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England And The
Thirty Years' War

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Historical Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

by

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Approved by:

Thos. Stroyer.

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OUTLINE

- I. Reasons for the paper:
 - A. Discover how much England helped the Protestant Cause.
 - B. Answer the question why England did not help more than she did.
- II. Conditions in England:
 - A. Finances.
 - B. Army, Navy, and Merchant Marine.
- III. Relationship of James I with:
 - A. Parliament.
 - B. People.
 - C. Church.
- IV. Characters involved:
 - A. James I.
 - B. Buckingham.
 - C. Frederick of the Palatinate.
- V. Religious connection of England with the Protestant Cause.
 - A. Protestant Union.
 - B. Hatred of the Roman Catholics.
- VI. Marriage of Frederick of the Palatinate to Elizabeth.
 - A. Why James chose Frederick and not someone else.
 - B. Result of the marriage; political associations.
 - C. Did James foresee a chance of Frederick to become Emperor of the German Empire.
- VII. Revolt in Bohemia
 - A. Background.
 - B. Revolt.
- VIII. Frederick, King of Bohemia.
 - A. How it came about.
 - B. Did James I concur in the election?
 - C. How James I received the news of Frederick's consent to become King of Bohemia.
 - D. Coronation of the new King.
- IX. Reaction of the House of Hapsburg.
 - A. Ferdinand's election to the Emperorship of Germany.
 - B. Emperor's forces retake Bohemia.
- X. Imperial forces capture the Palatinate.
 - A. Effect on James.
 - B. James I's help.
- XI. England's plan to help.
 - A. Spanish marriage plan.
 - B. Result of the plan.
 - C. War with Spain.
 - D. Mansfelt's expedition.
 - E. Death of James I.

- XII. Character of Charles I.
 - A. First Parliament.
 - B. Christian IV's plan.
 - C. Gustavus Adolphus's plan.
 - D. Expedition against Spain
 - E. Charles schemes to raise money.
 - F. Resentment of the English people to their King.
 - G. War with France.
- XIII. Third Parliament
 - A. Petition of Right.
 - B. Assassination of Buckingham.
- XIV. Personal Reign of Charles I.
- XV. Ferdinand's Edict of Restitution.
- XVI. Charles and his relations with Gustavus Adolphus.
- XVII. Internal Troubles in England.
- XVIII. Conclusion.

Historians have always been interested in the Thirty Years' War. Church historians find this period of special interest. The Reformation was barely one hundred years old when the war broke out. The groundwork of the Reformation had been laid. Protestant forces armed with the Word of God were winning converts from Catholicism every day. A large part of Europe had already been weaned away from the Papacy, and the rest was rapidly slipping away.

The Roman Church, however, was not sitting idly by waiting for disintegration and destruction. It had awakened to the threat which faced it and had started to mobilize its forces to counter the Protestant movement. The Inquisition had been reorganized, the Jesuit Order began to function as a well organized machine, princes and kings were threatened by force or were bribed to suppress Protestant movements in their countries, and recently converted lands were invaded by the Roman Bishop's forces to persuade or force the inhabitants back into the old fold.

In Germany the Northern princes and the people alike rejected papal authority and religion. In the South the princes

remained 'faithful' to the papacy, but the people became Protestants. The princes of the South German countries hated Protestantism because it was Calvinism, imported and propagated from Holland and France, with the additional reason that it was republican.¹

The two opposing forces had to clash sooner or later. The Romanists bided their time until they found an opportunity to strike a death blow to Protestantism. When they finally saw the Protestant forces hopelessly divided into two camps, the Lutherans in one and the Calvinists in the other, they struck. They did not come into the battle under the guise of religion, but their actions and methods show the guiding hand of the papacy. Religion was then, as it is now, a strong factor motivating man's activities. With the threat of the papacy hanging over their heads, only a few great leaders would dare to counter her orders.

An interesting question that arises in the historian's mind when he considers the Thiry Years' War is why a Protestant nation like England did not do more to help the Protestant Cause on the Continent. It is the purpose of this paper to search out and evaluate the help England did give to the Protestant cause and to seek an answer to the question why she did not help more than she did.

The difficulties in answering this question enter in when we find not so much a direct contribution to the fight-

1. The New Larned History, Vol. V, p. 3657, quoting W. Stuble, Lectures on European History, A. Hasel ed., pp. 279-282.

ing machines but an indirect political influence which caused certain Roman Catholic countries to restrain their forces from helping the Catholic armies more than they did. We are also dealing with personalities, in a treatise like this, and consequently the leaders in the various camps must be considered before we can arrive at a reasonably fair and accurate conclusion. The internal conditions of England must also be considered to see how much help could have been extended to the Protestant Cause. In England we are also dealing with three forces, each of which must be considered to see how each individual faction felt. If any individual is at fault, the entire populous or the ruling bodies must not be held responsible, and vice versa. The kings who ruled the lands, the parliament which formulated the laws and extended the help, and the English citizen of the street must all be considered.

The English were interested in the affairs of the Continent because it had a direct bearing on their own political and religious liberty. The House of Austria, who controlled with Spain all the Hapsburg lands, were steadily drawing a noose around the necks of the English people. Their policy of 'conquest by marriage' had paid them rich returns, and now the additional threat to force this noose tighter and tighter by using military means directly affected the welfare of the English people. "They knew that a purely Catholic Germany dominated by a house of Hapsburg would mean a coalition of forces which England could not withstand. As the

House of Austria throughout all her extensive dominions, had ever made religion the pretense for her usurpations, she was met with resistance from a light principle; the Catholic religion as usual had arranged itself on the side of monarchy, the Protestants on that of liberty.²"

The people of England, while devoid of the modern method of disseminating news, were not totally ignorant of the affairs on the Continent. The king had his ambassadors watching the development of affairs, and parliament had access to much of that information. Various men appealed directly to the English people and to their rulers for help, thus painting a picture of the events happening on the continent. The English people therefore were fairly well informed of the need of the Protestant forces and knew the grave threat a Catholic victory would present.

One thing is certain. If England had swung her entire resources to help the Protestant forces, the length of the war would have been measurably shortened and the sufferings that the German people had to endure would have been lessened. She had to little to fear from France, a Catholic nation, because France also saw the threat of encirclement from the House of Hapsburg. This factor constantly impressed certain elements of the English people.

Protestants who once lived under Roman domination are also sympathetic to Protestants who live under that same domination elsewhere. Religion is a strong bond tying men of different

2. The History of England, Hume, Vol. IV, p. 41.

nationalities closely together, and the conditions affecting the one are a vital concern to the other. The war, moreover, broke out in Calvinist lands, and England as a Calvinistic country was concerned with the welfare of Calvinists elsewhere. Since the English Church was a national church, governed by the rulers of that nation, Calvinism on the Continent concerned also them.

When the war finally broke out in 1618 the English crown and consequently many of the English nobles were related by marriage or by blood to the leaders of the Protestant forces on the mainland. Such a strong tie was enough to put pressure on the English kings to help their own relatives. If all these things were so, why then did England fail to give more help than she did to the Protestant Cause? The answer to this question will be found as we discuss the conditions affecting the help England gave.

Could England bear the additional expenditures an expedition to Germany would involve? In 1618 the answer to this question must be "yes." England at that period in history was more or less financially secure. While James I at the beginning of his reign (1603) faced a debt, conditions in England steadily improved to such an extent during the years of peace that the king seldom had to appeal to parliament for additional funds. Some of James I's actions did not meet with the approval of the English people, but they did supply him with enough resources to rule the country.³ It was natural for the English

3. James I created a new title that of baronet which was sold for 1,000 pounds. He also sold peerages and even high ministerial offices. His Lord Treasurer at one time paid 20,000 pounds for his appointment.
History of England, Larson, p. 353.

parliament to withhold financial help until their grievances had been settled. There was no dissatisfaction, however, of bearing the costs of government. It was not until James I began his political moves did parliament withhold their support.

There was sufficient money in the country to pay the taxes which a war would inevitably demand. "The first rise of commerce and the arts had contributed to scatter the immense fortunes of the barons. The gentry also of that age were engaged in no expense. No taxes had been levied, no wars waged, no bribery or profusion required at elections."⁴ England at this time was also beginning to stretch her hands to the new world and to receive some of the gold and products of their new colonies. In 1618 the king's disbursements exceeded his income to the sum of 36,000 pounds, an amount which is not so great when we consider the fact that customs duties alone amounted to nearly 200,000 pounds.⁵ As far as the financial picture of England looked before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War she was financially able to bear the costs of direct help to the Protestant forces in Germany.

The English fleet also was sufficient to transport and supply a sizeable army on the Continent. "James was not negligent. In the five years preceding 1620 he built ten new ships and expended 50,000 pounds a year on the fleet besides the value of 36,000 pounds a year in timber which he annually gave from the royal forests. He had inherited from Queen

4. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 7.

5. Ibid.

Elizabeth thirty-three ships besides pinnacles. The merchant ships in case of necessity could easily be converted into war-ships." ⁶ England's greatest enemy, Spain, had her fleet extended throughout the Atlantic Ocean, and therefore presented no great threat to the English navy. "King James himself affirmed to Parliament in 1625 that the English navy had never before been in so good a condition. The number of men engaged in following the sea amounted to over 10,000 ⁷ men."

If England had thrown her entire naval power into the war, she could have allied herself with the Dutch navy to form a coalition so powerful no nation at that time could successfully cope with. Even without the help of the Dutch navy could give them, the English navy and merchant marine could easily have supplied the necessary equipment an army in Germany would need. Lack of shipping therefore did not hinder the English people from helping the Protestant Cause.

In dealing with a period of history the persons involved must come into consideration also. The best laid plans of nations and groups of men have been foiled by the actions of one individual. In other cases the personality and plans of an individual ruler or leader have been frustrated by the antagonism of the governing bodies of the country. In still other cases the wishes of the people and its governing bodies have been ignored by the sovereign of the land.

In discussing England and her help to the Protestant

6. Ibid., p. 104.

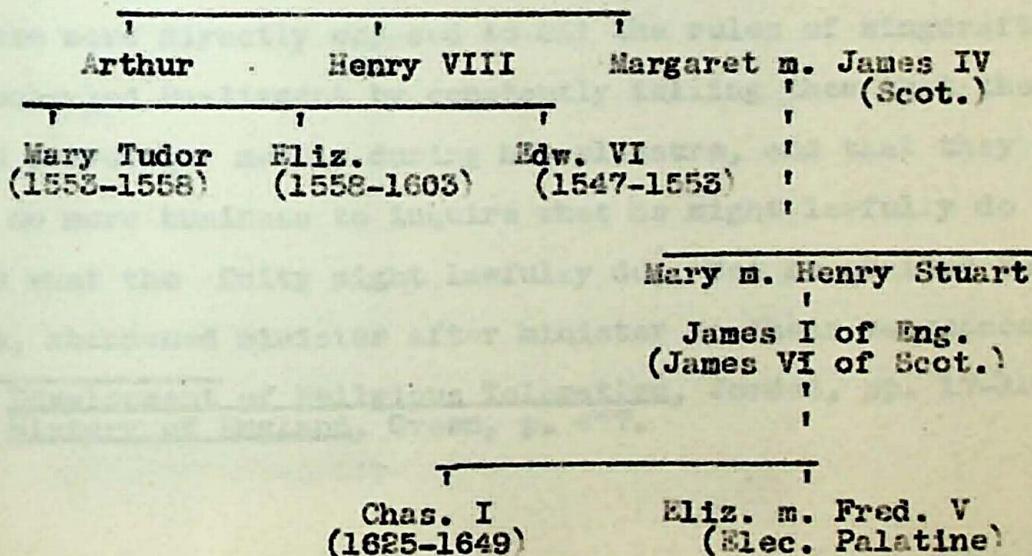
7. Ibid.

Cause during the 'Thirty Years' War we must consider the personality of James I, the ruler before the outbreak of the hostilities and the king during the fateful years immediately following.

James I succeeded Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England in 1603. His claim to the throne lay in his lineal descent from Henry VII's daughter Margaret, who married James IV of Scotland. Their heir was James I, King of England.

Due to the fact that his father was the King of Scotland and that he consequently was trained in Scotland, James I knew little about English life and temperament. England in turn knew little about its new ruler, and the garrulous and indecisive nature of the Stuart King had led every dissenting group to expect royal favor. The Puritans recalled his Presbyterian training and expected and immediate reform of the ritual and discipline of the church. The Roman Catholics

8. Henry VI (1485-1509)



had read much into certain vague and Delphic commitments which James had made while still in Scotland and hoped for an enlargement of their liberties. The moderates had mistaken the known scholarly interest of the monarch for liberality of mind and objectivity in point of view. A great deal of James I's troubles lay with these smouldering religious issues which demanded settlement. England had misjudged James, and James was never fully to understand the English temperament and the English character.⁹

No sovereign "could have jarred against the conception of an English ruler which had grown up under Plantagenet and Tudor more utterly than James I. His big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs stood out in grotesque comparison with all that men recalled of Henry or Elizabeth, as did his gabble, his want of personal dignity, his buffoonery, his coarseness of speech, his pedantry, and his contemptible cowardice."¹⁰

"James was always boasting of his skill in what he called kingcraft; and yet it is hardly possible to imagine a course more directly opposed to all the rules of kingcraft. He enraged Parliament by constantly telling them that they held privilege merely during his pleasure, and that they had no more business to inquire what he might lawfully do than what the Deity might lawfully do. Yet he quailed before them, abandoned minister after minister to their vengeance,

9. Development of Religious Toleration, Jordan, pp. 17-18.

10. History of England, Green, p. 477.

and suffered them to tease him into acts directly opposed to his strongest inclinations.¹¹ Instead of "glossing over unpopular measures, he incited forms of gratuitous insult."¹²

On the other hand James I was a man of much natural ability. He was a "ripe scholar, with a considerable fund of shrewdness, of motherwit, and ready repartee. His readings in theology were extensive."¹³ But his "shrewdness and learning left him, in the phrase of Henry IV of France, 'The Wisest Fool of Christendom.'¹⁴"

James I had one outstanding character trait and that was his aversion to the use of force. In his dealings with foreign countries James constantly sought ways and means to gain his objective without plunging his country into war. He loved the title that was given to him, "The Peacemaker,"¹⁵ and as his actions, right or wrong were of a peaceful nature he is deserving that title.

James I, however, surrounded himself with ministers who were incapable of fulfilling their offices for the maximum of English and humanitarian principles. His favorite and chief minister was the Duke of Buckingham, who since the fall Somerset, had governed "with an uncontrolled sway both the court and the nation; and would James I's eyes been opened, he would have had full opportunity of observing how unfit his

11. History of England, Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 76.

12. Selections from the Sources of English History, Colby, p. 181.

13. He is quoted "as ready to take part in any and every theological dispute that occurred," History of England, More, p. 332.

14. Green, op. cit., p. 447.

15. The Early Stuarts—1603-1660, Davies, p. 4.

favorite for that high station was."¹⁶ Buckingham's arrogance won from him the dislike of the English people and the English Parliament. He was equally hated at foreign courts. His behavior shattered the fond dreams of James I to achieve his goals without resorting to war.

Buckingham unfortunately not only was the chief minister of the country during James I's reign. He also remained in that exalted position when Charles I succeeded his father on the throne. His activities finally moved the English Parliament to impeach him, thereby showing the antagonism he had aroused by his policies and activities. The hatred of the English people found their final vengeance in his assassination.

James I and Buckingham guided the destinies of the English nation during those eventful years. Their personalities color their actions and cannot be overlooked.

On the continent the chief personality around whom the first eventful years of the Thirty Years' War revolved was Frederick V, the Elector Palatine. Frederick V was the heir of Frederick IV and Louise Julianne, the daughter of William the Silent (Prince of Orange). His mother "had with admirable fortitude remained unswervingly devoted to her diseased and drunken husband, but she had removed her son from the rage of his father's uncontrolled humors by sending him to be educated by her sister at Sedan at the court of her sister's husband, the Duke of Bouillon. The training Frederick received there left a permanent mark upon his mind, especially the religious

16. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 65.

training he received, for the Duke of Bouillon was the acknowledged leader of the Calvinist party in France.

"A backward boy at fourteen Frederick had been brought back to Heidelberg at his father's death, and his education had been completed under the care of his own and his father's chancellor, Christian of Anhalt. Sensitive and affectionate, the young prince allowed himself to be moulded into the pattern his elders chose, believed unquestionably in the mission they had planned for him, subjected his judgment utterly to theirs and turned as by second nature to Bouillon and to his chaplain, Schultz, and to Christian of Anhalt for advice."¹⁷

In 1618 when the war broke out he was but twenty-two years old, but he had already ruled his country for nine years. "Apart from an intermittent moodiness he was a gracious host and a good companion, high-spirited but easily pleased. Gentle, trustful, equally incapable of anger, hatred, or resolution, he strove conscientiously to fulfill his responsibility although the pleasures of hunting, playing tennis, swimming, even lying in bed were very tempting to him. Ironic fate had given him no vices, and all the virtues most useless to a ruling prince. He was, however, strong neither in body or mind, and the general education which had been planned to stimulate his timorous nature and to fit him for the arduous championship of a cause had softened out of existence what little character he had."¹⁸

The Elector Frederick V also surrounded himself with

17. The Thirty Years' War, Wedgwood, pp. 53-54.

18. Ibid.

ministers and counsellors, who while colorful and ambitious, "lacked the quality necessary to meet a European crisis. Bouillon was the turbulent nobleman of an earlier age, brave, chivalrous, ambitious, but without any profound insight. The chaplain Schultz was like most of his kind are, academically bright but intoxicated with the power he had obtained over his conscience-ridden master."¹⁹

"Christian of Anhalt, the most important of the three, was a prince in his own right, but he had abandoned the little state of Anhalt Bernberg to deputies in order to find a better outlet for his talents in the Palatinate. He was an intensely confident managing little man with a mop of startlingly red hair. In arms, in administration and in diplomacy he showed a superficial excellence. Anhalt's diplomacy with England was based on a single principle. He promised everything. He calculated that when the German crisis came his allies would keep their side of the bargain before they called on him to keep his."²⁰

These were the leaders of the two countries, England and the Palatinate. Their personalities reveal themselves in their actions and also color their conduct and influence the outcome of their negotiations.

"As early as 1608 James I had joined the Protestant Union,"²¹ thus binding England with the cause of Protestants elsewhere. The Protestant Union had been organized to band all the Protestants together in case the Romanists made a united attack against them. It had no visions of taking the aggressive part.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Davies, op. cit., p. 52.

When the States General of Holland adhered to the Union at James' request he was in a "fair way to become the leader of a Protestant alliance against the Catholic Hapsburgs." ²² As the ruler of the greatest Protestant country James was counted on by Protestants elsewhere to contribute heavily to the Protestant Cause.

A nother factor in England which must be considered among the maze of political intrigue was the reaction of the people against a resurgent Catholicism. Ever since the days of Mary Tudor the majority of the English people were strongly antipathetic to any country or any political move even those remotely connected with Roman Catholicism. The action of the people even before James' policy became clear showed their antagonism to the papacy. Stringent penal laws and fines were levied against the Recusants, and the majority of the English people demanded that those laws be enforced.

Certain factors had helped to influence this English opinion. "The arrival of the news on May 8, 1610, for example that Henry IV of France had been assassinated by a fanatic instigated by the Jesuits was a signal for anti-Catholics demonstration in England generally." ²³

With the rise of Puritanism this feeling became especially bitter, and James I's moves to placate the hurt feelings of foreign Catholic countries, such as France and Spain, by granting increased toleration to Recusants in England caused deep resentment. "When he came to the throne in 1603 he deliberately set aside the harsh treatment of Roman Catholics.

22. Wedgwood, op. cit. pp. 53-54.

23. Reconstruction of the English Church, Usher, Vol. XI, p.25.

Dudley Carleton who had been sent to Venice in 1611 summed up James I's policy by saying that 'James had endeavored by clemency and benignity to preserve his subjects in quiet and peace; ne²⁴ did he seek from them (Roman Catholics) ought else than due obedience and proper respect which is the right of all sovereign princes.'

While James was undoubtedly desirous of tolerating the Roman Catholics in England, the Catholics themselves began to abuse his toleration. "Some Catholics under the pretense of religion had plotted both against his life and against the 'weal of his kingdom and of his state'"²⁵ and had antagonized the English people and English Parliament even more. James I, therefore, had to use extreme care in his dealings with the Recusants.

The ties which finally bound England even more closely to the Protestant Cause was the marriage of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, to Elizabeth the only daughter of James II. She was the only pawn he could use to tie England with another country. As a Protestant King, James looked for a Protestant prince for his daughter. Even Catholic princes, however, sought her hand, but the furor which such a match would bring about would endanger his relationship with his people.

One of the most prominent candidates was Gustavus Adolphus. As early as 1605 we find this name mentioned as a candidate. King Karl IV of Sweden hoped for such a match. The advantage

24. "Carleton's Speech to the Venetian Council," Feb. 21, 1611. V. P., XII, pp. 117-118 quoted in Development of Religious Toleration, Jordan, p. 25.

25. Ibid.

of a dynastic union with the leading Protestant power in Europe was obvious, and Karl IV had pressed such a marriage proposal to the English court. He had taken soundings in London and had obtained the impression that the English court was not antipathetic to such a marriage. The young princess herself in the opinion of Johann Skytte and Gustav Stenbock showed that "she was more inclined to Gustav Adolf than to any other prince of the world."²⁶ James himself at one time favored the marriage.

German electors "seldom entered the list against such rivals as the heir of Spain and the heir of France, and up till the last moment Frederick's party feared that their diplomacy might break down. A prejudice in favor of a Protestant marriage, the emphatic interference of Charles, the Prince of Wales, and the immediate popularity of the pleasant young suitor both with the king, his ministers, Elizabeth, and the London mob"²⁷ --- all played their part in the choice of Frederick. James I was moved to accept Frederick's proposal, because Christian of Anhalt had promised everything to the King of England.

James I had to use particular care to find a suitable mate for his daughter because the "possible death of the unmarried and delicate Prince of Wales would mean that in a few years the husband of Elizabeth would be as good as the King of England."²⁸

James I's decision may also have been influenced by the

26. Gustav Adolf the Great, Ahnlund, p. 56.

27. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

28. *Ibid.*, p. lll.

internal condition of the German Empire. The reigning Emperor, Matthias, was old and childless and the chance of breaking a Hapsburg succession to the Imperial throne would be possible at the next Imperial election. A Protestant majority in the Electoral College would have had an excellent chance of bringing this about. The Electoral College consisted of three Catholic bishops, three Protestant Electors, (The Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Palatinate) and the King of Bohemia. "The Bohemian Crown was elective, not hereditary, and many of the Bohemians were Protestants and would thus favor a Protestant ruler over a Catholic ruler. If some bold German Prince could have engineered a revolt in Bohemia and wrest the Crown and with it the right of voting at the Imperial election, then the Protestant party would outnumber the Catholics in the Electoral College four to three, and the Hapsburg grasp on the throne of Germany would be doomed."²⁹

The realization of such a possibility would have been beneficial to England and to the entire Protestant Cause and would mean a severe set-back to the resurging Catholic parts. History records that "hints of this kind had been dropped at the time of the Elector of Palatine's wedding. The 'Bohemian project' was therefore well known to all who signed the alliance, but while Frederick's advisors assumed that the English King would help them put the plan into action, the English King had equally assumed that the remote German follies would not enter into the actual politics of Europe."³⁰

²⁹. Ibid., p. 41.

³⁰. Ibid., p. 51.

REVOLT IN BOHEMIA

The spark that was needed to set off the conflagration and to bring the smoldering issues to a head was the revolt of the Protestant princes in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

Bohemia had been a center of religious unrest and dissent since the early part of the fifteenth century. The teachings of John Huss and Jerome of Prague had antagonized the Roman Church. In spite of their martyrdom at Constance in 1417, the reformation they had started did not die out. Their teachings had been spread until it was possible for the Bohemians to have a non-Catholic King, George of Podiebrad, the first non-Catholic King in Europe. Fifty years later the Reformation of Luther had spread unto Bohemia followed by Calvinism.

About this time Bohemia fell into the hands of the Hapsburg kings with whom the throne remained. "While Utraquists, Lutherans, and Calvinists fought each other for privileges, the Hapsburg Kings re-established Catholicism as the official religion, granting only toleration to the Protestants. Fear of the fanatical Calvinists moved the Lutheran majority to cling in safety to the Hapsburg government, Catholic though it was."³³

In 1609 the Emperor Rudolf thought his position on the throne was secure enough to crush any Protestant opposition and attempted to withdraw religious toleration from the Protestants. A threat of general revolt made him understand that the Protestant power was too strong for such a move.

³³. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 70

The Protestants did not want such a threat hanging over their heads any longer, so they forced the King to grant the so-called Letter of Majesty by which Protestant worship was guaranteed and a body known as the Defensors was set up to guarantee their rights.

The King Rudolf's neglect of his duty precipitated another revolt in Bohemia. The Lutheran nobles finally forced his deposition, and so the throne was entrusted to his brother Matthias. It was not long before Matthias "infringed upon the spirit if not the actual provisions of the Letter of Majesty; meanwhile he moved the royal residence to Vienna, thus adding economic distress to heighten the indignation of his subjects. Both nobility and townsfolk felt themselves betrayed and resentful y suspected that their country was being degraded into a mere province of Austria. In revenge the Estates at Prague passed laws forbidding any man to settle in the country or to acquire rights of citizenship unless he could speak the Czech language." ³⁴ The difficulties of learning the Czech language blocked any move Matthias might have made to flood the country with Austrians or peoples of other nationalities.

In 1617 the entire matter came to the boiling point. The King of Bohemia Matthias was becoming feeble with age and was childless. A new king had to be elected before long. The treatment which Matthias gave the Protestants who controlled the Electoral College of Bohemia made the election of another Catholic Hapsburg extremely improbable. The Hapsburg house however put up its candidates. Their best candidate was the

³⁴. Ibid., p. 71.

Archduke Ferdinand. Spain also offered her candidates, either of the two sons of the Spanish King. The King of Spain finally offered to remove the candidature of his sons in support of Ferdinand, after Ferdinand agreed to renounce his rights to the Hapsburg fiefs in Alsace in favor of the Spanish crown. Ferdinand also agreed that if he was elected King of Bohemia and as such the next Emperor of the German Empire he would grant safe passage of the Spanish troops through Germany to Holland. ³⁵ Phillip hoped to crush the Protestants who had engineered a revolt there and to counter any Protestant rising in Germany. That treaty shows the intimate connection Spain had with the politics of Germany.

Now that the Hapsburgs had entered their choice, the Protestants began to look for a man of their own faith who would better suit their purposes than Ferdinand. "The necessity was apparent, the candidate lacking." ³⁶ Christian of Anhalt coveted the throne for the Elector Palatine, but "all his efforts had not sufficed to build up a party strong enough to support Frederick's candidature. The Elector was a Calvinist but was still without the experience and reputation needed; naturally enough the Protestant party in Bohemia, which was mainly Lutheran, was not attracted by the prospect of having him for their king. The only other prospect was the neighboring prince, John George of Saxony. A Lutheran, a mature and tolerant ruler, he would have been more acceptable, but as he

³⁵. Ibid., p. 75.

³⁶. Ibid.

persistently disregarded all overtures it was impossible to put his name forward."³⁷

On June 17, 1617 the Electors of Bohemia met to choose their next King. At that critical moment the Protestant party fell into the leadership of Count Schlick. Rather than "precipitate a dangerous crisis he let the opportunity pass, so that when Ferdinand's election was put to a vote he gave his voice without demur in his favor, while the bewildered but docile Protestant nobility followed him to a man."³⁸

On the next day the Estates, all but two fanatical Catholics, demanded that the King-elect should guarantee the Letter of Majesty. The Emperor Matthias urged Ferdinand to do so. He told him that even if he intended to attack the Protestant forces later, it was now necessary to proclaim his intentions from the housetops. Ferdinand hesitated; "he did not for a moment intend to stand by the Letter of Majesty, but he was uncertain whether the time was favorable for making his intentions clear. He was also troubled in his conscience at the thought of even making a formal concession to the 'heretics.' Finally he was convinced by his confessor that he should do so hoping that the Protestants would perpetrate some act of hostility and thus give him a reason to rescind his promise."³⁹

Into this atmosphere charged with suspicion, two causes came to be decided. At Klostergrab "a village belonging to the arch-bishop of Prague the Protestants were building a church

37. Ibid., p. 75.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

asserting that they were freemen of a royal borough and not the vassals of an arch-bishop. The same fusion occurred at the little town of Braunau where the Protestants were not only building a church but were stealing wood from the neighboring conventual estates to do so. In both cases they claimed that they were building churches on royal land and that the Letter of Majesty guaranteed them that privilege. The rulers answered that the Letter did not prevent the King from alienating such land; that he had in fact made a gift of those estates to the church and that the rights of the Protestants had accordingly elapsed.⁴⁰"

The abbot at Klostergrab finally ordered that the church the Protestants were building be pulled down.⁴¹ The Protestants objected to the King, but he ignored their claim. Finally when he left for Vienna, Matthias had given orders that any further objections from the people of Klostergrab and Braunau were to be withstood, if necessary by force. The Catholic deputy-governors, Martinitz and Slavata, immediately took advantage of those instructions to imprison some of the more recalcitrant burghers of Braunau. As "by a magnetic force the disunited particles of the Bohemian opposition rushed together; the Protestants were indignant at an outrage of their privileges; townfolk were insulted by an attack on the rights of free burghers, and the nobility leaped at an occasion for curtailing the territorial power of the Roman Church."⁴²

The leader of the Protestant forces, Count Thurn, immediately called a meeting of the Protestant officials and depu-

40. Ibid.

41. Ward, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 19.

42. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 78

ties from all over Bohemia and appealed for the release of the prisoners; when that demonstration proved useless, Thurn urged the Defensors of the Letter of Majesty to call a yet larger assembly of Protestants. The second meeting was set for May, 1618. The first meeting had been held in March. In the intervening time both parties set themselves to work up the feelings of the people and the townfolk of Prague in particular. In spite of Catholic Propaganda the Protestant meeting assembled on May 21, a formidable gathering of noblemen, gentry, and burghers from all over the province. The Imperial government in vain commanded them to dissolve. Only then did the two Catholic deputy-governors, Martinitz and Slavata, grasp the danger where they stood, and on the evening of the 22nd a secretary of state in disguise escaped towards Vienna to implore the Emperor for immediate help.

It was too late, for that very evening Thurn called on the nobility to form a plan of action. Overruling the protests of Schlick he demanded death for the two governors and the establishment of a Protestant emergency government. The next morning the two deputies were trapped in their castle at Hradschin and were thrown from the windows of the palace, where they fortunately fell on a pile of "moldering filth,"⁴³ thus saving them from certain death.

No time was lost setting the mechanism of the state once more in order. All officials who agreed to recognize the new power were confirmed in their positions, including at first

⁴³ Ward, op. cit., p. 78.

Catholic officials. "a provisional government of thirteen Directors was appointed by the Protestant assembly to rule the land. The assembly then voted the raising of an army of 16,000 men at the country's expense, Thurn to be the commander. "For better enlightenment of Europe, they issued an Apologia setting forth the causes of the revolt."⁴⁴ "Having thus provided for the continuance of the civil government and against the possibility of war the meeting was dissolved, five days after the revolt and within ten days of the original opening."⁴⁵

The internal truce with the Catholics broke down at once. On June 9 the Jesuits were expelled from the country, and before midsummer Thurn had attacked and subdued Krummau, the stronghold of the Catholics.

Acting on the advice of his pacific adviser, Cardinal Khlesl, the Emperor Matthias at first sent offers of amnesty and peaceful discussion. The 'rebels' defiantly refused to consider them, shocking the Catholic opinion of Europe. Slowly the revolt assumed significance in the problems of Europe; in Brussels and Madrid the prestige of the dynasty was felt to be at stake; money and troops were hastily dispatched to help the Archduke Ferdinand defend his throne, while the Papal Nuncio in Paris received commands from the Vatican to impress the King of France with the danger to the Bohemian Catholics.

44. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 80. The Apologia will be found in Luenig, Deutsches Reichsarchiv, Leipzig, 1710, Vol. VI, ii, p. 133f.

45. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 80.

The Archduke Ferdinand, who as King-elect stood to lose the most, asked for nothing better than the immediate inception of a Crusade. Only the waning life of Matthias and the persistent desire of Cardinal Khlesl stood in the way. On July 20, 1618 Ferdinand seized Khlesl and sent him as a prisoner to a fortress in the Tyrol. The Emperor's indignant outcry was in vain; Ferdinand apologized courteously but would not release the Cardinal. Matthias was forced to bow before his cousin's inspired obstinacy and to trust the guidance of his policy in the future to hands which already had seized it for themselves.

Less than a month after Khlesl's capture the first imperial army crossed the Bohemian frontier. The army and general came from Flanders, the money from Spain. The appeal to France was coldly rejected.

While the imperial forces were forming and making their way into and towards Bohemia, Christian of Anhalt sought allies who would counter the armies of Ferdinand. Frederick sent an agent into Prague, and when the Emperor protested, Frederick sent a cool reply that he only wished to "persuade the rebels towards compromise."⁴⁶ His ambassador chose a curious means to that end, in urging the Bohemians to increase and improve their army and in suggesting that Anhalt himself should take over the command. At the same time courriers were sent from Heidelberg to the Duke of Savoy's capital at Turin to negotiate with him for the loan of the large mercenary army at that time in his employ. Duke, an old enemy of the

46. Ibid, p. 82.

Hapsburg family, grasped joyfully at the occasion for injuring them and terms were rapidly signed by which he agreed to share with the Elector Palatinate the expense of transporting and maintaining an army for the Bohemians.

The joint offer of the two princes reached Prague not a moment too soon. One Imperial army was already over the border and a second was preparing to follow. Thurn's rapidly recruited troops were without experience to stand against the Flemish professionals even had their numbers been adequate. When the Duke of Savoy and the Elector Palatine offered to provide a highly trained army which was already only a few days' march away under the command of Ernst von Mansfeld, hesitation was impossible.

On August 28, 1618, the second imperial army left Vienna and two days later the Bohemians accepted the offer of help. On September 9 the two invading armies joined and would infallibly have marched on Prague. Harassed by skirmishing attacks from Thurn the invaders fled back towards Budweis, while Mansfeld crossed the border with 20,000 men and laid siege to Pilsen, the richest and most important stronghold of the Catholic Loyalists. On November 21 after fifteen hours of desperate fighting Pilsen fell.

The Elector Palatine called a meeting of the Protestant Union at Rothenburg. If Frederick or Christian of Anhalt had expected to be congratulated on their actions they were greatly disillusioned. They refused to pay Mansfeld and to enter into any understanding with the rebels. They refused to raise

47. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

a joint army, and they established their impartiality by publishing a memorial exhorting both the emperor and his subjects to compromise.

At Rothenburg Frederick was one of the few who believed in Anhalt's professions. He had already written a letter to the king of England.⁴⁸ In November, 1618, Thurn privately asked the Palatine ambassadors whether they would guarantee their master's acceptance of the crown should it be offered him.

In June, 1619, Mansfeld's army was cut off near the little town of Sabalat. There the Catholic army gained their first victory. This victory had repercussions outside Bohemia. In France the young king's religious conviction triumphed over his political judgments, and he agreed to further Ferdinand's election to the imperial throne. In Germany the Catholic League under the presidency of Maximilian of Bavaria declared itself in favor of Ferdinand in the Bohemian quarrel.

Another factor entered into this complicated political situation, and that was the uprising of Gabriel Bethlen, or as he is better known, Bethlen Gabor. He was not only a Calvinist, but in his curious way a very devout one and the distress of the Bohemian Protestants gave him all the excuse he needed for his summer campaign in 1619. With his army he marched into Hungary. Half-Protestant, Hungary rose at once; rebels sprang up on all sides to throw off the absent Ferdinand. He entered into an alliance with Thurn in 1619 both for a defen-

48. *Ibid.*, p. 83, taken from Lundorp, Vol. I, pp. 503ff.

sive and an offensive alliance.

In the midst of all this political intrigue and marching and counter marching armies the Bohemian Electors met in August to choose their new king. After discussing and eliminating various prospects the electors chose the young Elector Palatine by a vote of 146 to 7.⁴⁹

Ten days later on August 28 the Imperial Electors met at Frankfort to choose a successor to Matthias. Amid the protest of the rebels of Bohemia Ferdinand took his place as King of Bohemia. The three Catholic Electors naturally and unhesitatingly cast their votes for Ferdinand. The chance to throw off the Hapsburg yoke had come, but the follies of German politics had entered in. The representative of the Elector of Saxony had no alternative but to follow the Bishops' example. He had been dispatched to Frankfort with the discouraging words of his mater, "I know no good will come of it; I know Ferdinand." But he had not indicated who the representative should vote for.⁵⁰ The Elector of Brandenburg

followed the example of the representative of the Elector of Saxony and cast his vote also for Ferdinand. The representative of the Elector of the Palatinate⁵¹ after casting his

49. Ibid., p. 95; cf. Larned, op. cit., p. 3652.

50. It is difficult to explain how an imperial Elector upon whose shoulders fell the responsibility of choosing an Emperor and under whom he himself had to live could make such a statement and would dispatch his representative with a specific demand that he vote for someone he did favor. Perhaps the explanation "that he was drunk at the time" helps to throw some light on the problem. cf. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 95.

51. Frederick had concurred with James I of England on the election and James "had no better advice to bestow on his son-in-law than that if he would not gain over the majority of the Electors to his side, he should accept the inevitable and try to get as much as possible for his vote for Ferdinand." cf. Ward, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 18

vote ~~for~~ the Duke of Bavaria finally had to cast his vote for Ferdinand too, for the Duke of Bavaria had cast his lot with Ferdinand.⁵²

That was the situation that was to plunge Europe into one of the bloodiest and most costly wars the world has ever seen. The deposed King of Bohemia had been elected Emperor of the German Empire, while the crown that had been taken away from him was being offered to Frederick of the Palatinate. Any move of Frederick's to accept the throne meant war, and refusal would mean a bloody persecution that Ferdinand contemplated for the Bohemian subjects.

Frederick was in a dilemma. He delayed his decision and in the meanwhile sent out feelers asking whether he should accept the proffered throne. His marriage relation with the King of England, thus drew England into the turmoil that was to rock Europe.

"The Catholic cause and the lot of the House of Austria engaged the King of Spain, who was the strongest branch of that stock. King James of England had to be drawn in for common and particular interest; the religion which he professed and the state of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine. It was high business to the whole Christian world, and the issue of it had main dependence upon the King of England, who was the mightiest prince of the Protestants."⁵³

52. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

53. Readings in European History, Robinson, Vol. II, p. 201, part of a letter by Rushworth.

"Like his rival Frederick met the situation with prayer,⁵⁴ but unlike his rival his prayers remained unanswered;" pleading for time he withdrew to Heidelberg to consult with his counsellors and the princes of the Protestant Union.

Both groups did not react favorably to his accepting the throne. His Council drew up a list of fourteen reasons for refusal and only six for acceptance.⁵⁵ On September 12 the princes of the Protestant Union met at Rothenberg. Only two of them, Baden and Ansbach, were warmly in favor of acceptance. John George of Saxony discouraged the move entirely. John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Maurice of Orange offered a lukewarm consent, but were reluctant to do so.⁵⁶

Whether Frederick's wife, Elizabeth, urged him to accept the preferred throne must remain an unanswered question. It is difficult though to imagine that she would prefer to remain an electress rather than a queen.⁵⁷

The Bohemian princes had elected Frederick in the hope that the fatal division between the Calvinists and the Lutherans would be healed.⁵⁸ They had counted heavily on English support when they chose him, and Frederick was well aware he would need England's support if he accepted the throne. He therefore sent Christopher von Dohna to James I to ask if the English monarch would concur in the acceptance of the

54. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 97.

55. Ibid., p. 98.

56. Ward, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 29.

57. Wedgwood says "The young Electress Elizabeth valiantly assumed a neutral attitude in public, but in private expressed herself in favor of her husband's acceptance. Legend has put in her mouth the proud statement that she would rather eat sauerkraut with a king than roast meat with an Elector," op. cit., p. 98. Dr. Ward maintains that that is a baseless legend but one which continues to survive. He maintains that her mind was not at that time occupied with political affairs, though at the time

the Bohemian crown. How James accepted von Dohna must remain
 a matter of conjecture.⁵⁹ James however considered the matter
 very carefully. It is "evident from the instructions he gave
 Lord Dorchester that he was little disposed to assume an un-
 friendly attitude towards the House of Hapsburg."⁶⁰ James
 was always the arbiter and hoped to reconcile the parties.

Frederick did not wait for an answer from James I. Egged
 on by Christian of Anhalt, his chaplain Schultz,⁶¹ who thought
 he "saw the hand of the Lord in the affair,"²⁶² and Bathlen Ga-
 bor, Frederick accepted the throne on September 25, 1619.

Five days later the Protestant Union requested the King
 of England to sanction the decision of Frederick and to make
 known an alliance with him by a public proclamation. All their

of the election she asked her father to support Frederick,
 op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 30.

58. Green, op. cit., p. 489.

59. Gindeley says that when James was informed of Frederick's
 election on September 13 he stoutly rejected all prayers
 and representations designed to secure his sanction to
 it, History of the Thirty Years' War, p. 154. Dr. Ward
 gives an entirely different chronology and opinion of that
 meeting between the King and Frederick's representative.
 He holds that von Dohna appeared before the King on Sep-
 tember 26, and all that happened was a refusal of James
 I to concur until he could convince himself of the jus-
 tice of Frederick's cause. The action he took later do
 not bear out Dr. Ward's conjecture, op. cit., Vol. IV,
 p. 29. The actions of James incline me to believe that
 James refused to grant his consent at that time. James
 publicly wrote to Phillip of Spain that he had nothing
 to do with the election (cf. Gindeley, op. cit., Vol. I,
 p. 154), but James certainly would call his council to
 consider the matter either if he had definitely made up
 his mind to oppose Frederick's action.

60. Gindeley, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 154.

61. Here again Dr. War (loc. cit.) differs with Wedgwood
 (loc. cit.), who holds that the Chaplain Schultz influenced
 Frederick to accept the throne. Dr. Ward holds that
 Christian von Anhalt alone was the one individual who
 persuaded Frederick to accept the contended throne. A
 Calvinist as Schultz certainly would use some pressure
 on Frederick.

62. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 98.

pleading was in vain. On October 2 von Dohna was admitted to an audience with the King, in which James I gave vent to his "entire accumulation of resentment towards his son-in-law."⁶³

"From the very first James denied to his son-in-law the title of King of Bohemia. He forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation; and though he owned that he had in no wise examined the pretensions, priveleges, and constitution of the revolted states, so exalted was his idea of Divine Right of Kings that he concluded subjects must be in the wrong when they stood in opposition to those who had assumed or acquired that majestic title. Thus even in measures founded on true politics James so intermixed so many narrow prejudices as diminished his authority and exposed him to imputations of weakness and error."⁶⁴

Three reasons, then, prevented James from concurring in Frderick's acceptance of the throne of Bohemia. The first was his anger at the turn of events in Germany which saw another Hapsburg upon the throne; the second was his supposition that he was powerless to act; the third was his belief in the Divine Right of Kings.⁶⁵

63. Gindeley, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 154.

64. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 46.

65. James believed that "every king owed duties to his subjects but that he alone was the judge of what was best. He considered kings as 'God's lieutenants on earth' and that their orders and laws should be accepted implicitly as the revealed Word of God Himself," Adams, Building of the British Empire, p. 244. He maintained that "the rule of primogeniture was a divine institution, anterior to Christian and even to Mosaic dispensation; that no human power, not even of the whole legislature, no length of adverse possession though it be extended to ten centuries, could deprive a legitimate prince of his rights; that the authority of such a prince was always despotic; that the laws, by which in England and in other countries the prerogative was limited, were to be regarded

The least that James should have demanded was a hands-off policy from the rest of Europe, but the 'statecraft' on which he prided himself led him "to count not on Spanish fear but on Spanish friendship."⁶⁶ James did not want to antagonize Spain and hoped for a peaceable settlement of the entire problem. He therefore refused all aid to the Protestant Princes, and even threatened war against Holland, the only country which was in earnest in her endeavors to help the distressed Protestants. He tried to force the Protestants on the Continent to leave the matter to his arbitration.⁶⁷ The Protestant Princes however refused to heed James I's wishes.

On October 6, 1619 Frederick made his formal acceptance of the throne of Bohemia.⁶⁸ A few days later amid the lamentations of his people who dearly loved him he rode out of Heidelberg on his way to Prague. He was "taking more than he Palatinate with him, for he was taking the fate of Germany and the peace of Europe"⁶⁹ with him. Even the weather forecast the events to come, for Frederick left in a drizzling mist of that October day.

Frederick's action had reverberations throughout Europe, especially in Holland. The "truce between the United Provinces

merely as concessions which the sovereign had freely made and might at his pleasure resume; that any treaty which a king might conclude with his people was merely a declaration of his present intentions, and not a contract of which the performance could be demanded," Macaulay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 74.

66. Green, op. cit., p. 489.

67. Ibid.

68. Following the chronology of Dr. Ward.

69. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

and Spain was coming to an end, and the man upon whom the Dutch depended to guard the Rhine was leaving his post to chase a phantom in Bohemia, setting out to dethrone a Hapsburg, blantly defying the lightning of Spain. Here was the leading Protestant ruler in the Empire pledging the cause of constitutional liberties and religious freedom to the support of a national rising in Bohemia. Here was a German prince assuming the leadership of a Slavonic rebellion.⁷⁰ This was the way the Dutch reacted to Frederick's acceptance of the throne of Bohemia.

Frederick was enthusiastically received in Prague. He had guaranteed the Bohemian constitution before he crossed the border. That fact plus the "bustling competence of Christian von Anhalt, the hope of powerful allies, the beauty of the young queen, and the flattering fact that although she was far advanced in pregnancy that she had risked the arduous journey in order to bear her child among her husband's new subjects made the Bohemians joyous."⁷¹ Prague was notoriously gay and welcomed and occasion for festivity.⁷²

The Bohemians had still another reason for rejoicing. Ferdinand was in a critical position. It was said that there were traitors even in his court; Styria, his own land, was discontent; the Protestants of Austria and Hungary had en-

70. Ibid..

71. Ibid.

72. The coronation especially was a sign for celebration and festivity. The whole city was hung with silver and blue, a guard of honor was clothed in the dress of Zizka's time, fountains running red and white wine were set up. "The city indeed provoked comparison with Sodom and Gomorrah making merry under skies heavy with disaster," Ibid., p. 119.

tered into an alliance with the Bohemians. Bethlen Gabor had joined forces with Thurn and had driven Ferdinand's ill-disciplined and unpaid forces back over the Danube and was marching towards Vienna. The son of Ferdinand was dying, and Ferdinand had been called away to care for him in his last days. The situation looked dark for Ferdinand and so rosy for the Protestant forces that the Venetian agent reported that God alone could save Ferdinand's cause. ⁷³ One part of the picture still remained black, and that was the refusal of James I to throw his lot with the Protestant forces of the Bohemians. The weight of his influence might well have been the straw that would have broken the back of Ferdinand and the House of the Hapsburgs.

Erderick, however, soon disillusioned his subjects. His one hope lay in gaining the good-will of his new subjects, "but he provoked the contempt of the nobles and the hatred of the populace. He was shy of his advisers, bewildered by the language and the peculiarities of the constitution he had pledged himself to defend. He annoyed the leading statesmen and above all the nobility of the Bohemians by suggesting that serfdom be abolished by attempting to impose a new oath of allegiance and by arguing the Estates to elect his five year old son as his successor. He annoyed the people by blundering attempts to check the immorality of Prague and worst of all by desecrating the church. ⁷⁴

The Bohemians themselves were to blame for the conditions

73. Wedgwood, op. cit., quoting Hoefler, p. 391.

74. Ibid., p. 120.

which followed. They did little to help the new monarch. They thought "of nothing but gratifying their brothers or friends in the administration of the army and the government. They showed disrespect for the king. The state was honey-combed with disaffections, for the old animosities of nobility, burghers, and peasantry were sharpened by the distress of the country, and treason was suspected in the very court of the king."

Frederick soon came under two fires, the first was the dissension in his new kingdom; the second was the reforming of Ferdinand's armies. In March, 1620, the Catholic League

75. Wedgwood mentions that some of the king's own counselors were said to have told the king when he called a meeting at seven o'clock in the morning that it was against their privilege to rise so early, *Ibid.* The Roman Catholics naturally did everything they could to discourage the young monarch and to make his position on the throne insecure. Here is a poem they made up and used during his reign:

1)
 Oh, shame on you, poor winter King,
 What's that you have done?
 Is it not a very naughty thing
 To snatch the king's throne:
 Now you will have to stay away from Rheims and Prague,
 And more than that—shame and dismay
 Your days and nights with plague.

2)
 Dear Fritz, good fellow, oh come now,
 Give up, give up the crown!
 To hell, to meet your just reward
 Full soon you will go down.
 So everyone that flies too high
 Is sure to go amiss.
 Presumption aiming at the sky,
 Must pay in Hell's abyss.

Quoted in Robinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 202.

76. Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

together with representatives of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Elector George met at Muehlhausen. There Ferdinand "bought the united support of the Lutherans and the Catholics by offering a guarantee not to interfere with the religion of the secularized bishoprics in the Upper Saxon Circle."⁷⁷ Frederick had claimed that the Kingdom of Bohemia lay outside of the German Empire and therefore insisted that he had not broken the internal peace of that Empire but was merely waging war on an outside country. Ferdinand gained the support of the representatives through his offer, and they in turn declared Bohemia an integral part of the German Empire. On April 30 an imperial mandate was issued to Frederick ordering him to withdraw from Bohemia before June 1st. Frederick's subsequent refusal to heed the 'order' was the real declaration of war. From June 1st on every loyal German was supposed to use any means he chose to destroy Frederick. Ferdinand was also empowered to raise an army to chase the 'usurper' out of the kingdom.⁷⁸

Frederick's position was going from bad to worse. His own father-in-law rejected his claim to the throne of Bohemia. Frederick could take little comfort in knowing that the English people backed him, for he knew that even they could not persuade the king to change his policy.⁷⁹ The disaffection of James

77. Ibid, p. 107. (It is difficult to think how the Lutherans could be misled to believe Ferdinand's promises, for all knew Ferdinand's position against the Lutherans.)

78. Ibid.

79. When the news reached London that Frederick was the new King of Bohemia, they immediately attempted to "stage an illumination in the new king's honor, and the ardent Protestants throughout the country at once began to collect money for his cause," Ibid., p. 108.

had repercussions in other lands; "his cause they whispered must be bad indeed if not even his nearest kin would support him." Frederick's advisors begged the English king to re-⁸⁰consider, but all their pleading was in vain.

Frederick turned his eyes to the other Protestant powers to see if they would help him. The King of Denmark had a commercial dispute with Hamburg on his hands and could spare neither, time, money, nor men to assist Frederick. He did try to help him though, in that he admonished the Elector of Saxony to go to his assistance. The King of Sweden was waging war in Poland, and he was unwilling therefore to help Frederick, in spite of the fact that his marriage to the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg was prompted by Frederick. The Venetians grudgingly agreed to prevent as far as possible the transportation of Spanish troops into Germany, but they refused any further assistance because they did not see any good business prospects in Bohemia to encourage them further.

Frederick's position and that of the Protestant Cause took a turn for the worse when the Duke of Savoy withdrew his subsidies to Mansfelt's armies and even permitted a contingent of Spanish troops to pass through his duchy. Trouble in Transylvania forced Bethlen Gabor to retreat from Hungary. After he had settled the disputes in his own land he sold his alliance to Frederick dearly, demanding a "perpetual stream

80. James' ambassador tried to justify the King's actions by telling them that "his majesty hath a purpose to join with the French King in doing all good offices for the weal of Christendom to pacify the present broils in Germany," Lundorp, Vol. I, p. 860 quoted in Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 108.

of titles, subsidies, and rewards to keep him even superficially loyal." ⁸¹ The position of Frederick was even darker than that, for Bethlen Gabor had started negotiations with Ferdinand to see what he would offer him. The Val Telline had been thrown open to Spain after a revolt had upset the government there.

Frederick had also counted heavily on his uncle the Duke of Bouillon for support, but that ally was too ill-equipped to gain support from the Catholic King of France. King Louis knew that if the Prince of Wales died, Frederick would be the next King of England. King Louis feared a union of those two countries. He also feared the rising power of the Hapsburgs, and knew that if Frederick was decisively defeated he would face a Rhenish Palatinate governed by Spain. He therefore chose a neutral course, waiting for the development of events before he would act.

The Protestant Union, moreover, was undecided what to do. They gathered their small army together and faced the larger and better trained forces of the Catholic League. France was determined to prevent the war, so she offered a compromise to the two armies. If the Protestant Union would guarantee not to attack the lands of the Catholic princes, would the Catholic princes guarantee not to attack the Protestant lands? Maximilian of Bavaria warmly supported the plan, and the Protestant princes who asked for nothing more than safety for their own countries were easily persuaded to agree to the terms. On July 3 the representatives of both sides signed the Treaty

⁸¹. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

of Ulm.

Spain however was willing to concede nothing. Phillip III hesitated at first because he wanted to husband his forces for a concerted attack on the United Provinces. Ambrogio Spinola, a Genoese nobleman, soon caused him to forget about any misgivings he might have. Spinola already had raised an ⁸³ army to fight with Ferdinand. On February 20 Ferdinand and the Spanish government had signed a treaty of mutual assistance. The way for a Spanish army was clear. The Protestant armies had been disbanded after the Treaty of Ulm had been ⁸⁴ signed, so no barrier stood in their way.

The only country upon whom Frederick could count were the United Provinces. They alone voted to support his cause, giving him a subsidy of 50,000 florins a month. However, it was to their interest to defeat any Spanish army which might attack the Palatinate or Bohemia, for they knew that Spain would attack them when they were in a favorable position.

In August Spinola set out from Flanders with 25,000 men. As the head of the column advanced towards the Rhine, the Prince of Orange afraid to break the truce between Spain and his country and powerless to intercept the huge Spanish army appealed in despair to James I of England. At the eleventh hour James I permitted the collection of voluntary subsidies and men to help the beleaguered Protestants. The English army totalled but ⁸⁵ 2000 men and was commanded by Sir Horace Vere. They em-

82. Ibid., p. 112.

83. Spinola is said to have worked for eighteen hours a day building and planning his army. For eleven years ever since the defeat of the Spanish by the United Provinces he had planned his campaign. He even used his own fortune to build it, Ibid., p. 114.

84. Ibid.

85. Ward, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 34.

barked from England and set out for the Low Countries.

As yet no one knew the destination of Spinola's army. He first headed towards Bohemia and then cut over for the Rhine River. On August 19 he occupied Mainz. In the meanwhile the English army fought its way up the Rhine and established itself at Frankenthal and Mannheim. On September 5 Spinola took another city of the Palatinate, Kreuznach; on September 10 he also captured Oppenheim. Far away in Bohemia Frederick's heart bled for his people, but he could do nothing but appeal once more to the King of England, but James had told his son-in-law plainly that he would have nothing to do with any encroachment upon the rights of another, and that he had undertaken at the instigation of Spain a formal mediation between the Bohemians and Ferdinand. Even while Spain's armies were marching James did not discover that Spain had suggested such a proposal merely to keep his hands tied while she was arming.⁸⁶

Meanwhile another Imperial army was on the march under Count Tilly. On September 26 he crossed the Bohemian border. A Protestant army rose to meet him. On October 5 the Elector of Saxony led his army to counter Tilly. Maximilian's army also had entered the war. He besieged Pilsen; and Mansfelt, the city's defender, began negotiations with him for an armistice. Maximilian then turned towards Prague, and in mid-October came up with Ferdinand's ill-equipped army at Rokitzka, two days march from the capital. Frederick in the meantime not

⁸⁶. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

only was being pressed in by the advancing Imperial army, but he was also having trouble checking the bitter rivalry between Thurn and Anhalt. Still another blow struck him, for Mansfelt informed him that his contract was expiring and since Frederick could not fulfill it he considered himself free of all obligations.

Bethlen Gabor added still another headache to Frederick's many problems. The army he had sent to help Frederick proved a greater hinderance than a help. The soldiers looted and pillaged the land through which they marched, and so the last vestige of Frederick's popularity with the Bohemians was removed. Winter had set in early, and hunger and disease soon took their toll of the armed forces.

87

On November 5 the Bohemian army started to retreat towards Prague. Three days later on November 8 the Imperial army and Ferdinand's army fought the Battle of White Hill. The Bohemians were routed. Unaware of what was happening Frederick and his wife were eating with the English ambassador when Frederick decided to review his troops. Frederick had been confident that his army was too powerful to be conquered. When he reached the outskirts of the city, he saw the first remnants of his army reach the city. When he was told what had happened, he fled from the city taking only his family and the crown jewels.

The fall of Prague a few days later cheered the Catholics in Europe. On November 23 canons thundered in Vienna and Catholic churches "echoed with Psalms of thanksgiving and from

the pulpits under the image of Christ Crucified the voices of the Catholic clergy cried for vengeance" against the Protestants. 88

"Almost at once it was known in England that Frederick had been defeated and that he had fled with his wife and his two infant sons, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice into Holland. High now were the rumors and complaints against the King's neutrality and inactive disposition. The happiness and tranquility of their country became distasteful to the English when they reflected on the grievances and distress of their Protestant brothers in Germany." 89 "The whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardor greater with which all the states of Europe in earlier ages flew to the rescue of the Holy Land from the dominion of the Infidel. The nation was sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connection with the Palatinate, who had married a daughter of England, very close and intimate, and when they heard of the Catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against the Protestants they thought their own interest deeply concerned and regarded their own neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and His Holy Religion. They would gladly have plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics and would have gladly expended all the blood and treasure of the nation by maintaining a contest with the whole House of Austria at the very time shw was most potent." 90

88. Ibid., p. 128.

89. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 46.

90. Ibid., p. 90.

Parliament reflected the opinion of the people in their interest in the Bohemian affair. They "represented to the king that the enormous growth of the Austrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; and that the uncontrolled conquests made by the Austrian family in Germany raised bright expectations in the English papists. The Commons, therefore, entreated the King that he would immediately undertake the defense of the Palatinate and maintain it by force of arms."⁹¹

James was a man of peace, however, and dreaded a war with Spain—which the possession of the Palatinate would mean. He "entertained the notion that as his own justice and moderation had shown so conspicuously throughout all his transactions that the whole House of Austria, though not awed by his power, would willingly from mere respect to his virtue submit to an equitable arbitration. He began to push his favorite dream of marrying the Prince of Wales, his only son, to the Spanish Infanta, and then after he had found such an intimate connection with the Spanish monarch, the restoration of the Palatinate might be presumed from the motive alone of friendship and personal attachment."⁹²

In May 1620 the great Spanish ambassador returned to England. James at once made "frantic efforts to enlist Spanish support for his son-in-law. He even proposed to Gondomar a division of the Netherlands of which his share would be Holland and Zealand, if Spain would intervene and return the

91. Ibid., p. 52.

92. Ibid., p. 47.

Palatinate back to Frederick." ⁹³ Gondomar would not listen to such a wild project, but he did play along with James to keep English armies out of the Continent.

After James had abandoned all ⁹⁴wild schemes he held, he kept but one in his mind and that was the marriage of his son to the Spanish Infanta. The person who backed his plan was his favorite, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, whose "imagination was for a time dazzled by the idea of giving peace to Europe through that scheme."

Conditions on the Continent and the welfare of his daughter ⁹⁵worried James. He therefore entered into an agreement with Spain about the Palatinate. The Spaniards feared that the Electorate would be transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria.

93. Davies, op. cit., p. 54.

94. Trevelyan, History of England, p. 389.

95. Elizabeth wrote the following letter to James I on May 23, 1620:

"Sire: I do not wish to importune your majesty with a very long letter. The Baron du Dohna will not fail to inform your majesty of the misfortune that has befallen us to leave Prague, and to come to this place where God knows how long we will remain. I, therefore, most humbly entreat your Majesty to protect the King and myself by sending us succor; otherwise we shall be brought to utter ruin. It is your Majesty alone next to Almighty God from whom we expect assistance. I most humbly thank your Majesty for the favorable declaration you have been pleased to make respecting the preservation of the Palatinate. I most humbly entreat you to do the same for us here and to send sufficient succor to defend ourselves against our enemies; otherwise I do not know what shall become of us.

"I therefore entreat your majesty to have compassion on us and not to abandon the King at this hour, when he is in such great need. As to myself, I am resolved not to leave him; for if he should perish, I still perish with him. But whatever may happen never, never shall I be other than his. Your Majesty's most humble and obedient daughter and servant...Elizabeth."

Robinson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 205

-7-

The Archduchess Isabella finally evolved a scheme. Frederick was to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, a child of seven, who was then to be trained at Ferdinand's court and was later to marry one of his daughters. That scheme kept the electorate with the Palatine and was not against the German Constitution.⁹⁶

Philip IV of Spain favored the plan because it filled a double purpose for Spain. It kept England out of the war thus permitting Spanish ships to pass freely through the Narrow Seas, and it also tended to pacify English public opinion to some extent.⁹⁷ Everything in the plan, however, depended on one thing, and that was the continued good relationship between Spain and England.

In order to remove all "obstacles preventing the marriage of his son to the Spanish Infanta James I dispatched Digby, later the Earl of Bristol, to Madrid. He also secretly employed Gage as his agent in Rome. When he found out that the difference in religion was the chief if not the sole reason which retarded the marriage he resolved to soften that objection as much as possible. He issued public orders discharging all papish recusants who were imprisoned, and it was daily feared in England that he would forbid the execution of the penal laws enacted against them.⁹⁸

For that step so opposite to the spirit of his subjects he took care to apologize; and he even endeavored to ascribe it to his great zeal for the Protestant Cause. He had been

96. Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 159-160

97. *ibid.*, p. 145

98. Jordan gives John Gee's figures as 255 priests released including many Jesuits. He also gives Prynne's figures as 4,000 recusants released, which he says is a Puritan exaggeration. He says about 1,000 Catholics were released. Jordan, op. cit., p.93

making applications he said to all foreign princes for some indulgence to the persecuted Protestants; and he was still answered by objections derived from the severity of the English laws against Catholics in England. He pointed out that if the extremities of religious zeal were to abate among Christian sects, one of them had to begin; and nothing he said would be more honorable for England than to have led the way." ⁹⁹ The opinion of James I fell on deaf ears in his own country, for up to that time no country granted equal privileges to all sects.

While James I was sincere in his intentions, Spain was not. Spain did not want the Spanish Infanta married to the Prince of Wales, and when that country saw the anxiety of James to make a marriage contract, she made James play into her hands. Spain knew that a Papal dispensation would be needed for the marriage and knew that she alone could obtain it. The power, therefore, of retarding or of forwarding the marriage lay in her hands, and at the same time she could perfectly conceal all their negotiations with the Pope. While Spain was stalling England could give no help to the beleaguered Protestants.

Even James I's ambassador, the Earl of Bristol, was fooled by Spain's actions. He promised James that a daughter of Spain would soon arrive in England with a huge dowry of 600,000 pounds sterling and 2,000,000 pieces of eight, a sum equal to all the money Parliament had given James as long as ruled.

99. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 62

48.

Bristol also told James I that the marriage would positively mean the restoration of the Palatinate, something of greater value to James I. The Earl of Bristol boasted that his intelligence was so exact that even the most secret councils of the Spaniards did not escape his knowledge,

100

While James I was concerned with his pet policy, Frederick began to organize his own forces to recover his lost land. Three armies were levied in Germany by his authority under three commanders: Duke Christian of Brunswick, the Prince of Baden-Durlach, and Count Mansfelt. The two former generals were defeated by Tilly and the Imperialist army; the third, though much inferior in force to his enemies, still maintained the war but with no equal supplies of money either from the Palatinate or from the King of England. It was chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate that he subsisted his army. As the Austrians were regularly paid, they were kept in more exact discipline; and James I became apprehensive lest so unequal a contest would end in the total alienation of the people's affections from their ancient sovereign, by whom they were plundered, while their new masters protected them.

101

James therefore persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, under color of duty and submission to the Emperor. Frederick finally consented. Mansfelt's army was then withdrawn into the Low Countries, where they were commissioned into service by the United Provinces.

102

100. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 63-64.

101. *ibid.*, p. 61

102. *ibid.*

On May 14, 1621 the Protestant Union had already been dissolved.¹⁰³ James I's new plan of arbitration soon deprived Frederick of all help. In July 1622 James I told the Protestant princes in Brussels that his plan would settle the whole problem. At the same time to guarantee his good faith, James withdrew the English garrison from Frankenthal, Frederick's last stronghold in Germany.

James I's hopes were soon dashed at the meeting of Ratisbon in August. There contrary to the protestation of Saxony and all the Protestant princes and cities, the Electors transferred the electorate from the Palatine to Bavaria. James I's plan of keeping the electorate with the Palatine was doomed by that action. His plan was simply ignored.¹⁰⁴

James I's last hope lay again with his marriage plan with Spain. In November 1621 he had already promised the Spanish ambassador that no effectual aid would be sent to the Protestant armies. He had also dismissed those of his ministers who still opposed an alliance with Spain.¹⁰⁵

Finally in August 1623 it was determined that a general pardon was to be issued under the Great Seal releasing all the recusants who had been imprisoned or who were liable to conviction. At the same time a Declaration of Indulgence was to be issued which suspended the operation of the penal laws. The Declaration stated that in view of the proposed marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta and out of respect for her religion, the King had resolved

103. op. cit. Cambridge Modern History, p. 69.

104. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 61.

105. Green, op. cit., p. 492.

to reward the loyalty of his Catholic subjects by a mitigation of their conditions. They were to be allowed to worship in their private homes and more important were to have precisely the same legal status as every other loyal subject. ¹⁰⁶

While James was laying the foundations for his pet plan, Buckingham suggested to the King that it would be better for his plan if Charles were allowed to go directly to Spain and woo the Spanish Infanta there. Charles was enthusiastic about the plan. James I objected strenuously at first to such a wild proposal, but his son's warm entreaties persuaded him to approve it. ¹⁰⁷ James I had everything to lose and nothing to gain from such a visit. To allow the future monarch of England to leave his homeland in a crisis as critical as Europe faced was to invite disaster. In February 1623 Charles and Buckingham left for Spain. They secretly passed through France, where Charles saw Henrietta for the first time, and finally arrived in Madrid. There he received a royal welcome and was given the keys of the city. Immediately the "astute Spanish Council took advantage of the prince's inexperience and romantic mood and steadily increased the severity of the terms of the marriage contract. It was finally stipulated that the Infanta was to remain in Spain for a year, and in that interval the freedom to be granted the English Catholics was to be publicly proclaimed by the King. Charles and the Privy Council had to swear that that liberty would never be revoked, and they had to promise to endeavor at least to

106. Jordan, op. cit., p.105

107. Hume, op. cit., p. 65

to secure the approbation of Parliament to the undertaking.

James hesitated at first to take the required oath and in part was piqued that the oath of the Council was required to support his own promise. He was also beginning to appreciate the grave danger inherent in extending so largely the liberties of the English Catholics.¹⁰⁸

James I also had begun to entertain grave fears for his son's safety and so "yielding to importunities he induced the Council to subscribe to the required articles of the treaty.

The King of England finally agreed to permit the Infanta to bring a retinue of twenty five priests who were not to be subject to English Law, and who were obviously intended to minister to larger spiritual needs than those of the convent-born Infanta. James had further agreed that a Roman Catholic church was to be erected at the Queen's place of residence and that all English Catholics were to be allowed to repair there for worship. He had also promised that no Catholic would suffer the the death penalty because of his religion. In a private agreement the King had further pledged that the laws against the Catholics were to be permanently relaxed; and that no pressure was to be made to convert the princess.¹⁰⁹

In the meanwhile Gregory XV, who had agreed to the first arrangements had died, and Urban VIII sat on the Papal throne. He hoped "to gain even more than his predecessor and therefore delayed sending a new dispensation in hopes that during Charles' residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to effect his conversion to Catholicism."¹¹⁰

108. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, p.71

109. Jordan, op. cit., p. 103-104.

110. Hume, op. cit., p.71

While in Spain Charles showed himself to be a likeable prince. His character "composed of decency, reserve, modesty, sobriety -virtues so agreeable to the Spaniards-, the confidence which he reposed in that nation; the romantic gallantry which he had practised towards the princess,- all those circumstances, joined to his youth and advantageous figure, ¹¹¹ endeared him to the whole court of Madrid. But in the same proportions that the Prince of Wales was beloved and esteemed was Buckingham despised and hated. His behaviour, his sallies of passion, his indecent freedom with the princess, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant impetuous temper and his impudence to insult the Conde Count of Olivarez made every Spaniard desirous of insulting the English favorite."

Buckingham began to sense the resentment of the Spaniards towards him and dreading the influence that nation would have if the marriage was culminated ¹¹² resolved to employ all his wiles to prevent the marriage.

Charles himself began to suffer humiliations at the hands of the Spaniards due to the general hatred of the people towards Buckingham. When he was entreated by that Duke to leave Spain, he willingly consented to go. "On September 2, 1623 they left Madrid. His enthusiasm for the marriage had cooled perceptibly by the time of his departure, and when he reached England in early October he poured out to James I a bitter tale of denun- ¹¹³ ciation of all things Spanish.

Before his son had returned James had ordered Williams, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to prepare the Declaration

111. Hume, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 70-71.

112. *ibid.*

113. Jordan, op. cit., p.106.

of Indulgence for the Catholics and to issue it. In August Williams had sensed that there was considerable doubt that the marriage would be consummated and had resolved to delay in every way the execution of the Declaration and Pardon for the imprisoned recusants. The documents were prepared, and Williams informed the Spanish ambassador that they would be published directly after news of the marriage reached England. The Spanish envoy complained bitterly to the King, and James was obliged to order Williams to carry out his order. The Lord Keeper, however, was playing a desperate game and told the King that he was unable at that time to publish the documents because of the pressure of other business. A few days later Charles landed at Southampton, and the Lord Keeper became a ¹¹⁴ hero for refusing to publish the documents on time.

The return of the Prince of Wales was a signal for a burst of national joy. "All London was alight with bonfires in the joy of the failure of the Spanish match, which so long trailed ¹¹⁵ England's honor at the chariot wheels of Spain."

During the years of negotiations with Spain, public feeling had been running high in England. The conviction was generally held that England was to be sacrificed to Rome. The churches were never more crowded, men and women flocking to them to pray for the delivery which they felt threatened both Church and State. The most determined efforts of the government could not stop a flood of abuse and protests in anonymous pamphlets which appeared on the bookshelves and the origin of which could

114. Jordan, op. cit., p. 106.

115. Green, op. cit., p. 495.

could not be traced."

James I had infuriated the people during all his negotiations. It had been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the English people that Roman Catholicism was synonymous with Spanish interference in English affairs. Everything that the King had promised ran counter to the dominant sentiment in and out of Parliament. By his policy he had raised Puritanism into a position of leadership in the struggle of English Protestantism to free itself from the eternal threat of a Roman Catholic revival in England. "It was disastrous for the Stuart King when the fears of men for religion be-
117
came fused with their fears for their political liberties."

James I heard his policy denounced from the pulpits of England even. One Dr. Edwards ventured to oppose the Spanish marriage "choosing texts to show the great sin of matching with idolaters. For his boldness he was time and time again imprisoned, but then the next Sabbath Day one Lord or another would buy his liberty of the King, and promptly no sooner out but he would go on and manage the same thing more
118
fully."

Parliament reflected the attitude of the people in their resolutions. Both Houses were bitterly anti-Catholic, and the actions of James infuriated them even more. No effective

116. Jordan quotes the contents on one the pamphlets supposedly written by Archbishop Abbot (cf. his note on p.107 on the authorship) which reads: Your Majesty hath proposed a toleration of religion; I beseech you sir take into consideration what the act is, next what the consequences will be. By your act you labor to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon. It would be hateful to God and a grievous wrong to England if the King who has written so learnedly against heretics, should now become a patron of those doctrines which your pen hath told the world and your conscience tells you are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable.

117. Jordan, op. cit., p. 104

policy could be carried out by James with a hostile Parlia-
ment. As soon as Parliament heard of the Spanish marriage
plan they at once began to attack the king's favorite maxims
of government, his cautious and pacific measures, his lenien-
cy towards the Roman Catholic religion, and his attachment
to the Spanish alliance from which he promised himself some
mighty advantages. What disgusted them the most was the King's
refusal to heed their counsel. The Commons had entertained
the idea that they were the great patrons of the people and
that the redress of all grievances must proceed from them.
In the execution of that office they kept their ears open
to complaints of every kind, and they carried their research
into many grievances, which though of no great importance,
could not be touched upon without sensibly affecting the King
and his ministers. The King's authority was disputed, and
James would not submit to have his power questioned and denied;
and thus, in these great and national affairs, the same pee-
vishness which in private altercations often raise a quarrel
from the smallest beginnings produced a natural coldness and
disgust between the King and the Commons." That feeling
had begun as early as 1621.

As soon as James heard of the remonstrance of Parlia-
ment he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply
rebuked the House for debating matters pertaining to his
policies, and he forbade them to meddle with anything that
regarded his government on deep matters of State.

When the Commons recieved the letter they were inflamed
not terrified. Secure of their own popularity and of the best
interests of the nation towards a war with the Catholics

abroad, they little dreaded the menace of a prince who was unsupported by military force and whose temper would of itself so soon disarm his severity.

The King's ministers begged the Commons to make a grant to meet the emergency in the Platinate before they began to consider other matters, but all that Parliament approved was the granting of funds to repay James for the loan he had extended to Frederick. They were so infuriated with the King's policies that they forgot everything to attack them. Led by Perrot, Digges, Philips and Coke the Commons made violent attacks against Spain. They then began a consideration of a petition against the recusants.

120

As soon as Parliament heard the Letter James sent the speaker, they at once issued the Great Protestation.

121

James was fearful that they would pass laws forbidding him to continue with his pet plan and so he dismissed Parliament in 1622. Nothing had been accomplished to help the

120. The Petition demanded:
1. A War with Spain.
 2. A reformation of the recusancy laws
 3. Seizure of Catholic lands.
 4. A Protestant bride for Charles.

121. The Great Protestation of December 18, 1621 reads:
The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned there unto sundry liberties, franchises and privileges of Parliament; amongst others here mentioned do make this protestation following; that the liberties, franchises and privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and affairs concerning the King, state, and defense of the realm and of the Church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debates in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceedings of these businesses every member of the House of Parliament hath and of a right ought to have freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgements seem fittest; and that every member of (con't on p.58)

desperate plight of the Protestant Cause. Parliament was willing to help, and the people stood ready to help them; but the antagonism James had engendered kept them from doing anything but showing their dislike for the King's policies. When James dissolved Parliament before the members adjourned, they demanded war with Spain. "A war-like speech from a member aroused an enthusiasm which recalled the days of Elizabeth. The Commons answered the appeal by a unanimous vote, lifting their hats as high as they could and said that for the recovery of the Palatinate they would abandon their fortunes, their estates, and their lives."¹²²

Had England gone to war when Parliament and the people wanted it, the situation facing the Protestants would have been vastly different. Instead of building up weapons of war, the Spanish would have been expending them against a united Protestant alliance.

Meanwhile on the Continent the Imperial forces had taken Mannheim and Heidelberg. After reiterated remonstrances from James I, Spain interposed and secured an armistice for eighteen months. To compromise all differences it was agreed to leave

121. (con't from p. 57.)

the said house hath like freedom from impeachment, imprisonment, or molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any business touching the Parliament or parliamentary business; and that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for anything done or said in Parliament, the same is to be showed to the King by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in parliament before the king give credence to any private information."

Cheyney, Readings in European History, pp. 452-453.

122. Green, op. cit., p. 492

the settlement of the affair into the hands of the Spanish Infanta as a 'neutral' person. The agreement was to return the Blatine back to Frederick after all troops had left the country. After the unexpected rupture with Spain and after James demanded the execution of the treaty the Infanta offered Frederick possession of Frankendale and even promised him safe conduct through the Spanish Netherlands. "By this chicane Spain sought to throw the blame for the rupture entirely on the English." ¹²³ The plan however fell through, and Frederick was still deprived of his patrimonial dominions.

James had to decide on some new scheme to help his son-in-law. He was out of funds, and therefore had to recall Parliament to meet. James delivered the opening speech and confessed to the failure of his plans. ¹²⁴ Parliament, however, reflected the existing fears of the country and was not willing to accept the king's explanation of the policy which had dictated the recent toleration of popery.

One of the first acts of the Commons was to introduce a bill which sharpened the penalties for recusancy. On April 3, 1624 Parliament petitioned a full enforcement of the penal laws against the recusants and demanded "that upon no occasion of marriage or treaty or other requests in that behalf from any foreign prince or state whatsoever the King would not take off or slacken the execution of the laws against the Papish recusants." ¹²⁵

"In February 1624 James was forced to lay before the Parliament the whole question of the Spanish negotiation. Bucking-

123. op. cit. Hume, p. 73

124. His words, "I pray you, judge me charitably as you would have me to judge you", show his confession to failure. Jordan, op. cit., p. 110.

125. ibid.

ham and the Prince gave their personal support to a demand of both Houses for rupture of the treaties with Spain and a declaration of war. A subsidy was eagerly voted. The plan of Charles and Buckingham, however, differed greatly from that of Parliament. What money the Commons had granted, they had done so on the condition that the war should be exclusively a war against Spain, and a war waged only at sea. Their good sense shrank from plunging into the tangled and intricate medley of religious and political jealousies which was turning Germany into a hell. What they saw to be possible was to aid the Protestants by lifting off it the pressure of the armies of Spain. A blockade of Cadiz or a capture of Hispaniola would have produced more effect than a dozen victories along the Rhine. But such a policy had little attraction with Buckingham. His flighty temper exulted in being the arbiter of Europe, in weaving fanciful alliances, in marshalling imaginary armies. A treaty was concluded with Holland, and negotiations set on foot with the Lutheran princes of North Germany, who had looked coolly on at the ruin of the Elector Palatine, but were scared at last into consciousness of their own danger. Yet more important negotiations were opened for an alliance with France. Such a league would in fact have been strong enough to check the House of Austria and save German Protestantism, while it would have hindered France from promoting and profiting by German disunion. But, as of old, James could understand no alliance that rested merely on national interests. A dynastic union seemed to him the one sure basis for joint action; and the plan for a French alliance became a plan for marriage with a French princess."

In April 1624 Mansfelt arrived in England to plead for the Protestant Cause. The populace acclaimed him as the champion of the Protestant princes. So experienced a mercenary as Mansfelt did not act without good knowledge of European diplomacy. He persuaded James to allow him to gather an army of 12,000 men and 200 horses at the King's expense.

The French ministry agreed to a free passage of those English troops to the Palatinate. They embarked at Dover and set sail for Calais. When they arrived there, they found no order permitting them to enter France. After waiting there in vain for some time, they were obliged to set sail for Zealand, where it had also been neglected to take proper measures for their disembarkation. The United Provinces themselves were fearful what such a large army would do to the supplies of which they themselves were short. Meanwhile an epidemic broke out among the English forces cooped up so long on the narrow ships. Half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by disease, appeared too small a body to march into the Platinate. Tus ended that disconcerted and fruitless expedition, the only disaster which happened to England during the pacific reign of James I.

128

In July 1624 a Treaty of Defense Alliance was signed with the States-General of Holland by which the English government undertook to provide 6000 volunteers for the Dutch service.

129

The way England was reacting to the appeals of the Protestants on the mainland made it appear that they were finally entering the war.

127. Hume, op. cit., p. 83

128. *ibid.*

129. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 194

When James heard what had happened to Mansfelt's army, he began to push his marriage scheme to the French princess, Henrietta Maria, contrary to the wishes of Parliament and the English people. Less than three weeks after he had made a solemn pledge to Parliament never to rescind the penal laws against the recusants, he began to violate his promise.

In May 1624 he sent Carlyle and Kensington to Paris to begin negotiations. Almost immediately the religious difficulties arose when France demanded the same considerations as he had promised Spain. James had been firm in his initial instructions to his agents. He told them that "the constitution of the state could not bear any general changes or alterations in the ecclesiastical or temporal laws touching religion."¹³⁰ James then stressed an important fact when he added that it was better for the English Catholics to trust to royal clemency than to depend upon alien influence which might be exerted in their behalf.¹³¹

The French Minister La Vieuville, who was very anxious to conclude the alliance, assured James that his master, Louis XIII, demanded only an informal statement concerning the Catholics, and that a private letter on the subject would meet his demands. That informal assurance James I was ready

130. Jordan, op. cit., p. 111.

131. Jordan gives James I's words about that point: "For when liberty shall have the reins loosed to them, they may by abuse of liberty and favor constrain us, contrary to our natural affections to deal with them with more vigor than we are inclined to; and you may assure the King and his ministers that in contemplation of that marriage we shall be the more inclined to use our Roman Catholics with all favor so long as they behave themselves moderately; and keeping their consciences to themselves shall use their conversation without scandal," Jordan, op. cit., p. 111.

to give, but Louis XIII was so dissatisfied that he dismissed La Vieuville and placed the conduct of the discussion into the hands of Cardinal Richelieu. The Cardinal immediately made it clear that France would be satisfied with nothing short of a formal article of treaty, promising definite concessions to the Catholics. James and Charles had been burned by that flame too recently, and for a time the negotiations were at a stalemate.

The Duke of Buckingham was soon won over to Richelieu's demands, and Charles yielded a short time later. The Prince of Wales and the English favorite had been in charge of English policy for some months, and their reckless impatience soon wore down James I's resistance. On September 13, 1624 the settlement had been made. The Venetian ambassador in Paris wrote at the time, "The religious question in the English match has been settled in this way. The King and the Prince of Wales promise in a separate written document, which the Secretary of State will also sign, that the Catholics of the kingdom shall enjoy the same privileges and exemptions which had been stipulated in the Spanish treaty. They shall be allowed to live in the profession of their faith, without molestation, and shall not be persecuted or compelled in any matter of conscience. A point which created great difficulty was the desire that they should promise the Catholics the free exercise of their religion. The English would not listen to the word 'exercise' and so the word 'profession' was found instead."¹³²

132. Marc' Antonio Morosini to Doge and Senate, September 13, 1624, V.P. XVIII, 438 quoted in Jordan, op. cit., p. 88.

When Parliament heard of the proposed marriage they again protested to the King. Such an understanding as the King had made with France made it impossible for him to face a hostile Parliament, so the governing bodies were prorogued until February 16, 1625. On December 12, 1624 the public marriage treaty and the private agreement respecting religion were signed by James and Charles.

133

Buckingham's great scheme for an effective Western Alliance against Spain and Austria was closer to completion. Cardinal Richelieu of France, however, wanted to be the arbiter between the contending interests in Germany and Spain, because he feared a union of the German forces with the Spanish forces. France also was interested in restoring the Palatinate because she feared being encircled by the Hapsburgs. "But it was obvious that the mere goodwill of England and the guarded diplomacy of France could not suffice to ensure success of a renewal of the struggle in Germany against the House of Austria and the Catholic League. Buckingham and James had swung their diplomatic forces into France on the assumption that it would renew the war, but the reaction of Parliament and the English people effectively blocked any aid James could offer the Protestant Cause."

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The reign of James I was now rapidly coming to an end. In

133. The document signed by Charles reads: "I Charles...will promise...to all Roman Catholic subjects of the crown of Great Britain the utmost liberty and franchise in everything regarding their religion, which they would have had in virtue of any article which was agreed upon by the treaty of marriage with Spain!..Quoted in Jordan, op. cit., p. 88.

134. Ward, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 88.

the spring of 1625 he had been seized with tertian ague. After some fits he found himself extremely weakened and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear all constancy in religion, to protect the Church of England, and to extend his care towards the unhappy family in the Palatinate. On March 27 at the age of 59 after a reign of twenty-two years he died.¹³⁵

On November 10, 1624 Charles had been engaged to Henrietta of France. On June 13, 1625 Charles "made the fatal mistake of marrying by proxy the sister of the French King,"¹³⁶ a zealous Romanist "destined to be the mother of many troubles to England and of more to the House of Stuart."¹³⁷

The Duke of Buckingham had been sent to France to grace the nuptials and to bring the new Queen back to England. His actions while in Paris were reminiscent of those in Madrid. When Richelieu heard that "his attentions to the young queen were out of keeping with his high office, he objected strenuously. When Buckingham heard the objections of Richelieu he determined then and there to engage England in a war with France."¹³⁸

Buckingham finally brought the young Queen to England. For a moment "all smiled upon the beautiful girl of fifteen, who, if a Catholic, was after all the daughter of Henry of Navarre. She herself was anxious to remind the English people of that fact. When she was asked if she could abide a Huguenot, she wittily gave the Delphic answer, 'Why not? My father was one.'¹³⁹"

135. Hume, op. cit., p. 83.

136. Ibid., p. 337.

137. Trebelyan, op. cit., p. 389.

138. Hume, op. cit., p. 144.

139. Ward, op. cit., p. 258.

The new Queen brought to England in her train twenty-nine Roman Catholic priests, for whose service a chapel was fitted at St. James' Palace. The people reacted immediately to that fact. They considered the marriage "even greater than the plague which was then sweeping the country."¹⁴⁰

Parliament had assembled meanwhile for their first meeting under their new monarch. They assembled on June 18, 1625. The first thing that they demanded to be discussed was the toleration of the Catholics in the realm. Before they would consider anything else they demanded that the King ignore the terms of the treaty he had made in the marriage compact. The speaker was instructed to request the King to execute the penal laws against "the wicked generation of Jesuits, seminary priests, and incendiaries who lying in wait to blow the coals of contention."¹⁴¹

Charles saw that nothing could be done with such a hostile Parliament, so he adjourned the meeting and recalled it at Oxford, because the plague was then sweeping London. He hoped that the resentment against the marriage would cool off during the interval.

"Meanwhile the English sentiment was being scandalized by the sight of priests walking about the Palace in clerical garb. The priests had not been chosen with any thoughts of pleasantry for English feeling. They had been selected for their zeal rather than for their tact. They plunged into their tasks immediately organizing points of faith¹⁴² with all who

140. Hore, op. cit., p. 337.

141. Jordan, op. cit., p. 170.

142. A letter written at that time shows the success they were having: "Here in England we observe an extraordinary growth of Popery, insomuch that in some countries, where in Queen Elizabeth's time there were few apt to revolt.

would listen to them and by their incarnate zeal further excited the suspicions of Parliament and the majority of the people. They refused to follow the English court customs and even retained their own speech and manners. The Queen was bigoted and was dominated by her religious advisors, and so by the time Parliament reassembled on August 1 public opinion was inflamed."¹⁴³

When Charles saw the angry mob of the legislators he informed them that their demands would be heeded. On November 11, 1625 he issued his Writ to Ministers and Judges to Put Laws against Recusants into Effect Pursuant to a Petition of Both Houses of Parliament. Despite the vigorous protests of the French ambassador, the collection of the recusancy fines was resumed, and the judges were ordered to enforce the penal laws. The government did not slacken its policy when the French protested again and steadily declined to discuss the toleration clauses of the marriage compact.¹⁴⁴

England found herself dealing with a King who was far different from his father. "Charles had received from nature a far better understanding, a far stronger will, and a far keener and firmer temper than his father's."¹⁴⁵ He had inherited his father's political theories but was much more disposed to

There is a bold and open allowance of their religion by frequent and public resort to mass in multitudes without control and that even in the Queen's court," Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, p. 79.

143. Jordan, op. cit., p. 171.

144. Ibid., p. 172.

145. It was said that "the courriers would often pray God in his youth that he might be in the right way when he was set; for if he was in the wrong he would prove the most willful of any king that ever reigned," Green, op. cit., p: 495.

carry them out into practice. He was like his father a zealous Episcopalian. He was moreover what his father had never been, a zealous Arminnian, and though no Papist liked a Papist match much better than a Puritan. It would be unjust to deny that Charles had some of the good qualities of even a great prince. He wrote and spoke not unlike his father with the exactness of a professor, but after the fashion of an intelligent and well-educated gentleman. Faithlessness was the chief cause of his disasters and the chief stain on his memory. He seemed to have learned from the theologians of that day that between him and his people there could be nothing of the nature of a mutual contract; and that he could not, even if he would, divest himself of his despotic authority; and that, in every promise which he made, there was an implied reservation that such promise might be broken in case of necessity, and that of the necessity he was the sole judge." ¹⁴⁶ "His incurable weakness was that he could never understand the nature of English likeness." ¹⁴⁷

Charles also faced a delicate situation in his homeland. He was engaged in a war with Spain, while he was denied the tools to fight with. In a letter of that day sent by James Howell to his father we learn something of the conditions in England. "Charles," he wrote, "was left engaged in a war with potent princes, the people long without arms, the fleet ranged

146. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

147. Flynn, Influence on Puritanism, p. 14.

in quarter repair, his sister without a country, the crown pitifully laden with debts, and the purse of the state tightly ballasted, though it never had better opportunity to be rich
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..."

The people themselves had changed. "So long as the people remained for the most part but a semi-literate populace, they remained the beast of many heads. With the changes that had come in the mode of living with the shifting of population, the growth of London, the spread of the Bible, and above all the increasing activity of the pulpit and the press, the mob was on the way of becoming an articulate problem."
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England has experienced a tremendous change in its religion, and the influence of the preacher was accordingly great. The preachers, as a whole, "notwithstanding what their followers might do, professed not to meddle with the questions of government. But the things of Caesar's are always difficult to distinguish from those of God. The keepers of men's consciences come close to keeping men's purses, and this becomes apparent in rulers the more critical their need. When Charles I asked Parliament for money, he met not only the natural reluctance of men to pay taxes, but also the resistance of the country gentlemen, city dwellers, and men of business—who had been taught that they must in all circumstances oppose wickedness in high places."
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There was also confusion in the churches throughout the land. "Services were conducted according to no consistent order. Edifices suffered from neglect, disrepair, and decay. The

148. Cheyney, Readings in English History.

149. Haller, op. cit., p. 226.

150. Ibid.

properties and revenues of the churches had been depleted. The ecclesiastical courts were scenes of squabbling. The universities were torn by controversies that sometimes led to rioting. Many of the clergy were ignorant, idle, and vicious. The Jesuits proselitized openly. Heresies sprang up. The press dared print criticisms against the government more boldly." ¹⁵¹

When Charles faced his Parliament in August he felt much of the unrest that had been stirring the country. He knew he was powerless to act unless they gave him funds.

On the Continent other Protestant countries began to go to the aid of their stricken brothers in the faith. We cannot say that they entered the war strictly for a religious reason, but their faith was so tied up with their political moves so that it is often difficult to draw the line where religion caused them to do something and where politics played its part.

Two countries came up with plans to help the Protestants. The first was Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus. He "expounded an elaborate project hinging on a proposed marriage of his sister-in-law Catherine to a Russian noble and a subsequent declaration of war by Russia against Poland, which would then enable him to head a great Protestant army against the House of Austria. Gustavus Adolphus hoped to lead an army of 50,000 men into Germany. England was asked to defray part of the cost—her allotted portion being one-third of the cost, 30,000

151: *Ibid.*, p. 227.

pounds a month. ¹⁵² Suedo-Brandenburg plan also demanded that four months pay be advanced before the expedition would set out. Gustavus Adolphus did not want to be a Mansfelt at the head of an army which was forced to pillage for food.

Christian IV of Denmark was jealous of the Swedish king, and so he offered his own plan. The Danish plan called for 6,000 English soldiers and 30,000 pounds a month for their support. ¹⁵³

On March 2, 1625 King James then near the end of his life decided on the Danish plan, while "characteriscally informing Christian of Denmark that both schemes had been accepted by him." ¹⁵⁴

The question of a Protestant alliance was left open by James I's reply to the two proposals, but Gustavus Adolphus rightly interpreted the meaning of the English decision. It "signified that the prestige of his Danish rival still surpassed his. The news that the Danish King had definitely placed himself at the head of the proposed undertaking finally determined Gustavus Adolphus to withdraw from the wars in Germany and devote himself for the next five and one-half years with his war in Poland." ¹⁵⁵

Shortly after James I had promised to help the newly formed Protestant army he died, and so Charles I was faced with the prospect of keeping that promise.

While all that political intrigue was going on, England finally sent their fleet against Spain. Charles had difficulty

152. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 82.

153. Ibid.

154. Ward, op. cit., p. 90.

155. Ibid.

in collecting funds for the expedition, but at least eighty ships were equipped and 10,000 soldiers set on board. The flotilla sailed for Cadiz and found the harbor filled with Spanish ships whose booty alone would have paid for the expedition. Disaster plagued England's hopes again, and the ships were forced to sail away because the dreadful plague was sweeping that Spanish port.

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Charles I's money was spent. He had to recall Parliament. He told them of the alliance his father had made with Christian IV. He also told of a plan to send Mansfelt with an English army into the Palatinate. He reminded them that the United Provinces had to be supported in their unequal war with Spain. He also had inherited a debt of 30,000 pounds from his father which had to be paid. Parliament held the purse strings and demanded that their grievances be settled first. Parliament, moreover, had no confidence in Charles or the Duke of Buckingham who had rebuked them so many times in the past and who had acted contrary to their wishes in many matters of state. They refused to grant King Charles all the money he demanded from them. They refused "to show their spleen and ill-will against the Duke of Buckingham and their disgust with the French marriage. Parliament was also fearful that Charles would take all the matters of state into his own hands and would ignore

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156. Hume, op. cit., p. 127.

157. On May 10, 1626 Parliament reflected their hatred for Buckingham and impeached him. The action which brought the impeachment about was the personal attack Buckingham made against the Earl of Bristol. The Earl in turn accused Buckingham of High Treason; of having united in his person too many offices; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, so that merchant men fell into the hands of the enemy; of selling ships to the French to be used against the Huguenots; and other political sins. Hume, op. cit., p. 130. (cf. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, pp. 7-44 for the entire impeachment accusation.)

was hopeful that the English people would respond favorably to the loan; he was mistaken. Many of the people refused his request, and still others encouraged their neighbors to do likewise. Charles tried to counter that move; by warrant of the council he had them imprisoned. The money he raised though was negligible to help the Protestant armies on the mainland.

Charles hoped to redeem his promise to Christian IV, and so when the Danish King again rallied his forces, Charles once more promised him money and supplies. The English King ordered Sir Charles Morgan and his 3,000 English soldiers to join Christian's new army. On October 3, 1627 Christian's army met the Imperial army at Stade. On that day the Protestant forces were completely routed, and before long the entire Danish homeland was flooded with troops of the Imperial
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army.

While the Protestant armies were struggling on the Continent, Charles had begun to vent his spleen on the French. His expulsion of the Queen's French household in 1626 had resulted in vigorous protests from Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII. Soon those verbal outbursts between the English and the French resulted in war. Charles and the Duke of Buckingham found the excuse they needed when the French again began to persecute the Huguenots. Soubise, the Huguenot leader, was in London at this time and asked Charles for help. Charles ordered a fleet of 100 ships and 7,000 men to be made ready to invade France.

162. Ward, op. cit., p. 102.

163. Hume, op. cit., pp. 145-46.

The fleet sailed from Portsmouth in June, 1627. On July 20 they landed and reinforced the Huguenot stronghold at La Rochelle. In September they captured St. Martin. The French immediately counterattacked and routed the English army. By November the English troops returned to England, half their number captured or else dead from the battle and disease which follows in the wake of war.

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The English King therefore at one time found himself at war with France and with Spain. His ships were needed to supply the Huguenot garrison at La Rochelle. In the meanwhile the French began to look with misgivings at the rise of the Spanish menace, and they were ready to make some kind of an agreement with the Protestant forces in Germany to defeat Spain. They in turn were prevented from doing so until the English and the Huguenots were dealt with. Charles actions therefore dealt the Protestant Cause a double blow. He could not supply the Protestant army while fighting France and Spain, and he prevented France from doing the same thing.

Charles soon faced a stream of protest louder than he had received before in England. The wars he conducted led to unparliamentary taxation, billeting, arbitrary imprisonment and martial law over citizens, all of which had been defined as illegal in the Petition of Right Charles had signed. Parliament had been recalled and met on March 17, 1628. Their first action had been to write the famous Petition of Right to the Great Charter.

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163. Hume, op. cit., pp. 145-46.

164. Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 389.

165. cf. Cheyney, Readings in European History, pp. 458-59 for the Petition.

Charles came under attack from every quarter. Coke, John Seldon, and Wentworth attacked him for violating the constitution. John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, and Sir John Elliot fought against the innovations Charles had been trying to introduce into the Church of England. ¹⁶⁶ The latter three parliamentary leaders hit upon a very sore spot in the governmental policy of Charles. Ever since the beginnings of Puritanism many of the people of England began to feel bitter against the episcopacy of the nation.

The Puritans had attacked Charles' father. James I had ignored to a certain extent the demands of the Puritans. When Charles became King of England the matter reached the boiling point. The Puritans had become the champions of the Protestants abroad, and they had become outraged by the refusal of the government actively to assist the Protestants abroad, who were regarded by them as defending the last stronghold of Protestantism against the forces of Rome. The Puritans felt that if Protestantism collapsed in Germany England would soon face the same trial of faith. ¹⁶⁷

Charles had decided to fight Puritanism with his own particular weapon. He accepted Anglo-Catholicism as the form of Church he wanted. ¹⁶⁸ Not only did the Anglo-Catholics cause

166. Larson, op. cit., p. 359.

167. Jordan, op. cit., p. 54.

168. "It is difficult to find a name for that party which describes it accurately. It certainly was not Arminian, and its leaders disliked and disowned that title. It has been called Laudian, but that term limits it too narrowly and denied it the fairly large place which it came to hold in English thought. Anglo-Catholicism most accurately denominates the general religious philosophies

dissension in the Church by their teachings, but they caused deep resentment among the people and some of the clergy when they saw Charles adopt them as his chief clergymen and set them up in the chief bishoprics of the land.

When the Parliamentary leaders began to hop on Charles for his policies and for his patronage of the Anglo-Catholics, he could do nothing. They in turn refused to listen to any request he made. The split between Charles and Parliament was as wide as it could be. Neither party would give in, and in the meanwhile the demands of the people for help to the Protestants in Germany went unheeded.

In September Charles hoped to recoup some lost prestige out of the entire political mess and sent another fleet against France. There they were rebuffed again, and before long the fleet returned to England.

In the meanwhile the Imperial armies were victorious in the German Empire. They celebrated their victory by issuing

of the party. It must be kept in mind that there was no connection organic or otherwise with either the nineteenth century or contemporary Anglo-Catholicism, though the latter groups ardently tends to find, in some particulars at least, precedents for its thought in the writings of the seventeenth century body," Jordan, op. cit., p. 115.

The Anglo-Catholic body had undertaken to deny the historical fact that the Elizabethan settlement was Protestant in character and that the Church had been Calvinistic in teachings. The leaders of the party leaned as far as possible towards Rome without breaking the constitutional framework of the church. They taught that the Church of Christ was a well-knit, clearly defined, universal body of which the Church of England was but a part. They exalted the position of the priest and tended to augment his authorities over the instrumentalities of salvation. The party also tended to vere towards Rome in their doctrinal pronouncements. They denied Predestination. It aped Rome in its devotion to ritual and ceremony. They distrusted the fundamental teaching of the right of private judgment and the necessity for every one to find religious truth for himself, Jordan, op. cit., pp. 115-16.

the Edict of Restitution on March 6, 1629. All Catholic property taken from Catholics since 1552 was ordered restored. All Protestants were expelled from territories governed by Catholic rulers, and all Protestant bodies not adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession were prohibited. ¹⁶⁹

The Edict spread the utmost alarm throughout the Protestant parts of the Empire. They were especially distressed at the order of handing back to the Romanists all the property which they had held in 1552 because many of those lands had been held by the Protestants as far back as 1555. It also drove the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg into armed resistance. A deep gloom settled over Protestantism in Europe.

Further friction developed in England between the King and Parliament. It was heightened when the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated in 1628 by a Puritan fanatic. Charles was alienated from his people by the blood of the friend. Charles now regarded his Queen as his chief friend and his favorite, and her religion caused the split between Charles and Parliament to grow wider.

He called his third Parliament in 1629 and opened it with the ominous words, "If you do not do your duty, mine would the order me to use those others means which God has put into my hand." ¹⁷⁰ When Parliament failed to heed his wishes, he dissolved it, and began his Personal Reign, which lasted for eleven years, November, 1629 till April, 1640.

The English King at once remodeled the Star Chamber and

169. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

170. Green, History of the English People, Vol. III, p. 148.

the High Commission, and these courts were guided only by the violent spirit of the primate. "They displayed a rapacity, a violence, a malignant energy which had been unknown in any former age."¹⁷¹

In the meanwhile the Spanish and the French wars were at a standstill. The French and the Spanish did not want to invade England but sorely sought to defend their own lands. Spain sent the prisoners she had taken back to England to try to settle the matter. France meanwhile dickered with Charles until both countries signed the Treaty of Susa on April 24, 1629. On November 5 England signed the Treaty of Madrid with Spain. No conditions favorable to the Protestants were made.¹⁷²

Charles nevertheless kept in mind the restoration of the Palatinate to its ancient rulers. Together with the King of France Charles mediated a peace between the King of Poland and Gustavus Adolphus, in the hope of engaging that king to embrace "the protection of the oppressed Protestants in the Empire. To encourage and assist him in his projected invasion of Germany Charles agreed to furnish him with 6,000 English soldiers. In order to preserve the appearance of neutrality Charles did not use his own name but used that of the Marquis of Hamilton. That nobleman recruited English and Scottish soldiers and joined the Swedish army in Germany."¹⁷³

France had also made an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish King promised to lead an army of 35,000 men besides

171. Macaulay, op. cit., p. 88.
172. Hume, op. cit., p. 178.
173. Ibid., p. 179.

6,000 cavalryman into the war. France agreed to pay \$400,000 ¹⁷⁴ plus an additional \$120,000 for the year spent in negotiations towards the support of his army.

With the entrance of the Great Swedish King into the Thirty Years' War the outlook of the Protestants looked very bright. The Battle of Leipzig was soon fought, where the "conduct of Tilly and the valor of the Imperialists were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus Adolphus and ¹⁷⁵ the superior mark of the Swedes."

The "veteran troops of Ferdinand conducted by some of the most celebrated generals of the age were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in a few months by the victorious Swede, but by the unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed in the purpose for which he had framed the alliance. Gustavus Adolphus, elevated by prosperity, began to form more extensive plans of ambition in freeing Germany from the yoke of the Emperor Ferdinand. He intended to reduce it to subjection under his own rule. He refused to restore the Palatinate to Frederick's principality except on conditions which would have kept him in total dependence upon him, and thus the negotiations were protracted until the Battle of Luetzen when the Swedish King perished in the midst ¹⁷⁶ of a complete victory over his enemies." The victories of the Protestant armies "had no more power to draw Charles out of the petty circle of his politics at home than its defects had had power to draw James out of the circle of his

174. Ward, op. cit., p. 179.

175. Hume, op. cit., p. 179.

176. Ibid.

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 imbecile diplomacy."

In the year 1635 the Peace of Prague was signed between the opposing parties on the Continent. It granted toleration to all the Protestants. On May 21, 1635 France declared war on Spain, and the whole war broke out anew.

Charles meanwhile was concerned with internal troubles at home. His treatment of the Puritans and his backing of Laud's attempts to wipe out all non-conformists made him still more hateful to the people. Even the Pope thought Charles was changing over to favor Catholicism. In 1634 he sent Dom Leander to deal with Charles. The nuncio died before he could accomplish anything. The Pope sent another nuncio to try and urge Charles to restore the Bishopric of Chalcedon and allow all Catholics to belong to that diocese. There had been much talk at the King's court about transub-
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 stantiation and celibacy for the clergy. With talk of Romanism in high places and the subjugation of the Puritans it was natural for the English feeling to run high.

The last time Charles openly helped a Protestant army on the Continent was in 1638. He gave a grant of money to the new Elector of the Palatinate, Charles Lewis. When he was defeated in October 1638 at Vlotho all English help stopped. Charles did not prohibit his subjects from volunteering their services, but he did not grant them any funds to carry on the war.

The last real opportunity England had to extend help oc-

177. Green, op. cit., p. 515.

178. Jordan, op. cit., p. 190.

curred in 1639. At that time a great Spanish fleet on its way to the Netherlands escaped a French trap and escaped to a neutral English port. The French ambassador pleaded with Charles to allow the speedy Dutch vessels to attack the ships. The Spanish ambassador pleaded that they be given safe refuge. Charles saw an opportunity to bargain with one side or the other. He offered to abandon the Spaniards if the French would agree to restore his nephew Charles Lewis to his inheritance of the Palatinate. He offered the Spanish protection if they would pay him enough money to build up an armanent strong enough to bid defiance to the French. Richelieu ignored the Charles I's bargain, while the Dutch admiral treated English neutrality with scorn. The swift Dutch ships outmaneuvered the bulky Spanish galleons and soon sent eleven of the huge vessels to the bottom.

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Conditions in England meanwhile were going from worse to worse. Charles had been trying to make ends meet with such measures as ship-taxes, ¹⁸⁰ tonnage, and poundage taxes. He did not want to call Parliament for fear that they would oppose him every plan he decided upon. Besides his troubles in England, he had to worry also about conditions in Scotland. Ever since 1653 he had been also king of that country. There too he sought to wipe out non-conformity with Laud's plans, and he met fearful opposition from the Presbyterian populace.

Charles finally had to call Parliament in the spring of 1640. When he saw the lists of grievances they had, he dis-

179. Gardiner, History of the Thirty Years' War, p. 194.

180. For a sample of his taxes, cf. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, pp. 185-91.

solved the body and recalled it for November of the same year. Charles I's Personal Reign had ended, and succeeding it was the rule of the Long Parliament which sat from 1640 till 1660. Parliament at once passed acts abolishing the Star Chamber and the High Chamber and the illegal tax measures Charles had used to raise money.¹⁸¹

Charles I's attempts to force the Episcopalian form of church government on the Scots brought about a war. Battles were fought in 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646. In 1648 the Second Civil War broke out. While that was going on Charles and Parliament were at war. With conditions like that nothing could be done to speed the close of the Thirty Years' War. The war was being fought with increased destruction and pillage until both armies were so exhausted and the country so depleted that the war had to end.

In 1648 the Peace of Westphalia was signed, and the Thirty Years' War for all purposes was at an end. Germany was ruined. Her resources had been depleted. Her population declined more than fifty per cent. Her forests were stripped, her lands untilled, disease was sweeping the country, her commerce was ruined, whole cities and villages had been wiped out, and German civilization had been set back over one hundred years.

Would Germany and Protestantism have suffered so much if England had given more direct and energetic help? This writer believes much of the misery and sufferings the German Protes-

181. For the documents cf. Gardiner, Constitutional Documents, pp. 185-191.

tants had to endure would have been lessened had she done so. No individual must be blamed directly. The crown, the Parliament, and the people wanted to help. If any one is to be blamed, we must blame the Duke of Buckingham who controlled much of the policy of the two kings. Each body in England wanted to help, but each insisted on the exclusive use of its plan. The internal squabbles in England, more than anything else, prevented England from doing more than she did.

It is true that England did give a little help to the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War; but the greatest aid she gave to the cause was in keeping Spain out of the war much of the time.

England's assistance to the Protestant forces can be summed up in one sentence: She promised much, and she gave little.

Finis.

A Comparison of Dates and Events.

1618-1648	.....	The Thirty Years' War.
1618-1623	.....	War in Bohemia and the Palatinate.
1625-1629	.....	The Danish Period.
1630-1635	.....	The Scandanavian Period.
1635-1648	.....	The French-Scandanavian Period.

German Empire

1618, May 23	.....	The Protestant Revolt in Bohemia.
1618	.....	The Protestants expelled from Cologne.
1619, May 20	.....	Frdrick became King of Bohemia.
1619, August 28	.....	Ferdinand becomes German Emperor.
1620, November 8	.....	Battle of Prague.
1622,	.....	Protestant Union Dissolved.
1629, November 6	.....	Edict of Restitution.
1635	.....	Peace of Prague.
1648	.....	Peace of Westphalia.

England

1621	.....	Parliament January 30 to Feb. 8, 1622.
1624	.....	Parliament February 19 to Mar. 27, 1625.
1625, March 27	.....	Death of James I. 1603 -1625.
1625-1649	.....	Charles I.
1626	.....	Parliament February 6 to June 15.
1628	.....	Parliament March 17 to November 10.
1629	.....	Parliament January 20.
1630, April	.....	Peace with France.
1630, November	.....	Peace with Spain.
1633, June 18	.....	Charles crowned King of Scotland.
1640	Parliament met. Long Parliament.
1642-1646	Civil war.
1648	Second war with Scotland.

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