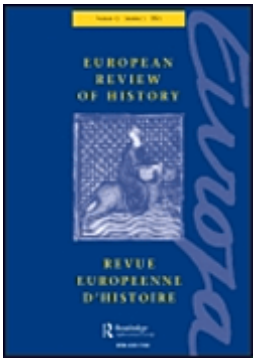

Opposing Peace: English Political Pamphlets against the Treaty of Madrid in 1630

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Abstract:

In November 1630 the Treaty of Madrid was signed between Philip IV, king of Spain, and Charles I, king of England. During the peace negotiations several pamphlets critical with the pro-Spanish policy of Charles I were printed in England. These publications contributed to the development of an increasing criticism towards Charles I, by identifying his neutral European policy with pro-Spanish policies. The anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric, which formed the basis of this criticism, were used to promote an aggressive foreign policy and consequently an active opposition to the king. The following pamphlets are discussed in this paper: *Considerations touching a warre with Spaine*, *The merchandises of Popish priests*, *The English Spanish Pilgrim*, *Further observations of the English Spanish pilgrime*, *The practise of princes*, *The present estate of Spayne* and *Three severall treatises concerning the truce*.

Keywords: Stuart England, Spain, peace treaties, pamphleteering, peace-making, news

Introduction

On November 1629 the Venetian Ambassador in London informed the Senate of his city of the imminent arrival of the Spanish Ambassador Carlos Coloma, who intended to conduct negotiations for a peace treaty at the English court. In his report Giovanni Soranzo informed that

> They have had some difficulty about preparing quarters for him, as no one was willing to give his house for the ambassador of Spain, owing to the detestation of the generality for that nation, especially the Puritans, whose party is in the ascendant.[1]

Despite the inaccuracies that his report contains regarding English politics – by 1629 the

Puritan party was not the leading faction in court –, it also contains valuable information about the perception of foreign policy by English population. Contrary to tradition, no special festivities were publicly prepared for the reception of the Spanish Ambassador. However, his presence in the English court did not go unnoticed. First of all, he enjoyed a welcoming reception from the king. On the other hand, the streets of London were filled with rumours and news about his whereabouts and his proceedings. Although Soranzo complained that he was 'utterly in the dark yet on the strength of common rumour',[2] pamphlets and news echoed his actions and those of the king and his counsellors, offering different versions and interpretations for an audience avid for news.

As a consequence, several pamphlets dealing with the ongoing peace negotiations were printed with the objective of informing and influencing public opinion. In this paper I will discuss six of the works that are part of a trend opposing the peace negotiations (see Table 1). Charles' foreign policy in 1629-1630, aimed at concluding peace in the international context in order to deal with internal conflicts, was regarded by the authors of the pamphlets as an abandonment of English international duties towards its Protestant co-religionists. I will argue that these publications contributed to the development of an increasing criticism towards Charles I by demanding a more aggressive foreign policy against Catholic states, especially Spain. The fact that most of them shared a strong godly and anti-Spanish sentiment points towards a sense of opposition from the authors to the peace-making negotiations.

It is the argument here that these pamphlets presented certain critical images of the king, his counsellors and his policies, thus making the audience familiar with them and shaping its opinion towards an increasing criticism. In fact, K. Sharpe has stressed the importance of the perception of royal image by acknowledging that 'nor ultimately could the theatre of state be sustained without the will of the subject'.[3] Considering that the process of constructing authority also meant successfully communicating it, critical literature challenged royal

sovereignty by undermining the image of authority.[4] The pamphlets printed during the early 1630s contributed to create a state of opinion against the king's policies, which would contribute to the increasing breach between the king and his subjects[5]. The printing of pamphlets had indeed a double objective. It was intended to influence both the actions and the convictions of the audience, as P. Schmidt has successfully proved for the German case during the Thirty Years War.[6] Therefore, it will be analysed here the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric that lay at the root of this criticism and how they were used to promote an aggressive foreign policy and consequently an active opposition to the king.

During the 1620s and 1630s there was an increasing interest in news regarding Spain. The peak point was 1623-1624, when the number of printed sources relating to Spain rocketed. It was the years of the negotiation of the Spanish Match. After its failure, the interest in Spain decreased slightly, with the sole exception of the news related to the Anglo-Dutch attack on Cadiz.[7] There was a significant rise in the quantity of printed material around 1630, when the Treaty of Madrid was passed.

However, there had been a slight change in the topics discussed in the pamphlets. While during the negotiations of the Spanish Match critical pamphlets focused in the proceedings of the Spanish ambassadors and the dangers that they posed to English society, the focus in 1629 – 1630 was mainly on the proceedings of the royal policies.[8] Not only were the pamphlets critical of the peace negotiations, but they were also critical of the rule of Charles I himself and that of his father. The latter developments in English politics had created an atmosphere of increasing opposition towards Charles I.[9] The failed military expeditions to Cadiz, La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé, the impeachment to the Duke of Buckingham and his subsequent death and the dissolution of the Parliament had led to a lack of confidence in his authority, while increasing the fear of absolutist trends.

J. Schleck has argued that the reading of foreign news regarding the Thirty Years War and the construction of a 'truth' on its basis further widened the breach between England's monarchs and its subjects, preparing the path to Civil Wars.[10] In fact, the early stages of opposition to Charles I must be sought during the early years of his reign, in which the neutral European policy was understood as pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic, and thus encouraged the opposition to the Crown. The Treaty of Madrid was a marking point in this consideration, and therefore it was a topic discussed in different publications. It also provoked the reprinting of some pamphlets published during the reign of James I which were highly critical with his tolerance of Catholicism, such as *The Merchandise of Popish Priests*.

Diplomatic conflicts and political negotiations: the Treaty of Madrid

In a letter addressed to the Council of State and dated 17th of April, 1630, Carlos Coloma warned the Spanish counsellors that the English people pleaded with the king not to sign the peace accord with Spain unless there was an agreement for the restitution of the Palatinate.[11] The consideration of foreign policy as a sole prerogative of the monarchs was called into question during the early seventeenth century in England, while the English population became increasingly aware of the importance of news. Indeed, the early years of the seventeenth century saw a boom in the production of news and pamphleteering. Despite the fact that James I issued a proclamation in 1620 reminding that matters of state were not to be discussed by 'vulgar persons', it had little effect on a rapidly changing public sphere, as the repetition of the proclamation in 1621, 1623 and 1624 proves.[12] Discussion of foreign events in the news became more common with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War and the English intervention in continental Europe between 1625 and 1628.[13] However, this process was soon to be counteracted by a decree issued in October 1632, which forbid news from abroad to be

published in England.[14] By these means the king expected to end the public discussion of his foreign policy, thus continuing the process initiated by James I in 1621.

Although English foreign politics during the 1630s has been traditionally defined as neutral and isolated from continental Europe, K. Sharpe already proved that there was not a process of disengagement from the events in Europe, but a new strategy based on diplomatic collaboration which avoided the persistent international conflicts of the previous decade.[15] A. Marks' thesis recently contributed to this perspective by showing how the English soldiers who fought in the armies of the Dutch Republic, Denmark and Sweden played an active role in Stuart policy.[16] According to Reeve's view, however, it was precisely the peace negotiations with Spain what brought the international divisions into the English court.[17]

From the beginning of 1627 unofficial negotiations were carried out in order to restore peace between England and Spain. The failures at Cadiz, Rhe and La Rochelle and the dissolution of Parliament in 1629 forced Charles I to seek peaceful relations with his neighbours. The early years of the 1630s were therefore marked by the peace concluded with both Spain and France, a period defined by K. Sharpe as "pax carolana".[18] Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Governor of the Habsburg Low Countries, took the initiative by promoting the conversations between Peter Paul Rubens, at that time her chamber painter, and Balthasar Gerbier, a painter at the service of the Duke of Buckingham who was in charge of enlarging his artistic collection. On 24 February 1627 Philip IV ordered Isabella to continue the negotiations started by Gerbier and Rubens, despite the uncertainty of news coming from England.[19] Olivares, however, showed his mistrust towards a possible negotiation with England, and he declared his preferences for a treaty with France.[20] But when he heard that Charles I was negotiating a separate treaty with France (the Treaty of Susa, 1629), the push for the negotiations became more urgent.

The choice of Rubens, one of the greatest painters of his time, as the person in charge of negotiations especially pleased Charles I. The king was a great lover of the art of painting and, during the stay of Rubens at his court, the latter painted several pictures for him. Among those, two commissions are of utmost significance for the arguments presented here. In *Minerva protects Pax from Mars* (1629-1630, National Gallery, ref. no. NG46) Rubens illustrated his hopes for an Anglo-Spanish agreement and the willingness of Charles I of reaching peace.

Charles I was especially aware of the importance of royal image and the role played by visual programmes. During his stay in Madrid he witnessed the high quality collections of the Habsburgs and realised the importance of his public display and management of the royal figure and authority, developing a style of himself that has been defined by K. Sharpe as a *'(silent) representation of* majesty'.[21] After his return to England he commissioned the decoration of the new Banqueting Hall, conceived as a *speculum principum*, a pictorial programme embodying the virtues of a Prince.[22] Rubens had made the first sketches for it in 1620-1621, although the canvases were not finally installed until 1636.[23] *The Apotheosis of James I* and *The Peaceful Reign of James I* glorified the reign of the first Stuart king, while *The Union of the Crowns* depicted James' advocacy for union between England and Scotland. In that sense, the Banqueting Hall was also conceived as a *speculum republicae* or the representation of the whole political body.

Rubens also negotiated with the Lord Treasurer Richard Weston. Weston included Francis Cottington, a known Hispanophile courtier, in the talks, but excluded Dorchester and Holland from the negotiations, knowing that they would intend to oppose them. [24] That decision showed the division within the government between those willing to reach an agreement with Spain and those opposed to it, a group that included Dorchester, Holland and Pembroke. In fact, Dorchester even complained about the pacification efforts of Charles I.[25]

In 1629 Cottington travelled to Madrid, while Carlos Coloma was sent to London, in order to conduct official negotiations. Philip IV was confident about the outcome of the negotiations, and wanted to avoid an Anglo-French understanding.[26] Spain's main concern was the situation in the Low Countries, and Olivares insisted on the role of England as a mediator before signing peace. However, Governor Isabella finally convinced Philip IV that it would be impossible to reach an agreement on those terms, and all that was concluded was the English promise to mediate after the conclusion of the treaty. Similarly, the Spanish monarch had traditionally presented himself as the protector of the Catholics in England, and therefore Olivares demanded a relaxation of the penal laws against them.[27]

However, the main obstacle was not any of these points, but the restitution of the Palatinate. In order to reach an agreement, Philip IV even considered the participation of Frederick and the king of Denmark in the treaty.[28] Eventually, however, any firm solution to the conflict was postpone until after the conclusion of the peace. Olivares and Cottington reached the compromise that Philip IV would mediate between the Emperor and the count palatine once the treaty was signed. The Count-Duke of Olivares and the English ambassador Sir Francis Cottington drafted the first agreement in Madrid and the treaty was finally signed by Philip IV and Charles I on the 15th November 1630.

Before leaving for England, Cottington and Olivares signed a secret treaty about the division of the United Provinces if they would not accept English mediation. Even though the secret articles were eventually not ratified, the Treaty of Madrid posed a real risk to the United Provinces, by turning one of its allies – England – into the ally of their main enemy, and by promoting Anglo-Dutch competition at sea.[29]

In England the peace accord was published in 1630 by Robert Barker, head of the office of King's Printer in English, under the title *Articles of Peace* and it was widely distributed, with several surviving copies. At the very end of negotiations, just when the treaty was being

concluded, Robert Barker printed an abstract of the reasons justifying the new peace treaty.[30] However, the fact that most issues from the 1630-1631 series of the newsbooks published by Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter have been lost deprives us of gaining an insight into the reception and distribution of the news regarding the Treaty of Madrid.[31]

Pamphleteers against peace: a challenge to royal image

In addition to the newssheets printed in London, Antwerp, Madrid and several other locations, a number of treaties and pamphlets dealing with the Treaty of Madrid were printed in England. The renewed interest in Spain started at the same time of the official negotiations. Already in 1629 there were a growing number of publications dealing with Spain – or Catholicism, as they were usually linked in the English collective imaginary – in comparison with the previous years. In fact, after 1625 there was barely any reference to Spain in the pamphlets printed until 1629. Table 1 sums up the publications which will be discussed in this paper and their editions **[Insert Table 1 (a) and (b) near here]**. However, it is impossible to determine the real scope of these pamphlets. By how many people they were read –or heard –and how many people they influenced are all questions beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, the fact that they exist is representative of a state of opinion, and as such it should be considered.

In 1629 a compilation of the works of the great philosopher Francis Bacon was printed in London. Among them was a version of a writing addressed to Charles I that Bacon composed in 1624, *Considerations Touching a Warre with Spaine.* In this writing Bacon analyses the historical and geo-political situation of the Anglo-Spanish connexions and argues that Spanish power is built on the dominion of the West Indies and the cohesion around Catholicism.[32] Therefore, it is not surprising that such an analysis, which at the same time advocates for a war against Spain, was reprinted during the course of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations for a peace agreement.

That same year, Henry Gosson, known for having previously printed a series of Anti-Catholic pamphlets, published in London *The Merchandises of Popish Priests, or A Discovery of The Jesuites Trumpery Newly Packed in England*. It was a translation from the French work of Jean Chassanion, *Excellent traité de la marchandise des prestres,* printed in 1603 in Hanau.[33] The English version had been first published in London in 1604 by James Roberts.[34] The date is not accidental. Its first printing in England was coincident with the signing of the Treaty of London, which put an end to the long-lasting war between England and Spain. As it was, the new edition came into being shortly before the new treaty between England and Spain was to be signed.

One of the most prolific authors of that period was James Wadsworth, who took the position of Thomas Scott as the main polemicist against Spain. In barely two years he published three different tracts concerning the negotiations of the treaty and the dangers of Catholicism, which he knew well. His father had been first an Anglican Chaplain who had accompanied Charles Cornwallis to Spain when he was sent as a resident ambassador to Madrid. There he converted to Catholicism and acted as a tutor of English for the Spanish *infanta* María. He then received a pension from Philip IV, and eventually brought his wife and children to live with him in Spain, whom he raised as Catholics.[35] In fact, his son James attended the English college at St Omer, before converting to Anglicanism. While still a Catholic, he acted as an interpreter for courtiers during the voyage of Prince Charles to Madrid in 1623.[36] But in 1625 he returned to England, denounced Popery and abandoned Catholicism.

His father had published in 1615 a book entitled *The Contrition of a Protestant Preacher*, which was printed in St Omer. In contrast with it, James Wadsworth´s son dedicated much of his writing to the dissemination of anti-Catholic feelings. In his book published in 1629 and printed in London by Michael Sparke, *The English Spanish Pilgrime. Or a new discovery of Spanish Popery and Iesuiticall Stratagems*, he expresses his ideas about

Catholicism. While he devotes a whole chapter to the period in which he was captured and enslaved by Moor pirates in Sale, it was not the Muslims who really posed a threat for England, but the Catholics supported by Spain.[37] Although the topic of the book is his conversion from Catholicism to the Church of England, he did not find it easy to have it published. He had to plead to the Oxford colleges for a general collection that would pay the costs of printing.[38] The person who eventually printed it, Michael Sparke, was a renowned Protestant book dealer and importer of Bibles from the Dutch Republic.[39] Wadsworth dedicated his first work to the Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, under whose patronage he was publishing. However, a second edition published in 1630 is dedicated to the Earl of Holland. Written in the form of an autobiography, the author explains his personal life and how he came to abandon Catholicism and convert himself to Protestantism. In the introduction, Wadsworth devoted his work and writing to 'the honour of God and the good of my country'.[40]

The *English Spanish Pilgrime* builds on an image already familiar to the English audience. In 1625 Bernard Alsop had printed in London *The Spanish pilgrime: or, An admirable discouery of a Romish Catholicke. Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the Protestant kings, princes, and potentates of Europe, to make warre vpon the King of Spaines owne countrey*, a translation from a French tract which was, in turn, a translation from a Spanish original by an unknown author.[41] Furthermore, in 1623 a translation from Lope de Vega's *The pilgrime of Casteele* enjoyed great success. Notwithstanding the clear anti-Spanish sentiments of large parts of the population, Spanish literature was nonetheless popular among English readers.[42]

A year later he published the continuation of his successful work under the title *Further Observation of The English Spanish Pilgrime*, in which he pushes his argument forward. That same year he published *The Present Estate of Spayne*, a translation from an unknown Italian

original, and *Miles Gloriosus. The Spanish Bragadacio*, originally published by Jacques Gaultier and translated by Wadsworth from French.[43]

The same year that the Treaty of Madrid was signed, an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Practise of Princes* was printed in Amsterdam. It only bears the inscription 'A. Ar.' as the name of the author, which makes it highly difficult to identify. Although K. Sharpe has noted that it might have been clandestinely published in England, *The Practise of Princes* was printed *by the sucessors of Giles Thorp*, according to the inscription on the front page.[44] Giles Thorp had been an Englishman who exiled himself from England and settled in Amsterdam as part of the newly settled community of Calvinist dissenters.[45] Upon their arrival in Amsterdam they dedicated themselves to expressing their opinions in print and entrusted different Dutch printers with their works. But, as time passed, some of the members of the community, headed by Giles Thorp, decided to set up a bookshop where they would sell and distribute their own printings. His shop became a centre of the English printing in Amsterdam, and so it is not surprising that it might have been the place chosen by the anonymous author of *The Practise of Princes* to have his work printed, assuring himself that it would reach a wide English audience. The Dutch Republic was also the place where the Elector Palatine and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, dwelt after their defeat in Bohemia.[46] Thus there was a wide interest in raising support for the Palatinate cause.

In fact, the Treaty of Madrid broke the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of Southampton, signed in 1625, which stated that no separate peace could be concluded with Spain. Charles I had committed to provide the United Provinces with financial and military support. Charles had also promised Frederick and Elizabeth that he would not end the war without the restitution of the Palatinate.[47] The agreement reached in Madrid was therefore a clear breach of that promise, as no real solution was reached for the Palatinate, apart from Philip IV's compromise to mediate with the Emperor. This fact notwithstanding, Thomas Roe was sent to the Dutch Republic and

the Baltic in late June 1629 to explore the idea of a northern Protestant league. Although Roe's mission was promoted by Carleton, Charles was more reluctant to commit to financial aid.[48]

It would be therefore not surprising that rumours of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations provoked an opposing reaction in the form of pamphlets. In this context, *The Practise of Princes* had to be understood as a call to Charles I to comply with his international compromises and support his allied against Spain.

Nonetheless, there were also significant differences among the English supporters of war. While Carleton supported an alliance with France, Roe rejected any agreement with a Catholic power.[49] This point of view is also expressed in *The Practise of Princes*:

> for seeing the French King is such a manifest freind & champion of Antichrist, a Protestants peace and alliance with him cannot be so safe as it was with his father, nor much better then with Spaine.[50]

Although no conclusion can be draw from this, as there is no evidence to support it, it is significant to note that the pamphlet was printed during the same time of Roe's diplomatic mission.

In order to situate his pamphlet in the specific context of the English polemical literature, the author used references to pamphlets previously printed in England which enjoyed a wide distribution. It cited Thomas Scott *Vox Populi* and *Votiva Angliae,* and the anonymous *Tom Tell Troath*, published in 1624.[51] The reference to these three publications proves the existence of a continuous and ongoing public sphere with a shared code of images, references, situations and metaphors that were part of the collective imagination of the English population. In the following sections the most common topics of this code will be discussed.

The Basis for Criticism: The Idea of a Spanish Party and Jesuits' Fear

In Bacon's essay the topic of the *monarchia universalis* predominates through the whole

treatise and becomes the key element in the consideration of Spanish policies.[52] It can be seen from its relation with other states, according to Bacon, who considers that the lust for universal rule of the Spanish king caused 'much matter of quarrel and jealousy, but little of amity and trust towards Spain, almost in all other states'.[53] Far from being original, the topic of *monarchia universalis* was recurrent in popular libels, as well as in the German propaganda of the Thirty Years War.[54] A 1623 libel which dealt with the Spanish Match warned:

> and his [the Pope's] deare sone that Catholicke Monarchie / that would grasp all within his empiry, / why with intestine arms doth he oppress / the trew religion? When his rich excess / of riot, spoyle, & rapine doe abound […].[55]

In a different libel, *Upon Heriot the Philosopher*, there are similar considerations regarding the so called *Spanish tyranny*: 'Spaine is his heart, treating of peace, for warre / closely providing'.[56]

The embodiment of the *Spanish tyranny* is the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador who resided in England in the early 1620s. His close friendship with king James raised rumours of plotting and suspicions of Catholicism in the king. Gondomar had been a much hated figure by the English public opinion and his death in 1626 had not changed that. He continued to appear in English pamphlets and libels as the incarnation of all Popish plots and treacheries and as the main representative of the Spanish faction. The consequences of such a policy had not been difficult to foresee, according to the Calvinist view and therefore they

> found no better fruite then the increase of papists and the emboldening of them here, the shamfull losse of the Palatinate, the undoing of his posterity there, the danger of loosing his only Sone in Spaine, the more violent persecution of the protestants [...] Germanie and France, to the losse of many freinds abroade, of [...] Subiects hearts at hime, and his owne fame every where.[57]

The Spanish Monarchy is thus regarded as the main external enemy. Additionally, two internal

enemies are usually identifiable in this type of tracts: Papists and Remonstrants. Critics to Catholicism were based on the topics seen during the Reformation. As such, there was a critical position against the cult to saints, calling into consideration their great number and attributes: 'there be also many other Saints beside, for sundry occupations, every one busied in his owne imployment'.[58]

As a consequence, Popery and Catholicism became a target of attacks. Jesuits enjoyed a significant role due to their leadership in the mission of England. In the front page of *The Merchandises of Popish Priests*, a woodcut displays a 'packe of Popish trinkets', which contains a cross, a bell and a Bible, as well as a calyx, a candle, a feather and a crucifix, signalling the main occupations of the Jesuits. Henry Gosson, the printer, had previously published a number of anti-Catholic pamphlets. This one explicitly continues this idea by blaming the Jesuits of 'imposyson[ing] the whole earth, that make a new kinde of Sect, and say they are of the societie of Iesus (as it all other men were secluded and excommunicated from them)'.[59] In the preface of Jean Chassanion's work, the story is told of a Catholic gentleman from Lorraine who suffered an attempted deception by a Jesuit. And to further prove their bad practices, a list with the prices that had to be paid in order to gain the absolution of the sins is included thereby. Chassanion considers that 'we doe them too much honor, in calling them Merchants, for they ought rather to be termed Mountebanks', for they had 'usurped & gotten (almost) the whole riches of the land, yea, very neere of the whole world'.[60] Jesuits are pictured as a threat to order, providing that they

> raised and stirre up warres, debates, noises, perturbations: they burne, they kill, they persecute, they imprison and expulse (to their uttermost power) all that dare contradict their doings.[61]

Similar ideas can be seen in Wadsworth's works, despite having been a Catholic himself. Great part of his criticism is aimed towards Jesuits, who are described as

> meere Machiavillians, who doe nothing but imploy themselves in matters of State, and insinuate themselves into the secrets of great ones, and giving true intelligence to none, save to the Pope and his Catholike Maiesty.[62]

Jesuits were also thought to have been involved in the government of James I, disguised as counsellors they would have had access to the king himself and later to his son: 'yet som men make *a god* of him, and urge his Sonne to follow his father wisdom, as if wee had not yet had mischeife enough by the reviveing Romish and Spanish factions'.[63] Jesuits were usually associated with Spain and hence the association with the Spanish faction at court was easy to make: 'but midled with jesuited Spirits, given to change, religion and government, as beeing of the Spanish faction'.[64]

A Call to Action: The Defence of Reformed Religion

Against the interference of Jesuits and Spanish counsellors, pamphleteers demanded the defence of the reformed religion to become the core of English foreign policy. The acceptance of the Treaty of Madrid, without having reached an agreement for the Palatinate, was regarded as a consequence of a pro-Spanish turn driven by the king and some of his counsellors, namely the Lord Treasurer Richard Weston and Francis Cottington. In the pamphlets, war was regarded in terms of confessional lines, the protection of the Protestant religion and the call for a more ambitious English policy in the international sphere. However, the godly faction was not the only one in favour of a war against Spain. Courtiers in the circle of queen Henrietta Maria, which included Catholics, were also advocates of war against Spain, as they favoured an alliance with France.[65]

However, the quest for a war against Spain was not without problems. Francis Bacon, although a firm opponent to James I's pro-Spanish policies, acknowledged that 'a warre with Spaine (the King shall enter into it) is a mightie work. It requireth strong materials'.[66] He had been a member of the commission to whom James I had announced the marriage of his son

with the Spanish *infanta* in 1617, and since then he had regarded the alliance with Spain as fatal for the good relationship of the king and the Parliament.[67]

Albeit printed after Bacon's death, the arguments presented in his writing still attracted the attention of the population, as they seemed to fit perfectly in the current situation. It started with a rhetorical question of utmost significance for his audience:

> Your Maiestie hath an Imperiall name. It was a *Charles* that brought the Empire first into France; A *Charles* that brought it first into Spaine; Why should not Great Brittaine have his turne?[68]

The claim for an imperial, more ambitious policy, independent from Spain continued throughout the subsequent pages. Despite the accusations of *monarchia universalis*, the remainder of the European monarchies had universalist pretensions as well.[69] 'Spaine is no such a Giant' he claimed, and encouraged the sovereign to take arms against it. He then states the arguments for procuring a war, which are based on the recovery of the Palatinate and the protection of religion.[70] According to Bacon, the balance of power in Europe seemed at risk by the proselytism of the Spanish monarchy. Later on, he pushes the argument further to prove the divine character of such an enterprise: 'I said Spaine was no such Giant, and yet if he were a Giant, it will be but as it was betweene *David* and *Goliah*, for God is on our side'.[71]

The idea of divine support to the Protestant cause is a constant trend which appears in all the pamphlets. In a compilation of pamphlets of Dutch origin entitled *Three Severall Treatises*, despite accepting that a war is 'a cruell beast', the protection of the reformed religion develops itself as a sole reason in order to continue war and prevent truce: 'if our Religion be lost, our Countries are lost'.[72] The key point to be resolved is 'whether or no it [the signing of a truce with Spain] be agreeable to God's most holy will, & may be performed with a safe conscience'.[73] Therefore, the opposition to the treaty is a natural consequence of this protection. In this case, analogies are given between the Anglo-Spanish treaty and the truce

between Spain and the Dutch Republic in 1609.[74] They feared that a truce would expose the internal divisions within society, as had happened in the Low Countries, where the conflict between arminians and gomarists reached its peak during the years of the truce. As the Dutch resumed war after the expiration of the truce, so should Englishmen oppose the peace treaty: 'this is that causeth all faithfull Patriots, and true lovers of the fore-named Religion, to bee sensible of the danger, & to apprehe(n)d of this Truce so grievously'.[75]

By 1628 many of the members of the House of Commons in Parliament believed that the king had become separated from his subjects, as a body without its head, by the predominance of Arminian ministers, such as William Laud, and the mischievous machinations of the Catholics and the Spanish party (which included some of the most prominent counsellors of Charles I). Longer pamphlets usually establish an idea of the political structure of the society, taking as a reference the human body, considering that the king and his people were a single body represented by the Parliament. The metaphor with a sick body was used to expose the situation in England, where 'Iesuited Spirits' had infected the body, unable then to function correctly. The comparison is drawn with the poor performance of the English soldiers in the military campaigns at Cadiz, La Rochelle and the Palatinate:

> Now as in a body, if the faculty of the braine in one side be stopped […] the man becomes as it were halfe dead, and as unable to doe any service effectually, as our men were at the Palatinate, Cales, Ree, Rochel and in the Parliament howse.[76]

According to this opinion, Papists were trying to pollute the king's mind with their ideas against his people, which implies, as Sommerville points out, that the king's mental abilities were considerably reduced.[77]

Reformed authors regarded the protection of religion by the Spanish monarchy as the key point that allowed the House of Austria to prevail over Europe and maintain rule. It was considered that a similar faith gave a sense of homogeneity, which was perceived as essential

in the constitution of the political body. Only by the suppression of the 'corrupt councell and clergie in England' could the situation be improved.[78] As such, it was mandatory for the unity and defence of England to defend the Elector Palatine: 'but above all & in conclusion, herein is not only handled the particular of his Maiesty, but also the repairing, as also the liberty and maintenance of the reformed Churches'.[79]

Consequences: The Emergence of Criticism against Charles I

The pamphlets here considered warned of the pernicious effects that such a rapprochement with Spain would have on English politics. *The Practise of Princes* argued that the government was controlled by the popish and Arminian factions. Its author refers to the Bible to state that God had abandoned the English people due to the transgression of the divine laws:

> our estate is so, we have transgressed his laws with an high hand, and yet we have not hearts to lament it as we should, nor eies to see the hand of God goe out against us in all we sett our hands unto, both in peace and warre; but we attribute all to secondary causes, & looke not to the Lord against whom we have sinned.[80]

According to him, keeping the people in the true worship was one of the duties of a good ruler. However, according to the godly's view, that situation was at risk in England, due to the pro-Spanish policy of the Stuart rulers and needing to be amended by a policy-change: 'therefore state policies that stand not with pietie must needes overthrow it'.[81]

The author also criticizes the most recent enterprises of the English navy. Without mentioning them, it indirectly refers to the failed sieges of Cadiz, La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. They had demonstrated the lack of God's support, but they have also caused the ruin of the realm ('and our wealth and honour consumed, to our great reproach and ignominie'). The idea of the ruin of the realm is not at all new in godly discourse. In December 1621 the House of Commons issued a declaration stating the fourteen reasons they claimed were accountable

for the 'ruin of the religion'.[82] The Parliamentary speeches were often issued and broadly distributed, and so the discourses transcended the political sphere into the public sphere of discussion, causing a growing interest of the population in the affairs of Government. The endangered realm and the internal problems become a key issue in *The practise of princes*, whose author metaphorically expresses it: 'alas, it will be vain to bring water when the house is burnt to ashes'.[83]

King James I's policy is clearly guilty for the anonymous author of the pamphlet and should be blamed for the present situation of England. His permissiveness towards Catholics and the fact that some of his counsellors were supportive of it arouse mistrust of a return of the Catholic faith. Suspicions of Catholicism had even surrounded his wife, Anne of Denmark.[84] Although he implemented laws against Catholics during the first years of his reign, following the Gunpowder Plot, the anti-Catholic penal laws were significantly relaxed during the final years of his reign. That situation embodied the sin of the English people and the reason for its ruin:

> suffered [the Catholics] not the lawes, to be executed in Priests & Iesuits but suffered them in a manner openly to dispute, preach and write, and in som sort forbad preaching & writing against them: all which could not but make Israel to sinne.[85]

Contrary to James I, the author revives the spirit of Queen Elizabeth and her militant position against Catholicism. During the 1620s and 1630s the myth of the Elizabethan Golden Age was created, highly related to the policy of the early Stuart kings. Her reign is seen as the true reign of God on earth, and the author questions himself in a rhetorical way: 'or because Papists are bloodie, if crossed in religion, must Kings therefore temporise with them, and not rather trust in God's protection, as Queene *Elizabeth* did?'.[86] The comparison between the early Stuart monarchs and former rulers and Protestant leaders, such as William of Orange or Queen Elizabeth was a common topic of discussion and a veiled criticism towards the former. In fact,

in *Three Severall Treatises* the initial sentences already call for a change in the royal policy as a subtle critic of the dissolution of the Parliament. By comparing Charles I's leadership against that of William of Orange, it is claimed that 'our high and mighty Superiours followed the same steps [as William of Orange]' in the signing of the Truce.[87] News shaped a new construction of the present, creating a temporal zone between the past and the future that offered space for discussion of current events.[88] During James I's and Charles I's reigns the idea of a Golden Age was shaped, which looked back to the time of Queen Elizabeth. This conception of the Golden Age lay behind and not ahead, and it was constructed through pamphlets and libels.[89]

As proof of the wrongdoings of Catholics the anonymous author of *The Practice of Princes* assumes the widespread idea of the murder by poisoning of James I, a version already explained in the well-known pamphlet *The Forerunner of Revenge*, by George Eglisham, Royal Physician.[90] This theory seemed to encompass the beliefs of the critics regarding the increasing influence of the Catholics at court.

A common stereotype to discredit the royal policy is the image of the sleeping king, which was depicted in several engravings distributed both in The Netherlands and in England. In *The Practise of Princes* the description of the sleeping king, due to the practices of Catholics, is vivid and telling:

> and accordingly, it seemed so probable, that King James died by the practise of such papists and popelings, as every day lulled him asleep with tales, flatteries, wine, jests, songs, and catches, while the Palatinate was loosing.[91]

A similar report can be read from the letters written by the Venetian Ambassador in London, Giovanni Soranzo. In January 1630 he informed the Venetian Senate of the arrival of Carlos Coloma to London, whose commission was to facilitate the negotiations of the peace treaty. But Soranzo deliberately doubts Coloma's intentions and claims that:

> It is therefore quite clear that the only thing the Spaniards want is to gain time. They have always profited by this and will do so still more in this affair, since they are in possession and they lull this king to sleep with words.[92]

The description matches exactly the image depicted in engraved broadsides. The metaphor of the sleeping king and the alarm clock to wake him up for war was not an invention of the anonymous pamphleteer of *The Practise of Princes*. During the early years of the Dutch Revolt the image of the sleeping king – this time Philip II – was highly popular in pamphlets and engravings. In a German engraving made in 1575 Philip II was depicted sleeping on his throne, unaware of what was happening in the Low Countries.[93] His counsellor was an old woman representing the Inquisition, who holds a blazing torch in her hand.

Looking at an engraving published in 1636 in The Netherlands by Crispijn de Passe, *Den Coninckklijcken Morgen-Wecker*, which depicts the return of Lord Arundel, the English Ambassador to the Empire, in order to achieve the restitution of the Palatinate, the figure of king Charles I appears to be sleeping on his throne.[94] Surrounded by his courtiers and his nephews from the Palatinate, he does not pay attention to any other than the Spanish Ambassador, who carefully plays a flute while showing the king a case full of jewels. Although the French king tries to wake him up, he is stopped by the pro-Spanish courtier, who prevents him from acting. Neutrality was therefore regarded as a pro-Spanish policy.

On the eve of the Spanish Match a pamphlet was printed in Germany calling for the intervention of the English king on the side of the Palatinate. It was entitled *Engelländische Weckglock, oder ein trewe un(d) recht Patriotische Warnung an König in Groß Britannien Jacobum 5.*, therefore bearing in the title the metaphor of the alarm clock.[95] This 'patriotic warning' exhorted James I to come to the aid of his nephew to halt the Spanish ambitions in the Palatinate, warning him of the dangers of approaching the Spanish monarchy. The concurrence of both images, textual and graphic, separated by several years but still sharing a

code of references and stereotypes points out the importance and knowledge of these by society. Tales, flatteries and wine were all elements commonly associated with Spanish diplomats and Jesuit priests, as the pamphlet *The Merchandise of Popish Priests* points out.

Despite the hopes that the godly party had placed in the newly crowned king Charles I, 'al those forces weere soone brought to nothing, things are growne a greate deale worse'. In fact, after Charles' return from Madrid he enjoyed a great popularity. He was determined to start war against Spain and he raised support from the Parliament, willing to initiate a change in king James' policy. But the protection of the Duke of Buckingham, reported as 'beeing disguised in the sheeps clothing of a protestant outside, & gotten into the place of favourits & counsellors, have cuningly infected many' and his later approach to the Spanish Monarchy displeased the supporters of a strong intervention in Germany.[96]

Concluding remarks

The pamphlets printed in 1629-1630 which dealt with the peace negotiations and the Treaty of Madrid were encouraged by anti-Catholic sentiment and the supporters of Frederick V of the Palatinate, who considered that the politics of neutrality of Charles I signified the dissolution of the Protestant strength in Europe. From their point of view, neutrality was equivalent to a pro-Spanish policy. The printing of political pamphlets in the 1630s was intended to prevent the negotiations between England and Spain.

The publication of these pamphlets was a threat to the so much sought after unity of the State. Despite Cogswell's assumption that the language of conflict "was muted" in politics and the press in the early 1630s, the analysis of these pamphlets prove that it was still present at the beginning of the decade, thus further contributing to an increasingly "polarized" atmosphere.[97] By criticizing the role of the king and his counsellors, this type of printed literature promoted and reflected discord among the population, which, in turn, would provoke, in the Stuart

monarchs' view, the weakening of the state.[98] There is a clear intention in favour of the Parliament as a means to control the development of foreign policy, a fact that would pose problems to Charles I during his whole reign. Notwithstanding the acknowledgment of royal authority, printers and pamphleteers were aware of the potential of printed material to influence public opinion. In *The Practise of Princes* its anonymous author warns: 'in the multitude of the people is the honour of a Kinge, and for the want of people commeth the destruction of the Prince'. Years later his prophecy was to become true for Charles I, who would be beheaded in front of the Banqueting Hall, the building whose decoration he commissioned for the glory of his dynasty.

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1. Calendar of State Papers Venice [CSP Ven.], n. 275, report from Giovanni Soranzo to the Doge and Senate, London, 2nd November 1629. Also cited in O. Turner, "La segunda embajada".
2. CSP Ven., n. 275, report from Giovanni Soranzo to the Doge and Senate, London, 2nd November 1629.
3. K. Sharpe, "Representations and Negotiations".
4. K. Sharpe, *Image Wars*, xiii, 125.
5. T. Cogswell, "The Politics of Propaganda".
6. P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie*,17.
7. B. Álvarez García, "Dar cuenta de la verdad". An edition of the news related to the attack on Cadiz is being prepared by the author.
8. Compare some of the most famous anti-Habsburg pamphlets of the 1620s, such as T. Scott, *Vox Populi*, with the pamphlets discussed in this paper. For a discussion on publicity on the Spanish Match see K. van Eerde, "The Spanish Match", H. Helmers, "The Spanish Match".
9. T. Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*; T. Cogswell, R. Cust and P. Lake, *Politics, Religion and Popularity*; T. Cogswell, "The Politics of Propaganda"; C. Holmes, *Why was Charles I*.
10. J. Schleck, "Fair and Balanced".
11. AGS, Estado, leg. 2519, letter from Carlos Coloma, London, 17th April 1630.
12. J. Schleck, "Fair and Balanced".
13. A. der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish*, 1:85-87; P. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*; A. Pettegree, *The Invention of News*; P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie*; T. Cogswell, "The Politics of Propaganda".

14. K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, 647.
15. K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, 69.
16. A. Marks, "England, the English".
17. Reeve, *Charles I*, 246.
18. K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, 67.
19. Archives Générales du Royaume de Belgique [AGRB], Secrétairerie d'État et Guerre [SEG], reg. 196, f. 12, order to Isabella Clara Eugenia to carry on peace negotiations with England, Madrid, 24th February 1627.
20. AGRB, SEG, reg. 196, f. 12, order to Isabella Clara Eugenia to carry on peace negotiations with England, Madrid, 24th February 1627.
21. K. Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 143, 191 (italics in the original text).
22. R. Kagan, "Imágenes y política".
23. A. Vergara, *Rubens*.
24. Reeve, *Charles I*, 246.
25. Reeve, *Charles I*, 241.
26. AGRB, SEG, reg. 199, f. 86, Philip IV to Isabella Clara Eugenia, Madrid, 18th August 1628.
27. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, K. 1443, letter from Cardinal de la Cueva, Brussels, 27th February 1627.
28. AGRB, Manuscrits Divers, reg. 214, f. 78, Philip IV to Isabella Clara Eugenia, 18th December 1628.
29. AGRB, SEG, reg. 203, f. 262, Isabella Clara Eugenia to Philip IV, Brussels, 10th October 1630.
30. G. Rees and M. Wakely, "A Brief History".
31. F. Dahl, *A Bibliography*. The only remaining issues from the years 1630 – 1631 correspond to the months of July and November 1630.
32. S. Manzo, "Utopian Science".
33. L. Desgraves, *Répértoire*, 1:65.
34. C. Sayle, *Early English*, 1:359; STC, 5062.
35. K. van Eerde, "The Spanish Match".
36. A. Loomie, "James Wadsworth", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
37. N. Matar, "English accounts".
38. A. Milton, "Licensing, Censorship": 641.
39. K. Sprunger, *Trumpets from The Tower,* 162.
40. J. Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime*, Dedicatory.
41. J. Wadsworth, *The Spanish pilgrime*.

42. A. Samson, "Luis de Granada"; A. Samson, "*Lazarillo de Tormes*"; E. Campos, "Imperial Lexicography".
43. A. Loomie, "James Wadsworth", in ODNB.
44. K. Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 267.
45. K. Sprunger, *Trumpets from The Tower,* 85.
46. N. Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence*.
47. Reeve, *Charles I*, 250.
48. Reeve, *Charles I*, 236.
49. Reeve, *Charles I*, 236.
50. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes.*
51. D. Löwenstein and J. Müller, *The Cambridge History,* 477.
52. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises*, 15.
53. F. Bacon, *Considerations touching a warre*. Cited in M. Peltonen, "Politics and Science".
54. P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie.*
55. *Religion the most sacred power on Earth*, 1623, in *Early Stuart Libel* [ESL], ed. A. Bellany and A. McRae.
56. *Oh honoured England how art thou disgracd* [1624] and *Why? What meanes this? England & Spaine alike* [n. d.], in ESL.
57. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
58. J. Chassanion, *The Merchandises of Popish Priests*.
59. J. Chassanion, *The Merchandises of Popish Priests*.
60. J. Chassanion, *The Merchandises of Popish Priests*.
61. J. Chassanion, *The Merchandises of Popish Priests*.
62. J. Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime,* 28.
63. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
64. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
65. R. Smuts, "The Puritan Followers".
66. F. Bacon, *Considerations touching a warre*.
67. T. Fowler, "Bacon, Francis", *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith – Elder, 1885-1900), 2:328-360.
68. F. Bacon, *Considerations touching a warre*, 1.
69. P. Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie*, 21.
70. For a discussion on Bacon's identification of a just war again Spain, see: H. White, *Peace among The Willows*, 89-91; M. Peltonen, "Politics and Science".
71. F. Bacon, *Considerations touching a warre*, 21.

72. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises,* 20
73. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises,* 13.
74. R. Lesaffer, ed., *The Twelve Years*; B. García García, dir., *Tiempo de paces*; B. García García, M. Herrero Sánchez and A. Hugon, ed., *El arte de la prudencia*. On the images of the truce, see: M. Dlugaiczyk, *Der Waffenstillstand*.
75. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises,* 21.
76. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
77. J. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots*.
78. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
79. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises,* 28.
80. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
81. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
82. AGRB, SEG, reg. 363, summary of the declaration of the House of Commons about the causes of the ruin of the religion, London, 1st January 1622. Although this is the date stated in the document, the declaration was made in December 1621.
83. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
84. C. McManus, Women on the Renaissance Stage.
85. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
86. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
87. West-Indies Company, *Three Severall Treatises,* 13.
88. D. Woolf, "News, History".
89. P. Hammer, "Myth-Making".
90. A very interesting and detailed account of the origin and circulation of *The Forerunner of Revenge* is given in A. Bellany and T. Cogswell, *The Murder*.
91. A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.
92. CSP Ven., no. 343, report from Giovanni Soranzo to the Doge and Senate, 18th January 1630. Cited in O. Turner, "La segunda embajada".
93. See the engraving *Rey durmiente sobresaltado por los reinos españoles*, 1575, printed in D. Horst, De Opstand, 161.
94. Crispijn de Passe, *Den Coninckklijcken Morgen-Wecker. The Kingly Clocke* [n.p., 1636], British Museum, no. 1850,0713.19.1-2.
95. *Engelländische Weckglock, oder ein trewe un(d) recht Patriotische Warnung an König in Groß Britannien Jacobum 5.*, 1624, Wolfenbüttel Bibliothek.
96. Both quotations are from: A. Ar., *The Practise of Princes*.

97. T. Cogswell, “The Politics of Propaganda”.

98. J. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots*.

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The merchandises of Popish priests. Laying open to the world, how cunningly they cheate and abuse poore people, with theyr fals, deceitfull, and counterfeit wares	Jean de Chassanion	James Roberts	London	1604	STC (2nd ed.), 5062	1629, *The merchandises of Popish priests. Or a discovery of the Iesuites trumpery newly packed in England, laying open to the world, how cunningly they cheate and abuse poore people, with their false, deceitfull and counterfet wares*, pr. by Henry Gosson, STC (2nd ed.), 5063.
Considerations touching a warre with Spaine	Francis Bacon	---	London	1629	STC (2nd ed.), 1126	1629, *Certaine miscellany vvorks of the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount S. Alban*, pr. by William Rawley, STC (2nd ed.), 1124.
The English Spanish pilgrime. Or, a new discovery of Spanish popery and Iesuiticall stratagems	James Wadsworth	Thomas Cotes, Michael Sparke	London	1629	STC (2nd ed.), 24926	A variant (STC 24926a) is dated 1630 and dedicated to the Earl of Holland. A new edition of this variant is STC (2nd ed.), 24927. Partially published again in 1679 (Wing, 1996, W183).
The practise of princes	A.Ar.	Successors of Giles Thorpe	Amsterdam	1630	STC(2nd ed.), 722	---

Table 1. Information from English Short Title Catalogue

210x296mm (200 x 200 DPI)

Further observations of the English Spanish pilgrime, concerning Spaine, being a second part of his former booke, and containing these particulars	James Wadsworth	Felix Kyngston, Nathaniel Butter	London	1630	STC(2nd ed.), 24928	A variant (STC, 24928a) giving Robert Allot as publisher.
The present estate of Spayne, or a true relation of some remarkable things touching the court and government of Spayne, with all the nobility with their revenues	James Wadsworth	Augustine Matthews, Richard Thrale, Ambrose Ritherdon	London	1630	STC(2nd ed.), 24929	A variant (STC, 24929a) giving only Augustine Matthews as publisher.
Three severall treatises concerning the truce at this present propounded.	West-Indies Company	Bernard Alsop, Thomas for Fawcet, Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne	London	1630	STC (2nd ed.), 24258	A translation of Dutch: *Consideratien ende redenen der E. Heeren Bewind-hebberen, vande geoctrojeerde West-Indische Compagnie.*

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