 10th of this.

Textual Notes: line 15] die, which & then MS. line 19] One of of theirs MS. line 55] another wile while MS. lines 66–67] that foot, with swelling; sore paine; one blister a red spott MS. lines 96–97] These lines were added by Mead in the margin as a contradiction of the preceding lines based on more recent information; I have treated them as a continuation of his text.

20 Contarini had reported that the fleet would be made up of 30 ships on 23 March/2 April; CSPV 1626–28, p. 166; see also ibid., p. 159; HMC Skrine, p. 114. A "pink" was a "sailing vessel...of small size used for coasting and fishing, described as flat-bottomed and having bulging sides" (OED, "pink", sb1, 1a).
21 For Warwick's fleet see above, p. 728 n. 6; for the restraint of shipping, n. 11 above. Warwick's ships were excepted from this measure by an order from the Privy Council of 7 April; PRO SP16/59/63 [folio 93r].
April 21 1627

Sir,

The time is barren for newes. Since I received the enclosed, I have not heard any to speak of but that still the Dukes journey holds, but the intent thereof diversly interpreted & conjectured.

You heare what racket our Souldiers kept at Harwich & how they bound their Commander hand & foot, fed him with course brown bread & small drink, as themselves had bin dined & came back againe to shore after they were shipped, & ran away a great part of them &c.¹

On Wednesday morning came Master Justinian Isham to my chamber & was admitted: he came to Towne over night. Being now at my chamber, he desires me to remember his service to your selfe & my Lady.² Which I do with mine owne, & rest

Yours to be commanded

Christs Colledge

Joseph Mead

April 21

I know not how my Pupill at Dalham does with his ague.³

But on Sunday my Pupill Tracy was taken with a Tertian

¹ Reinforcements at Harwich waiting to be shipped for Danish service in northern Germany had recently been involved in serious disturbances due to lack of pay and an unwillingness to serve; PRO SP16/60/51 (folio 78r), 95 (folio 143r); SP16/61/4 (folio 5r).

² Isham was formally admitted to Christ's College on Wednesday 18 April; Peile, i. 382. For his first impressions of his tutor see NRO, I. C. 172a, folio 1r: recalling the difficulties Mead had faced in finding him a room Justinian wrote that "Here I have a good Chamber but my continuance in it is uncertaine, but how soever I am fairely promised by the Maister that hee will doe what lieth in his power"; ibid.

³ A hint that Stuleville had not yet told him; but this was soon rectified.
whom therefore I sent home on Wednesday his well day.\(^4\) If your Son misses his ague, it may be it came to Cambridg for a new Master. But I wish them both rid of such a Servant.

I received yours now, am very sorry to heare my Pupills\(^^\) ague\(^^\) to continue, & that too with more vehemencie then before. I know not what to advise. You have those who can do it better nere you. But that my Lady should be so affected I am more greeved. I pray God to restore them both to their full & wonted health. I would my pupill were well on the condition you made him a new gowne.\(^5\) It is a Climactericall ague being in the 18 yeare of his age, & will make a great change both in his bodies temper & stature.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) John Tracy's immediate return home on falling ill meant that the charges caused by John Stuteville's illness were avoided; only 1s. for extra coal to warm the former's room "when sick" was recorded by Mead; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 62v.

\(^5\) Whether Sir Martin remembered this or not, in the autumn of 1627 John Stuteville was duly provided with a new gown costing 13s. 4d.; ibid., folio 51r.

\(^6\) A "climacteric" was a "critical stage in human life...at which the person was supposed to be specially liable to change in health or fortune", supposed to be denoted by the multiples of seven or nine (the latter being Mead's understanding of the term here); OED, "climacteric", B. ab, 1, first citation 1634.
London April 13, 1627

Of forraine affaires we have onely, that the prepara=tions are great on all sides, for the warres in Prussia, the
Empire, the Lowcountries, France, Spaine; and here at home
with us; so that in a few monthes great matters may per^haps be heard of.¹

The Earle of Warwick with his 5 Ships & 2
pinnases is ready to go to Sea, if the wind turne west which
is now east.²

And the Fleet for new service is thought will be
ready about a fortnight hence, wherein is confidently sayd
his Grace goes Admirall himselfe, his cabbin & the cabins
of his attendants being prepared in the Ship: Sir John Watts
goes Captaine, & my Lord High Chamberlaine the Earle of
Linsey Vice-Admirall.³ The Duke saith (as is reported)
that before Midsummer day, he will & shalbe more honoured
& beloved of the Commons, then ever the late Earle of
Essex was. I know none but could wish, he may performe

¹ The restraint on shipping (for which see above, p. 736 n. 11) meant that foreign news was scarce, so
Meddus could only provide this general account.
² As Warwick’s ships were in the Thames they needed a west wind to begin the voyage to Portsmouth. The
same problem had kept the London fleet inactive for weeks in the previous autumn; see above, p. 564 n. 10.
³ Sir John Watt’s ship the Triumph was the flagship of the fleet, in which the Duke himself sailed; PRO
SP16/70/26 (1) (folio 44r). Notes made by the Navy Secretary Nicholas on this list of the fleet indicate that
Linsey was Vice-Admiral, Lord Harvey Rear-Admiral and Lord Denbigh commander of a separate
squadron; ibid. See also CSPV 1626–28, p. 205; Lockyer, p. 378.
such a service, as might deserve it. Meane while it is muttered, as if his Grace were discontented with the Earle of Dorset (who hath bin not well these six weeke) & with the Lord Conway now Viscount Kilulta.

The Counu> Souldiers that were billeted in our Suburbes are this week all embarqued to go to Stoad to the King of Denmarks ayd, which some do unwillingly, as more then halfe of our English that served the States refused to do, under Colonell Morgan, who is gone thence but with 2200 men. I saw a lettre from Holland which sayth, that the Earle of Essex his Company consisting of 163 when then they were come to the Ships side & their colours lodged all save 40 refused to go. The Country Souldiers here kept great disorder & were very insolent.

Its sayd the Bishops of Duresme & Bath & Welle[s] are to be Privy Counsellors.

The Earle of Bristolls demurrer was not argued before the Judges on Saturday last, by reason one of them was not well, nor heare I of any other day appointed thereunto, though that day cost his Lordship £20

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4 Salvetti reported on 20/30 April that Buckingham “appears confidently to believe that by undertaiking this voyage he will make so favourable an impression on the people that he will regain their confidence”; HMC Shrine, p. 116; see also Lockyer, p. 371. As the fleet did not sail until 27 June the Duke’s statement was rather premature.

5 Rumours of disagreements between Dorset and Buckingham were circulating at this time (Sir John Hippesley had also heard that the Earl was dead); Smith, ‘The Political Career of Edward Sackville’, p. 82. For the rumours concerning Conway see above, p. 729 n. 10.

6 In the previous month Sir Charles Morgan had only arrived in Germany with 2,472 men instead of the intended 6,000 and blamed the shortfall on the behaviour of his officers. For his account of the state of the forces under his command see PRO SP75/8/folios 48v, 50r, 54r; Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’, p. 530. Christian IV complained to Charles about the state of the troops sent to him; SP75/8/folio 75r–v.

7 Essex’s men in the United Provinces had mutinied in February due to lack of pay, and Morgan reported on 17/27 March that men were deserting in large numbers from the Earl’s company; Snow, Essex the Rebel, p. 164; PRO SP75/8/folio 54r.

8 Bishops Neile and Laud were sworn as members of the Privy Council on 29 April; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 253.
to his Counsell in needlesse fees. Sir Thomas Love (cheife Seaman in the Cales voy-
age & Treasuror of the Fleet) after 8 or 9 moneths
sicknes of discontent, which drew upon him the cough of
the Lungs, scurvey, dropsy, jaundies, died in Fenchurch
Parish yesterday betweene 4 & 5 in the morning, & was
the night following at 11 a clock very privately buryed
in the quire there.

Another London ditto.

The Earle of Warwick is gone to Southampton
already & to morrow Sir Francis Steward, Master Walter
Steward & my selfe with them purpose to follow. We
go to drive out discontents by seeking of dangers.

The great voyage by Sea wherein the Duke ad-
ventures his person wilbe undertaken about a month
hence: for which service the presse hath bin very round
here in London both for Land & Sea.

Textual Notes: line 21] hath bin sick not well MS.
line 49, ditto] dico MS.

9 For the delays in adjudicating Bristol's demurrer see above p. 737 n. 15.
10 This passage indicates that the same author (probably Dr. James Meddus; see Appendix III) wrote both
this and the newsletter dated Friday 6 April above, pp. 734–37 lines 2–82.
11 Given the use of the first person in lines 52–53 I believe this letter was written by Mead's former pupil
Jonas Styles; see above, p. 724 n. 3.
12 Although this was, no doubt, a rhetorical flourish Warwick had every reason to be unhappy about his
treatment over the Lord Lieutenancy of Essex and other matters, as a result of which he had been excluded
from his usual position as the most influential magnate in Essex; Cust, F. L., pp. 198–201.
13 The difficulties in equipping the fleet caused by lack of money led to a number of postponements of the
date by which it was expected to sail; see for instance Contarini's reports in CSPV 1626–28, pp. 194
(13/23 April), 205 (22 April/2 May); Lockyer, pp. 372–73.
This day I have heard nothing from Dalham, & so
know not, how my pupill doth, whether better (as I hope) or worse
which I should be sorry to heare.

I send you, that last we yet received to which I
have nothing to adde, but that some say the Earle of Warwick
intends the Bermuda’s there or thereabouts to attend upon
the Spanish ships that come from the Havana, &c. How
true it is I know not.1

The Dukes gentlemen &c are all to be at Portsmouth
by May day. Whereby it should seeme the Duke will to
Sea presently.2

Its ^ sayd ^ they of Northamptonshire sue the Sheriffe
for straining their goods, & that the Judges yesterday was
sennight in the morning promised restitution.3

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

Christ’s College
April 28.

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mede

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1 Warwick had originally planned to sail to the Caribbean to waylay the Spanish Plate Fleet but the delay in preparing his fleet led to him sailing for the Azores instead; Appleby, 'An Association for the West Indies?', p. 230.

2 On 22 April/2 May Contarini had reported that the land forces for the fleet were to be ready in three days; CSPV 1626–28, p. 204. This, however, proved impossible to achieve.

3 I have not traced this report. The Sheriff of Northamptonshire was Sir John Davers; List of Sheriffs, p. 94.
Textual Note: H390, folios 239, 242] H390, folio 239 was originally the first leaf of a bifolium which has become separated into two leaves. What is now H390 folio 242 was the second leaf, indicated by the date added beneath Mead’s subscription, probably by Stuteville: 242r is blank, the subscription (dated “April 28”) is on folio 242v.

line 21, Mede] the rarely-used Latinate version of his name.
The death of the worthy Prince the Duke of Saxon-Weymar is confirmed; That Count Mansfeld was buryed in an Island near Spalato;¹ That the forces which Saxon Weymar left in Silesia do yet prosper there under the King of Denmark's name, yet is there great opposition against them;² That 8000 Swedish Soldiers were marching to joyne with them, but that a double number of Poles attended to intercept them.³

The States of the Lowcountries have sent Ambassadors to mediate a peace betwecne Sweden & Poland in regard, it so much concemeth their State there should be peace with Danzig & Prussia, whence they have provision of Corne &c.⁴

The Emperor it seemeth will seaze the Countries of Guleick, Cleve, Berg & Mark (which were the State of the Duke of Cleveland who some yeares since died

¹ Certainty about the death of Mansfeld and Saxe-Weimar finally reached London after months of contrary rumours. For Mansfeld's burial near Spalato (modern Sarajevo) see PRO SP101/29/folio 1v (Augsburg newsletter of 10/20 January 1626/27.
² Sir Robert Anstruther's dispatches from northern Germany periodically described the successes of Christian IV's army in Silesia; during April 1627 the former sent a list of towns in Silesia and Moravia occupied by it; PRO SP75/R/folios 57v, 61r.
³ This rumour was false. There was no military cooperation between the Swedes and Danes at this time, as Gustavus's commitments in Prussia meant he could not offer substantial reinforcements to Christian. The two kings had been in negotiations since December 1626 but these proved abortive; Roberts, ii. 336–37.
⁴ The United Provinces were concerned that the Danzig and the Vistula estuary which provided them with vital supplies of grain and other materials had been turned into a war zone by the Swedish invasion; for their involvement in attempts to mediate between Sweden and Danzig (and therefore Poland), see ibid., pp. 335–36, 344–45; see also PRO SP101/47/folios 15r–v, 21v. On 9/19 April Rubens, however, noted that Ambassadors from Poland and Sweden were in Holland; Magurn, pp. 173–74.
issuelesse) into his owne hands for his eldest Son the King of Hungarie to live upon, when his Queene the Infanta of Spaine shall come, & to reside at Gulick or Aken.

It is thought to be a Spanish plott & like to occasion new stirres. The Elector of Brandenburg & the Duke of Newburg have held them jointly since it was so accorded by the Princes of the Union, till that doubtfull controversie which of them had the totall right, might be decided in safer times. Though Newburg to advance his claime by Catholick assistance not long after married the Duke of Bavaria's sister & changed his Religion; & is now like to be thus rewarded.5

Our 2400 old English Souldiers from the Low countries under Colonell Morgan are safely arrived at Stoad to the ayd of the King of Denmark, & 3000 Scottes. Our English are to be made up hence with 3600 more to the full number of 6000; & unto the Scotts are to be added 6000 more from Scotland.6

The Spanish seeme to have some great designe in hand, & prepare the greatest Fleet that ever was

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5 This was the latest stage of the Cleves–Jülich controversy, a source of dispute for over forty years. The territories of Cleves, Jülich, Ravensburg and Mark were of considerable strategic importance, straddling the Rhine close to the United Provinces, Spanish Netherlands, northern Germany and the Palatinate. The succession dispute which followed the death of the last Duke of the ruling house, John William, in 1609 nearly led to war in 1610 and 1614. The claims of the two claimants to John William's territories (the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pfalz-Neuberg) had not, however, been settled: under an agreement mediated by James I and the French in 1614, Brandenburg received Cleves and Mark, Neuburg Jülich and Ravensberg pending a final decision. Due to his suspicions of Palatine policy, however (which he rightly suspected was favourable to Brandenburg's claim to John William's title) Neuberg drifted towards the Bavarian and Imperial camp; his son Wolfgang William converted to Catholicism, married the sister of Maximilian of Bavaria in 1613 and succeeded his father in 1614; Parker, TYW, pp. 26–36. Rumours that the Emperor intended to impose his authority on the region were sent to London in the early months of 1627; PRO SP101/29/folios 1v–2r (Augsburg newsletter of 10/20 January 1627); SP101/47/folios 16r–v, 21v. Reports (which proved false) that the territories of Jülich and Cleves would be set aside as a patrimony for the Emperor's son Ferdinand and the Infanta Maria while they lived at Aachen also reached London; ibid., folios 16v, 21v.

6 For the number of Morgan's reinforcements see above, p. 742 n. 6; for the Scottish troops, p. 628 n. 18.
knowne. 

Seven hundred of our new Souldiers that were embarked at Harwich did mutiny aboard against their Commanders & Officers, bound them, went a shore, some ran away, all or most had done, but that the Towne took armes, shutt the gates & kept them in.

It is still said, that we & France are like to be reconciled, so there be a meane found, to save the honour of both Kings. And it is confidently said, that at Deep are 8000 brave men, many being gentlemen, with store of money, expecting a wind to carry them to Stoad for the King of Denmark's service; which is well, if it be truely intended & not to a worse end, as some yet fear. It is now said, that Rochell is not beseiged, but blocked up onely; that the King still signifies about it, & prepares a good Navy.

This Easterly wind still holds the Earl of Warwicks Ships windbound at Woolwich: & when they have had a westerly wind to carry them into the Downes, they may there stay as long for an Easterly wind againe, to carry them thence.

It still holds the Duke will with this new Fleet to Sea in the Kings Ship called the Triumph, whereof Sir John Watts is Captaine. Howsoever few yet will be leave it.

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7 This rumour (like those circulating in the previous year) proved false. It was more a reflection of the ingrained fear of Spanish intentions than anything else.
8 For the disturbances at Harwich see above, p. 739 n. 1.
9 Rumours of a reconciliation between England and France and that Louis XIII would aid Denmark were circulating in London at this time; see above, p. 735 n. 7.
10 The development of a powerful navy was one of Richelieu's highest priorities: in early 1627 he had ordered the construction of twenty-four ships; Knecht, p. 158; see also Lockyer, p. 361.
11 William Ball, master of the Hector, recorded that contrary winds kept his ship at Woolwich for nine days; Bard, p. 22.
12 For the selection of the Triumph as the Duke's flagship see above, p. 741 n. 3.
The Bishops of Durham & Bath & Welles are Privy Counsellors.*

It seemes the Lord Conway (Viscount Kilulia) continues Secretary, but is not well & takes physick, as the Earle of Dorset hath also done these 6 or 7 weekes.\footnote{For rumours of Conway's impending replacement as Secretary of State see \textit{HMC Buccleuch}, iii. 317 and above, p. 729 n. 10; for Dorset's illness, p. 742 n. 5.}

On Wednesday last was a proper man\footnote{``Proper'' in this sense means ``of goodly appearance...fine-looking...handsome'' \textit{(OED, ``proper'', a, 9).}} on the Gallowes to have bin hanged at Westminster before the Palace Gate, & guarded with 300 halbadiers: His fault robbing by the high way & writing to the Country Soldiers to rescue him out of prison, as they had done another before: He was long upon the ladder, the whole time of two long Psalms singing, when the Earle of Carleile came from the Starchamber with his pardon or reprieve procured by the Duke.\footnote{\textit{I have not traced this incident.}}

Burials 145
Plague 0
Christenings 157

\[\text{Textual Notes: line 16} \text{ of ef Gulick, MS.}\]
\[\text{line 23} \text{ of Duke of Newburg MS.}\]
\[\text{line 42} \text{ done, that but that MS.}\]
5 May 1627

Worthie Sir,

I would have bin glad to have heard of all your perfect healths at Dalham, but howsoever it be, it is some comfort to me to heare you relate that which is, so cheerfully; whereby I gather that by the favour of God there is no danger. It is strange, we have no agues, that I heare of, hereabouts, & your Son & his fellow pupil Tracy are as farre as I know the onely ones yet affected of our Colledg. But the generalitie thereof in your Towne & familie argues it something sympathisseth with the tempers of bodies bred in your ayre & soyle.\footnote{Sir Martin had evidently written to Mead concerning the agues at Dalham. "Temper" (line 11) means the "constitution, character, or quality of a substance or body (orig. supposed to depend upon the 'temper' or combination of the elements)" \cite{OED, "temper", II, 4a}.}

What newes I have, you shall see by the enclosed. The wind hath brought home something worth the having, if they would once agree in the report of the particulars. Captaine Pennington, who hath done this feat, went out (as you may remember) before Easter with 10 Ships, & is returned with \footnote{This referred to John Pennington's capture of a number of French ships at Conquet and elsewhere; see below, p. 753 n. 1. For the "ten ships" (line 17) see above, p. 638 n. 15; p. 669 n. 13.} this ^ encrease.\footnote{\emph{\textsuperscript{\*}}} I wish young Master Mosely a good wife, & remember my best service to my Lady Holland, & if I had knowne she could have digested our Cambridge Fish, she should not have had any reason to complaine of my want of Charitie. God forbid I should deny a Lady so small a courtesie, when I once understand it will be acceptable. Here therefore I present her with this small junkett with my service

\footnote{\emph{\textsuperscript{\*}} Thii refened to John Pennington'i cipture of a number of French shipi it Conquet ind eltewhere; lee below, p.763 n. 1. For the "ten shipi" (line 17) lee ibove, p. 638 n. 13; p. 669 n. 13.}
ready prest to undertake any other command. 3

I find your selfe also a couple of bookes though of another price. The Battaile of Agincourt
& other Poems by Drayton 1 — 3b 0
The Isle of Man by
a grave devine but as — 0 — 10d
it seemes witty in his old age. 4

I will think of some posies for your 4 new Belles
but me thinks Mary should not make a good tenour she hath too dull a sound: 5 that Gabriell were as I once knew him.

Master Isham is well, & as [I] think will prove a sober, discreet & understanding gentleman.

Thus with my best respect & service to your selfe & my good Lady (whom ^ God ^ send her health) I rest & am Christ's Colledg Yours most ready to be May 5.

I desire one of your men may carry Mead this enclosed to Master Higham. 6

Textual Notes: line 8] Son & Tiaey his fellow MS.

3 Lady Holland, wife of Sir John Holland of Quiddenham (whose sister Catharine had been Stuteville's first wife), had evidently seen Sir Martin's copy of Vox Piscis (for which see above, p. 569 n. 9; p. 579 n. 6) and expressed interest in it. Mead's embarrassment at not having provided a copy led him to send a "junkett" ("Any dainty, sweetmeat, cake, or confection", OED, "junket", 3) instead. Master Moseley (line 19) is unidentified.

4 These books were STC 7190 and STC 1946 respectively; see Appendix I.

5 Stuteville spent a considerable sum of money in rebuilding Dalham church during the 1620s (a fact prominently recorded there). In a letter written in September 1624 (probably to Framlingham Owdy) he had referred to the proposed replacement of the church bells, and Mead's letters for 1625 mention the subject; British Library Egerton MS 2715, folio 257r; H389, folios 446r, 448r. See also McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying a Bible in 1630', pp. 391–92.

6 Mead once again used Dalham to forward mail, on this occasion to the Highams of Barrow; see also above, p. 615 n. 13.
line 22] have any had any MS.
line 35] but I me thinks MS.
line 45] this to-Master-I enclosed MS: the “I” is the beginning of the “H” in "Higham").
London Aprili 27. 1627.

Captaine Pennington hath taken 4 great French Ships richly laden, valued at £100,000 at least & brought them into the Westcountry; besides 40 sayle of small Ships, which he surprised in a Haven not farre from Rochell, into which he entered with the French colours, but presently changed his copie, & let fly amongst them, so that happie were they, that could first cutt Cables & be gone, but they could not escape so, but that he took as many of them as he could man away & brought them with him.1

They say also, the King of Spaine hath made stay of all French goods within his Dominions because the King of France will not command restitution to be made for that which was saved of the 5 Galleons that shipwrackt upon his coast.2

a: Others £20,000 apiece.
b: Others say, there were 40 sayle together, whereof he tooke 34, others but 24 or thereabouts.

1 John Pennington's fleet had sailed on the evening of Thursday 12 April, and captured some prizes at sea which were brought back to England. Sailing again on the evening of the 14th, the fleet reached Conquet Road at 1pm on the 16th, captured seventeen French vessels, and eventually returned to Plymouth on the 22nd; see Pennington’s report of 23 April, PRO SP16/61/9 (folios 12r–14r). A list of the prizes taken (twenty-one in all) is SP16/61/34 (I) (folio 51r).

2 Although I have not identified Philip IV's edict, lines 15–16 is probably a reference to the five ships (including two richly laden Portuguese carracks) wrecked near St. Jean de Luz at the end of the previous year; PRO SP101/91/folio 22r–v (newsletter of 14/24 January from St. Jean de Luz); SP78/81/folio 35r–v; CSPV 1626–28, p. 125.
A merchants lettre from Spaine (as I am told by one that saw it) affirmes, that the 2 last months had bin so great a drought there, that if God did not succour them, they were like to perish.3

The order of the Garter is to be presented to the King of Sweden & the Prince of Orange who by their Deputies together with the Earle of Suffolk (who on Saint Georges day wore his blew ribband but no robes) shalbe shortly installed at Windsor.4

The King hath given leave to our Northren Coastes to take what they can get by way of prize from the Enimie, in lieu of the affronts & injuries which have bin lately putt upon them, to which purpose they prepare their principall Ships & Coales will be deare.5

But all our talk almost is about the Dukes voyage, many wagers pro & con. Great preparations for it, & a Speach that his mother & Duchesse have petitioned the King for his stay, with repulse.6 Sir Allein Apsley Lieutenant of the Tower goes out Captaine of one of the Kings ships in the voyage.7 Which some make an argument, the Duke is

3 A drought that had already lasted four months was reported in a letter from Seville of 2/12 April, mentioned in STC 18507.185, The continuation...June 8, B3r-v. Lines 20–23 were evidently based on similar reports reaching London, although the editor of the newsbook cited above did not believe the news to be true; ibid., B3v.

4 Contarini's report of the Garter ceremony of 23 April in which Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick of Nassau and Suffolk were given the Garter is in CSPV 1626–28, p. 217; see also Finet, O5r–v; PRO SP16/58/104 [folio 139r]; SP16/61/65 [folio 91r].

5 Under a commission granted in June 1627, a levy of 6d. per chauldron of coals was applied to pay for six ships to defend vessels from the northern counties against Dunkirk privateers. Sir John Savile was appointed to collect the money and took full advantage of the opportunity; Cust, F. L., pp. 196–97.

6 Contarini had been told by 2/12 May that "the duke's mother, wife and sister mean to intercede with the king to prevent [Buckingham] from undertaking this expedition"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 217; see also Lockyer, pp. 376–77 and above, p. 728 n. 7.

7 When the fleet sailed in June Sir Allen Apsley commanded the royal ship Nonsuch, part of the Duke's squadron; PRO SP16/70/26 (I) [folio 44r].
in earnest. And some name the 7th of May for setting out. 8

My Lord Imbercourt 6 (whose Lady died suddenly
the other day 4) is to go Ambassador into Holland about the
end of the next week, as they say at the Ship where=
in he is to goe. 9

Speach there is of a running Army to be in the
Land, & that the Kings Standard shalbe fetched out of
the Tower, & the Gentlemen which refuse to pay
the loane to march after it, where ever it goes. 10

The Earle of Warwick on Wednesday was sennight
in the morning sett Sayle from Cowes Castle in the Ile
[of] Wight with 3 Ships & a pinnace videlicet The great Neptune
the Jonathan, the Golden Catt & the Flight, having left
behind him at Southampton not yet fully ready the Little
Neptune, & the Bark Warwick, & in the Thames by
reason of contrary winds, the Hector & the Treasurer, 11
his Lordship intending when he had passed the Needles, to plye
it too & againe betweene the English & the French shores

8 Due to the difficulty in equipping the fleet (largely due to lack of money) the date of sailing was
continually put back, so that it was something of a surprise when Buckingham actually left England;

9 Dudley Carleton, Lord Imbercourt, had been appointed Extraordinary Ambassador to the United Provinces
by 1 March but due to various delays (including the death of his wife Anne on Wednesday 18 April) he did
not leave England until 7 June; PRO SP16/56/1 [folio 2r]; CSPV 1626-28, pp. 151-52, 187, 218, 237,
245-46, 255, 265; HMC Skrine, pp. 112-13, 115, 119; GEC, iv. 409. Mead felt it necessary to identify
Carleton in a marginal note even though the latter had been Baron Imbercourt for nearly a year; ibid.

10 Citing this passage Cust has suggested it reflected differences between those in the Privy Council who
favoured harsh treatment of Loan refusers and those who preferred more moderate courses; F. L., p. 59.

11 The second ship here was the Treasure; Bard, p. 20. For the contrary winds detaining Warwick's ships in
the Thames see above, p. 741 n. 2. The Hector did not join the rest of the fleet until the evening of Monday
30 April; ibid., p. 23.
till his 4 consorts do joyne with him; by which meanes besides saving many an English ship from the Dunkerkers he might meet with some ship of prize, as the newes is now that he hath done, if it prove true.

On Tuesday was sennight my Lord Willoughby son to the Earle of Linzey was married to the Countesse of Holdernes one of the late Alderman Cockins daughters, who bringeth him 10 thousand pound in money £900 a yeare £1000 a yeare pension out of the Exchequer & a house very richly furnished.

Another London ditto. 27 April 1627

It is here a generall report, & testified by such as come from Hull, that there are there 1300 Souldiers embarqued in 4 or 5 ships & 3 men of warre to convoy them to Stoad which dare not budge forth, because 15 Dunkirk ships of warre waited to intercept them at the mouth of the river & had taken divers other ships; which now occasions speach that 10 of the Fleet shall go forth presently to convoy them.

Saint Georges Feast was kept on Munday last, but not in that state & manner with attendants as usually. For I heare there was not a livery coat nor feather amongst them: & besides no small disorder in serving up the meat, much whereof was embezeled & taken away.

12 It had been reported on Tuesday 17 April that Warwick had captured a French ship; PRO SP16/60/43 [folio 68r-v].

13 Montagu Bertie (son of Robert, 1st Earl of Lindsey) married Martha, widow of the Earl of Holderness on Wednesday 18 April according to GEC (viii. 19–20). See above, p. 163 n. 8 for the fortune left to the Countess by her first husband.

14 Although there had been some delay in sailing for Germany because of the presence of Flemish warships, reinforcements for Christian's army had left Hull on Monday 23 April; PRO SP16/61/5 [folio 6r]. For the arrival of these levies in northern Germany see SP101/47/folio 26v.

15 Pilfering of food and other items such as silver dishes was widespread at Court, and while it remained a problem throughout the 1630s it was probably at its worst in the first years of Charles's reign; Sharpe, P.
There are Commissions granted to some particular men for the sole buying of Lead, Cloth, & other merchandize at the best hand, & merchants & tradesmen to buy it of them onely at their price. The Citizens mett a while agoe at the Star Chamber about it, but did nothing at all & I hope it will have none effect. The Earle of Holland was likewise about to gett a grant to have the exchange of all Outlandish Gold. Its hoped the loan money wilbe well expended for the publick good; for the Officers about White Hall cannot gett one peny wages for 3 yeares past.

An Apothecary telles me this day, That neither any Apothecary nor Chinirgion have yet had order for their chests for the Dukes expected voyage, which will require a months time to be provided. So that the voyage seemes not so neere as is imagined, & some still doubt whether at all, untill they see it; but his followers & Servants make no question thereof.

Burials 165
Plague 0
Christenings 182

Textual Notes: line 7] copie, & lye let MS.
lines 12-13, stay of all] stay of of all MS.
line 41, (folio 240v) dated “5 May 1627” in error by the “annotator”, then corrected to “April 27”.

R., p. 237. The elaborate ceremonial surrounding the Feast of St. George on 23 April is described at length by Ashmole; The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Yyy2r–Eee4r.

16 These commissions are unidentified.

17 For this grant see above, p. 730 n. 15.

18 I have not traced this report, although the impoverishment of the Exchequer (in spite of the revenue generated by the Forced Loan) had been reported before; see above, pp. 684–85 lines 63–65.

19 For the provision of medical supplies and surgeons for the fleet see PRO SP16/65/47 [folio 67r], 68 [folio 95r]; Lockyer, p. 374. Meddus was correct to suggest that the sailing of the fleet would be delayed; see n. 8 above.
line 76, other] others MS.
line 89, hope] hoped MS.
[Bifolium. Written on Friday 11 May; sent with Mead’s transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 4 May and Sir Isaac Wake’s “Elogium” of Count Mansfeld. The verses on lines 11–19 taken from a letter that had arrived in Cambridge on Thursday 10 May. Folios 249v–50r blank; subscription (dated “May 12”) on 250v.]

11 May 1627

Sir

I am glad to heare your agues begin to give ground, I hope to heare by the next of a utter flight & that my pupills will goe as it came, first one, then both. As for a remuneration for the Lady you speak of, let it be as it will & as it deserves which is but little: howsoever, I would be loath she should have just cause to condemne me either of want of charitie, or discourtesie.\(^1\)

Yesternight came these verses from London; they are very cragged ones.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rex, Grex, Dux, Crux.} \\
\text{Now Rex & Grex are both of one sound,} \\
\text{But Dux doth both Rex & Grex confound.} \\
\text{O Rex thy Grex doth much complaine,} \\
\text{That Dux beares Crux & Crux not Dux againe.} \\
\text{If Crux of Dux might have hir fill,} \\
\text{Then Rex of Grex might have his will:} \\
\text{Then three Subsidies to five would tume,} \\
\text{And Grex would laugh, which now doth mourne.}
\end{align*}
\]

Is there any thing in them? I cannot apprehend much.\(^2\)

I send with the enclosed The Epitaph or Elogium of Count Mansfeld made by Sir Isaak Wake our Leiger

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\(^1\) Sir Martin paid Mistress Finch £2 for her care of John Stuteville during March and April which Mead forwarded on his behalf. Mead was repaid in September 1627; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 50r.

\(^2\) These “cragged” verses (asserting that if Buckingham’s malevolent influence was removed the people would gladly supply Charles with the money he needed by giving Parliamentary subsidies) played on the Latin for “King”, “People”, “Duke” and “Cross”. Line 18 presumably referred to the grant agreed in the session of 1626 but not passed due to the impeachment proceedings against the Duke.
at Venice, which I would desire you to bestow upon Master Paman, to put in his book, amongst other knacks: the rather because he is acquainted with the author in his Rex Platonicus or Muse regnantes.

The Ministers of London by the Benefaction of Doctor White are to be founded into a Colldg or Companie like to the other Companies of the City, and to have an Hall & all other officers, meetings, exercises fitting their condition, as clerums &c. The Bishop of London is to be the President & it shall be called the Colledg of Sion. The Patent is already sealed.

It is sayd, the souldiers dye apace which are on shipboard by London; 50 in a day. & hoyes goe to fetch the dead corps[es] & burie them at Stepney.

They say the Duke will have another mask before he goes which wilbe chargeable. His freinds feast him every day, & on Tuesday he feasted the Queene at Chelsey.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good Lady

I rest & am

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3 I have not traced Wake's "Elogium", but it was probably a manuscript tract based on his own observations. He had been appointed by Mansfeld as one of the executors of his will; BL Add. MS 34311, folios 56r–57r, 65r–66r.

4 Although "Master Paman" is unidentified, the book mentioned was STC 24939, Rex Platonicus: sive...de Jacobi regis, ad academiam Oxoniensem, first published in 1607. A "knack" (line 24) was an "ingeniously contrived literary composition" (OED, "knack", 3c); Paman evidently possessed a commonplace book to which such items were added.

5 Dr. Thomas White (who had died on 1 March 1623/24) left £3,000 in his will to found Sion College, "designed as a guild of the clergy" comparable to the liveried City companies. The charter of incorporation was issued in 1630; DNB, xxi. 79. "Clerum" (line 30) is short for "concio ad clerum, discourse to the clergy. A Latin sermon, preached on certain occasions at the English Universities" (OED, "clerum", first citation 1655).

6 Although I have not traced this report, these fatalities were presumably among the levies waiting to be shipped to the Continent. A "hoy" is a "small vessel...employed in carrying passengers and goods, particularly in short distances" (OED, "hoy", s.v).

7 This masque was held on Monday 14 May; see below, p. 769 n. 6. "Chargeable" (line 37) means "costly, expensive" (OED, "chargeable", 4).
Christ's Colledg
May 11.

Yours most ready to
be commanded
Joseph Mead.

I pray Sir, Let my pupill send the kayes
of his Study & chamber by Parkers man, the
next Saturday or if opportunitie serve sooner.
For I must give up his Study & reserve for him
the other of the 2 Studyes in the Chamber where
his Cosen Isham shall keep.  

Textual Notes: line 28, Companie ] Companies MS.
ibid. ] Companies are like to the MS.
line 29, other ] others MS.
lines 44–49, I pray...keep ] a continuation in the margin.

8 For Mead's rearrangement in the accommodation of John Stuteville and Justinian Isham see above, p. 701 n. 4.
London May 4. 1627.

Though the relicted forces of Count Mansfeld & Saxon-Weymar seeme yet to goe on tolerably in Silesia; yet is there an appearance of worse evills a breeding in the Empire, then hath hitherto bin. For at Kaufbeuren an Imperiall Towne in Suevia or Swaben, the Emperors Commissioners have displaced all Protestant magistrates, Ministers, & Schoolmasters, putting Papists in their stead, & have required the Inhabitants by a sett day to become such, or else to be banished: Notwithstanding that divers Imperiall Citties, as Strasburg, Ulme, Meningen &c had sent their Commissioners to interceed for them, who were for their paines scorned & besides threatened by the Imperiall Commissioners; who told them, they had no such need to intreat favour for others, as to look to themselves, with whom perhaps the same course ere long might be taken which had bin with those of Kaufbeuren.  

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1 The use of “relicted” (“Remains, remnants, residue”; OED, “relict”, sb, 3a) indicated the leaderless state of the army in Silesia, which had been placed under the command of Christian IV on the death of Mansfeld and Saxe-Weimar. It had been reported on 6/16 April that the Silesian army “prosper[ed] still”; PRO SP101/47/folio 21r.

2 Ferdinand II’s commitment to a Counter-Reformation in the Empire (a consequence of both his ardent Catholicism and his experiences as a young man in the province of Styria) was made possible by the victories of Tilly and Wallenstein. It involved the persecution of Protestants, the expulsion of their preachers and finally the demand to convert to Catholicism or leave their homes (which an estimated 150,000 Bohemians did; Wedgwood, p. 225). Carried out first in Bohemia, Austria and finally (as far as possible) in Germany itself, the policy was one to which Ferdinand was totally committed and led to the notorious Edict of Restitution which made further conflict (with Swedish intervention) inevitable. For a discussion of this “Imperial vision” see Parker, TTYW, pp. 82–99. The reintroduction of Catholic worship at Kaufbeuren was reported in a newsletter from Augsburg of 13/23 March; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v. Attempts to do the same at Ulm had been noted in newsletters of 22 December 1626/1 January 1627 (from Bonn; ibid., folio 1v) and 14/24 February 1627 (from Augsburg; ibid., folio 1r).
At Linz also of those 8 late Commanders of the Boores there executed, Seven by the continual labour of the Jesuits, allured with promise of pardon, were brought to renounce their Religion & become Papists: which they had no sooner done, but the selfe same day they were at Masse they were executed in the first place. When as one of the meanest in the rank, a Boore, notwithstanding all the meanes they used to pervert him continued constant unto the last.\(^3\)

We have not any new thing of the King of Denmark, but that it is feared, he may want foot, ours going over so slowly, partly (as is sayd) by reason of sickness & mutiny aboard, & partly because the Dunkirkers are so strong at Sea, that few dare putth forth: which causeth our Sea coal to be now at \(25^p\) a chauldron, which is double the price they used to be at this time a yeare; & yet is feared may come to double this price, which causeth all other fuel to rise.\(^4\)

But the King of Swedens Agent here\(^5\) hath letters, That the King of Poland having called a Parliament, there went thither one of the Burgomasters, the Recorder & divers other prime men of the Cittie of Dantzick, who after it was finished returning homewards with money for the defence & ayd of the City,\(^6\) with letters & copies of what was consulted & concluded in the Parliament\(^7\)

\(^3\) Twenty of the leaders of the Austrian revolt of 1626 were executed at Linz; Wedgwood, p. 216. The conversion by the Jesuits of seven of their number (and the resistance of the eighth) was reported in *M. F.*, xiii. 709.

\(^4\) The difficulties in supplying Christian IV with reinforcements were concisely summarised in this report. The commission to levy 6d. per Chaudron of coal (for which see above, p. \(\Phi^p\)n. 5) was intended to encourage the colliers to put to sea by promising protection for them.

\(^5\) Sir James Spens, later Ambassador to Sweden; *DNB*, xviii. 789–90.
Assembly perhaps to their no small advantage. And that hereupon the Danzickers now standing in great fear that their City will be taken, some of them are therefore said, to have put their chief wealth into 3 Amsterdam ships (those namely which brought provision to the besieged Danzickers) to be carried into Holland; if at least those Ships be or shall get away from the many Swedish ships that lie thereabouts.7

Its true, That Captaine Pennington with onely 4 Ships one of them the Kings, fought with a French Fleet bound from Newhaven for Spaine of 16 sayle, 12 of them merchants & the other 4 men of warre to convoy them. At the first came but one of our Ships up, the rest being a good way off: yet this one set upon the French Admirall, betweene them was a hot fight & men lost on both sides, till Captaine Pennington himselfe came up in the Kings Ship & 2 other merchant men of warre with him; which as soon as the 4 French men of warre perceived, they presently fell off & fled away; our ships knowing there was no riches to be had in them, willingly suffering them to escape: but in the mean time tooke some 3 or 4 of the Merchant Ships richly laden & brought them into the West Country. After this he sayled with the Kings Shippe & 5 or 6 other merchants into Couquet Harbour b where were many ships great & small; some of which at his entring stranded themselves on the shore, many were disposed of all their furniture & 17 at the least, some say

a: By Briest in Bretaigne.

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6 I have not traced the report in lines 36–46; the scale of the Polish defeat was probably overstated given the usual exaggeration of Gustavus's victories (for one example see above, p. 605 n. 3). The seym (Poland's equivalent of Parliament) had, however, met in 1627; W. Czapinski, 'The Polish Seym in the light of recent research', Acta Polonia Historica 22 (1970), 180–92, esp. pp. 189–90.

7 The Swedish navy resumed its blockade of Danzig as soon as the Baltic coastal ice allowed it to do so; Roberts, ii. 333.
20 he brought thence with him into the Westcountry, & had done many more, but that he wanted men to man them. Whether this will draw the French to a reconcilement or exasperate them more, time will tell us.

Last week were all lettres taken which were hence bound outward over Sea, & brought back unto the Lords.

The last Sunday were the Bishops of Durham & Bath & Welles sworne of the Counsell.

It seems, the Dukes Grace intends really to goe forth to Sea in this Voyage, & hath (as I heare) sent Requesting-warrants to his private freinds, to furnish him with about 200 horse, & as many proper serviceable men, well apparetel & furnished with Buffe jackets, Swords, daggers, cases of pistolls, to be at Portesmouth without fayle the 12 of this month. Its sayd, the Earle of Dorcet furniseth 4, Sir Anthony Ashley 3 &c.

Meane while the old prisoners about the Loane lye by it, & on Monday last were divers others com=

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8 For Pennington's capture of twenty-one French prizes see above, p. 753 n. 1 and PRO SP16/61/9 [folios 12r-14r]. His engagement with and capture of the largest French warship, the St. Peter of Havre de Grace, is described on folio 12r-v. He informed Buckingham that only three ships (his own – the King's ship the Red Lion – the George and the Paragon) “were the chiefe actours herin”; ibid., folio 14r. Included among the goods taken were some belonging to Richelieu himself; CSPV 1626-28, p. 219.

9 For the closure of all English ports to shipping see above, p. 753 n. 11 and PRO SP16/60/84 [folio 130r]. The embargo on the carriage of letters abroad had been reported by Contarini on 22 April/2 May; CSPV 1626-28, p. 204.

10 Neile and Laud were sworn on Sunday 29 April; APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, p. 253.

11 Contarini reported on 2/12 May that Buckingham was to take a hundred cavalry with him provided by his friends; CSPV 1626-28, p. 215. See also ibid., p. 228; PRO SP16/63/33 [folio 43r]; Smith, 'The Political Career of Edward Sackville', p. 83.

12 That is, they were still in prison. The Privy Council did not order the release of the “Gentleman Recusants” until 2 January 1627/28; APC Sep. 1627-Jun. 1628, pp. 217-18.
mitted, as 15 of Lincolnshire & 5 of Norfolk. Amongst them of Lincolnshire one was not come up, but against he comes, his prison is assigned, whither he is to goe, & that is the Mayor of Boston, who as that day was to surrender up his Maioraltie to another.

On Wednesday was proclamation made, & printed against bringing in of any goods into any port or creek of his Majesties dominions in French bottomes, upon forfeiture of all the goods, untill his Majesties pleasure should be otherwise published & made knowne to the contrary.

The Earle of Bristoll hath this week ill a 2 or 3 days, but is now againe better. The arguings of his demurrer is appointed to be this afternoone before the Judges at Serjeants Inne, if it hold.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Burials</th>
<th>Plague</th>
<th>Christenings</th>
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<tr>
<td>Burials</td>
<td>133</td>
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<td>164</td>
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b: Others say, Yorkshire.

13 Warrants to commit a number of Lincolnshire men to various prisons were issued on 29 April, and the arrests were carried out the following day as reported here; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 317–18; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 252–53. Warrants to arrest three Norfolk men had been issued on 21 April; ibid., p. 239.

14 The current Mayor of Boston was John Whiting; PRO SP16/56/39 [folio 54r], APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 252; see also above, p. 721 n. 13.

15 This proclamation, “prohibiting the Importation of any Goods or Merchandize whatsoever, in any French Shippes or Bottomes”, is printed in Larkin, no. 67, pp. 141–43; see also ibid., no. 68, pp. 143–44. The proclamation was (together with the issuing of letters of marque) part of a concerted effort to damage French shipping; Appleby, pp. 56–57.

16 It had been ordered that the arguing of Bristol’s demurrer would be heard on Friday 4 May. On that day the Judges adjudicating the case (Richardson, Hyde and Harvey; see above, p. 610 n. 19) ordered that the Earl should submit the reasons for his demurrer to Attorney-General Heath, who in return should make known his objections to it. Heath did not submit his objections to the demurrer (although he studied and annotated Bristol’s paper of reasons), and consideration of the case was again deferred until 22 June; BL Stowe MS 365, folios 90v, 91r–97v.
Another London ditto.

On Wednesday last a poore fellow, (who had some 4 yeare since beeue a groome to the Earle of Lyncolne) was censured in the Starrechamber for scattering of those papers which it seemes the 2 fled gentlemen belonging to the same Earle had written. He was fined by the Judges £3000 being not worth £5 in all the world, & emprisonment during the Kings pleasure. When the Bishops turne, who are newly made privy Counsellors came to speak, He of Bath & Welles sayd, it being the first time of his sitting, he would not presume to say any thing, which had not beene sayd by those that spake before him, but fully agreed to their censure, & that if they had sett downe a farre heavyer he thought the offender deserved it; So sayd also the Bishop of Durham. The Earle of Bedford dyed on Tuesday last, & was on Wednesday night buryed privately at Cheneyes. It is feared the Countesse will not stay long after him.

There is now talk much more then ordinary of sending the Refusing gentlemen farre from their owne dwellings to be imprisoned in remote shires.

17 Lincoln's servant was Thomas Perkins; the "2 fled gentlemen" were Robert Blow and Thomas Holland. A proclamation ordering their arrest had been issued on 30 March; Larkin, no. 65, pp. 138-40. Perkin's case is discussed by Cust, F. L., pp. 68-70. For the authorship of "those papers", the tract "To all Englesh freeholders from a well wisher of theirs" see above, p. 417 n. 14.

18 Sir Julius Caesar's notes of the case (British Library, Additional MS 12496, folio 125r) record this punitive judgement. Perkins, who had confessed to the charge, was described as a "poore creature" by Caesar.

19 The two bishops had tried to get Perkins indicted for treason; for an unfavourable comparison between their attitude to the case and that of the judges present see Cust, F. L., p. 61.

20 Mead's source may have been in error; according to GEC (ii. 78) Edward, 3rd Earl of Bedford died on Thursday 3 May and was buried on Friday the 11th. Lines 124-26 proved correct, however; see below, p. 528 n. 1.

21 On 1 May it was reported that "the gentlemen of Northamptonshire [refusing the Loan] shall be dispersed into the ports and haven towns"; HMC Bucclusech, iii. 318; see also above, p. 424 n. 11.
Textual Notes: line 19] suites, & allured MS.
lines 40–41, with...Parlament] an interlineation in the margin.
Sir

You see here what the last week brought us; but his Grace sett not forward on Thursday, (the first of the 2 dayes mentioned) but it holdes constant he goes on Monday, & that the King accompanies him to Portesmouth: It was sayd at the beginning of this week, he was sick, & thereupon every body concluded he would not go, but now it seemes, he is well againe & so the journey holdes.

The King hath sould the French prizes taken by Pennington to Burlamacchi for 150 thousand pound, & yet with allowance for the forbearance of his money & for factorage, & a covenant, that if the Proprietaries or owners will buy the goods they shall have them at a certaine & reasonable price. But I beleive Captaine Penningtons prizes will not amount to such a bargaine, but that there are some other French prizes joyned with them. For my author a gentleman of London told me the number of them was 72 saile, which is more then Captaine Pennington took.

The Sons to the French merchants, whose goods these were, have in a furie mangled & almost slaine many of our merchants factors

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1 See below, pp.344-35 lines 40-48 for the proposed date of the Duke’s departure; Buckingham did not, however, leave for Portsmouth on either Thursday 17 or Monday 21 May. Contarini noted the continual delays in the sailing of the fleet, and the Earl of Clare commented on 19 May that “the Dukes going is so ofte putt of as it is believed, it may be putt of altogether” CSPV 1626–28, pp. 226, 246; Holles, ii. 350. See also above, p.345 n. 8.

2 Charles left London for Portsmouth on 5 June to hasten the preparations for the fleet; Lockyer, p. 375.

3 On 10/20 May Contarini reported that Buckingham had been “taking a slight purge to enable him to stand the sea better”. The Duke was still doing so on the 27th; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 228, 247.

4 The Privy Council ordered on 18 May that Pennington’s prizes should be sold; PRO SP16/63/90 (folio 109r); see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 229; Lockyer, p. 368. “Forbearance” (line 11) was “money paid to a creditor (in addition to the interest) for allowing the repayment of a loan to be deferred beyond the stipulated time” (OED, “forbearance”, 4, first citation 1668); “factorage” was “Commission or percentage paid to a factor on goods purchased or sold by him” (ibid., “factorage”, 2).
at Burdeaux & elsewhere. And our gentlemen in those parts dare abide no longer but gett them some into Italie some into Germany as fast as they can.5

I should have picked up some more newes^ for you^ last night 6 but that my thoughtes were troubled not a little with a deep perplexitie at the very instant, by a scurvie villanous, & Panderlike letter which Master Power sent to your cosen Isham.7 I account it a speciall signe of divine favour, that by meere chance it fell into my^ hands^ before it came to his. Nevertheless it took my stomack quite from my supper, & hindred my sleep this night; not so much for feare on the gentlemans behalfe, in whose discretion & understanding, I have as much confidence as ever I had in any of his yeares; but in respect of that Son of Belial whose furie in this villanous attempt I saw so lively & wickedly expressed; nay I may say, blasphemously. For one of his passages toward the close was this, 'That if he "durst not expresse his affection & do him that sweet favour by day" time for feare of the Pharisies, yet that he would be a good Nicodemus & visit him by night. You may guesse the rest of the contents by this.'8 I was but newly come into my chamber & had some occasion to send for Master Justinian, & looking to espie somebody in the court to send, I saw his man 9 going & a Sizer before him, as I had thought toward the butteries or backside,10 but in the event up Master Power[s] stayres; for he^ had^ sent a Sizar for his man, to betrust him with the lettre

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5 I have not traced this report.
6 Presumably by going to visit friends in the University who had received newsletters of their own.
7 Although Mead was hardly an objective reporter of these events William Power's attempts to ingratiate himself with Isham probably reflected a homosexual tendency which Mead evidently detested. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Power and Mead were perceived as the heads of two factions within the College and that Mead found it difficult to remain in Power's company; see the Introduction, p. 88.
8 Power's reference was to Nicodemus, "a ruler of the Jewes", who visited Jesus at night for instruction in the Christian faith. He later helped to bury Him; John 3. 1-15, 7, 50, 19. 39.
9 Owen Bridge had been Isham's servant at Uppingham School and followed him to Christ's as his manservant, becoming a sizar soon after his arrival; Peile, p. 385.
10 Mead presumably thought the sizar mentioned in line 40 was heading towards what is now Second Court of Christ's College, behind the Hall and Buttery. In the 1620s only one building (called the "New building" or "Rats Hall") existed behind the main Court. See Willis and Willis Clark (eds.), The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, ii. 201 and fig. 3 (between pp. 190–91).
to his Master. I sent a Scholler to bid him come to me, but he was
gone up stayres before he overtooke him; yet as soone as he had his
errand there, he came to me for mine, which was then changed, for
I asked him what he did with Master Power, & what he sayd to him.
He told me he sayd title, to purpose, but gave him that to carry to his
Master & shewed me the lettre: which when I had read, I gave
him back to deliver, & to bid his Master come to me &c.

I acquainted Sir John Isham with this danger
before my pupill came, & with much passion intreated him to
send both him & his man fortified with a strict charge, &c
&c which lettre he gave them both to read &c.12
I confesse I love the gentleman upon this short experience
with some degree more then a Tutors affection;13 but so much the
greater & stronger is my jealousie, which if it should be occa-
sioned to continue, upon like cause to this, it
would oppresse me & I could not beare it. I find so much by
that I have suffered already. But I am somewhat eased
now I have told you, who I know will in some measure sympathise
with my passion, & if you apprehend any advise, that I think
not of, will acquaint me with it by your next. I know you
but Sir John Isham I know not, & so am the lesse able to
advise myself that way if need should be. But I hope well
& have as much as may be from the yong one; yet I cannot
gett my jealousy downe, nor have my mind at quiet.

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady
I rest & am

11 Mead's suspicions were presumably aroused as soon as he saw Bridge and Power's sizar together, which
led him to summon Bridge to his chamber as soon as he could. Power's sizar and the “Scholler” Mead sent
to intercept Bridge have not been identified.

12 Mead had had experience of Power's attempts to ingratiate himself with the former's pupils before. John
Higham had arrived in April 1625; soon afterwards Mead informed Sir Martin that Higham had been
associating with Power “and a favourite pupil of his”, adding “you see our miserie”; H389, folio 428v.

13 Although Isham had only been at Christa's for less than a month Mead had already formed a very
favourable opinion of him, which helps to explain why the two remained friends until the end of Mead's
life.
Christ's Colledge
May 19.

Yours most ready
to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 12, buy] altered from "by".
line 25] by reason a MS.
ibid.] Panderlike letter with MS.
line 27] into my sight ^ hands ^ MS.
line 31, ever] every MS.
line 34] one of the his MS.
line 50] I acquainted Sir Isham Sir John Isham MS.
line 57] sioned by-the-like-cause to continue MS.
London May 11 1627.

The actions of Germany are still but in preparation, & not fully ready for execution. The King of Denmark (as it is sayd he hath written to our King) hopeth, if our aydes promised be once come to him, he shall be this Summer 50 thousand strong. The King of Denmark (as it is sayd he hath written to our King) hopeth, if our aydes promised be once come to him, he shall be this Summer 50 thousand strong.1 Much speech is also of Bethlems preparation to ayd the Army in Silesia; but not yet worthy of credit.2

The Elector of Brandenburg begins, if not too late, to see the danger his Country is in, by the flocking thither of so many Imperiall forces both horse & foot: For the resisting of whom he hath summoned all his people, least his Marquisate should be surprised, & come into the same condition with the Provinces of Gulick, Cleve & Mont, where the Spanish forces still remaine, & are like to putt the States of the Lowcountries hard to it.3

The Emperor resolves to extirpate the Protestants out of the Province of Over-Ens in Austria, urging them either to conforme unto Popery or be gone. Many have already left the Country; in so much, that in the Towne of Stein there were some 250 houses already emptie & more still deparing both from thence & other places; And divers great

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1 Although I have not found this letter from Christian IV to Charles, it had been reported earlier in the year that the Danish army for the campaign of 1627 was to be 45,000 strong; see above, p. 645 n. 4.

2 As ?Meddus thought, this rumour was false.

3 George William of Hohenzollern (Elector of Brandenburg from 1620 to 1640) was brother-in-law of both the Elector Palatine and the King of Sweden. A Calvinist, he maintained a precarious balance between the victorious Catholic armies on one side and the Protestant powers on the other, allying with both sides during his career. Sir Robert Anstruther had written on 8/18 March that Imperial armies were already quartered in Brandenburg's territory; in order to prevent his territory becoming a war zone George William agreed a treaty with Ferdinand in May 1627, signed at his East Prussian capital of Königsberg; PRO SP75/8/folio 30r; Parker, TTW, pp. 54, 115. For the Cleves-Jülich affair see above, p. 747 n. 3; ?Meddus should have written "Mark" instead of "Mont".
Citties & Provinces much feare the like measure, by reason of such Imperiall forces, as are lately brought into their confines & Territories.⁴

More of the Boores are expected to be executed at Lintz.⁵ Meane while it is written, there is some insurrection beginning in Moravia & Silesia.⁶

A Bristoll Ship made a great fight with some Biscay men of warre, & with the losse of the Captaine & some few others they escaped; but meeting afterward with a Spanish ^prize^ they adventured upon it & took it.⁷ But on the other side, the Dunkirks have taken 2 men of warre or merchants Ships of Bristoll, together with a Scottish ship, & carryed them to Saint Sebastians in Biscay.⁸ There was newes at Court this morning, that the Earle of Warwicks Ships had taken 2 Dunkirk men of warre as they were plying to againe, betwene the French Shores & ours, but this is un= certaine. As the report in the beginning of the week that his Pinnacle was shipwracked was also untrue.⁹

It holdes still for the Dukes going to Sea, & that Soubiez goes with him, which seems to strengthen their conceit, who guesse the designe to be for the Isle of Saint Martin by Rochell.¹⁰ Some of the Ships are already fallen downe, & sayd that his Grace sets forward to Portsmouth about Thursday next, some say the Monday

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⁴ Although I have not traced this report the expulsion of Protestants from the Empire was an integral part of Imperial policy; see above, p. 762, n. 2.

⁵ See above, p. 682 n. 3.

⁶ I have not traced this report.

⁷ The prize in question was perhaps the Lady of the Beads, which was valued in Bristol at £1,539 on 23 May; Appleby, p. 268.

⁸ It was reported from the Hague on 12/22 May that two richly-laden merchantmen from London had been captured and taken to Passage in northern Spain; PRO SP101/47/folio 28v. For other reports of English, Scottish and Dutch prizes taken and brought to Spain see SP101/91/folios 33r-34r.

⁹ This rumour was false, as Warwick's ships did not actually sail until 9 May; PRO SP16/62/95 [folio 139r].

¹⁰ Contarini had reported on 2/12 May that some already thought the island of St Martin's was the likely target for the fleet; CSPV 1626-28, p. 215.
after & that his Majestie goes with him thither: but I think it no lesse uncertaine when, then it is, whither he goes, untill it appeare by the event. The last week was a great Colliers-Ship prest to be for his Graces living store of Provisions, & many Carpenters at work making Stalles for 4 fatt Oxen, 2 milch-kine, 2 goates & coopes for powltry & foule. His Trumpetters goe about to Knights & Aldermens houses to take their farwell & have something given them. His horse which his freinds send him are come in, gallant ones & bravely furnished. The provisions which have bin already made, & still are going out of the Tower are strange & exceeding: The choiest & welny all the most sufficient men for command in the Kingdome, as well as the most skilfull at Sea are to be employed in this Service: so that if it should miscarry (which God forbid) many are afrayd the losse would be almost irreparable. Tis sayd, his Grace makes a farwell Supper to their Majesties & that to morrow at night is a mask to be at Yorkhouse.

The whole City of London the last week was not able to afford above 2 or 3 pistolls, such as the horsmen are now to carry at their Saddles. Whereupon the Earle of Northumberland & other of the Nobilitie were sent to, for a supply, if it might be, out of their Armories: And it being at length understood, that the Earle of Warwick had some 6 or 7 skore, his Lady was sent to to sell them for ready money: which she excusing & refusing to do in regard of my Lords absence: the Duke either sent or procured from his Majestie

11 Buckingham made extensive preparations for the forthcoming expedition, including the provision of one of his best coaches and his finest clothes; Lockyer, p. 373.
12 For the cavalry sent with the fleet see above, p. 245 n. 11.
13 Contarini reported on 23 May/2 June that Charles had gone "to the Tower to hasten the artificial fireworks and others instruments being prepared"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 238; see also ibid., p. 247 and above, p. 727 n. 4.
14 It was noted on 23 May/2 June that a selection of "the best soldiers and sailors of the whole force" were to sail with the fleet; CSPV 1626–28, p. 238. See also Lockyer, p. 375.
15 This masque actually took place on Monday 14 May; see below, p. 704 n. 6.
a warrant to break open the door of his Armory & to take them all out, for the Kings use, which was accordingly done about Thursday the last week, without paying for them.16

The Gentlemen in prison had petitioned to be removed this Summer, & 20 of them had several Places assigned them in the Country; whereof some at Papists Houses; but they had no mind to accept these & some other conditions, as to put in bonds to be true Prisoners &c & so are like to stay where they are.17

On Tuesday was some consultation at the Councell Table about a Parliament.18

Wednesday & Thursday the Councell sate long about one Master Seton a Scottishman who brought out of France a lettre to the Queene, & a message from the French King † to his Majestie onely by word of mouth (without any lettres of credence) to know Whether this Fleet of ours was intended, whether for Spaine, or some of the French coasts or other where? Which howsoever it be construed ‡ or answered ‡, it is thought Seton will be layd by the heeles, for coming upon such a message in such a manner, & without giving the King some notice thereof before hand. He is a great Papist.19

Sir Harry Wotton, now a Clergie man, is like to be Deane of Canterbury, if not Bishop of Exceter; if he can bring off my Lord Wotton to match his daughter & onely child with the Earle of Denbighs Son; & resolve him whether in conscience he may not break a rash vow made.
to the contrary, when the motion was first propounded.\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 19] Stein there was MS.
line 61] the last losse would MS.
line 64] be at Court Yorkhouse MS.
line 66] 2 such or 3 MS.
ibid.] such as ^ the ^ horsmen MS.
line 68] berland Armory & other MS.
line 76] Thursday last the last MS.
line 89, credence] altered from "creditt".

\textsuperscript{20} For Wotton's entry into holy orders see above, p. 725 n. 5; these reports of his likely promotions in the Church proved false, however. Edward, 1st Baron Wotton (who had died in late 1623) was Sir Henry's half-brother; Thomas the second Baron had four daughters (none of whom married Basil Feilding) so this report proved false; \textit{DNB}, xxi. 964; \textit{GEC}, iv. 179; xii (pt. 2). 867.
Sir,

The multitude of other thoughts & some of them unquiet ones had as utterly driven out of my head the memory of your Bell-Poses as if I had never heard or thought of them; but you have the more reason to excuse me, in that you forgot them yourself. As soone as I received your last I went about them, but it was in vaine to expect any other sending then by the ordinarie hand, by which you shall now receive them such as they are.

I send you 3 sorts; choose which you like. It may be the middle one because in times suitable to all occasions for which Belles are rung, will please you. But you will ask how you shall find room? I think you must go twise about the crowne of the Bell, & lett one halfe be in one line & the other in a second line. For there is roome enough in the Freez or whatsoever the name be. If you like not this, you may putt the one halfe of the severall verses or posies about the Crowne, & the other halfe about the Chyme. When I was at Lyncolne Minster & saw Tom: a Lyncolne (which they call Tom a Whitsun;) about the Crowne was this Posie Spiritus sanctus a Patre & Filio procedens suaviter sonat ad salutem. And about the Chyme were the names of the Deane, Prebends

1 Stuteville had forgotten the subject of the new bells for Dalham church (see above, p. 751 n. 5) in his last letter to Mead probably because he, like Mead, was more concerned with Justinian Isham's troubles.
2 By the usual carrier, either "Parkers man" or the "Cheesman".
3 By the "Crowne" of the bell Mead presumably meant the top (OED, "crown", sb, 23, first citation 1756); the "Chyme" (line 19) was perhaps the "chime-barrel, a barrel or cylinder...studded with pins so as to lift the tails of the bell-hammers in due succession" (OED, "chime", 9). The "Freez" (line 16: frieze?) has not been identified.
& all other officers of the Church; for it had bin new cast. 4

About Boston Belles were poses meetred as long as these I
send you & went twice about the Crowne of the Bell. 5

But they had not beene carefully sett; for there was no propor-
tionable distance kept betweene the words, but some close some
further a sunder, & besides no even division according to the
meeter into 2 halves, but that sometimes, the last word
of the first distick, 6 began the second line. All which deformities
may be avoyded in yours, if the Bellfownder have good
direction given him.

If you had 6 Belles you might have taken the whole 150
Psalme (if that had liked you) for it hath 6 verses. I omitt the
first verse & send you the 5 last for your 5 belles, if you cast all;
if not you must passe by another of them as you think fitt. 7

I ordered the 5 meetred Posies (which is the second sort) accor-
ding to my fancie, assigning which I thought fitt to which Bell.
But if another order please you better, you may transpose them
as you list. I putt the Funerall posie to the Litle Bell, because
I fancied it to be the weeping or whining Bell, & some such
reason I had for the rest.

I could not think any poses so fitt as Hymnes & Praises; for

4 "Great Tom" of Lincoln Cathedral had been recast on 3 December 1610 with the names of the Dean,
Precentor and Archdeacon on it; C. Wordsworth, 'An Account of the Ordinances of the Company of
Ringers of Saint Hugh Bells and our Ladye Bells in the Cathedrall Churche of Lincoln' (Lincoln, 1889), p.
1. The bell-posy on line 22 means "may the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son call men
to salvation".

5 Mead had evidently taken an interest in the bells of the churches he had visited when he had travelled
north during previous summers, which had led Stuteville to ask for his advice.

6 I. e., "distich".

7 The five verses Mead sent (Psalm 150. 2–6) were (v. 2) "Praise him for his mightie actes: Praise him
according to his excellent greatnesse" (v. 3) "Praise him with the sound of the Trumpet: Prayse him with
the Psalterie and Harpe" (v. 4) "Praise him with the timbrell and dance: praise him with stringed
instruments, and Organes" (v. 5) "Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding
cymbals" (v. 6) "Let every thing that hath breath, praise the LORD. Praise yee the LORD". It appears that
Stuteville reduced his proposed expenditure on Dalham church; on line 36 Mead assumed that Sir Martin
would provide five bells but in the end he paid for only two; McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and
Bookbinder', p. 382.
we use Belles either to praise God, or to call the people
to prayse & pray unto him.

For newes you have what we had last from London.
The newes since is, That the Duke goes not till Munday, & that
then he goes; yet wagers are still layd pro & con.8

The Queene it was sayd, would enteraine him with a mask
at Denmark House before he went. Wherein were to be presented
many battallions & I know not what.9

The Corranto sayes that the Marquesse of Baden with his
Son passed by the Hague to go to the King of Denmark, & was
thought should command over the relicted forces in Silesia in
Mansfeild & Weymars stead.10

Captaine Penningtons Ships are brought to London & driven
up the Thames by skores, so they say. Whereby it should seeme
their number is encreased.11 They are full of wines, & will they
say make French wines cheap. He is to be knighted (they say)
for his good service.12

I wrot nothing to Sir John Isham, I would not yet
seeme so much to distrust the yong-Ones discretion & Promises
which he yet makes good; though since assaulted, & his Cosen
Pagitt too, to the end he might betray him. Would you beleve
the old Foole should clamber up to a top chamber (where Pa=
gitt & Tracy keep) there to prate with Pagitt, to undermine his
opinion of his Tutor, & then to send for meat & bestow a sup=
per upon him &c? It is true. And yet I greatly feare

8 This was yet another premature report of Buckingham’s departure. He did not leave London until the
morning of Wednesday 13 June; see below, pp. 254-257.
9 Mead confused here the farewell masque Buckingham was due to present at York House with one to be
given by Henrietta Maria; see below, p. 254n. 6.
10 No copy of this newesbook has survived; see Appendix II below. George Frederick, Margrave of Baden-
Durlach had been one of only two German princes to support Frederick V’s acceptance of the Bohemian
Crown, had abdicated his title and had fought on Frederick’s behalf from 1622 onwards; Parker, TYW, pp.
60, 62, 65. For reports of his journey with his son Christopher via the Hague to serve in the Danish army
see PRO SP75/8/folio 153r; SP101/47/folio 26r.
11 On 11 May Buckingham had ordered Pennington to sail his prizes to London; PRO SP16/63/15 [folio
18r]; see also SP16/63/31 [folio 41r].
12 Pennington was not knighted until April 1634; DNB, xv, 746.
him not, but I have some indignation at it, & say eftsoones
Deus bone quomodo hic vivitur! I am faine to use
a condiscent, & to expresse as much tendermes & affection to Master
Isham as I can with decorum, thinking that the best way to hold
him, & yet so find it. For it is a Countermine to the Method
that Son of Beliall is wont to use, viz to send for boyes
& bring them out of conceit & love of their Tutors, & so to make
them his owne, that is little better then Filii Gehennae, if God be
not the more mercifull. And this was the Doctrine he would have
taught your Nephew, if he would have been a Nicodemus or night
disciple. The next is, to engage them in some wickednes, whereof
himselfe being conscious, he may hold them fast, & as it were
in a kind of aw, untill accustoming habituates them.
If therefore Sir John should ever have need to write. It were
better he should make his Tutors love an argument not to displeas(e)
& greive him by any company or otherways; rather then to lay a
charge of Prohibition which must needs presuppose some complaint or info(mation made, & so rather hurt then help.
But now I have no more Paper, & therefore with my best
service to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christs Colledg

May 26.

Yours most ready

to be commanded

Joseph Mead

[b] I send you (If I forgett not) Master Burtons baiting
of the Popes Bull. Which the Newes telles you, is called
in. I bought it before that time for 14d, & lend you it
to read if you will, or buy it at my price: All that mak[es]

13 "May God [be] good however life is here".
14 Mead used this in the figurative sense of a "secret device or plot designed to frustrate another; a counter-plot" (OED, "countermine", 2).
15 This reference was taken from Power's letter to Isham intercepted by Mead; see above, p.330 n. 8. In New Testament thought the word Gehenna denoted the final place of torment for the damned after the Last Judgement, therefore "Fili Gehennae" (line 77) = "sons of the damned" (Cross and Livingstone, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 551).
it so desired, is in the Epistles & that Chiefly to the Duke.\textsuperscript{16}

\[s]\textsuperscript{a} I will gett you the mappes as soone
as I can; but the bookbinders keep
no words; & the Map-sellers of late
walk not.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 6, you] your MS.
line 45] the people to pray] MS.
line 51, were] where MS.
line 81] conscious, he he may MS.
lines 93–97, 98–101, I send...not] two continuations in the margin. I believe
that note b was to be read first and have placed it accordingly.
line 93] you (If think I forget MS.
line 95, bought] boughted MS.
line 96] at my prize price MS.
line 99] but these the MS.

\textsuperscript{16} Mead sent either \textit{STC 4137} or 4137.3; see Appendix I. The book was Henry Burton’s answer to the Papal Bull forbidding Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance; see above, p. 611 n. 10. (The epistle to Buckingham is on *1r–*1r of the first edition, \textit{STC 4137}; on alr–**4r of \textit{STC 4137.3}). For the controversy surrounding the publication of the book see Sir W. W. Greg, \textit{A Companion to Arber: being a calendar of documents in Edward Arber’s ‘Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1660’} (Oxford, 1967), pp. 242–43.

\textsuperscript{17} Stuteville was evidently still interested in acquiring maps; see above, p.\textsuperscript{320} n. 1. Mead intended to buy them from Cambridge bookbinders although his note suggests that specialist map-sellers operated in the town as well.
London May 18. 1627

Nothing certaine from Germany. But that some lettres from thence on Wednesday are sayd to intimate, that 4000 men levied in Pomerania for the King of Sweden, were rumoured in their march towards Dantzick to be surprised by their owne unadvisednes, & so forced to serve the Pole to save their lives; but how true ^ must ^ be left to further adver-
[tisement.] ^

The French King hath by a new Edict made all Englishmen & English goods prize;^ & greatly fortifies & strengthens with men & armes all along the Coast towards our Seas, fearing our designe to be for some maritime place of his Country: which opinion is here accounted probable, both from the qualitie of the Provisions & that Monsieur Soubieze goes along with the Fleet.^

Its Sayd, that a Frenchman was taken on Saturday going hence with divers papers & lettres of intelligence & a Magick book; He offered £30 for his passage, which being of many refused, one notwithstanding accepted, taking halfe in hand, & to [b]e payd the other moitié when he should land him; which he ment nothing lesse then to performe, but gave present intelligence of him

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1 Probably a reference to the Capitulation of Hammerstein. A force of mercenaries enlisted by the Swedes in Pomerania were captured by the Polish army in March 1627, which represented the most serious defeat suffered by the Swedes over the winter of 1626–27; Roberts, ii. 333–34.

2 This proclamation, Déclaration du Roi portant interdiction à tous ses sujets et autres résidents en ce royaume de faire aucun commerce et trafic en Angleterre, was issued on 28 April/8 May; Parker, La Rochelle, p. 80. The text of the edict is in M. F., xiii. 201–06.

3 The presence of Soubise had already suggested that the fleet intended to sail for the western coast of France; see above, p. 774 n. 10.
whereby he was apprehended. But with better fortune is one come hither this week with lettres of much importance who gave a Shallop £7 from Calais to sett him aboard upon any English ship or grownd.

On Tuesday night last the Duke gave his farwell supper at Yorkhouse & a mask unto their Majesties wherein first comes forth the Duke, after him Envy with divers open-mouth’d dogs heads representing the peoples bark=ing, next comes Fame, then Truth &c.

On Wednesday his Graces Horse here were mustered, & appointed as was rumoured, that Himselfe with the King should as on Monday next sett forward towards Portsmouth, though againe sayd yesterday to be putt of till Wednesday or Thursday; my Lord Duke & all his Company having appointed their Rendezvous at Portsmouth the 27 of this present.

The Lord Carlton is to go Ambassador to the Hague there to meet & treat with the French Ambassador by the mediation of the States.

Master Burtons baying of the Popes Bull was ye=

a: Yet some say it was not then presented but deferred.

---

4 Contarini had reported on 10/20 May that a French courier had been arrested at Dover: the man was later released but his “letters were detained and opened under pretence of having miscarried”; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 228, 239.

5 I have not traced this incident.

6 It was reported on 23 May/2 June that Buckingham’s masque presented on Monday 14 May showed “the putting to sea of the fleet, to inflame the king’s ardour”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 239; see also HMC Skrine, p. 118; Lockyer, p. 374. Mead’s marginal note to this passage was therefore mistaken, although as the masque had probably been deferred once already the uncertainty was understandable; see above, p. 74 n. 15.

7 Once again, delays meant that the dates suggested here were too optimistic; see above, p. 76 n. 8.

8 For Carleton’s embassy see above, p. 75 n. 9. Both the Venetian and Dutch Ambassadors feared that his journey was part of the continuing tentative negotiations with the Spanish; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 152, 164. According to Carleton himself (as reported by Contarini) his mission was to “listen to any proposal made to him...either on behalf of the French or of friendly powers for the reunion of the two crowns”: an extraordinary Ambassador from Paris was reportedly also on his way to the Hague; ibid., pp. 224, 246.
sterday called in, because the Epistles were not licensed;°
but its sayd some 1500 more of Master Cosins Prayer=
books called the Houre prayers or Devotion of the Church
of England are by commandment to be printed: whereas
at first were but an 150 to be distributed for private
use; but now by the jealousies & rash censures of the
people will be made publick, & perhaps in that respect
offensive; howsoever the same or the like was °twise° printed for
the use of private Devotions by authoritie in the first
yeares of Queene Elizabeth.° Burialls — 181
Plague — 0
Christenings 155

Plymouth May 9. Out of the
Warwick Fleet.°

Upon the 7°th of May came the Hector hither to us,°
wherein Sir Michael Gere should have served as Rere=
Admirall, but the Seamen were so mutinously disposed,
that before any Captaines name was propounded to them,
they swore desperately, that they would not budge unlesse
Sir Francis Stewart might be their Commander.° By
which mutinous love we are forced out of the Jonathan,
& the Hector must now be ViceAdmirall, wherein we

° For the controversy over Burton's book see above, p. 724 n. 16 and Holles, ii. 352.
° The complicated publication history of STC 5815.5 is discussed by L. W. Hanson, 'John Cosin's
°Meddus was perhaps referring to STC 16090, The primer and cathechisme set forth at large, with many
godly prayers, and STC 20735, A prymmer or boke or private prayers, both published in 1560, although a
number of such items were published in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.
° This letter was probably written by Jonas Styles; see above, p. 724 n. 3; p. 743 n. 11.
° Confirmed by William Ball's account; Bard, p. 25.
° Ball's version of these events is rather different; Richard Harris (part-owner of the Hector) was
originally to have commanded it but was removed, for unknown reasons, in Geere's favour on 7 May. The
crew, unhappy at losing their captain, refused to accept Geere, which forced the Earl of Warwick to go
aboard the Hector on the 8th to pacify them. He suggested Stewart as captain, which was accepted; ibid.,
have 4 pieces of Ordinance more then we had in
our former Ship, & a better Saylor, other men say also a
better Ship. We are victualled for 6 months; & if our
hopes shall deserve longer stay, we may draw it out to
7 or 8 months, & yet please the Saylor very well.

We still want 3 Ships of our Fleet, the little Neptune,
Bark-Warwick & the Robert: nevertheless we must
away & leave them to come after us: And I pray God
they may find us at the height appointed or come to us
immediately.

The list of our Ships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tunnes</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Neptune</td>
<td>500 — 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hector</td>
<td>400 — 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>400 — 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catt</td>
<td>240 — 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Neptune</td>
<td>140 — 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight</td>
<td>80 — 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark Warwick</td>
<td>60 — 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>70 — 26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summe 1890 + 601

Textual Notes: line 8, [tisement] Mead missed out a line in his transcription. line 20, be] the MS.

14 For the ordnance carried by Warwick's ships see n. 18 below. Styles was presumably part of Stewart's
entourage; once the latter, the Vice-Admiral of the fleet, had changed ships he did so as well.

15 Apart from these three ships, the Treasure and the Scalle were also missing; ibid., pp. 26–27. The
Treasure, Bark Warwick and Little Neptune eventually joined the Hector (which had itself become separated
from the rest of the fleet) off the Azores between 10 and 14 August, probably the "height" (latitude)
mentioned in line 72; ibid., pp. 49–50.

16 The full name of this ship was the Golden Cat; ibid., p. 20.

17 This vessel, described as a "Spanish patache" by Ball, was probably that captured by Warwick's ship the
Jonathan in December 1626; ibid., p. 26 and above, p. 578 n. 4.

18 Ball noted that the ordnance carried by each ship was as follows: Great Neptune, 48; Hector, 32;
Jonathan, 28; Golden Cat, 0; Little Neptune, 14; Flight, 6; Bark Warwick, 5; Robert, 6; ibid., p. 20.
line 47, first] after this word Mead interlined the letters “th”, probably the beginning of a word he chose not to complete.

line 65] 4 pieces more of Ordinance MS.

line 66, (folio 252r) dated “9 May 1627” in error by the “annotator”.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 2 June; sent with Mead’s transcript of London newsletters dated Friday 25 May, two books and two maps. Lines 29–37 taken from a newsbook. Folios 261v–62r blank; subscription (dated “June 2”) on 262v.]

2 June 1627

Sir,

I will make that my beginning, which must be all our Ends. The Countess of Bedford dyed on Sunday at night last, making an end of her life together with her means of Living.¹ Yesternight at Supper time the Belles rung out for Master Thomas Newcom.²

This week all was said for the present to be off the hinges & that the Duke would not goe. But yesternight comes newes, that on Thursday came a Post to Court at one a clock in the morning, & another at 6 with newes of a great Fleet discovered in our Sea’s, 60 sayle in one Company & 40 in another feared to be Enemies & Spanyards; that hereupon the Duke at 4 clock that morning upon the first intelligence, rode with all speed to Portsmouth &c. We expect to hear more certainty of this Hubbub, by this dayes letters:³ All Ships have bin stayed this 7 weeks or more; whereby there is at this present above a 1000 Sayle of Ships in the River of Thames, very many of them tall ones & serviceable, such, as in a week space might be pickt & rigg’d for Sea out of them a navie of a 100 Sayle

¹ Lucy, Countess of Bedford died on Saturday 26 May according to GEC, ii. 78. For the death of the Earl of Bedford see above, p. 767 n. 20.
² Thomas Newcom had been a Fellow of Jesus College from 1609 to 1625; Venn. iii. 247. Although his links with Stuteville have not been identified he left money to all the members of Sir Martin’s family; see below, p. 371 nn. 10–11. Mead gave this news such prominence knowing that it would be of interest to Stuteville.
³ News of a supposed Spanish fleet in the Channel reached London on Thursday 31 May. For more details see PRO SP16/66/4 [folio 6r], 10 [folio 13r–v], 15 [folio 20r]; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 248–49; Lockyer, p. 374.
& in a short time as many more. Thus I am told. By a Londoner.

The Lords of the Counsell have of late used to seaze upon the Merchants packets & break them open, both from & to their Factors, whereupon they have given a generall Caveat to their Factors to write nothing of intelligence, & by this means there is no more newes of forraigne affaires upon the Exchange, then is upon your Layes: whatsoever is, is from the Corranto, & that so ancient as it containes nothing done since May begun.

& so not worth relating. Onely that the King of Denmark hath taken & fortifyed an Island in the River Elve, which will hinder Tilly of Provisions. That Tilly hath taken Brandenburg Tangermund & other places in that Marquisate, & is marching through it unto the Land of Mecklenburg, meaning as is thought to passe that way into Holstein upon the King of Denmarks back, if he be not stopped. The 7000 men which the Swede sent to joyne with the Army in Silesia are safely come thither, having by the way beaten those who lay to intercept them.

I send you.

2 Mappes, such as you desire one varnishs

---0——58———8d

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4 The Privy Council had ordered the closure of the ports on 31 March; see above, p. 736 n. 11. On 27 May/6 June Contarini commented that “in England they have never seen so long a closure of the ports, so inconvenient for the merchants and so rigorously enforced”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 246.

5 For the restraint on letters abroad see above, p. 745 n. 9. Contarini complained about the measure as it interfered with his dispatches: ibid., pp. 215, 224, 237, 242; see also PRO SP16/65/59 [folio 82r]. Mead may have used “Layes” (line 27) in the sense of “A place of lying or lodging” (although this usually applied to animals: OED, “lay”, vb, 2a).

6 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.

7 The “Elve” (line 30) was the river Elbe, in the territories around which Tilly’s successful campaign of 1627 was fought. The construction of a fort "about 2 miles above Bremen" by the Danish had been reported on several occasions since April: PRO SP75/8/folios 76r, 91v–92r; SP101/47/folios 21r, 26v.

8 Although STC 18307.185, The continuation...June 8, reported on A3r that Tilly’s army had captured Brandenburg and other towns nearby, the occupation of the lands of the Elector of Brandenburg was carried out by units of Wallenstein’s army commanded by Hans Georg von Arnim; Wedgwood, pp. 222–23.

9 For this see above, p. 746 n. 3.
one not, which some like better 2s 10d a peecce.10

Lucan Translated ———— 0 — 1 — 8 11
which with Burton if you have him ———— 0 — 1 — 2 12

Make Summe 8s — 6d 45

Ovid de Arte Amandi is translated very neatly, but the author will not discover his name, because the argument is light & the book but halfe so big as this Lucan is 4s price or little under. It is suspected to be Sandis.13

If I can gett Master Cosins book as they call it, or the Book of 7 Sacraments as you will have it in the Country, I will send you it with these & the price upon the first leafe. Deare I suppose.14 Thus with my best respect I rest & am I heare complaint, that you feed my June 2. Yours most ready pupils ague with continuall breakfeasts & that he is not like by such physick to gett rid of it.15

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 8, yesternight] Mead began to write “yesterday” before altering the “n” from a “d”.

line 9] Thursday morning came a MS.

line 15] this 7 or a MS.

line 19] & rig’d rigg’d MS.

10 Mead had finally found some maps for Stuteville; see above, p. 792 n. 17.

11 STC 16887 was another purchase to satisfy Sir Martin’s taste for history; see Appendix I.

12 For Burton’s Baiting of the Pope’s Bull see above, p. 792 n. 16.

13 This book has not been identified with certainty. T. Haywood had published an edition of Ovid’s de arte Amandi in 1625 (STC 18935–35a), which may be the book in question; see also F. R. Johnson, “Notes on English retail book-prices, 1550–1640”, The Library, 5th series, 5 (1950), p. 107 (who assumes Heywood’s translation was that sent by Mead).

14 For Cosin’s Collection of Private Devotions see above, p. 795 n. 10. PRO SP16/65/72 (folio 102r–06r), “The objections which some have bene pleased to make against [Cosins’s]...Hours of Praier” lists and refutes thirty-two arguments against the book. Under the sixteenth objection it was noted that “Seven sacraments of the Church...was generally noysed to be the Tytle of the Booke”; ibid., folio 104r. See also Archbishop Abbot’s “Narrative” in Rushworth, i. LII4r.

15 I have not identified Mead’s informant. For his own method of treating an ague see below, p. 806 n. 2.
between lines 43–44] Which—with MS: this was the first attempt at the contents of the following line.

lines 50–56, II[f] 1...Mead] a continuation in the margin.
London May 25. 1627.

Not yet any thing memorable & certaine from Germany, save that from Brussels is written, that the Duke of Newburg hath obtained at Vienna a Reverse of the Emperors Proclamation for the Lands of Gulick, Cleve, Mont &c. & hath thereupon inhibited his Subjects of those Countries upon paine of Corporall punishment to pay any more contribution to the Elector of Brandenburg, who yet holdeth some Townes there, whereunto Newburg also layeth claine.¹

It is written also from thence, that in all the Great Cities & Townes of Spaine is a Lottery to draw in brasse money.²

In the Lowcountrie exceeding preparation is made on both sydes, strange engines made, & great intercepting of Convoyes; though hitherto the States have had the better, & pillaged (if they meane not to hold it) Dienstlach, where they slew 40 men, took 75 with 112 horse &

¹ Although I have not traced this report, see above, p. 747 n. 5 for the Cleves–Jüllich controversy. Meddus once again wrote “Mont” instead of “Mark”; see above, p. 793 n. 3.
² The copper coinage called véllon had been produced in huge quantities under Philip III. In return for a higher tax grant from the Cortes of Castile minting had stopped in 1618; three years later, however, to pay for the renewed war in the Low Countries Philip IV reneged on the agreement. By the time the production of véllon finally ceased in April 1626 it had driven nearly all silver coinage out of circulation in Castile, had caused a significant fall in real wages, increased inflation, and a weakening in the government’s finances (as the conversion rates between véllon and silver – which the Crown needed for all foreign payments – were so unfavourable). In order to solve the problem “diputaciones for the consumption of véllon” were established by a decree of 17/27 March 1627: acting as a type of deposit bank they were to accept payments in copper currency and repay 80% of the value back in silver after four years. This scheme, however, had little effect; see Elliott, Olivares, pp. 71, 75–76, 304–08 (quotation from p. 305).
6000 Imperiall dollers in specie. And it seemes, that both sydes were preparing to come into the field, & likely are ere this time, & that shortly we may heare of some thing done on the one syde or other.

Its written from Holland, that the French King had sent to the King of Denmark £40,000 already & £50,000 more expected: And that the Marquesse of Baden passed by the Hage to go to the King, & guessed he shall be Generall of the forces in Silesia in Mansfeild & Saxon Weymars roome.

Here hath bin here this 2 dayes much speech that the Duke of Memorancie Govemour of Languedock a Papist, yet upon discontent for being sleighted & not regarded at Court, went to Montpellier, put out the Kings garrison there, & putt the Protestants into it againe to hold it for their defence; As of old his Father or Grandfather did when it first came into the Protestants hands.

Yesterday morning was muttered a Stay of our Fleet; But before night a rumour, as if our désigné were discovered & prevented, & the Govemour of a place in France cast into prison, as conscious thereof; which we hope is untrue. And likewise, that an Ambassador is come to Dover from France.

3 I have not traced this incident.

4 Although Prince Frederick did not take the field until July 1627, forces of the United Provinces had already attacked the unfinished Rhine-Maas channel (for which see above, p. 289 n. 9) among other targets; Reade, iii. 36.

5 Differing reports had reached London in the previous weeks; a newsletter from Antwerp of 27 March/6 April had reported that Louis XIII had sent financial assistance to Denmark while another from the Hague of 9/19 May had asserted that, due to Anglo-French disputes Louis had decided not to send Christian any money; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r; SP101/47/folio 26v; see also above, p. 636 n. 7; p. 735 n. 7.

6 For Baden’s journey see above, p. 780 n. 10.

7 Although I have not traced this report, a later newsletter from Flanders (of 10/20 June) noted the “small satisfaction which Monsieur de Monmorency has, whoe is in his gouvernment in Languedoc”; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r.

8 Contarini reported on 27 May/6 June that both the delay of Carleton’s embassy (for which see n. 11 below) and renewed uncertainty over the fleet’s departure was related to the arrest of “certain persons at La Rochelle”; CSPV 1626-28, pp. 246-47. For Buckingham’s plans to capture a port in France (such as Calais) as a base for further operations see Reade, iii. 124-26.
or Savoy; but speech is, as if the Lord Carlton (who to day I think is gone toward the Hague to treat with the States, & other Ambassadors) should give him his answer to return back.  

There is much ado about Master Burton's baiting of the Popes Bull, or at least the Epistles & the Admonition after; which its sayd Doctor Jeffery saw not & therefore could not licence. Master Burton was on Tuesday attending on the Lords, but because the Council board was then thynne, he was putt off till yesterday; but how he sped, we yet heare not. The Printer also & one Bookseller are in trouble about it.

There was lately in Ireland likely to have bin granted to the Papists there A Toleration of Religion, with

---

a: He is not gone but stayed, though his coach were gone before & cold meat sent to his barge for his supper.

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9 The arrival of Mybaiai (agent of the United Provinces at Calais) in London on 27 May was perhaps the source of this item. If so the report concerning Carleton on lines 40-43 was false; ibid., p. 248.

10 For Carleton's embassy to the Hague see above, p. 295 n. 9. Contarini reported on 25 May/6 June that the former had been ordered to leave for the United Provinces immediately: on 27 May/6 June, however, he noted another delay in the embassy which probably led to Mead's note to this passage; ibid., pp. 242, 245-46.


12 The Privy Council evidently considered Burton's case important since they were not prepared to deal with him without a proper number of Councillors at the Board. For the practice of deferring Council decisions until a proper quorum was present see above, p. 452 n. 5.

13 Burton's *Baiting of the Pope's Bull* was printed by William Jones (and others) for Michael Sparke; *STC*, i. 182. For the Privy Council's order of 20 May to seize all copies of the book see *APC Jan.—Aug. 1627*, p. 289.
many priviledges, in consideration of a great summe of money.\textsuperscript{14}

And this Easter terme a great meeting was held of all
the cheifest of the whole Kingdome with the Archbishops
& Bishops &c where it was hardly hindred from being
then concluded; but for this worthy
Protestation following made before the Lord Deputy in
the name of all the Archbishops & Bishops of that Kingdome
by Doctor Downam Bishop of Derry,\textsuperscript{15} who upon the 22 of
April preaching at Christ-Church in Dublin before the
Lord Deputie & the whole State upon Luke 1 verse 74;\textsuperscript{16} in
the midst of his Sermon he openly read this Protestation
subscribed by the Archbishops & Bishops of that Kingdome.

The Judgment by way of Protestation
of the Archbishops & Bishops of
Ireland concerning toleration of the
Popish Religion. April 22.\textsuperscript{17}

The Religion of the Papists is superstitious & Idolatrous.
The Faith & Doctrine erroneous & heretickall.
Their Church in respect of both Apostaticall.

To give them therefore A Toleration, or to consent, that
they may freely exercise their Religion & profess their
Doctrine & Faith is a greivous Sin, & that in 2 respects.

\textsuperscript{14}This was a further development in the controversy over the Irish “Graces” (for which see above, p. 534 n. 33). In April 1627 a “great assembly” had met in Dublin specifically to discuss these proposals: due to the opposition both of the prelates (see notes below) and the Protestant Irish magnates the “Graces” were rejected; Moody et al. (eds.), A New History of Ireland, iii. 236.

\textsuperscript{15}In November 1626 twelve Irish bishops had met to discuss the proposed “Graces” and had drawn up a “protestation against the toleration of Popery” (see lines 67–92 below). This was read publicly for the first time by George Downname, Bishop of Derry, on 22 April 1627; ibid., p. 236; DNB, v. 1300; xx. 67. Downname had been a Fellow of Christ’s College between 1587 and 1596; Peile, i. 166.

\textsuperscript{16}“That hee would grant unto us, that wee being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without feare”.

\textsuperscript{17}Meddus’s account on lines 52–53, 56–103 is very similar to that in PRO SP63 (State Papers, Ireland, Charles I)/244/folio 317r–v and was perhaps based on it. Another copy of the bishops’ Protestation is among the papers of Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls: BL Add. MS 12496, folio 359r.
1. First it is to make our selves accessory, not onely to the superstitions, Idolatries & heresies, & in a word to all the abomination of Popery; but also (which is a consequent to the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, who perish in the deluge of their Catholick Apostasie.

2. To grant them Toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them is to sett Religion to sale & with it the soules of the people, which our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious bloud.

And as it is a great Sin, so is it a matter of most dangerous Consequent: The consideration whereof we leave to the wise & judicious, beseeching the Jealous God of truth to make those that are in authority Zealous of his glory & of the advancement of true Religion, constantly & courageoust against all popery, Superstition & Idolatrie.

Amen.

Having read this Protestation the Bishop at the end added And let all the people say Amen. When suddenly the whole Church almost shook with the sound of the Amens made by the people there assembled. The Lord Deputie required from the Bishop a Copie both of his Sermon & the Protestation to send them unto the King: whereunto the courageous Bishop answered, That there was nothing he either spake or read in the Pulpitt, but he would most willingly justify it before his Majestie, & feared not, who read or saw it.

Its sayd, that before this of the Bishop of Derry, Doctor Hammilton Archbishop of Cashills a Scottishman had preached also before the State, & averred in his Sermon, that who= 
soever gave that Counsell for Toleration of Popery
was an arrant Traytor & deserved Hamans end. 18

[device]

Another London ditto. 25 May

The * Duke * goes now to Sea upon the 7th of June, as I am credibly enformed, though others say the peremptory * day * is June the 31 which is not in our Calender. 19 The Project unknowne yea it may be to the Projector himselfe, because the designe may yet alter, as it lately hath done. 20 Howsoever this good it may do, to hinder the Spanyard from attempting upon us, & therefore hoped that when it goes, it shall not go all; seing the cheifest strength of the Kingdome both of serv-
viceable men & ammunition is embarqued with it: And my Lord of Warwick is sayd to have sent word upon some intelligence that the Spanish Navy still encreaseth. 21 Here was some report that my Lord of Essex should go Generall in the Triumph, but it is thought very improbable by others; the event will determine it. 22

Here is great pressing both in & about London, in so much that on Monday last in Middlesex toward Harrow on the Hill many were prest in their beds to the number of 500, & money leavyed to the Summe of £300 to sett them out; & when they brought both together to the Lords of

18 Dr. Malcolm Hamilton had been consecrated Bishop of Cashel on 29 June 1623; Chronology, p. 381. His sermon was, in fact, preached on the following Sunday, 29 April; Moody et al. (eds.), A New History of Ireland, iii. 236. I have not identified the sermon but Hamilton’s reference in lines 106–08 was to the hanging of Haman, formerly a favourite of King Ahasuerus, in Esther 7. 10.

19 Mead’s informant was in error, as Buckingham did not finally finally set sail until 27 June; Lockyer, p. 378. Lines 111–12 were presumably a joke at the Duke’s expense as a result of the continual delays in preparing the fleet.

20 For a possible explanation of lines 112–14 see n. 8 above.

21 While I have not identified the rumour concerning Warwick, it was reported on 23 May/2 June that reports of Spanish military preparations had “somewhat disconcerted the resolves” of the English government; CSPV 1626–28, p. 240.

22 Essex had been offered the command of one of the infantry regiments to sail with the fleet by Buckingham but had turned it down; Lockyer, p. 375.
the Counsell, they took the money & dismissed the men; which was the onely end of the press, because they were backward in their Loane. London seeing how they were served are growne more cautelous.23

There hath bin a rumour to day as if some Sea Captaine or other Officer were racked in the Tower for some deceipt about the Ordinance.24

Textual Notes: line 51] it Master-Cesins MS.
line 60] concluded; which-presently-eccesioned ^ but for ^ this MS.
line 61] following to-be made MS.
line 76, exercise] exercise MS.
line 91] Religion, zealous ^ constantly ^ MS.
lines 110–30 The Duke...Ordinance] Mead used a smaller script to fit this passage on the page.
line 113] may yet already alter MS.

23 I have not traced this incident.
24 The uncertainty of this rumour suggests that it was unfounded; I have not found any reference to it.
9 June 1627

Sir,

I have received yours, and am glad to hear my pupil is at length rid of his ague, and that your own symptoms so soon vanished. I have been myself since Tuesday morning somewhat out of tune but I hope it tends to health for I am as uneasy as those who have taken physic, and yet have taken none; but my head is eftsoones aching, till I am discharged.¹

The news we had on Saturday last I send you; besides which I hear since, That his Majesty went about Tuesday last to Portsmouth & that the Duke was to follow him on Thursday or yesterday.²

That Sir John Eliot is committed to the Tower, but the cause not known.³

That the Rainbow had newly sent in 3 rich prizes.⁴

That the great Fleet which came so near the Isle of Wight, proved a Fleet of Esterlings, & so that fear is over & somebody chid for being afraid, as they say, the Lieutenant of the Tower, for sending order to my Lord Mayor & his brethren that the City should have their arms ready for their own & the kingdoms defence; which the Lords of the Council counter ordered,

¹ Although John Stuteville had at last recovered his health Mead himself was now falling ill with an ague which lasted for over a month.
² Contarini noted that Charles left London for Portsmouth on Thursday 7 June. Buckingham followed him on Wednesday the 13th; CSPV 1626–28, p. 265; below, pp. 16–18 lines 42–45.
³ Mead’s report was not wholly correct. Sir John Eliot and William Coryton were imprisoned (in the Gatehouse and the Marshalsea respectively) for refusing to pay the Forced Loan after appearing before the Privy Council on Monday 28 May; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 298; Holles, ii. 353. See also Cust, F. L., pp. 168–70.
⁴ I have not traced the Rainbow’s capture of prizes.
informed there was no cause of fear. Thus I am told.  

The Gentlemen in prison have no hope of release

& themselves some of them begin to think so.  

There was the last week a flying rumour of some hard

success of the Earl of Warwicks Fleet, & that himself should be

wounded, lost many of his men, & some of his Ships, though he

came of at last with honour, some sayd took 3 ships of

the Enemy, which were treble in number of Ships, but

unwilling at length to fight any longer with desperates. But

now there is little or nothing sayd, but that he was encountered

with some disadvantage of number, but escaped reasonably well.  

If there be any credit in reports of that kind, I was told

some 3 days since, That the Earl of Dorsett hath bin in so

hot service, that he is faine to be disarmed for the cure. Be=

leave it if you will. If it were so, some merchants would be lesse

jealous of their wives.  

I can call to mind no more, but expect to heare what

this day will bring. Doctor Warner was with me most part of

the afternoone yesterday & the day before, & I think be still

in Towne.  

Thus with my best respect to your selfe &

my Lady, I rest & am  

---

5 Mead was correct: the fleet which had caused so much alarm the week before (above, p. 78 n. 3) was a fleet

of ships from the Hanse towns being escorted home by Spanish warships. The Lieutenant of the Tower was

Sir Allen Apsley, but I have not found any reference to the order mentioned on lines 19–21.

6 By the end of June the most militant of the Loan refusers had decided they would not be placed under house

arrest in the country (for which see above, p. 78 n. 17), but would have the legality of their imprisonment

tested in court, which (after Charles intervened in October) led to the “Five Knight’s Case” in November.

7 This was one of a number of completely false rumours about the the Earl of Warwick’s fleet that circulated

in London during June 1627.

8 Cogswell has noted that the Earl of Dorset “reveled in the court’s delights, both licit and illicit”. Lines

33–37 presumably referred to one of his amours; ‘The Path to Elizium “Lately Discovered”: Drayton and the

Early Stuart Court’, *HLQ* 54 (1991), 207–33, on p. 227. I would like to thank Professor Cogswell for
drawing my attention to this article and for sending me a copy.

9 Given Warner’s interest in current events (for which see above, p. 689 n. 1) his trip to Cambridge no

doubt involved a discussion of the latest London newsletters.
Christ's Colledge

June 9.

Yours most ready to
be commanded Joseph
Mead.

Master Newcom hath given a legacy of £55 to Dalham Hall.
The voice of the Towne is, that it was an £100 & that Master Beale
of Jesus Colledge made him to alter his will before his death & dis-
pose otherwise.¹⁰ I suppose your selfe my Lady & 7 children have £5 a
piece & Master Thomas £10 & that it was before £10 each. For I
heare that Master Thomas hath £10 for the rest I do but guesse save
for your self(e)
& my Lady.¹¹

Textual Notes: line 29] Ships, but not MS.
lines 46–52, Master...Lady] a continuation in the margin.

¹⁰ Newcome's will (PRO PCC 67 Skynner, folios 59v–60v) was drawn up on 30 May 1625. William Beale
and John Dodd (both Fellows of Jesus College; Venn, i. 116; ii. 50) were appointed as "Supervisors" of the
document (folio 60v). This copy does not, however, show any alteration in the bequests given to the
Stuteville family.

¹¹ Mead's facts were correct: "Item I give to the right worshipfull Sir Martin Stuteville Knight and his
virtuous Lady of Dalham in the Countie of Suffolk five pounds apeece...Item I give to the eldest Sonne
[Thomas Stuteville] of the said Sir Martin ten pounds of like money...Item I give to the rest of the Children
of the said Sir Martin by both his wives [Anne, Mary, Catharine, Jane, John, Elizabeth and Susan] five
pounds of like money apeece"; ibid., folio 60r; BL Add. MS 19150, folios 202r, 203v–04r.
London June 1. 1627

We have had here these 6 weeks or more a restraint of going forth of any Ships hence, either for merchandise, Passengers or Posts with letters: till that on Wednesday the Merchant-Adventurers got leave to depart with their cloth-Fleet, but were againe yesterday with all others Ships in the River stayed & prest for the Kings service by reason of a present conceived danger.¹

For on Wednesday at 6 in the Evening came a Poast to Court from Portsmeouth without lettre for hast, but as an Eyewitnes of a Fleet discovered neere the Isle of Wight of about 70 Saile of Ships. At 8 the same evening came a 2d Poast thence with lettres of confirmation thereof, & that they were great Ships double decked. And yesterday morning at 6 came the 3d Poast with the like newes. This sight hath putt the Country thereabout in great feare. And the Duke hereupon at 9 yesterday morning (though his Grace on Monday was ill & took a vomitt)² took Poast from Lambeth towards Dover there to take order for the safety of that Castle & that the Kings Navy, which now lyes most in the Downes may do what may be against this Fleet if it prove Spanish.³ But it is here rather supposed they should be Easterlings save some 16 or 20 saile, & that they carried ammunition & other Commodities into Spaine, whom now the Spanish convoy back againe, & together

¹ For the closure of the ports see above, p. 736 n. 11; p. 765 n. 9. I have not traced the orders concerning the Merchant Adventurers.
² Clare noted on 1 June that Buckingham had been let blood on the previous day; Holles, ii. 352.
³ For the alarm caused by the appearance of this fleet see Contarini's report of 1/11 June; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 248–49; see also above, p. 797 n. 3.
therewith bring men, money &c for Dunkirk. Others
feare some Invasion to be intended, & the rather because
it is rumoured, that in Picardy not farre from Callice
the French have many souldiers, & that Spinola is also
with an Army ready at Dunkirk: Howbeit some guesse
if they be Enimyes, they are more likely for the present
to intend the Danish Sound, which if they once gaine
they might not onely ayd the Pole against the Sweden,
but easily subdue both us & the Lowcountrie, being thereby to be deprived of shipping materials &
the Lowcountrie also of bread come:6

For it is constantly written, that Tilly is gone
over the River Elve, hath taken Brandenburg &
Tangermund, was marching toward Ratenaw & Bellin
& supposed he entended to wheel about through the Land
of Mechlenburg into the Land of Holst to assault the
Sound by land:7

Its certaine there be 10 more of the Boores at Lintz
in Austria executed, about 70 remaining to be proceeded
against, the rest are sayd to be pardoned, but must all become
Papist within 3 months or depart out of the Province of
Over-Ens; as it is also written the Protestants in Prague
are to be forced unto the like, & meane while are denied
all commerce & trade:8

Savoy & Genoa seeme ready to go againe together

4 This proved to be correct. After the resumption of hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces in 1621 merchantmen from the Hanse towns (especially Hamburg and Lübeck) which provided Spain with vital raw materials were regularly convoyed to and from the Peninsula by Spanish warships; Israel, pp. 209–10.
5 Another scaremongering rumour involving Spinola.
6 As control of the Baltic was seen by Spain as the means by which the United Provinces could be brought to make peace on Spanish terms the fears expressed in lines 30–36 (while eventually unfounded) were not groundless; Elliott, pp. 322–23. Mead’s correspondents (as they had after the battle of Lütter; see above, p. 468 n. 20) expressed their alarm throughout the later months of 1627 as the advance of Imperial armies under Tilly and Wallenstein made the capture of the Baltic a practical possibility.
7 For Tilly’s advance into Brandenburg see above, p. 377 n. 8.
8 Another report of the persecution of the Austrian Protestants; see above, p. 374 n. 4–5.
by the Eares.\textsuperscript{9} Here are yet more committed from the Westcountry to the Marshallseys about refusing to pay the loan.\textsuperscript{10} It should seeme, as by other arguments, so by a proposition which our Recusants on Thursday was 3 weeks had made to the Counsell of warre,\textsuperscript{11} that had not the Clergie of Ireland with courage beseeming their calling stood against the Toleration to have bin granted to the Papists there for finding of 5000 foot & 500 horse perpetually for defence of the Countrey;\textsuperscript{12} we might have bin here in danger of a like consultation upon a like offer of ours to find both Ships & men to secure the narrow Sea's from the Dunkerkers, French & all Pirates: But old Sir John Savill herein played the man, both in nobly opposing it & moving for a Commission to proceed against Recusants for their thirds due to his Majestie by Law, as that which would amount to a farre greater matter then the other would have done.\textsuperscript{13} Whereupon there is a Commission granted to him & some others for the parts beyond the Trent, with Cheshire & Lancashire included; & hoped the like may be for the South & Southwest parts; which if they went rightly on would yeeld no small yearly supply unto his Majestie.*\textsuperscript{14} Sir Thomas Bruidnells eldest Son returning from traveile out of France was taken by the Dunkirkers, & though his Father be a Recusant-Papist, yet cannot be freed without the payment of £2000 for ransome, besides

\textsuperscript{9} On 5/15 March the possibility of Savoyard military action against Genoa had been reported from Turin; PRO SP92/13/folios 20v–21r; see also Rubens's letter of 10/20 May in Magurn, p. 183.

\textsuperscript{10} This included William Coryton and Sir John Eliot; see above, p. 711 n. 3.

\textsuperscript{11} Neither PRO SP16/28 (minutes of the Council of War, May 1626 – March 1636/37) nor APC Jan.–Aug. 1627 have any reference to a Council meeting on "Thursday was 3 weeks", 10 May.

\textsuperscript{12} For the "Judgement by way of Protestation" delivered in Dublin see above, pp. 715–16 nn. 14–18.

\textsuperscript{13} The reference in lines 64–67 was to the statute 29* Eliz. c. VI; see above, p. 466 n. 16. To "play the man" (line 63) was to "perform the duties or characteristic actions of" a man (OED, "play", v, VI, 34); Meddes evidently thought Savile had done well to suggest a stricter enforcement of the recusancy laws.

\textsuperscript{14} For the commission granted to Savile and others see APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 312–13; PRO SP14/214/folio 137v; SP16/66/83 [folio 105r]; SP15/68/34 (I) [folio 54r]; Cust, F. L., pp. 196–97.
for his dyet lodging &c.\textsuperscript{15} Burialls —— 153
Plague —— 0
Christenings — 152

Textual Notes: line 34] but thereby easily MS.

\textsuperscript{15} Although I have not traced this incident it is possible Meddus was referring to events of the year before. Robert Bruindell had been captured on 27 July 1626 by a Dunkirker while travelling to France, and a ransom of £3,100 had been demanded; PRO SP16/37/34 [folio 55r].
Sir,

16 June 1627

It was wont to be the argument of Epistles & lettres betwene freinds to signifie each others health. On Sunday last at Church in the forenoone a Tertian suddainly surprised me with vomiting the feeling whereof caused me timely to go out of the Church & make present use of the Churchyard. It handled me something rudely for 6 hours. Wherefore I ment to starve it next time & was fasting both from meat & drink 24 hours when I expected it; yet nevertheless it took me as before; but against the third fitt, I fasted 40 hours, & then I thank God my guest came no more, but I durst neither eat nor drink till 6 hours after, least I should invite it. This is my fitt day, & because I sup’t well last night I am not secure yet I hope well. Thus I now see, whither my weeks physick tended which nature putt me to as I told you in my last.

For the enclosed newes, the first is Master Poryes, (who hath not written a long time): the latter lettre is the Doctors.

But the Duke began not his journey till Wednesday as my Lord Houghton told me, who came on Thursday night to my chamber

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1 Mead used the Ciceronian convention for expressing this in his letter of 14 July; see below, p. 817 n. 1.

2 Mead’s treatment of an ague was evidently different to that of the Dalham household; see above, p. 740 n. 15.

3 For Buckingham’s departure for Portsmouth see below, pp. 416–17 lines 42–46.
with Sir Roger Townsend, being going for North–folk. 4
My Lord & Sir Roger have married 2 Sisters Veres my
Lord about Michaelmas, Sir Roger but lately & his Lady was
now in Towne with him. She is but a little one. 4
Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my good
Lady I rest, (least my fitt take me writing), & am
Christ's Colledg
June 16
Yours most ready to
Yesterday (June 15) was
be commanded
that unfortunate day twelvemonth
Joseph Mead
whereon the Parlament was
dissolved.

a: My Lord enquired of your welfare &c.

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4 Haughton was the eldest son of the Earl of Clare. He had been an acquaintance of Mead's since 1623 at the latest and evidently also knew Stuteville; H389, folio 298r. "North–folk" (line 21) = Norfolk. For Sir Roger Townsend see Shaw, Knights, ii. 86.
4 Townsend had married Mary Vere on Friday 18 May; Holles, ii. 350. For Haughton's marriage see above, p. 452 n. 7.
Master Pory

London June 8 1627

The Gentlemen Recusants of the Loane do now upon the Dukes departure expect severall warrants to disperse them into several climates, which they will, they say, thoroughly consider of before they obey. Meane while Sir Harbotle Grimston & Sir Edmund Hambden have the freedome to recreate themselves within 7 miles of London round about, & Sir John Strangwidge to go whither he please for 5 weeks.¹

The King took his journey on Wednesday towards Portesmouth with Monsieur de Soubieze in the Coach with him; which makes all the world confident, that the Dukes designe is for some part of France.²

Yesterday was sennight (May 31) His Grace, to encounter the supposed Spanish Fleet, imbarked himselfe at Dover, & the same day got both to the Isle of Wight & Portesmouth & found them to be English, Flemings & Easterlings.³ On Saturday by 9 at night he was back with the King at WhiteHall & so gained a reputation of diligence mixed with a fortunate passage.⁴ Besides he brought some 27 of the generall Fleet from the Downes to their proper Rendez-vous, & thereby hath rendred his maine journey so much the more expeditious. Plymouth is to be the

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¹ For Grimston see PRO SP14/214/folio 136v; for Hampden, APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 319; PRO SP16/66/17 [folio 22r]. (Hampden had leave to travel ten miles from London, not as reported here). For Strangeways (who was given leave to go to Bath for five weeks) see APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 318–19. The release of Loan refusers from prison on account of their health is discussed by Cust, F. L., pp. 59–60.

² On 3/13 June Contarini had reported that Charles would probably be accompanied by Soubise in his inspection of the fleet; CSPV 1626–28, p. 251. The latter accompanied Charles on his departure from London; Lockyer, p. 375.

³ For Buckingham’s journey to oversee measures against the supposed Spanish fleet see above, p. 251, n. 3.

⁴ Pory’s view of this episode was more approving than that of Contarini, who thought that “each moment of absence render[ed] him [Buckingham] suspicious”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 251.
second & last Rendez-vous, for the horses march by land thither, being about 154 horses & men to ride them fully accomplished for the warre by the Duke & his freinds:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>His Majestie</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Earl of Banbury</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sir Francis Anslow</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Duke</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lord Craven</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir Robert Pye</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lord Steward</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lord Keeper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir William Beecher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lord High Chamberlain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Conway</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sir Humfrystle</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lord President</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Montjoy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Walsingham</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Dorset</td>
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<td>His Lieutenant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Jermin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Suffolk</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>His Corporall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Blowder</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Sarum</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lord Rochford</td>
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<td>Sir Francis Leigh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Carleile</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lord Castlesland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir Anthony Ashley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Holland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Savage</td>
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<td>Sir Thomas Denton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Exceter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lord Rivers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Tiringham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Berkshire</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Cheife Justice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir Francis Carew</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Northampton</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Vaux</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sir Roger Palmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Cleveland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lord Chamberlain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir Edmund Verney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Norwich</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sir George Goringe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Somersett</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellor of th’ Exchequer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bishop [of] Durham</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Master Edward Barrett</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellor of Dutchy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Master Packer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Master Somersett</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary Cook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Master Crow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bishop [of] London</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Master Francis Green</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This morning the Duke solemnly took his leave of the rest of the Lords at the Starchamber, intending by to morrow at night to be with his Majestie at Portsmouth; who at his returme from thence this next week is purposed to visile the Fortifications at Harwich & Landguard-point.

Whereas for these 2 yeares & upward there hath bin a plantation of English upon Saint Christophers one of the Antilla’s, or lesser Ilands at the Entrance of the Bay of Mexico; my Lord of

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5 For the cavalry to be provided by Buckingham’s friends see above, p.765 n. 11. Contarini, however, suggested on 23 May/2 June that the “200 horse...being undisciplined are of little use for this service”; ibid., p. 238 (although compare Lockyer, p. 376).

6 Once again, this report proved premature.

7 The invasion scare of 1625 had been centred on these fortifications which no doubt explained Charles’s proposed visit there; see above, p. 128 n. 8. The Privy Council was also considering the strengthening of the forts at this time; PRO SP16/68/28 [folio 44v].
Carlile hath obtain'd a grant from his Majestie under the great scale of England to be Lord Paramount of that & some 15 Salvage lands more (for so many there are that have bin thought worthy of names) & for that cause his Lordship is by some styled King of the Charibes.®

His Lordship also under the same scale hath a Commission to discover & seize all the concealed Lands in England. His search he hath begun at Wapping upon the tenements of one Stepkin lately deceased, who left behind him eleven Orphans otherwise (save out of those tenements, unprovided for. His Lordships claime is, that the sayd houses & ground have bin purloined out of the Kings waste videlicet the River of Thames, which is the Kings Highway. The cause was now this Terme to come to tryall; whenas on Wednesday last, by the providence of Almighty God, Father of the Fatherles, one of the Tenants digging accidentally in his cellar found the stub of an huge Oake, of which searching further for the rootes, found them to be Greene, as if a living tree had growne upon them; & unanswerable & divine proove, that that ground was never part of the Thames.®

There have bin many fables dispersed concerning my Lord of Warwick. But the truth is, he sett sayle from Plymouth the

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® The island of St. Christopher's had been settled by the English in 1624, primarily to produce tobacco. The syndicate behind the planting of the island, however, needed a patron to advance their interests and chose Carlisle, who was granted the patent mentioned here. For this grant (dated 2 July 1627) see W. N. Sainsbury (ed.), Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660 (1860), pp. 85–86 (in this grant the islands ceded to the Earl were to be henceforth called "the Carlisle or the islands of Carlisle province"); ibid., p. 86). For Carlisle's interest in Caribbean colonisation see Schreiber, The First Carlisle, pp. 168–81.

® Russell has noted that granting the right to discover concealed Crown lands (those for which the owners had concealed the fact that they held them from the Crown) was "an unpopular...but sometimes highly successful, way of raising money"; The Causes of the English Civil War, p. 177. The Earl of Carlisle was particularly associated with such grants: he had received them in 1617 and 1623 (both suppressed by Parliament, in 1621 and 1624). That referred to here was taken out in the names of Daniel Lea and Richard Smith (to protect the Earl from the wrath of any future Parliament). Although I have not traced the incident reported here, the 1627 patent (technically issued to search out defective titles to land rather than the contentious concealments) was principally concerned with the areas of Wapping, Stepney and Limehouse bordering the Thames; Schreiber, The First Carlisle, pp. 142–43.
10th of May, & hath not since bin heard of; nor do his freinds expect or desire to heare from him in a month longer.10

Here is one, whose name is Fleet, newly come from Virginia, who being lately ransomed from the Indians (with whom he had so long lived, till he had lost his owne language) reporteth he hath oftentimes bee within sight of the South Sea, that he hath seene Indians besprinkle their paintings with poulder of gold, that he had likewise seene rare precious stones among them & plenty of Blackfoxe, which of all others is the richest furre.11

Another London ditto.

Doctor Meddus

On Friday last were 3 Frenchmen committed close prisoners to the Tower, one is Pallory no gentleman, who had bin a Papist but seemed converted, whom its sayd King James employed in some forraigne affaires & is generally thought to be a bad man. The other 2 are gentlemen the Father & the Son, whose names are Saviniakes, held sound Protestants & is wished & hoped they may prove honest men. A 4th Frenchman the Master of a Ship is also close prisoner in the Gatehouse about lettres he carried hence with him for France found in his Ship, & which perhaps discovered those formerly mentioned.12

On Monday night was the Kings Storehouse at the Minories

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10 Warwick had set sail at about 6 am on Thursday 10 May; Bard, p. 26. For one of the “fables” referred to here see above, p. 300 lines 25–32.

11 As Pory had travelled to Virginia it is not surprising he sent this item; Powell, pp. 74–109. His acquaintance with “Blackfoxe” (the fur of “the red fox...of northern America, during a colour phase in which the fur is black”, OED, “black”, a., 18) was of long standing. In writing to Sir Robert Cotton in January 1605/06 Pory had described a Venetian delegation wearing “the richest furr of all others, black foxe”; BL Cotton Julius C. III, folio 302r.

12 John Beaulieu reported the arrest of “Monsieur de Savignac & his sonne... & Monsieur de Boislorée” in a newsletter from London of 6 June; BL Harleian 7010, folio 13v. Both Contarini and Salvetti concurred that the imprisoned men had been guilty of sending “intelligence” into France; CSPV 1626–28, p. 256; HMC Skrine, p. 119. The interrogatories put to Savignac and Boislorée are now PRO SP78/81/folios 152r, 159r; their answers are in ibid., folios 151r, 161r–v.
without Aldgate blowen up & no more hurt done, nor the
timber burnt nor fallen downe save the tyling &c. Sir William
Heydon who dwelles neere it, Lieutenant of the Ordnance
an ingenious gentleman had therein sundry sorts of fireworks.
Not certainly known whether it came accidentally or by practise. 13

On Monday likewise was here proclaimed in 5 Sheets of
Paper, that the Earle of Holland is by Patent the Kings Exchanger
for all coynes foraigne & domestick, bullion, ingotts & plate
to be converted into a new coyne, whereby all Goldsmiths are undone
being forbidden to intermeddle therein, save onely to buy
old plate to be made into new. As also inhibiting after
the 24 of this month in & about London within 3 miles; &
elsewhere after the 29 of September the offering or taking in
payment any light gold that wants any thing at all above the
bare allowance, or taking any thing for the exchange of gold
or silver coyne currant above the true value. 14

Textual Notes: lines 25–43] I have reproduced Pory’s list in a smaller font to fit it more easily on the page.

line 77] language) who reporteth MS.

13 Although I have not traced this incident it had been reported on 27 May/6 June that “submarine artificial fireworks” had been secretly tested on the Thames. The munitions destroyed probably included these; CSPV 1626–28, p. 247.

14 For rumours of the introduction of this patent see above, p. 730 n. 15; p. 267 n. 17. The proclamation (printed on five folio sheets as in this report) is printed in Larkin, no. 69, pp. 144–53; the details given by Meddes are on pp. 146, 151. The House of Commons examined Holland’s patent in the Parliament of 1628 and decided it was a grievance requiring immediate redress; CD 1628, iii. 446, 449; iv. 88, 99, 289, 296, 299, 302, 303, 404, 425–9, 434, 436, 439–40. See also Donagan, ‘A Courtier’s Progress’, pp. 323 and n. 17, 335.
813

22 June 1627

Sir,

I am this Friday going for Essex not to return till Wednesday: yet am I loth you should want your weekly intelligence, & therefore leave behind me this present with the enclosed to be delivered to morrow to Parkers man, which I hope will come duly to your hands.

I can adde nothing nor have time. They say our Fleet consists of 60 sayle of Ships, & that some also from the States are to joyne with them. & that they will be one way or other neere an 100 sayle.

For the Earle of Warwick, they say, he was betrayed & waylayd by 30 sayle of Enimies, but upon counsell seeing no other way resolved to break through them without shooting one shott till he was in the middle surrounded by them, & then let fly with that successe that he tore them exceedingly & so disordered them that he durst chase them & so took as the enclosed reports, but escaped not without great losse of men, & tattering his Ships, which now therefore he is mending in Ireland. Thus a gentleman come from London told me yesterday, but the Certainty we must yet expect.

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1 This was presumably another visit to Sir John Mead at Wendon Lofts; see the Introduction, p. 52.
2 I have not found any other reference to this. The Venetian Ambassador at the Hague reported a different rumour on the same theme on 2/12 July: "if they [Charles I and Louis XIII] can adjust their differences and if the two kings are reconciled, the English fleet might join the Dutch one"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 287.
3 STC 24746.3, A Catalogue of all the King's Ships...the 27 of June 1207 [sic] lists ninety-six vessels; compare PRO SP16/70/26 (I) [folio 44r] (probably the manuscript draft of the printed text) which lists ninety-nine.
4 This proved to be another false rumour concerning Warwick; see above, p. 810 lines 71–72.
The Corrant says the King of Sweden was shot above the hips. The Ship which brought the newes reports he made a speech, when he felt himselfe wounded, to his Souldiers as a dying man: but that at the third dressing which is critickall, there appeared hopefull signes, that the danger was past; which not onely his freinds, but those who are his Enimies (I meane the beseiged at Dantzick & therabouts) do wish much lamenting his mishap, though he be condemned for so carelesse adventuring of his person.

Thus in hast I rest with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady & am

Christis Collcdg Yours most ready
Friday June 22 to be commanded

Joseph Mead

Some yet will have this voyage to be for Hambrough & Denmark to be of the Confe[»]
deration &c. But all are guesses.

Textual Notes: line 1, 22 June 1627] the date was altered from the 29th to the 22nd of June by the "annotator" as a result of confusion with the following letter. See the headnote to Mead's letter of Friday 29 June, below.

line 18] chase them &c & so MS.

5 No copy of this newesbook has survived; see Appendix II.
6 On the night of 22/23 May – 1/2 June the Swedes attempted to attack an important Polish fort at Kæemark by crossing the river Vistula: Gustavus's boat came under heavy fire and he was wounded, forcing the Swedes to abandon the assault. His wounds were not, however, serious; Roberts, ii. 341-42.
7 A newsletter from Brussels of 10/20 June had reported speculation that the fleet was "to goe to Hamburg in Germany, to seaze on the city in the King of Denmarks favour"; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r. For similar rumours circulating in London see HMC Skrine, p. 116.
However it be true, That the yonger Count of Thurne Generall to the King of Sweden took 2 Townes from the Pole, & that 3 Cornets of his meeting with 6 Cornets of the Enimy slew & took them all:1 yet the Streame hath not a little turned since. For that King & the Count afterwards going by night armed with 4000 men by water in boats, to assault a Fort held by the Polonians, they were not onely putt off; but the King & Count shott with musquet bullets, The King into the belly, the Count through his armour & arme, the bullet grating also on his syde. The Kings bullet was taken out, & he alive 3 dayes after, when the last Ship came thence & hope conceived of his recovery, which God grant we may speedily heare of.2

Since that Generall Morgan had bravely defended and preserved the Fort he was in, onely with 300 a men & loosing but 4 or 5 of them against 14,000 b of Tillyes, of which it is sayd, he slew about 1000.3 It is now sayd, (but we know not how truly) that the King of Denmark assaulting

a: Others 500.
b: Others 10,000.

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1 I have not traced this incident. A “comet” as used in line 4 meant a “company of cavalry so called from the standard carried at its head” rather than the standard itself (OED, “comet”, s. v., 4; compare Mead’s usage on p. 273 line 64 above).
2 For Gustavus’s injury at Käsemark see above, p. 314 n. 6. Sir Robert Anstruther reported that Thurn had been seriously injured while an Augsburg newsletter of 27 June/7 July noted that the latter was “upon his recovery”; PRO SP75/8/folio 153v; SP101/29/folio 1r.
3 Although I have not identified this engagement, Morgan had been ordered to defend a Danish fort on the Weser after news that Tilly was marching towards it reached Christian IV; PRO SP75/8/folio 76r.
one of Tillyes Forts had the repulse with losse.\(^4\)

The States & WestIndy Company of the Lowcountries remembering the late dishonour & losse which they suffered by the Spanyard at Todos Los Santos in Brasill \(^5\) thought politickly without noise & suspicion to send againe a Fleet thither; which they did by 4 or 5 sayle at a time, appointing them by a sealed Commission to open at such an height,\(^6\) there to stay till others came to them; where at length they all mett to the number of 36 sayle, & thence directed their course to the Bay of Todos los Santos: where they found a good Fleet of Hamburgers & other Easterlings some say 26 some 35 sayle hyred by the Portugallls,\(^7\) with whom they fought, fired the Easterlinges save such as were laden, which they brought to Plimmouth & Falmouth with 3 or 4000 chests of Sugar estimated at £100,000 besides other commodities, but had their owne Admirall burnt. They say, had they had but 500 landmen they might againe have taken the Towne.\(^8\)

The King on Monday last by the Dukes order was feasted aboard the Triumph at Portsmouth by Sir John Watts the Captaine & was aboard every ship great & small.\(^9\) Its sayd, his Majestie sent to the Duke to come thither speedily. Hereupon Coaches & horses being waylayd. His Grace with the Earle of Holland &c rode hence about 9 on Wednesday morning to be at

\(^4\) I have not trized this rumour.

\(^5\) A fleet of the Dutch West India Company had captured Bahia in Brazil (of which Todos los Santos was the port) in May 1624; a huge armada from Spain and Portugal arrived there on Easter Eve 1625, however, and recaptured the town; Israel, pp. 130–32.

\(^6\) That is, at a latitude agreed before the ships left the United Provinces.

\(^7\) Rubens reported that the ships captured by the Dutch were "from Antwerp, but were chartered and laden by the Portuguese"; Magurn, p. 193.

\(^8\) Rubens (on the basis of intelligence from the United Provinces) had notified Spinola of the likelihood of an attack by the Dutch on Bahia as long before as June 1626, so it was evidently not such a closely guarded secret; ibid., pp. 134–35. The Dutch seized 2,565 chests of sugar amongst other booty; Israel, p. 197. For an account of the attack on Bahia by the commander of the Dutch fleet (Piet Heyn) see PRO SP84/133/folios 80r–82v.

\(^9\) Charles had dined aboard the Triumph on Monday 11 June; PRO SP16/66/67 [folio 86r]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 268. See also below, p. 926 n. 17.
Portsmouth that night at Supper. Its sayd there is an 100 thousand pound sent downe, the most of it taken for sale of the French goods by candle at Merchant Taylors Hall, therewith to pay the Souldiers & marriners both the arre= rages & 2 or 3 months aforhand to encourage them the better. Whatsoever the designe of this Fleet be, it is sayd the French King hath by a new Edict in Court Parlament confirmed to the Protestants all their former Priviledges, & the Fort Saint Lewis at Rochell to be demolished; though a Ship some few dayes since come from Rochell to Portsmouth relates otherwise, that the Towne was in distresse & misery. There are many forces drawne downe into Picardie upon pretence to defend Callis against some feared invasion from us. But those that conceit our designe to aime at Flanders & Dunkirk construe it otherwise but against probabilite seing our Breach is in earnest with the French & cannot be imagined a Collusion. There be some of this Citty committed about the Loane; & speach still as if the Gentlemen Prisoners should be remitted into

10 For Buckingham's departure for Portsmouth see Lockyer, p. 375.
11 Contarini reported on 19/29 June that Buckingham had taken £40,000 with him "realised by the sale of the French goods [largely those captured by Pennington in April 1627]" and commented that the Duke was wise "to take money with him to pay the soldiers and sailors"; CSPV 1626-28, p. 269; see also Lockyer, p. 368; HMC Skrine, p. 119. "By candle" (line 47) means "to dispose of by auction in which bids are received so long as a small piece of candle burns, the last bid before the candle goes out securing the article" (OED, "candle", sb, II, 5d; first citation 1652).
12 I have not traced this (probably false) rumour. As plans were already in existence to beseige La Rochelle the demolition of Fort St. Louis (for which see above, p. ftoj n. 5) was not likely to happen; Clarke, pp. 140–41.
13 I have not traced this incident.
14 For a previous report of French forces being mustered near Calais see above, p. 803 n. 5.
15 Although this rumour was false, an English attack upon Flanders was evidently considered a possibility in Brussels; a newsletter from Brussels of 10/20 June had reported that the "Archuchesse hath given ordre that all bee in a readinesse in Flanders doubting of the English". Another from Bonn of 24 July/3 August noted that on the departure of the English fleet "(comming not against Flanders) all the troopes, that were brought thether, were recalled and marched to Brabant"; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r; SP101/29/folio 1r.
some places in the Country to take the aire. Nor are those who are already out discharged, but being ill are onely permitted for a time to use the benefit of the Bath & others meanes & afterwards to returne. The Knights & Gentlemen of the Gatehouse are sayd to have yesterday petitioned the Lords for more libertie this Summer, & my Lord President being their freind, it was granted they should be billeted in Middlesex in a good aire at the High Sheriffs appointment. As the other Lords or most of them which are Refusers are disofficed so are also The Earle of Bullingbrook & the Earle of Kent putt out of their Lieutenants places; & the Earle of Huntingdon suspended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burials</th>
<th>Plague in</th>
<th>Saint Sepulchers</th>
<th>Christenings</th>
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<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>126</td>
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London Saturday June 16. 1627

The last Wednesday the Duke sett out from hence towards Portsmouth, where (they say) the King will take up his aboad, till he see him under sayle, which is thought will not be yet this

16 For the removal of Loan refusers from prison see above, p.380 n. 1. A number of London citizens were later among those sent to confinement in the country; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 424, 429.

17 Sir John Strangeways was one of those allowed to go to Bath; ibid., pp. 318–19.

18 Sir John Pickering had petitioned to be removed from confinement to improve his health, and the Keeper of the Gatehouse was ordered on 13 June to deliver him to the High Sheriff of Middlesex; ibid., p. 342. See also Cust, F. L., pp. 59–60.

19 Meddus’s report was probably based on fact. Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke, had been joint Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire since 1619 but was excluded from a new commission issued on 21 July 1627 (he was reappointed in 1629); Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, had been joint Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire since 1621 but was omitted from a commission issued on 31 October 1627 (he was reappointed in 1629); J. C. Sainty, Lieutenants of Counties 1585–1642 (1970), pp. 11, 24. Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire from 1607 to 1642 (ibid., p. 26) but had evidently heard that he was to lose his place; his defence of his conduct is now PRO SP16/67/2 [folio 2r–v].
14 days. His Majestie is in continuall action visiting the souldiers & seeing them exercised, sometimes at Portsmouth, sometimes at Winchester, sometimes at Southampton, & sometimes at the Isle of Wight, & sometimes in other places & ^ will ^ not returne as they say, till the Duke & Fleet be gone.

On Tuesday I saw a lettre from Master Abraham Jenings of Plymouth dated this day sennight, which sayth, that they have not there heard of my Lord of Warwick, nor of any of his company since he sett out to Sea. Onely his 3 Ships that went out the 1 of June some time after his Lordships departure, (to wit, The little Neptune, the Bark Warwick & the Fortune) within 4 or 5 dayes after they sett sayle from Plymouth sent thither two small Frenchmen of Saint Malo, one of 60 tun, & the other but of 20, laden with Lead, Pipestaves, linnen & woollen cloath bound for Malaga. They onely sent a Lieutenant & 17 men aboard of them, & so never hindred their course for so small a tryffe. Yet from the Chancellor of Scotland I heare, there are lately come letters, That my Lord of Warwick having had a sore fight at Sea & lost many of his men hath brought 5 rich prizes into some part of Ireland, & that he hath sent one of his Servants by the way of Scotland hither to make relation of his successe; which how true it will prove, we yet expect.

20 On 19/29 June Contarini reported that “The departure of the fleet is still delayed, as usual”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 268. This time, however, ?Pory’s estimate was reasonably accurate: the fleet left Portsmouth on the 27th.

21 Salvetti reported on 22 June/2 July that Charles witnessed the drilling of the troops “almost daily”; HMC Skrine, p. 120; see also Lockyer, pp. 375–76. Contarini had suggested on 27 May/6 June that levies were being billeted in the Isle of Wight to prevent them from deserting; CSPV 1626–28, p. 247.

22 Although the letter mentioned here has not apparently survived, some of Jennings’ dispatches sent from Plymouth are now PRO SP16/21/82 [folio 123r], SP16/23/93 [folio 139r], SP16/47/39 [folio 60r–v].

23 The Earl of Warwick had left Plymouth on 10 May, although I have not traced this incident; Bard, p. 26. A “Pipestave” (line 96) is one of the “thin, narrow, shaped pieces of wood” used to make a cask or barrel (OED, “pipe”, 3).

24 Chancellor Sir George Hay’s news of Warwick’s fleet was yet another false rumour on the subject. ?Pory’s links with the Earl no doubt led him to deal with the subject at some length.
A Fleet of Hollanders have taken, burnt & sunk some 30 sayle of Hamburgers Lubeckers & Portugalls which they found riding in the Harbour of Baya in Brasil; out of which they took 4000 chests of sugar valued at £80,000, & had they had but 400 men more, they had taken the Towne the second time. Having performed this exploit upon the Portugalls, & those which for hire joined with them, they are returned by the way of the West-Indies, to infest the Spanyard there.25

My Lord Baltimore lately knowne by the name of Sir Georg Calvert is gone personally for Newfound Land, there to lay the Groundwork of his Plantation called Avalon, being in the Southpart of that land in the Latitude of 47.26

Sir Kelham Digby is going to Sea with 4 Ships, which are to consort with 8 Hollanders intending to get a Commission under the Great Seal, to take what he can get from the King of Spaine & the Archduchesse & their Subjects.27

There was a report, that the King of Sweden was sore hurt with a Shot, which divers here in Towne do contradict.28

[device]

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25 For the raid on Bahia see nn. 5–8 above. Medius’s version of the same news on line 37 differed in the number of men needed to recapture Bahia (which suggests the two men had different sources; I am grateful to Dr. Marie Axton for this point). “Infest” (line 112) was probably used in the sense of to “trouble (a country or place) with hostile attacks; to visit persistently...in large numbers for purposes of destruction” (OED, “infest”, v*, 2).

26 The Avalon peninsula in southern Newfoundland had been first settled in 1610; Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 336. Although Calvert went to there on a preliminary visit in July 1627 (referred to here) settlement did not begin in earnest until the following year. The scheme was abandoned in favour of the Maryland plantation in 1629; ibid., pp. 337–38; DNB, iii. 723.

27 Due to opposition from the Admiralty (principally from Edward Nicholas, Buckingham’s secretary for naval affairs) Digby was not able to leave England until January 1627/28 with a revised (and less wide-ranging) commission; Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, pp. 109–12.

28 That some denied that the Protestant hero Gustavus had been wounded is understandable; see above, p. 714, n. 6.
Textual Notes: line 9] musket shot bullets MS.
line 19] Denmark going assaulting MS.
[Bifolium. Written on Friday 29 June (due to Mead’s illness; see n. 3 below). This letter has been misdated “22 June” at the top of each page by the “annotator”, either in confusion with Mead’s letter of Friday 22 June or with the date of the London news included in this letter. Lines 34–68 (apart from Mead’s notes on lines 55, 64–68) taken from John Pory’s London newsletter of Friday 22 June; lines 71–103 (apart from Mead’s note on line 87) from Dr. James Meddus’s newsletter of the same date. Subscription (dated “June 29”) on folio 274v. This letter addressed to Stuteville is unusual in that Mead omitted any valediction, presumably forgetting to do so after completing his transcript of London news.]

2[9] June 1627

Worthie Sir,

I must also anticipate my wonted day; the reason you shall soone understand. On Wednesday afternoone I returned out of Essex, where & at Hadham in Hertfordshire I had been gormandising at wedding feasts & jotting on horsback 5 days together having had no rest save on Sunday in all my journey, & on Saturday had never a dry thred on my leggess.1 Yesterday (the next day after my return) betweene 9 & 10 my old ague seazes againe upon me, as I was at the Clerum at Saint Maries,2 & held me till after 3. To morrow I am afrayd I shall againe heare of him & therefore write to day least I should not then be able:3 Last night when my Fitt was off I eat a reasonable supper, but meane God willing to fast all this day both from meat & drink, & to morrow likewise, untill the time of my fitt be over which will be 40 houres at the Least: & I hope I may find

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1 I have not identified the weddings attended by Mead. To “jot” (line 6) is to “jog, jolt, bump” (OED, “jot”, v1).
2 Great St. Mary’s, the University church. “Clerum” (line 10) is short for “concio ad clerum, discourse to the clergy. A Latin sermon, preached on certain occasions at the English Universities” (OED, “clerum”, first citation 1655).
3 Mead was right to be worried about the likely return of his ague on the following day. See the Textual Note to H390, folio 274v below.
the like effect thereof which I found the last time.  

At my coming home, at the same time I received your lettre  
I received also from Sir John Isham, inviting me to Northamp-  
tonshire, & desiring me to appoint the time when he should  
send horses for me, his Son, & cosen Pagitt, & if we could  
by any means to bring your Son with us. I answered, my  
journey was sett, if God shall grant me health, for Lyncolnshire  
& thence for Hull &c & that in my returne back I pur=  
posed to see some freindes in Northamptonshire & cheifly himselfe.  
But for the time he should send for Master Justinian if he  
continued so resolved, I appointed it to be after the 15 day of  
the next month: if you will then send Master John, I shall  
bring him back (in my returne) to Dalham, & perhaps his Cozen  
with him.  

But it is now time to tell newes.  

Master Pory wrot thus.  

London Friday June 22.  

Here is lately arrived one Captaine Harrison, who in March  
was employed to Salley in Barbarie for redemption of the  
English Captives there; for accomplishment whereof (according  
to his contract) he left there 6 or more pieces of Ordinance  
mounted upon feild-carriages for defence of that Port delivered  
him out of the Tower; which I my selfe saw & reasoned  
with the Earle of Totnes Master of the Ordinance concerning the  
strangenes of such a contract. Well, he hath brought home  
all his Countrymen that were there to be found to the number  
of about 110 & together with them an Ambassador from Sally, to

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4 For this see above, p. 826 lines 8–13.
5 Mead included an account of his travels during the Long Vacation in his letter of 18 August; see below, p. 833. John Stuteville did not, apparently, visit Lamport Hall as suggested by Sir John Isham.
6 At this time it was estimated that between one and two thousand English captives were being held at Salley (modern Fez in Morocco, as Mead's note on line 55 indicates); Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, pp. 162–63.
7 Captain John Harrison's warrant to carry ordnance to Salley is in APC Jun.–Dec. 1626, p. 391. See also ibid., pp. 251–52, 255–56, 275, 296–97, 320; PRO SP71/12 (State Papers, Morocco, 1577 – 1636)/folio 112r. Even though Pory discussed the matter with his friend Totnes, it is unusual to find him arguing with a Privy Councillor about government policy.
proffer the subjection of that place unto his Majestie. The inhabi-
tants thereof be of those Mores that were banished out of
Spaine; the Towne belongs to Mulley Zydan King of Morocco,
but they having moulded themselves into a Republique do keep it
from him by strong hand; & besides they stand in feare of the
Spaniard.

This Captaine Harrison told me, That a man of warre of
Holland about a month ago assured him, he had some days before
mett my Lord of Warwick about the South Cape of Spaine.

And for the Scottish newes, we know it, absque hoc, to be but
a fable.

a: But it stands in Fez.

8 For more on Harrison and his negotiations in 1627, see Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, pp. 168–69. (Andrews estimates that approximately 190 captives were released as a result of Harrison’s journey).

Finet learned of the arrival of two Ambassadors from Sallee on 14 June: they had their first audience with Charles on Wednesday the 27th; O7r–O8r. Finet recorded that “the substance of their Negotiation” was “a suit for his Majesties protection and confederation with them against the Spaniard, who had expelled them from Spaine”; ibid., O7r.

9 The Moriscos were those of Arab descent who had remained in Spain after the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada in the late fifteenth century and had nominally accepted the Christian faith. The decision to expel them from Spain had been taken in April 1609; by 1614 approximately 275,000 had left, many settling in the Barbary States; Parker, Europe in Crisis, pp. 149–50.

10 In April 1627, just before Harrison’s arrival there, the rulers of Sallee had expelled the governor of the sheriff Mulay Zidan and set up a “virtually independent republic”; Andrews, Ships, Money and Politics, p. 167. See also CSPV 1626–28, p. 306.

11 According to William Ball’s account of Warwick’s voyage the fleet spent most of June cruising off the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, so the information on lines 50–52 was probably based on first hand observation; Bard, pp. 31–38.

12 For the “Scottish newes” see above, p. 819 lines 98–104 and n. 24. “Absque hoc” (line 53) = “without this”; Pory did not need Harrison’s news to believe that the report of Warwick’s loss of ships was false.
The King is expected here to morrow, b & the Dukes departure to follow upon Tuesday or Wednesday. 13
The King of Sweden is acknowledged to have bin hurt, but slightly & cured againe. 14
And the Jesuited Faction here have blown abroad a rumour no lesse, then that the Army of the King of Denmark is defeated, Colonell Morgan slayne & the King himselfe fled into the Netherlands. 15  Credat Judaeus Apella &c.

b: His Majestie was returned on Sunday & the Duke had taken his leave of him & the voice is now that he is gone: & a strong conceit among some that the designe is for Barbary to land the Moores in Spaine & to arme them &c & that such a Proposition was made by this Captaine Harrison 2 yeares since. How true I know not.

13 According to a report of 26 June/6 July Charles was due to leave Portsmouth on the following day; CSPV 1626-28, p. 279. Buckingham set sail on Wednesday 27 June; see p. 930 below. Unfounded speculation about the destination of the fleet, reported before (see for instance above, p. 914 n. 7) is well illustrated in Mead’s note b: the arrival of Harrison and the Duke’s imminent departure were now thought to be part of the same strategic plan.

14 For this see above, p. 914 n. 6. Gustavus recovered quickly enough to command the campaign in person before many weeks had passed; Roberts, ii. 342.

15 Pory’s scepticism about this rumour was well founded, if characteristically suspicious of Catholic duplicity. A similar rumour of “an utter overthrow given by Tillies armie unto the King of Denmarke” was reported from Bonn in a newsletter of 5/15 June, but was quickly proved to be false; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v.

16 “Appella the Jew must believe it (not I)” (from Horace’s Fifth Satire). In other words, “If you can believe this, you can believe anything”. I am grateful to Dr. Elisabeth Leedham-Green for advice on this point.
The Doctor thus.

London. ditto

When his Majestie was the second time feasted aboard the Triumph at Portsmouth by the Duke, the Chest with the Kings Plate fell into the Sea & there lies; for the Dutch dyver is sayd not to have found it.\(^1\)

The Knights & Gentlemen imprisoned about the Loane are \(^1\) for taking of aire \(^1\) moved into other Countries not into their owne:\(^1\) Sir Francis Barrington hath liberty for all Surrey, where he will. But is in so deep a Consumption (having suckt a womans brest these 5 weeks) that he is not likely to remove farre or live long; yet is gone out of the Marshalsea's into a Garden house in Southwark.\(^2\) But our 6 Citi\(^2\) zens that were with Pursevants, are removed into the Fleet & the Gatehouse, & there are many more appointed to attend the Lords.\(^3\)

A Ship that came hither 2 dayes ago from the EastCountries brings newes of the King of Swedens being well recovered of his hurt & that he was againe in the field;\(^4\) But that the Count Thorne

c: Malum omen.

\(^1\) Meddus was probably in error here. Charles dined aboard the *Triumph* on 11 and 21 June but it was on the first occasion that the silver plate was lost overboard; *CSPV* 1626–28, p. 268. Salvetti reported that the plate "was afterwards for the most part fished up again"; *HMC Skrine*, p. 120. The "Dutch dyver" (line 73) is unidentified.

\(^2\) For the removal of Loan refusers to confinement in the country see above, p. 320 n. 1 and *APC Jan.–Aug. 1627*, p. 395–96.

\(^3\) The warrant to deliver Barrington to the High Sheriff of Surrey is in *APC Jan.–Aug. 1627*, pp. 346–47. Sir Francis, at sixty-five, was the oldest of the "gentlemen recusants" and had made his will on being imprisoned in November 1626. He died on 3 July 1628; Cust, *F. L.*, pp. 220–21, 233; G. A. Lowndes (ed.), 'The History of the Barrington Family', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, new series, 2 (1884), p. 23.

\(^4\) A number of Loan refusers in the City of London had been committed to prison in the week before 29 June. Seven more were imprisoned by warrants issued on 19 July; PRO SP16/68/28 [folio 45r]; *APC Jan.–Aug. 1627*, pp. 424, 429.

\(^5\) See n. 14 above.
his Generall was still ill of his double shot through his armour
arme, & syde, & feared would hardly recover.22

On Wednesday we had here a great hubbub of worse
newes, That the King of Denmarks whole Army was quite
overthrowne, slayne, taken, dispersed, himselfe hardly escaping with life,
& Generall Morgan hewen in pieces.23 This ill newes was brought
by 2 Italians coming from Callis or Bullogue as being so written
thither from Antwerp. But we hope it is onely some Jesuiticall
imposture & the rather because the same men brought a
lettre thence with them, That it was indeed so written thither from
Anwerpe though unlikely; for that a Ship was newly arrived
there which came from Breme in 3 dayes (which was later
then the Anwerpe lettres date) & sayd there was no such matter.24

Textual Notes: line 29] I shall bring MS.
line 51] he had bin ^ some ^ 4 MS.
line 96] brought another a MS.
H390, folio 274v] referring to the next paroxysm of his ague (and illustrating
why he could not have written on Saturday 30 June), Mead added under his
subscription “Saturday hora. 9. My Master is coming though I am fasting
since Thursday night”.

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22 For Thurn’s injuries see above, p. 915 n. 2.
23 See n. 15 above.
24 Medius (like Pory convinced the rumour was started by subversive Catholics) used his knowledge of, and
attention to, the means by which letters reached London from abroad in order to question the authenticity
of the story. Note how the versions of the report from Catholic Antwerp and Protestant Bremen differed.
7 July 1627

Sir,

Though after my long fasting my ague came againe with some vehemencie yet it went off with aboundant sweat, & on Monday when I lookt for it againe came no more. Yet I have bin ever since in much distemper not at any time so well, as I was the intermitting day in mine ague & at the first my face was so yellow that I suspected the Jaundies, though I thank God my colour is since come better. I w(oul)d have taken a purge^ to rid me of the relicks of my disease, but that the weather is so unreasonable. I am faine to do as I may, & take lesse operative physick, to do it by degrees.

I send you our last newes, which Master Danford who is with you at dinner will prevent.^ & tell you besides, That Sir William Bullstrode of Rutland reported that My Lord Maynard told him at Dunmow, that he received a lettre on Wednesday that the Duke was anchored at some Isles before Rochell where he put Soubiez in possession being true owner; & from thence his Grace passeth to the City it selfe which wilbe deivered to him. And that this newes came by a Pinnace sent from the Duke to his Majestie.3

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1 An "aperient medicine, a purgative" (OED, "purge", sb, 1).
2 That is, "meet beforehand or anticipate"; ibid., "prevent", v, 1).
3 Bulstrode’s report was false, the first of many unsubstantiated rumours about the expedition to Rhé that reached Mead over the following weeks. The English fleet was not, in fact, anchored by La Rochelle until Wednesday 11/21 July: Sir William Beecher, the Duke’s secretary, was sent there on that day to confer with the city’s governors but was refused admittance (due to a fast being held in the city). He returned with Soubise on the following day; even then the mayor of La Rochelle was unwilling to admit them and only the personal intervention of Soubise’s mother, who had a considerable following in the city, secured their admission. Although Beecher read Buckingham’s manifesto promising to protect the Huguenots against Louis’s aggression to the city council he did not obtain their unqualified support: the governors of the city
I heare no other newes yet. Thus therefore with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
July 7.

Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Mead

**Textual Notes:** line 4] vehemencie & went of yet MS.
line 6, ever] every MS.
line 7] day of in mine MS.

were apprehensive as to what would happen to them if they admitted an English army. As a result, Buckingham embarked on the attack on the Île de Rhé and La Rochelle did not finally decide to support the expeditionary force until September; Clarke, pp. 144–45, 148; Lockyer, pp. 380–81, 393.
London Saturday June 30. 1627

The Duke (the subject of all peoples discourse) hath at last by his real setting of sayle frustrated their incredulitie & convert= ed many mens curses into prayers. His men & horses he shipped with admirable celerity & for 3 dayes together walked the round up & downe Portsmouth, to gather up Straglers; cas= tiered one Captaine, whom he found drunk in the Towne, after he had proclaimed all men aboard; & by a Marshall Court 1 condemned to be hang'd a Boatson, who in his cuppes spoke to the disparagement of the voyage, but upon intreaty pardoned & dismissed him.2 On Sunday last were 7 Sermons preached abourd the Fleet.3 On Tuesday at 10 in the forenoone His Grace shipped himselfe for good & all; & upon Wednesday morning at 2 of the clock the wind came very faire: & at 4 the same morning the Duke sett sayle.4

That he is gone for some part of France all men are resolute. And to day it is generally reported, that he is bound for Rochell, adding further, that there is a contract already made for the delivery of it into the hands of the English.5

Before his departure he told the Army in as lowd a voice as he could, that they should be of good courage; he would bring them where they should fight every man, & himselfe would be the headmost; he would bring them where enough

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1 Court-martial.

2 It was reported on 26 June/6 July that a proclamation issued two days previous "ordering every one to be on board, under pain of death...caused no little grumbling"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 281. One soldier who gave Buckingham an "unmannerly answer" was cashiered; Lockyer, p. 378.

3 As noted on 27 June by John Beaulieu; BL Harleian M5 7010, folio 19r.

4 For Buckingham’s departure see Lockyer, p. 378; HMC Skrine, p. 121.

5 This was perhaps the source of the rumour Mead sent in his covering letter; see above, p. 227 n. 3.
was to be gotten, but not without blowes. 6

His Fleet consisted of 5 Squadrons: his owne as Admirall of 25 sayle: My Lord of Lindseyes as Viceadmirall of 20. My Lord Harvey Reeadmirall of 20. The Earle of Denbigh a Squadron by himselfe of 20 & Captaine Pennington of 12. In all 97 sayle. 7 But Captaine Pennington, so soone as he hath landed the Landsouldiers & horses putt abourd him, is to sett sayle for the Banke of Canada (a place nere Newfound-land, where 150 sayle of French do yearely fish) there to defeat the French & to protect ours; as also to take both Portugalls & Biskainers. Which project of his, if it take kindly, it will give the greatest blow to France they had at Sea these hundred yeares, & will also much pre=judice Spaine for want of that fish. 8 The Land forces now sent with the Duke are 6000 foot & 200 horse, some say 7000 foot; & more thousands are to be sent after them as well out of England as out of Ireland. 9 Howbeit many do wish, the Duke had confined himselfe within his owne Element the Ocean, a field large enough for his valour to have acted to the utmost, & where he might have bin somewhat

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6 Apart from Buckingham’s exhortations, one of the Huguenot ministers travelling with the fleet had urged the army “to uphold the Protestant faith”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 280. It has been pointed out that the Duke’s instructions (dated 19 June; PRO SP78/81/folios 169r–72v) contained no reference to the Île de Rhé and left him “free to take whatever course seemed to him to be expedient once he arrived off the French coast”; Lockyer, pp. 377–78 (quote from p. 378).

7 For the size of the fleet see above, p. 913 n. 3; see also Lockyer, p. 378.

8 French and Portuguese (and probably English) fishermen had sailed to the Newfoundland Banks since the early sixteenth century and there had been friction between English and Basques in the area since at least the 1580s: Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, pp. 49–50, 304. For the importance of the trade, see ibid., pp. 333–34. On 10 May Pennington had suggested attacking the French and Spanish fishing-fleets in a letter to Buckingham; PRO SP16/63/2 [folios 2r–3v].

9 According to STC 24746.3, A Catalogue of all the King's ships, seven infantry regiments (a total of 7,090 soldiers, presumably including the cavalry) sailed with the fleet. Buckingham had arranged for a further four thousand troops to be sent to him (half each from England and Ireland) but the government found it impossible to send the full number due to lack of money; somewhat over two thousand Irish reinforcements finally reached the Duke in September; Lockyer, pp. 386–93.
confident to be Master of the field. ¹⁰

Forty Captaines that wanted employment are returned from Portsmouth to make a new leavy some say of 2000 some of 3000 others of 5000. There are besides these sending over to the King of Denmark 1400 men more. ¹¹

The King while he was at Portsmouth was a curious observer of all things both at Sea & Land. In the Regiments by the rankes & files he numbred every man, & found out defective armes as Calivers in stead of musquets, which he caused to be changed. All the Ships of countenance he bourded in person, calling the Pursers to him & examining by their books what provisions they had abourd. ¹² For the Landmen I heare they have onely 29 dayes victualls & for the Seamen (Captaine Penningtons ^ squadron ^ excepted) onely 4 months provision. ¹³

Besides all these 2 of his Majesties Ships are going forth to guard Germesey & Jarsay. ¹⁴

The French King foreseeing a storme out of the North, sent into Holland to hyre 30 sayle of Ships: but the answere of those States was: True it is, they are Servants to the Crowne of France, but more servants to the Crowne

¹⁰ While Buckingham's office of Lord High Admiral explains the reference on lines 41–42, as he had never seen active service before his ability as a seaman was an unknown quantity. The Earl of Warwick's activities were perhaps those ?Pory thought the Duke should emulate.

¹¹ It had been decided by 29 June to send 1,400 reinforcements to Christian; PRO SP16/68/28 [folio 44r]. Although steps were taken to send 2,000 more men to the Duke's army soon after the fleet left it did not prove possible to do so for weeks; see SP16/70/10 [folio 10r] and n. 9 above.

¹² For Charles's interest in inspecting his forces see above, p. 949 n. 21. The "Ships of countenance" of line 53 were all the largest vessels in the fleet, of which the "Kings ships" such as the Triumph would have been the larger part. A "Caliver" (line 52) is a "light kind of musket or harquebus...it seems to have been the lightest portable fire-arm, excepting the pistol" (OED, "caliver", 1).

¹³ The land forces sent with the fleet only had twenty-one days' provisions sent with them (reckoning from Friday 22 June), while Pennington's squadron was victualled until 18 October; PRO SP16/72/8 [folio 12r]. The lack of supplies proved to be the worst problem faced by Buckingham's army; Lockyer, pp. 388–93.

¹⁴ For measures taken by the Privy Council over the security of the Channel Islands (a matter of concern now that England and France were effectively at war) see PRO SP16/66/52 [folio 67r]; SP16/68/1 [folio 1r], 36 [folio 134r].
of England; they had done their utmost endeavours to reconcile both Kings, which seeing they could not effect, they would stand neutrals and would neither let nor lend any ships to either in the others prejudice. Of 9 sail of great warlike ships which they of Amsterdam lately built for the French King, six being come into France are upon trial found to be very weak built and of small importance.

This day, it is says, the King of Denmark hath arrested 6 of our English ships laden with cloth, bound for Hamburg because our King is behind hand with him many 100 thousands of pounds.

I was told even now, That the French King to defeat our enterprise, hath sent letters of abolition, alias a general pardon to Monsieur de Rohan (brother to Monsieur de Soubize and the only man in all France whom we should rely upon) and presented him besides with 100 thousand crowns and made him of the Council of his Cabinet; temptation of no small force.

On Tuesday last the Bishop of Lincoln came to his Deanry of Westminster, whither the same day Secretary Cook was sent to command his speedy departure; so accordingly on Wednesday (as he had only come to fetch fire) he went his way.

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15 Carleton (at the Hague as an Extraordinary Ambassador) reported to Secretary Conway on 8/18 July that the States General had refused a French request to supply ships; PRO SP101/47/folio 30r. However, a later dispatch indicated that the Prince of Orange, while agreeing that “the States should not give assistance against the English” also refused to “deny the French Kinge libertie of buying or hyreinge of shipps, and the same freedome to bee left to his Majestie [Charles]”; ibid., folio 43r; see also SP84/134/folio 45r-v.

16 I have not traced this report.

17 Seven English ships were arrested by Christian IV on 11/21 June and freed three days later after Sir Robert Anstruther had petitioned for their release; PRO SP75/8/folio 155r-v. The Venetian Ambassador noted that news of the incident reached London on 30 June/10 July; CSPV 1626–28, p. 283.

18 A newsletter from Brussels of 10/20 June had reported that the French government had sent to Rohan “an Agent of his resident at Paris with many offers, as some thinke, to hinder him from stirring”; PRO SP101/2 (bundle 19)/folio 1r.

19 Although I have not traced this incident, one consequence of Bishop Williams’s fall from favour was the refusal to let him exercise his duties as Dean of Westminster (as when he was forbidden to officiate at Charles’s coronation; see above, p. 138 n. 4). For another example see Archbishop Abbott’s “Narrative” in
There hath bin lately a great falling out betweene the lord Deputy of Ireland & Sir Adam Loftys Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome; insomuch as the lord Deputy hath sequestred his great Seale from him; whereupon the lord Chancellor is now come over to compleaine.20

This week were 14 Citizens committed about the loane some to Prisons & some to Purservants;21 and on Thursday 5 Gentlemen more & the High Sheriffe of Glocestershire to se=verall Prisons.22 Master Knightly of Northamptonshire was yesterday threatened by their Lordships with 7 yeares imprisonment more if he would not yeeld to pay the loane; but they found him, as unmoveable as a Rock.23

The last Sunday a Minister did penance at Paules Crosse for having without licence or asking the banes, in a Chappell where he had neither cure nor charge married (to his great disparagement) Sir Charles Howard ^ Knight ^ Son to the late Earle of Nottingham being but 17 yeares of age, to Arbella Smith a Counsellors daughter without the consent of parents of either side, he having bin Tutor to the yong knight. He is suspended from his Ministrie for 3 yeares &c.24

Rushworth, i. Mm1r. To "fetch fire" (line 84) was to make a short visit; Tilley, Dictionary of Proverbs, p. 216.
20 Loftus had been summoned to England on 12 May to answer allegations about alleged abuse of office, and had left Dublin on 11 June: R. Boyle (1st Earl of Cork), The Lismore Papers [first series], viz. Autobiographical Notes, Remembrances, and Diaries, ed. A. B. Grosart, 5 vols (1886), ii. 219, 397-98.
21 For the imprisionment of London citizens for refusing to pay the Loan see above, p. 64; Rushworth 64 n. 16. Fifteen subsidymen of Hertfordshire were also ordered to appear before the Privy Council on 27 June; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 374.
22 Thomas Nicholas the Sheriff of Gloucestershire and five others were committed by warrant to various prisons on 27 June; List of Sheriffs, p. 51; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 374; PRO SP16/68/28 (folio 45r).
23 This report perhaps recalled Knightley's widely-publicised refusal to kneel before the Council when he first appeared before it in January; see above, p. 638 n. 16; Cust, F. L., pp. 233-34.
24 Charles, fifth son of Charles the 2nd Earl of Nottingham, had married Arabella, daughter of Edward Smith of the Middle Temple (hence the reference on line 102). Howard was not yet seventeen years of age as he was born on 25 December 1610; GEC, ix. 789-90 (citing this report). I have not traced the priest's punishment referred to here; for the practice of performing penances at Paul's Cross for a wide variety of
Sir John Savill (a new Privie Counsellour) out of 6th
the chauldron of coales & 1/3 of the Papists Lands is setting
forth 6 men of warre to guard the Colliers against the
Dunkirkers.25

London Friday June 29, 1627

Though the rumour of the King of Danmarks overthrow
were utterly false, yet was he in some danger of his person
upon this occasion. He went over a River with some 40 or
50 men to view a Fort of Tillyes, where there was an
ambuscasdo layd to have taken him; which he suddainly per-
ceiving & looking toward the River for an escape espied by
chance a boat coming downe, which having beckoned to the
shore he presently lope into it & gott to the other side.
But his men were all either taken or slayne.26

The Administrator of Hall hath recovered againe
from Tilly the Townes of Havelberg Sandaw & Belin
& was marching to Brandenburg to recover it likewise.
& the King of Denmark had sent some thousands to succour him
understanding that the Dukes of Luneburg & Saxen-Lawenburg
were marched with an intent to beat him out of the feild.27

The King of Sweden is well in health & in the feild
as they report who come ^ from ^ Stockholm.28
There lately lay a bark against Dover Castell which
was fraught from London with goods to the value of a £1000
belonging to the Towne of Dover having but two men & a boy
in her, & rode there for the next tide to gott into the harbour.
But in the meane time the wether being misty a French Shallop having hard by landed a messenger with lettres (who was presently taken) assailed the Bark took her away & brought her into Callis Rode; which those of Dover understanding manned out a Pinnace after her & recovered her againe & brought her home without the diminution of any part of her goods.29

Textual Notes: line 11] 7 Sermons aboard MS.
line 14] very faire: then MS.
line 32, land.] Mead originally closed brackets here before realising he had more to add in parentheses. He deleted the bracket and added a comma.
line 35] give the French the greatest MS.
line 82] same day same Secretary MS.

29 This incident was reported by Sir John Hippeley, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to Buckingham on 21 June. The "messenger with lettres" (which were sent to London) was a "man of Master Sheldon's"; PRO SP16/67/83 [folio 129r].
Sir,

14 July 1627

The beginning of Epistles was wont to be Si vales, bene est, ego quidem valeo. I cannot yet perfectly pronounce the latter. Since Tuesday, I have bin indifferently well, but faint & lazie, & in the morning especially, not without some aguish aking in my head. I hope in God I shall weare it out after another week.

I send you our last Saturdays newes. But for our Fleet the newes since begins to alter & no body knowes what is become of it: Master Boswell wrot to me, though it went for currant in London, that they were nere Rochell & about the Isle of Rez, yet for his owne part he could not credit it; & since it was talk, his Grace was at Saint Mallo's in Bretagne; where he had taken 2 Forts & threatened to batter downe the Towne, unlesse they yeelded; & that the Duke de Rohan (whose Patrimonie & title is thereabouts) was with an Army by land to further us: But now, they tell us, that Merchants ships come from Rochell it selfe & other parts of France, neither heard nor saw our Fleet, nor could meet with any that had any newes of it. Whereupon some begin to imagine the Tercera's;

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1 A phrase (meaning “if you are well, all is right; I am well”) often used by Cicero; *The Letters to his Friends*, tr. and ed. W. Glynn Williams, 3 vols (1955), iii. 208–09, 214–17, 220–23.

2 Boswell was correct to doubt whether the fleet had yet arrived at Rhé; see above, p. 287 n. 3.

3 On 6/16 July Contarini had reported that “Some vague reports circulated of...[the fleet’s] having gone to St. Malo, but it is more and more confirmed that they made straight for La Rochelle”; *CSPV* 1626–28, pp. 291–92. The ancestral seat of the Dues de Rohan was at Blain, eighteen miles north-west of Nantes in Brittany. Henri de Rohan was born there in 1579; Clarke, p. 1.

4 As the fleet was not finally anchored off La Rochelle until 11/21 July it is not surprising that these ships from France had not yet seen it; see above, p. 287 n. 3.
that of going for Sally in Barbary being so improba-
ble in respect of the season of the yeare: But all is
but Speculation, & nothing spoken from any information.5

The new Corranto telles us, that & the Danish Armies
both in Sileia & Westphalie have lately slaine some
thousands of the Impereallists, which I wish may prove true
of either place.6

It talks also of some lettres intercepted by the Hollanders
in a Convoy from Brussells, whereof some from Spaine to
the Emperor, signifying that that King could not this yeare
supply him with any moneys; but if he would turne his
forces to make warre upon the United States, his Majestie
of Spaine would allow him the revenues of Flanders, Brabant
&c to the maintenance thereof.7

This is all I have for the present & therefore with
my best & wonted respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest
& am

Christs Colledg
July 14

Yours most ready
to be commanded

Joseph Mead

There is 10 Ships & more ^ going after the Duke
with some forces wherein Sir James Ramsey goes
Colonell.8

5 By 18 July the Earl of Clare had heard that the fleet was to help Philip IV capture a town on the Barbary
Coast, exactly the reverse of some rumours reaching Mead; Holles, ii. 356; above, p. 825 n. 13. As the
former noted, this was one of the "sundry chimerases" created by the lack of accurate information about the
fleet's whereabouts (partly caused by the length of time it took for it to reach La Rochelle); ibid. The
rumour concerning a possible attack on the Spanish Plate Fleet by waiting for it at the Azores (the
"Terceras") was false but not as far-fetched as some circulating at this time.

6 A newsletter from Bonn dated 6 July had (falsely) reported that the Danish army in Silesia had "defeated 13
Companies of Wallenstein's armie" or even "utterlie defeated" the vanguard of the Imperial army; PRO
SP101/29/folio Ir. No copy of the newsbook mentioned by Mead has survived; see Appendix II.

7 I have not traced this incident.

8 Clare (incorrectly) wrote on 22 July that "2000 men is alreddy imbarked for this service [to reinforce
Buckingham's army], the drumm beating up and down the streets for more"; Holles, ii. 357. The Privy
Council had, however, drawn up letters by 7 July to levy 2,000 more men; PRO SP16/70/45 [folio 70r];
above, p. 832 n. 11.
Textual Notes: line 13] part he gave could MS.
line 15, Forts] altered from “Forde”.
lines 43–45, There…Colonell] a continuation in the margin.
London July 6. 1627

The newes of the day among our Speculatives in Paules are, That our English Fleet rides at anchor before the Ile of Retz or Saint Martins by Rochell; that the Duke is admitted into the Towne with some few followers;¹ but that the Ile afore mentioned is strengthened by the French King with 5000 foot & 2000 horse, besides so many pieces of ordinance;² that the French King himselfe hath one Army on foot, the Duke d’Espernon a second, & the Cardinal Richelieu a third.³ The flower of our Soldiery both for land & Sea are now there, & if they returne in vaine, how vaine shall we be esteemed! In the meanet ime the danger of the Protestants there must be as great, as that Kings Jealousie by reason of the approach of our forces.

The French have of late erected companies for traffick, as we & the Hollanders use to doe; in one of which they have raised a stock of 1500 thousand pound sterling, & have built lately 35 sayle of warlik Ships.⁴ And therefore it is thought

¹ Salvetti wrote on 6/16 July that Buckingham was about to enter La Rochelle; HMC Skrine, pp. 121-22. This, however, proved false; see above, p. 840 n. 3.
² Buckingham had been informed at the end of May that both the citadel of St. Martins on the Île de Rhé and the Île d’Oléron were being fortified in preparation for an English attack; PRO SP16/64/28 [folio 43r]; SP16/65/5 [folio 7r], 6 [folio 8r]; see also SP78/81/folio 97r-v.
³ The reports concerning Louis XIII and Richelieu were false. The former was dangerously ill with a tertian ague throughout July and the Cardinal remained with him, co-ordinating efforts to relieve the citadel of St. Martins. The Duc d’Angoulême was placed in command of the royal army; Clarke, pp. 146–47; Tapié, pp. 182–83; PRO SP78/82/folios 56r, 85r, 86r.
⁴ As part of his plans for the expansion of French trade and colonizing activity (and in imitation of the English and Dutch East India Companies referred to on line 16), Richelieu had authorised the foundation of the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France in April and May 1627. This company was given extensive rights not only over New France (around Quebec and Nova Scotia) but over virtually all the known territory of North America from Florida to the Arctic Circle (in the process disregarding English, Dutch and Spanish
some part of our Fleet may be employed to surprise what harbours they can of theirs.5

Some of those ships arrested from us by the French to the number of 16 are sayd to be gone toward Newfound land, to destroy our Fishermen there; who some say, are well guarded of purpose.6 Most of the French Saylors here that were taken in Conquet Road & other places are employed by our English merchants to Greenland, Russia & the Soundt of Denmark.7

Spinola, either out of weakes or policie, sleepees, while the States are Masters of the field, & do besiege at once both Groll & Lingen.8 The Count Sterlin by them employd hath taken 8 redoubtes upon Spinola’s new channell out of the Rhine into the Maze, hath returned a great part of the earth into the water; to repel whom Count Henry van der Berg is sent with a little army.9

Our English Ships sayd to be arrested by the King of Denmark in the River of Hambrough, for the debt which his Majestie oweth interests). The starting capital was set at 300,000 livres, around £25,000; rather less than reported here. The company was not a success, largely due to English and Scottish hostility during the Anglo-French war which led to the capture of Quebec itself in 1629; Knecht, pp. 162–64.

5 It was reported on 26 June/6 July that Pennington was to attack the French port of Blavet on his way to Newfound land; CSPV 1626–28, p. 280.

6 Although I have not traced the French plan, by the early seventeenth century over 200 English ships (mostly from the West Country) fished off Newfoundland every year; Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 335. See also above, p. 831 n. 8.

7 I have not traced this, although Pennington himself had suggested that some of the French vessels his fleet had captured should be used as warships by England; PRO SP16/61/34 (folio 49r); see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 247.

8 Due to lack of money for the campaign of 1627 “Spinola was unable to move, so that Frederick Henry was left free to lay seige to Groll, the strongest fortress in Overeyssel”; Reade, iii. 37; see also Israel, pp. 170–71. Although the report of the seige of Lingen was false, a newsletter from the Hague of 21/31 July suggested that the town would be Prince Frederick’s next objective; PRO SP101/47/folio 35r.

9 Rubens described this engagement, which severely disrupted work on the Rhine–Maez canal (for which see above, p. 289 n. 9) on 27 June/7 July, Magurn, p. 193. “Count Sterlin” (line 30) was the Count of Limburg Stirum; Reade, iii. 36.
him, are at liberty. And we wish that good King himselfe be as free, for they say, he is blocked up with three Armies.

Tilly being satiated (it seemes) with Christian bloud hath vested himselfe in a Capuchins weed, with purpose to retire from the warres; but the Pope hath conjured him still to continue souldier, though in his Friers frock.

Master Walter Montagu on Sunday last returned from his Ambassage out of Savoy, by the way of Lorraigne & Brussells by meanes of the passe of the Duke of Savoy & the Archduchesse obtained by the Duke. He sayes the Archduchesse is neither sick nor dead as some here would make us beleive. The Scope of his negotiation we cannot penetrate into: It is Arcanum Imperii.

Sir John Hayward Doctor of the Civill law, he that wrot the history of King Henry the 4 The 3 Norman Kings, The Sanctuary of a troubled soule &c is lately dead & that sudtainly.

This Mart from Frankfurt came the Epistles of Ca=

\(^{10}\) For the arrest of English ships by the Danes see above, p. 873 n. 17.

\(^{11}\) An apt description of the increasingly serious military situation in northern Germany facing Christian IV, which soon led to the collapse of his army and the Imperial occupation of the entire Jutland peninsula by the end of the year.

\(^{12}\) Although this report was as accurate as Ben Jonson’s parodic “scoop” that “Spinola is made General of the Jesuita”, Tilly’s devotion to the Catholic faith was such that he had considered becoming a Jesuit himself as a young man. He was known as the “monk in armour”; Staple of News, III. ii. 26–27; Wedgwood, p. 121. Pory’s use of “conjured” on line 41 was hardly an approving one.

\(^{13}\) Montagu had returned to London from his embassy to Savoy and Lorraine on Sunday 1 July; HMC Buccleuch, iii. 318–19; PRO SP16/70/10 (folio 10r); CSPV 1626–28, p. 290.

\(^{14}\) For these rumours see below, p. 896 n. 9.

\(^{15}\) For the reasons behind Montagu’s journey see above, p. 693 n. 13.

\(^{16}\) Sir John Hayward (LL. D. (Cantab.), 1591) had died on 27 June. The works mentioned here are respectively STC 12995, The first part of the life of King Henrie the III (1599), STC 13000, The lives of the III Normans, Kings of England (1613) and STC 13003.5, The sanctuarie of a troubled soule (1601). Both the Epistle attached to STC 12995, dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and the text itself (with its implied analogy between Richard II and Elizabeth) had landed Hayward in considerable trouble and two years in prison; see DNB, ix. 311–13.
merarius newly published; which are \^{\text{here}} \^{\text{prohibited to be sold.}^{17}}

[device]

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 20, theirs] written in a different ink to fill in Mead’s omission, presumably by Stuteville. line 51] the the history MS.

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\(^{17}\) The book in question was probably \textit{Ludovici Camerarii I. C. aliorumque epistola nuper post pugnam maritimam in Suedica navi capta a victore Polono} (?Augsburg, 1627). For Ludwig Camerarius’s career as advisor to the Elector Palatine and then Gustavus Adolphus see Parker, \textit{TYY}, pp. 25, 37, 55, 67, 69–70, 74, 224.
Sir,

I send all we had last weeke: nor am I like to write any more till I retume from Lyncolnshire, which journey I purpose God willing to begin on Thursday next, & it will be about the middle of August before I shall retume. Master Isham went on Thursday to Langport, & Pagitt to London on Wednesday, & the day before Master Tasburghs to Flixton. Thus I am well eased at home. I know not what newes this day will bring, & whether I shall take order to have it sent you, but that you may not be altogether emptie I will now tell you what I heare by a gentleman come from London on Thursday & of some good meanes of intelligence &c.

That a Hamburger coming from Spain-ward & landing an English soldiier at Portsmouth should report he saw about the beginning of the last week (some 12 days since) 80 sayle of Ships neere unto the Sillyes, which was taken to be our Fleet then gone no further; yet a Dutchman since here arrived affirms he mett it well onward upon the coasts of Spaine. But for the designe, though no man knowes it, yet now at London they talk of Genua, how probably your selfe may guess: I suppose

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1 Isham had hired a musician (for 6x. 8d., presumably as a tutor) for a month u> July 21, which indicates he had intended to leave Cambridge around that time; CCA, T. 11. 3, folio 89v.
2 If any London news arrived in Cambridge on Saturday 21 July it has not survived in H390; perhaps Mead could not arrange for it to be carried to Dalham in his absence. (That Mead’s pupils were also away from Cambridge had removed one possible means of delivering news to Stuteville; I am grateful to Dr. Marie Axton for this point).
3 This cannot have been entirely accurate as Buckingham’s fleet had reached the coast of France by Tuesday 10/20 July; but it is possible the reporter had seen it two or three days earlier. For the movements of the fleet after it left England see Lockyer, pp. 378–80.
4 This proved false.
their cheifest grownd is, from the private treaties & mes-
sages which have of late passed betweene the Savoyard & us.
But the next week perhaps, they will talk of some other place.⁵

Colonell Gray should have gone with some command in
this Fleet, but refused unlesse he might be Colonell: whereupon
the King commanded him to go with the Duke as his Counsellor;
so his cabbin was prepared in the Dukes owne Ship, & the Duke
for a while made much of him & used him with great respect,
but at length, whatsoever the matter was, he was putt into an=
other Ship. Will you heare, what tale they have at London
about this? Viz That the old Countesse sollicitous to know what
should become of hir Son, consulted with Doctor Lamb, who shewed her
in a glasse a big fatt man, with a reddish face broad beard, an
iron arme, & a long dagger &c which she presently took to be
Colonell Gray the description in all things fitting him, & therefore
suspected he should kill hir Son. Hereupon she writes to the
Dukes, & telles him she had such a dreame which much troubled
her, & therefore anxiously desires that either Colonell Gray
might not go at all, or be removed into another ship;
which was done accordingly.⁶

I just now receive your lettre to which I shall
answere in the conclusion; in the meane time I go on.

It was 6 dayes newes in London, that 12 men were executed
(folio 285v) in Rochell, as having discovered themselves inclinable to ad-
mit the English, if the Fleet had bin intended that way:⁷

⁵ Mead was probably correct in assuming that Montagu's return (for which see above, p.942 n. 13) had led
to speculation that the fleet was to sail to join with the Duke of Savoy against the Genoese. (Not that this
was a far-fetched idea: plans for just such an expedition had been seriously discussed in 1624 and 1625;
Gardiner, v, 301–03, 378, 391–92, 394–95). Mead was equally correct to suggest that such rumours would
continue until accurate information about the fleet reached London. Rumours that the fleet might enter the
Mediterranean reached Contarini, who assured the Venetian Senate that this would not happen; CSPV
1626–28, pp. 216, 278.

⁶ Whether the story had any basis in fact or not it illustrates the notoriety surrounding John Lambe, "the
Duke's wizard", whose association with Buckingham probably led directly to his violent death in London
in June 1628; Lockyer, p. 451.

⁷ A report from France had stated that eighteen Rochellois had been executed for treason, which may have
been the source for lines 45–47; PRO SP78/82/folio 56r.
That the Duke de Rohan is taken prisoner by the King; & the King sick, some suspect of poysom.  

That though it be false the Archduchess was either surprised or dead, yet that she was in the Convoy with Spinola & escaped but narrowly, being faine to wade up to the middle in water.

Sir James Spence is going Ambassador to Sweden, & with him Sir Peter Yong to carry the Garter to that King.

The Bishop of Canterbury is confined to his house neere Canterburie with leave to go to his See, but no further: no other reason yet known but the Kings pleasure. My lord Conway Secretary Cook, & Bishop Lawd the Dukes Agents more eagerly persecuting his enimies in his absence, then himselfe did at home.

My lord Treasurer so often answered the Kings servants coming for their pensions, <what should I do? my Lord Duke took all the money

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8 Although the report concerning the Due de Rohan was false Louis XIII had, in fact, just suffered a serious illness; see above, p. 340 n. 3.

9 This was an exaggeration of an embarrassing incident involving the Archduchess Isabella. In May 1627, attended by Spinola, she had made a pilgrimage to the Church of Our Lady of Montaigu followed by a visit to the construction work on the Rhine-Maas channel (which had been named in her honour). Her visit coincided with the attack by Dutch forces on fortifications guarding the channel (for which see above, p. 289 n. 9), and the Archduchess’s cavalry escort had the worst of the ensuing engagement; Reade, iii. 36.

10 Gustavus had had the Garter conferred on him without having had any prior notice, according to the Venetian Ambassador; CSPV 1626–28, p. 240. For the journey of Sir James Spens (the Swedish agent in London) see PRO SP16/66/74 [folio 95v]; SP16/67/76 [folio 121r]; SP16/68/28 [folio 44r]. His instructions as Ambassador are now PRO SP95/2 (State Papers, Sweden, 1613–27)/folios 169r–71r.

11 The pretext for suspending Archbishop Abbot from his jurisdiction was his refusal to licence STC 22525.5, Dr. Robert Sibthorpe’s sermon Apostolike Obedience (a controversial defence of Charles’s right to levy the Forced Loan). It was licensed by the Bishop of London; for a discussion of the text see Cust, F. L., pp. 62–65 and for Abbot’s own account of the affair see Rushworth, i. Kkk4v–L14v, Mmm1r–3r. The Earl of Clare identified Abbot’s future residence as Ford, “his furthest house in Kent”; Holles, ii. 357–58; see also PRO SP16/70/57 [folio 94r]; SP14/214/folio 138r; Cust, F. L., pp. 71–72.

12 Lord President Manchester wrote to Conway on 17 July that the Loan had been “more strictly pressed” since Buckingham’s departure; PRO SP16/71/25 [folio 34r]. See also Abbot’s comment in Rushworth, i. Mmm1r and Cust, F. L., p. 44. As Cust has suggested, once the mass of details concerned with the preparation of the fleet had been dealt with, and Buckingham had left England, the Privy Council could return to the problem of collecting the Loan; ibid., p. 148.
in the Exchequer away with him> that it was taken ill at his hands but that is all yet.13

The King on Thursday night at Saint Albans, thence to Ampill where he stayes 3 nights, thence into Buckinghamshire. On Munday come sennight to be at Woodstock where the Commissioners for Scotland are to have audience, thence he goes into Hampshire to Beauly &c.14 The Queene is at Wellingborough.15

Now to answere yours. For my health I thank God I am now indifferent & I think able to endure a journey: yet I am not all so well, as I have bin since Whitsontide, nor look so well as my freinds tell me: but I hope I shall mend by little & little. I received all your lettres, but not always in time to make mention of them. What is become of my Pupills I tell in the beginning of my lettre. I heare nothing of any fifteenes.16

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & Lady, desiring God to keep you, & that I may at my retume see you at Dalham in prosperitie, & find my selfe in health I rest am

Christes Colledg

July 21

If any newes come before Parkers man goes, I will putt some Schedule into my lettre.17

Yours most ready be commanded

Joseph Mead

847

13 Gardiner suggested (vi. 179) that Lord Treasurer Marlborough (born in 1552) "was too old to lay the difficulty [of getting money] very deeply to heart, and took refuge in telling all applicants for payment that their case would be taken into consideration tomorrow". (This comment was based on Secretary Coke's description of the Treasurer in PRO SP16/67/76 [folio 121r]). See also Sharpe, P. R., p. 22.

14 On 17 July Charles had ordered Marlborough to keep him informed of events in London while he was on progress; PRO SP16/71/16 [folios 22v–23r].

15 Contarini reported on 13/23 July that Henrietta went to Wellingborough "to drink some mineral waters, which facilitate generation, with no signs of anything in more than two years people naturally begin to comment on the matter"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 297; see also Finet, P2r.

16 Mead made short work of answering Stuteville's letter. The reference to "fifteenes" in line 76 suggests that Sir Martin had heard a rumour of a new levy which he had sent to Cambridge for confirmation. Mead was correct to deny the story.

17 Mead was probably using "Schedule" in its original sense of "a separate paper or slip of parchment accompanying or appended to a document" (OED, "schedule", 2a).
Textual Notes: line 3, nor am I] nor I am MS.
line 12] heare by such a MS.
line 19, affirmes] altered from “affirmed”.
line 23] is, some from the MS.
line 46] inclinable to the En ad— MS.
London July 13 1627

For the Duke & our Fleet, we are now all at a muse, what should be become of them. For that which was at first so strongly conceived of an intendment for Rochell or some other part of France, is now as much resolved to the contrary: & the rather because 3 Ships which arrived here from Rochell this week affirmed, there was not there any expectance at all of our Fleet, nor did they in their course homewards meet with it, or see or hear of any one Ship thereof. Therefore it is now rather thought, they are gone for the Tercera's or as some will for the lands of Bayon on the coast of Portugal: yet others wonder if the designe be that way, why the Hollanders were not join'd with them, as was once sayd they should, but since rumoured to the contrary.¹

Yet the aforementioned Ships from Rochell, tell us, that the French King had sent to the Rochellores to assure them of his grace & favour & to require them to forgoe all commerce & trading with the English: which they refused; for that Lewes the 11th had granted to them a Charter, confirmed by all succeeding Kings since, & also by his now Majestic of France; that though open warres should happen betwenee France & England, yet should it ever be lawfull for them of Rochell freely to trade with us, without incurring the repute of Rebells.² That upon this the Commons of the Towne redemandaund their

¹ For these rumours see above, p. 5; p. 3 n. 3-4. The Earl of Warwick's privateering fleet had, in fact, spent most of June cruising off the coast of Portugal before making for the Azores, encountering a Spanish fleet on the way; Bard, pp. 30-49.
² In 1472 Louis XI had granted to the citizens of La Rochelle a charter guaranteeing their freedom to trade with anyone whatsoever, including the enemies of France; Parker, La Rochelle, p. 66.
armes formerly taken from them by the Magistrates, & had them.\(^3\) Besides that the French King was preparing & furnishing 30 or more of our Ships which were detained at Burdeaux to be employed in his service & had appointed Protestant Commanders in them.\(^4\) That the sayd King had an Army consisting of 28,000 foot & 4000 horse & 20 or 24 pieces of Ordinance: which because the King himself had an ague, was commanded by his brother the Duke of Orleance as Generall & the Count of Otergieu Duke of Angolesme his Lieutenant Generall.\(^5\) That halfe thereof was then already come into Poictou not farre from Rochell, & that the Isle of Retz or Saint Martins was strongly fortifyed & manned: by all which it should seeme that the French at least conceived some suspicion of our intent thitherward.\(^6\)

It is true, that some of the States horse defeated a Spanish convoy about Turnhout going towards Breda taking all the waggons with the horse that drew them & about 60 saddle horses besides. But it is false that the Archduchesse hir seife was with them & so sore affrighted that she died;\(^7\) & as \(^8\) as \(^9\) untrue also that the States besieged both Groll & Lingen; they of Groll having lately taken prisoners divers Ministers & others out of the Land of Twent neere Groningen &c.\(^8\)

\(^3\) I have not traced this report.

\(^4\) It had been rumoured for months that the French would employ the ships they had arrested in the previous year; see above, p. 667 n. 5.

\(^5\) For Louis's illness and Angouëme's command of the royal army see above, p. 940 n. 3.

\(^6\) The Venetian Ambassador in Paris reported on 13/23 July that the French had sent reinforcements to the fort of St Martins and prophetically added "they calculate that the English will find it a harder nut to crack than they expect"; CSPV 1626-28, p. 298; see also above, p. 940 n. 2.

\(^7\) For the incident involving the Archduchess Isabella see above, p. 944 n. 9. I have not traced the captures made by the Dutch reported here.

\(^8\) Although Meddus was correct in stating that Lingen was not under seige, Grol was invested by Prince Frederick's army. It surrendered on 9/19 August; Israel, pp. 170-71. See also above, p. 841 n. 8.
But the great defeat given to the Imperialists in Moravia by the Danish there, who have slayne about 3000 of their Enemies, is still confirmed. My Lord Peters Son going over Sea for Flanders with many letters & 2 barrells of treasure, gold & silver in a Pinke is brought back & committed: & here sayd that at his Fathers house at Ingerstone in Essex divers great Papists had beene in some Consultation about a fortnight & departed thence but on Saturday last. And likewise that both those & some others had taken houses & lodgings at & about Tunbridg in Kent & the Edge of Sussex, upon pretence to drink of those medicinable waters for their health.

The Queene began yesterday hir progresse to Saint Albans. The King begins his from Theobalds on Monday or Tuesday. Burialls — 155
Plague — 0
Christened — 139

a: The Army of Saxon Weymar & Mansfeild, which now the King of Denmark entertaineth.
b: Others adde my Lord Euers Son also.

9 A newsletter from Germany dated 23 June had reported the “confirmacion of the defeate of the Austrian troopes sent to Wallenstein, whereof 3,000 were slaine”; also see above, p. 938 n. 6.
10 Two Catholics (younger sons of William, Baron Petre, and Lord Herbert) together with a Jesuit had been arrested in trying to leave the country; PRO SP16/70/65 [folio 104r], 96 [folio 152r-v]; SP16/71/25 [folio 34v], 27 [folios 37r-38r]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 307. Although Ralph, son of William Baron Eure, was a recusant (GEC, v, 182) he was not involved as suggested in Mead’s marginal note b. No doubt his religion was the origin of the rumour concerning him.
11 I have not traced this meeting. By “great Papists” (line 59) Meddus presumably meant prominent Catholics.
Textual Notes: line 13, wonder] wonders MS.
    line 31, had] altered from "has".
Sir,

18 August 1627

I fayled not an inch of mine appointed time, but returned home on Wednesday at night though somewhat late; For one Master Bacon under colour of shewing me the way from Lamport to Thrapston through the feilds, carried me to his owne house at Burton, whence I could not geft till almost one a clock & had then 28 miles to Cambridg.\(^1\) I stayed at Sir Hamond Whichcots 4 dayes;\(^2\) thence I went to Barton & ferried over Humber & stayed at Hull a day; thence by Beverly to York, where I was 3 dayes: I returned back by Doncaster to escape Humber (because the tyde was not then till 11 a clock) & so passing Trent came againe to my first Station by Lyncole. There resting my selfe & horses a day; I rode the next by Grantham to Okeham, where I lay all night: thence I came on Saturday to Lamport where I stayed three dayes, & but that I ran away betimes in the morning was in danger to have stayed 3 weekes. Sir John got up in his shirt but in vaine; complained he should have written to you. I promised to do his message &c would make me promise to come againe before Michaelmas which I was faine to \(^3\) do upon a condition which is i(n) your hands to performe.\(^3\) But as for my Pupill

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\(^1\) Mead wished to be guided from Lamport to Thrapston (thirty miles from Cambridgethe modern A604, which was presumably his best route home) but was probably led instead to Burton Latimer, some six miles to the south-west. I have not identified “Master Burton”.

\(^2\) Sir Hamond Whichcote of Dunston in Lincolnshire sent four of his sons to Christ’s College although only the youngest, Thomas, was Mead’s pupil; Peile, i. 333, 349-50, 426. Mead had been a friend of the family for several years by 1627 and had preached the funeral sermon for Robert, who had died while at the College in January 1622/23; ibid, p. 333.

\(^3\) This was presumably that Sir Martin would allow his son John to accompany Mead to Lamport when the last-named returned there; it is not certain whether this took place.
(who was willing to have returned with me) he yielded only
that he should go some 5 or 6 miles to show me
the way with Master Bacon, but no further, unless I
would stay a fortnight longer. Sir John remembers his love
to your selfe & my Lady, & something more, which I will
tell you on Sunday at Dalham, if you please then to
furnish me with an horse. For newes, I suppose you are before hand: yet
some thing I must say to keep my wont. It was newes
here & as I came, That the Citadell of Re[ ]
on depends the full conquest of that Island) was at length
taken, though with the losse of a 1000 of our men: but
it is not certaine, nor yet seconded: & what to day will
bring we know not. But they say, there are gone or
going about 16 ships with supply of victual to the Duke, &
some 4000 men newly prest. And his Majestie for
the better plying of this & other busines of State hath (they
say) broken off his progresse, & was at Windsore whither
the Counsell dayly came to consult. But the Queene,
when I was at Lamport, was still at Wellingborough, &

4 The Ishams were evidently rather incontinent hosts. Mead did, however, return to Lamport on several
occasions; see the Introduction, pp. 33, 49.
5 Mead was not usually reticent about sending news to Dalham so this was perhaps some family business.
6 This was the first of many rumours to reach Cambridge over the coming weeks that the citadel of St.
Martins had been captured by Buckingham (Sir James Bagg in Portsmouth had reported the same on 12
August; PRO SP16/73/76 [folio 117r]). It was noted on 3/13 August that Buckingham's servants had "not
failed to circulate printed accounts [of the siege], glossed with marvels and rhodomontades to inspire the
populace with some affection for the the duke...indeed, some tell me they were compiled by the king's own
order"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 322. It is likely that some form of news management was taking place in the
summer and autumn of 1627; see Appendix II.
7 For the efforts to reinforce Buckingham's army see PRO SP16/72/48 [folios 77r–78v], SP16/73/26 [folio
33r]; SP16/75/9 [folio 17r–v]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 341; HMC Skrine, p. 128 and above, p. 31 n. 9.
8 Contarini had reported on 6/16 August that Charles was to hold a Privy Council meeting at Windsor
within three days; CSPV 1626–28, p. 327. The Privy Council register records meetings on the 2nd, 3rd,
6th, 9th, 10th and 11th of August; APC Jan.–Aug. 1627, pp. 470–85. See also below, p. 260 n. 18.
thought would stay a fortnight longer &c.\textsuperscript{9}  

The Earle of Warwick with some 3 or 4 ships is returned, having escaped a great danger by being overmatch\textsuperscript{[=]} ed by a Fleet of Spanyards with whom he had a sore fight & yet brake through them; just as was reported or prophecied about Midsommer time & before; yet was not this fight till the 2\textsuperscript{d} of July.\textsuperscript{10} His 2 pinnases never came at him the whole time he was at Sea.\textsuperscript{11} & Sir Francis Steward in the Hector and another Ship came not in to the fight: whom my Lord afterward saw pursued by the Spanyards but with what event he knew not, yet hoped he escaped them, being so farre before & in a good say[er] \&c.\textsuperscript{12}  

In Germany things go but untowardly: And is like to go the harder with Denmark, if his Army in Silesia as is rumoured be defeated, by the revolt of divers of the Commanders.\textsuperscript{13} I saw at Hull some 1400 soldiers to be transported to him.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{9} As Wellingborough is only about ten miles from Lamport Henrietta's residence there would no doubt have been a matter of considerable local interest; see above, p. 994 n. 15.

\textsuperscript{10} For Warwick's encounter with a fleet of Spaniards on 2 July (in which, due to heavy fog, he lost contact with other ships in his fleet) see Bard, pp. 39-40, 91-93; Holles, ii. 363. As Mead noted, rumours of such an incident had circulated in London weeks before it actually occurred; see for instance above, p. 900 n. 7.

\textsuperscript{11} Warwick's fleet as originally set out included three pinnaces: the Bark Warwick, the Flight and the Robert. William Ball (master of the Hector) recorded that the first and third of these vessels never joined Warwick and the Flight, which had sailed with the fleet in May, left it on 18 June to chase a prize and did not return; Bard, pp. 26-27, 36.

\textsuperscript{12} The Hector had become separated from the Great Neptune, the Earl's flagship, during the engagement of 2 July; ibid., pp. 40-41. For an account of what happened to it afterwards see below, p. 992 n. 22-25.

\textsuperscript{13} An Augsburg newsletter of 11/21 July had reported that the reason for Wallenstein's victory: "was the dissention of those [Danish] Officers and the want of a General"; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r. See also STC 18507.187, The continuation...August 17, A3v: "at this time there cometh newes, that the Danish Forces which are in Silesia, are treating about an agreement with the Imperialists". For Wallenstein's victorious campaign in Silesia see Mann, pp. 346, 349-50.

\textsuperscript{14} The Privy Council had decided before the end of June that 1,200 men for Danish service would sail from Hull, and it was reported on 10 August that 1,300 men would sail from Hull to Stade on the following day; PRO SP16/68/28 [folio 44r]; SP16/73/66 [folio 99r-v].
There are many ships now going to Virginia & carry with them some 14 or 15 hundred poor children, which they have gathered up in divers places.  

The rest & what this day brings I shall God willing tell you at Dalham on Monday at supper, if you please to send Harry Law that morning with an horse to fetch it & the Relator. In the mean time with my best service to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am  

Christ's College  Yours most ready to  
August 18.  be commanded  
Joseph Mead  

I hope this lettre will not miscarry as my Horse-letters are wont to do: yet in cautelam I appointed my pupil Tracy (who was here yesterday) to walk to Dalham as to day & to signify my purpose both to write to day & come in Monday.  

Textual Notes: line 9, altered from “2”.  
line 23, faine to promise do upon MS.  
line 32, hand: yet something MS.  
line 38, bring we g** not MS.  
line 53, and eand MS.  
line 59, Denmark, his if his MS.  

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15 Although I have not traced this incident it would not have been the first time that such a measure had been taken. Between 1618 and 1621 over 4,000 people were taken to the colony of Virginia, most of them paupers, convicts and poor children. Not surprisingly they did not make good colonists, most dying soon after their arrival; Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 323.  

16 While Mead was concerned that Stuteville had enough notice of his impending arrival at Dalham, Tracy cannot have been pleased to make a round trip of nearly thirty miles as soon as he returned to Cambridge! “In cautelam” (lines 76–77) = “as a precaution”. 
London August 17. 1627

On Monday evening last came a messenger hither with newes from the Duke, confirmed the day after, by a Ship with maimed men (wherein the messenger came) that the Fort of Saint Martins was not then taken in, when they came away, nor was knowne when it would. That 3 Barks came by night to have relieved it, but were all sunk & taken whereby perished about 30 French Gentlemen & some were taken prisoners. That a Swaine attired like a gentleman came from the Fort, as with a message from Torax the Governour to the Duke, who by the often changing of his countenance & colour was suspected & so not admitted to his Grace; but searched & a poysioned knife found in one of his Slashes; who upon the pareing of his nayles into the flesh, confessed Torax had hyred him to stabbe the Duke, & in case he failed another besides ready to second him. That the Duke hath sent for

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1 On 17/27 August Contarini reported that the seige of St. Martins did not “hasten the final result, as the fortress is found to be better provided than was supposed”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 341. For the difficulties faced by the besiegers see Lockyer, 387–93.

2 This incident, in which thirty-three Frenchmen reportedly died, is described in a letter from Rhé; PRO SP16/73/87 (folio 132r). See also STC 18507.187, The continuation...August 17, A4r; CSPV 1626–28, p. 339.

3 For the attempt to assassinate Buckingham (which occurred on 28 July/7 August) see PRO SP16/73/38 (folio 51r); Holles, ii, 370; Lockyer, p. 392. (The would-be assassin was not apparently tortured although this was threatened; SP16/73/87 (folio 132r)). STC 24742, A continued journaull...August 30, has an account of the affair on A3r–v and a life-size woodcut of the offending weapon on B3v–B4r. A “slash” (line 16) is a “vertical slit made in a garment in order to expose to view a lining or under garment of a different or contrasting colour” (OED, “slash”, sbr, 3s: this usage cited).
5000 men more with victual & ammunition; & that the French have put 5000 men into the opposite Isle of Oleron & there fortifie.\(^4\)

But on Wednesday the Chamberlain of London\(^5\) being with the Lords, brought newes thence, that the Fort was taken. For their waterpipe being found out & cutt off, for a while they boyled their meat with wine, & drank wine without water, which not agreeing with them they soone came to parley; & at length were forced dishonourably to compound, to go forth onely with their wearing clothes, a battoon or Stick in their hand, & to be sett a shore on the maine, which as is sayd was accordingly done with them all,\(^6\) except Torax who submitted himselfe to the Dukes mercy, pretending, he durst not come into France, because he undertook to maintaine the Island against all power whatsoever, & denies to have suborned the Assassinates.\(^7\) Thus was the newes all day yesterday, but to day againe it holds not, but sayd the King & State were abused by the relation of a Holland Skipper at Plymouth, who came from Rochell 3 dayes before the Messenger that came to the King on Monday; & therefore his

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\(^4\) See above, p. 858 n. 7 for efforts to reinforce the Duke's army.

\(^5\) I have not identified this person.

\(^6\) The false report of the inhabitants leaving the fort with "Bastonathoes in there hands" was apparently provided by Claus Garretson (the "Holland Skipper of line 40 below), a Dutchman who claimed to have obtained the information at St Martins; PRO SP16/73/75 (I) [folio 116r]; SP78/82/folios 73r–v, 74r. STC 18507.187. The continuation, August 17, has the same story (probably derived from Garretson's account) on A4r–v. This account of the capture of the citadel probably reached London on Monday 13 August; on hearing the detail of the "batoon" Secretary Conway, however, doubted the truth of the whole story; SP16/74/15 [folio 36v]. OED suggests that "batoon" was the "form always used during [the] 17th and 18th centuries" ("baton", la).

\(^7\) Although the man arrested in attempting to kill Buckingham had stated Torias had hired him, the last-named denied the charge "with deep oaths and imprecations"; PRO SP16/73/38 [folio 51r], 87 [folio 132v]; Lockyer, p. 392.
Relation could not be true.  

It is sayd & feared too true, that the King of Denmark is in want, & like to make his peace if he can; for that it is sayd also, & not improbably, that the Duke of Freidland will come downe upon him, joyning his great forces with those of Tillys. That the French King upon that our attempt at the Isle of Rez hath stayed the going of his ayd to that King. That an Ambassador is newly landed here from him.

But the King of Sweden yet prevails & prospers having forcibly taken the great Fort neere Dantzick, where himselfe & yong Count Thurne were formerly hurt: & is sayd to have sent forces 4 dayes march to besiege Thone on the Confines between Poland & Prussia.

Groll is not yet taken, that we know of, but still besieged by the Prince of Orenge; and not farre of lyeth Count Henry van der Berg with an Army.

8 The messenger mentioned on line 41 was that mentioned on line 2 above.

9 Sir Robert Anstruther had heard a rumour by 11/21 July that Christian IV might seek peace terms. The King, however, denied this; PRO SP75/8/folio 202r.

10 Tilly's army had gained a passage over the Elbe on 27 July/6 August. Wallenstein (whose army was 25,000 strong) and Tilly met at Lauenburg on 21/31 August; PRO SP75/8/folio 244r; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', p. 532; Mann, p. 352. The probability that this would happen was mentioned in a newsletter from Augsburg of 11/21 July; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r; see also STC 18507.186A, Certaine avisoes of private letters...August 8, A2v.

11 I have not traced this report.

12 Two Danish Ambassadors, George Brahe and Christian Thomassen, had arrived at Gravesend on 17 August and entered London on the 23rd; Finet, P2v, P3v; CSPV 1626-28, pp. 343, 353.

13 The fort of Kasemark, in attacking which Gustavus and Thurn had been wounded in May (see above, p. 814 n. 6), fell to the Swedes on 4/14 July and gave them an important base from which to attack Danzig; Roberta, ii. 342.

14 This rumour was untrue as Gustavus was fully occupied in Polish Prussia during July and August; ibid, pp. 342-43.

15 For the siege of Grol see above, p. 814 n. 8; p. 850 n. 8. The town fell to Prince Frederick's army on 9/19 August; Israel, p. 171.
to relieve it, but cannot; the Prince is so well entrenched. As a fortnight since 2 Porpeises were taken here above the Bridge; so on Monday evening last, after a night & a dayes labour, was taken at Woolwich 8 miles below London a monstrous Fish called a Grampas, as big as an Oysterboat, 27 foot long, & 8 foot high, having a great head, a little mouth, no teeth & but 2 short finnes, not above halfe a yard long. They that took him gott (as is estimated) £60 by bringing him into a bar'd dock & covering him, taking pense apiece of all that came to see him: which was more I think then halfe the Citty &c; and yesterday they sold him to a Sopeboyler in regard of his oyle for £8. Burialls — 123 Plague —— 0 Christenings 146

Another L(ondon) ditto.

Upon their Lordships sitting in serious consultation with his Majestie at Windsor on Thursday was sennight being the 9th of this month (even to the interruption of the Progress) was expected some extraordinary event as an overture towards a Parliament or the like. But it proved otherwise. For on Saturday the 11th their Lordships sitting at

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16 In order to relieve Groo an army commanded by van den Bergh approached the town but lack of money and squabbles between the regimental commanders meant that it was not able to break through Frederick's siege-works. Unfortunately for him, however, "van den Bergh managed to give the impression to friend and foe alike that his efforts were essentially pro forma, lacking any real bite"; ibid., pp. 170-71 (quotation from p. 171). See also Reade, iii. 37; Magurn, p. 196.

17 I have not traced this incident, or that of the capture of the porpoises mentioned on lines 64-65. A "grampus" is a type of dolphin (OED, "grampus", s.v.).

18 Contarini's account of the Privy Council meeting at Windsor on 9 August, at which a recall of Parliament was discussed, is in CSPV 1626-28, p. 342 (quoted in part by Cust, F. L., p. 41); see also APC Jan.-Aug. 1627, pp. 476-78. The Earl of Clare, perhaps recalling Lord Spencer's Horatian allusion on 1 May 1626 (reported by Mead: see above, p. 272 n. 6), wrote on 19 August that the "great assembly of counsellors at
Whitehall resumed more eagerly, then before their former prosecution of these London Recusants of the Loane. And being weary (as it seemes) of proceeding virtum, they sent for the Lord Mayor & Aldermen giving them charge to imprison the Refractarious. 19

On Tuesday the 14th my Lord of Warwick came to London having the same day kissed the Kings hand at Windsor. His Lordship goes no more to Sea this Summer but sends out his Ships to serve till they have spent their victuals. 20 He was never sick one houre at Sea & would as nimbly clime up to top & yard as any common Mariner in the Ship & all the time of the fight was as active & open to danger as any man there. 21

We heare out of Ireland, that in the very mouth of the River of Dublin rides a tall man of warre of Dunkirk (attended on with 2 Gallies) bearing 2 tyre & an halfe of Ordinance & being of the burthen of 400 tun. These three have not onely taken men & cattell from off the shore, but do block up that River, & intercept all passengers going & coming. The Lord Deputy at their first coming sent Sir Beverly Newcome & Captaine Warner in a boat to discover them but the Enimie having better boats, fett them up & brought them aboard; [ & being] r(an)sakt Sir Beverley found betweeen some 30 or 40 pieces of gold about him: whereat the Dunkirk Captaine rejoicing Sir Beverly Newcome finding him

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19 This order by the Privy Council is in *APC Jan.-Aug. 1627*, p. 485; see also PRO SP16/71/44 [folio 62v]. "Virtum" (line 89) = "man by man".

20 The Earl of Clare wrote on 19 August that having returned, Warwick intended "to spend the remaynder of this season, and of his vittayle in this service [the privateering venture]"; *Holles*, ii. 366–67; see also PRO SP16/72/9 [folio 13r].

21 For Warwick’s battle with some Spanish ships see above, p. 955 n. 10.
in a good mood, pretending to him he was but a yonger 
brother & a poore gentleman carrying the greatest part 
of his wealth about him, he prevayled with him for the 
liberty of himselfe & his freind. 22

22 Although I have not found any other reference to this incident, Lord Deputy Falkland and the Irish Privy 
Council notified Charles that a Spanish (= Dunkirk?) warship had appeared off Dublin on 29 July and had 
departed just before Falkland's children arrived there. Sir Beverley Newcomen carried the letter to England; 
PRO SP16/73/8 [folio 11r–v]; see also SP14/214/folio 141r; CSP Ireland 1625–32, p. 260. To “fett up” 
(line 109) = “fetch up”, in the sense of to “come up with, overtake” (OED, “fetch”, 21g). Captain Warner 
(line 108) is unidentified.
[Bifolium. Written on Saturday 15 September. Lines 719–40, 753–58 taken in part from STC 18507.188 (see nn. 5–6, 12–13 below). Folio 294r blank; subscription (dated “7ber 15”) on 294v.]

15 September 1627

Sir,

I wrot not on Saturday; first because I had not then much, also hoped upon the receipt of that dayes intelligence, to have found some messenger in the beginning of this week, which I did not, William Perkin coming but late. On Monday hops were sold & had bin for £7 / £8 / £9 3s 4d/ the hundred. I would yours had bin here then to have got some of those prizes; but now the Londoners have you at a bay.

For other newes. The Fort is not yet taken; yea some say it is relieved by flat bottomed boats, but others affirme that not above 3 boats passed; the rest were discovered, hindered, & surprised. Which is true I know not. But there went the former week £60,000 to Portesmouth to be sent to our Army. & by this it is thought our supplyes of souldiers &c are gone. That the French King himselfe should be in the fort, I suppose no wise man will easily beleve, though some have bin so foolish as to imagine it.

Tilly is gotten over the Elbe & entrenched with 16,000 men betweene Lubeck & Hambrough within 20 or 16 miles of the Latter. It is supposed he expectes the Duke of Freidland &

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1 The regular carrier to Dalham was evidently not available. For William Perkin see above, p. 641 n. 3.
2 Mead had been to Stourbridge Fair and remembered to send the latest hop prices to Stuteville. As had happened in the previous year, however, Sir Martin’s produce was not likely to get the best return; see above, p. 442 n. 5. “At a bay” (line 9) means “in great straits, in distress” (OED, “bay”, s.b., II, 3b); Mead, of course, used the term figuratively.
3 Sir Edward Conway, writing to his father (Secretary Conway) from Rhé on 4/14 September, had reported that some relief had reached St. Martin’s; PRO SP16/76/26 [folio 53r].
4 About 2,300 Irish soldiers commanded by Sir Ralph Bingley arrived at Rhé in early September. Another intended reinforcement under the Earl of Holland encountered so many delays in setting sail he was not ready to leave England before Buckingham sailed for home and never reached Rhé; ibid.; Lockyer, pp. 393, 396–97, 399–402; Donagan, ‘A Courtier’s Progress’, pp. 323–24.
there are either his or other forces marching up to joyne with him. The Land of Holst in whose frontires now Tilly is encamped, is all in armes & much affrighted at this unlooked for approach of the Enimy. The King of Denmark is also gone back into his Kingdome to putt the rest of his Subjects in armes & to provide for the Soundt. For if Freidland once joyne with Tilly it will go hard with them; & the King it is thought must putt it upon a battell, will he nill he, & the event will be doubtfull & dangerous. To encrease this evill, it is also reported, there is some unkind difference fallen between him & Colonell Morgan, the Colonell having admonished the King of some errors in his administration of this warre & the King having putt the Colonell upon some unfitt service & yet taken from him some of the souldiers he brought with him out of the Low--countries. Our Factors at Hambrough have sent home their wives & children fearing the worst. Yet some say Tilly will not yet in policie meddle with Hambrough least being once his; the English & Hollanders might quite block up the river & so undoe their trade, which yet is beneficial

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5 Tilly had crosed the Elbe at the end of July and had joined his forces with Wallenstein's; see above, p. 859 n. 10. The confusion and fear in and around Hamburg at the approach of Imperial forces is reported in STC 18507.188, The continuation...September 12, A3v.

6 The same newesbook reported on A3v that Christian IV was mustering his forces near Hamburg and had "commanded man for man throughout all the land of Holstein to be in armes"; see also ibid., A4r, B4r. Sir Robert Anstruther had suggested over a month earlier that a battle between Christian and Tilly would take place, but this did not happen as the Danish army was too weak; PRO SP75/8/folios 248v–49r; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', p. 532.

7 Although Morgan had been appointed general of the Danish infantry earlier in the year (see PRO SP75/8/folios 76v, 91v, 110r, 123v–v, 129r, 154r, 177r, 202r) lack of money and men (some of whom had been ordered elsewhere by Christian) angered Morgan. At one point he told Conway that it had "much grieved" him "to see the negligence of this king in leaving me...so ill provided". For Morgan's complaints see ibid., folios 148r–49v, 176v, 193v–v, 222v (quotation from 193v).

8 As reported by Sir Robert Anstruther on 6/16 August; ibid., folios 249r, 250v; see also PRO SP16/75/9 [folio 15v].
to the Spanyard. 9

The last week came newes to the Lords, that the 5
great Ships which have bin building at Amsterdam for the French
King, were ready to putt forth.10 Whereupon they sent to the Turkey
merchants (who are now ready with 12 ships to sett sayle for the Straightes)
to informe them of this prize; & to admonish them to lye for
it. But their answere was, their Ships were now Laden, & it
would be long before they could unlade them, & in the case
they were, to hazard a fight with such strong Ships (some
bearing 50 some 60 pieces of ordinance) they were very un=
willing. Hereupon it was sayd, there were some of the
Kings ships making ready to lye for them, if they come not to
late.11

The Prize, which the Hollanders have lately taken
from the Spanyard, is valued at 800 thousand pound Sterling.12

The Spanish Ambassador, hath made great offers of aydes
to the French King against us: but the French which are true
Patriots utterly detest it, & rather advise for a reconciliation
betweene both Crownes.13

This is all I can now think of. Save what you

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9 This proved correct; although Imperial forces could have besieged Hamburg by land they did not do so.
The Hanse towns shipped vital supplies of naval materials and corn to Spain which a siege would have
seriously disrupted.

10 Dudley Carleton, Lord Imbercourt had notified Secretary Conway on 28 July/7 August that four powerful
French warships built in Holland were ready to sail for France; PRO SP84/134/folio 84r-v; see also ibid.,
folio 92v.

11 Although I have not traced the request to the Levant merchants, contingency plans to intercept the
vessels being built for the French in the United Provinces had been under discussion for over a month; PRO
SP16/74/2 [folios 3r–4v], 25 [folios 50r–51v], SP16/75/9 [folios 17v–18r]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 390.
SP16/75/92 [folio 160r] is a list of the ships "appointed for guarde of the Narrow Seas, & to intercept the
shippes expected out of Hollande". To "lie for" (line 51) is "to lie in wait for" (OED, "lie", v, 4b).

12 STC 18507.188, The continuation...September 12 (probably the source of lines 53–54) lists on B4v the
cargoes of the St. Anthony and another ship which, with a third vessel captured by the Dutch, were "valued
to be worth 800000 pound sterling". See also Israel, p. 197.

13 Mead probably took this item from STC 18507.188, B3v. The report concerned rumoured offers of naval
assistance to Louis XIII by the Marquis of Legantés (Spanish Ambassador in Paris) against the English fleet
at Rhé.
heard before.\textsuperscript{14} Thus therefore with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg  
September 15, 1627

Yours most ready to be commanded

Joseph Mead

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 4] \& then \(^\wedge\) also \(^\wedge\) hoped MS.  
line 19, 16,000] altered from “£16” [i.e., Mead originally wrote “16^d”].  
line 27] Tilly it would \(^\wedge\) will \(^\wedge\) go MS.  
line 43] ready to eome \(^\wedge\) putt \(^\wedge\) forth MS.  
line 46, their answere] altered from “there answere”.

\textsuperscript{14} As Mead had not written the previous week this presumably referred to when he had last seen Stuteville at Dalham.
London September 14. 1627

Hamburgh letters on Monday, of our 29 of August, tell us that Tilly not onely abode with his 16,000 men in the Land of Holst, but also, that the Duke of Freidland was come unto him with 20,000 men more, who in his passage thither had putt to flight old Count Thune the Bohemian, who lay with 4000 men to

a: Videlicet in the land of Lawenburg.
have stopped his passage.¹ That the King of Denmark was glad
to retrait,² & that they came within musket shott of Hamburg
walles,³ & began to pull downe the Pesthouse, till 5 great shott
drave them away.⁴ And it is generally doubted, that by the next
or second lettres, we shall heare, that all the Land of Holst is lost,
& the King of Denmark with his Kingdom indangered.

The Prince of Orange hath greatly fortifyed Groll, &
caused ample provisions to [be] brought into it.⁵ But meantime while
Anwerp lettres & the States Ambassador concure, That Spinola,
not farre from Bergen-up-­zome & Tergoosland, is with 14,000

b: He was gone to Rensburg in the further parts of Holst where he
summons up his Gentry & Boores of Ditmarsh & the land of Holst or
Holstein, which wilbe to the number of 20,000 & is thought must or
will putt all upon a battell.

c: This was August 28.

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¹ For the joining of the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein see above, p. 857 n. 10. "Old Count Thurne" (line
6), was Heinrich Matthias, Count Thurn, one of the Defenestrators of 1618 and a leader of the Bohemian
revolt of 1618-20. He had fled from Bohemia after the battle of the White Mountain; Parker, pp. 51-52,
55, 61; Wedgwood, pp. 73-77, 78-80, 82-83, 90-93, 142. For an account of his retreat in the face of a
powerful Imperial army see PRO SP75/8/folios 271r, 272r.

² Christian and his family had fled to Holstein on 3/13 September after placing his troops in forts along
the Elbe; PRO SP75/8/folio 280r; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', p. 532. All able-bodied men between the
ages of eighteen and fifty-five had been called up in Holstein by the end of July; SP75/8/folio 250v. See
also ibid., folios 238r-v, 244r; above, p. n. 6.

³ The Hamburg letter mentioned here was similar to that in STC 18507.188, The continuation...September
12, B5r: on 28 August/7 September Tilly approached Hamburg "but he passed by quietly without any
molestation, save that some of his Companie when they were passed by the Towne, made towards the Pest-
house, to have had some pillage there, which the Hamburgers seeing, they presently shot at them from
their walls, and forced them to retire". As the newsbooks were by 1627 invariably in quarto format this
report, on leaf B5, was probably added as soon as the original letter arrived due to the importance of the
news it contained. See also PRO SP75/8/folio 271r; Sir Robert Anstruther estimated Tilly’s army at 25,000
men.

⁴ For the capture of Groll by the Dutch see above, p. 857 n. 15. Dudley Carleton. Lord Imbercourt had written
to Secretary Conway on 18/28 August that Frederick was "busied in fortifying" the town; PRO
SP84/134/folio 165r.
men in flatt bottom'd boates at a steeple scene above water,
busy there to build a Fort, the place being drowned land; which
must withdraw the States Forces from about Groll to hinder
that work, or it will exceedingly annoy & endanger their Domi-
nions.5

The lettres on Wednesday from Italy generally affirme, That
7 Townes not farre from Naples, & therein 60,000 soules were
all swallowed up by an Earthquake d & perished.6

We have these 6 dayes had here much speach, as if
Saint Martins-Fort were releived: But on Wednesday morning
(a French Gentleman from Rochell being arrived here, who rode pre-
ently to the Court at Havering) it was sayd, that at his departure
from thence, it was neither taken by ours, nor relieved by the French.7
Sir William Beecher is gone from Southampton with money to the
d: Some lettres mention [an] eruption of fire which if true, it should
seem to be from Vesuvius which is within some 4 or 5 miles of
Naples. It hath not stirred these 600 yeares & more. But I suspect there
is a Cipher too much (i)n the number of those which perished: we shall
ere long heere.

5 Spinola had ordered the construction of a fort at Zandvliet to protect the river Scheldt below Antwerp. It represented a considerable threat to the Dutch; if the fort were completed Flemish raiders could strike deep into Zeeland with impunity. Although the project caused alarm in the United Provinces Spinola had been warned before construction started that the sand upon which it was to be built was unstable, and the work was halted when the entire fort collapsed into the Sheldt in late December: Reade, iii. 38, 41; Israel, p. 171. See also Rubens's reports in Magurn, pp. 206, 208, 209, 211-12, 215, 218, 229. The possibility that Prince Frederick might be forced to leave Grol to prevent work on the fort was reported in more than one newsletter from the Hague; PRO SP101/47folios 40r-v, 48r.

6 Later reports of the death toll suggest that Mead was correct to suspect the figure in line 29 had one zero too many; see lines 37-41 below.

7 Salkar Derickson, a Dutchman, had left St. Martina on the 11th of September and reported that at that time the fort was still under siege; PRO SP16/78/56 [folio 112r].
And on Wednesday the Lord Wilmot rode hence towards Plymouth there to embarque with a supply of men & provisions for the Island of Rez. But it is now sayd, the Earle of Holland goes not this fortnight or more, if then at all.

The Dunkerkers have done great spoyle in the North Sea's amongst the Holland Fishermen, sinking & taking the 4 men of warre, that were to guard them: as also amongst our Coale-ships, & those that were to convoy them, which hath on a suddaine rysed our Coales from 16 to 20* a chaldron; few being yet furnished for winter, & therefore will yet grow dearer.

Lettres from Exceter say, there were in their channell about 20 sayle of French men of warre, 3 of which were of 50 tun apeice, each of them carrying 40 brasse peices, & expect divers more of greater burden.

Yester-evening came newes from Plymouth, that two of our long expected East-Indian ships the London & the Re-

These are going to guard home those 5 great French men of warre lately built at Amsterdam.

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8 Sir William Beecher had sailed with the fleet in June but was sent back on 18/28 July both to report the expedition's initial success and to press for reinforcements. This was only supposed to be a brief visit but due to lack of money and men he did not return to Rhé (with £14,000 and another 400 men) until 23 September/3 October; PRO SP16/76/19 [folio 28r]; Lockyer, pp. 387–91, 395–97.

9 Charles Lord Wilmot, an experienced soldier, was to command 2,000 of the reinforcements to be sent to Rhé; GEC, xii (pt. 2). 719–20; CSPV 1626–28, p. 406.

10 For the delays in the departure of Holland's reinforcements see above, p. 643 n. 4.

11 Dutch fishing fleets were a major target for Flemish privateers, as had been shown in 1625 (for which see above, p. 355 n. 8). In late August 1627 fourteen Dunkirkers attacked the Enkhuisen herring fleet off the Shetlands and sank a large number of vessels; Israel, p. 192.

12 John Beaulieu wrote on 26 September that the Dunkirkers had recently “taken diverse Marchants shippes & Coallers upon these coasta”; BL Harleian MS 7010, folio 38r.

13 I have not identified these ships.
formation are there safely arrived. \(^{14}\)

Its sayd an Enimy man of warre on the Welch coast
hath taken many small vessells, taking out the Masters, & sunk
the rest with the Barkes. \(^{15}\)

Yesterday did the Drum beat in the streets for voluntary
souldiers for the Queen of Bohemia's service; but it is conceived
to be for the ayd of the King of Denmark. \(^{16}\)

Burialls — 155
Plague — 0
Christened- 156

[device]

Another. London.

Sir William Beecher on Wednesday last week returned back
from hence, & on Monday last embarqued from Portsmouth with
400 foot & money to the Isle of Rez. \(^{17}\)

On Tuesday the Lord Conway parted to the Isle of Wight \(^{18}\) & the Lord Wilmot
to Plimuth, where 2000 foot expect him; 25 lusty Shippes
being furnishing here, & to be there the 20th of this month to
transport ^ them ^ to Rez. \(^{19}\)

On Tuesday night also Dolbier (sometime servant to
Count Mansfelt) \(^{20}\) passed here to Court from my Lord Duke of Buckingham:
& sayth, the Fort is not yet taken, but taken it wilbe forthwith;

\(^{14}\) The arrival of these ships at Plymouth was noted by Sir James Bagg on 11 September; PRO SP16/78/6

\(^{15}\) I have not found any other reference to this.

\(^{16}\) Presumably the seriousness of the military situation in northern Germany suggested to some that more
levies were to be sent to Christian.

\(^{17}\) For Beecher's journey see PRO SP16/78/16 [folio 39r], SP16/79/40 [folio 67r]; n. 8 above. The four
hundred men Beecher took with him were of little use, however, in strengthening Buckingham's army;
Lockyer, p. 397.

\(^{18}\) Edward Lord Conway was Governor of the Isle of Wight from 1624 until his death in 1631; GEC, iii.

\(^{19}\) For the reinforcements commanded by Wilmot see n. 9 above.

\(^{20}\) John Dalbier had been the paymaster of Mansfeld's army; Lockyer, p. 396; see also BL Add. MS 34311,
folio 51v.
the distresse of the French in it being such, that they must yeeld:
and that it might ere this have beene had, had his Grace
bin willing to adventure the lives of his men by assault.21

Sir Francis Steward was the 29th of July some 14 leagues
to the Eastward of the Azores, (as is written \^ thence \^ from him) 22 expecting 85
there according to former Instructions to meet with the Earle
of Warwick their Admirall,23 whom they lost upon the 2 of July
upon the coasts of Spaine not knowing what became of him; by
reason of a very \^ great \^ fogge that befell that morning:24 About 9 a clock
they heard the noyse of ordinance to Leeward of them, whereupon
in the fogge they tackt about & stood that way so farre, that
they were faine to stand off againe for feare of the shoare: But
the noyse of Ordinance, was quickly done; & at 2 in the afternoone
the fogg clearing up, they found themselves in the midst of 21
sayle of the Spanish Armada, but could see none of their Consorts.
(folio 292r) 95

The Spaniards, taking them (as they imagined) for one of their owne
Ships never shot, & were as they supposed scattered by the former
fogge & stood in for the shore, whilst they stood off to the Sea.
They remained long upon those coasts seeking for their Admirall
& were never cleared of the Armada till the 12 of July: when
having shaken off the rest, the Viceadimirall still followed
& shot at them, whom they answered in the same kind & thus
continued a whole day, till being shot through & through she was
glad to leave them.25 They adde that the Brasille Fleet which they
expected for prize, they now understood, to be taken & spoyled

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21 In mid-September Dalbier was sent to England from Rhé to press for more reinforcements and supplies;
Lockyer, p. 396.

22 On 29 July the Hector (of which Stewart was captain) had met a ship sailing for England with a
Portuguese prize. The Hector had sent letters home with this ship from which this account probably came;
Bard, p. 48.

23 The Hector had received orders on 3 July to meet the Earl's ship at the Azores; ibid., pp. 41, 47.

24 For Warwick's fight with a Spanish fleet see above, p. 855 n. 10.

25 The Hector had heard heavy firing between 10 and 11 am on 2/12 July. The fog which had scattered the
English ships lifted, however, between 2 and 3 that afternoon leaving the Hector surrounded by 22
Spaniards bound for Lisbon. She managed to avoid the Spaniards that day but encountered them again on
10/20 July, four of which chased her for the next two days; on 12/22 July the Spanish Vice-Admiral
engaged the Hector with the latter getting the better of the conflict; ibid., pp. 40-41, 43-46.
by the Hollanders upon the coast of Brasile.\textsuperscript{26} This is the summe of those letters. The Earle of Warwick upon this intelligence prepareth to him with all speed.\textsuperscript{27}

Currantes wilbe scarce hereafter, for there hath a check bin given the Printers &c.\textsuperscript{28}

Another London ditto.

The two capitall subjects of newes, are now the King of Denmark & Duke of Buckingham. For the first, it cannot but be ill since Tilly is now marched even under the Walles of Hamburgh into the Land of Holstein.\textsuperscript{29} Those who speak the worst say that King is carelesse of his buisines; others, that his soldiers run from him for want of pay; others, that he favours not our Nation, & therefore, that they cannot love him; others, that he is fled from the face of his Enimie.\textsuperscript{30} The best reported is, that the King is farre superiour to Tilly in number, videlicet 32,000 foot (whereof 16,000 English & Scotts) & 11,000 horse;\textsuperscript{31} that he

\textsuperscript{26} For the Dutch victory at Todos los Santos see above, p. \textbf{916} nn. 5–8.

\textsuperscript{27} The Earl's flagship the \textit{Great Neptune} had already put to sea, although without Warwick on board. She met the \textit{Hector} (as the latter was returning to England) on 14 September before sailing for Spain in search of prizes; Bard, pp. 69–70.

\textsuperscript{28} On 5 September 1627 Secretary Conway had written to the Stationers' Company threatening "the wholesale revocation" of the Company's charter unless the licensing regulations were strictly obeyed; Cogswell, 'Drayton and the Early Stuart Court', p. 215 and n. 25. This was one manifestation of the government's concern over the regulation of the printed news during 1627 (another was the warrant of 2 August to commit Nathaniel Butter the newsbook publisher to the Gatehouse; \textit{APC} Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 470). For more on this subject see Appendix I below.

\textsuperscript{29} For Tilly's march past the walls of Hamburg see n. 3 above.

\textsuperscript{30} Christian's forces were both outnumbered by the Imperial armies facing them and poorly paid; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', pp. 532–33; see also Morgan's criticism of Christian quoted above, p. \textbf{864} n. 7.

\textsuperscript{31} This estimate of the size of the Danish army was considerably exaggerated. As Pory suggested this was the most optimistic account of Christian's position circulating in London.
retreats indeed, but to draw the Enimie into some place of advantage, & that he purposeth to make it a day of battell, & so in one Conflict to hazard the Liberty of all Christendome. For if the King of Spaine, or the Emperor his dependant, become once Master of the Soundt, what navall furniture are not they able to stop, & in what huge Fleets will they be able to transport (especially by the means of Hamburgh & Lubeck, who already leaning to their part, the King failing, wilbe theirs altogether) the Armies of Tilly or Freidland out of those Northen Regions into the North of his Majesties Dominions, or elsewhere. And it is probable, that Spinola out of Flanders may attempt Lyncolnshire, Norfolk Suffolk Essex. The French King, Kent Sussex, Hamshire, Dorsetshire & Somersettshire: The Spanyard Devonshire & Cornwall. For now (I need not alledge one of the greatest privy Counsellors, whom I heard speak it but yestermight, every plebeian knowes it) we have no lesse, nor fewer Enimies at this one time, then the Pope, The Emperor, the French King, & the Spanish, who have now just cause, to make an Union against us, since the Duke of Buckingham in his late Manifesto hath made Religion, videlicet the righting of the Protestant Churches in France, the ground of this paradoxall Warre: which Remonstrance of his, because it was done without

32 For rumours that Christian intended to fight Tilly see above, p. 803 n. 6.

33 The apocalyptic scenario described by Pory in lines 125–34 expressed deep-seated English fears about the consequences of Imperial control of the Baltic. Plans were in existence to establish a Spanish/Imperial fleet in the region (see above, p. 468 n. 20; p. 803 n. 6); the Franco–Spanish rapprochement threatened joint naval action against England, and rumours of massive military preparations in northern Spain had reached London over the previous weeks. One newsletter from Bayonne of 1/11 August had, for instance, asserted that "it is apparent they [the Spanish] have some greate evill designe in hand"; PRO SP101/91/folio 35r.

34 The text mentioned on line 127 is STC 24746, A Manifestation or Remonstrance. Of the...Duke of Buckingham...containing a Declaration of His Majesties intention for this present Arming. The passages referred to on lines 140–42 were probably those on A4v ("the intent of these Armes is no other but onely for the good of the [Huguenot] Churches, which for so many important reasons and considerations he [Charles] finds himselfe obliged before God & men to protect and succour") and B1v ("All above-said wittnesseth for the King my Master, that he hath not beene constrained to take Armes for any particular interest, but the defence of the Churches onely, for the surety and liberty whereof he stood answerable...His Designe is the establishing of the Churches, his interest is their good, and his syme their contentment").
Order from hence, I heare it is distasted by his Majestie. If I may believe their words, by some of the Grandes of his Counsell. 

For the Fort of Saint Martins, as it is not yet taken, so many doubt, whether ever it wilbe; albeit my Lord of Holland goes from hence with a supply of 2000. Sir Ralph Bingley & Sir Pierce Crosby out of Ireland with 2000 more. And my Lord Morton should with as many out of Scotland. Besides here is going forth a great Fleet under the command of Sir Henry Marvin, to encounter those great Ships of the French Kings now coming forth of Holland, & many others that are to joyne with them. Sir Sackville Trevour (who was thought to have bin sunk in the Sea by the Hamburghers) is returned in safety. He shott f: But the Counsell of Scotland will not suffer him, & so have written to the King, not willing to have to do with the Dukes warres, undertaken they say, without their advise &c.

35 While ?Pory had some justification in seeing the war with France as "paradoxall" in that two nations both opposed to Imperial expansion in Germany (and both professing support for Denmark) were fighting each other, Charles himself felt bound to defend La Rochelle against what he saw as French perfidy and the breaches of the treaty of Fontainebleau concluded in the previous year.

36 Anticipating ?Pory's words Contarini had noted on 17/27 August that the manifesto was "not generally approved since the pretext of religion is obviously false"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 376; see also ibid., p. 342.

37 PRO SP16/77/38 [folio 61r] is a list of the ships to be sent with Lord Holland (see above, p. 343 n. 4); seventeen vessels were to carry 2,000 men and provisions for the army at Rhé.

38 For the reinforcement sent with Bingley see PRO SP16/75/73 [folio 133r], 76 [folio 139r]; Lockyer, p. 393 and above, p. 345 n. 4.

39 Charles had written to Buckingham on 13 August that two thousand Scotsmen under the command of William Douglas, Earl of Morton, would shortly be sent to Rhé. Morton was granted a commission on the 29th to levy the men but due to lack of money they had not left England by October. Mead's marginal note to this item on lines 157–59 was false: the Scottish Privy Council had agreed to Charles's request for reinforcements (although they did stress the difficulty of levying the men); GEC, ix. 295; Lockyer, p. 389; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, second series, volume 2 [1627–28], ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1900), 37–39, 50–52, 62–63.

40 Mervin's draft instructions are now PRO SP16/78/50 [folio 100r]; see also above, p. 365 n. 11.
at them & tore some of them, in their passing by, but they were too swift of sayle for him & so are gone for Spaine.41

We heare of an horrible Earthquake, that hath bin in the King of Spaines & Popes Dominions in Italy; but I cannot yet learme the particulars.42

Sir Henry Wotton (I am told) hath lately taken upon him the order & habitt of a Minister: & yet it is thought Master Montague will gett the Deanry of Windsore (now voyd) from him.43

[device]

Textual Notes: line 26] it that work MS; “that” altered from “this”.
line 34, the Court] Mead closed brackets at this point then continued, deleting the parenthesis.
line 66] in the margin a hand resembling Stuteville’s has added “7ber 22”, (September 22). I do not understand the reason why; it was probably not the date of the receipt of the letter (see the Headnote, above).
line 79, my Lord] altered from “the Lord”.
line 85, him] altered from “there”.
line 101] rest, they the Viceadmirall MS.
lines 104–06, They adde...Brasile] an interlineation in the margin.
line 109] there hath a eheek MS.
line 123] battell. & & so MS.
line 141] Protestant Religion Churches MS.

41 Trevor had been ordered by Christian IV not to attack a fleet of merchantmen leaving Hamburg for Spain (due to the effect this would have on public opinion in the town). Ships under the former’s command had, however, fired on the warships convoying the fleet; PRO SP16/73/9 (folio 18r–v); SP16/77/22 (folio 38r); SP75/8/folios 240r–v, 242r, 249r–v, 250v–51r.

42 For this see n. 6 above.

43 Wotton had taken holy orders some months before; see above, p. 725 n. 5. Richard Montagu had been one of the Canons of Windsor since 1617, although I have not found any reference to his obtaining the Deanery there; DNB, xiii. 713.
29 September 1627

Sir,

I have no more yet but the enclosed: which I have corrected or enlarged out of a new Corrant of September 26 which I saw yesterday.\(^1\) I hear that the Earle of Cork in Ireland is brought into a premunire for £15,000 land per annum, which he purchased, but not according to, I know not what order made there by the King. That his estate is already divided, partly to the Duke, part to the Earle of Holland part to Sir Endymion Porter, who they say hath 60 spiritual Livings given to his disposition.\(^2\) The Earle was coming over to plead for himselfe, but is prohibited from hence, until the Dukes returne: who is no good freind of his for marriage of his Son with my Lord Digbyes daughter, whom the Duke endeavoured to have gotten for his kinswoman. Which some make to be part of the cause of this evil.\(^3\) But I will write no more, till I am sure of a Carrier, for I heare our Market was yesterday, which I thought not of. By chance I heare he comes a day after the market.\(^4\) Thus therefore with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady, I rest & am

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\(^1\) No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.

\(^2\) This was in error, as Mead recognised in his next letter based on more recent information from Ireland; see below, p. 290 n. 29. It is possible the rumour was a confused report of the dispute between Robert Boyle, Earl of Cork, and Sir Adm. Loftus (Lord Chancellor of Ireland); see The Lismore Papers, First Series, ii. 217, 219, 397–98.

\(^3\) This was also wrong; see below, p. 290 n. 30.

\(^4\) Although Saturday was the general market day in Cambridge it was held on other days also; Siraut, 'Some aspects of the economic and social history of Cambridge', p. 54. Mead evidently sent this letter with the carrier on the latter's way back into Suffolk.
Christ's Coll'dg
September 29.

My pupil Isham is now come.
I would I knew what your Bells cost the casting that I might speak upon some good ground about our Bell-charges which hath bin thrice broken within this twelvemonth. & I think, the Founder will make a living out of us; if we use to pay for casting as much as the Bell is worth as I think we do.\(^5\)

Yours most ready to be commanded
Joseph Mead

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\(^5\) The College accounts at this time show a considerable amount of money being spent on the Christ's bells: 10s. 10d., for instance, "for works about the bell" (CCA, B. 1. 7, folio 66r) and £1 "to the bell founder" (ibid., folio 77v; see also 66v, 77r, 82r-v, 92r, 97v). For the bells Stuteville bought for Dalham church see above, p. 367 n. 5.
London September 21. 1627.

Out of Sir William Courtyns letter from Middleburgh shewed to the King we have a flash of good newes concern^
ing the King of Denmark:¹ videlicet that Tilly swollen with
the successe of his former victories, being past the Elbe pur^=sued the King to a place of disadvantage, where his Majestie
gave upon his Enimie & slew some 4000 of his men &
dispersed his whole Army. Which God grant may prove
ture.²

a: The new Corrant speakes neither of battell nor overthrow. But affirmes
that Tilly being sore hurt at ^ a ^ Towne he took by assault was carried
to Lunenburg to be cured; where he is since dead & Freidland come to
command the Imperiall forces.

¹ Sir William Courten, son of a Dutch refugee, was one of the most eminent London merchants of his day. It
is not surprising he received news from the United Provinces; DNB, iv. 1258–60. In line 3 Mead probably
used “flash” as in OED, sb²–⁹, “a small piece?; a dash or sprinkling”, the only citation of which dates from
1615.
² Both Courten’s “newsflash” and the newsbook quoted in Mead’s note to this passage were wrong. No
Danish victory occurred and the rumour of Tilly’s death was (as Mead’s next letter suggested) probably
started by a leg injury he had received when his forces stormed the fort of Pinnenburg; Mann, p. 358;
below, p. 590–n. 18. To “give upon” (line 7) is to “deal a blow, make an attack or charge” (OED, “give” v.,
V, 14d).
From the Isle of Rez we have nothing but discourses, & that our men dye apace. The French King hath publishd an Edict to invite the Protestants to serve him in the warres, with promise of good satisfaction; or in case they will live at home, & not adhere to Monsieur de Rohan, Monsieur de Soubize & other troubleurs of the State, they shall enjoy the priviledge of all his & his Predecessors Edicts.

The Popes Nuntio & Spanish Ambassador now at Paris do proffer that King the ayd of their Masters against ours; which he thankes them for, but magnanimously refuseth, saying, He shalbe able to maintaine his owne quarrell.

The same King & Court (some say) speak well of his Majestie, and impute all the hostilitie to the Duke.

The Dunkirkers towards the North seas have taken 5 of our Ships, 2 of London homewards bound out of the Sound, 2 of Hull & one of Newcastell.

b: The new Corrant telles of 7 Barks fraught with victuall & Provisions & many brave Monsieurs coming to releive the Fort, which were all either sunk or taken.

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3 Contarini reported on 13/23 September that the army at Rhé numbered no more than 3,000 due to sickness; CSPV 1626–28, p. 390; see also PRO SP16/78/71 [folio 142r]; Lockyer, pp. 389, 393. The attempted relief of St Martins described in Mead’s note to this passage was reported by the Venetian Ambassador to Paris on 20/30 September; CSPV 1626–28, p. 399.

4 This was probably Declaration du Roy, contre le Sieur de Soubise, & autres adherents au party des Anglois, issued on 2/12 August 1627.

5 The Spanish Ambassador was the Marquis of Leganés; for his offers of aid against England see CSPV 1626–28, p. 357. The Papal Nuncio was Cardinal Spada.

6 I have not traced this report.

7 For the capture of English vessels by Dunkirk privateers see above, p. 390 n. 12.
There is a very good Story come out in French, Latin & Italian concerning the proceedings of the Jesuites from the yeare 1620 to 26 with an addition of former buisines.  

Another London. 21 September 1627

That on Monday came a Mercers apprentice from the Isle of Rez, having bin a fortnight or more in coming. He sayth onely, that the Fort then was not releived; & that they hoped when once our new supplyes were come it would not long hold out. That Thorax the Governour sent the Duke of Buckingham an hot venison Pastie (supposed to be of a cable-goat) & a Pott of water. Which his Grace requited with a 2 or 3 musk-millions & a pot of wine.

Our supplies of 4000 armed men are not yet gone thither, but go next week, if the wind serve; under the command of the Lord Wilmot. As for the

But the new Corrant of September 26 telleth it contrary, that the Duke sent Thorax a venison Pasty; who requited it with a gammon of Bacon, saying he sent him a soldiers dish &c.

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8 The French version of this text was *La mercure Jesuite: ou recueil des pieces, concernans le Progres des Jesuites, leurs escrits, & differens: depuis l'an 1620, jusqu'a la presente année 1626* (Geneva, 1626).

9 I have not traced this messenger. Compare Salker Derickson's report cited above, p. 849 n. 7.

10 Both the version of this incident in Mead's letter and that from the newsbook were inaccurate. In late August Buckingham had sent Toiras a gift of a dozen melons ("musk-millions") and had received six bottles of orange-flower water and some boxes of Cyprus powder in return; Lockyer, p. 392.

11 For Wilmot see above, p. 870 n. 9. The uncertainty about the number of the proposed reinforcements is reflected by the figure cited here; compare p. 874 above, line 75.
Earle of Holland, some say, he should go fetch the Duke, others that he should go after him. But many think not at all. Nor is it conceived the Duke will return before he be Master of the Fort.

It holds true, that in Apulia 5 Townes were ruined & about 6,000 * soules perished by an Earthquake our 20 of July; amongst which were the Bishop & Prebends of Saint Severina & with them above 2000 persons.

The King of Sweden hath againe given the Polack two overthrowes in person; yet notwithstanding his former danger, hath bin againe so over-venturous, that he hath received a sore hurt in the shoulder.

A 1000 of Tillies men were gotten into Hambrough & more had, but that the Commons rising thrust them out: whereupon the Lords of the Towne to please

The Irish souldiers 2300 (saith the Corrant) are already arrived at the Isle of Rez.

A lettre from Rome in the new Corrant speakes of more Townes, discovered to have perished then were in the first relation sent thither, & to the number of 30,000 soules. That the stinch was grievous, & the most of the people thereabouts to have forsaken the Townes; both for that cause & for feare of perishing in like manner.

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12 On 5/15 September Contarini had reported a rumour that Buckingham would return to England once Holland reached Rhé; CSPV 1626-28, p. 374. Both Meddus’s scepticism about whether Holland would ever sail and Mead’s marginal note concerning the Irish reinforcements were correct; see above, p. 264 n. 4; p. 125 n. 37.

13 For the Italian earthquake see above, p. 361 n. 6.

14 This referred to the two battles of Dirschau, fought on 7/17 and 8/18 August, in which Gustavus led his forces in person. The first engagement was between Polish and Swedish cavalry in which the Swedes were victorious; the second was a full-scale battle which would have resulted in a major Swedish victory had not Gustavus been seriously wounded in the neck and shoulder. The Swedes withdrew once the King was injured; Roberts, ii. 342–43.
Tilly sent him a present of 30,000 Rex-dollers.\textsuperscript{15}

There came letters on Tuesday from Holland of an overthrow the King of Denmark should have given to Tilly: & the same affirmed the next day by passengers from Amsterdam. But we have bin so much abused with rumours of good newes; that we dare give no credit unto it; though we wish better, then \textsuperscript{80} either \textsuperscript{w}e yet can hope or see ground for.\textsuperscript{16}

Some muttering yet as if \textsuperscript{85} the \textsuperscript{T}erme should be re-
moved to Reading or some other place: but time must show, how likely to be true.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 8] his dispersed his whole MS.
lines 14–19] Mead’s note a extended in the margin next to these lines.
line 67, (folio 296v) dated “2 September 1627” by the “annotator”.
line 72] have perished & then MS.

\hfill

\textsuperscript{15} I have not traced this incident. A “Rex-doller” (line 76) = “rix-dollar” (or “Reichsthaler”), a “silver coin and money of account, current from the latter part of the 16th to the middle of the 19th century in various European countries” (\textit{OED}, “rix-dollar”).

\textsuperscript{16} This must have been similar to the news contained in Courten’s letter reported on lines 4–9 above.

\textsuperscript{17} Beaulieu wrote on 26 September that because he was displeased with the City of London on account of continued resistance to the Forced Loan, Charles “would willingly be brought to deprive...[the City] of the benefit” of the Term and move legal proceedings elsewhere; BL Harleian MS 7010, folio 38r. Although this rumour proved false, moving the law courts out of London was not without precedent, especially during times of plague. It had happened during the epidemic of 1625; Shrewsbury, p. 330.
Sir,

Our newes was here the last week. That the Fort was relieved for some monthes by a Stratageme; the French at the instant, (being in the night) making a furious sally upon our trenches to give us buisines enough; wherein we lost 600 of our men & amongst them Sir John Burrowes our Colonell General.\(^1\)

But the new Journall published by authoritie October 2\(^2\) telles it otherwise. That Sir John Burrowes on Wednesday September 12\(^3\) coming up from his quarters in the aftermoone, to give orders for the lining of a new Entrenchment was, as he came off from the workes with some other Commanders, mortally shot with a musquet into the belly through the guttes, about 5 a clock in the evening; within 4 or 5 hours after which he gave up the Ghoast, to the exceeding greife of the whole Army & many a passionate teare of the Duke who came to visit him. That he shewed a great deale of constancie resolution & religion at his death, as he had in the whole course of his life.\(^4\) That about the 4 or 5 of the last month, there had some 6 shallops with releife gotten into the Fort, by the benefitt of a seasonable night, & by the conni-

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\(^1\) Apart from Burrough's death these Cambridge rumours were false (as Mead implied on lines 36-37 below).

\(^2\) This is STC 24744, A continued journall...October 2. From lines 9 to 55 of Mead's letter most of his information was taken, without acknowledgement, from this newsbook; he condensed the rather verbose printed text. For the implications of the Journal and the newsbooks being "Published by Authoritie" see Appendix II.

\(^3\) Burroughs had in fact been killed on Tuesday 11/21 September (correctly reported in STC 18507.189, The continuation...October 3, B1r); see also Sir Edward Conway's account in PRO SP16/78/71 (folio 142r); Lockyer, p. 396.

\(^4\) This account of Burrough's death was taken from STC 24744, B1v-B2r. Although Mead condensed the newsbook text (from 170 words to 106) phrases such as "gave up the Ghoast" (lines 14-15) were taken directly from it.
vence (as was doubted) of some Dutch who came to the Iland for salt & lay betwixt us & the maine. That the day sennight after Sir John Burrowes death, the French from the maine sought indeed to have againe releived it with 12 Barkes laden with victuall & munition; but that the one halfe were driven back to the maine & the other six taken by oures; the prisoners of which, our enraged soldierys put all to the sword, before they received any orders from the Duke, because, that being asked how they durst hazard themselves in this attempt, they answered it was upon confidence of the Dukes mercie, in case they should be surprised: & now they keep no quarter at Sea, but at land onely.

That our soldierys when Sir John Burrowes was slayne powred in revenge divers vollyes of small & great shott upon the French, wherewith the Governour Thoras his brother was slayne & some other men of qualitie.

But of any slaughter of our men by a sallie of the Enimie there is not a word. Onely, that the besieged attempt=ed to undermine one of our Batteries, but their designe was frustrated by a Countermine of ours, & they beaten out of their owne Mine after some resistance.

That the French give out, that if we depart not the sooner, they will force us by the aydes of shipping promised them.

5 The report of the attempted relief of St Martins was taken from ibid., A3r: apart from "(as was doubted)" for "(as it was doubted)" the lines "by the benefit...maine" (lines 20–22) quoted verbatim. A letter written from St Martins on 25 August/4 September had reported the arrival of 50 Dutch ships off La Rochelle for salt, and Sir Edward Conway wrote on 4/14 September that some relief had reached the fort "by hazardous boates"; PRO SP16/75/12 (folio 26r), SP16/76/26 (folio 53r).

6 The episode reported in lines 22–32 was taken from STC 24744, B2v and B1r (once again condensed by Mead, from 200 to 103 words). The attempt to relieve the fort on Thursday 20/30 September (not the 19th as suggested by the newsbook), in which seven of thirteen small French ships were intercepted by the English is described in PRO SP16/80/43 (folio 139r).

7 This account of the revenge exacted by the English army after Burrowes’s death was taken from STC 24744, B2r; "divers...French" (lines 33–34) and "some...quality" (line 35) were quoted verbatim. Although I have not traced this incident, one of Toiras’s brothers had been killed when the English army landed on the Île de Rhé in July; Tapié, p. 181.

8 Lines 37–40 were taken from STC 24744, B1r; the phrases "design...ours" (lines 38–39) and "beaten...resistance" (lines 39–40) quoted verbatim.
by the King of Spaine & the Archduchesse & joyned to their owne.9
Indeed the newes is, There were above 20 sayle of Spanyards
arrived at Blavet in Bretaigne & more lookt for;10 That 30
sayle of Dunkerks were also ready to go out the last Spring
tide, to the same place,11 & That the League was renewed in between
the Spanish & French.
Sir John Burrowes his body
is come into England, with Master Ashburnham into Plymouth, whence it is
coming about to Portsmouth, thence to be carried and entombed
at Westminster.12
My Lord of Holland is now gone with our 2000; & my
Lord Morton out of Scotland goes now at length with 3 or
4 thousand Scotts, & amongst them (as Scottishmen say) 1500 gentlemen.13
The Irish under Sir Ralph Bingley & Sir Pierce Crosby, 2300
are already come to the Isle.14 Thus standes that
buisines.

Now for the King of Denmark, he hath retyred be=fore his Enimie, & distracted his Army into so many parts
as, they say, it will not easily be brought together againe.15 He hath

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9 This account of the Franco-Spanish fleet was taken from ibid., Blv.
10 On 10/20 March 1627 a Franco-Spanish offensive alliance against England, ratified a month later, had been agreed in Madrid; probably the league mentioned on lines 47-48 below. The report in lines 44-45 was, however, rather premature: although (in response to the English assault on Rhé) the Spanish agreed during August 1627 to send naval assistance to the French, opposition in some quarters (notably by the commander of the Spanish fleet, Fadrique de Toledo) meant that the fleet did not actually reach France until late November, after the English had returned home. For more on these matters see Elliott, pp. 326–29; Reade, iii. 59–62. The port of Blavet in Brittany had been selected in 1618 as the base for the nascent French royal navy; Parker, La Rochelle, p. 77.
11 Rubens wrote on 4/14 October that 20 Dunkirk warships were to sail to join the proposed Franco-Spanish fleet; Magurn, p. 208; see also PRO SP101/47/folio 53v.
12 These details were taken from STC 24744, B2r; Burrough’s body arrived at Plymouth on Monday 24 September.
13 In the event neither Holland nor Morton sailed for Rhé; see above, p. 63 n. 4; p. 635 n. 39.
14 STC 24744 reported on B3r that 2600 English and Irish reinforcements had arrived at Rhé. Mead’s figure of reinforcements was more accurate than the newsbook’s, however: perhaps the reason why he did not quote the printed text on this occasion (see above, p. 63 n. 4).
15 Both Sir Charles Morgan and Sir Robert Anstruther had reported that Christian IV had scattered his army, which meant that it could not be quickly reformed; PRO SP757/folios 177v, 244v. See also
watered & drowned a great part of the Dukedom of Holstein to stop the Enemies progress. That Tilly's Army being entered the Country was in that distress for victual, that if it had not beene relieved by the Hamburgers with 2500 waggons it had perished, as many did nevertheless with greedines of eating after their long fasting. That there went so much provision out of Hambrough, that the Commons were almost in an Insurrection against their Magistrates. That notwithstanding this extremity, Tilly, had in the Land of Holstein taken the Castle of Tritan, & Pinnenberg (some 12 mile from Hambrough) where himselfe was hurt & thereupon reported to be dead, but was not so. That at the taking of this were 300 Scotishmen slayne, (the Courrant says resolute Boores). That Tillys Souldiers keep cruell quarter in Holstein, misusing the Countrymen, burning divers villages, & amongst the rest, the Kings village[s] of Wansbeck, Bambeck &c. That those of the Kings Army had intercepted a Post with letters from the Emperor to Generall Tilly. That he should by all meanes la bour first to make himselfe master of Hambrough, Breme.

SP101/47/folio 48r. Mead probably used the verb “to distract” (line 59) in the sense of to “rend into parts or sections; to divide; usually implying disorder or disintegration” (OED, “distract”, v, 2; see also ibid., sense 1).

16 This was reported by Sir Robert Anstruther on 5/15 September; PRO SP75/8/folio 274r. See also ibid., folio 284r.

17 STC 15807.189, The continuation...October 3, reported on A4v that Tilly’s soldiers “cryed presently out, Bread, Bread, for they were very hungry” when they passed by Hamburg; so much was purchased from the city that there was, reportedly, none left there (ibid.). See also PRO SP75/8/folio 271r-v, 284r.

18 Tilly had been wounded in the leg on the night of 1/11 September as his forces assaulted the fortress of Pinnenberg, which was captured two days later; ibid., folio 274r. See also STC 15807.191, The continuation...October 17, A2v-A3r; Mann, p. 358. Rumours of Tilly’s death were reported in early September but were soon recognised to be untrue; SP75/8/folio 280v, 299r, 301r. The surrender of “Tritan” to Imperial forces is noted in ibid., folio 284r.

19 It had been reported on 22 September/2 October that a garrison of 200 men had been put to the sword by the Imperialists; ibid., folio 309r. See also Mann, p. 359.

20 Although I have not identified the places mentioned in line 76 it had been reported that after his injury Tilly convalesced at “Wandesbeck”; PRO SP75/8/folio 301r.
Lubeck & Wismer, unto whom therefore the King had sent a Copie of those lettres. 21 Generall Morgan was still upon the Elbe about Lawenburgh, purposing, if he could to overthrow the Enimies bridge. 22 The King of Denmark was at Luckstadt. 23

In the Lowcountries, Spinola goes on with his Fort or Sconce at Sautvliet & Hooge-werf, that the Sconce is already ten foot high, & 4 pieces mounted thereon. That they are a making an Halfemoone also right over against Osenburgh whereupon were 400 men working. That the meanes used to hinder this waterwork, hath hitherto beene in vayne, where[^=] upon the Prince of Orange was recalled from Groll with his whole Army. 24

The lettres from Rome of August 28 tell us. That in Apulia rose a new Earthquake after the first, which had ruinated & destroyed all the building which the former left. That there gather thither many wolves & other wild beasts which devour the dead Carkasses, so that the ViceRoy of Naples hath sent Commissaries to select men to find out & bury the bodies. That those who escaped the Earthquake are like unto mad & distracted people. This out of the Curranto which is now also Published by Authoritie. 25

The Emperor (as it also telles us) is to come to Prague this Michaelmas, & all the Country of Bohemia charged to send

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21 Sir Robert Anstruther had noted on 8/18 September that the Emperor had commanded all his generals to "have a speciall eye, to possesse themselfs of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen"; ibid., folio 284v. In spite of considerable efforts by the Imperialists to carry this into effect (resulting in the seige of Stralsund in 1628) they were not able to establish a naval presence in the Baltic; Parker, T7W, p. 79.

22 The construction by Tilly of a bridge across the Elbe at Lauenburg had been reported by Anstruther on 8/18 September; PRO SP75/8/folio 284r, although I have not traced Morgan's attempt to destroy it.

23 As reported in STC 18507.191, The continuation...October 17, A4r; see also PRO SP75/8/folio 284r.

24 For the construction of the fort at Zandvliet see above, p. 86/1 n. 5. On 28 August/7 September Lord Carleton had, however, reported that Prince Frederick, "fearing to loose the honour of his new Conquest will not leave Groot till hee have secured the place"; PRO SP101/47/folio 48r; see also SP84/134/folios 217v–18r.

25 This account of the Italian earthquake was paraphrased from STC 18507.189, The continuation...October 3, A3r.
waggons to Vienna to fetch him.26

Three EastIndie Holland Shippes come lately into Plimmouth
were presently there arrested, notwithstanding they had lent our
2 East-Indies Ships men to bring them home. Many think
(howsoever the Hollanders may have heretofore deserved it) that
it was intempestively done, both in regard of the publick state
of things at the present, & the particular courtesie shewen
to our Ships.27

I forgott to tell you out of the Joumall, that the
French mightily prepares for the beseiging of Rochell, & that
they are already building a new Fort besides the old on the
other side the City. Which occasions skirmishes otherwhile be=
tweene the city & them.28

Thus with my best respect unto your selfe & my Lady
I rest & am

Christ's Colledg  
October 6.  

Yours most ready to
be commanded

Joseph Mead

a: Post Script.

26 Taken from ibid., A3v–A4r. This was old news: a newsletter from Augsburg of 30 May/9 June had
reported that all the “hackney Coaches” in Prague had been requisitioned to carry the Emperor’s movables
when he went there; PRO SP101/29/folio 1v.

27 The Dutch authorities on the island of Amboina in the Moluccas had hanged ten Englishmen for
allegedly attempting to seize the fortress there in February 1622/23, and the East India Company had
pressed ever since for action to be taken against the Dutch (line 108 is a reference to English ill-feeling
over the business); Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, pp. 267–69. For the arrest of these Dutch
ships (the Golden Lion, the Orange and the Walcheren) see PRO SP16/78/26 [folio 56r–v], 48 [folio 98r],
66 [folio 136r–v]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 407; HMC Skrine, p. 130. The reference in lines 106–07 was to the
help the Dutch ships had given to two English East Indiamen, the London and the Reformation, on their
return to England (for which see above, p. 211 n. 14); SP16/80/14 [folios 91r–92r], 15 [93r–94r].

“Intempestively” (line 109) means “Untimely, unseasonable, inopportune” (OED, “intempestive”); as
England was at war with France and Spain it was unwise to offend the Dutch as well.

28 Lines 112–16 were taken from STC 24744, A4r. A newsletter from Paris of 25 August/4 September had
reported that “Monsieur d’Angoulesme hath straitly besieged Rochell”; PRO SP101/10 (bundle 17)/folio
1r; see also CSPV 1626–28, pp. 330, 362.
Master Beadle whom I was
with at his coming hither from
Ireland on Saturday, could tell
nothing of the Earle of Corkes
buisines, so it may be it is
not altogether true. It is the
Lord Digby of Ireland to whose
Eldest son the Earle married
his daughter against the Dukes liking.
She being at least promised £30,000
to hir portion. The gentleman
who hath married her hath 2 brothers
of our Colledg Master Chappells pupills,
which I knew not till now. Though
I knew they were Digbyes. In the picture of the Fort I sent you is in the Index
at G Gardes for Gardens, which foule or foolish
solecisme occasioned instantly a new Edition thereof
where it is now, G The Gardens we have within
our Trenches. The Duke hath run 2 war ships
a ground over against the Fort, against the Avenue of the

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29 For the rumour of “the Earl of Corkes buisine” see above, p. 979 n. 2. “Master Beadle” was William Bedell, later Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland and a regular correspondent of Mead’s friend Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College Cambridge; DNB, ii. 105-08.

30 Sarah, second daughter of Robert Boyle, Earl of Cork, had married Robert, Lord Digby of Geashill (in Ireland) on Christmas Day 1626. Her portion was only, however, £4,000; GEC, iv. 353; The Lismore Papers, First Series, ii. 203-05, 210, 213, 220. In his earlier report Mead had assumed it was George Digby (son of the Earl of Bristol) who had married Cork’s daughter, hence his correction here; GEC, ii. 321; above, p. 979 line 14.

31 These were John and Simon Digby, admitted to Christ’s as William Chappell’s pupils on 24 March 1626/27; Peile, i. 380.

32 Two different versions of a map of Rhé were entered in the Stationers’ Register on 8 and 25 August 1627; Liber D, pp. 148, 149. Mead probably referred to different editions of the latter, printed by Thomas Walkley; STC 21590.5, A true and perfect description of the Citadell or Fort of St. Martins in the Isle of Rees. The copy I have consulted (formerly in PRO SP16/72, now included in MPP 256, not listed in STC) has an alphabetical index denoting various features of the siege: the positions of the besieging army are indicated on the plan by the letter “O” (for “Gardas”); the English trenches under “T” (for “Trenches”).
waterport & so made a Castle in the s[***su(*** lies.33

Textual Notes: line 13] guttes, within about MS.

line 37] a word. That Onely, MS.

line 42] they will foresee force MS.

line 85, on] one MS.

line 86] Hooge-werf, that it the fort Sconce is MS.

line 93, tell] tells MS.

line 108] deserved it, yet that MS.

lines 138-44, In...su(places] a continuation in the margin. Line 143 is difficult to read due to its proximity to the fold in the paper and loss of material from the MS.

33 This tactic to cut off the fort's water supply was not altogether successful: Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, The Expedition to the Isle of Rhe (1860), p. 109; see also STC 24744, A continued journal. October 2, A3r-v.
13 October 1627

Sir

Our newes not coming together, I deferred the gathering of it till now. & it is not much.

Sir Sackvile Trever with 4 Ships of the Kings & 4 small merchants Ships having but some 20 pieces of Ordnance amongst them, arrived at the Texell Road in North Holland September 28 about 8 a clock at night. Where getting a Dutch Pilot upon the Coast, who being demanded concerning the Ships in the Road, had told him, that besides 16 Hollandish men of warre & diverse other Vessells of good burthen, there lay a goodly French Ship (of those new built at Amsterdam), called the Saint Esprit; Sir Sackvile with a double Portugue in Gold of £4 Sterling further persuaded him to bring him unto the side of her. Which shee espying presently sent out hir long boat being manned with French & Dutch to hale us. But Sir Sackvile commanding the men to come aboard, surprised the Long Boat & pinioned the

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1 From this time onwards (and especially from the end of 1627) Mead made little use of separate enclosures, preferring to combine all his news in one letter; for the significance of this see the Introduction, pp. 57-59. As he pointed out, however, on this occasion he had little to send to Dalham: although he did not say so Mead took lines 5-76 of this letter from STC 24268.7, A true and most exact relation of the taking of the goodly ship called the Saint Esprit, the 28 day of September, by Sir Sackevill Trever.

2 These details were taken from ibid., A3r-v, A4r. Trevor’s raid was the result of plans drawn up in London over the previous six weeks to prevent ships built in the United Provinces for the French from reaching their destination; see above, p. 865 n. 11. For accounts of the raid see PRO SP16/80/2 (folio 2r-v), 13 [folios 87r-89v], 26 [folio 115r-v]; SP84/134/folio 320r-v.

3 This account of the recruitment of the Dutch pilot was taken from STC 24268.7, A4r. Lines 9-11, “besides...Esprit” (lines 9-12), quoted verbatim apart from “a goodly” for “one goodly” (line 11) and Mead’s parenthetical comment on line 11 for Stuteville’s benefit.

4 According to the newsbook report the Dutch pilot had in fact proposed to bring the English fleet into the Texel estuary; ibid., A4v. A “double Portugue” was probably “the great crusado current in the 16th century; its value ranged...between £3 5s. and £4 10s.” (OED, “portegue”).
men & putt them in the Hold. The Esprit soone discovering us to be Enemies began to fight & discharged, (but without doing any hurt) 3 great Shott & one hundred small shott. Then Sir Sackville in the Assurance came up close to her & gave her a whole broad side: so likewise did Captaine Allein the ViceAdmirall in the Adventure, & Captaine Pette the RereAdmirall in the Ambrose & Captaine Beardsey in the Saint Mary of Roan. Which Shott was discharged with that advantage, that their maine mast & Bowsprit being pierced through, they cryed for quarter, which was granted, & we become Masters of the Ship by 10 a clock at night which was within 2 howers after our coming into the Texel. Before we came close to her, but after they had discovered us to be Enemies, those of the sayd Esprit made a traine in a Chest filled with Gunpowder & other combustible materials to blow up the Ship & our men that should enter it. But this resolution was againe altered seeing their long boat taken by our Admirall, & no meanes left them to save themselves, but by submitting. The Dutch had faire quarter but the French were kept prisoners untill the day we came out of the Texel. This goodly ship thus taken is of 800 tun burthen the upper workes richly gilt with double Angell gold in the inside & outside of her in those places which were fittest to expresse pompe & statelynesse; as also the Portholes were curiously carved with Lyons heads gaping & richly double guilt. She had 42 Pieces of Ordnance (24 of them

5 Taken from STC 24268.7, A4v. Captain George Alleyne of the Adventure deplored the ill treatment of the prisoners taken, a complaint later made by the French Ambassador in the United Provinces; PRO SP16/80/13 [folio 89r-v]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 427.

6 This account of the capture of the St. Esprit was taken from STC 24268.7, A4v, though the details of the English ships involved came from ibid., A3v–A4r. See also Captain James Duppa’s account of the raid, PRO SP16/80/26 [folio 115r].

7 Lines 28–33 were taken from ibid., A4v–B1r; “made a traine...altered” (lines 29–32) quoted verbatim (from B1r). A “traine” was a “line of gunpowder or other combustible substance laid so as to convey fire to a mine or charge” (OED, “train”, sbl, 13a).

8 Probably taken from STC 24268.7, B1r; although in that account the French were said to have been detained until the day before the English fleet sailed for home.

9 These details were taken from ibid., A4r: “richly gilt...double guilt” (lines 36–40) quoted verbatim, (apart from “the Portholes” for “the very Port-holes”; “gaping &” for “gaping that were”, line 39).
brasse) mounted, & 12 more unmounted in hir hold, in all 54. 2006 armours 150 muskets & 60 barrels of gunpowder. The Viceadmirall Georg Allen stays with the rest to intercept the other French Ships & with them Captaine Dupper in the True Love of Ipswich & Captaine Wall in the Susan of Alborough who came to the Fleet after the Ship was taken.

Another of those goodly French Ships which was newly come over the Wering—Flatts 8 miles from Texel hardly escaped to have accompanied her Fellow the Esprit, who receiving intelli-gence of our strength & what we had done gott Hoyes Lighters & other small Vessells of Transportation; in which having lightened hir selfe of her ordnance she gott over the Flatts to Enchusen. We came up with 8 saile of Ships to have taken her, but by reason she was safely harboured in Enchusen, they lost their labour & returned to their Admirall, who expected their coming in the Texel Road.

There is no newes from Rez since the last. But lettres out of the Maine October 3 tell, that the French King goes on with his new Fort by Rochell; before the breast whereof he hath caused 60 12 whole Cannons to be mounted, with which his Canoniers make randome shott into the Towne, but with no great hurt. That some

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10 Taken from ibid., B1v (see also B2r-v). For other accounts of the weapons on board the St. Esprit see CSPV 1626–28, p. 436; HMC Skrine, p. 131.
11 As reported in STC 24268.7, B1v.
12 “The Viceadmirall...Ships” (lines 44–45) taken from ibid.; “with them...taken” (lines 45–47) from ibid., B1r. For Duppa’t part in the raid see PRO SP16/80/26 [folio 115r–v].
13 This account, apart from Mead’s interpolation “hardly escaped...Esprit” (lines 49–50) was taken from STC 24268.7, B1r; “who receiving intelligence...Enchusen” (lines 50–53) quoted verbatim (apart from “& what” for “and of what”, line 51; “lightened” for “lighted”, line 52).
14 Taken from ibid., B1r–v. The failure to capture this ship (on the evening of Sunday 30 September/10 October) led to recriminations; on the one hand Captain Alleyne blamed Trevor’s inexperience; on the other Trevor blamed it on Duppa’s late arrival at the Texel (which the latter indignantly denied); PRO SP16/80/1 [folio 2r], 26 [folio 115r].
15 This is a considerably conflated version of the account in STC 24268.7, B3r; the phrase “12 whole Cannons to be mounted” taken verbatim. For the new fortifications being constructed around La Rochelle see above, p. 291 n. 28.
Ships of our Fleet riding not farre from that Fort, had bestowed divers shott upon the French there though without point blank distance, yet with that Event, that one of those Shott had killed Henry the 4th & his base Son by the Duke of Orleances sister & another Duke, & the wind of the same bullet struck downe the Monsieur the Kings legitimate brother, as he was conferring with the other two.  

The Rochellors furnish our Fleet & Armie in 20 long boats which carry Red Crosses in token of their service to the King of England.  

That the report is confident in all those Parts of France that there are appointed 40 Ships of Warre to come from Spaine & 20 from Dunkerk, who are to joyne with the French Fleet for the succours of the Island & the beating us off from thence. The Randevouse of all these Ships was appointed at Blavet in Breataigne the 10th of this month.  

Of Denmark there is nothing. The Queene of Bohemia is safely brought a bed of another Yong Prince. As say lettres from Amsterdam come on Wednesday last week.  

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady.  

I rest & am  

Christ's Colledg  
October 13. My birth day.  
Joseph Mead  

14 Taken from ibid., B3v: “bestowed...distance” (lines 63–65) quoted verbatim (apart from Mead's additional “there” in line 64); “the wind...other two” (lines 67–68) quoted verbatim (apart from “the same” for “that”, line 67, and Mead's omission of a parenthetical note identifying “Monsieur”). John Beaulieu had reported this incident on 3 October; BL Harleian MS 7010, folio 40v. None of the four illegitimate sons of Henri IV were, however, killed on this occasion; Tapié, Genealogical Table (facing p. 1).  

17 STC 24268.7 had reported this (at much greater length) on B3v. La Rochelle had finally agreed to openly support the English on 1 September, perhaps the source for this rumour; Lockyer, p. 393.  

18 Taken from STC 24268.7, B4v: “in all those...the beating” (lines 71–74), “The Randevouse...Blavet” (line 75) quoted verbatim. (Mead’s use of the newsbook spelling of rendezvous suggests that he was not familiar with the word). For the proposed Spanish and Flemish reinforcements to the French navy see above, p. 2164 nn. 10–11.  

19 Elizabeth gave birth to Philip (her tenth child and seventh son) on 27 September/7 October; Oman, Elizabetb of Bohemia, p. 293; CSPV 1626–28, p. 416.  

20 This is the only reference I have found to Mead’s date of birth.
Textual Notes: line 17] Esprit hereupon ^ soone ^ MS.
line 29] Esprit these made a MS.
line 34] The French Dutch had MS.
line 39, were] where MS.
line 59, tell] tells MS.
Sir,

What we had on Saturday last you may see by the enclosed. But I received last night a letter from the same hand (Master Pory) written on Thursday,¹ wherein I read thus.

To day (saith he) Paules, the Exchange, & all parts of the Towne do ring with the newes of the Dukes returne, & how he is landed (some say) at Plymouth, & others at Newport in the Isle of Wight, & that well nigh 150 sayle of Ships are returned with him: At the Ships safe returne, there is great joy as being there subject both to stormes & Enimies; but we have left the Fort untoucht, & Rochell in a desperate case, which now wilbe beleaguered by Sea as well as by land, & so but by miracle cannot escape. To morrow (saith he) I shall write you more certaintie. <So that by this dayes letters we shall know all.>²

He addes, Meane while it is sayd also, That the King of Denmark hath obtained peace from the Emperor with this condition, that he suffer no navall furniture to passe through the Sound for England.³

Another shewes me a lettre, That the coming home of the Fleet & abandoning Rez is pretended for defence of the Kingdome at

¹ Due to the importance of the news he had to send Pory had written a day earlier than usual. The "enclosed", Pory's newsletter dated Friday 12 October, was not delivered with this letter; Mead sent it to Dalham on the following day. See the Textual Note to H390, folio 302v on p. 906 below.
² On 23 October/2 November Contarini mentioned a letter from Rhé addressed to Lord Holland which stated that for lack of supplies "the siege must be raised by the 20th of October". The Ambassador went on to relate that it was "immediately published all over the city that the duke was returning and that he had been beaten", which was perhaps the source of Pory's report; CSPV 1626–28, p. 447. Buckingham had in fact decided to leave Rhé after substantial provisions were conveyed into St. Martin's by the French on 28/29 September – 8/9 October, but after a deputation from La Rochelle had begged him to stay the Duke did so; PRO SP16/80/23 [folios 109r–10r]; Lockyer, pp. 398–400.
³ This rumour was false as Mead realised in his next letter.
home, least it should be invaded by the Spanyards & Dunkirks, whilst
our Fleet lay there: but that some mutter, as if they were
beaten thence. O the brave ofspring of the Conquerors of
France, that could not with all their force by Sea & Land take
a poore Castle in an Island; whose ancestors with as little
adoe would have conquered a faire part of that Kingdome.

It is sayd there came but the day before, an expresse
messenger from the Duke to the King, with whom his Majestie had an howers
conference in private & then sent him to my Lord of Holland now
at Portesmouth to commence his voyage. Thus writes the same
hand which wrot the first; whereby it should appeare this Returne
to have bin suddaine, as being not knowne to the messenger, who
came from the Duke so immediatly before.

Thus with my best respect I rest & am

Christ's Colledg Yours most ready to
October 20 be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 12] in a desperate in a desperate case MS.
line 15] lettres which we shall MS.
line 26] ancestors have with as MS.

4 While this rumour was false the potential joining of the Spanish, Flemish and French fleets presented a
serious threat to England. It is not surprising that stories of this nature were circulating; see below, pp. 943-944
lines 7-23.

5 Mead’s prophetic (and unusually outspoken) comment on the expedition to Rhe anticipated the shocked
reaction to the English defeat; see below, p. 927 n. 1.

6 I have not traced Buckingham’s message mentioned on lines 28-29. On 15/25 October, however,
Contarini had reported that Holland had finally left London on the previous day to take charge of his
reinforcements (for which see above, p. 943 n. 4); CSPV 1626-28, p. 436. The Earl’s orders were to leave
Portsmouth directly for Rhe; PRO SP16/81/25 [folio 88r].
I had sealed before I received yours. We had such newes, that the Fort was taken, & it came to the King from my Lord Carlton at the Hague on Sunday, but irresolute & as out of vulgar report. 1 But how true it is proved, if this which Master Pory wrot on Thursday, & which came to my hands last night be true, you will guesse when you have read my lettre. But the certainty we expect to heare to day. And if it be contrary to what I now write, I will signifie so much by the way of Kenford on Monday. If I do not, then beleive it is true. I cannot send you any certainty of Master Ishams accompanying me. Himselfe is very willing, if his Father will suffer it, whose mind I cannot know so long before the

1 For once the rumours heard by Stuteville in Suffolk were based on credible (if false) information. Quoting reports from France Dudley Carleton, Lord Imbercourt, had written from the Hague on 6/16 October that the fort of St. Martins had been captured; PRO SP84/135/folio 31r; see also CSPV 1626-28, pp. 427-28. John Beaulieu (writing on Wednesday 17 October) referred to "advertisements from the Haghe, coming from good handes & to good handes here" relating this "news" which had arrived in London on the previous Sunday (14 October). These letters were the source of the reports heard by both Mead and Stuteville; BL Harleian MS 7010, folio 44r.
Textual Notes: line 7] & as of out MS.
line 10] Pory w*st wrot MS.
lines 15–16, contrary] altered from “contray”.

2 Stuteville had presumably suggested that Justinian Isham come to Dalham for Christmas; Sir John Isham must have agreed since his son went with Mead.
21 October 1627

Sir,

I told you, if our Saturdayes lettres differed in the report of the Dukes retume, from what I wrot you out of my Friday lettre, I would certifie you thereof, by the way of Kenford as I now doe.

Master Pory writes that they then turned it into a jest, saying that a Duke indeed was come to Court, but not the Duke of Buckingham but the Duke of Lennox from Cambridge. Others relate the report, that the Duke was returned with some 60 Ships the rest being destroyed by the Dunkerkers who assaulted them riding at anchor, & that the Duke came privately to Plymouth, others to Yorke house; but that they beleeved nothing of these reports. Some write expressly, that it was a fable raised by a counterfeit letter sent abroad of purpose, & that so they heard at Court. But amongst these reports, there is one, That those of the Fort drave an Asse into the Dukes quarter with this inscription about his neck, Asse goe thy wayes. Another that many of our men were blowne up by a mine, while they pursued a sally of the Enimie too neare their workes.

1 I have not traced any such report concerning James Stuart, 4th Duke of Lennox.

2 These rumours were all false. In the disaster that overtook the English and Irish army in its retreat from the Ile de Rhé very little damage was done to the fleet itself.

3 After noting the rumours circulating in London about the defeat of Buckingham's army Contarini reported "it was proclaimed at Court that the writing [in the letter supposedly sent to Lord Holland; see above, p. 477 n. 2] was forged". The Ambassador suggested that the whole episode was the result of an elaborate hoax, which seems likely (although by whom is impossible to tell); CSPV 1626-28, pp. 447-48.

4 I have not traced the rumours in lines 16-20.
Who can in this Confusion discerne truth from falshood? Yet seing of all this, there is nothing good, it is ten to one but some of it will prove true. We most beleevve, that of the Dukes returne, to be false, yet feare, that all this smoke cannot but come from some fire.\textsuperscript{5}

Thus with my best respect I rest & am

Christis Colledg

October 21.

Yours

Joseph Mead

\textbf{Textual Notes:} line 8, a] altered from "the".

line 11] Dunkerks & who MS.

\textsuperscript{5} Mead’s perplexity at this point is understandable; as is his fear that events at Rhé would not end to the Duke’s advantage.
London October 12. 1627

My Lord of Holland was yesterday & to day going to Plymouth towards the Duke; but his journey is stayd till Monday, & his freinds wish, it were for good & all. He is to take nei¬ ther charge nor command upon him, but onely to visitt, comply, say his errand, & returne; in case the Duke be not raysed before his arrivall there. For our apprehensions are universally much troubled here about a great * fleet mixt of Spaniards & French (the Duke of Guise having brought the French squadron out of the Streights) ready to sett sayle out of the Groyne, from whence with any reasonable wind, they may gett to the Isle of Rez in lesse then 48 houres; where though they should not beat our Reet (which God defend) yet would they force them to waigh Anchor for their owne safeguard, a 150 sayle or more. As newes came to Bristow by a Skipper, whereof the Maior sent word to the Lords. He sayd all the Ships were stayd in all the Ports of Spaine, when he (giving the Govemour of Viana a 100 duckets ^) gott from thence. With much adoe.

1 For Holland's journey to Plymouth on Monday 14 October see above, p. 89 n. 6.

2 Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, had been appointed commander of the French fleet in August; CSPV 1626–28, p. 335. The "Groyne" was "a sailor's name for Corunna in north-western Spain" (OED, "groin", sb'. 3). The "Bristol...Skipper" mentioned in Mead's marginal note to this passage was Christopher Roder, captain of the Hunter of Hamburg; he had left Viana in northern Spain on 23 September/3 October, had been captured by a Bristol ship and brought there. He was examined by the Mayor of the town on 4 October; PRO SP16/80/36 [folio 129r], 36 (I) [folio 130r]. Roder stated that the Spanish fleet totalled 153 ships and was bound for the Île d'Oléron; these shipping measures were probably related, however, to the need to convoy the Plate Fleet into Cadiz, not as part of an armada against the English at Rhôd; PRO SP101/91/folio 37r; above, p. 900 n. 10.
& so open a passage for the French to releive the Cittadell; yea one told me yesterday (from the mouth, he sayd, of a gentleman that was riding Post from Plymouth to wards the Court) it is releived already. Besides there is speech of a Fleet of 30 sayle with 6000 Landsouldiers ready to putt forth of Dunkirk, for what mischeife God knowes.

Sir Francis Steward is come to Towne some 2 dayes since, but hath brought nothing home with him. For after he in the Hector being Admirall was consorted with Captaine Camock in the Little Neptune his Vice-Admirall & Captaine Beaumont in the Bark Warwick his Rereadmirall, they mett with a French man of warre which had taken two English laden with fish in their way homeward from Newfoundland, Captaine Beaumont being next, bourded the Frenchman & took possession of her: whereat Captain Camock being causlessly offended (for he sayd Captaine Beaumont had lane his prize from him) ran his Stem upon the Frenchmans wast & gave her so mortall a wound, as presently after she sunk. Sir Francis Steward coming up, told Captaine Camock he was utterly in the wrong, & that the prize was neither Camocks nor Beaumonts nor Stewards, but my Lord of Warwicks & his Associates, & that all three of them were equally Servants to his Lordship, & therefore by all wayes should seek to further his service & by no meanes to hin\der it. The event was, that though nothing were gotts ten to my Lord; yet the two poore Englishmen were

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3 St Martins had been relieved by a flotilla of twenty-nine small boats on the night of 28/9 September – 8/9 October; see above, p.177 n. 2.

4 On 15 October Secretary Conway (writing to Lord Wilmot) referred to a fleet of thirty-eight Dunkirkers with between four and five thousand soldiers on board; it was thought the fleet might head for either Rhé or Ireland; PRO SP16/81/50 [folio 139r-v].

5 According to William Ball (an eyewitness of the incident described by Pory) the two ships were the 
Elinore of Salcombe in Devon, returning from Newfoundland, and the Spring of Jersey, sailing for Wales for coal. The French ship was from Brest; Bard, p. 71.
On Wednesday one Master Jordan a Justice of peace of Exeter, (& lately a zealous Parliament man) was sued in the Star Chamber by a Fellow whom he had caused to be whipt for his incontinency with a wench; his charge being, that he had assembled about the same business a Consistory of silenced Ministers contrary to the order of the Church & therefore was guilty of Schisme & Puritanisme in the highest degree. Bishop Lawd made a bitter Invective against Master Jordan; but all the rest, from my Lord chief Baron in the lowest place, to my Lord Keeper in the highest mainly took his part; & so condemned his Adversary to pay him £40 costs & £40 damages; his accusation being first evidently disproved.

The King himselfe hath at his owne charge appointed an honourable funerall for Sir John Burroughs, which shall be performed the next week.

On Monday last was a Ship of 300 tun lately come from Greenland fired in the Thames & burnt by the negligence of those that were in her.

On Tuesday my Lord Keepers great mace was stolne out of the Serjeant at mace his chamber in the day time & cannot be heard of.

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6 This incident occurred on 18 September; for Ball’s lengthy and outraged account see ibid., p. 72; see also PRO SP16/79/59 (folio 92r-v).

7 A report of this case is in BL Add. MS 48057, folios 73r-75r. The accusations against Ignatius Jordan, who was not the only defendant, are on folio 73r; the Lords’ judgement and the costs to be paid by Philip Homes the plaintiff (which are as in this report) on folio 75r. See also Sharpe, P. R., p. 681. Jordan had sat for Exeter in the Parliament of 1626 and had attracted attention for his criticism of Cheapside Cross, perhaps referred to in line 46; Return, i. 469; Russell, Parliaments, p. 277.

8 For Burrough’s funeral on Tuesday 23 October see below, p. 142, lines 44–64 and notes.

9 I have not traced the incidents (which occurred on Monday 8 and Tuesday 9 October) reported on lines 67–72.
Here hath bin much talk of a Parlament, &
no Parlament; of the Fort being releived & not releived
&c; in a word what we heare one day is crossed the
next.10

Textual Notes: lines 20–22] Mead’s note a extended in the margin next to these lines.
line 38, Frenchmans] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 301r.
ibid.] wast so-furiously & gave MS.
line 73] hath much bin much MS.
H390, folio 302v] Mead wrote “This should have bin enclosed on Saturday. I
knew not it was left out till now, & after I had sealed this.” He should have
included this transcript with his letter of 20 October: realising his error, Mead
sent it the following day.

10 Mead’s source echoed his own perplexity about contradictory rumours circulating in London; see above,
p.402 n.5.
Sir/

My anticipation on Monday, together with my Lady Dentons intelligence hath left me but a Short task to day.¹

I had thought to have told you of the censure of the Fidlers of Ware & Stanes for singing the 2 libells, The cleane contrary way & Take him Devili take him. But my Lady hath prevented me.² Only she sayes nothing of their standing in the pillory, & that it was sayd, they might escape the greatest part of their censure if they could bring forth the author of those libells.³ Besides that the Attorney had order to receive into that Court all complaints of those who should heare such songs, without controlement or check of those which should presume to sing them.⁴

Our other news of that week was, that of 7 Holland ships going for the east Indies 4 were cast away about the Needles of the Isle of Wight, the ViceAdmirall broken all to pieces, the other as then standing upright upon the Sands, where they were run on ground. The 3 safe ones were come into the Cowes of that Isle, & there riding.⁵ Besides, that An Ambassador Agent or Messenger from Holland coming to

¹ Elizabeth Isham (younger sister of Sir John) had married Sir Anthony Denton of Tonbridge, Kent. He had died in 1615; Finch, Pedigree I. She remained in close contact with her relatives at Dalham: the “intelligence” mentioned here was probably a letter sent to Stuteville.

² The Star Chamber case against the three fiddlers prosecuted for libelling the Duke (Greene, Marshall and Moseley) is in BL Add. MS 48057, folios 77r–78v (the two ballads are identified on folio 77r). The text of the fiddlers’ version of “The cleane contrary way” is printed in Fairholt, Poems and Songs relating to...[the] Duke of Buckingham, pp. 10–13. These men had come to the attention of the government in June; PRO SP14/214/folio 138r; 16/68/28 [folio 45r]; SP16/70/45 [folio 70v].

³ The fiddlers received a heavy sentence: a fine of £500 each, a spell in the pillory and two whippings, one in Cheapside and one in their home town; BL Add. MS 48057, folio 77v.

⁴ I have not traced this order.

⁵ For the shipwreck of these Dutch ships see PRO SP16/82/22 [folio 32r]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 448; STC 18507.192, The continuation...October 24, B4r–v.
treat about those 3 EastIndie-ships which were lately arrested at Portsmouthe for the Amboya buisines, was taken by the Dunkirks together with the man of warre he came in. Did I not tell you last Saturday together with the Dukes returne That the King of Denmark was reported to have obtained a peace from the Emperor with this condition among others, That he should suffer no navall provision to passe from the Soundt to England? So it was then written, but I heare no more of it since. But for newes of this week. In the begining of this week it was talked here, that there was some newes about Res so bad, that no man durst speak it: but this particular was spoken, That one of our Colonells there with his whole Regiment was cutt off to a man, by a Stratagematicall sally out of the Fort, & the Collonels body come to Portsmouthe. Since, those who come from London tell us, That on Monday once againe, a Scottish Knight should affirme unto the King upon his life, That the Fort was taken. But I heard a muttering yesterday that whether the Fort were taken or not, it was feared our Fleet was in some great distresse, & environed with the Spanish Armado. Which God forbid. Howsoever it appereas not, that the King hath any certaine newes one way or other. One told me last night for a certaintie, That my Lord Wilmot (who with my Lord of Holland & 2000 men lay at Portsmouthe expecting order from the King when to sett forward), having understood of some dangerous newes, left my Lord of Holland, & went away with the 2000 men without any order, desiring his freinds to excuse him to his Majestie, & that he chose rather to venture the danger of this breach of dutie, then that his Majesties ^ service ^ the Duke &

6 This was confused with another incident involving Dunkirk privateers, as Mead reported in his next letter. Two Ambassadors, Pauw and Rantwich, were chosen to go to England at the end of October to deal with the shipping problem between England and the United Provinces (for which see above, p. 693 n. 6), but they did not arrive until 7 February 1627/28; CSPV 1626–28, p. 469; Finet, Q6r.

7 This rumour was false (or premature, since Buckingham’s army did not make its disastrous retreat from Rhé until 29 October/8 November). Perhaps the arrival at Plymouth of Sir John Burroughs’s body started the rumour on line 33; see above, p. 996 n. 12.

8 This was probably Sir Robert Dalzell; see below, p. 110 lines 5–7.

9 Another false rumour concerning the fleet at Rhé; see above, p. 998 n. 4.
...the Kingdome should suffer, by any unfortunate delay. And that
his Majestie they say commendes him for it.10 This is all I yet heare.

[b] Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady
I rest & am

Christ's College

October 27

Yours most ready to
be commanded Joseph Mead

[a] There is great pressing of
Souldiers at London & elsewhere.
Whither they go we know not.11

Textual Notes: line 12] controlcment & eh or check MS.
line 34] on Monday againe MS.
line 42] Holland lay & 2000 men MS.
line 43] daily expecting order MS.
lines 50-57, Thus...not] Mead's continuations of his letter in the margin. I believe that note b, Mead's valediction, was written first and have placed it accordingly.

10 Wilmot (for whom see above, p. 970 n. 9) had informed Secretary Conway on 19 October of his intention to sail for Rhé on the following day without waiting for the Earl of Holland; PRO SP16/82/33 [folio 50r-v]. He did not, however, do so.
11 On 6/16 November Contarini reported that "Some 4,000 more English are being pressed with difficulty": CSPV 1626–28, p. 474.
I will contrive all I have heard since Saturday to this present into one relation.¹

The business of Rez stands thus. The newes which Sir Robert de Yell brought post out of Scotland (from the report of a Scottish ship there arrived) That the Fort was taken, will not hold. And it was no more (whatsoever Fame sayd) but that the Ship coming a shore there, heard our men speak hopefully & comfortably.² The truth is, That about the beginning of last month, upon the arrivall of Sir William Beecher, with so round supplyes,³ they of the Fort being in great want came to parley & were resolved to surrender up the Fort, but during the treating, through the benefit of a storme & a Spring tide the Fort was againe releived with some small proportion of victualls.⁴ Since that our men have brought their approaches close to the Enemies Counterskarfe though with some sweat & bloud. And a Dutchman lately come to the Court affirmes upon perill of his credit, that our men have beaten the Enemy out of all their outworkes & won both the Counterskarfe & Skonse without the Fort, nothing remaining unconquered but the Citadell it selfe; & that he saw Colonell Gray possessed of them. Yet a Gentleman which came from thence but foure dayes before the Dutchman & arrived at Court the same night, cannot or will

¹ Although Mead (once again) did not say so almost the whole of this letter was taken from STC 24745, A continued journall...November 2. As in his letter of 6 October above Mead generally condensed the printed text and altered the order in which the Journal related the news.

² The Scottish ship that brought the rumour of the capture of St. Martin's probably came from France; PRO SP16/81/50 [folio 139r-v]; see also above, p. 99 n. 1.

³ Sir William Beecher had arrived at Rhé with 400 men and £14,000 on 23 September, although (in spite of Mead's description on line 11) the supplies he brought with him were not large enough; Lockyer, p. 397. In relating his arrival, however, Beecher reported that he saw "all men full of hope and confidence" to capture St. Martins; PRO SP16/79/40 [folio 67r].

⁴ This account of the proposed surrender of the fort was taken from STC 24745, A4v–B1r: "and...Fort" (line 12), "some...victualls" (line 14) quoted verbatim.
Our Army was much distressed for victualls till Sir William Beecher came. It is hoped, that when our new supplies now going shall arrive, that the Fort will surrender; if not that the Duke intendes to make a forcible entry; the Defendants being now not above 500 & not able, as is imagined to endure a generall assault: the rest ran away in their extremity & ours keep them in safe custody in the Isle, lest they should carry any message to the maine.

The French King is now personally come before Rochell, & lyes there with a numerous Army strongly entrenched, plyes the Towne with Canon day & night, & hath burned some houses with fireballes & other frerie missives. They of the Towne make a brave resistance, have hung up the English colours upon the wallies, & so plyed the new Fort lately building with their Canon, that they have quite ruined it, & slayne sundrie persons of qualitie & command. They have pressed at London in the same proportion they did at Count Mansfeilds being here. And the Scottish Army came in at Yarmouth the last week, the most of them Gentlemen, whereof some 5 passed here by Cambridge post to London, to meet their fellowes againe at the

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5 Taken from ibid., A4r: “have brought...bloud” (lines 15–16), “perill of his credit” (line 17), “our men...outworker” (lines 17–18), “Counterskarfe...Fort” (lines 18–19), “Gentleman...night” (lines 21–22) quoted verbatim (apart from “though with some” for “though not without”, line 16; “Enemie” for “Enemies”, line 18; “Counterskarfe” for “Counterskarfes” (line 18); “the Dutchman” for “this Dutchman” (line 22).

6 Taken from ibid., A4v. On his arrival at Rhé Beecher had reported that “the whole action had been in great hazard” if his supplies had been delayed any further; PRO SP16/79/40 [folio 67r].

7 In lines 24–29 Mead combined passages from STC 24745, B1v–B2r (condensing his source from 194 words to 71). Details of the number (and physical state of) the defenders in the fort were taken from ibid., folio B1r; see also PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 31r]. For the privations suffered by the defenders of St. Martins see Lockyer, p. 392.

8 Lines 30–36 were taken from STC 24745, A3v: “plyes...night” (lines 31–32), “slier missives” (line 33), “so plyed the new Fort”, (line 34), “slaine...command” (line 36) quoted verbatim (apart from “Canon” for “his Canon”, line 32). Artillery fire between the besieging army and La Rochelle had begun on 10/20 September; Clarke, p. 148.

9 In October 1624 the Privy Council had authorised the levyng of 12,000 men as an expeditionary force to be commanded by Mansfield; Gardiner, v. 271–72; see also ibid., 276–77, 280–90. For the pressing of soldiers in London see above, p. 909 n. 11.
Thames. The Lord Wilmot & my Lord Holland (who went to him at Plymouth) are both gone by this, if the wind served them. These great aydes are supposed to be in part to assist the Rochellors.

On Tuesday was sennight was the brave Funerall of Sir John Burroughs at the Kings charge. It was carried out of Durham house, with 1200 soldiery marching before it in Armes of the Companies of the City with colours, pikes & muskets trayled. The Pike which he recovered from the Frenchman with sword & target upon our first landing was carried advanced before with his owne Ensigne trayled, & his horse for Service clad in mourning black. Next to the horse went 56 old soldiery with black Cassocks swords & staves, according to the yeares of his age. His Scutcheon sword, Gauntlets & Spurres were carried by the Heraulds. His brother cheife mourner accompanied by 2 other principall Mourners. Next to these went the Earles of Dorsett, Warwick, Carleile, Barkshire, & Molgrave, Vicounts Grandison, Conway, Wimbleton & divers other Knightes & Gentlemen of qualitie. In the middest of the Abbey Church, was a stately Herse erected covered over with black Velvet where his Corps was placed during the Sermon. Upon his Herse his Scutcheons were Fixed with this Motto, Nec insisto parvis. His body was interred neere to the Tombe of Sir Francis Vere (whose pupill he had bin in the art of warre) & as it was putt into the earth, the muskatiers honoured it with 3 vollies of shott, their coullors displayed, & their drummes beating, & his owne Ensigne broken & buryed with him.

A Fleet of some 21 or 25 sayle of Dunkerkers, that are lately gone Southward, took an Holland man of warre with an Am=

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10 These were presumably the troops to be commanded by the Earl of Morton, for which see above, p. 875 n. 39.
11 Contarini reported on 6/16 November that Holland was still at Plymouth because contrary winds had driven him back to port four times: CSPV 1626-28, p. 472; for Wilmot see above, p. 870 n. 9.
12 This account of Burrough's funeral was taken from STC 24745, B3v-B4r: parts of it (such as "with colours...recovered" (line 47), "was carried...the horse" (lines 48-50), the list of mourners on lines 54-56 and "the Tombe...warre" (lines 60-61) quoted verbatim. The motto on Burrough's hearse (lines 59-60) was translated as "I doe not dwell upon low things". (The solemnity of this funeral was in total contrast to that surrounding Buckingham's own on 18 September 1628; H390, folio 438r).
bassador Ordinary sent from the States to the Seignory of Venice, together with his wife & children, his Commission & Instructions & carried him along with them. This it seemes was in former reports mistaken for an Ambassador coming to us ward.13

We are much afrayd ever[y] where, that these winter storms will doe our Fleet some hurt.14 Thus having no more I rest with my best respect & am

Christis Colledg
November 3

Yours to be commanded
Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 10] beginning of the " last " MS.
line 48] landing with Sword " was carried " MS.
H390, folio 312v] In dating this page the "annotator" miswrote the year and added it again next to the date.

13 For the previous rumour see above, p. 900 n. 6; for the fleet of Dunkirkers, p. 904 n. 4.
14 Bad weather at Rhé was reported by the Venetian Ambassador at Paris on 2/12 November, and the Earl of Holland was not able to set sail from Plymouth for the same reason; CSPV 1626–28, p. 466; n. 11 above.
10 November 1627

Sir,

Doctor Warner is & hath bin with me all this morning & my time is almost past. The newes which Master Pory sent us last week is thus.

London November 2

The last Monday Sir Thomas Darnell, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Heningham, & Sir John Corbet by the hands of their servants petitioned my Lord cheife Justice & the rest of the Judges of the Kings bench, that Counsell might be assigned them to plead for their release out of prison, which the Judges acknowledged to be a just request & promised a faire answere. On Tuesday they acquainted the King with it, who (they say) was much moved thereat, but appeased by reasons which they alleged. On Wednesday the Judges granted those gentlemen their request & subscribed all their names to all 4 petitions. To morrow morning is the day of hearing, which by reason of the pricking of Sheriffes may be putt of till another day.

Many merchant Strangers are now questioned at the Counsell Table about their freedome, it being there held for a Maxime, that Strangers Sons, though borne in England are not capable of buying & inheriting of land, but onely their grandchildren. The

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1 This was presumably the first report of the “Five Knights’ Case” to reach Mead. The four men mentioned (and Sir Edmund Hampden) attempted to test the legality of their imprisonment for not paying the Forced Loan by suing for writs of habeas corpus and pressing the Privy Council to declare the reasons for their confinement. For the background and significance of the case see J. A. Guy, ‘The Origins of the Petition of Right reconsidered’, HJ 25 (1982), 289–312; Cust, F. L., pp. 58–62. Lines 15–16 refer to the writs awarded on 3 November, “commanding the wardens of the respective gaols to produce their prisoners personally in King’s Bench and return the cause of detention of each for examination by the judges”; Guy, p. 291.

2 The selection of sheriffs to serve for the coming year was customarily made during November.
Strangers petition at the Bourd, that they might have onely the benefit of Law, which the Lords say, they cannot grant, because they have made an order to the contrary, & that they cannot goe against their owne order.\(^3\)

For the Isle of Re, The last messenger thence Sir Thomas Littleton (as I heard constantly repotted at Westminster to day) saith, that before his coming away, the Fort was at high noone daye & in sight of our whole Fleet releevd by 26 Barkes, the wind that brought them in, being directly contrary to all oures. Whereupon at his coming away, the Duke was shipping his Ordinance, & making all speed for England.\(^4\) Doctor Turner being present at the relation of these newes, sayd, The man for whom I weare this black riband (meaning Sir John Burgh) counselled the Duke at his very first sight of the Fort, that he should never putt spade into the ground, but should embarque himselfe, and undertake some other designe.\(^5\)

The upshott of a French libell now sung at Paris is, that though the Duke of Buckingham be not able to take the Citadell at Re, yet is he able to take the Tower of London: which may be construed many wayes.\(^6\) The French

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\(^3\) The busines of the Merchant Strangers was discussed by the Privy Council on 26 October. Its judgement that the children of foreigners should continue to pay "strangers' custome" was in reponse to the case of John Grelt, an alien's son who had not paid this duty, had had his goods forfeited and had lost his appeal to the Council; *APC Sep. 1627-Jun. 1628*, pp. 104-05.

\(^4\) For the relief of the fort of St. Martina by twenty-nine barques on 28/9 September – 8/9 October see PRO SP16/80/23 [folio 109r-v], 43 [folio 139v]; SP16/81/28 [folio 92r]; Herbert, pp. 145-54; Lockyer, pp. 397-98. Between 30 September/10 October and 8/18 October the English ordnance was shipped back on board the fleet; Herbert, pp. 157-59; *CSPV 1626-28*, p. 471.

\(^5\) In his draft “Relazione” of the state of England written at the end of 1627, Contarini noted that Burroughs had “always advised abandoning the enterprise after scouring the islands [of Rhé and Oléron] and supplying La Rochelle” and “foretold the disasters which subsequently overtook his countrymen”; *CSPV 1626-28*, p. 624. Even though writing with hindsight the Venetian was probably recording rumours circulating in London before the retreat from Rhé. On line 33 Pory made a rare use of the plural “these newes”, formerly the standard construction but in the process of being replaced by the singular form; see the Introduction, p. 98.

\(^6\) I have not traced this libel, probably another reference to the overweening influence Buckingham was thought to have over Charles.
Kings saying to the Savoy Ambassador (as he came that way) * was:
Alack (sayd he) If I had known, my brother of England had longed so much
for the Ile of Re, I would have sould it him for halfe the money it hath
cost him.7

Thus he. Besides I partly find
in the Corrant,8 & hear as followeth.

That Tilly hath pierced even to the furthest part of the
Land of Holstein & there taken Rensberg.9 That the Emperor
hath given that Kings Lordship & house of Swansberg neere
Hambrough (as they write thence) to an Italian Jesuited merchant
of Hambrough, to whom the people had sworne fealty.10 That
Tilly had left the Duke of Freidland in Holstein & was himselfe
returned over the Elbe to make himselfe Master of Stoade
& other Townes thereabouts the mouth thereof, where our Colonell
Morgan is fortifying &c.11 That Tilly sent to the States
of the Lowcountries, to provide a place; for he should send them
another King very shortly.12

The peace or Truce that was almost upon conclusion

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7 The Abbé Scaglia, Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, had been involved in delicate negotiations
concerning a peace treaty between England and Spain for most of the year. Although I have not traced
Louis’s joke Scaglia had been expected in England since at least early August. He arrived in London on
Friday 19 October; CSPV 1626-28, pp. 322, 436; Fine, P8v; Lockyer, pp. 369–70, 394.
8 Lines 47–71 were a combination of news in STC 18507.194, The continuation...November 7 and reports
Mead had heard in Cambridge.
9 Wallenstein’s forces, not Tilly’s, were reported to have taken Rensburg in ibid., B1v; see also PRO
SP75/8/folios 284r, 309r, 319r, 325r, 345r.
10 I have not traced this report.
11 Tilly’s recrossing the Elbe is reported in STC 18507.194, The continuation...November 7, B1r;
Morgan’s fortifications at “Vagesseck” and “Oldenburg” on B1v. For the activities of Morgan’s forces in
the autumn and winter of 1627 see Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’, pp. 532–34.
12 I have not traced this letter. The reference in line 57 was, however, presumably to the “Winter King”
Frederick and to Christian IV; the former had been a refugee at the Hague since 1621 (Parker, TYW, p. 63)
and the latter was threatened with expulsion from his territories by Imperial armies.
betweene the Sweden & Poland, b the Popes Nuntio & the Spanish Ambassador coming theither have prevailed with the King of Poland to break off, promising him great aydes, & telling him, that this is the time when he may easily recover the Kingdome of Sweden. 13

The King of France hath by Proclamation forbidden his subjects to trade at all by Sea, till his Fleet be ready to protect them, which he hopes (so are the words) will be ready ere long.

I saw the Proclamation; He complaines in the Entrance very much of us, as to have violated not onely the league of allyance (which himselfe was willing to maintaine) but Jus gentium in making an hostile invasion upon his dominions without any Denuntiation of warre. 14

You heare, I know, of the lamentable Shipwrack of above 20 Newcastle Coleships in the storme on Sunday was sennight

b: for 30 yeares.

13 The collapse of truce talks between Sweden and Poland was reported in STC 18507.194, The continuation...November 7, A4r-v (the detail in Mead’s note on line 74 came however from A3v: probably the reason it was added in the margin). For the progress and failure of these talks see Roberts, ii. 345. The background to line 63 is as follows: King Sigismund of Poland, son–in–law of King Sigismund August Jagiello (1548–72) had been elected in 1587; as he was also the son of John III of Sweden he had succeeded to that Crown in 1592. Largely due to his Catholicism and his status as a foreign King, however, he was never popular in Sweden and was forced to leave the country forever in 1598 after his forces had been defeated at Stångbro by those of Duke Karl, later Karl IX, father of Gustavus Adolphus (Sigismund was formally deposed in 1600). For more on these matters see Kirby, Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period, pp. 128–32; Roberts, i. 14–25.

14 The text of this proclamation of 30 August/9 September 1627 (“portant defenses à ses subjets de faire aucun commerce par mer, de quelque merchandise que se soit”) is in M. F., xiv. 30–34; see also PRO SP78/82/folios 137r–38v; STC 18507.194, The continuation...November 7, B3v–B4r. The passage referred to in lines 69–71 was probably the following: “nous avons veu tout à coup une armee d’Anglois enter hostilement & en armes dans nostre Estat, sans aucune denonciation ny declaration precedente, & contre le droit des Gens observé parmy toutes les nations de la terre” (M. F., xiv. 31). “Jus gentium” (line 69) = “the law of nations”. 
at night.15

The Bishop of Durham is gone to Winchester; & Lawd
now of Bath & Welles is coming to London, & sayd shalbe Almoner
also.16 Doctor Hall is elect of Exeter,17 & Doctor Jux[on] of Saint Johns
Colledg in Oxford shall succeed him in the Deanny of Worcester.18
The rest are not, as farre, as I heare, yet determined, or
not certainly knowne, for there is 3 more.19

Thus in hast with my best respect I rest & am

Christ Colledg
November 10

Yours most ready
to be commanded

Joseph Mead

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Textual Notes: line 1, 10 November 1627] The "annotator" made an error in writing the "7"
and wrote it out again.
line 22, petition] petitioned MS.
line 41, that way] that way] MS.
line 58, peace or true Truce MS.
line 76, & Lawd of MS.
line 78, Jux[on] as Mead did not usually abbreviate surnames, it is likely that
he or his source omitted the end of Juxon's name in error.

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15 Although I have not identified the colliers lost, this severe storm on 28/29 October was probably the
same that had (once again) prevented the both Earl of Holland and Lord Wilmot from leaving for Rhé; PRO
SP16/83/32 [folio 49r-v], 38 [folio 74r].
16 Neile was nominated as Bishop of Winchester on 16 November but not confirmed until 7 February
1627/28. The report concerning Laud was premature as he was not translated from Bath and Wells to
London until July 1628; Chronology, pp. 277, 229.
17 Joseph Hall was consecrated as Bishop of Exeter on 23 December, finally filling the vacancy left by the
death of Valentine Carey in June 1626; Chronology, p. 247.
18 Joseph Hall had been preferred to the Deanny of Worcester in 1617. William Juxon, President of St.
John's College Oxford since December 1621 and cunently Vice-Chancellor of that University had, in fact,
succeeded Hall as Dean in January 1626/27; DNB, viii. 961; x. 1121.
19 Mead was incorrect. In 1626 the sees of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Ely, Exeter and Winchester had fallen
vacant: after those of Winchester and Exeter had been filled only that of Ely remained unfilled in December
1627. John Buckeridge was translated there from Rochester in July 1628; Chronology, pp. 229, 236, 245,
247, 277.
Sir;

17 November 1627

Because our last Newes cancelles whatsoever went before, I will first tell you what came last night concerning the Action of Re: viz That it was now at length come to an end with no little dishonour to our Nation, excessive charge to our treasurie, & great slaughter of our men: For after a day & a halfes fight, of but 2500 of ours (as is sayd) against 7000 French, we are driven thence with the slaughter of about 500 of our men, amongst whom Sir Charles Rich
Sir Alexander Brett with other Colonells & Captaines. a 1 Prisoners of note taken, Lords Cromwell, Mountjoy, Sir Andrew Gray &c. 2 pieces of Ordinance lost, the rest \(^{a}\) being \(^{a}\) afore hand shipped as was the Duke. 2 The Newes came on Tuesday of the Dukes returne with the Fleet to Plymouth, 3 unto whom his Majestie sent presently Master Murray of the Bedchamber with a gracious message. 4 He was expected to be at London on Wednesday or Thursday. 5 There came newes to the Court on Sunday at night (sayth another lettre) that 3 of our men of warre had taken another of the French Ships built at Amsterdam being of 900 tunne, having in her 60 Freisland horses. 6 That the French at Court were againe called in question, by occasion of the Queens being run £22,000 in debt; whereupon Commissioners

a: The exchange newes was (sayth another lettre) 46 Captaines slayne 24 taken Prisoners. Yea that we lost in all 2000. But others affirmre no more then 400 some 500. But that none of our ships were lost. But a third lettre affirms that 4 of the Navie royall are perished. & saith besides that my lord Willoughby was prisoner which was also reported here at the first coming of this newes to Towne. We shall have better certainty by our next lettres.

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1 After the uncertainty concerning events at Rhé, confirmation of the disaster that had occurred there on 29 October/8 November reached Cambridge on Friday 16 November. Further (and contradictory) details of the losses sustained by Buckingham's army were sent to Mead over the next fortnight. As his marginal note to this passage indicates, speculation as to the scale of the defeat continued even after the fact was known: the rumour concerning the loss of ships (line 26) was, for instance, inaccurate. For a detailed description of the battle see pp. 94–95 below; for a list of the officers killed and captured, pp. 92a – 3e 111cs 1–16.

2 For the shipping of the ordnance before the rest of the army see above, p. 915 n. 4.

3 Contarini reported that the first certain news of the defeat reached London by special carrier on the night of Tuesday 13 November; CSPV 1626–28, p. 485 (but see below, p. 122, lines 61–62).

4 For the warm reception of the Duke by Charles see Lockyer, p. 402; see also CSPV 1626–28, p. 485; IIMC Skrine, p. 131.

5 Buckingham arrived at Court on Saturday 17 November; ibid., p. 132.

6 I have found no reference to the capture of a second French warship. Failure to do so when the St. Esprit was taken led to recriminations in England; see n. 9 below.
were appointed to examine the business.\(^7\)

That the Counsell had sent for Chevalier de Tertaro a Frenchman lately belonging to the Queen, but banished the Court at the time of her being at Wellingborough. He presently betook himselfe into Staffordshire to Sir Thomas Ousleys house a Recusant, unto whose daughter & heire he made a suite of marriage, & finding it somewhat difficult to obtaine, made bold to counterfaict the Queens lettre & hand in his behalfe, whereupon he is sent for to answer it.\(^8\)

Captaine Dupper is called before the Counsell, some say because he refused to ayd Sir Sackville Trever, when he took the French Ship; others say, because he gave out Sir Sackville might, if he would, have taken 3 as well as one.\(^9\)

All this came last night.

But for our last Saturdayes newes (leaving out all that concerned the Isle of Re as now not worth the telling, though such as made us feare this event which is come) it was as followeth.

The admittance \(^\wedge\) of some \(^\wedge\) of the gentlemen imprisoned for the loane upon their petition to the Judges \(^\wedge\) to bring their counsell on Saturday before to plead for them at the Kings bench barre (by reason the Judges were then employed to nominate Sheriffs) was prorogued till Thursday following, & when Thursday came, was putt off till last Saturday.\(^10\)

And as those gentlemen had engaged the Kings Bench; so two Citizens which were in the same predicament had

\(^7\) Although I have not traced this report, the “French at Court” had been questioned over Henrietta’s debts on the expulsion of most of her household in August 1626; see above, p. 408 n. 6.

\(^8\) This report probably referred to Tertareau the Queen’s Carver (see APC Sep. 1627–Jun. 1628, p. 377), although I have not found any reference to his summons by the Privy Council. Henrietta Maria had spent most of the summer at Wellingborough; see above, p. 344 n. 15; p. 355 n. 9.

\(^9\) Although APC Sep. 1627–Jun. 1628 has no record of Dupps’s appearance before the Council, this report probably derived from Sir Sackville Trevor’s allegation that had Dupps been present at the Texel raid more than one French ship would have been captured. George Alleyne, on the other hand, blamed Trevor for the failure to take the French “Admirall”; see above, p. 344 n. 14.

\(^10\) The delay of hearing the case of the Five Knights (from Saturday 3 November to Thursday the 8th and then to Saturday the 10th) was because the wardens of the gaols in which the prisoners were held could not enter the cause of their imprisonment, having not been able to consult the Privy Council: Guy, ‘Origins’, p. 291.
then possessed the Common plea’s with the same suite. In the meane time they were all committed anew by a fresh warrant from the Counsell-

My lord of Holland putting forth of Plymouth on Monday October 29 at three in the afternoone, after they had sayled 3 howres, the flattering wind shifted, & so they were faine to putt back into the sound of Plymouth, where they road all night in extreme danger, & in the morning were faine to leave all their Cables & Anchors behind them & to putt into Hamoze, which is the westerly harbour belonging to Plymouth. In this storme 3 of their Ships were quite disabled, & my Lord of Hollands intention was to presse others in their stead. It was supposed his Lordship putt to Sea againe on Tuesday November 6.

b: I heard yesterday they were againe deferred till Tuesday last; & then when their Counsell desired leave to speak, the Kings Attorney desired leave to speak first; & when he had done all was hush.

11 I have not traced this incident. “Possess” (line 52) was probably used in the sense of to “put in possession of, furnish with (knowledge or information); to instruct in; to inform, acquaint (OED, “possess”, v., 10; see also ibid, sense 1).

12 Because the Privy Council did not want to have the legality of the Forced Loan tested in King’s Bench (a possibility if non-payment of the Forced Loan had been stated as the reason for the “Five Knights’ ” imprisonment) the Council had agreed on 7 November that the imprisonment of the five was “by his majesty’s special commandment”. As Guy has commented, “the government shifted the argument on to the far stronger ground of Charles’s prerogative”; ‘Origins’, p. 291. For the order of 7 November see APC Sep. 1627-Jan. 1628, p. 131; nineteen Councillors (not as reported here) were present.

13 The judges did not free the plaintiffs as a result of the case; see below, p. 444 n. 5.

14 For Holland’s account of the storm of Monday 29 and Tuesday 30 October, in which he was forced to ride at anchor on the night of the 29th and put into Hamoze on the 30th see PRO SP16/83/32 [folio 49r-v]. Several of his ships were damaged by the storm [folio 49v].

15 Holland finally weighed anchor on the 6th and had left Plymouth by 8 November: by then, however, (as Mead’s marginal note indicates) it was too late; PRO SP16/81/41 [folio 54r], 42 [folio 55r]; Lockyer, p. 402.
Porter to command him to putt againe to Sea with the first wind.  

Two Dunkerkers have lately taken a Ship of London of 16 pieces of ordnance worth £6000 with many passengers therein. They fought a long time. But at last the English Ship being shott between wind & water, they were faine to come to a composition, which was that all the passengers & mariners should be sett free with bag & baggage. So they carried them into Dunkirk & there performed with them, & on Tuesday (November 6) sett them on Shore at Dover, together with other prisoners: The greatest favour, that ever those Roagues did any of our Nation since these last warres. And the reason is, because the Archduchess would allure our Nation to trade there, that they might exclude the Hollanders. The way is, that whosoever of our Nation will trade thither must (as well as the Counsells lettres from hence) obtaine the Archduchesses passe out of Flanders, both for Ships, goods, & persons; which being shewed to any man of warre at Sea, it sufficeth to sett them free.  
The commodities they ayme at especially, are Tynne, without which they cannot cast their brasse Ordinance; Lead also for their small shot, & cloth to apparrell their Souldiers. And there were 3 small Ships

c: But it was too late.

16 Secretary Conway had ordered Holland to sail as soon as possible on 28 October and again on 6 November: PRO SP16/83/17 [folio 24r]; SP16/84/30 [folios 40r-41r].
17 I have not traced this engagement. "Between wind and water" (lines 74-75) is "along the line where anything is submerged in water...especially on the load-line of a ship" (hence along the waterline: OED, "between", prep. and adv., 2b, first citation 1627). To "perform" (line 77) was probably used in the sense of to "carry out an action (a command, request, promise, undertaking, etc.); to carry into effect, execute" (ibid., "perform", v., 5).
(last week) laden with the same Commodities to the value of £15,000. The King of Spaine (they say) hath gott a slash over the pate by a bridegome, with whose bride he was too buysie in a mask upon the marriage night, being unknowne by reason he was disguised.

The Fleet of Dunkirks is gone Northward with many land souldiers & feared to be for the Soundt, but there is 30 Hollanders gone to attend them. The Hollanders (sayth another lettre) have againe taken Todos los Santos in Brasille finding it secure, & burnt it & razed it to the ground. & besides other spoile, brought thence 10 thousand chests of Sugar. But I wonder the last Currant speaks nothing of it. Thus much out of last weeks lettres.

Out of the Corranto November 13.

That the Emperor, Empresse, his Son the King of Hungarie are now at Prague. Having commanded before he went thither all the Protestants Churches in Austria to be furnished with Catholick Preists, the Protestants being putt out & banished. The like he is doing in Silesia.

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18 Contarini had reported the efforts of an English merchant at Antwerp, Lionel Wake, to negotiate the reopening of trade links between England and Flanders on 23 May/2 June 1627; CSPV 1626–28, p. 241. On 6/16 November he reported that an agreement had been reached between the two countries, but a week later (after Dutch protests) the scheme was suspended, although the Flemish had been “ordered not to treat as an enemy’s vessels such English ships as shall be named for this purpose”. On the same day the Venetian had heard that some English ships had been loaded and were ready to depart for Flanders; ibid., 473, 483. See also HMC Skrine, p. 132.

19 I have not traced this incident.

20 For this fleet of Dunkirkers see above, p. 104 n. 4. Contarini reported on 13/23 November that fifteen ships had sailed from Flanders and were “sailing towards the Sound, pursued by the Dutch, with whom an action was fought off Zeeland”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 483.

21 As Mead suspected from its omission from the latest newsbook this rumour proved false. For the Dutch success at Todos los Santos earlier in the year see above, p. 316 nn. 7–8.

22 No copy of this newsbook has survived; see Appendix II.

23 This was reported in a newsletter from Germany of 18/28 October; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r.

24 The newsletter cited in the above note reported (on folio 1r) that “All ministers and Scoolemasters and many other best members of the Reformed Churches” had been expelled from Ferdinand’s dominions and Catholics put in the priests’ places. An abstract of German newsletters dated 17–20/27–30 October
Tilly (though with some losse) hath taken Rensberg in Dithmarse & goes on finding no great resistance; the Danes being busie to forifie their Ilands. The Emperor sends money to Lubeck & Hambrough to buy Ships to pursue the King of Denmark in his owne Countrey.

Yet Colonell Morgan fortifies himselfe strongly about Stoad; he hath some 44 Companies. And the Danish have quite blocked up the River Elve with Ships to hinder the Enemye from victuall:

Newberg & Wolfenbottle (where are Danish garrisons) still hold out.

The Electors hold now an Electorall Diet at Mulhuysen.

To what purpose we shall know hereafter. The Emperor, as soone as his Son shalbe crowned King of Bohemia, will (it is thought) goe thither. This yong King is to marry the Infanta, who will now therefore be Queene of Bohemia.

reported that all "ministers and burgers of Lishwitz are likewise driven away, crying in vaine for aide to the States of Silesia"; SP101/29/folio 1r. See above, p. 762 n. 2 for the "Imperial vision" behind this religious persecution.

25 For the capture of Rensburg see above, p. 916 n. 9.

26 I have not traced this report, but attempts were being made at this time to persuade the Hanse towns to support the Spanish and Imperialists. Count Schwartzenburg, Ambassador from the Emperor, had delivered proposals concerning trade (specifically, the import monopoly of all Spanish and American goods) to Lübeck and the other Hanse ports at the end of October 1627; PRO SP80/6 (State Papers, Germany (Empire) and Hungary, 1623 – August 1630)/folio 151r. See also SP75/8/folios 326v, 153r-v, 353r-v, 403r-04r.

27 Morgan's troops had been forced to retreat to Stade in September 1627 by the much larger Imperial army. He and his men faced considerable hardship due to lack of money and supplies after they reached there; Beller, 'Sir Charles Morgan', pp. 532–34.

28 I have not traced these reports. Sir Robert Anstruther reported the surrender of Wolfenbüttell in his dispatch of 12/22 December; PRO SP75/8/folio 431r.

29 For the coronation of the Emperor's eldest son Ferdinand see Wedgwood, p. 225; STC 18507.195, The further continuation...January 23, A4r; PRO SP75/8/folio 310v. For the Electoral meeting at Mühlhausen see Parker, TYW, pp. 97, 100-01; Wedgwood, p. 227.

30 This report proved premature, as Ferdinand and Maria were not married in person until 1631; see above, p. 694 n. 11.
Just now, I received your letter. Whereby I perceive that ill newes is quick. And you have some particulars more then I yet heard, & it may be true, if your author misreport not the letter which came to Sir Thomas Jarmin. For I heard by one of our fellows, that was that day at Newmarket, that the messenger which brought it was sent from the Earle of Dorset. But I heare so many particulars, that I know not which of them to beleive, but which soever of them be true, all is naught, & God knowes, what the event will be after this disaster. Our Scottishman newly telles me, That the King hath kept his chamber since Monday, when it seemes the first newes came. I shall enforme you better next week.

I think I have procured Master Justinian Isham to be your Guest with me this Christmas. But Sir Johns condition is, that you must lett his cosen your Son accompanie him at Midsommer to Lamport. Are you content? For my pupill Pagitt he is of him selfe inclined, but I yet know not his fathers mind; but have bidden him write to know. But how shall all we gett to Dalham, now so many horses are dead?

Have you heard that Doctor Eglisham is slayne? Tis true. & some say by an Englishman, that counterfaicted to be forced to fly out of his owne country, for writing somewhat against the present affaires; upon which confidence, he was admitted by Eglisham to private & secure familiaritie; & some 3 weeks after, they walking out together, Eglisham was found slayne, & the Gentleman his fellow Exile not scene after. Others tell it otherwise. This was done this Sommer though I heard of it but lately. Blott this out for I love not
to relate any such doubtfull buisines. The relation I give I suppose is Scottish.36

Christ's Colledg

November 17. When our belles in
every Church are ringing here in
memory of happie Queene Elizabeth.37

Textual Notes: line 4) concerning at Rhé the Action MS.
line 15] message. To-day He was MS.
line 59, 3] altered from "2".
line 74, a long] along MS.
line 108, one MS.
line 126] which of te-be them MS.
line 128] will be hereafter upon this disaster MS.
lines 148–51, Christ's...Elizabeth] a continuation in the margin.

36 Eglisham had left England before the publication of Prodromus vindictae, translated as The forerunner of revenge (for which see above, p. 261 n. 7; p. 449 n. 6). I have not traced this account of his death, which may have been untrue; DNB (vi. 585) states that Eglisham was "apparently alive" in 1642.

37 It has been suggested that in the early years of Charles's reign military failure, political disagreement and suspicions of Popery gave a new vigour to the celebration of the myth of the "Virgin Queen". The most popular way of demonstrating this was to treat Elizabeth's accession day, 17 November, as a special ringing day; Creasy, Bonfires and Bells, ch. 8, esp. pp. 134–38. That, in 1627, her "crownation day" coincided with the first news of the Rhé disaster must have made the difference between Good Queen Bess and Charles I seem even greater: in hearing the bells as he wrote, Mead was presumably drawn to make the comparison himself and implied it here. Creasy has, however, noted that on 17 November 1627 there is no record of Great St. Mary's ringing its bells, although other churches in the town did so; ibid., p. 138.
17 November 1627

I have received just when the Cheesman is ready to go a Catalogue of the Officers both slayne & taken with other particulars from Master Pory. I have no time to write them out, but will send on Monday to Kenford by the Burie Carrier; If my lettre come not to your hands from thence before dinner I would desire you to send to Master Fysons for it. The number of the Officers slayne & taken in all 74. Whereof 50 slayne. I can say no more now.¹

Yours Joseph Mead

[Textual Note: line 6] send to-morrow on Monday MS.

¹ Mead included a transcript of this letter from Pory in his own sent to Dalham on Monday 19 November; see pp. 493-94 below.
London November 16. 1627.

Our Armies lingering so long at the Ile of Re (the French landing the flower of that Kings Army both of horse & foot, (which beleaguered Rochell) upon the same Ile) hath bin occasion of the greatest & shamfullest overthrow the English have received, since we lost Normandie. The names of the Officers both slayne & taken are as followeth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slayne at the assault</th>
<th>[Prisoners at the retreat]</th>
<th>[slayne at the retreat]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Morgan</td>
<td>Ensigne Brett</td>
<td>Captaine Wautes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Ward</td>
<td>Ensigne Steme alias Humes</td>
<td>Captaine Gifford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Cook</td>
<td>Ensigne Dimock</td>
<td>Captaine Carleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Grey</td>
<td>Ensigne Acton</td>
<td>Captaine Brand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayley - Lieutenant</td>
<td>Ensigne Moyle</td>
<td>Captaine Dee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayley - Ensigne</td>
<td>Ensigne Slade</td>
<td>Sir Ralph Shelton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodley - Ensigne</td>
<td>Ensigne Gwyn</td>
<td>Captaine Preston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferringdon</td>
<td>Ensigne Yates</td>
<td>Captaine Blouder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Browne</td>
<td>Ensigne Newcom</td>
<td>Captaine Bond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyde</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakeman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 On landing on the Île de Rhé in July, Buckingham had not captured the small fort of La Prée on the northward shore of the island. This was used by the French as a landing point for a counter-attack, making an English retreat essential. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture the fort of St. Martins by assault on 27 October 1627 (the "Assault" of line 7) the Duke's army attempted to retreat to the fleet but was attacked and partly routed by the French two days later: PRO SP16/84/78 [folios 108r-11r]; Clarke, pp. 145-49; Herbert, pp. 30, 107, 199-206, 243-53; Lockyer, pp. 400-01. Shock at the scale of the defeat was widespread: compare Pory's comment on lines 5-6 with that of Sir Thomas Wentworth, quoted by Lockyer on p. 402: "since England was England it received not so dissonourable a blow".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prisoners at the retreat</th>
<th>Slayne at the Retreat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lord Montjoy</td>
<td>Sir Charles Rich Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Andrew Grey</td>
<td>Sir Alexander Brett Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Glemham</td>
<td>Sir Ralph Bingley Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Colonell Ferrers</td>
<td>Sir John Radcliffe Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Owyn</td>
<td>Sir Richard Grinslefeld Lieutenant Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Doune</td>
<td>Sir John Tolkerne Lieutenant Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Fanshaw</td>
<td>Captaine Vaughan Lieutenant Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Henton</td>
<td>Captaine Roberts Lieutenant Colonell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Whitehead</td>
<td>Captaine Cornewall Sergeant Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captaine Norton</td>
<td>Captaine Standish Sergeant Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Basset</td>
<td>Captaine Reynolds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Kelke alias Kelly</td>
<td>Captaine Padden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Lee</td>
<td>Captaine Brett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Gifford</td>
<td>Captaine Turwitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Renny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The summe of this Black bill is in all 74 whereof 24 taken Prisoners, the rest to the number of 50 & all & slayne, besides Sir Edward Halley.²

The number of the Common soldiers slayne with them not amounting to fewer then 1,700 as many do report; though some would mince it to 500 or to 400. But where so many officers went to the pott, how

² PRO SP16/85/97 [folio 161r] and 98 [folio 163r] are lists of those killed and taken prisoners at the assault on the fort and at the retreat (see also ibid., no. 96 [folio 160r], a list of all the officers on the expedition who had died since July 1627). SP16/85/97 lists forty-five dead and twenty-five captured; SP16/85/98, fifty-three dead and eleven captured. These figures indicate that, as Mead noted, a number of different lists of names were in circulation; see n. 15 below.
could fewer soldiers suffer?  

Some say the Duke was present at the fight, & gathered his men together, when they were putt to rout: but others constantly affirm, that having made a bridge out of the Ile of Re to a lesser Island, he marched himselfe over the same with a guard of 1500 of the best men, & then set fire on the bridge, while the Enimie was butchering the residue of our nation.

Howsoever, his Majesties Coach is sent to take him in at Portsmouth, & those of the Court run to meet him, as if he were returned from some conquest. The King seems as well affected to him as ever, & is sending forth a Commission to enquire, who were the causes of the so long delay of the supplies intended to have bin carried by my Lord of Holland, & perhaps their negligence will

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3 According to PRO SP16/85/98 (folio 161v), a total of 7,833 soldiers were sent to Rhé and only 2,989 returned, which indicates that 4,844 English and Irish troops were lost between July and October 1627. Another document states 3,895 soldiers were killed during the assault on St. Martin's of 27 October/6 November and the retreat from Rhé on 29 October/9 November; SP16/85/94 (folio 157r). Contemporary estimates of the death toll varied considerably. Herbert gave an English estimate of one thousand; a contemporary French account quoted a figure of 1,200; on 16/26 November Salvetti estimated the figure as four hundred, but by 12/22 December this had risen to two thousand; Herbert, pp. 257–58; La défaite des Anglois chassés de l'île de Re (Toulouse, 1627), B2r [numbered B3r]; HMC Skrine, pp. 131, 133. See also CSPV 1626-28, p. 485.

4 Sir Henry Palmer referred to Buckingham's personal bravery in a letter of 12 November; PRO SP16/84/60 [folio 83r]. See also SP16/84/24 [folio 31r]; CSPV 1626-28, p. 467. Rubens, however, noted on 20/30 December that he had seen "letters from London...exalting the extraordinary valor of their general and praising his retreat as a heroic action"; Magurn, p. 217. Even given Rubens's likely bias in reporting this, it is probable that accounts were prepared by the Duke's friends to show him in the best possible light; see nn. 11–12 below.

5 Salvetti noted on 16/26 November that reports of the scale of the defeat were exaggerated because of Buckingham's unpopularity. The rumour on lines 45–49 is one example, as the Duke had not deliberately prevented his army from retreating; HMC Skrine, p. 131. A causeway, protected by a rampart, had been constructed over the salt marshes that divided the islands of Rhé and Loix (the fleet was anchored off the latter). In their retreat the English and Irish army were to march across this to safety. However, due to the engineers' incompetence the causeway (which was only four feet wide) was not sufficiently protected and gave the French an opportunity to attack the retreating army, many of whom were driven off the causeway and drowned in the marshes; Herbert, pp. 167–68, 237–38, 246, 257–58; Lockyer, pp. 379 (map of Rhé). 400–01.
pay for this disaster. 6

We heare here, that the Gentlemen Recusants of the Loane
shall shortly be set at libertie, without any pleading their cause at
the barre. 7

Another London ditto.

On Tuesday at noone the newes of Re was extreme upon
the Exchange, as if almost all our men had bin slayne & our Ordi-
nance lost; but on Wednesday, it was somewhat mitigated, & sayd
there were not above some 400 slayne, & our ordnance safe. 8
I have heard no particulars which I dare report for certaine, but
these, viz. That Colonell Brett, Sir Charles Rich, Master Charls Blouder
& Master Shelden a kinsman of the Dukes with a few other resolute
gentlemen undertook to defend a bridge against the French horse
till our men escaped; & after they had twise bravely repelled them,
were in the end troaden under foot by the horse, having refused
to accept quarter from the French, who would faine have taken them

6 Contarini noted on 22 November/2 December that the "entire blame is laid on the delay of succour" and
that Holland and Secretary Coke among others would be held responsible: CSPV 1626-28, p. 499; see also
Lockyer, p. 402. In spite of the anger over the repeated delays no action was taken against Holland, partly
because the appalling weather that had kept him in port was an important reason for his inability to reach
Rhé; see above, p. 422 n. 14.

7 The Privy Council ordered the release of the loan refusers on 2 January 1627/28; APC Sep. 1627-Jun.

8 Although the bulk of the ordnance had already been put on board the fleet, four small cannon were brought
up to cover the retreat. One report sent to Sir Simonds D'Ewes noted their loss to the French: PRO
SP16/84/78 (folio 108v); H383, folio 47r; see also Herbert, p. 285; above, p. 415 n. 4.
That Sir Francis Cottington, Lieutenant Colonel of the Horse, after he had twice broken through the French horse, was oppressed by multitude & slain.\textsuperscript{9}

The Duke is expected here on Saturday. Divers Lords are rode towards Plymouth to meet him; & my Lord Chamberlaine is gone with a rich Jewell unto him from the King. They report he behaved himself valiantly, & saw all his men aboard before he left the land.\textsuperscript{10}

Another from Yorkhouse ditto.\textsuperscript{11}

Some I doubt not will informe you, as though my lord Duke had not done his part with the best, yea & beyond the best in this last act. But beleeeve no such reports; for both at the assault of the Cittadell by ours on the 27 of October, & when the French assaulted us by landing new forces on the 29\textsuperscript{th} he was himselfe in person with the last.\textsuperscript{12} More I could but will not speak of him.

Of our Ships & ordinance none are lost. Most of the prisoners, except Colonell Gray & my Lord Montjoy, we regained by exchange of theirs taken by us.\textsuperscript{13} The greatest particular of dishonour was the

b: Sir William Coningham before.

\textsuperscript{9} An account of the events of 29 October/8 November reported that the English horse, fired on by the French, had attempted to cross the causeway; by doing so they threw the rearguard of the army (including regiments commanded by Sir Edward Halley and Sir Ralph Bingley) into confusion. The French then attacked and routed the retreating troops; Bingley and Hawley were killed as well as Sir William Cunningham (not Sir Francis Cottington; see line 89 below) with all his cavalry: PRO SP16/84/78 [folio 109r-v]; see also Lockyer, p. 401.

\textsuperscript{10} Buckingham arrived in London on Saturday 17 November as expected; see above, p.\textsuperscript{720} nn. 4–5.

\textsuperscript{11} The "dateline" here suggests that this letter was written by one of Buckingham's servants and circulated in London to vindicate his behaviour. Mead recognised in lines 92–94 below that the different sources he had transcribed had resulted in varying accounts of the retreat from Rhé.

\textsuperscript{12} Compare PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 31r]: "My Lord Duke was the last man in the Rere, & caried himselfe above expression bravely".

\textsuperscript{13} For the capture of Lord Montjoy and Sir Andrew Gray see the lists cited in n.\textsuperscript{3} above and PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 31r].
losse of some 40 Ensignes, which the French won from us, & have sent them to Paris to be sett up in their Church of Nostredame.  

Out of these relations of persons (as you may see) differently affected, I leave you to guess as you shall see most likelyhood. For we know not here whom to beleev. Onely it is agreed, that so many gentlemen, commanders & officers are lost at this fatall disaster, because they can be shewed no more. And there are many Lists of them come to Towne though with some difference of names here & there, through the default of the Scribes; but the Copie I send was fairly & distinctly written by the Gentleman I named to you in the paper I thrust into my lettre on Saturday & therefore, I give more credit to (it.) There are some more gentlemen reported to be slayne not named in this catalogue, because as I imagine they had no office or command amongst whom I understand my Mon Bell to be one, & Master Lukens Son another, as his father writes from London, whom yet I suppose to have had some office, It may be it is, that Master Luke in the end of the list. All I can leame of the cause & manner of this lamentable overthrow is, That our Ships which guarded the Isle, being forced to waygh anchor & to putt to sea by reason of a storme, the French in the mean time, (having lyen waiting for such an opportunitie)

14 The loss of regimental colours was considered an especially shameful aspect of the defeat. Charles was reported to have lamented "above all the loss of the colours and the officers"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 497. Salvetti later mentioned the loss of "cannon, standards and reputation"; HMC Skrine, p. 133. Estimates as to the number involved varied; both Rubens and Salvetti put the number at forty-four, a correspondent of Sir Simonds D'Ewes said forty-five, Herbert mentioned forty-six while Contarini gave a figure of forty-seven; Magum, p. 217; HMC Skrine, p. 133; H383, folio 47r; Herbert, p. 258; CSPV 1626–28, p. 497 (Herbert, however, suggested that only one standard was taken in combat: the rest were abandoned; see also ibid., pp. 285–86). For the lodging of the colours in Nôtre Dame see CSPV 1626–28, p. 528.

15 A comparison of the list transcribed by Mead in lines 8–36 above with that he sent to Dalham on the following Saturday (pp. 941–42 below) confirms this statement. See also n. 2 above.

16 Mead had been misinformed about his former pupil Edmund Bell, who (although he apparently died young) was certainly alive in the following year; Peile, i. 356–57; H390, folio 347r. I have not identified "Master Lukens Son" (line 104).
landed suddenly 7,000 men out of the Isle of Oleron (during the time our men were assaulting the Citadel); which together with those in the Fort came upon us &c. Besides some find great fault that we had more care in the Retreat, to ship our Ordinance then our men, whereby they were exposed to the furie of the Enemies horse, before they were halfe shipped; notwithstanding we were entertained at the place where we took shipping: but wanting Ordinance the Emimie brake in upon us &c. I heare no manner yet told, that hangs together, save onely this. A week more perhaps will informe us better.

But is it not remarkeable, That this Overthrow, should fall out upon the selfe same day, wherein the Battell at Prague was lost this time seven yeare? Tis true: ^ for ^ Both were upon the 29th of October then Sunday, now Monday. God certainly is against us.

This anticipation will leave me but little to send next Saturday. I remember my best respect to your selfe & my Lady.

Cambrid
November 18

Yours

Joseph Mead

Textual Notes: line 13, Lieutenant Bayley] the first “y” altered from a “u”.

ibid.] Captaine Dee —see MS.

line 40, 1,700] altered from “17,00”.

17 French reinforcements under Marshal Schomberg had been shipped to Rhé on the night of Sunday 28 October/7 November. On the day of the battle Herbert estimated that the French (including those within the citadel) outnumbered the English by two to one in infantry and five to one in cavalry; CSPV 1626–28, p. 467; Herbert, p. 224 (see also ibid., pp. 162–64, 172, 181–82, 186–87). For the events of 29 October/8 November see nn. 1, 5, 9 above.

18 For the shipping of the ordnance weeks before the retreat from Rhé see above, p.915 n. 4.

19 Mead was correct. Buckingham’s army had retreated in disarray on Monday 29 October, Old Style; the battle of the White Mountain outside Prague had taken place on Sunday 29 October 1620, Old Style; Wedgwood, pp. 125–27. Stuteville was so impressed by this coincidence that he repeated it to Sir Simonds D’Ewes in his next letter to him, written on 23 November: H383, folio 49r. For the significance of Mead’s chronological notes see the Introduction, pp. 82–84.

20 The importance of events at Rhé can be gauged from the fact that (apart from lines 57–59) no other news was sent by Mead in this letter.
line 50] in at Plymouth MS.
line 52, King] Kinges MS.
line 53, is] his MS.
line 87] exchange of those MS.
line 105] as himselfe his father writes MS.
lines 112-13, those in the Fort] those in in the Fort MS.
line 117] wanting our Ordinance MS.
Sir,

24 November 1627 (folio 324r)

I am sorry, the Carrier disappointed both your selfe & me. My twopence was ill spent, & yet I gave speciall charge to have it delivered carefully at Kenford, fearing it would be carried to Bury, which never happened notwithstanding till now; but I have ill luck at such times when it most concerns the Carriers to be carefull.¹

I have just now sent & received the list you mentioned. But they tell me I must pay 6d for it. I have no time to bargain, I have bin forth most of this forenoon, & knew of your lettre but at 11 a clock. I send it you howsoever.²

I saw since another Catalogue faire written besides that I sent. Wherein I observed these differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Among the Slayne at the assault</th>
<th>Among the Slayne at the Retreat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For Bayley Doyley</td>
<td>For Corwall Cornwallis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Bodley Dudley</td>
<td>For Wilkin Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Browne Broome</td>
<td>For Captaine Brett Bete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Wakeman Mackman.</td>
<td>For Captaine Dee Lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners at the Retreat</td>
<td>For Captaine Pennant Tennant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Henton Hampton

Besides there was this

¹ Although Mead had directed his letter on pp.41-45 above to be left at Kentford for delivery to Dalham (as always when he used the Bury Carrier) on this occasion it had been taken to Bury, thus delaying its delivery to Sir Martin. The incident was not forgotten; see H390, folio 380r-v.

² Probably the list on pp.44-42 below. Sir Martin had presumably told Mead that it had been sent to Cambridge and expected it to be forwarded to Dalham. Mead's reluctance to pay for it without haggling was characteristic. He succeeded in saving money; see below, p.455 n.1.
[Prisoners at the Retreat]

For Whitehead Whitehell
For Kelke Kelly
For Renny Denny
For Sterne Hume
& one
Ensign Story added
more then mine had.

[Slayne at the Retreat]
difference in the time.
The 7 last which in mine * are * slayne at the
Assault, are there reckoned among the slayne at the
Retreat. And of the Prisoners Captaine Owyn & Brett were sayd to be taken at the Assault.²

I can yet heare nothing to purpose of the manner of this disaster. Some say, they cannot tell when & how the French landed. Some talk as if they had bin conveighed into the Fort, at what times we heard it was releived, as we supposed onely, with victualls.⁴

It is certaine we assaulted the Fort to little purpose the day save one before,⁵ & sayd, that seeing no good could be done we were purposed to break up & come away (had we not bin beaten out) & so had shipped most of our ordinance, which gave the French so great advantage against us.⁶

The Duke on Monday last sate at the Counsell Ta[ble] most part of the afternoone, when many rich men were sayd to be sent

³ For the "assault" and the "Retreat" see above, p. 129 n. 1. According to PRO SP16/85/97 [folio 161r], 98 [folio 163r] (for which see above, p. 130 n. 2), the correct names for those killed at the assault on 27 October/6 November were "Doyley", "Dudley", "Browne" "Wakeman" (compare lines 18–21 here); for those taken prisoner at the retreat on 29 October/8 November, "Hempton", "Whitehead", "Kelly", "Denny" and "Story" (compare lines 23–27); for those killed at the retreat, "Cornwall" (though SP16/85/98 has "Cromwell"), "Watkins" ( = "Walkin" on p. 130 line 31), "Betta", "Leigh" (or "Lee"), "Pennant" (though SP16/85/98 has "Rennant": compare lines 18–22). I have not traced Ensign "Steme" (or "Hume") mentioned on line 28. Mead’s note on lines 23–29 concerning the seven misplaced names was correct; see PRO SP16/85/96 [folio 160r].

⁴ I have not traced this rumour. The reference is probably to the relief conveyed to the fort at the end of September, for which see above, p. 115 n. 4.

⁵ On 27 October/6 November; see above, p. 129 n. 1.

⁶ For this see above, p. 115 n. 4.
for before the Lords, for some meanes of money. 7

The Duke rode next day to Portesmouth or Plimmouth where
his souldiers are; they say to give them satisfaction about their
pay, which those he sent to that purpose could not do: 8 For 8 they
demanded to have their Generall 8 in person 8 to give them satisfaction &
would not be content with others. 8 The Kings affection no
whitt diminisheth but, rather encreaseth toward him. 9

We have had I know not what untoward rumour of the
King of Denmark, as if his Subjects had rejected him & his
Son both & chosen the King of Sweden. & yet some say he is
chosen but Regent, as though it were for some time onely.
But I know not what ground this rumour hath.10

The Carrier wilbe gone, I end therefore with my
wonted respect & am

Christ's Colledg  Yours to command
November 24  Joseph Mead

Our Ree-men brought
home some 30 Ships with
Salt they say but they were
powder first.11

Textual Notes: line 3 disappointed me both your MS.

7 The Duke of Buckingham is not recorded as present at the Privy Council meeting of Monday 19
8 Contarini reported on 22 November/2 December that Buckingham had left London with money for the
newly-arrived soldiers and sailors; CSPV 1626–28, p. 498; see also Lockyer, pp. 403–04.
9 In the same dispatch Contarini noted that Charles had received Buckingham “more familiarly and kindly
than ever, if that is possible”; CSPV 1626–28, p. 499; see also above, p. 420 n. 4.
10 On 30 November/10 December Sir Robert Anstruther reported (and denied) rumours that the Danish
nobility had replaced Christian IV with Gustavus Adolphus; PRO SP75/8/folio 405r. See also Roberts, ii.
346; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r (newsletter from Germany of 18/28 October).
11 For centuries salt had been one of the most important products of the region around La Rochelle,
although by the early seventeenth century the trade was declining in importance; Parker, La Rochelle, p.
64. I have not found any reference to the fleet bringing back salt; perhaps the story was inspired by the
joke of “powdered” (“to pulverise”, OED, “powder”, v 3, III, 6).
line 7, luck] look MS.
line 25] last which are show in MS.
line 26] mine ah^ are ^ slayne at the Retreat the MS.
line 39] so had carried shipped MS.
line 46] not do: & ^ For ^ they MS.
Colonells | Officers slain at the Retrayte ¹ | (folio 318r)
--- | --- | ---
**November 1627** | Sir Charles Rich | Taken prisoners Lord Montjoy Captaine of a trope of horse.
 | Alexander Brett | Dudley |
 | Edward Hawley | Grey |
 | Ralph Bingley | Doyley |
 | John Ratcliff | Bassett |

Leiftenantes | Leiftenants |
--- | ---
 | Richard Greenfield | Kelley |
 | John Talcowe | Lee |
 | Captaine Robertes | Jeford |

Senjantes | Master of the Ordinan(ce) |
--- | ---
 | Bettes | Reeme |

Majors | Leiftenant Colonell |
--- | ---
 | Cornwall | Ferrar |
 | Standish | Ferrington |
 | Watkins | Broome |
 | Raynoldes | Hide |
 | Paddon | Wakeman |
 | Tierites | Story |
 | Watts | Hugins |
 | Jefford | Dymock |
 | Carleton | |

Captaine | |
--- | ---
 | Preston | |
 | Bloth | |
 | Bond | |
 | Spring | |
 | Abram | |
 | Waterson | |
 | Willyams | |

¹ A list in the same hand as this document is among Sir Simonds D’Ewes’s papers. H383, folio 47r: another, in a similar hand and probably taken from the same original, is in Sir Julius Caesar’s papers, BL Add. MS 12496, folio 47r. Whoever the scribe was he must have been making as many copies as he could to cater for the intense interest in this subject in London and elsewhere.
Captains

Sir James Bogg 35
Sir Arthur Ashton
Sir William Cunn[i]gham Captaine of a troope of horse
Morgan
Ward
Cooke 40
1 December 1627

Sir,

I send you now in the enclosed as much as our intelligence will acquaint us with, concerning the manner of the disaster at Ree. I doubt that some of our Novellantes have either some interest in their honour who are sayd to have done fouly, or dare not relate what they know. For we have had 2 weekes letters from some of them, & yet not a word of the cause or the manner of this shamefull overthrow, though we desired it.1

Some say my Lord Montjoy could not rule his horse, & others that few or none of our horse would abide the sight of fire or noise of the drumme. Others impute the most to the cowardise of the horsmen, & it is affirmed, that Sir William Coningham * Lieutenant of the Horse, could not perswade any of them from shamefull flight, & that thereupon he charged the French alone, broke twice through them, slew divers with his sword, & having his life offered him immediately before he was slayne, refused it, choosing rather to dye with honour then to survive the shame of so base an overthrow.2 Our horsmen thus basely turning their backs to the Enimie thrust in amongst our owne foot marching upon a long narrow causie a brest, rowed them, trod them under foot, & threw them downe from the causie into the water, ditches, mudde & salt-pitts, where also most of them selves perished throwing downe one another: After the bridge was

a: A Scottishman

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1 This interesting paragraph demonstrates the two-way process of "intelligencing", whereby Mead and others in Cambridge requested specific information from their London sources. The failure of the London newsgatherers to send accurate details of the disaster at Rhé evidently called for special comment, implying that at other times they were more forthcoming (with news of parliamentary debates, for instance). Since Lord Mountjoy was widely believed to have contributed to the defeat at Rhé he was probably one of those referred to in lines 5-6.

2 For Cunningham’s death see above, p. 433 n. 9.
downe, many endeavoring to swimme through the muddie river
or ditch, stuck fast, were choked, & drowned. We talk here that 25
Sir Charles Rich his throat was cutt by a common souldier to gett his
rich apparrell, & that in the sight of the rest of our Armie which was
on the other side the river, though they cryed, (but in vaine), Ransome,
Ransome.4

For the pleading of Habeas Corpus for the gentlemen prisoners 30
mentioned in the enclosed, (to which the Kings Attorney was on Monday to
make answere) it is talked here since yesterday morning, as though the
Judges had given sentence against them That they were not baileable.5 & thought
thereupon, that for this Attempt, they will be perpetuall prisoners. But
if it be true, we shall heare of it more particularly to day.6

They say there is a Proclamation that you must all ride
your horses with Bittes, it may be for the better ruling of them
hereafter.7

3 The disorderly retreat of part of the English cavalry, whereby they “charged and beate into the reare of our
foote which they put in disorder” was condemned in a marginal comment by a contemporary reader as an
“error never to be sufficiently condemn’d”; PRO SP16/84/78 [folio 109r]; see also Lockyer, p. 401; above,
p.931 n. 5; p.933 n. 9.

4 I have not traced this rumour.

5 On Tuesday 27 November the Judges of King’s Bench pronounced their resolution in the “Five Knight’s
case” (Sir Thomas Darnel had, however, withdrawn from the proceedings after his case had been heard on
the 13th). Attorney-General Heath had argued on the previous day that “Charles’s power of discretionary
imprisonment was upheld by strict law and precedents on record in King’s Bench, and that those so
imprisoned were not bailable” and the Judges agreed. The prisoners were to remain in gaol pending the
filing of a substantive case against them by the Crown or until their pleas could be re-heard; Guy,

6 Guy has commented that “The practical effect of the decision in the five knights’ case, in view of Charles
I’s refusal to file substantive charges, was...to give the Crown the apparent right to detain the four
prisoners until such time as Charles decided to let them go free”; ‘Origins’, p. 293. Although (along with
all the other Loan refusers) the four men were soon released, the issues arising from the case led directly to
the agitation for the Petition of Right in the Parliamentary session of 1628; ibid., pp. 296–311. For the
reasons why the Crown did not want to file substantive charges against the Five Knights see above, p.922
n. 12.

7 For this proclamation, “prohibiting the use of Snaffles, and commanding the use of Bittes for Riding” see
Larkin, no. 76, pp. 169–70. It was proclaimed on 26 November, a direct result of the failure of the cavalry
at Rhé (for which see n. 3 above): “such horses, as are to be imployed for [military] Service, are more apt
I send you Doctor Manwarings Sermon. Pretium 8d. And thus
with my best respect, I rest & am

Christ's Colledg
December 1.

Your's to be commanded
Joseph Mead

I forgot to tell you, that some say
there is a mysterie in that affirmation
of but 400 to have bin slayne, namely
because all the rest were drowned or
choked: Sir John Tasburgh who came this way
from London on Sunday told me this, & some
other passages. 9

Textual Note: line 24, the muddie] the the muddie MS.
On Sunday last the Duke at the Counsell table affirmed upon
his honour, that there were but 400 slayne in the last defeat, & that
he had brought 5000 of our men home alive. But some Irish that
are returned thence do report, that of the English onely (besides
Irish) were slayne 2464 & that of those 2400 Irish that went
thither, there came off but 600. And certainly the losse must be
great & lamentable, when as I saw a List this morning of Colonells
Lieutenant Colonells, Sergeant Majors, Corporalls of the field & Captaines
of 60 in number: And the French have hang’d up in our Ladies
Church at Paris 42 Ensignes, the greatest dishonour that ever
our nation underwent. There was lately (as I have bin told)
a great contestation about this losse betweene my Lord Steward &
the Duke in the Kings presence, when the King also affirmed, that
Sir Sackville Crow had written to him of a farre greater
number then the Duke would acknowledge. And in stead of
5000 which he sayth he hath brought home, there be those that af-
firme, they are but 2500, others but 1500. And that 400 men

1 On 17 November Sir William Beecher had estimated that nearly 5,000 men had returned from Rhé but that
"the better part thereof are sick and wounded"; PRO SP16/84/92 [folio 135v]; for Buckingham’s defence of
his conduct at Rhé “in the presence of the King (attended with all the Lordea)” see SP16/85/11 [folio 17r].
2 The Irish estimate was probably too high; see above, p. 934 n. 3.
3 Citing this report Cust has suggested that it indicated the “re-emergence” of the Earl of Pembroke as an
open opponent of the Duke at Court in the aftermath of the disaster at Rhé, one of the factors which made a
recall of Parliament more likely; F. L., p. 75.
4 Sir Sackville Crow had written to Secretary Conway on Monday 12 November with the “ill newes” of the
retreat, which the latter had passed on to Charles. The letter mentioned on lines 14–16 was probably not
this item (Crow had deliberately refrained from giving details of casualties) but other reports, no doubt, did
contain such information; PRO SP16/84/57 [folio 78r-v]; see also Cust, F. L., p. 75.
were wilfully commanded to the slaughter at the assault upon the Fort, when as their scaling Ladders were by five foot to short.6

His Grace hath bin all this week going to Portsmouth to com- fort & refresh the reliques of our once flourishing Army,7 & to send ayd to Rochell, who have now cast themselves into the armes of King Charles, & have offered to coine his money, & plant his Standard upon their wallets.8

Yesterday was the great pleading upon the writt of Habeas corpus for releasing the gentlemen committed about the Loane: The Pleaders were Master Noy, Master Selden, Sergeant Bramston, & Master Holborne,9 who they say, made the case so cleere, as the Judges cannot either with modesty or safety determine against them.9 On Monday do plead the Kings Counsell, & before the Term end, we hope of good success.10

Doctor Manwaring, that preached & printed two Sermons for an absolute Monarchie,11 sent this other day to a freind of mine to help him to all the ancient presidents he could find, to strengthen his opini-

a: Colthorp

6 Buckingham had been persuaded by deserters from St. Martin's that if he attempted to assault the fort he would capture it due to the low morale of the defenders. Herbert, however, noted that the scaling ladders used in the attack were too short and prevented the capture of the citadel; Lockyer, p. 400; Herbert, p. 203. While Pory's report was too critical of Buckingham it was a common reaction to the English defeat; see above, p. 944 n. 5; Lockyer, pp. 402–03.

7 For the state of the army that had returned to England see PRO SP16/85/22 [folio 32r–v], 24 [folio 35r] and n. 1 above. For Buckingham's journey with money for those returned from Rhé see above, p. 944 n. 8.

8 I have not traced this rumour, but it had been reported before; see above, p. 727 n. 3.

9 Sir John Bramston appeared as counsel for Sir John Heveningham, William Noy for Sir Walter Earle, John Selden for Sir Edmund Hampden, and Sir Henry Calthorp (correctly noted by Mead in his note to this passage) for Sir John Corbet; Guy, 'Origins', p. 292. For the defence counsels' speeches see PRO SP16/85/27 [folios 40r–41r (Bramston), 41r–42r (Noy), 42r (Selden), 42r–43r (Calthorp)]. Pory's statement on lines 29–30 was too optimistic: see above, p. 944 n. 5.

10 Sir Robert Heath pleaded for the Crown on Monday 26 November that the imprisonment of the four men "by his Majesty's special commandment" was valid in law, a view to which the Judges agreed on the following day; Guy, 'Origins', p. 292; PRO SP16/85/44 [folios 66r–73v]; above, p. 944 n. 5.

11 These were printed as STC 17751, Religion and allegiance, which Mead sent with this letter; see above, p. 946 n. 8.
on; who answered him, he could help him in nothing, but onely to hang
him, & that if he lived till a Parliament or &c he should be sure
of an halter. Another of his owne Coat sayd, Master Manwaring, I
would have you consider three things. First, that since Master Sybthorpe
published his Sermon, his House was burnt downe, and 2ly since that
Doctor Bargrave Deane of Canterbury publisht his, he hath with
disgrace bin turned out of the Court: And what will become of
you, when there is a Parliament? 4

There is a new Loane of 120 or 150 thousand pound pro-
jected to be payd in by the Lords & others of the Privy Counsell, &
by the rich Officers of the Chancery, the Exchequer, & the Court
of Wards. And I am told, that the Earle of Bridgewater hath eo

12 Given Pory's likely authorship of this letter I believe his "freind" (line 33) was Sir Robert Cotton, who
was often asked to search for precedents from his outstanding collection of manuscripts; Sharpe, Sir Robert

13 Another clergyman, in the sense of "Garb as indicating profession" (OED, "coat", I, 6).

14 STC 22525.5, Apostolike Obedience. Shewing the duty of subjects to pay tribute and taxes, preached in
February 1627, was like Manwaring's text a sermon defending Charles's right to levy the Forced Loan.
Sibthorpe's house had afterwards been burned down "in what was evidently seen as a judgement of God";
Cust, F. L., p. 62-65, 225 (quotation from p. 225). It was for refusing to license Sibthorpe's work that
Archbishop Abbot had been sequestered from office in July 1627; see above, p. 646 n. 11.

15 Mead had sent some extracts of Bargrave's sermon to Dalham in April; see above, pp. 725–26 nn. 6–11.
I have not found any reference to his disgrace.

16 The proceedings against Manwaring in the Parliament of 1628 proved the accuracy of this comment.
Although, however, Manwaring was duly impeached by the Commons he was promoted to a royal
chaplaincy after the session; CD 1628, passim; Russell, Parliaments, pp. 375, 382, 386, 396.
nomine disbursed 10 thousand pound & the Chancellour of th'Exchequer 4000. & that the 6 clerkes should pay £1000 a man &c &c.17

[device]

Another London ditto.

The Dukes Grace returned to Court on Saturday & was receiv'd by the King with as great favour as ever. It was sayd he should ere this have rode to the Fleet at Portsmouth; but now they say he goes not till the beginning of the next week.18

What was the number of our men that perished first & last, we cannot yet certainly leame. There is a report very general, that at the last defeat, there was not above a 3 or 400 slayne; whereas a man would think by the great number of Commanders slayne & taken prisoners, there should have miscarried 3 4 or 5 thousand, seing allmost all the Officers of 5 Regiments were taken or slayne; & there is a talk but of 2000 or not many more of the Landmen returned.19

Here is a speach, as if not onely 60 Rochellers taken in the Ile should be executed after a cruell manner, but also our sick men found lying in their beds, thrown out of the windowes, their necks armes & legges broken, & the French Protestants there found massacred.20 And yesterday was speech here, that on Wednesday 3 weekes at Lyons

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17 A commission to inquire into the level of fees taken by a wide range of government officials, especially those in the courts of justice, had been recently established: see the Proclamation of 12 October 1627 "declaring his Majesties gracious intention, concerning his Commission lately granted, to enquire of new offices erected, and new Fees exacted in Courts of Justice, since xi Elizabethe" (Larkin, no. 75, pp. 167-69). In December 1627 an executive committee was formed, heralding the beginning of the work of the commission; its (slow) progress is described by Aylmer, pp. 193–94, 200. See also BL Harleian 7010, folio 57r, John Beaulieu's newsletter of 5 December. (A list of officials thought capable of lending Charles £1,000 a piece on account of their having exacted "unwarrantable fees", including the Six Clerks in Chancery, is now PRO SP16/52/61 [folio 89r]). "Eo nomine" (lines 47–48) = "of that name".

18 For Buckingham's return to Court on Saturday 17 November see above, p. 420 n. 5; for his journey to Portsmouth, p. 439 n. 8.

19 Differing reports about the number of those slain were still circulating; see above, p. 431 n. 3.

20 I have not traced this rumour.
was a massacre of above 1600 Protestants. Besides it is sayd, that about 30 of our colours (which some say they first hung up upon the shore when our Fleet hoised sayle) are carried (in) triumph to Paris, there to be sett up in the prime Church of that Cittie. The speach also is, that they putt our dead bodies into an old ship, & burnt them as heretiques. It is sayd moreover that the Protestants Church by Paris is burned downe by the Papists.

The Emperor continues still more & more severe in his persecution against the Lutherans, who before would not beleve it, but that they should be his white Subjects, & therefore ayded him against their brethren, which now too late they repent.

Here hath bin much & long speach, as if the Danes had slayne their King & made choise of Sweden; but as at the first neither seemed credible, so it is now sayd, that both are untrue, upon letters written from Hambrough. But the letters thence say, That Tilly was gone with 15,000 men towards Lubeck, as was thought, to ship them there, so to assault & gaine, if he can, the Soundt; whereunto this open wethe(r) may perhaps further him: notwithstanding we hope better.

This day did the Counsell of the Gentlemen prisoners argue full 3 houres at the Kings bench the right of having their Habeas Corpus; whereunto his Majesties Counsell is to oppose on Monday.

Its written from Chester that in Burialls —— 134

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21 Mead reported on 15 December that this rumour was false; see below, p. 958, lines 54–55.

22 This was an understimate; see above, p. 934 n. 14.

23 I have not identified either of the rumours in lines 70–73.

24 There had been a long history of hostility between the Calvinist and Lutheran communities in Germany, exacerbated by the refusal of John George, Elector of Saxon, to support Frederick of Bohemia in 1619–20. His subsequent attempts to end the war by coming to terms with the Emperor were seen as treachery by Calvinist observers and, as lines 74–77 suggest, did little to protect many Lutheran communities from the effects of Ferdinand’s attempted Counter-Reformation. For these matters see Parker, TTW, pp. 18–24, 60, 94–95; Wedgwood, pp. 19, 42–44, 95–96, 106–08, 115–17; above, p. 762 n. 2. “White” (line 76) was probably (ironically) used in the sense of “Highly prized, precious, dear, beloved, favourite” (OED, “white”, a., 9).

25 For these rumours see above, p. 761 n. 10.

26 I have not traced this report. “Open” weather was that “Free from frost” (OED, “open”, a., 9b).

27 For these legal arguments see nn. 9–10 above: defence counsel had stated their case on Thursday 22 November, not as stated here.
the late great tempest, the Lord Cromwell with his Lady & all their Companie were cast away, sayling towards Ireland.28

Another ditto. 23 November 1627

The Duke came to Court on Saturday even, was at Chappell with the King the next day stayed the mask b on Monday at night & hath bin since going to Portsmouth to settle some things.29

It is muttered we have lost above 5000 men & some ordnance & that my Lord Montjoy with his troupes of horse not onely fled shamefully, but rowed our foot throwing them downe into ditches & waters, who else were making an advantageous stand.30 That ours had provoked the French to fight calling them poultrons & filz de putain &c but the Marshall of France then contented them, till that ours retreating disorderly & heedlesly, the Enemy charged our Rere & obtained a full victory, have carried away many Ensignes. I heare of but few of note come off.31

I heare two Poasts came last Monday & a rumour then, as if the French King having given to 2 potent Subjects the Isles of Gemsey & Jarsey if they could force & gett them, that thereupon divers thousands of French had attempted Gemsey, if they were not landed there;

b: I can heare of no mask by others. & so think it is untrue.

28 This rumour proved false; Thomas, 4th Baron Cromwell did not die until 1653; GEC, i. 192–93. Perhaps he had been blown off course in the “late great tempest” of 29–30 October; see above, p. 92 n. 1.

29 The report of the masque was, as Mead noted in the margin, untrue; for the Duke’s return to Court and departure for Portsmouth see above, p. 42 n. 5; p. 43 n. 8.

30 For the disordered retreat of Mountjoy’s cavalry see n. 3 above.

31 An account of the events of 29 October/8 November noted that, in the retreat to the causeway, Buckingham’s army had “offered battayle” to the French but that the latter refused to do so at that time; PRO SP16/64/78 [folio 109r]. “Filz de putain” (line 100) = “sons of whores”.

32 For the discussions among the French commanders about the best way to attack the retreating army (and the decision to attack the English in “some advantageous place”) see ibid.; Herbert, pp. 229–35.
but I heare it not continued & therefore hope, it is untrue.\textsuperscript{33}

Another London ditto.

It is s鸳d, the Duke was coming away the week before our lamentable disaster, but that the Governour of Rochell sent to advise him to make one Assault, & sent withall 500 Rochellors unto him to that purpose.\textsuperscript{34} The Rochellors were sett in the forefront; the Assault given on Saturday October 27. Wherine, it is sayd, were slaine of those in the Fort above a thousand: On our side, the 500 Rochellors were all cut off & about 300 of the English.\textsuperscript{35} On Sunday night following, (when by reason of the storme, some of our Ships were forced to ride 10 miles from the Island) some thousands of the French of those who besieged Rochell, landed there out of the maine:\textsuperscript{36} To whom the Duke, not deeming that had bin so many, sent a defiance, but they refused, meaning as the event shewed to undertake us upon better advantage.\textsuperscript{37} The two Armies stood an howre facing one another.\textsuperscript{38} But as soon as the French perceived ours to retyre, they pursued & charged them upon the Rere, when my Lord Montjoy presently began to turne taile.\textsuperscript{39} Which Sir Charles Rich espying cryed out Charge Charge Charge;

\textsuperscript{33} As Mead’s source hoped, this rumour proved false: the “Poasts” (line 105) were presumably from France. For measures to defend the Channel Islands see above, p. \textsuperscript{932} n. 14.

\textsuperscript{34} After the fort at St. Martin’s had been relieved at the end of September (for which see above, p. \textsuperscript{915} n. 4) Buckingham had decided to withdraw from Rhé. A deputation from La Rochelle pleaded with him to stay, however, and promised to send him five hundred Rochellois and provisions for his army. This promise of assistance and the news that the Earl of Holland was ready to sail persuaded Buckingham to stay; PRO SP16/80/23 [folios 109v-10r]; Lockyer, pp. 398–400.

\textsuperscript{35} The courage of the Rochellois in the attack on St. Martin’s was praised by an eyewitness; PRO SP16/84/78 [folio 108r]. For an account of the assault see Herbert, pp. 199–206.

\textsuperscript{36} Nearly 6,000 French reinforcements were sent to Rhé during October, the last arriving there on Sunday 28 October/7 November; ibid, pp. 181, 186–87; see also above, p. \textsuperscript{935} n. 17.

\textsuperscript{37} See n. 32 above.

\textsuperscript{38} One eyewitness account of the battle reported that there was some confusion over whether to march directly to the causeway over the marshes or make a stand and offer battle. The retreating army paused four times in its march, a tactic condemned by Herbert; PRO SP16/84/78 [folios 108v–09r]; Herbert, p. 236.

\textsuperscript{39} For the assault by the French on the rearguard of the retreating army and the consequent disorder of Mountjoy’s cavalry see above, p. \textsuperscript{933} n. 9; p. \textsuperscript{944} n. 3.
but prevailing not, cryed Kill him, Kill him though he be my brother
Kill him though he be my brother, or else he wil make us loose the day. 40
When the French appeared, our vantguard was either entring or already marching upon a long
causie to passe over a bridge unto a part of the Iand toward our Ships: The causie being
no broader then 5 could march a brest, our owne horse coming amongst them did great
spoile. The Duke himselfe with some 5 Regiments gott over the bridge, which being narrow
many were drowned. But the residue, the bridge being thrown downe, were partly drowned
in the saltpitts & muddie ditches which they could not swim; partly slayne by the Enimie. 41
And * had * not the Irish in time made hast 135
to take the bridge, the French had pursued the Duke & those Regiments
with him. The Irish behaved themselves most valiantly & there dyed
some 3 or 400 of them in defence of that passage. 42 After this the
Duke desired quarter to view the slayne & burie them. 43 There
dyed at the last act of this tragedie betweene 2 or 3000 men.
& they say this Enterprise hath cost us first & last by one means
or other the lives of 7000 men: for the bloudie Flix had bin
very rife amongst them. 44 It is thought, if my Lord of Holland had come
with his supplyes in time, this calamitous losse had in likelyhood beene
prevented, & fallen upon our Enimies. & it was sayd in the beginning
of the week, when the Duke on Sunday had cleered himselfe before the
King & Counsell, that it would fall heavy upon the Earle, 45 but it is
now againe affirmed, he will excuse it well enough, by reason he was
detained for want of winds & twice, after he was sett out, driven
back by tempest; though yet sayd by some he stayd at the first

40 I have not traced Rich's words.
41 For this see PRO SP16/84/78 [folio 109r-v]; Herbert, pp. 237–38, 241–42; above, p. 931 n. 5, and the
Textual Note to lines 130–35 below.
42 According to PRO SP1685/94 [folios 156v–57r] the losses sustained by the two Irish regiments were
even greater than reported here: of 1,650 men paid at Rhé on 22 October only 581 returned to England. See
also SP16/84/92 [folio 135r].
43 For Buckingham's request for the bodies of the dead see Herbert, p. 266; CSPV 1626–28, p. 475.
44 Reports that illness was rife in the besieging army had reached England over the previous weeks: see, for
instance, John Beaulieu's newsletters of 19 September and 7 November, BL Harleian 7010, folios 36v, 48r.
45 The Earl of Clare wrote on 7 December that Holland had been blamed for not sailing to Rhé earlier;
Hollis, ii. 375; see also above, p. 932 n. 6. For Buckingham's appearance before the Privy Council see n. 1
above.
longer then he need have done, upon his owne buisines, as selling some 30 guards places for which he is to receive £6000. But what need we seek for causes: certainly God is angry with us and refused to help us.

There was one Master Pine a Lawyier of Lyncolnes Inne committed, for speaking some wordes implying there must needs have bin some defect in the cheife managers of this Enterprise. He is since bailed, but with very great baile; 4 Knights being bound for him in bonds of £2000 apeece. Tis doubted how he will speed, & whether his speeches, (whatsoever they were) will not be tryed if they may be made capitall.

The Gentlemens Counsell for Habeas Corpus, Master Noy, Sergeant Bramston, Master Selden, & Master Colthrop pleaded yesterday with wonderfull applause, even of shouting, & clapping of hands, which is unusuall in that place.

Textual Notes: line 15] farre greater leesse MS.
line 43, when altered from "where".
line 47, of] used as a catchword at the foot of folio 322r.
line 59] prisoners, there shall should MS.
line 64] beds, were thrown out MS.
line 119] following, eame (when by MS.
line 122] many, sent a challenge defyance MS.
lines 130–35, When...made hast] this passage in a smaller script was written on a piece of paper attached to the letter in the margin, numbered “323x” in the last ordering of the leaves and glued by Mead to his letter to replace the existing text, which reads as follows:
“day. When (the) Army was defeated, the Duke himselfe with some 5 Regiments {ma)rched over a bridge into another part of the Iland neerer

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46 For the severe storms that had kept Holland in port see above, p. 922 n. 14. Mead’s source proved more accurate than the Earl of Clare (see note above) as no action was taken against Holland.

47 A sentiment echoed by Stuteville in his letter to Sir Simonds D’Ewes of 25 November; H383, folio 49r.

48 The appearance of Hugh Pyne, a Somersetshire lawyer, before the Privy Council and finally Star Chamber on a charge of high treason was prompted by his local adversary John Poullest; Cust, F. L., pp. 189, 192–93.

49 For the defence counsels’ pleading on Thursday 22 November see n. 9 above.
our Ships; but the bridge being narrow many of them were drowned in
the River: the residue that were behind were drowned in the Saltpits
or putt to the sword by the Enemy; and had not the Irish made hast”.
The revised account is an expanded version of this passage; Mead used a
separate piece of paper on realising that the omitted text was too long to be
interlined. The last word of line 129, “day”, had to be added after the revision as
it was the first word of the replaced passage; part of the word was written on
H390, folio 323r, part on “323x”.
lines 136–39, to...There| in the left hand margin Mead added a dotted line
next to this passage. I do not understand why and have omitted it. This line
was written before the revision, and is present underneath “323x” next to the
last two lines of the replaced text, “the River...hast”.
line 136, French| Mead added an asterisk to this word directing Sir Martin to
another written in the margin; if he intended to add a note here he did not do so.
Sir,

8 December 1627

I received yours with 18d for the book & 6d the Catalogue, but I make him take 4d & so have 2d good.\(^1\)

For our coming to Dalham I cannot yet contradict the time you appoint. If otherwise you shall heare of it in time. But now I consider of it I see I cannot alter it, seing the Coach must have 2 dayes, unlesse I come sooner, which is not like. Let that therefore be the time & weel make our selves ready accordingly.\(^2\)

I shall send you now, with other newes, a particular Relation of our Defeat at Re by an eyewitnes. Where you shall rind the cause of all our disaster to have bin, our overdaring delay in marching that we might not seeme to fly; whereas otherwise, (they say) we might have bin out of danger, before the French could have overtaken us.\(^3\)

Sir Charles Rich & other experienced Commanders are sayd to have mightily dissawed our stay at the Hilles, but somebody called them Cowards for their paines, notwithstanding the reasons they allledged, which fell out at length accordingly. But when their advise was imputed to cowardise, they answered, they would shew them= selves to be no cowards, & so did, every one of them (as they say) loosing their lifes in that which happened.\(^4\)

We talk here of a great Presse of 20 or 30 thousand men to be ready against the Spring, & of the 10th part of every

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\(^{1}\) The book was STC 17751, Roger Manwaring’s sermon; see above, p.945 n. 8. The “Catalogue” was the list of the Rhé casualties and prisoners, pp.946-92 above.

\(^{2}\) Mead needed a coach to carry him to Dalham because he had Justinian Isham and probably John Pagitt with him; see above, p.926 lines 132-37. Mead usually decided when to leave Christ’s College, but on this occasion Stuteville fixed a date (Saturday 22 December; see below, p.975 lines 122-23).

\(^{3}\) For this see below, pp.975-97. It was perhaps the fourth occasion on which the retreating army made a stand, which was condemned by Herbert (p. 236).

\(^{4}\) The “somebody” of line 17 probably referred to Buckingham, although I have not traced this incident.
mans estate to be levied for maintaining them &c.\textsuperscript{5}

Here is also a talk, That the Isle of Germsey is taken by the French, which is a remainder of our Dutchy of Norman=
die &c.\textsuperscript{6}

We have an odd piece of newes also new come, about some Devilish practise of Doctor Lamb, as to have tempted & prevailed with some Westminster Schollers to teach them to conjure, & ac=
cordingly to goe to Tuttle feilds & raise the Devill, & make a contract with him as they did &c. But it is diversly told & strangely, & therefore, we expect, what this day will bring.\textsuperscript{7}

We heare nothing certaine of the King of Denmark, but that he is at Elsenore in his Castle,\textsuperscript{8} That the Imperialls are gone a 100 miles beyond Hambrough in his dominions,\textsuperscript{9} & sayd his Subjects will submit themselves to the Emperor, accusing their King of Tyranie & grievous exactions, & upbraiding his miserie & himselfe in the meane time lyes drinking as senselesse thereof as unable to help himselfe.\textsuperscript{10} Some say he hath sent his 2 Sons to the Prince of Orenge, but with what message & speech I shall tell you at Dalham. But I had rather a wheale were

\textsuperscript{5} As soon as the expeditionary force had returned from Rhé preparations for the relief of La Rochelle in the following year began; Lockyer, pp. 404, 406. Contarini, however, had reported on 22 November/2 December that "nothing will happen unless they obtain money"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 498.

\textsuperscript{6} Although I have not traced this rumour see above, p. 452 n. 33.

\textsuperscript{7} Although I have not traced this incident, the lines from the Staple of News, First Intermean, 46–48 ("he [Jonson] kept school upo' the stage, could conjure there, above the School of Westminster and Doctor Lamb too. Not a play he made but had a devil in it" must refer to either this or a similar incident. Lamb's notorious reputation was widely known: see above, p. 945 n. 6.

\textsuperscript{8} I have not traced this report. Sir Robert Anstruther had noted that Christian was on the island of Funen (modern Fyn) in his dispatches of 9/19 and 12/22 October; PRO SP75/8/folios 345r, 349r; see also ibid., folio 384r.

\textsuperscript{9} By the end of 1627 Imperial forces had occupied the entire Jutland peninsula; Parker, TYW, p. 79; Wedgwood, p. 229.

\textsuperscript{10} For this rumour concerning Christian see above, p. 939 n. 10. His drinking capacity was legendary; Parker, TYW, plate 24b (facing p. 117). Shakespeare was referring to the Danish reputation for alcoholic excess (and probably Christian's in particular) in the passage beginning "The King doth wake tonight", Hamlet, ed. H. Jenkins (1982; 1984 edn.), I. iv. 8–22; see also ibid., pp. 447–48.
on his tongue then he should be a prophet.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady

I rest & am Yours most ready to be

Christ's Colledg commanded Joseph Mead.

December 8.

It is sayd, Windsore Castle is a fortifying &

Ordinance carryed thither from the Tower.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Textual Notes:} lines 4-5 have 2\textsuperscript{d} good. But I understand that which follows in your letter for you say, you shall herein For our MS.

line 30 tempted & prevailed & MS.

line 39, upbrayding] altered from “upbrayed”.

lines 49–50, It...Tower] a continuation in the margin.

\textsuperscript{11} Although I have not identified this message (if it existed) it probably reflected harshly on Charles: Mead did not, therefore, commit it to paper. Christian blamed Charles for the defeat of the Danish army due to the non-appearance of the subsidies promised by the Treaty of the Hague in 1625; Beller, ‘Sir Charles Morgan’, p. 532. A “wheale” (line 43) is a “pimple, pustule” (\textit{OED}, “wheat”; \textit{sb'}, 1s).

\textsuperscript{12} I have not traced this rumour.
On Monday last, Master Attorney answered those 4 that pleaded in the behalfe of the committed gentlemen: & on Tuesday my Lord Cheife-Justice in the name of the whole Bench gave sentence against them without hearing any reply: the Gentlemen having (as they say) reserved their maine forces for the Rer. His Lordship (as I heard related) sayd those gentlemen had taken an undue course in petitioning first to the Judges, whereas they ought of right to have put up a petition unto the King; whereupon if his Majestie had not released them, then they must. Besides he sayd, that none of the Precedents alledged by those 4 pleaders did fit the case of the Gentlemen their Clyents; because in every of those Precedents there was the cause of the parties imprisonment expressed in the warrant; whereas in the last warrant from the Lords for Commission of these gentlemen, no cause was mentioned, save onely his Majesties speciall command. Whereby it seemes, that a man committed for some cause express though a great one, may be baylable; but if the cause be unexpress he shall be unbaylable: whereof the Judges gave this reason, that where the cause of imprisonment was not specifyed, it might be so great & of such qualitie as not fitt to be divulged nor for them to meddle with.

His Lordship sayd moreover, that the Precedents alledged by the Pleaders were brought in by halves, as if they had uttered that onely which was for them, but concealed the rest. In breife the gentlemen are remanded to prison & there like to lye by it.

1 For Heath's legal arguments of Monday 26 November and the Judges' resolution of the following day see above, p. 446 n. 5; p. 447 n. 10.

2 As Guy has commented, in this case "the cards were stacked wholly in favour of the Crown, provided substantive charges were never filed against the prisoners, and provided Charles and the privy council stuck to per speciale mandatum domini regis ["by his Majesty's special commandment"] as the form of their return to any future writ" and that "the judges could in law know only what was certified to them by way of return to a writ of habeas corpus...If Chief Justice Hyde and his colleagues had allowed themselves to 'know' what everyone else in London knew in 1627, namely that the five knights were in prison for
Master Pines trouble, they say, is wrought by my Lord Pawlett son to the Marques; & the witnesses produced against him, One to be a Blacksmith, whose Alehouse he had heretofore putt downe, another a Glassier whom for deboishednes he had bound to his good behaviour. These accuse Master Pine of words spoken at his Table some 2 yeares since, concerning the King; which notwithstanding the Judges (we heare) are of opinion, can not touch his life, & that he shalbe brought onely to answere it in the Starrechamber ore tenus. He was first committted to his chamber in Lyncolnes Inne; then to the Gatehouse, & now lastly to the Kings Bench. He is a man of great Estate, £2000 per annum at the least.

Our Diocesan against Sunday was sennight by his Pursevant Tomlins prohibited the Clergie of the City to speak ought, that any way concerned what hath befallen in the buisines of Ree: And an Oxford man, who that day preached at the Crosse, had his Sermon perused & castrated before he came there.

My Lord of Carlile is preparing to go Ambassador some say, to the Electoral Diet of the Germane Princes at Mulhyusen; others say to Savoy & thence to Venice, & as some imagine, to borrow some great some of refusing to lend money to the Crown, they would have allowed bail without prejudice to the issue. But this was inadmissable"; 'Origins', pp. 293 n. 15, 294. The use by the Crown of this legal loophole became the subject of extensive debate in the next session of Parliament; ibid., pp. 296–311.

3 Mead's source was mistaken. Hugh Pyne's adversary was John Poulett, who had been created Baron Poulett of Hinton St. George on 23 June 1627, not John Paulet, son of William the 4th Marquis of Winchester; GEC, x. 615–16; xii (pt. 2). 765–67; above, p. 459 n. 48.

4 Richard Collyer, William Collyer and George Morley later petitioned the Privy Council for payment in regard of costs incurred while staying in London during Pyne's case. They were perhaps those mentioned in this report; APC Sep. 1627–Jan. 1628, p. 303; CSPD 1627–28, p. 567.

5 On 8 December the Judges decided that although Pyne's words were not themselves treasonable they provided evidence of the offence; PRO SP16/86/37 [folio 50r], 38 [folio 52r].

6 Although I have not identified the incident in lines 36–38, on 22 November/2 December Salvetti reported that preachers had been banned from alluding either to Buckingham or the retreat from Rhé; HMC Skrine, p. 133. Tomlins was the pursuivant of "Our Diocesan", George Montaigne Bishop of London; Rushworth, i. Nnnlv.
mony of that Signory. Others guesse some other reason, of his imployment.\footnote{None of these suggestions were correct. Carlisle had been selected to go as an Ambassador to Lorraine and Savoy; Schreiber, The First Carlisle, p. 103; Lockyer, p. 406. Contarini had heard rumours of this as long before as August; CSPV 1626–28, p. 343. For the Electoral Diet at Mühlhausen see above, p. 425 n. 29.}

Yesterday was an order made in the Star chamber, that Sir Thomas Jenkenson of Suffolk should have fetters put upon him, because he refuseth to pay a fine lately imposed upon him by that Court.\footnote{Although I have not traced this order, Sir Thomas Jenkinson and Sir John Rous had been convicted of illegally causing two women to be whipped and fined £200 each in Star Chamber. Jenkenson was fined an additional £200 for attempting to pervert the course of justice and removed from the Commission of the Peace; British Library, Lansdowne MS 620, folios 60v–61r; Sharpe, P. R., p. 674.}

We heare that ours, which the French lately took prisoners, my lord Montjoy & the rest, were compelled to march like slaves with a noyse of bagpipes before them in scorne, & that they were made to trayle our English Colours taken at the defeat, after them.\footnote{Contarini reported on 4/14 December that because of the alleged mistreatment of those captured by the French, the English had delayed sending their own prisoners back; CSPV 1626–28, p. 522. This rumour appears to have been untrue, however; see below, p. 471 n. 9.}

Another London. ditto

On Monday Master Attomey pleaded against the Gentlemens Habeas corpus. His plea was both from Precedents, & an old Statute which makes exception of men imprisoned either by the Kings owne command or the Counsell without any speciall reason (cause) mentioned: & that the King as being sworn to the Lawes, & therefore supposed he will not commit any man against law, need not express the cause of the imprisonment, because it may be such as not fitt to be divulged.\footnote{See n. 2 above. Guy has noted that as the case stood the Judges could not have bailed the four prisoners, “not least because to have done so in a case of detention per speciale mandatum domini regis would have been to have judged the imprisonment ‘a wrong done by the King’”; ‘Origina’, p. 293 n. 15.}

Master Noy would have answered it presently, but was not permitted; none being to reply the same day to any thing spoken by the Kings Attomey. In the afternoon noone the Judges & both Counsells mett to view such records out of the Tower as were alledd.\footnote{I have not traced this incident.} The next day sentence was given upon the Attomeys allegation against the Gentlemen, & they thereupon re=
imprisoned. And it had bin better, (say some), they had never stirred; for by this meanes, his Majestie knowes his strength better then he did.

Yesterday being Thursday was my Lady Purbecks case handled at large in the High Commission, which lasted from 2 of the clock till after eight. It was held in the Bishop of Londons house, & some extraordinary Commissioners joyned with them, viz my Lord Keeper, Lord President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlaine. For the Lady pleaded Doctor Gwyn & Doctor Zouch; Against her were Doctor Reeves, Doctor Ducks, & Doctor Eden, who urged strong presumptions; as 1. That she came to Doctor Lambs chamber (Sir Robert Howard being there) in the habitt of a mayd-servant with a basket on hir arme & provision in it for their supper; That they were both together upon the bed, & that Lamb drew the Curtain & locked them in. 2. That at Ware they lay in the same Inne, & had their Chambers nere together. 3. That Sir Robert Howard came oft unto her at evenings crossing the water to Yorkhouse, there being a private & secret passage to hir Chamber; & that he was seene

12 For this see above, p. n. 5; p. n. 10.
13 Frances (second daughter of Sir Edward Coke the juris) had been married to John Villiers, elder brother of the Duke of Buckingham in 1617. Due largely to her husband's increasing fits of madness Frances separated from him in 1621 and entered into an adulterous relationship with Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk. She gave birth to a son in 1625 which was widely rumoured to be Howard's, was summoned before High Commission and ordered to do penance (she was not, however, divorced from her husband). The report in lines 65-88 was of the second High Commission case against her; Lockyer, pp. 42-44, 116-17, 285-86.
14 The Court of High Commission 'was a standing royal commission 'for causes ecclesiastical', which included the whole Privy Council, all the Judges, all the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons of the Province of Canterbury, several of the most eminent civil lawyers, and a number of other important peers and gentry some of whom were not central office-holders...its work was concerned with sexual and ecclesiastical offences, and with clerical discipline''; Aylmer, pp. 51-52; see also Sharpe, P. R., pp. 374-83, especially 379-80. For a list of the eighteen commissioners present (including Dr. John Donne) on Thursday 29 November see PRO SP16/85/68 [folio 125r].
15 Lady Purbeck's counsel were Thomas Gwyn, D. C. L. (Oxon.) 1607/08, Advocate of Doctor's Commons, and Richard Zouche, D. C. L. (Oxon.) 1619, Principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford and Regius Professor of Civil Law at that University 1620-61; Foster, pp. 625, 1706.
16 The prosecuting counsel were Thomas Ryves (or Rivers), D. C. L. (Oxon.) 1610, Advocate-General; Arthur Ducke, D. C. L. (Oxon.) 1612, Chancellor of the Diocese of London 1627-37, and Thomas Eden, LL. D. (Cantab.) 1614, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Foster, pp. 427, 1296; Venn, ii. 84.
often coming away very timely in the morning. Her answere was that those who accused her were hir swome Enimies, & such as had threa=80
tened her a mischeife; that the former Lord Keeper had urged some a gainst their consciences to accuse her, threatening them otherwise to lye in chaines all their dayes &c. In fine Sir Henry Martin gave sentence, & upon the fornamed presumptions & allegations pronownced her guiltie of Adultery, & therefore condemned her to do pennisance in a white Sheet in the Savoy, to pay to the Court 500 marks, & to be imprisoned during the pleasure of that Court. To which it is like the rest agreed, my author coming away afore all had spoken.\(^{17}\)

Those 12 Dunkirk men of warre who pursued a Ship of ours, & were themselves pursued by the Hollanders, are now by contrary winds driven upon our coast at Shoreham in Sussex: The privie Counsell have lately sent to have them besett, & if it may be taken.\(^{18}\)

The last week came 4 Burgomasters of Rochell to our King to surrender unto him their Towne: what answere they have, is not yet known.\(^{19}\)

His Majestie is now selecting out 15,000 men, who shall lend him 1500 thousand pound.\(^{20}\)

There is yet one High Commission day appointed more, & thought that Master Prynne the Lawyier (who wrot against Montague) shalbe then censured, unlesse it deferred till the next Term.\(^{21}\)

\(^{17}\) For this sentence passed on Purbeck (who, however, disappeared before it could be carried out) see PRO SP16/85/68 [folio 125r]; Holles, ii. 375. Five hundred marks was £333 6s. 8d.: Sir Robert Howard was, however, eventually fined £3,000; Sharpe, P. R., p. 382.

\(^{18}\) This fleet of Dunkirkers that had put to sea some weeks earlier (for which see above, p. 96\(n\) n. 4; p. 92\(n\) n. 20) had chased a Dutch ship ashore at Hastings and represented a considerable threat to shipping in the Channel; PRO SP16/84/70 [folio 97r]. For the shipwreck of five of them and attempts to capture the remainder see SP16/86/7 [folio 10r]; CSPV 1626–28, p. 522.

\(^{19}\) Only three deputies from La Rochelle (David, Vincent and Dehuisse), accompanied by Soubise, came to London; PRO SP78/82/folios 159r–v, 179r. They requested aid for their city (especially provisions) but did not submit La Rochelle to the English as reported here; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 497 and note, 521–22; HMC Skrine, p. 133.

\(^{20}\) Although this rumour proved false most Council business at this time was concerned with how to raise money. For the “desperate financial plight” in which the Crown found itself at the end of 1627 see Cust, F. L., pp. 75–76 (quotation from p. 75); CSPV 1626–28, p. 530.

\(^{21}\) The book referred to in line 98 is STC 20741, The perpetuïcie of a regenerate mans estate, published in 1626 and again in an enlarged edition, STC 20472, in 1627 (Stuteville possessed the first edition; see
My Lord Mayor hath twice of late visited Duke Humphreys house, whence this day sennight he carried 10 queanes to Bridewell. A cobler was found between 2 in one bed, & was carryed with them for company. On Wednesday his Lordship took there a Citizens wife of great note, & carryed her also to the House of Correction, whence his Husband next day fetched her.

The last week in Saint Nicolas--Shambles, a Carman having driven his Cart over a sheep that some Butchers were dryving before him, the Butchers set all upon him; with whom at the first he made his part good; but at length a Butchers boy creeping betwene the Carman's legs, took him by the members & in such manner pulled & rubbed them, that the Carman cryed out Murder, Murder, & presently after dyed.

Some 3 of the butchers are taken & tis sayd & hoped they shalbe hanged.

The boy cannot be taken.

There is yet more preparation for warre; both Ships pressing & great store of meat & bisket providing.

Another.

The Earle of Holland is commanded to stay at Portsmouth with the Fleet & all the Captaines.

a: Yet some say, he thrust something up into his body thereabouts.

Appendix. Line 97 refers to the calendar under which the High Commission, all the other ecclesiastical courts and those that used the civil law operated; these courts had a set number of Law days and appearance days on which business was conducted, based on the cycle of saints' days that had dominated pre-Reformation religious practice. For this see Cressy, Bonfire and Bells, pp. 10-11 (a full list of "appearance days" is given on p. 10).

22 I have not traced this incident.

23 This is also untraced; line 113 presumably meant that the boy had escaped rather than that he was too young to hang.

24 For these renewed military preparations see above, p. 157 n. 5.

25 I have not traced this order.
Secretary Cook is in some disgrace for neglecting to hasten the supplyes which should have bin sent to Saint Martins. So is Sir Sackville Crow for writing the first newes of our overthrow, in too free a manner; he being then at Portsmouth.

**Textual Notes:**
- line 8 put up a their petition MS.
- H390, folios 326v, 327r both dated in error “3 November 1627” by the “annotator”.
- lines 76-77, Howard came oft Howard came oft MS.
- line 109 a Butchers by boy MS.

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26 It had already been rumoured that Coke and Holland would be blamed for the failure of supplies to reach Rhé; see above, p. 912 n. 6.

27 In answer to Crow’s letter (for which see above, p. 946 n. 5) Secretary Conway had written “Complaintes will neither profit you nor mee”; PRO SP16/84/67 [folio 94r]. Crow had written from Plymouth, not as reported here.
A Relation of the manner of the defeat of our men in the Isle of Ree.

1627

On Monday the 29th of October in the morning, our whole Army came to Saint Martins, except those 300 which were sent to guard the Bridge, over which we were to retreat unto the Isle of Loose.\(^1\) But before we could be ready to march away, came intelligence to my Lord Duke, that the Enemy was marching from the little Fort\(^2\) whereupon command was given, that we should march away with all expedition that might be. But before we were out of the Towne, many of the Enemy came out of the Fort, & followed the Rear of us with their swords drawne, in a bravado, calling & hollowing unto us. Whereupon being musketshott out of the Towne, we were all drawn into Battalia,\(^3\) thinking the Enemy would have sett upon us; for they had 300 Horse & above 3000 foot, which were within halfe a mile of us. But for the present they would advance no nearer us; we therefore all turned faces about, & advanced somewhat towards them, which they seeing somewhat made a stand. Then Sir William Coningham & Sir Alexander Brett with some other of our Commanders shouted out & waved their hats, flourished their Swords & called to the Enemy to come on: but they having a further project would not then stire.\(^4\)

Then we turned faces againe, & marched through a village; where behind the wallis & close places we layd some of our musquetiers in ambuscado: Now the Enemy advanced forward, thinking to have mar\(c\)hed that way: but their horses approaching nere to our Ambuscado's, our Musquetiers gave fire upon them, which caused them to retreyt, & march another way.\(^5\) We had not marched above 3 miles further.

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\(^1\) The Île de Loix; see above, p. 411 n. 5.

\(^2\) The fort de la Prée; see above, p. 429 n. 1.

\(^3\) "Order of battle, battle array; disposition or arrangement of troops" (OED, "battalia", 1).

\(^4\) This was probably the "defyance" mentioned in an earlier report; see above, p. 451 n. 31.

\(^5\) The retreating army passed through the hamlet of La Courarde at about 3pm on 29 October/8 November, where Buckingham ordered a detachment of muskeeters to cover the English rearguard; Herbert, p. 235; Lockyer, p. 401; PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 109r].
but we came to many little Hilles, which we marched up, & underneath sett our selves in Battalia, staying there one houre, before we began to march againe forward.\(^6\) In the meane time, the Enimie, which were about a mile & halfe off, came almost up to us, & stood upon the tops of the Hills, to view after what manner we marched & which way.\(^7\)

Then were drawne forth of the forlorne hope some musquetiers to shoot at those upon the Hills & to play upon their horses. But as we marched away, they still approached nearer upon us, at what time the passage was so narrow, having saltpitts on each side, that we could not march above 5 or 6 a breast. The Enimie now seeing his opportunity powred forth a great volley of shott upon us.\(^8\) Then was command given to march away as fast as possibly we could; for untill this time we had delayed & overslipt time, as being too confident, that the Enimy durst not meddle with us: But as our Rere began to march away, their horse soone charged my Lord Monjoys troupes, which presently retrayed giving fire over their Shoulders, & rode in amongst our Ranks, & rowted us so, that the most part began to shift for themselves, & confusely ran away; Many of them casting away their armes, othersome running into the water were cutt off.\(^9\) Our feild peices were not in the bataile.\(^9\) The other divisions of the Horse fell upon Sir William Coningham’s troopes; but they most bravely fought it out unto the last man: had my Lord Montjoy done the like, we could not questionles have lost one quarter so many of our men.\(^11\) In this time we could not charge the Enimie, because our owne Horse were betwixt us &

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\(^6\) This was the "overdaring delay in marching" which the Duke’s colonels attempted to prevent; see above, p. 952 n. 38; p. 956 n. 3.

\(^7\) For the French decision to attack at the most "advantagious" place see above, p. 451 n. 32.

\(^8\) The causeway over which Buckingham’s army had to march to reach its embarkation point was only four feet wide with salt marshes on each side: once the army was on this passage "500 or thereabout of th’enemys musketiers...gave fire unexpected" and threw the rearguard into confusion; PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 109r]; Lockyer, p. 401.

\(^9\) For the disorder of the English cavalry see above, p. 917 n. 9; p. 944 n. 3.

\(^10\) Apart from four small cannon they had already been put on board the fleet; see above, p. 915 n. 4; p. 935 n. 18.

\(^11\) One account of the battle reported that while all of Cunninghams cavalry were killed in action, "the moste parte" of Mountjoy’s also fell in defence of the causeway; PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 109r-v]. Mountjoy was, however, widely held responsible for the disaster; see above, p. 963 [folio 10-16].
them, & they fell on with them, both horse & foot so close, that we had no time to give fire on them, if we had durst for shooting our owne men. So all those Regiments that were in the Reare were cutt off, & some of those that were in the battaile, & the Enimie still came on charging even unto the Bridge; where some Commanders made a stand, thinking that the soildiers would have done the like: but they being disanimated, chose many of them rather to commit themselves to the mercy of the water, then to turne upon the Enimie; whereby most of those commanders being not seconded were slayne. And had not Sir Edward Conways Regiment which marched in the Van, marched back againe to the Bridge, the Enimie had absolutely slayne us all: for they were once gotten over the Bridge; but this Regiment coming beate them back againe & made them confusedly to run away.

Then was left certaine Musquetiers, of every company to guard the Bridge: the rest went to Loose, many to the water side thinking to find boats to carry them on Board; but my Lord Duke had bin there before, & given strait command on paine of death, that no Saylor should carry any aboard untill the next morning that they should have order about 10 a clock. The same night our men sett fire on the bridge, which being burnt downe, they came all away, leaving many a hurt man behind them; which doubtlesse had they

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12 The same eyewitness stated that the English musketeers could not fire on the French “without endangering our owne men” because of the confusion on the causeway; ibid., folio 109v.

13 The French army’s advance onto the causeway led to panic in the English ranks, who fought each other in an attempt to reach safety, many falling into the salt marshes and drowning in the confusion; PRO SP16/84/24 (folio 109v); Herbert, pp. 243-46; Lockyer, p. 401. “Disanimated” (line 58) means “deprive(d) of spirit, courage or vigour” (OED, “disanimate”, 2).

14 The French army, having overrun the English rearguard, crossed the causeway and reached the Île de Loix; Buckingham, however, had ordered those regiments that had already passed over the causeway to turn about and face the French, who were driven back, “many of them being put to the sword”; PRO SP16/84/24 (folio 110r); Herbert, pp. 247-53.

15 During the battle the Duke had ordered all the small boats moored off the Île de Loix to return to their ships, to prevent an attempt to escape by sea while the French were advancing across the causeway. After the gathering darkness had ended the engagement the remaining English and Irish soldiers remained on Loix while a detachment guarded the causeway; PRO SP16/84/24 (folio 110r); Herbert, p. 262; Lockyer, p. 401.
bin brought off & well looked unto, they might have recovered againe.\textsuperscript{16}

This night, my Lord Duke went a shipboard, & on the morrow came a shore againe.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{Textual Note:} line 30, march\textsuperscript{1}} marched M S.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} The burning of the causeway \emph{after} the battle had ended probably led to the rumour that the Duke had done this \emph{during} the engagement; see above, p. 931 n. 5. It was done to prevent the French attacking again; PRO SP16/84/24 [folio 110r].
\item \textsuperscript{17} Buckingham and the fleet remained off the Île de Rhé for several days after the battle debating what to do next, eventually deciding to return to England; Lockyer, pp. 401–02.
\end{itemize}
Sir/

Having had little leisure all this week & not much now; I must contrive the contents of 5 several letters into one relation for brevity sake, which is this.

On Thursday last week (December 6) the Common Counsell of London concluded the Cittie should lend his Majestie forthwith 120 thousand pounds; for which & other debts formerly due, they should have 21 thousand pound annual rent of the Kings land really put into their hands. The East-Indy Company have already lent £30,000. All which together makes £150,000.1

The Kings Ships at Portsmouth & Plimmouth were in great danger of Shipwrack by the last stormes; so that some sayd the Rainbow & Bonadventure were both cast away. But it is true that the Rainbow hath sprung so many leakes, that it is a question whether she will ever be serviceable againe. She is 62 yeares old. The Bonadventure they say is recoverable.2 But there were 5 Dunkirkers lusty Ships cast away not farre of them.

Namely of those which were of late in Pembsey road, the rest are hemmed in by the English & Hollander.3 Others say some merchants ships of our late Fleet perished also.4 But there was newes of 30

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1 The City of London agreed to lend the Crown £120,000 in return for substantial proportion of Charles's lands. They were placed in the hands of trustees for the City and sold off to repay the debt; Ashton, The City and the Court, p. 180; PRO SP16/86/97 (folios 139r-40r). I have not traced the loan from the East India Company.

2 In a severe storm that struck Plymouth on Monday 26 November many of the ships newly returned from Rhé were badly damaged. Lord Denbigh, writing to Buckingham, thought the Rainbow and Bonadventure were lost, although Sir James Bagg suggested both ships could be saved; PRO SP16/85/57 [folio 107r], 61 [folio 112v]. A list of the ships damaged in the storm indicates that these two vessels were thought to be recoverable: they were refloated in January 1627/28; SP16/85/91 (1) [folio 114r]; SP16/90/62 [folio 83r].

3 On 18/28 December Salvesti noted the loss of four Dunkirkers; HMC Skrine, p. 136. See also above, p. 943 n. 18.

4 Five merchantmen were lost according to Contarini, CSPV 1626–28, p. 531.
or 40 Spanyards driven upon the Coast of Ireland.\(^5\)

On Tuesday last week Sir John Savill of Yorkshire was made Controller of the King's household.\(^6\)

The French King hath freely sent all our English prisoners as a present to the Queen, without ransom & their charges defrayed to Calais.\(^7\) He told my Lord Montjoy when he offered a round summe for his ransom, that he should pay no money, but should onely send him out of England 2 couple of hounds.\(^8\) Yet it was sayd, they stopped at Calais, because the French King would not admit the French prisoners taken by the Duke to come home in the like manner freed & defrayed by us, but would have them stay till they had payed their ransomes. And that therefore our King would have his at Calais to undergo the like.\(^9\) Some say the French King & Queen mother have written to the Queene that they will give admittance to an Ambassador to go from hence thither to treat of peace, & give hopes of a surer & better peace then ever.\(^10\)

And it is indeed sayd they have opened de novo Calais to our English trade, in æmulation perhaps of Dunkirk, where & in all parts of Flanders the Archduchess permittes the English freely to trade, such as do first obtaine hir passe: And some say who trade there, they are kindler used then any of our Nation hath formerly bin.\(^11\)

Master Walter Montague son to my Lord President is now prisoner in the Bastille at Paris. He was the second time sent of some

\(^5\) I have not traced this rumour.

\(^6\) Savile had petitioned for this post as soon as the previous incumbent Sir John Suckling had died in March 1627. See above, p. 730 n. 18; Cust, F. L., p. 249.

\(^7\) For this see HMC Skrine, p. 136. Lord Mountjoy and the other prisoners landed at Dover on 13 December; PRO SP16/86/76 (folio 110r).

\(^8\) Louis reportedly winted four hunting dogs from Henrietta in return for sending the English prisoners home; CSPV 1626–28, p. 497; see also Holles, ii. 374.

\(^9\) This rumour was false; see n. 7 above. Mountjoy and the other English prisoners were "loud in praise of the good treatment" they had had in France; CSPV 1626–28, p. 544; see also HMC Skrine, p. 136.

\(^10\) Although I have not traced this letter, it was reported from Paris on 28 November/8 December that the French were "eager for peace with England, and the queen mother is excellently disposed"; CSPV 1626–28, p. 509. England and France did not, however, reach a peace agreement until April 1629.

\(^11\) For attempts to restore trade links between England and Flanders see above, p. 424 n. 18.
important message to the Duke of Savoy,\(^{12}\) & in his returne though he touched no part of France was by a troop of French horse fetcht off, either as he passed through La Frenche Conte or through Lorraine.\(^{13}\) And this is the reason why the Earle of Carliles journey (who else within 8 dayes should have gone Ambassador to the Duke of Savoy & State of Venice) is a while stayed, either in regard some lettres have bin taken from Master Montague & thereby secrets discovered, or because the French will lay for him also.\(^{14}\)

The massacre sayd to have bin at Lyons was not, yet should have bin, but that the King hearing of it forbad it.\(^{15}\)

It was a common report in London, that the Spanyards had taken the Burmuda’s, & 1500 of our English there slayne: but the merchants at the Exchange gave little credit to it, saying it was a thing almost impossible. I pray God it be not. We had 2 lettres which mentioned it.\(^{16}\)

There is no hope of a Parlament, notwithstanding the Duke, (as three of the bedchamber then present report) was lately twise upon his knees before the King for that end; saying that if himselfe were found worthie of death, let them not spare

\(^{12}\) Walter Montagu had travelled to Savoy in March, returning in July; see above, p. 695 n. 13; p.\(942\) n. 13. He went on a second mission to Turin almost immediately in an attempt to persuade the Dukes of Savoy and Lorraine to join the English and the Huguenots in an anti-French alliance; Lockyer, pp. 385, 395.

\(^{13}\) Montagu’s arrest had been reported on 14/24 November from Paris; CSPV 1626–28, p. 488. After an initial refusal by the Duke of Lorraine to release him, Montagu was taken to Paris under heavy guard and arrived there on Tuesday 11/21 December, being imprisoned in the Bastille; ibid., p. 527.

\(^{14}\) As Montagu had been carrying secret documents detailing the proposed anti-French coalition between England, Savoy, Lorraine and the Huguenots, his seizure was a considerable coup for Richelieu and made any further attempts to organise such a coalition much more difficult; Lockyer, p. 406; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 510, 526, 529. Although lack of money was the main reason why Carlisle’s proposed embassy was delayed for months (he eventually left England in May 1628), there were widespread suspicions that Montagu’s arrest made his journey less likely; PRO SP16/87/8 [folio lOr–r]; CSPV 1626–28, pp. 531, 544; Schreiber, The First Carlisle, p. 104.

\(^{15}\) For this rumour see above, pp.\(944–90\) lines 65–67.

\(^{16}\) This rumour (as Mead hoped) proved false, although the Spanish attack on the English colony of St. Christopher & Nevis in 1629 showed that such fears were not without foundation; Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, p. 302.
him: His Grace is exceeding kind to all souldiers, heares all their complaints, & gives them full satisfaction. Sir Henry Sprey one of the Commanders in the Isle of Re since his returne is dead. His Lady being much joyed at his coming home, but seeing him dejected & not to answere her with the like gratulation, asked him how he did; to whom he answered, Though I am returned safe, yet my heart is broken, expressing great sorrow & compassion for those worthie Commanders who were slayne in his sight, & (as his modestie made him say) all farre superiour unto himselfe; & thus dyed within a day after.

The titular Doctor Lamb is committed to the Gatehouse about causing a Westminster Scholler to give himselfe to the Devill, of which & some others of his fellows drawne in by this to some like practise is much, but diverse reports &c.

Doctor Cragge the Kings Physitian is also committed about some words before his Majestie contradicting the Duke about the number slayne at the Isle De Re.

Master Pine of Lyncolnes Inne is still in hold, & likewise (I heare, sayth mine Author) a Groser Prentise is in Newgate about papers found about him of his owne hand writing of

17 Throughout December 1627 and January 1627/28 the Privy Council, aware of the pressing need for money, debated on whether to recall Parliament or whether to continue levying revenue in other ways. Different factions in Council pressed for their preferred solution: it was eventually decided, on 29 January 1627/28, to summon Parliament (although even then the decision was not uncontested); Cust, F. L., pp. 72–85; R. J. W. Swales, ‘The Ship Money Levy of 1628’, BIHR 50 (1977), 164–76. Buckingham’s kneeling in order to obtain a summons was widely reported and seen as an act designed for public consumption: a contemporary noted (after the recall of Parliament had been decided) that the Duke’s “importunitye was the greater in regard he was persuaded the Kinge would never agree to it”, quoted in Cust, F. L., p. 77.

18 The Earl of Clare reported Spry’s death, “unwilling to stay behynd his fellows”, on 7 December; Holles, ii. 374. Sir Henry had commanded one of the infantry regiments sent with the expedition (his second-in-command, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Tolkeme, was among the dead); PRO SP16/61/103 (folio 153r); above, p. 137 n. 7.

19 I have not traced Lamb’s committal; for an earlier report of the case see above, p. 137 n. 7.

20 Dr. John Craig’s expulsion from Court “for saying that his Majesty did not yet know the full tale of those who were slaine at the Isle of Rhe” was reported on 17/27 December; CSPV 1626–28, p. 530.
pretended Revelations of much evil to befall this State & King=
dome.21

Colonell Morgan & his men are in great distresse; Stoad, 90
wherein he is being straitly besieged. Captaine Fleetwood
hath written to his father Sir Moyles, that if speedy succour
come not, they cannot hold out.22

The King of Denmark is hunted up & downe & they
say by reason of his manifold troubles become like a distracted man.23
All the Land of Holst save 2 townes, Crempen & Luckstatt
is lost,24 & the Duke of Freidland marched 25 leagues into
Juitland the body of Denmarke finding little resistance after
he had taken a Fort or two, & the people fled into Norway
& some into Holland leaving their goods & possessions behind them
to the Enimy, the reason being because of the Extremite the
Imperialists use where they prevaile especially with maydens
& wives.25 The King himselfe is [on] the Iland of Funen by the
Soundt, though some say he is gone into Norway.26

The Emperor hath sent to Hambrough & some other
Hansownes to grant the Catholicks in them a toleration of
Religion; which is thought to be onely to pick an occasion to

21 For the proceedings against Pyne see above, p. 959 n. 48; p. 960 nn. 3–5.
22 The English forces at Stade faced extreme hardship in the winter of 1627–28 due to the lack of money for
food and clothing; Beller, pp. 533–54; see also the accounts in PRO SP75/8/folios 337r–v, 339r–v, 349v,
354r–v, 358r, 376r–79r, 393v, 401r–02v, 412r, 419v. “Captain Fleetwood” (line 89) was probably
George (son of Sir Miles Fleetwood, Receiver of the Court of Wards) who later became a general in the
Swedish army; DNB, vii. 266; Aylmer, pp. 353–54.
23 A newsletter from Germany had reported on October 18/28 that Christian was “in a great straight and
perplexitie” as a result of his defeat; PRO SPl01/29/folio 1r, although on 12/22 December Sir Robert
Anstruther noted (perhaps optimistically) that the King was in good health and spirits; SP75/8/folio 431r.
24 In September Christian had garrisoned his remaining strongholds Krempe, Stade and Glückstadt before
retreating in the face of Tilly and Wallenstein’s armies; Beller, p. 532. See also PRO SP75/8/folios 384r,
431r.
25 I have not traced the flight of the inhabitants, but the “Roving and pillage used in Jutland” was reported
in a newsletter of 9/19 November; ibid., folio 384r. Christian had reportedly burned villages in the region
to prevent the Imperialists getting provisions; ibid. folio 345r.
26 Reported by Sir Robert Anstruther; ibid., folios 345r, 349r.
fall foule with them.27

There hath bin some falling out lately (since the buisines of Re) betweene the French & the English in the Lowcountries, whereat the States are very much troubled, scarce knowing how to keep them [from] going together by the cares, by reason of the French insolencie upon our late defeat.28

Soubieze is here & some other Rochellors, but what answere they have, is not knowne.29

Some say many Protestants of the Isle of Re being banished are arrived on our Coast, & they of Germsey send their children hither &c.31

Thus in hast I rest with my best respect & am Christ's Colledge

December 15. Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph

Mead

We will (God willing) make our selves ready for Saturday morning to go to Dalham, if the Coach come &c.32

27 Although I have not traced this report, a newsletter from Germany dated 3 September had noted that Tilly had demanded that the city of Hamburg deliver up all its churches to the Catholics. A similar report had presumably reached Mead; PRO SP101/29/folio 1r. Attempts were, in fact, being made by the Imperialists at this time to persuade the Hanse towns to support the Emperor; SP75/8/folios 326v, 338r-v, 353r-v, 403r-04r and above, p. 110 n. 26.

28 On 7 December the Earl of Clare wrote to his son, who was in the United Provinces, that “We hear that the French among you grow very insolent since this Buckingsian expoyte at Re...; Holles, ii. 375.

29 For this delegation from La Rochelle see above, p. 120 n. 19.

30 I have not traced this rumour, but refugees from the Île de Rhé must have arrived in England at this time as letters patent were issued on 4 January 1627/28 (STC 8875) authorising a collection to assist them.

31 Stuteville had suggested a week earlier that Mead and his companions should come to Dalham on Saturday 22 December; see above, p. 125 n. 2.
Textual Notes: line 18] farre of them And-there-is MS.
line 21] ships of ^ our ^ the late Fleet MS.
lines 67–68, Isle of Re] Isle of of Re MS.
line 71] he did; to whom MS.
line 94] Crempen & Luckstatt are MS.
line 96] finding no little resistance MS.
line 110, from] for MS.
line 114] Isle of Re being being MS.
lines 121–26, We...&c] Mead's continuation in the margin.
Appendices
APPENDIX I: Mead's book purchases for Sir Martin Stuteville between January 1625/26 and December 1627

Table III below is a list of the books sent to Dalham by Mead between January 1625/26 and December 1627.\(^1\) It has recently been noted that his book purchases as recorded in Mead's correspondence "demonstrate a distinctive bent towards politics, law, history and exploration".\(^2\) In all probability, the same taste for current affairs that led Sir Martin to commission Mead's newsletters also produced a steady stream of newsbooks, lists of Statutes and other official publications sent from Cambridge to Dalham, together with a wide variety of polemical literature dealing with the important issues of the day.\(^3\) Sir Martin's taste for the last-named type of book is one of the more interesting points to emerge from a study of his purchases in the period under review: the furious controversy caused by the publication of Richard Montagu's *A gagg for the new goose* and *Appello Caesarem* in 1624-25 led not only to lengthy debate in the House of Commons but also to a considerable body of literature written to defend the perceived *status quo* of English Calvinist theology and the principles upheld by the Synod of Dort in 1619, condemning those "Arminian" tenets Montagu was believed to share.\(^4\) That Sir Martin purchased so much of this material (besides Montagu's three major works, he bought eight others refuting them) indicates considerable interest in the issue; I suspect he also shared the views of those members of the Commons who continually strove to bring Montagu to account.\(^5\) Some of Stuteville's surviving letters show an awareness of doctrinal arguments that must have made the texts dealing with the Montagu affair of particular interest: in later letters to Sir Simonds D'Ewes he was prepared to argue the difference between *transubstantiation* and *consubstantiation*; he correctly noted that the Lambeth Articles of 1595 were a direct result of a sermon preached in Cambridge by William Barrett and gave his opinion that "most of the tenets, which now march under the Mask of

\(^1\) For a fuller description of the material included in Table III see p. \(\ldots\) below.

\(^2\) McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: buying a Bible in 1630', p. 391. I would add printed newsbooks as a distinct category given the number Mead sent; for these see Appendix II below.

\(^3\) We recall that Stuteville himself had been a burgess (for Aldeburgh) in the Parliament of 1601: Hasler, *The House of Commons 1559–1603*, iii. 464. This experience must have contributed to his interest in current events and an inclination to keep up to date with the latest official publications (his presence on the Commission of the Peace for Suffolk would also be important in this respect).

\(^4\) These included the works by H. Burton, D. Featly, Bishop G. Carleton, F. Rous, M. Sutcliffe and S. Ward listed in Table III below; for the published replies to Montagu see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 155–57.

Armín (before his name came amongst us) was [sic] called Lutheirainsme". While Stuteville’s theological understanding was not as wide-ranging or as sophisticated as Mead’s it was certainly not negligible and found a ready source of material in the books Mead purchased for him.

Other purchases remind us of Stuteville’s status as a country gentleman: those dealing with heraldry, for instance, or volumes such as F. Markham’s *Epistles of Honour*. The volumes of poetry Mead sent, though few, indicate conservative tastes. Whatever else we can deduce from Stuteville through his books, he does not seem to have been too concerned to acquire what we would now call “literary” texts. Indeed, the emphasis on newsbooks and contemporary polemical works in Stuteville’s library apart, F. J. Levy’s comment in his discussion of some surviving library inventories of this period is apt: “these were not men with a great interest in literature—no long rows of poets and playwrights here. The literary works they chose were old classics...these gentlemen were godly, patriotic, litigious. They enjoyed reading histories, especially of England...they read the literature of travel”. However, Stuteville’s interest in the contemporary meant that a significant proportion of Mead’s purchases (over 75% of those I have identified, apart from printed newsbooks) were sent to Dalham within a year of publication, most within months or even days, as in the case of royal Proclamations. Stuteville may have bought a (probably sixteenth-century) edition of Chaucer for 13s. 4d. but he also bought Bacon’s *Natural History*: his tastes were conservative in some ways but, due to Mead’s ability in procuring recent London publications Sir Martin could purchase any book he wanted reasonably promptly (and hear of considerably more through Mead’s newsletters).

In the absence of Sir Martin’s letters to Mead, how he chose additions to his library will remain uncertain. As McKitterick has demonstrated, however, the considerable exertions made by Mead on Stuteville’s behalf in the matter of the Dalham Bible were probably instigated by Sir Martin himself, and enough indications exist in Mead’s letters from the period under review to suggest

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6 In January 1630/31: H383, folios 113v–14r, 115v (quotation from folio 114r; a fair copy of this letter is in H374, folio 89r–v). For Barrett’s case see Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 29–33; Hoyle, ‘“Near Popery yet no Popery”: Theological Debate in Cambridge 1590–1644’, pp. 51–61. Stuteville correctly pointed out (citing the exact page reference) that William Prynne’s account of the case in *The perpetuitie of a regenerate mans estate* was wrong in that it confused Samuel Harsnett, later Bishop of Norwich and Archbishop of York, with Barrett; ibid., folio 115v (compare Ee3r–v (pp. 221–22) of STC 20471, the first edition of Prynne’s work published in 1626). Stuteville’s knowledge of the case came from Barrett himself (with whom he had at school); H383, folio 115v.

7 Of which Mead said rather dismissively (even while recommending it) that it was “fit for a gentleman or nobody”; H390, folio 194r.

8 Levy, ‘How Information Spread among the Gentry’, p. 31. Stuteville’s own experiences as a gentleman venturer with Sir Francis Drake doubtless stimulated his interest in travel books and maps.
Stuteville asked for specific works he had heard about in Suffolk (perhaps from Mead himself) to be sent to him. Often, however, Mead appears to have sent a book to Dalham unsolicited, on the assumption that Sir Martin would find it acceptable: Sarpi’s Venetian history and Butler’s *Feminine monarchie* are two examples of this, the latter with Mead’s offer, often made, to accept the book again if it did not please. Mead had a good idea about what would appeal to Sir Martin and it appears from the correspondence that very few items were actually returned to Cambridge. Even allowing for a certain amount of self-congratulation in his letters one is impressed by the certainty, born of close acquaintance with the Dalham library, with which Mead dismissed a dog-eared copy of John Guillim’s *A display of heraldrie* as unfit to be bought (getting his own back on the bookseller, perhaps), or by his efforts in purchasing Stuteville’s copy of Chaucer. It is clear that Mead’s familiarity with the Cambridge book trade stood him in good stead, not only for acquiring new works but also for getting older books, should Sir Martin require them.

In the light of Mead’s efforts to get Stuteville’s Bible properly bound and his long-running dissatisfaction with the standards of service provided in Cambridge, something should be said in conclusion concerning the binding of Sir Martin’s books. While the case of the 1630 Bible is particularly well documented and has been admirably discussed in McKitterick’s article other references, while less explicit, are still revealing. Mead would not, I imagine, have spent so much effort over having many of his purchases for Dalham as expensively bound as the Bible for Dalham church: a sturdy calf binding, perhaps blind filleted, would probably have been considered adequate. In one area, however, particular care was taken: the gathering together of related tracts to provide a coherent series in one volume. One example is the collection Mead sent on Saturday 18 February 1625/26; he called it Stuteville’s “Ecclesiastical Book” because it contained five separate liturgical or devotional publications with a ribbon attached to the boards, presumably so that Sir Martin could keep his place among several short items. The works written against Richard Montagu received the same treatment, with two separate volumes being sent to Dalham in July 1626. The first comprised the tracts of F. Rous, A. Wotton and J. Yates, delivered on the 15th; the second, with the replies by H.

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9 Comments such as “Goodwins Antiquities I cannot yet gett” (H390, folio 18r) or “[f] I can gett Master Cosins book...I will send you it with these” (ibid., folio 261r) suggest Stuteville had requested them.

10 H390, folio 53r: “I send you another book. The History of the Quarrel between the Pope and the Venetian. You will I think like it”; ibid., folio 81r, “I send you a book. There is in it an Admirable Discourse of Bees. If you like it not send it me again”.

11 Ibid., folio 206v.

12 This is suggested by the low prices paid for binding some of Stuteville’s volumes, such as 1r. 4d. (ibid., folio 13r) or 10d. (folio 95v).

13 Ibid., folio 13r.
Burton, D. Featley, S. Ward and M. Sutcliffe was sent on the 29th. Stuteville perhaps asked for these to be bound together so that he could more easily refer to a variety of arguments in the case: when Mead had acquired the three published works by Montagu Sir Martin wanted them in a single volume before they were sent to Dalham. The ordering of the works was a matter of concern, indicated by Mead’s complaint when the bookbinders (in London rather than Cambridge on this occasion) incorrectly bound Montagu’s works. The number of complaints Mead had on this subject were symptoms of both the binders’ inefficiency and of his desire to do the job properly (something that is seen very clearly in his newsletters). In conclusion, it is clear that both the nature of the books Mead sent and their covering was part of a complex series of transactions undertaken to keep Sir Martin’s library well stocked.

14 Ibid., folios 95v, 102v.
15 They were delivered on 28 October 1626; ibid., folio 148r.
16 Ibid.
### TABLE III: Books sent by Mead to Dalham, January 1625/26 – December 1627

Table III is a list both of Mead’s book purchases for Stuteville, “according to [his] ordinary commission”,\(^ {17} \) between January 1625/26 and December 1627 and of those few volumes offered by Mead which for one reason or another were not sent to Dalham. (Printed newsbooks, however, have not been included: see Appendix II). All items have been listed in \textit{STC} order; where more than one edition of a work could have been sent this has been noted. Any other relevant information, such as the price paid or the cost of binding, has been included.\(^ {18} \) Several books and maps have not been identified (largely because Mead himself did not do so in sending them); these have been listed at the end of the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\textit{STC} no.</th>
<th>Author (where applicable), title, format, date</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?1042–43</td>
<td>B. L.: \textit{A plaine and true relation, of the going forth of a Holland Fleete the eleventh of November 1623, to the coast of Brasile. With the taking in of Salvadoe...As also, The comming of the Spanish Armado to Salvadoe, with the beleaguring of it...And also, The base delivery up of the said Towne by cowardly Officers, with the great losse of honour and riches, 4*} (Rotterdam [i. e., London?, 1626)]</td>
<td>On 18 February 1625/26 Mead sent a book he called the “Relation of Todos” with \textit{STC} 12713 (see below); the two books together cost 6d. \textit{STC} 1042 or 1043 was possibly the book in question (H390, folio 13r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1168</td>
<td>F. Bacon, Lord Verulam: \textit{Sylva sylvarum: or a naturall historie. In ten centuries, 2*} (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 6s; sent to Dalham on 21 October 1626 (H390, folio 139v) (^ {19} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^ {17} \) H390, folio 169r.

\(^ {18} \) F. R. Johnson included a few of Mead’s book purchases in ‘Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640’, \textit{The Library}, 5th series, 5 (1950), 96–107. He also provides evidence from other sources of the cost of some of the volumes sent to Dalham, which I have cited where appropriate.

\(^ {19} \) Johnson noted Mead’s purchase in ibid., p. 96. He suggested that the book would have cost 3s. 6d. unbound.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>STC no.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1458</td>
<td>Bishop W. Barlow: <em>The summe and substance of the conference, which, it pleased His Majestie to have with the Lords, Bishops, and other clergie, at Hampton Court, 4° (1625)</em></td>
<td>Bought for 10d: sent to Dalham on 21 October 1626 (H390, folio 145r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-48</td>
<td>R. Bernard: <em>The isle of man: or, the legall proceeding in Man-shire against sinne, 12° (1626)</em></td>
<td>Bought for 10d; sent to Dalham on 5 May 1627 (H390, folio 245r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3618-20</td>
<td>E. Brerewood: <em>Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions through the cheife parts of the world, 4° (1614?)</em></td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 6d; sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4137</td>
<td>H. Burton: <em>The baiting of the Pope’s bull. Or an unmasking of the mystery of iniquity, 4° (1627)</em></td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 2d; sent to Dalham on 2 June 1627 (H390, folio 261r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4153-53.3</td>
<td>H. Burton: <em>A plea to an Appeale: traversed dialogue wise, 4° (1626)</em></td>
<td>Bought for 10d, and bound with works by D. Featly, M. Sutcliffe and S. Ward (see relevant entries). Sent to Dalham on 29 July 1626 (H390, folios 95r, 102v, 106r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4192-93</td>
<td>C. Butler: <em>The feminine monarchie: or, a treatise concerning bees, 8° (1609) or 4° (1623)</em></td>
<td>This is probably the book described as “Husbandrie and Bees”, costing 5s. 6d: it was sent to Dalham on 24 June 1626 (H390, folios 81v, 95v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 STC lists three editions published in 1604–05 (1456–57), but the 1625 text was probably that sent by Mead.

21 Bernard’s book was entered in the Stationer’s Register on 4 November 1626; Mead could have sent one of three editions published in 1626 and 1627.

22 Three editions of this book were published (in 1614, 1622 and 1624); Mead described the copy he had bought as “old but hard to be gotten”, suggesting the earliest one was sent.

23 Mead had meant to send this the previous week but had forgotten; H390, folio 257v. He had purchased his copy before the book was called in on account of its unlicensed epistle to the Duke of Buckingham; ibid.

24 The binding of this volume cost 10d; H390, folio 106r. Mead’s copy was apparently rather expensive; Johnson noted another copy costing only 4d. unbound; ‘Book-prices’, p. 98.
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<tr>
<td>4633–34</td>
<td>Bishop, G. Carleton: <em>An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians, to be the doctrines of the church of England</em>, 4° (1626)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 6d; sent to Dalham on 20 May 1626. This book probably cost 2s. 4d. to bind (H390, folios 53r, 62v, 66r)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5816</td>
<td>J. Cosin: <em>A collection of private devotions: in the practise of the ancient Church, called the howres of prayer</em>, 12° (1627)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Probably as a result of a request by Sir Martin, Mead mentioned that he would send this book on 2 June 1627 (H390, folio 26r)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7190</td>
<td>M. Drayton: <em>The bataille of Agincourt. Fought by Henry the fift. The miseries of queene Margarite</em>, 2° (1627)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bought for 3s; sent to Dalham on 5 May 1627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

25 *STC* 4634, *The second edition, revised and enlarged*, 4° (1626) may have been that sent to Dalham.

26 Mead had wanted to send Carleton’s book with a “Thankesgiveing Title–leafe” bound into it. He had requested this from London but it had not arrived; H390, folio 62r. Once again, another unbound copy recorded by Johnson cost only 4d; ‘Book-prices’, p. 98.

27 Due to the number of editions of Chaucer’s works in print it has not been possible to identify that sent to Stuteville; *STC* lists fifteen published between 1532 and 1602. (Johnson, assuming the volume Mead sent would have cost 10s unbound, suggested that one of the 1602 editions (*STC* 5080–81) was sent. There is, however, no evidence to support this assertion; ‘Book-prices’, p. 99). In spite of the cost of the book Mead was pleased with the purchase; H390, folio 206r.

28 Mead probably sent the second edition of this book (if he sent it at all); for the publication history of Cosin’s work see L. W. Hanson, ‘John Cosin’s *Collection of Private Devotions*, 1627’, 282–87. The notoriety of this book on its first appearance is reflected in the difference between the prices (as quoted by Johnson) of the first and second editions: the former cost 4s, the latter 1s (unbound); ‘Book-prices’, p. 100.

29 It has been suggested that Drayton’s poem recording a famous English victory over the French was published in May 1627 as “nothing less than propaganda for the duke’s expedition” to the Île de Rhé; Cogswell, ‘The Path to Elizium “Lately Discovered” ’, pp. 209–22 (quotation from p. 209); see also *idem*, ‘The Politics of Propaganda’, pp. 201–02.
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<tr>
<td>7548</td>
<td>G. Eglisham: The forerunner of revenge. Upon the Duke of Buckingham, for poysoning King James and the Marquis of Hamilton, and others, 4° (1626)</td>
<td>Mead sent a transcript of this book (written by three of his students) on 21 September 1626 (H390, folio 123r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7683.5</td>
<td>Instructions for musters and armes, by order from the privy counsayle, 4° (1626)</td>
<td>Sent to Dalham on 29 July 1626 (H390, folio 102v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77744</td>
<td>The order and manner of the sitting of the Lords. And Commons, 4° (1626)</td>
<td>Is this “The Catalogue of all the Peeres &amp; Baronetts” Mead wanted to send to Dalham on 28 February 1625/26? (H390, folio 20r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8821</td>
<td>A Proclamation for a generall and publike Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his great mercy in staying his hand, and asswaging the late fearfulfull Visitation of the plague, s/sh 2° (22 January 1625/26)</td>
<td>Mead would have sent this to Dalham on 4 February 1625/26 but could not obtain a copy (H390, folio 9r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8843</td>
<td>A declaration of His Majesties cleare intention, in requiring the ayde of his loving subjects, in that way of Loane which is now intended by his Highnesse, s/sh 2° (7 October 1626)</td>
<td>Sent to Dalham on 14 October 1626 (H390, folio 139r)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 A translation of Prodomus vindicia in Ducem Buckinghamiam, pro virulentia cade Magna Britanniae Regis Jacobi, nec non Marchionis Hamiltonii, ac aliorum virorum principium (?Delft, 1626).

31 In 1628 T. Walkley published STC 24973.5, A most exact catalogue of the nobility of England, Scotland and Ireland. Whereunto is added the Baronets and Knights of the Bath of England; no earlier edition is cited by STC but it is possible one was published in 1626.
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<tr>
<td>9246</td>
<td>A declaration of the true causes which moved his Majestie to assemble, and dissolve the two last meetings in Parliament, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 4d; sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9247</td>
<td>Instructions directed from the King's most excellent Majestie unto all the Bishops of this kingdom and fit to be put in execution agreeable to the necessitie of the time, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Sent to Dalham on 14 October 1626 with two newsbooks and another book which has not been identified; all four cost 8d. between them (H390, folio 139v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9508</td>
<td>Anno regni Caroli, regis...primo, 2* (1625)</td>
<td>Probably the &quot;Last Statutes&quot; bought for 1s. 6d and sent to Dalham on 28 January 1625/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10069-72.7</td>
<td>A copy of the &quot;Canons&quot; (presumably of 1603)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s; included in Stuteville's &quot;Ecclesiasticall Booke&quot; sent on 18 February 1625/26 (H390, folios 9r, 11v, 13r; n. 46 below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10735</td>
<td>D. Featley: A parallel: of new-old Pelagiarminian error, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 10d, and bound with works by H. Burton, M. Sutcliffe and S. Ward (see relevant entries). Sent to Dalham on 29 July 1626 (H390, folios 95v, 102v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11395</td>
<td>J. Frith: Vox Piscis: or, the book-fish containyng three treatises found in the belly of a cod-fish in Cambridge market, 12* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for Susan, Lady Stuteville, as a New Years' gift on 9 December 1626 (H390, folio 171r)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 Ten editions of the Canons were published between 1603 and 1626.
34 Mead called this book "Featleys Parallele": it is possible he sent STC 10736, Pelagius redivivus (another edition of the parallel) or 10737, A second parallel together with a writ of error against the Appealer.
35 See n. 24 above.
36 This book, with a preface by Dr. Thomas Goad, contains three tracts, the first two attributed to John Frith the Henrician martyr: STC 11385.5, a letter,...wryten unto the fauythfull folowers of Christes gospell...
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11952</td>
<td>T. Godwin; Moses and Aaron. Civil and ecclesiastical rites, used by the Hebrewes, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 3s; sent to Dalham on 25 March 1626 (H390, folio 33r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12713</td>
<td>J. Hall; A sermon of publike thanksgiving for the wonderfull mitigation of the late mortalitie; preacht before his Matie, January 29 1625(26), 8*</td>
<td>Bought with STC 1042 or 1043 for 6d; sent to Dalham on 18 February 1625/26 (H390, folio 13r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?13659, 75</td>
<td>The Book of Homilies: reprinted by authority from the Kings Majestie, 2* (1623)</td>
<td>Bought (and bound with) a copy of the Ordinal (see entry below) for 8s; sent to Dalham on 28 October 1626 (H390, folios 148r, 150r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?16468</td>
<td>The forme and maner of making and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons, 2* (1618)</td>
<td>Sent with the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16483–84</td>
<td>A fourme of prayer with thankesgiving, to be used the 24 of March: being the day of his Highnesse entry to this kingdome, 4*</td>
<td>Mead offered this (&quot;King James his Initium Regni&quot;) to Stuteville on 4 February 1625/26; it was not sent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1548–49), STC 11393, Of the preparation to the crosse, and to deathe, (1550) and STC 24198, The Treasure of Knowledge (a revised version of STC 11211, The fountayne or well of life (15347)).

37 This is the second edition; Mead had wanted to send the first, published in 1625 (STC 11951) but it had sold out; H390, folios 9r, 18r, 33r.

38 The book had originally cost 2r. 8d., but an extra 2d. was payable some weeks later; ibid., folio 53r.

39 STC 13659 (Book I) and 13675 (Book II) were the most recent editions of these works; as with all of the forms of prayer and state services sent to Stuteville, however, identifying the particular edition in question has not proved possible.

40 The most recent edition of the Ordinal Mead could have sent.

41 STC 16483 was published in 1604; STC 16484 in 1620.

42 See nn. 44, 46 below.
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>716492</td>
<td>A fourme of prayer with thanksgiving, to be used every yeere the fift of August: being the day of his Highnesse happy deliverance from the bloody attempt of the Earle of Gowry, 4&quot; (1623)</td>
<td>Offered to Stuteville on 4 February 1625/26 but not sent to Dalham 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>716497</td>
<td>Prayers and thanksgiving to be used for the happy deliverance from the intended massacre the 5 of November 1605, 4&quot; (1625)</td>
<td>Bought for 6d; sent to Dalham on 18 February 1625/26 (H390, folio 9r); it was bound with four other texts 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16540–41</td>
<td>A fourme of common prayer, together with an order of fasting: for the averting of Gods heavy visitation upon many places of this kingdome, 4&quot; (1625)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s; sent to Dalham as part of Stuteville’s “Ecclesiasticall booke” on 18 February 1625/26 (H390, folios 9r, 11v, 13r) 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16542</td>
<td>A short forme of thankesgiving to God for staying the contagious sickenesse of the plague, 4&quot; (1625)</td>
<td>Was this the “Fast Book” bought for 8d. and sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626? (H390, folio 95v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 716543–44 | A forme of prayer, necessary to bee used in these dangerous times, of warre and pestilence, 4" (1626) | **This is the most recent edition Mead could have bought (had he done so).**

44 As with “King James his Initium Regni” Mead decided not to buy this for Stuteville: the latter had not responded to Mead’s offer and in any case, now that James was dead, these services were obsolete (Mead commented that “neither I suppose will hereafter be used”); H390, folio 11v.

45 The most recent edition of this work.

46 These are STC 16540, STC 16542, a copy of the Thirty-Nine Articles (STC 21230–30a) and another of the Canons of 1603 (one of STC 10069–72.7); see the relevant entries. On 4 February Mead had asked Sir Martin whether he wanted these bound together with texts of STC 16483 (or 16484) and 716492: as Mead did not hear from him only five texts made up Stuteville’s “Ecclesiasticall booke”. The volume cost 1s. 4d. to bind and had a ribbon (presumably as a page marker) added for an extra 5d; H390, folios 9r, 13r.

47 This had originally been sent on 4 February: either Stuteville returned it to be bound up with the other texts or Mead acquired another one; ibid., folios 9r, 11v.
<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16887</td>
<td>M. A. Lucanus: <em>Lucan's Pharsalia...The whole ten bookes. Englished. by T. May</em>, 8° (1627)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 8d; sent to Dalham on 2 June 1627 (H390, folio 261r) 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17331</td>
<td>F. Markham: <em>The booke of honour. Or, five decades of epistles of honour</em>, 2° (1625)</td>
<td>Mead (who had thought Stuteville had a copy already) bought it for 2s. 2d. the book was sent to Dalham on 10 February 1626/27 (H390, folios 194r, 200r, 201r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17751–51.5</td>
<td>R. Manwaring: <em>Religion and alegiance: in two sermons</em>, 4° (1627)</td>
<td>Bought for 8d; sent to Dalham on 1 December 1627 (H390, folio 328r) 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18030–31</td>
<td>R. Montagu: <em>Appello Casarem. A just appeale from two unjust informers</em>, 4° (1625) 50</td>
<td>Bought (and bound with) two other works by Montagu for 7s. 6d (see following entries). Sent to Dalham on 28 October 1626 (H390, folios 148r, 150r) 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18038</td>
<td>R. Montagu: <em>A gagg for the new gospell? No: a new gagg for an old goose. Or an answere to a late abridger of controversies</em>, 4° (1624)</td>
<td>Sent with the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18039</td>
<td>R. Montagu: <em>Immediate address unto God alone</em>, 4° (1624)</td>
<td>Sent with the above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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48 Johnson noted this purchase in ‘Book–prices’, p. 106: he assumed that the book would have cost 1s. 2d. unbound.

49 Mead sent another text to replace this apparently “imperfect” one on 29 March 1628; ibid., folio 370r. Johnson noted another copy cost 6d. unbound; ‘Book–prices’, p. 106.

50 Three editions of this book (STC 18030, 18030.5 and 18031) were published in 1625.

51 This work, the sequel to STC 18038, was bound (in London) before *A gagg for the new gospell: as Mead noted in sending the volume to Stuteville, “a Solcisme, but no mightie fault”;* H390, folio 148r. Another copy of *Appello Casarem* recorded by Johnson cost 1s. 6d. unbound; ‘Book–prices’, p. 107.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18544</td>
<td>Sir F. Drake: <em>Sir Francis Drake revived: calling upon this dull age, by this memorable relation, of a third voyage, when Nombre de Dios was surprised, 4°</em> (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 8d; sent to Dalham with another book on 2 December 1626 (H390, folio 169r) ^52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18964</td>
<td>P. Ovidius Naso: <em>Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished, mythologized, and represented in figures</em>, tr. G. Sandys, 2° (1626)</td>
<td>I believe this is the “Sands” bought by Mead on 13 May 1626 for 6s. ^53 It appears to have been returned by Stuteville, as on 20 May Mead noted that he had “received for Sands 6s, you guessed right, but tis a deerie price” (H390, folios 57v, 62v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18996</td>
<td>L. Owen: <em>The running register; recording a true relation of the state of the English collidges, in all forraine parts, 4°</em> (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 10d; sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19768.5–69.3</td>
<td>J.-P. Perrin: <em>The Bloudy Rage of that great Antechrist of Rome and his superstitious adherents, against the true Church of Christ and the faithfull professors of His Gospell. Declared at large in the Historie of the Waldenses and Albigenses, 4°</em> (1624) ^54</td>
<td>Mead described this as “the Historie of the Waldenses &amp; Albigenses”; it cost 3s. and was sent to Dalham on 28 January 1625/26 (H390, folios 9r, 18r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21230–30a</td>
<td><em>The faith, doctrine, and religion, professed, in England, expressed in 39 articles, 4°</em> (1625) ^55</td>
<td>Bought for 4d; sent to Dalham as part of Stuteville’s “Ecclesiasticall booke” on 18 February 1625/26 (H390, folios 9r, 11v, 13r; entry for STC 16497, above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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^52 Mead’s syntax is a little unclear: he had sent two books to Dalham (one of which is unidentified) and informed Stuteville that “the bigger [of the two] is 4° B. The other is 8°. I thought at first it had beene the Relation of your Voyage, but afterward I found you were then but yong”. Mead was referring to Stuteville’s voyage with Drake (probably in 1596; Sir Martin was born in 1569); STC 18544 is a relation of events in 1572–73.

^53 Mead commented that the book was so dear because the author had “the whole impression himselfe”. For G. Sandys’s patent to print his translation of *Metamorphoses* (granted on 24 April 1626) see STC, ii. 202.

^54 STC lists three editions of this work published in 1624.

^55 The most recent edition of the Thirty-Nine Articles Mead could have sent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STC no.</th>
<th>Author (where applicable), title, format, date</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21347-47.3</td>
<td>F. Rous: Tesis Veritatis. The doctrine of King James. Of the Church of England. Of the catholicke church. Shewed to bee one in the points of prædestination, free-will, certaintie of salvation, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s, and bound with works by A. Wotton and J. Yates (see entries below). Sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95r-v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?21590.5</td>
<td>A true and perfect description of the citadell or fort of St. Martins in the Isle of Ree, s/sh 2* (1627)</td>
<td>A faulty version of this was probably that sent to Dalham on 6 October 1627 (H390, folio 300r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21766</td>
<td>P. Sarpi: The history of the quarrels of Pope Paul V with the state of Venice. Translated from Italian, and compared with the French copie, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 3s. 4d; sent to Dalham on 6 May 1626 (H390, folio 53r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23473</td>
<td>M. Sutcliffe: The unmasking of a masse-monger. In the counterfeit habit of S[aint] Augustine, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 4d, and bound with works by H. Burton, D. Featley and S. Ward (see relevant entries). Sent to Dalham on 29 July 1626 (H390, folios 95r, 102v, 106r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23726-26a</td>
<td>J. Taylor: An armado, or navye, of 103 ships &amp; other vessels; who have the art to sayle by land, as well as by sea, 8* (1627)</td>
<td>Sent to Dalham on 7 April 1627 (H390, folio 374r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24209.5</td>
<td>The moneymonger. Or, the usurer’s almanacke. With necessary tables of interest, the usurer’s gaine, and borrowers losse, of 8, 7 and 6, in the hundred, 8* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 2d; sent to Dalham on 4 February 1625/26 (H390, folio 9r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24609</td>
<td>W. Vaughan: The golden fleece divided into three parts, under which are discovered the errors of religion, the vices and decayes of the kingdome, and lastly the ways to get wealth, and to restore trading, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 2s. 4d; sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95v)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 This volume cost 10d. to bind; H390, folio 95v.
57 Johnson recorded a copy of Tesis Veritatis costing 4d. unbound; 'Book-prices', p. 109.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STC no.</th>
<th>Author (where applicable)</th>
<th>Title, format, date</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25026</td>
<td>S. Ward</td>
<td>Gratia discriminans. Concio ad clerum, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 6d, and bound with works by H. Burton, D. Featley and M. Sutcliffe (see relevant entries). Sent to Dalham on 29 July 1626 (H390, folios 95r, 102v, 106r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26003</td>
<td>A. Wotton</td>
<td>A dangerous plot discovered. By a discourse, wherein is proved, that, R. Mountague, in his two bookes laboureth to bring in the faith of Rome, and Arminius, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Bought for 1s. 6d, and bound with works by F. Rous and J. Yates (see relevant entries). Sent to Dalham on 15 July 1626 (H390, folio 95r–v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26083</td>
<td>J. Yates</td>
<td>Ibis ad Casarem. Or a submissive appearance before Caesar; in answer to M' Mountague's Appeale, 4* (1626)</td>
<td>Sent with the above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Books sent to Dalham between January 1625/26 and December 1627 that have not been identified

1). “Table of the Plague both this & the former in King James” sent on 21 January 1625/26 (H390, folios 5r, 18r). This was presumably a comparative mortality table for the epidemics of 1603 and 1625 but no copy appears to have survived.58

2). “I have sent you Sands. When you read the Epistle to the Reader; you may if you will, consider what that <et ca;iera> meanes in the third page & second line, yet &c”, 28 February 1625/26 (ibid., folio 20r). Mead paid 2s. 4d. or 2s. 6d. for this.

3). The “Book of Jurisdiction” sent on 20 May 1626: it cost Mead 2s. “being a bound book” (ibid., folios 62v, 66r)

4). One of the books sent to Dalham with STC 9247 on 14 October 1626: it probably cost Mead 2d. (ibid., folio 139r; see entry above)

58 In the next major epidemic to hit London, in 1636, comparative mortality tables for 1603, 1625 and 1636 appeared in a number of publications (sometimes with accompanying verses), such as STC 20206, Lord have mercy on us. A special remedy for the plague.
5). The book sent with STC 18544 on 2 December 1626, costing 4s. 6d. (ibid., folio 169r; see entry above)

6). A “book” sent on 24 March 1626/27: it cost Mead 6s. 10d. (ibid., folio 227v). He added on 31 March 1627 that it had “many & variety of discourses full of historical matter, & so I think will be to your better liking. You may see them all in a Table before it & by it make a conjecture of the whole discourse. Though in some things, I differ my selfe from his Conclusions” (ibid., folio 230r)

7). A “mappe” sent on 24 March 1626/27: Mead paid 1s. for it (ibid., folio 227v). It was returned by Stuteville the next week to be exchanged for a coloured one; Mead eventually sent two maps “such as you desire one varnisht one not, which some like better” on 2 June 1627, which cost him 2s. 10d. each (ibid., folio 261r)
APPENDIX II: A conjectural bibliography of newsbooks, January 1625/26 to December 1627

The survival rate of early printed newspapers is very low; chance survival, rather than any more organised attempt at preservation probably accounts for those copies that remain. That so few issues have survived, however, does not mean that we cannot construct a hypothetical publication list for the period under review, and Joseph Mead’s newsgathering activities are a considerable help due to the number of references in his letters to the printed news. As Folke Dahl in his Bibliography has pointed out, printed newspapers at this time were published in numbered series of approximately 50 issues: in effect, one series covered a year. I drew up the table below on the assumption that this was the case even where only a few copies of an individual series have survived. This means that the dates I have assigned to a large number of the editions in Table IV below must remain conjectural since no copies survive, there is no record in the Stationers’ Company register (of which more below) and Mead by no means referred to every issue printed.1

Apart from the evidence provided by surviving copies, and references in Mead’s letters, the main sources I have used have been Dahl’s bibliography, STC and the Stationers’ Company Register. Each of these sources requires some explanation:

Existing Copies: As can be deduced from STC, 25 newsbooks (including those published by Thomas Walkley) survive plus one variant,2 usually in unique copies, largely due to the efforts of Dr. Charles Burney.3 This is a very low survival rate (given that between ninety and one hundred issues were probably published between January 1625/26 and December 1627) and lower than that for earlier in the decade. Perhaps the continued defeats suffered by Protestant armies in Germany had something to do with this, but it is difficult to suggest quantifiable reasons. The few copies that have survived, however, tell us something of interest: as Dahl has pointed out, the title pages of newsbooks usually inform the reader of the date of the previous issue. So, for instance, the edition of 1 November 1627 is described as The continuation of our weekly newes from the 24 October to the 2 of November, and so on. In this case, the previous issue survives (STC 18507.192) but this is not common; Dahl infers

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1 As a survey of surviving copies shows, the interval between issues varied between 2 and 8 days (for instance, Dahl 188 and 189 were published on 6 and 8 December 1626; STC 18507.190 and .191 were published on 9 and 17 October 1627). During the summer months or the New Year period the interval could be even longer.

2 STC 24740, A journal of all the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, in the Isle of Ree. August i. Whereunto is added the names of the French nobilitie that were slaine. This is a variant of STC 24739.5

3 For this see M. Harris, ‘Collecting Newspapers: Developments at the British Museum during the Nineteenth Century’, in Bibliophilia, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 46–49.
the existence of several newsbooks in this manner and I agree with his conclusions. The fact that the
newsbooks were numbered means that it is possible to number 50 or so issues in the Third, Fourth
and Fifth Series, individual copies of which I have cross-referenced with both Mead’s letters and the
register of the Stationers’ Company. 4

Mead’s Letters: Table IV below lists every reference in H390 to the printed news between January
1625/26 and December 1627: whether Mead sent Stuteville a newsbook, transcribed from one, gave
his opinion of a piece of “corranto newes”, or passed on one of his London sources’ references to the
latest newsbook. 5 I have proceeded on the assumption (warranted, I think, by his desire to keep Sir
Martin up to date) that Mead always referred to the most recent newsbook, usually that issued earlier
in the week in which he wrote the letter in question. (Dahl also used Mead’s correspondence to identify
otherwise unknown editions in this way). As can be seen, a great deal can be learned from the
references in H390; occasionally, Mead makes my hypothetical copy a concrete fact by dating news
items from a particular edition (as with that from 13 November 1627, H390 folio 320r, unknown
from any other source).

4 With regard to those issues numbered 51–54 in the Third series I am perhaps adhering too rigidly to a
schedule of one issue per week for January and February 1625/26, as no more than 50 issues in a series were
usually published. However, as Mead refers to two issues published in February 1625/26 (H390, folios 13r
and 15r) newsbooks evidently appeared at this time; perhaps the solution is that only fifty editions
appeared in the Third Series, with each issue in January and February 1625/26 appearing at longer
intervals.

5 An exception is the comment by one of Mead’s sources on 14 September 1627 (H390, folio 292r) that
“Currantes wilbe scarce hereafter; for there hath a check bin given the Printers &c”. As this does not refer
to a particular issue I have omitted it from Table IV below: it raises, however, interesting questions of
governmental regulation of newsbooks (very much an issue in 1627). Conway’s dealings with the
Stationers’ Company indicate this: on 5 March 1626/27 “a l<ett>re from M<aste>r Secretary Conway
concerning newes w<hi>ch was brought to the Company the 18th of March last [1625/26] was...reade in
the pr<sen>ce of M<aste>r Butter and most of the printers in London”. On 5 September (perhaps the
incident referred to in Mead’s letter) Conway wrote again, threatening the Company “with the wholesale
revocation of their charter unless they obeyed the licensing regulations”; W. A. Jackson (ed.), Records of
the Court of the Stationers’ Company 1602 to 1640 (1957), p. 193; Cogswell, ‘The Path to Elizium
“Lately Discovered”’, p. 215 and n. 25. The warrant issued by the Privy Council for Butter’s arrest on 2
August 1627 (APC Jun.–Aug. 1627, p. 470) and the appearance of the phrase “Published by Authoritie” on
the title-page of his newsbooks by the edition of 4 October 1627 (STC 18507.189) are other signs that
newsbook publishing was being closely monitored at this time.
Dahl: This remains the standard bibliography of newsbooks for the period. However, its accuracy is compromised by the omission of some STC items (i.e., 18507.190 and 191), the patchy use of Mead’s letters (which Dahl cites as the primary source for several items) and his omission, or ignorance, of the series of newsbooks issued by Thomas Walkley; these should be included in a list of newsbooks and are in any case, as I shall indicate, bibliographically linked to Butter and Bourne’s productions.

STC: An accurate record of all surviving newsbooks. It is made more difficult to use, however, by an insufficient recognition of the links between the Butter/Bourne and Walkley publications (although it does cross-reference between the two series, they are listed over 200 pages apart: another Walkley newsbook, STC 24268.7, is given under a totally different heading as is the Butter/Bourne publication of 24 August 1627, A true and exact relation, STC 20779.5).

Stationers’ Company Registers: On beginning to check references to newsbooks in the Register between January 1625/26 and December 1627 I had expected to find numerous entries under Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne (occasionally Butter alone), but only came across 11 such items. The reason soon became clear; the entry on 4 July 1626, for instance, reads as follows:

Receivd of Master Butter for printing Currantes of newes till number 20: the 27* Iulij 1626 ----------- x*

Apart from the likely error of “Iulij” for “Junij”, this entry indicates that 20 issues were being registered simultaneously, and retroactively. Presumably each individual issue would have had to have been approved by the licensers (or did Butter’s caution make this unnecessary?), but the system of licensing a batch of newsbooks at one time doubtless saved time and prevented the Company’s register becoming cluttered with such entries. It would be interesting to know how, or when, such a system originated; I presume earlier in the decade when the advent of weekly newsbooks would have made it necessary. Further entries of this type occur on 19 June 1627 (Liber D, p. 146), when 30 issues

6 The surviving Butter and Bourne newsbooks for 1626–27 are listed in STC, ii. 182; those produced by Thomas Walkley on ii. 424.
7 Under “Sir Sackville Trevor” and “Ré, Isle of” respectively.
9 Noted by Dahl, p. 148. It seems more likely that number 20 of the Fourth Series was printed on 27 June than 27 July.
10 Michael Frearson’s work on the newsbooks of the 1620s suggests that this retrospective licensing began in February 1623/24; I am grateful to him for this point.
were registered; 20 August 1627 (p. 148, 2 issues); and 2 May 1628 (p. 162, 24 issues, which must include some of those published late in 1627). In late summer 1627, probably under pressure from the competing series of newsbooks produced by Thomas Walkley, the number of entries increases; there are no less than 7 for various newsbooks in August alone. Increasing the suspicion that something approaching a circulation war was going on, we find an otherwise unidentified "Raffe Mabb" licensed to print the first edition of a new series of newsbooks on 28 September. None of these ever appeared. With two exceptions the entries that indicate the licensing officers include George Weckherlin, responsible for approving news publications and one or more of the wardens of the Company. It seems clear that, probably a result of their different publication schedule, newsbooks were entered at the Stationers' Company in a manner differing to that of other books, and the entries in the Register provide important information included in Table IV below.

It remains to say something about Thomas Walkley, who appeared as a publisher of newsbooks in the summer of 1627. Unlike Nathaniel Butter, who had had a long pedigree of publishing news, Walkley appears to have had little or no direct participation in the burgeoning news industry before this time. If one can generalise about his output from 1618 (his first appearance on a title-page) to 1626, it appears to have been rather literary. It seems likely that he was drawn to publish newsbooks because of the intense public interest in the expedition to the Île de Rhé undertaken by the Duke of Buckingham, and it is probably no coincidence that Walkley was also responsible for publishing the Duke's Remonstrance of 21 July 1627, in effect a statement of war aims. His publications (STC 24268.7 and 24739.5–24726) appeared irregularly between 1 August 1627 and 2 November, and it is likely they appeared in direct competition with Butter and Bourne's

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11 For more information on these entries see nn. 33, 35 below.
12 Liber D, p. 150. This may be the "unknowne Mercurie sprung up within these few dayes" mentioned in Butter's newsbook of 4 October, STC 18507.189, A2r. A Ralph Mab (or Mabbe) was a London bookseller between 1610 and 1642 (STC, iii. 111), but I have not determined whether he was the putative news publisher.
13 Liber D, pp. 146, 148, 149, 150, 152. The exceptions are the licences granted on 1 August to Walkley (for STC 24739/24739.5; see n. 2 above) and on 25 August for STC 24746, Buckingham's Manifestation. The Bishop of London joined Master Knight, one of the wardens, on these occasions; ibid., pp. 147, 149. For Weckherlin see Greg, Licenciers for the press, pp. 94–95.
14 As noted by Frank, pp. 6–7.
15 He had published Shakespeare (the First Quarto of Othello, 1621), Beaumont & Fletcher (and Fletcher alone), Chapman, and Wither.
16 For the licensing of this publication see n. 13 above and for ?Pory's comments on it, p. 875 above, nn. 35–36.
series. It is once again probably no coincidence that the dates of publication (1 and 17 August, 18 September, 2 and 4 October, 2 November) all either exactly coincided with those of the existing syndicate, or fell within a day of them. I have noted already that the late summer of 1627 produced a spate of Stationers' Register entries; the first concerning Walkley occurs on 1 August (Liber D, p. 147), and another 5 are present in the following months. If the Butter/Bourne and Walkley publications were aiming at the same market, however, the two series of newsbooks display interesting differences of format. The former were by this time published in quarto, with the title-page on A1r and A2r-B4r filled with excerpts of various letters from different parts of Europe: font, decoration, use of italic and page layout being recognisably similar in the surviving issues (as one would expect if one printer were used). The Walkley issues, on the other hand, show considerable variation; although (as STC points out) the title pages of successive issues were partly set from standing type, the number of pages, font, lines per page, decoration etc. differ between issues, and sometimes within one newsbook. STC 24743 has 9 pages, 24741 has 19; the latter contains three different reports, the last in a larger letter than the first two (and therefore printed separately?). Furthermore, as we might assume from the titles of these newsbooks, Walkley's publications are wholly concerned with the Duke of Buckingham's expedition; on that basis the Butter/Bourne issues gave a much wider (if not necessarily more accurate) coverage of the latest events elsewhere in Europe (and, of course, the latter also covered events at Rhé).

Given that two series of newsbooks published at the same time and covering the same events had, in the end, to depend upon the same sources for their reports, it is not surprising that there appears to be a common source behind some accounts printed in both series. A particularly clear example of this occurs with the account of the Duke's voyage to St. Martin's in early July; both the 1 August 1627 edition produced by Butter (STC 18507.186) and the 1 August Journall (24740) have a version of this, derived from the same original written aboard the Charles on 20 July by a "Gentleman of speciall note" (on Blv-B4v and A2r-B2r respectively). It only takes a brief examination to

17 Unlike the Butter/Bourne issues, Walkley's were not numbered.
18 On Liber D, pp. 149 (3) and 150 (2).
19 STC misleadingly titles 24741 as the "Relation of Master Garetson", implying that this is the main subject of the newsbook. Claus Garetson's account (the original copy of which is now PRO SP16/73/75 (I) [folio 116r]) is, however, only found on C1v-C2v.
20 Although the Walkley newsbooks declared they were "Published by Authoritie" it is not clear that he had any particularly privileged sources of information. As Mead's correspondence makes clear, almost any letter coming from abroad quickly became public knowledge through the activities of the "intelligencers", London merchants or those at Court. If a communication (such as one directed to one of the Secretaries of State) was considered too sensitive to disseminate in this manner it would not, I believe, have been submitted to the press.
21 What is probably the original copy of this account is now PRO SP78/82/folios 15r-19r.
conclude that the Butter version is a fuller and probably more faithful copy; the Walkley text has the appearance and feel of a hurriedly taken account from the (perhaps defective?) original. This is best seen in the list of casualties given in both texts (B4r–v, Butter; B1v–B2r, Walkley); as far as the personnel and the order in which they are listed the two are identical (with one exception), but the Walkley text, with its corruptions (i.e. “Sidnam” for “Sydenham”, “Grinfild” for “Greenfield”) is inferior. Confidence in the quality of Walkley's product is further undermined in reading his Journall of 17 August, the bulk of which (A2r–B3v) was taken up with another account of the Duke's voyage with additional circumstantial details not given in the previous edition; by this time such events were a month old and thus rather out of date. Even given the likelihood that the attrition of seige warfare (in which the English army was occupied from July until the end of October) was less conducive to providing a flow of “hard news”, this manner of reporting was not ideal; Mead complained of it more than once in relation to the Butter/Bourne editions. It is no surprise that little in the way of concrete information was related in the Walkley's issue of September 18 (STC 24743); its 9 pages are taken up with hopeful but vague accounts of the likely success of the Duke's army and praises of Buckingham's behaviour. In reading these publications one is struck by the possibility that Walkley was publishing to a brief; perhaps being "economical with the truth" in order to give the most hopeful account of a controversial military intervention (one recalls that he published under "Authoritie"). Such a suggestion must remain tentative at present: but part of Mead's shocked reaction to the failure of the expedition to Rhé was his sense of unease that he was not being told the truth, and I believe that some form of news management was being practised at this time. In conclusion, if the Walkley series was attempting to compete with the Butter/Bourne newsbooks, it did not provide as good a service. It may not have been only the defeat at Rhé that saw the end of Walkley's excursion into publishing news; he may not have been successful enough to continue. Nevertheless, his

22 An instructive parallel is to compare John Pory's list of the dead at the retreat from Rhé (H390, folio 316r) with that subsequently received by Mead (folio 318r); the same process, a result of either faulty memorisation or (Mead's explanation, folio 317r) inexperienced scribes, was at work.

23 On 16 December 1626, for instance (H390, folio 176r) Mead noted that the printed news he was sending with his letter was "of elder or as old date as the last" newsbook sent to Dalham; the information in a newsbook sent on 2 June 1627 was described as "ancient" (ibid., folio 261r).

24 Cosgwell has also recently suggested that the newsbooks were "pressed into government service" during the Rhé campaign and provided "authorized reports" for domestic consumption; "The Politics of Propaganda", pp. 202-03.

25 As on H390, folio 328r: "I doubt that some of our Novellantes have either some interest in their honour who are sayd to have done fourly, or dare not relate what they know. For we have had 2 weeke letters from some of them, & yet not a word of the cause or the manner of this shamefull overthrow, though we desired it". See note above.
newsbooks should be considered together with those of the more established syndicate in a full bibliography of such items in this period; if they differ in some respects they are recognisably similar to the acknowledged "Currantes", and were aimed at the same news-hungry audience.

26 Although this was not the last time he attempted to compete with Butter and Bourne. In 1639 Walkley printed a list of the officers in the army raised to fight the Scots and was subsequently imprisoned; Calendar of State Papers 1639–40, ed. W. D. Hamilton (1877), p. 224; Sharpe, P. R., p. 653.
TABLE IV: A suggested bibliography of newsbooks publication January 1625/26 to December 1627

In this table all dates and series numbers given to newsbooks not listed in STC are conjectural. (Those occasions on which Mead cited the date of the newsbook from which he quoted material are, however, treated as authoritative even when no copy has survived). Conjectural editions have been indicated by square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Series and Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>STC no.</th>
<th>Dahl No.</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Series, [No. 48]</td>
<td>[11 January 1625/26]</td>
<td></td>
<td>176A</td>
<td>This issue probably that mentioned by Mead on H390, folio 7r and sent on 28 January (ibid., folio 17r)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 January 1625/26</td>
<td>18507.177</td>
<td>176B</td>
<td>This edition possibly that referred to on H390, folio 18r and sent on 28 January.</td>
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<td>[25 January 1625/26]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[21 March 1625/26]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[28 March 1626]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

27 From Dahl, pp. 144–58.

28 In this letter Mead mentions sending a newsbook twice: "I send you a later Corranto", lines 4–5 (the same one he refused to trust Parker’s man with on the 22nd: H390, folio 7r); "I send you... a Corranto", lines 12–15. I believe numbers 49 and 50 of the Third Series are being discussed, but it is possible that the same edition is being referred to twice.

29 Mead sent this fragment with details of the flooding in Seville with his letter of 8 April, H390 folio 40r, adding some notes in the margins. Dahl suggests (on p. 147) the newsbook of which this is a part was
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Series and Number</th>
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<th>Dahl</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<tr>
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<td>No. 13</td>
<td>23 May 1626</td>
<td>18507.179</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[No. 14]</td>
<td>[30 May 1626]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 15</td>
<td>9 June 1626</td>
<td>18507.180</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 16</td>
<td>14 June 1626</td>
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<td>[No. 20]</td>
<td>[27 June 1626]</td>
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<td>[No. 25]</td>
<td>[16 August 1626]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 26</td>
<td>24 August 1626</td>
<td>18507.181</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 27</td>
<td>29 August 1626</td>
<td>18507.182</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[No. 28]</td>
<td>[5 September 1626]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[No. 29]</td>
<td>[12 September 1626]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[No. 30]</td>
<td>[19 September 1626]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>[No. 31]</td>
<td>[26 September 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[No. 32]</td>
<td>[3 October 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Published in March, but I would suggest it was somewhat later given Mead’s tendency to send the most recent issue available. As only a fraction of this newsbook survives, both the date on which it was published and its position in the Fourth Series are conjectural.

30 Numbers 17–19 of the Fourth Series would have had to be issued between 14 and 27 June, not impossible given the somewhat erratic publication dates of the newsbooks.

31 Four issues were presumably issued between 27 June and 16 August, although in the absence of any evidence to date individual editions I have not attempted to do so. I assume that Butter and Bourne decided not to publish weekly papers during this period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series and Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>STC no.</th>
<th>Dahl</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Series, [No. 33]</td>
<td>11 October 1626</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>Mead mentioned (and dated) this edition on 14 October (H390, folio 139r-v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 34]</td>
<td>[17 October 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On 18 November Mead called this &quot;the new Corrant yesternight&quot; (H390, folio 159r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 35]</td>
<td>[24 October 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably that mentioned by Mead on 25 November (H390, folio 165v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 36]</td>
<td>[31 October 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This or the following edition was sent by Mead on 9 December (H390, folio 171r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 37</td>
<td>8 November 1626</td>
<td>18507.183</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sent by Mead on 16 December (H390, folio 176r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 38]</td>
<td>17 November 1626</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perhaps that sent by Mead on 11 January (H390, folio 335r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 39]</td>
<td>[22 November 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possibly the edition that reported the death of Count Mansfeld at Spalato (H390, folio 181r; but see entry above). Mead probably sent this on 11 January.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 40]</td>
<td>[28 November 1626]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sent by Mead on 20 January (H390, folio 186r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. 41]</td>
<td>[6 December 1626]</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. 42</td>
<td>8 December 1626</td>
<td>18507.184</td>
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<tr>
<td>[No. 43]</td>
<td>[15 December 1626]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[No. 44]</td>
<td>[22 December 1626]</td>
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<td>[No. 45]</td>
<td>[29 December 1626]</td>
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<td>[No. 46]</td>
<td>[5 January 1626/27]</td>
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<td>[No. 47]</td>
<td>[12 January 1626/27]</td>
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<td>[No. 48]</td>
<td>[19 January 1626/27]</td>
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<td>[No. 49]</td>
<td>[26 January 1626/27]</td>
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<td>[No. 50]</td>
<td>[2 February 1626/27]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[No. 51]</td>
<td>[9 February 1626/27]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

32 As with my conjectural numbers 51-54 of the Third Series (see n. 4 above) it is possible that this number never existed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series and Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td></td>
<td>191</td>
<td>Mentioned by Mead on 24 February (H390, folio 212v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[22 February 1626/27]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[1 March 1626/27]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[8 March 1626/27]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>An item, probably from this edition, was mentioned by Mead in a marginal comment to a London newsletter of 16 March (H390, folio 224r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[15 March 1626/27]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[22 March 1626/27]</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
<td>Probably referred to by Mead on 26 May (H390, folio 257v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[29 March 1627]</td>
<td></td>
<td>193</td>
<td>Probably referred to by Mead on 2 June (H390, folio 261r)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>[5 April 1627]</td>
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<td>[12 April 1627]</td>
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<td>[19 April 1627]</td>
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<td>[26 April 1627]</td>
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<td>[3 May 1627]</td>
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<td>194</td>
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<td>[10 May 1627]</td>
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<td>[17 May 1627]</td>
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<td>[24 May 1627]</td>
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<td>[31 May 1627]</td>
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<td>195</td>
<td>Mentioned by Mead on 22 June (H390, folio 271r)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8 June 1627</td>
<td>18507.185</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>Called the “new Corrantio” on 14 July (H390, folio 283r)</td>
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<td>[13 June 1627]</td>
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<td>[20 June 1627]</td>
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<td>[27 June 1627]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[4 July 1627]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[11 July 1627]</td>
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<td>[18 July 1627]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A Journal, 1 August</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>24739.5-40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Series, (No. 26)</td>
<td>[4 August 1627]</td>
<td>18507.186A</td>
<td>198</td>
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<tr>
<td>————, No. 27</td>
<td>8 August 1627</td>
<td>18507.187</td>
<td>199</td>
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<tr>
<td>————, (No. 28)</td>
<td>[12 August 1627]</td>
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<td>————, No. 29</td>
<td>17 August 1627</td>
<td>18507.187</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Continued Journal, 17 August 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td>24741</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Series, [No. 30]</td>
<td>[24 August 1627]</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>A true...relation</td>
<td>24 August 1627</td>
<td>20779.5</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Continued Journal, 30 August 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td>24742</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifth Series, [No. 31]</td>
<td>[31 August 1627]</td>
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<td>201</td>
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<tr>
<td>————, No. 32</td>
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<td>————, (No. 33)</td>
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<td>————, (No. 34)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Continued Journal, 18 September 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td>24743</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

33 On 19 June 1627 the Stationers' Register records the following entry: "Received of them [Butter and Bourne] for all Currantes of Newes until the first day of August 1627 xv." (Liber D, p. 146). Although they had paid for 30 issues at 6d. each, only 23 were produced by the syndicate by 1 August: did Butter and Bourne intend to publish 30 only to fall short of their target?  
34 This is listed in STC as published by Butter, but does not seem to have been part of his regular numbered series. Was it produced in response to the Walkley Journals?  
35 Numbers 30 and 31 were entered together on 20 August (Liber D, p. 148; see also Dahl, p. 155); they must have been issued between 18 August and the first week of September. My dating is as elsewhere conjectural.  
36 This issue was that entered in the Stationers' Register on 22 September (Liber D, p. 150).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series and Number</th>
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<th>STC no.</th>
<th>Dahl</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Fifth Series, No. 36</td>
<td>4 October 1627</td>
<td>18507.189</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>Mead mentioned some items in this edition on 6 October (H390, folio 300r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Continued Journal, 2 October 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td>24744</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mead paraphrased items from this edition in his letter of 6 October (H390, folios 299r, 300r) 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A true and most exact relation, 4 October 1627</td>
<td></td>
<td>24268.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mead's letter to Stuteville of 13 October was almost completely paraphrased from this edition (H390, folio 303r–v). It was entered in the Stationers' Register on 4 October.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———, No. 37</td>
<td>9 October 1627</td>
<td>18507.190</td>
<td></td>
<td>Some items in this issue mentioned by Mead on 10 November (H390 folio 314v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———, No. 38</td>
<td>17 October 1627</td>
<td>18507.191</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>Some items in this issue (dated by Mead) were included in his letter of 17 November (H390, folio 320r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———, No. 39</td>
<td>24 October 1627</td>
<td>18507.192</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>———, No. 40</td>
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<td>18507.193</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>———, No. 41</td>
<td>7 November 1627</td>
<td>18507.194</td>
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<tr>
<td>———, [No. 42]</td>
<td>13 November 1627</td>
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<td>———, [No. 43]</td>
<td>[20 November 1627]</td>
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<tr>
<td>———, [No. 44]</td>
<td>[7 December 1627]</td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36 This "Journal" was entered on 4 October (Liber D, p. 150).
APPENDIX III: Suggested authorship of unascribed news reports received by Mead between January 1625/26 and December 1627 based on an examination of the writing styles of John Pory and Dr. James Meddus

Between January 1625/26 and December 1627 John Pory and Dr. James Meddus provided Mead with more of his news from London than any other sources. Although both University men, however, their different careers led to differing styles of newsletter writing. It is my belief that the idiosyncratic styles of both men not only help to ascribe news received from London unidentified by Mead: in examining his treatment of the material thus provided we can more fully appreciate the ways in which he organised the news he received.

Before proceeding further, however, a note on my methodology is necessary. Table V below is largely based on the ascription of text not identified by Mead as written by either Pory or Meddus. My assignment of material to these two sources is based on the presence of (what I believe are) characteristic “footprints” peculiar to each of them, such as the use of certain subject matter, turns of phrase and idiosyncratic spellings. I first recognised that this method of analysis might be useful while studying Pory’s holograph letters in H383/390 and comparing them to unidentified material elsewhere in H390.2 As a result, the conclusions I have reached below are based on a prior examination of either holograph letters or text that Mead identified as written by Pory or Meddus in his covering letters to Stuteville. Having by this means established a list of characteristics I examined the remainder of H390 (and H389 where necessary) for other examples, ascribing material to these two sources when the presence of one or more “footprint” warranted such a suggestion.

Biographical details of John Pory and Dr. James Meddus

John Pory was, as Powell suggested, “a man of many parts”.3 He matriculated at Gonville and Caius College Cambridge in 1588, proceeding B. A. (1592), M. A. (1595), and was incorporated M. A. at Oxford in 1610 with John Donne, an acquaintance of his. After collaborating with Richard Hakluyt in his publishing ventures, sitting for Bridgewater in Parliament between 1605–11, and carrying out a series of official or semi-official commissions that took him as far afield as Constantinople (1613–16) and Virginia (1619–23), Pory returned to London and seems to have spent

1 With the possible exception of William Boswell. Identifying the news he sent to Mead is made more difficult, however, by the latter’s reticence in ascribing information received from this source (for which see the Introduction, pp. 38–39).

2 I have also drawn on Powell’s discussion of Pory’s newsletter-writing style on pp. 54–59.

his time, when not collecting news, as a servant to Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick. How he became one of Mead's "intelligencers" is unknown, but by the summer of 1625 he had settled into the routine of sending weekly newsletters to Mead and others that he was to maintain until his retirement in 1633 due to ill-health.

While Dr. James Meddus was not such a colourful character his importance to Mead's newsgathering cannot be underestimated. He had studied at Heidelberg and Basle (proceeding D. D. at the latter on 29 December 1595/8 January 1595/96), had held the livings of Holy Trinity Minories and St. George Botolph Lane between 1597 and 1603, became Rector of St. Gabriel's Fenchurch in 1603 and of Snodland, Kent, in 1614. Like Pory he had been incorporated (D. D.) at Oxford in 1610 and had also been a chaplain to both Peregrine, Lord Willoughby and King James I. His date of death is uncertain, although March 1631/32 has been suggested. Meddus was one of Mead's earliest "intelligencers": he had supplied him with news from London (probably via Laurence Chaderton of Emmanuel College) since at least 1621, and it is probable that over the entire period of Mead's correspondence with Stuteville Meddus provided more information than any other single source.

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4 For these details see Powell's biography. Although Pory was a professional newsletter writer, sometimes the Earl's business was more important: on Friday 21 November 1628, for instance, he apologised for the delay in writing to Mead, "for my lord of Warwicks earnest busines at court would not permitt me to write any sooner", H383, folio 71r.

5 The earliest definite reference to Pory is on Tuesday 7 June 1625; Mead sent his holograph letter dated Friday the 3rd (now H383, folio 22r) with his own to Dalham; H389, folio 457r. For Pory's illness (probably a stroke) that ended his newsletters to Mead see NRO, I. C. 206, folio 1r (Mead to Justinian Isham, 27 February 1632/33); I. C. 207, folio 1r (the same to the same, 13 March 1632/33).

6 The date (presumably using Continental reckoning) is given as 8 January 1595/96 in A. Clark, Register of the University of Oxford, Volume II (1571–1622), part 1 (Publications of the Oxford Historical Society, 10, Oxford, 1887), 375. Assuming the same man was involved, Meddus demonstrated his knowledge of German in STC 22125, A sermon, preached before the two high borne princes, Fredericke the 5. And the princesse Elizabeth. Tr[anslated] out of High Dutch by J. Meddus (1613). The sermon had been preached by A. Scultetus.

7 By Thomas Birch, a successor of Meddus's as Rector of St. Gabriel's: BL Add. MS 4179, folio 21r. For the biographical details in this paragraph see ibid., folios 20v–21r; Foster, p. 998; Clark, pp. 375–76.

8 The earliest reference to Meddus in H389 is as the author of a London newsletter of Friday 16 March 1620/21 transcribed by Mead; folios 26v–27v. For the links between Meddus, Chaderton and Mead see the Introduction, p. 45.
Characteristics of Authorship (i): John Pory

(a) "I had rather believe Master Pory than such Hyperboles": Pory's "motley discourse." 9

In his newsletters Pory usually commented on his material in a colloquial and even chatty manner, best seen in his descriptions of those he particularly disliked. In his holograph letter of 5 August 1626, for instance (mostly an indignant relation of the various insolencies of the Queen's French servants that had led to their expulsion) they were reviled as "firebrands of sedition", "bawdy knaves" and "hippocrical Dogges." Other examples include the description of Sir John Savile and Sir Edwin Sandys as "Caterpillers of the Common-wealth"; of the Marquis de Blainville as "that Devill of a Jesuited Ambassadour", and the report that Count Tilly, general of the army of the Catholic League, was "satiated (it seems) with Christian blood" and intended to become a priest. 11

That Mead did not omit these phrases suggests that he was at least amused by if not in agreement with them (his own anti-Catholicism is clear enough, and one can suggest the same about Sir Martin's likely reaction). 12 Vituperation aside, Pory often used colloquialisms in relating his news: in September 1626, for instance, he wrote that the Dunkirk privateers "beg[a]n to play their old Rex" in capturing English vessels; goods seized by the City authorities in order to pay for twenty ships demanded by the Crown could not be sold, though the customers could have had "Robin-Hoods peniworths"; the King "all to be sprinkled" the City of London with thanks for assistance in setting out this fleet; the Papal Nuncio in Turin found the temporal possessions of the see of the City "a savoury morsell" and refused to relinquish them. Among Mead's sources, Pory is the only one who consistently adopted this style. 13

Another feature of Pory's writing style was his tendency to lard his prose with Latinisms or, occasionally, snippets of French or Italian. 14 The rightful possessor of the temporalities mentioned above was granted them by "his Alteza [the Duke of Savoy]...maugre the Nuntio"; a kingfisher trapped in the House of Commons was identified "in Latin Halcyon"; Mead was informed that "There was lately met at Paris L'assemblee des Notables (in latine Concilium Notabilium), being

9 Quotations from H389, folio 495r; H390, folio 114v (the latter Pory's own).
10 H383, folio 33v.
11 H390, folios 83r, 175r, 277v.
12 For Mead's anti-Catholicism see the Introduction, pp. 89-91. In his letter describing the expulsion of the Queen's French servants cited above Pory added in the margin that he had "bene somewhat the lardger [i.e., written in greater detail] for...[Stuteville's] satisfaction"; H383, folio 34r. Pory probably included some of his finest invective knowing Sir Martin would appreciate it.
13 Ibid., folios 127v (see also folio 141r), 141r, 153r, 213v.
14 As noted by Powell, p. 54.
an Epitome of the Treis Estats”; a rumour was dismissed as “absque hoc, to be but a fable”. This habit was probably not only a consequence of Pory’s education and foreign travel: in reading his newsletters one feels he enjoyed adding such flourishes and cultivated them, as he did his epithets and colloquialisms, as part of his personal style. That Mead retained such phrases suggests he appreciated them (and expected Stutcville to).

Pory often indicated the source of some of his news items; two that appear more than once are George Carew (Earl of Totnes and Master of the Ordnance) and Sir Robert Cotton the antiquary; by 1626 the latter had known Pory for at least twenty years. In demonstrating his acquaintance with well-connected people at Court and in the Privy Council Pory naturally increased the prestige of the service he provided. His habit is also helpful in indicating authorship; when the author of an otherwise unidentified London newsletter of 13 July 1626 transcribed by Mead mentioned “a noble Freind of mine” and the latter added in the margin “Sir Robert Cotton I suppose”, we can suggest Pory was the source.

(b) Pory’s Spelling

Another means I have employed to identify news supplied by Pory is by studying his spelling. There are several words or phrases he consistently (if not invariably) spells in a manner peculiar to himself among Mead’s sources. One example is “viz”: Mead himself and all his other sources use this form of the contraction, whereas Pory always used the longer “vizt”, usually with a penstroke above it to indicate the contraction. Its presence in Mead’s transcripts is another indication of Pory’s probable authorship and occurs often enough to be useful as such. Other spellings seemingly characteristic of Pory are “poulder” (> powder), “bourd” (> board), and “&ct” [Mead’s

15 H390, folios 213v, 60r, 174v, 273v. “Alteza” was taken from either the Spanish or Italian form of “Highness” (though the French is “altess”; OED, “alteza”, only citation 1660). The description of the kingfisher was taken from the story of Ceyx and Alcyone in Book XI of the Metamorphoses; see above, p. 292 n. 6.
16 Noted by Powell, pp. 56-57.
17 Pory’s letters to Cotton are in BL Cotton MS Julius C. III, folios 298r-309v; see also Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 59, 91-92 and above, p. 811 n. 11.
18 H390, folio 95r-v; see p. 360 above.
19 Holograph examples are in H383, folios 34v, 37v, 42r.
20 H390, folios 213r, 263v. Pory’s holograph spelling is in H383, folios 38r, 70v; see also “gunpoulder”, ibid.
21 H390, folios 88r, 314r; compare “abourd”, ibid., folio 275r-v; “bourded”, ibid., folio 275v. Pory’s holograph spelling is at H383, folio 73r.
usage is "&c". It appears that Pory had a reasonably wide range of identifiable spellings, enough of which occur in Mead's otherwise unidentified transcripts to suggest the former's authorship.

Characteristics of Authorship (ii): Dr. James Meddus

(a: Doctor Meddus [told] it in the open street for joy": the importance of foreign news 22

Because no holograph material from Meddus survives in H389 or H390, some of the means by which I have suggested Pory's authorship, such as the latter's spelling, are not applicable to the news provided by Meddus.23 In addition, the latter did not often employ the sort of commentary and colourful epithets favoured by Pory (except, as we might expect, at the expense of Catholics).24 It is the sorts of news Meddus sent from London rather than, with one exception, the ways in which he related it that are in my view characteristic of his authorship. Much of the material Meddus sent to Meddus was derived from letters sent from the Continent, some (if not most) of which found their way to the London Exchange: the false rumour (of a Protestant victory on the Continent) which caused Meddus so much delight in May 1622 had been heard there, for instance.25 (In the period under review, if my ascriptions to Meddus are correct, he provided Mead with over half of all the foreign news sent to Dalham).26

It is not the subject matter of the letters Meddus read in London, however, that suggests his authorship but the way his sources were described: whereas Pory displayed his familiarity with the courtiers and others who provided him with news, Meddus indicated the provenance of the letters he had read. The conjunction of the phrase "It is written" (or equivalent) with the place of origin of the following report occurs so often that one suspects Meddus sometimes did little else but glean information from such sources. A report of Mansfeld's defeat at the Dessau Bridge in April 1626 was

22 H389, folio 187r.
23 Until September 1623 and probably later Mead received Meddus's information through Laurence Chaderton; see the Introduction, p. 45.
24 Of a "Popish rumour" that Count Mazafeld had been hanged on "a tree neere the Highway" by his enemies, for instance, Meddus added "thay doubles wish [it] were true"; H390, folio 173r.
25 See n. 22 above. For the postal service to and from the Continent in the period before the Civil War see Sharpe, 'Thomas Witherings and the reform of the foreign posts', pp. 149–64.
26 According to my calculations, of 3,096 lines of foreign news sent to Dalham between January 1625/26 and December 1627, Meddus actually or conjecturally provided 1,565 (50.55%). Of the remainder, Pory was the definite or likely source of 901 lines (29.1%); various newsbooks 194 lines (6.26%). The source of the remaining 436 lines is unidentified. Even allowing for some error in my calculations Meddus was evidently the single most important source for such news.
“written out of his camp”; “Letters from all parts of Upper Germany” brought an early account of the Austrian peasant revolt; “Its written from France”, Meddus continued, that a conspiracy against Louis XIII had not yet been quelled; in December 1626 that “weekes lettres from Noremberg” and “Letlres from Hambrough” provided news; a false rumour of a defeat suffered by the Danish in June 1627 had been “written...from Antwerp”, and so on.27 A corollary to this (which dovetailed neatly with Meddus’s ingrained suspicion of Catholic perfidy) was his awareness of differing accounts of the same incident as reported by Protestant and Catholic sources. The rumour of the defeat suffered by Christian IV mentioned above deserves quoting:

On Wednesday [27 June 1627] we had here [London] a great hubbub of...newes. That the King of Denmarks whole Army was quite overthrowne, slayne, taken, dispersed, himselfe hardly escaping with life, & General Morgan hewen in pieces. This ill newes was brought by 2 Italians coming from Callis or Bullogue as being so written thither from Antwerp. But we hope it is onely some Jesuitticall imposture & the rather because the same men brought a lettre hence with them. That it was indeed so written thither from Anwerp though unlikely; for that a Ship was newly arrived there which came from Breme[n] in 3 dayes (which was later then the Anwerpe letters date) & sayd there was no such matter.28

The opposition of “Popish” and “Protestant” letters, with diametrically opposed reports of the Austrian revolt, in a newsletter of 22 December 1626 was also probably due to Meddus’s concern with Catholic bias (as well as his unwillingness to believe accounts suggesting yet another victory for Imperial forces).29 These examples indicate that, while Meddus relied on foreign letters for much of his news this had its pitfalls: perhaps one reason why he often stated the place of origin of the letter in question (Antwerp was evidently a source to be regarded with some suspicion).

(b) Meddus and Mortality

While the news Meddus sent to Cambridge is best summarised by its attention to Continental events, this was by no means all he provided. Two aspects of his domestic material are, I believe, other “footprints” of his authorship: the first is the inclusion at the end of his newsletter of

27 H390, folios 64r, 77r-v, 174r. These examples are taken from material identified as Meddus’s by Mead. Other examples and variations of the formulation occur on folios 3r, 110r, 116r, 143r, 155r-56r, 161v, 163r, 191r, 204r, 209r, 215r, 219v, 223r, 234r, 243r, 247r, 251r, 255r, 259v, 291r, 296r, 322v, 372r; H383, folio 39r-v, 51r.

28 H390, folio 274r-v. In November 1626 Antwerp reports that Count Mansfeld had been defeated by Wallenstein were “by a Jesuite corrupted” according to the unidentified author; I believe this was Meddus.

29 H383, folio 51r; compare the report in n. 24 above.
the previous week’s Bill of Mortality for London, with particular reference to the number of plague deaths. No other identifiable source includes this information.30 Due to the importance of this information during the plague epidemic of 1625–26, Mead prominently cited the previous week’s Bill in his letters to Stuteville, but I would suggest the frequency with which this information is found at the end of Mead’s transcripts indicates its usual position. A related theme, perhaps even a deliberate thematic link, is Medus’s relation, as the last item of news (and hence immediately before the Bill of Mortality) of someone’s death, especially if this had been sudden. Although the only example in material identified as Medus’s is the account of the death of Sir John Davies (who had just been preferred to the Lord Chief Justiceship of the Kings Bench but died in his sleep before he was able to take office),31 the conjunction of this type of report and the Bill of Mortality occurs too often for it to be a coincidence and originated, I believe, from a single source. In an unidentified newsletter of 6 October 1626, for instance, the deaths of Nicholas Felton Bishop of Ely and two London aldermen is the last item before the Bill; on 26 January 1626/27, that of “Master Shepherd (an Apothecary in Bucklers bury)” and the “Butler of Grayes Inne” is similarly placed; on 2 March 1626/27 a freak accident befalling the Under-Sheriff of Kent and the suicide of a “Comfitt maker” occupies the same position, as does the death after lingering illness of Sir Thomas Love on 13 April 1627.32

It remains to discuss how Mead employed the material he received from these sources in his enclosures sent to Stuteville each Saturday. As, however, no holograph letters from Medus are present in H390 it is not possible to compare his originals with the versions transcribed by Mead and sent to Dalham. This difficulty is not, however, present in Pory’s case: as we have seen, a number of his holograph letters survive which (studied in conjunction with Mead’s transcripts of his news) can suggest the ways in which Pory’s newsletters were integrated into Mead’s weekly enclosures.

While Mead usually retained Pory’s commentary as well as his news one part of each letter was always omitted: the latter’s pleasantries at beginning and end. Pory was a friend of, as well as an “intelligencer” for Mead and the correspondence was not one–way: the latter wrote to Pory in

30 Examples from material identified as Medus’s occur on H390, folios 173v, 174r, 274r. Other occurrences in the period under review (in unidentified material) are on H390, folios 3r, 5r, 17v, 111r, 116v, 127v, 131r, 136v, 143v, 163r, 191r, 198v, 204v, 209v, 215v, 223v, 234v, 238r, 244v, 251v, 260r, 267v, 282r, 288r, 291v, 322v; H383, folio 51v. As few printed Bills of Mortality for the epidemic of 1625 survive, these addenda to Medus’s newsletters provide evidence unrecorded elsewhere; see above, p. 112 n. 369.

31 H390, folios 173v, 174r (the second instance continued, however, with a relation of the sudden death of the celebrated mathematician Edward Gunter having gone to bed “seeming well”).

32 Ibid., folios 136v, 191r, 215v, 234v. Other examples occur on folios 116v, 163r, 322v.
London. The surviving holograph letters show that Pory often addressed Mead before beginning his relation of news (as Mead did when writing to Stuteville), and in preparing his transcripts in Cambridge Mead omitted these passages. When, for whatever reason, Pory's holograph letter was sent to Dalham such passages were crossed out by Mead: the personal content of the correspondence was removed to leave only the former's account of the week's news.

Mead was fairly consistent in his selections from Pory's newsletters: this is indicated by a closer examination of the length of the former's transcripts sent to Dalham. Pory wrote three or (more usually) four pages of news to Mead, plus marginal comments; the average length of his holograph letters written to Mead between 1626–28 in H383 and H390 is 110 lines. Mead, however, only transcribed an average of 47 lines of those Pory letters he himself identified as such, and 63 lines from those I have assigned to him from internal evidence. Even allowing for a margin of error in my calculations Mead was evidently omitting rather more than Pory's salutations and valedictions, and we can see clear examples of abridgement occurring from time to time. One such is Pory's letter of 18 October 1627, containing a false rumour of the Duke of Buckingham's return from the Île de Rhé (H390, folio 305r). Mead probably wished to give Stuteville the particulars as briefly as possible and summarised this letter in 14 lines; Pory's next report, written the following day, was dealt with in only 3 lines (folio 308r). This example indicates that Mead was prepared to considerably abridge his sources if circumstances required: providing Sir Martin with the latest news did not always mean writing several pages of text.

When he had more leisure to transcribe, however, Mead copied more of Pory's material. On 10 March 1626/27, 70 lines of Pory's newsletter of Friday the 2nd were enclosed with Mead's Saturday letter to Stuteville; on 16 June 1627 a 79 line transcript of Pory's newsletter of Friday the 8th was sent to Dalham. In general, it appears that when Mead had time to transcribe Pory's latest letter on a separate sheet of paper he gave a fuller version of his source, which was true also of Mead's other correspondents. This is what we might expect, given the difference between the two types of letter Mead wrote: his "personal" correspondence with Stuteville usually had to be written each

33 As on 5 August 1626 (misdated 5 July): "Howe muche am I bound to your love, that are pleased so far to dispense with your ague, as to lett me knowe from your owne hande, what is become of our Common friend", H383, folio 33r; see also H390, folio 113r.
34 Such as in H383, folios 33r, 37r.
35 See for instance H383, folios 68r, 70r, 72r, 74r.
36 This is based on an examination of ten such letters: H383, folios 33-34, 37–38, 41–42, 68–69, 70–71, 72–73, 74–75, 77–78, 80–81; H390, folios 113–14.
37 The brevity of these two extracts rather reduces Mead's transcript average; if we ignore them the length of selections from Pory's letters identified as such rises to 56 lines.
38 These transcripts are on H390, folios 213r-14r, 263r-64r.
Saturday by eleven o'clock in the morning or a little after, his transcripts were written on receipt of newsletters from London (which did not arrive until later that day) to be enclosed in the following Saturday's letter to Sir Martin. Mead's treatment of his sources differed as a consequence of the medium of transcription.

This important point can be deduced from an examination of another way in which Mead dealt with his sources, which was to conflate several letters into one narrative. An example is the transcript dated 19 January 1626/27: Mead combined at least two sources, Meddus possibly one of them, to provide a continuous account for Sir Martin. By doing this, differing reports of the same events were added together to provide a full account with the minimum of repetition. On this occasion Mead integrated different versions of the same news into his text rather than using a series of marginal notes to accommodate the same information as he did elsewhere. That Pory's news was used in this way can be seen, I believe, from Mead's letter of Saturday 17 November 1627 (H390, folio 319r–v): Mead conflated the previous Saturday's letters because the news of the disaster at the Île de Rhé had reached Cambridge on Friday the 16th, thus making much of the previous week's news "not worth the telling" (line 44); judging by the description of the Dunkirkers as "Roagues" (line 79), Pory's latest London newsletter may well have been used as a source of Mead's narrative. On those occasions when Mead conflated his source material in this way it is much more difficult to isolate the characteristic features of Pory's style, but whether the latter was indeed the source here does not affect the fact that Mead was prepared to alter the form and content of his sources in varying ways to suit circumstances.

39 For this see the Introduction, pp. 54–55.
40 H390, folios 184r–85r; see n. 51 below.
41 Such as the report of the masque held at Court on Sunday 14 January. One source provided the date and duration of the entertainment; another (an eyewitness) described the dancing at the end of the performance. Ibid., folio 184v.
Table V: the news received by Mead from John Pory and Dr. James Meddus between January 1625/26 and December 1627

Table V shows the material in Mead’s transcripts of London newsletters which I have identified (based on Mead’s references and the methods discussed above) as definitely or conjecturally originating from John Pory and Dr. James Meddus between January 1625/26 and December 1627. The news Mead received from these two sources is in three categories, indicated in the table by different typefaces:

(i) holograph letters, indicated by bold type (this applies to Pory only)
(ii) information Mead identified as coming from Pory or Meddus in transcribing it for Stuteville, indicated by roman type
(iii) otherwise unidentified material which I believe from internal evidence came from Pory and Meddus, indicated by italic type

The folio and line references in Table V below (all of which are to H390 unless otherwise stated) have been rendered in bold, roman or italic type depending on the category in which the material in question is included. The date of each newsletter (actually or conjecturally) sent by Pory and Meddus is given in the left-hand column. In a number of newsletters Mead added marginal notes to the news provided by Pory and Meddus; these have been indicated in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Letter: 1625/26</th>
<th>Material provided by John Pory</th>
<th>Material provided by Dr. Meddus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday 13 January</td>
<td></td>
<td>folio 3r (except line 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday 19 January</td>
<td>folio 17r–v, lines 17–54</td>
<td>folio 5r, lines 6–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday 26 January</td>
<td>(except lines 34–35)</td>
<td>folio 17v, lines 57–71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 27 January</td>
<td></td>
<td>folio 9r–v, lines 22–57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday 23 March</td>
<td></td>
<td>folio 31r, lines 2–27 (except lines 12–14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43 This was included in Mead’s letter to Stuteville of Saturday 21 January.
44 Included in Mead’s letter of Saturday 28 January.
44 Included in Mead’s letter of Saturday 4 February.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Letter: 1626</th>
<th>Material provided by John Porv</th>
<th>Material provided by Dr. Medduis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friday 7 April?</td>
<td></td>
<td>folio 43r, lines 4–10, 713–21 (except line 17) 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 28 April</td>
<td>folio 49r–v, lines 2–58 (except line 38)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 5 May</td>
<td>folios 51r–52r, lines 2–94 (except line 89)</td>
<td>folio 56v, lines 135–50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 12 May</td>
<td>folios 55r–56v, lines 2–120 (except lines 46–47, 69)</td>
<td>folio 61v, lines 135–51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 19 May</td>
<td>folio 60r–v, lines 2–90</td>
<td>folio 64r, lines 3–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday 25 May</td>
<td></td>
<td>folio 77r–v, lines 2–61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 26 May</td>
<td>folio 65r–v, lines 3–71</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 9 June</td>
<td>folio 73r–v, lines 2–72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 16 June</td>
<td>folio 83r–v, lines 2–44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 30 June</td>
<td>folio 88r–v, lines 62–118</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 7 July</td>
<td>folio 95r, lines 14–39 (except lines 34–35)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thursday 13 July</td>
<td>folio 101r–v, lines 2–45</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturday 5 August</td>
<td>H383, folios 33r–34v</td>
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<td>Friday 11 August</td>
<td>H383, folios 37r–38r</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Friday 18 August</td>
<td>folios 113r–14v</td>
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<td>Friday 1 September</td>
<td>H383, folios 41r–42r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturday 2 September</td>
<td>folio 115r–16r, lines 2–93 (except line 19)</td>
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<td>Friday 8 September</td>
<td>folio 116r–v, lines 108–30</td>
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<td>Friday 15 September</td>
<td>folio 122r–v, lines 82–143 (except line 89)</td>
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<td>Friday 22 September</td>
<td>folio 127r–v, lines 2–74 (except lines 15, 57)</td>
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<td>Friday 29 September</td>
<td>folio 131r, lines 2–40</td>
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<td>Friday 6 October</td>
<td>folio 136r–v, lines 2–80 (except lines 36–39, 78–80)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 13 October</td>
<td>folio 141r–42r, lines 2–67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 In his letter of Saturday 15 April 1626 Mead referred to items from a Meddus letter received on the previous Saturday; this must have been written a day or two before.

46 This transcript of Meddus’s newsletter of 1 September is not in Mead’s hand. It was probably written by Robert Gell; see the Headnote on p. 432 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Letter: 1626</th>
<th>Material provided by John Pory</th>
<th>Material provided by Dr. Meddus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friday 20 October</td>
<td>folios 143v–44v, lines 44–112 (except lines 101–104)</td>
<td>folio 143r–v, lines 2–42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 27 October</td>
<td>folio 147r–v, lines 2–84 (except line 54)</td>
<td>folios 153v–54r, lines 55–76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saturday 4 November</td>
<td>folio 153r–v, lines 2–53</td>
<td>folios 155v–56v, lines 2–138 (except line 130)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 10 November</td>
<td>folio 156v, lines 140–80 (except line 178)</td>
<td>folios 161v–62r, lines 51–62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday 17 November</td>
<td>folio 161r–v, lines 2–49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday 23 November</td>
<td>folio 165r–v, lines 9–51 (except line 34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 24 November</td>
<td>folios 164r–63v, lines 100–42</td>
<td>folio 163r, lines 2–44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday 26 November</td>
<td>folios 167r–68r, lines 3–88 (except lines 63–64)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 1 December</td>
<td>folio 168r–v, lines 120–58 (and 120–62)</td>
<td>folio 173r–v, lines 2–53 (except lines 22, 42–43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday 3 December</td>
<td>folio 174v–75r, lines 53–119</td>
<td>folio 174r–v, lines 2–51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 8 December</td>
<td>H383, folios 51v–52r, lines 65–110</td>
<td>H383, folio 51r–v, lines 2–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 15 December</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday 22 December</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Date: 1626/27**

| Friday 19 January   | folios 191v–92r, lines 42–108 | folio 184r–v, lines 2–11, 19–33, 35–48 |
| Friday 26 January   | folios 198v–99r, lines 75–112 | folio 191r, lines 2–40 |
| Friday 2 February   | folios 196r–97r, lines 2–70 | folio 198r–v, lines 2–47 |

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47 Included in Mead’s letter to Stuteville of Saturday 25 November.

48 For further details of the foliation of this letter (which includes both Meddus’s newsletter of Friday 24 November and Pory’s dated Sunday the 26th) see above, p. 571 n. 1.

49 This was included in the same transcript as Pory’s letter of Friday 1 December.

50 H383 folios 51–52 are not in Mead’s hand; see the Headnote on p. 604 above.

51 In this letter news possibly from Meddus was interspersed with material from one or more other sources; see the Headnote on p. 625 above.

52 Also included in this letter was a passage written in invisible ink which Mead added to his letter of 3 February 1626/27 (lines 6–10); H390, folio 194r.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Letter: 1626/27</th>
<th>Material provided by John Pory</th>
<th>Material provided by Dr. Moddus</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Friday 17 August</td>
<td>folio 288r–v, lines 81–116</td>
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53 Mead added this as an “Appendix” to Pory’s newsletter of 23 February (see next item in table).  
54 This was Pory’s first newsletter for “a long time”; H390, folio 269r.  
55 These extracts were included in Mead’s letter to Stoteville of Friday 29 June; see the Headnote on p. 822.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Material provided by John Pory</th>
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56 The marginal notes to this transcript were taken from a newsbook dated 26 September; see above, p. 877 lines 3–5.
57 These extracts were included in Mead's letter to Stuteville of Saturday 20 October.
58 Included in Mead's letter of Sunday 21 October.
59 Included in Mead's letter to Stuteville of Saturday 10 November.
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4. UNPUBLISHED THESES


Frearson, M. J. 'The English corantos of the 1620s' (University of Cambridge Ph.D., in progress)


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