Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Enemy and Ally, Bulwark and Mis-shapen Monster

Perceptions and reflections on the Empire of Germany in the English press, 1618-1713

Ruhl, Anna-Karina

Award date:
2019

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

Link to publication

Enemy and Ally, Bulwark and Mis-shapen Monster

–

Perceptions and reflections on the Empire of Germany in the English press, 1618-1713

Anna-Karina Rühl

Bangor University, 2018

Abstract

Despite various overlaps in English and German interests in the period from the beginning of the Thirty Years War to the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the role of Germany in seventeenth and early eighteenth century English print discourse has received only minor attention in historical research. This thesis aims to start filling this gap and to contribute to some of the key trends recently discussed in the historiography. Contemporary works of reference, histories and travel literature will be studied for their knowledge and understanding - as well as for their views and images - of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. In case studies this thesis will then look at English print media related to the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession as three particular instances of English interest and intellectual concern. The contemporary political print discourse will be examined for English perceptions and reflection on Germany, for England's self-perceived role in Europe, as well as for assumed English responsibilities towards German co-religionists and allies.

It will be shown that the English interest in Germany was greater and that reflections on the country went deeper than has hitherto been assumed. The English (non-) involvement in German and imperial affairs repeatedly triggered debates about England's foreign policy. It sparked criticism as well as praise and provided a background against which an English self-image could be constructed and defined. English self-perception, based on comparison with and reflections on the multi-confessional Empire, was more complex than just defining the English self against a catholic other. Equally, the shift from confessional to balance of power thinking in English debates about foreign policy matters seems to have been less definite than scholars have tended to assume.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Tony Claydon, for accepting me as his Ph.D. student, for believing in me and my work and for encouraging me to continue when I was about to lose faith. His approach to history and historical research and his enthusiasm have been highly inspirational and his invaluable advice and support is ever so much appreciated. Our cooperation over the past decade may serve as yet another example for the fruitfulness of Anglo-German relations and alliance. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Thomas Corns, whose expertise in English literature provided a further perspective to my research and who drew my attention to the rich source material of the Thirty Years War period.

Writing a Ph.D. thesis can sometimes be a difficult and lonely task. I wish to thank my friends and those people, who have repeatedly taken my mind off things and helped me see light at the end of the tunnel. I would like to thank my grammar school teacher Horst-Joachim Kalbe, who first piqued my interest in both history and English many years ago, and also my father-in-law for his continuous interest and appreciation of my research. I am endlessly thankful and grateful to my mother, for her infinite support and listening through all these years. A special and wholehearted thank you goes to my husband Axel. Without his love, support, encouragement, understanding and patience - across oceans and time - this thesis would not have seen the light of day. Finally, I would like to thank my daughter Mila, whose main contribution to this thesis has been to delay its completion. When asked, at the age of four, why her mother doesn't have a proper job, she defended my work in the most delightful way, explaining, "Oh, my mummy has a real job: She writes a book about dead people." To her, this thesis is dedicated.

Author's declaration

Yr wyf drwy hyn yn datgan mai canlyniad fy ymchwil fy hun yw'r thesis hwn, ac eithrio lle nodir yn wahanol. Caiff ffynonellau eraill eu cydnabod gan droednodiadau yn rhoi cyfeiriadau eglur. Nid yw sylwedd y gwaith hwn wedi cael ei dderbyn o'r blaen ar gyfer unrhyw radd, ac nid yw'n cael ei gyflwyno ar yr un pryd mewn ymgeisiaeth am unrhyw radd oni bai ei fod, fel y cytunwyd gan y Brifysgol, am gymwysterau deuol cymeradwy.

I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by bibliographic references. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree unless, as agreed by the University, for approved dual awards.

Anna-Marina Thiel

23. 5. 2019

Abbreviations

AHR	*The American Historical Review*
BRH	*Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*
CHJ	*Cambridge Historical Journal*
CHR	*The Catholic Historical Review*
Defoe, *Review*	Daniel Defoe, *A Review of the State of the British Nation* (London, 1707-1713)
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900*
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collection Online
ECS	*Eighteenth Century Studies*
EEBO	Early English Books Online
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EHQ	*European History Quarterly*
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HRE	Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JES	*Journal of European Studies*
JEEH	*Journal of European Economic History*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Whatley, *General collections*	Stephen Whatley, *A general collection of treatys, declarations of war, manifestos, and other publick papers relating to peace and war: in four volumes, Volume 1,* (London, 1732)

Notes on style

Dates are given old style for England/Britain and new style for the Empire and the Continent.

The years has been assumed to start on 1 January.

Where available, names are given in their English form.

The titles of some works have, of necessity, been shortened.

Illustrations

Edward Wells, *A new sett of maps both of antient and present geography, wherein Not only the Latitude and Longitude of many Places are Corrected, according to the latest Observations; but also the most remarkable Differences of Antient and Present Geography* (London, 1714)

Snalles and froges eagerly eaten

Eatinge dead mens guts and Interalls

A diuines wife saw 6 of her Children ley starued before her eyes. Corne 3 pounds 18 shilling a bushell.

the blazinge starre 1617

burgers and ministers releued in prisson

a diuine tortured with a Catt.

Ch·3

twisted out there eyes

Raced offe there skinne with knifes

hanging vp in the smoke

blood sprouted at fingers end.

plaining there faces

pisse poured downe there throates

A Diuine burnte in the middell of his bookes his Childe pulled from ye brest & tost on a speare

Cords drawne thorow the legs & Armes.

Mens guttes pulled out of there mouthes

Villanasse in Churches

Marchants Robed and slaine

A maide Rauisched and after quarterd

persons priuelegdd Rifled

Maides leapinge into Riuers.

Diuines cutt in peaces

Peiests slaine at their Altars
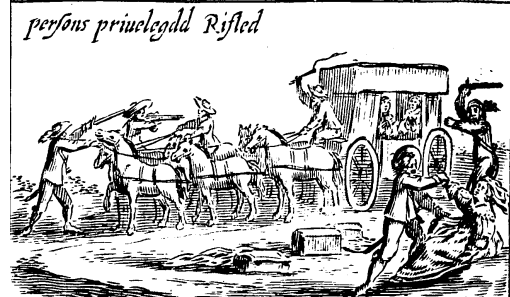
2000 villages burnt in Bauaria

Croats eate Children

Noses & eares Cut of to make hatbandes

No tillage nor Breding
Cattell
But dringe all in to Citties

Carion Sould'm the
Market as Doges and Cattes

Eateing dead horses

Fiteing for Carion

Fowles eate the dead

3 women killinge and after eateing
each other

Dead Corpes digd out of there Graues to Eate

Wemen Eate there owne Children

Some take poyson to haste death

in Baſile 1633 died. 20000

in Trent. 1634 died 30000
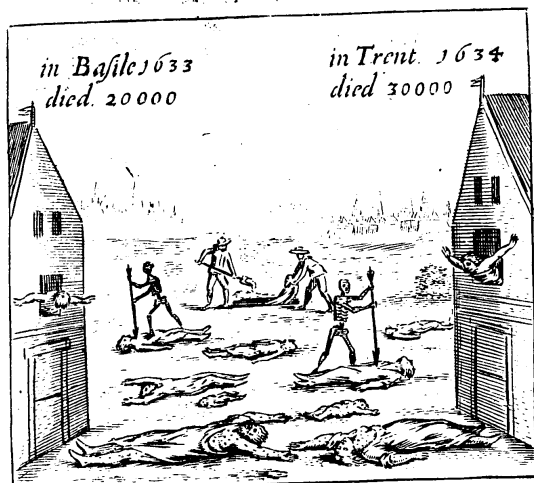
Generall Holcke offred 600 Rixdollers for a diuin' to comforte him.

In Bauier men not left to bury the dead, but Rattes, and mice, devoured there carcaſſes.
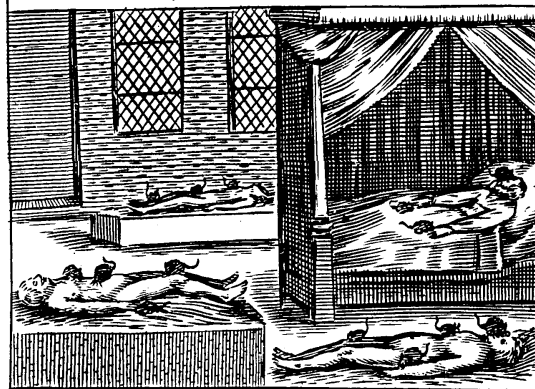
Haue pittey vpon me, haue pittey vpon me, o yee my frends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me.

GERMANY

Philip Vincent, *The lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, and reade the woefull effects of sinne. Composed by an eye-witnesse thereof: and illustrated by pictures, the more to affect the reader* (London, 1638)

XV

Introduction

In 1618, a long simmering dispute between the King and Estates of Bohemia escalated into open conflict. News about the events taking place at the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire soon reached England, where it drew "wandering eyes to looke toward Bohemia, whose troubles and dissentions doe as it were divide the hearts of all men and religions, to wish either their good success in the affaires of the Empire, or curse their proceedings, if they should thrive against expectation."[1] About seventy years later, Englishmen again looked to the Empire, this time to its western border, where "all the Palatinate, and almost all Countries upon the Rhine, with their Towns and Castles [had been] levelled with the Ground, burnt and reduced to Ashes"[2] by the forces of the French King Louis XIV. Another ten years later, several ten thousand English soldiers were sent to the continent and into the Empire to fight against France and for Habsburgs' claim to the Spanish crown. Again Englishmen back at home closely watched the war their sovereigns and the Holy Roman Emperor had promoted as a fight "for the Preservation of the Liberty of Europe and for the Security of England",[3] "for preventing the Mischiefs, which all Europe is threatned with"[4] and to "assert the safety and liberty of the Empire".[5]

In the course of the long seventeenth century (c. 1598-1715) English contemporaries became increasingly interested in continental events, whilst their country became increasingly involved in European politics and in continental affairs. In 1612 England allied with the Protestant Union,[6] a predominantly German league against the threat of counter reformation, and in 1613 Elizabeth Stuart, the only daughter of King James I, married Frederick V, elector Palatine and one of the Empire's most powerful princes. By the end of the period England was leading a European and interreligious alliance against Louis XIV of

---

[1] *Newes from Bohemia. A true relation of the now present warres in Bohemia, their manner of proceeding in the same, fortifying and besieging of certaine townes, with such supplies and aide as they haue already receiued, and further expect from other countries. With the troubles and disagreements, betweene them, the Emperor and Empresse. / Translated out of the Dutch copie printed at Newinberg. the 4. of May 1619* (London, 1619), A2.

[2] *Angliae decus & tutamen, or, The glory and safety of this nation under our present King and Queen* (London, 1691), p. 1.

[3] *His Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the twelfth day of June, 1701* (London, 1701).

[4] *Her Majesty's declaration of war against France and Spain* (London, 1702).

[5] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects and those of the empire in Italy dated from Vienna April 9th, 1689* (London, 1689), pp. 3-4.

[6] The Protestant Union was an alliance of (predominantly) German states and estates, established in 1608 to safeguard the rights of Protestants and for mutual protection against the threat of counter-reformation. For the history of the Protestant Union and its counterpart, the Catholic League of 1609, see the essays in Albrecht Ernst und Anton Schindling, eds., *Union und Liga 1608/09. Konfessionelle Bündnisse im Reich – Weichenstellung zum Religionskrieg?* (Stuttgart, 2010).

France and had twice sided with the Catholic emperor. Due to the growing interaction between European countries, English contemporaries heard about, and got into contact with other people and places, they previously had little knowledge about. Despite being separated from continental mainland by the channel, Englishmen began to follow and to discuss events and developments on the continent.

Given such obvious interest and reason for interest in Germany and the Empire among the English in the seventeenth century, it is surprising that there has not been any in-depth study of English reflections and attitudes to the country in the period between 1618 and 1713 so far. Indeed, one of the most substantial studies of English views and perceptions of Germany in the eighteenth century has even suggested that an English interest in Germany and the Empire first developed when the German electoral-prince George Louis of Brunswick-Lüneburg became King of Great Britain in 1714 and when Britain got involved in the Silesian war in 1740, respectively.[7] The gap in the historiography seems even more surprising, and at the same time becomes still more apparent, when looking at some developments and key trends in the research on seventeenth and early eighteenth century England.

Over the last decades, studies of seventeenth and early eighteenth century England have started to take a more European and international perspective. Scholars have placed and studied developments, as well as single events, in their international contexts and more attention has been paid to the history of foreign relations, diplomacy and of England's interaction with her European neighbours. As Brendan Simms has claimed "the history of England … is primarily a continental story [and] her destiny was mainly determined by relations with the rest of Europe".[8] Likewise Jonathan Scott has pointed out that England's history of the seventeenth century, especially her political instability, "were a part of and, cannot be understood apart from, the historical experience of Europe."[9] Much valuable work has for instance been done on Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch relations, and the role these two countries played in English domestic debates and foreign policy considerations. The historiographic attention France and the United Provinces have received can be ascribed to

---

[7] Frauke Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen. Das britische Deutschlandbild im 18. Jahrhundert,* (Frankfurt/Main, 2002) and also Frauke Geyken, ''The German language is spoken in Saxony with the greatest purity' or English images and perception of Germany in the eighteenth century', in Joseph Canning and Hermann Wellenreuther, eds., *Britain and Germany compared: nationality, society and nobility in the eighteenth century* (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 37-70, especially pp. 43-44.

[8] Brendan Simms, *Britain's Europe. A Thousand Years of Conflict and Cooperation* (Penguin UK, 2016), pp. xiii-xiv.

[9] Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 21.

the fact that both countries were of major concern for England in this period. The English were fighting three wars against the Dutch between 1654 and 1674 and two against France between 1689 and 1713. Whilst the first were to become England's strongest ally at the end of the seventeenth century, the latter remained her strongest adversary. As such, both countries were much discussed in, and often dominated, the English press. The public opinion expressed in print media did thereby not necessarily correspond with the government's views and policy, but could be in stark contrast to these. Especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, French Catholicism and the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV served as the negative par excellence in English political debates, whilst Charles II and James II maintained close relations to the French court. The image of France as conveyed by the press helped Englishmen to define what England was not and did not want to be.[10]

The United Provinces on the other hand were in many ways regarded as an equal, if not as an ideal, to England. When Catholicism was gaining ground again in Europe, the Netherlands were, next to England, considered the last stronghold of Protestantism in Europe. Protestantism certainly linked the two countries in many ways, but the English image of the Dutch was not static and attitudes towards the Netherlands were not always positive either. In fact, economic rivalry and the three Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652-54, 1665-67, 1672-74) were accompanied with anti-Dutch propaganda in the English press, shaping a rather negative image of the country. Even in the 1690s when England was ruled by the Dutch stadholder William of Orange and allied with the Dutch against France, the image was not entirely positive.[11] Given all this, the scholarly attention France and the United Provinces have received as English neighbours, allies, and enemies in the long seventeenth century seems appropriate. However, the dominance of these two countries in the historiography of English foreign policy and views of foreign countries should not be misunderstood as a lack of English interest in other European countries. Neither should the scholarly interest paid to Anglo-German relations in the period following the Protestant succession be interpreted as proof of a non-existing English interest in Germany before 1714.

---

[10] See for instance, Tim Harris, 'Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England', in Tony Claydon and Charles-Edouard Levillain, eds. *Louis XIV Outside In: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Routledge, 2016), pp. 51-70 and also Jamel Ostwald, 'Popular England perceptions of Louis XIV's way of war' in Claydon and Levillain, eds. *Louis XIV Outside In*, pp. 93-110.

[11] For an overview of the Anglo-Dutch Wars see for example J.R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1996). For the anti-Dutch propaganda see Steven Pincus 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s', *HJ*, 38, 2 (June, 1995), pp. 333-361 and also Tony Claydon, 'Holland, Hanover and the fluidity of facts' in Canning and Wellenreuther, eds., *Britain and Germany compared,* pp. 86-97.

Due to the personal union between Britain and Hanover (1714-1837), the court had itself an interest in the affairs of the Empire after 1714, and with this Britain was inevitably drawn into German and imperial affairs, too. The connection with Hanover not only had a major impact on British foreign policy, but also on domestic issues, especially during the reign of George II (1727-1760), when the Hanoverian connection was subject of several public debates in England. Consequently, more work has been done on Anglo-German relations, and on English/British views of Hanover and Germany, during the period of the personal union.[12] The same can be said for the nineteenth and twentieth century. Questions about the English perception of the decline of the Holy Roman Empire, the process of German nation-building, the development of German nationalism and, of course, national socialism and the Third Reich have been addressed by several scholars. Especially, the last two decades following the unification, have witnessed an increased interest in the development and character of images of Germany (*Deutschlandbilder*[13]) amongst German scholars, leading to the publication of several monographs and articles on English and British images of Germany in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century.[14]

In contrast to the periods between 1714 and 1945, which have been relatively well studied, English perceptions of, and reflections on, Germany and the Empire between 1618 and 1713 and their role and use in English print discourse have received surprisingly little attention both in the English and the German historiography. As Andrew Thompson has shown, diplomatic relations between England/Britain and Hanover existed long before 1714 and both countries were in close contact most of the time between the revolution of 1688 and

---

[12] See for example Adolf M. Birke and Kurt Kluxen, eds., *England und Hannover* (München, 1986) and more recently Jeremy Black, 'Hanover and British Foreign Policy, 1714-60', *EHR*, 120, 486 (2005), pp. 303-39; Brendan Simms and Torsten Riotte, eds., *The Hanoverian dimension in British History, 1714-1837* (Cambridge, 2007) and the essays therein, as well as Nick Harding, *Hanover and the British Empire, 1700-1837* (Woodbridge, 2007)

[13] In the German historiography much of the work on images of Germany has been published under the term Deutschlandbilder, which seems to have become a general term for this area in research on images. The term is sometimes also used in English studies on Germany.

[14] For a short overview of English perceptions of Germany between the sixteenth and twentieth century see Günther Blaicher, 'Konstanten der englischen Wahrnehmung Deutschlands' in Hans Süssmuth. ed., *Deutschlandbilder in Dänemark und England, in Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (Baden-Baden, 1996), pp. 251-266. For images in English literature from the middle ages to the late twentieth century see Günther Blaicher, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1992). For the eighteenth century see, for example, Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Exploring the Germanick Body - Eighteenth-Century Images of Germany' in Dan Diner, ed., *Deutschlandbilder*, Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte 26 (Gerlingen, 1997), pp.7-23. For the British perception of the decline of the Holy Roman Empire see Torsten Riotte, 'Großbritannien und das Ende des Alten Reiches' in Christine Roll, Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Epochenjahr 1806?: Das Ende des Alten Reichs in zeitgenössischen Perspektiven und Deutungen* (Göttingen, 2009), pp. 99-121. For the nineteenth and twentieth century in general see Bernd-Jürgen Wendt, ed., *Das britische Deutschlandbild im Wandel des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bochum, 1984); Keith Robbins, *Present and past: British images of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century and their historical legacy* (Göttingen, 1999). There is a vast historiography on British perceptions of Nazi-Germany. For an overview it may be referred to the publications and studies of the German Historical Institute London.

the Hanoverian succession in 1714.[15] However, it has so far been unclear to what extent English political relations and interaction with Germany and the Empire correspond to a general English interest in, and influenced the contemporary perception of, these.

In the century before the Hanoverian Succession, the Empire was the theatre of, and engaged in, three major wars, in which England herself was either involved or at least had an interest in, too. This certainly gives reason to assume that English contemporaries paid some attention to the events on the other side of the Channel. Although several scholars have recognised that Englishmen were interested in the events of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the Nine Years War (1689-1698), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713/14) and much concerned about the situation of German Protestants, a substantial study on perceptions of, and reflections on, Germany and the Empire in English print media during this period is still missing.[16] The same is true for questions concerning another area of research, which has attracted much scholarly attention in the past decades: the shaping of an English national identity.

Such an identity could be defined by different elements such as race, language, religion, culture, tradition or history. As far as England is concerned, Protestantism has been identified as one of the key element for constructing and defining national identity and self-images in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[17] Another element, seen as equally important, was England's relation and interaction with her European neighbours and her role in European politics and affairs.[18] Over the last few decades, the importance of 'an other' for the construction of an English (and later British) self, and for the shaping of national identity has been repeatedly emphasised by scholars of seventeenth and eighteenth century England and Britain.[19] The more people learned and heard about other countries, the more they could compare and contrast their own nation with these. At the same time, national identity and the

---

[15] Andrew C. Thompson, *Britain, Hannover and the Protestant interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge, 2006).

[16] An English interest in these wars and in German Protestantism has, for example, been recognised in Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism. Ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996); John Coffey, *Persecution and toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

[17] In contrast to the trend to see seventeenth century England as a rather secular state, which has dominated historical research up to the late 1980s, it is now widely recognised that religion survived as an important element in English politics and political thinking and was also an important constituent in English national identity. See for example J.D.C. Clark, 'Protestantism, nationalism and national identity, 1660-1831', *HJ*, 43, 1 (2000), pp. 249-276; Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, 'The trials of the chosen peoples: recent interpretation of Protestantism and national identity in Britain and Ireland,' in ibid., eds. *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 3-32.

[18] Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *JBS*, 31, 4 (1992), pp. 309-329, here p. 311.

[19] In addition to the publications mentioned above see for example Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992); Krishan Kumar, *The making of English national identity* (Cambridge, 2003).

image of 'the self' could serve as a criterion for judging and constructing an image of 'the other'. As Linda Colley has rightly noted "we usually decide who we are by reference to who and what we are not."[20] The shaping, and the character, of English national identity and self-images, it may thus be assumed, can only be fully understood when taking into account what English people knew and thought about their continental neighbours, and how they perceived England's role and responsibilities in Europe. How far English reflections on, and comparisons with, Germany and the Empire in seventeenth and early eighteenth century print discourse may have contributed to the shaping of the English self-image still needs to be assessed, though.

Although the German historiography has addressed various questions about 'the self' and 'the other', it is primarily the contrast between the *fremdbild*[21] and the German self-image that has been studied. Most of the works have asked what English images of Germany tell about Germany, rather than what they tell about the English. Here scholars have focussed on the development and persistence of stereotypes, on how Germany and its people were seen and described by other people, and how far these descriptions actually reflected reality. As a consequence, the perspective often remained German-centric. Moreover, studies of English images, knowledge and perceptions of Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth century have often drawn on a very limited body of sources: the accounts of English travellers.[22] During the last years, travel literature has been discovered as an important source material, providing not only information about peoples' views of foreign countries, but also about how these views reflected and influenced peoples' self-image. From the seventeenth century onwards, Englishmen and -women started to travel the continent more often, not only for business but also for educational reasons. Often following the instructions given by Francis Bacon in his essay *Of Travel*, people visited churches, universities, princely courts, courts of law and other places of interest. If possible, Bacon advised his readers, travellers should mingle with the native population (of their class) and attend their feasts, ceremonies and the like.[23] Many of the travellers kept diaries, which were later published to inform the (educated) readership at home about places and events of interest. Besides descriptions of places visited and comments on military or economic aspects, travel accounts often reported

---

[20] Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness', p. 311.

[21] Fremdbild here refers to the image of a country as perceived by another, often in relation to the self-image of the first. It is a widely used term in the (German-speaking) literature on images. It seems the most suitable antonym to self-image, and as there is no single-word translation.

[22] See for example David J. Sturdy, 'Images of France and Germany: The Accounts of English Travellers in the Seventeenth Century' in Heinz Duchhardt and Eberhard Schmitt, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München 1987), pp. 293-330.

[23] Francis Bacon, *The essayes or counsels, ciuill and morall* (London, 1625), pp. 100-104.

on curiosities, alleged or experienced habits, and the customs and traditions of the German people. Tony Claydon has, for instance, recently shown, that Englishmen travelling Germany more than once reported and commented on the peaceful coexistence of the different denominations and on the fact that in some places Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinist shared the same church for their masses and worship.[24] Some authors not only described what they had seen abroad but also used the experience, they made and the knowledge they gained, for comments on their home country. Studying travel literature certainly helps to explain the origin and development of stereotypes and to shed more light on English views of, and experiences with, Germany in general but it does not answer questions about their role and influence in English political debates.

One of the most substantial studies on the matter is Frauke Geyken's work on British travellers of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.[25] Focussing on the period between 1714 and 1770, Geyken has analysed British images and perceptions of Germany and the German people with regard to the development and persistence of stereotypes. The study takes into account contemporary English thinking and self-reflection, and covers different aspects such as history, religion, and politics. However, it only briefly touches the seventeenth century where, according to Geyken, no real and recognisable English interest in and perception of Germany and the Empire existed.[26] It may be true that contemporary Englishmen were not as interested in and concerned about Germany and the Empire as they were in France or the Netherlands, and that the Empire, as Geyken has suggested, was neither considered a place of cultural flourishing nor first choice when it came to travelling the continent.[27] Moreover, the complex political and geographical structure of the Empire was not easy to understand. Whilst England had developed into a centralised nation state by the seventeenth century, the Empire remained a patchwork of different principalities and systems − liberal and republican as well as autocratic − with the emperor as the (only) combining factor.

However, instead of giving up on the daunting task of comprehending and describing the nature and structure of the Empire, Englishmen, somehow familiar with the country, seem to have felt a need to explain this complex patchwork, so very different from the English, to their countrymen. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, several accounts and

---

[24] See Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 25-28.
[25] Frauke Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen. Das britische Deutschlandbild im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main 2002).
[26] Ibid., and also Frauke Geyken, ''The German language is spoken'', in Canning and Wellenreuther, eds., *Britain and Germany compared,* pp .37-70, especially pp. 43-44.
[27] Geyken, *Gentlemen*, pp. 11, 57, 249.

descriptions of Germany and the Empire were published, trying to explain the composition of the Diet, the role of the different electors, the election of the emperor and so on. Many of these texts were direct responses to events in and affairs of the Empire, intended to provide the interested English reader with the necessary information to better understand what was happening in the Empire, where it was happening, and who was involved in it. In 1620, following the Bohemian revolt, the discourse *Bohemia Regnum Electiuum* outlined the history of the country.[28] When a new emperor had to be chosen and elected after the death of Ferdinand III in 1657/58, James Howell described and explained the procedure in *A discours of the empire, and of the election of a king of the Romans, the greatest businesse of Christendom now in agitation*.[29] And when the English were fighting the Bavarians during the War of the Spanish Succession, John Stevens provided information about the country and its rulers in *The History of Bavaria* and *The lives and actions of all the sovereigns of Bavaria, kings, dukes, and electors*, both published in 1706.[30] In fact, Germany and the Empire often attracted the attention of the English press, not despite, but because of, its geographical and political complexity and its difference to England.

These examples already indicate the existence of an English interest in Germany and in imperial affairs before the Hanoverian Succession. Another reason to question and test the assumption that such an interest only developed in the course of the eighteenth century may be found in the English historiography itself. Germany and the Empire may have often been neglected, but this does not mean that there have been no comments on the country at all. Over the last decades, various studies concerned with England's role in Europe have to some degree touched on the role of the Empire and its leading dynasty, the House of Habsburg, in English foreign policy and print discourse of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[31] Although references to English reflections on Germany in contemporary press debates have

---

[28] *Bohemiae regnum electiuum. That is, A plaine and true relation of the proceeding of the states of Bohemia, from the first foundation of that prouince, by free election of princes and kings vnto Ferdinand the eighteenth King of the house of Austria* ([London], 1620).

[29] James Howell, *A discours of the empire, and of the election of a king of the Romans, the greatest busines of Christendom now in agitation, as also of the Colledg of Electors, their particular interests, and who is most likely to be the next emperor* (London, 1658). The work was reissued a year later under a slightly different title: *A Discourse of the empire of Germany and of the election and crowning the emperours and kings of the Romans, as also of the Colledge of Electors, their particular interests and concernments* (London, 1659).

[30] John Stevens, *The history of Bavaria, from the first ages, to this present year, 1706. Collected from the best ancient historians, and the faithfullest modern accounts* (London, 1706); *The Lives and Actions Of all the Sovereigns of Bavaria, Kings, Dukes, and Electors: From the First Erecting that Country into an ABSOLUTE STATE, To This present Year, 1706* (London, 1707)

[31] See for instance Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*; Tony Claydon, 'The Revolution in foreign policy, 1688-1713', in Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor, eds. *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 219-241; Simms, *Britain's Europe*; Scott, *England's Troubles.*

often been made in passing or in the context of other subjects, they do suggest a broader English interest in and a deeper intellectual engagement with the country, making a substantial study of English perceptions and reflections on Germany even more worthwhile.

Most historians of early and mid-seventeenth century England, for instance, seem to agree that English contemporaries were interested in, and also concerned about the Thirty Years War.[32] Although England remained more or less neutral in this war, its course and effects did not go unnoticed in England, and English Protestants were much concerned about the situation of their co-religionists in the Empire.[33] As Anthony Milton has pointed out, "The English crown's personal link with the suffering Protestants of the Palatinate through the marriage of James' daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine brought the conflicts of the Thirty Years War into every English parish church, where prayers for the Elector and his family were regularly read."[34] People's denomination certainly was an element that linked contemporary Englishmen with the population of the Palatinate and other German territories. Scholars have repeatedly noted that Protestantism played an important role in contemporary thinking, and also influenced the English interest in and understanding of the Thirty Years War.[35] Jason White, for instance, has described militant Protestantism as a main driver in the English public discourse about the Palatinate, which "provided a common language of criticism"[36] for English Protestants, who argued against the foreign policy of the first two Stuart kings. Protestantism undeniably influenced, maybe even determined, contemporary English views on the conflict in Germany in many ways. Friend and foe could easily be identified and defined along confessional lines, and the language used to explain, defend or condemn the war, its causes and events, was often religious. However, as will be argued in the following chapters, there were several instances where the English interest in the crisis abroad and the related contemporary debates went beyond confessionalism, sometimes even entirely beyond religious considerations.

---

[32] See for instance Julia Schleck, ''Fair and Balanced' News from the Continent, English Newsbook readers and the thirty years war', *Prose Studies* 29, 3 (2007), pp. 323-335;

[33] For a detailed account of the political considerations and the debates about the English support for the Palatinate and Frederick V see Elmar Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V von der Pfalz durch Jakob I. und Karl I. von England im Dreissigjährigen Krieg 1618-32* (Stuttgart, 1966). A general overview of the literature on early seventeenth century Anglo-German relations published before 1975, is given in Ferdinand Magen, 'England und das Reich im frühen 17. Jahrhundert: Bemerkungen zur Literatur', in Ortwin Kuhn, ed., *Grossbritannien und Deutschland: Europaische Aspekte der politisch-kulturellen Beziehungen beider Lander in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für J.P. Bourkem* (München, 1974), pp. 183-194.

[34] A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* pp. 42-43.

[35] See for instance Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 42-43, Boys, *London's News Press,* p.7, Breslow, *A mirror of England*, pp. 14-18.

[36] Jason White, *Militant Protestantism and British Identity, 1603-1642* (London, 2012), p. 16. White defines militant Protestantism as "the belief that the world was divided into two camps – the false church of Antichrist … and the true church of Christ", p. 2.

One of the main studies concerned with English images of Germany during the Thirty Years War period is Marvin Breslow's, *A mirror of England* published in 1961.[37] Although focussing only on the Palatinate and the issues related to it, Breslow's analysis of English Puritan views and debates about the Palatine cause clearly underlines the broad contemporary English interest in the events and developments abroad. What had started as a cause for Bohemian and Palatine Protestants soon became a cause for the Protestants all over Germany and the Empire.[38] As Thomas Cogswell has shown, the events on the continent also influenced people's attitude towards court politics. The Spanish invasion of the territory of James I's German son-in-law in 1620-1622, for instance, contributed to a widespread public disapproval of the court's plans to arrange a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta.[39] The conflict, which arose over England's foreign policy, and the discontent of many Puritans, also intensified tensions within the English church. In this respect, as Ronald Asch as argued, the English civil war of the 1640s could be regarded as a result of, maybe even as part of the Thirty Years' War.[40]

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, it has been argued, English foreign policy considerations started to turn from an area of royal prerogative into a subject of public discourse.[41] The events of the Thirty Years War certainly contributed to this development as they not only attracted the attention of the English public, but soon also prompted debates about English foreign policy and about England's responsibility for her continental co-religionists. James I's decision not to intervene in the conflict in support of his son-in-law, disappointed many Protestant Englishmen in their desire to aid the Protestant cause in Bohemia and the Palatinate. Additionally, the king's intention to marry his son Charles to the Infanta of Catholic Spain, whilst Protestantism was losing ground on the continent, further increased public discontent, as well as fears of counter reformation in England.[42] Although initially related to the dynastic relation between England and the Palatinate, the public

---

[37] Marvin Arthur Breslow, *A mirror of England: English Puritan views of foreign nations, 1618-1640* (Cambridge, Havard University Press, 1961).

[38] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[39] Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989) and 'England and the Spanish Match' in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-42* (London, 1989), pp. 107-133.

[40] See Ronald G. Asch, 'Die englische Republik und die Friedensordnung von Münster und Osnabrück' in Heinz Duchhardt, ed., *Der Westphälische Friede: Diplomatie - politische Zäsur – kulturelles Umfeld – Rezeptionsgeschichte*, *HZ* Beiheft 26 (München, 1998), pp. 421-443, here p. 422.

[41] See Fritz Levy, 'The Decorum of News' in Joad Raymond, ed., *News, Newspaper, and Society in early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), pp. 12-38, here p.1 7.

[42] Much of James' I religious and foreign policy is now seen as the attempt to keep Europe in political and religious balance and peace, and so is his plan for the English-Spanish marriage. See for example William Brown Patterson, *King James VI an I and the reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), for James' policy during the early years of the Thirty Years' War especially chapter 9.

interest in the war did not decrease when Frederick was defeated in late 1620. English contemporaries continued to watch, report, and comment on the events and developments in Germany and the Empire. In fact, the great demand for news about the war led to the publication of the first weekly news books in the 1620's.[43]

Over the last twenty years much valuable work has been done on the emergence of the English news press in the seventeenth century, and it has been shown that the success of the first frequent English corantos and newsbooks[44] need to be understood against the background of the Thirty Years War.[45] Several historians of the Stuart age have emphasised the manifold domestic and foreign policy issues James I and Charles I had to face as the war in the Empire progressed.[46] English ambassadors and envoys were sent to the various courts of Europe, to seek assistance for the Palatine cause and to negotiate settlements, whilst at home in England "vulgar persons or common meetings"[47] began to openly discuss and criticise royal decisions and politics, and expressed their own views on how to deal with the crisis in the Empire. The public's interest in the war abroad as well as the public discussion of foreign affairs thus had an impact on people's views about their own government and about politics in general. Debates about how to deal with the crisis in the Empire, and the question whether to get engaged in the conflict or not, were no longer confined to parliament.[48] By means of the emerging news press they increasingly spread to the general English public. As a vehicle for communicating news as well as opinion to a broader public, the press not only provided information but also served as a major platform for debates outside parliament (not only) in seventeenth and early eighteenth century England. Print media conveyed knowledge and views of other countries and people, and discussed matters

---

[43] See Joseph Frank, *The beginnings of the English newspaper; 1620-1660* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1961), p. 3.

[44] Corantos are broad sheet news printed in small folio and two columns on both sides. In contrast to the corantos, the newsbooks were 4 to volumes and thus much longer and more detailed. See Dahl, *Bibliography*, pp. 18-19.

[45] See for instance Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge, 2011); Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspaper, and Society in early Modern Britain* (London, 1999); Joad Raymond, *The invention of the Newspaper, English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996); Charles John Sommerville, *The news revolution in England: Cultural dynamics of daily information* (Oxford, 1996); Joad Raymond, *Making the News. An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* (Gloucestershire, 1993); Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England'.

[46] See for instance Kevin Sharpe's comments on the English Diplomacy under Charles I in *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (London, 1992), pp. 65-104. See also William Brown Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997) esp. chapter 9, pp. 293-338; Tim Harris, *Rebellion. Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567-1642* (Oxford, 2014). For an earlier account see Louis B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's Appeasement of Spain', *HLQ*, 6, 2 (1943), pp. 149-172.

[47] *By the King. A proclamation against excesse of Lauish and Licentious Speech of matters of State* (London, 1620).

[48] For the role of parliament and the parliamentary discussions about the Palatinate in the 1620s see Breslow, *Mirror of England*, pp. 22-37.

of national as well as international interest. As such, the press constitutes the medium of what has been termed *the public sphere*, a concept first developed by the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas in the 1960s. Coming from a sociological background, Habermas' concept develops and describes an ideal type of public sphere and is based on theoretical and structural arguments and on sociological generalisations rather than on empirical studies. "The bourgeois public sphere", Habermas suggests, "may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor."[49] Thus, the public sphere as understood and described by Habermas is closely linked to politics of economy and labour. As such, it has been argued it did not emerge in England until the end of the seventeenth century, followed by France and Germany in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[50]

Over the last decades the concept of the public sphere has not only been tested for its empirical validity, but also, in a broader sense of its meaning, been applied to centuries earlier then those suggested by Habermas. As a collection of essays edited by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus has recently shown, there is good reason to assume an emergence and existence of a public sphere, and sometimes even several public spheres, in England before the late seventeenth or eighteenth century.[51] Even though the bourgeois public sphere described by Habermas only emerged at the end of the seventeenth century, this does not mean that there was no public sphere for religious and political debates before that.[52] Debates about religious and political issues, foreign as well as domestic, more often found their way into print and became increasingly public in seventeenth century England. Newspapers, pamphlets, printed

---

[49] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, 1989), p. 27.

[50] Reference to economy, labour, capitalism and capital is made repeatedly throughout the book, whilst for example political or religious aspects are neglected. For England's as a model case see Habermas, *Transformation,* chapter 8.

[51] See Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, eds., *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (Manchester, New York, 2007) and the essays therein.

[52] This has also been noted by Steven Pincus, who suggest that Habermas was actually misunderstood by many scholars. For Pincus the bourgeois public sphere of Habermas "was not a realm for general discussion but a much more specific realm in which discussion about political economy was added to the ancient public sphere, a sphere in which arguments about politics and religion were already present." Steven Pincus, 'The state and civil society in early modern England: capitalism, causation and Habermas's bourgeois public sphere' in Lake and Pincus, *The politics of the public sphere*, pp. 213-231, here p. 213.

sermons[53] and broadsides were no longer read and discussed in private. Especially since the mid-seventeenth century, coffeehouses, whose importance for political culture and public opinion in England has repeatedly been emphasised, provided a place for people to meet and discuss the latest news, politics and other matters of interest, and where all sorts of print media circulated.[54] Coffeehouses were not only frequented by the educated elite but also by people of the lower class. As pamphlets and newspapers were often read aloud, domestic and foreign news and debates about political and religious issues were made accessible to the lower classes and the illiterate part of the English population, too.[55] Of course, the prohibition of printed domestic news in Jacobean England, the foreign news ban of the mid-1630s as well as the Licensing Acts of 1643 and 1662, posed limitations on what was published until the final lapse of the English licensing system in 1695.[56] However, there were ways and means to avoid prepublication censorship, such as printing abroad.[57] Without overestimating its role and influence, the public sphere could put some pressure on the government, as it was a space in which public opinion was formed, articulated, and with the growth of the press increasingly communicated. Hence, the English print discourse about the Thirty Years War, although still controlled and limited by the government, could be seen as a further example for the existing of an early public sphere in England.

The Thirty Years War waged in the Empire, and the English discourse about it, not only had an impact on the development of the English news market, on public debates, and on people's views about Stuart foreign policy, though. As Ian Roy has noted, in the 1640s when England was facing and later fighting civil war, Englishmen used the Thirty Years'

---

[53] Sermons served as an important medium to convey ideas and influence opinion in England throughout the early modern period. This is especially true as sermons could help to reach and convey opinion to the general public in two ways. First when they were delivered in church and second when they appeared in print. For the role of sermons in political debates and the shaping of public opinion see for example Lori Anne Ferrell, Peter McCullough, eds., *The English sermon revised. Religion, literature and history 1600-1750* (Manchester, New York 2000) and the essays therein. See also Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined: changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden, 2005).

[54] Steve Pincus, 'Coffee Politicians Does Create: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *JMH,* 67, 4 (1995), pp. 807-834. See also Bob Harris, *Politics and the rise of the press: Britain and France 1620-1800* (London, New York, 1996).

[55] As Steven Pincus has pointed out coffeehouses were neither exclusive to class nor to gender, See ibid. Lawrence Stone has estimated the national literacy rate to an average of 40% of the male population in 1675. While the rate could go up to 67% for the urban population it could be as low as 10% for people living in rural areas. Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900", in *Past and Present* 42 (1969), pp. 69-139, here p. 125. For the distribution of news see also Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 112, 1 (1986), pp. 60-90, especially p. 69.

[56] For censorship in England under James I and Charles I in general see Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), and *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, 2008). For censorship in seventeenth century England in general see Randy Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division* (Penn State Press, 2009).

[57] For an outline of the ways and means to avoid censorship in England during the Thirty Years War see below chapter 2.1.2.

War and the devastation it caused in Germany as an example to point out and warn about the perils of civil war.[58] Barbara Donagan in her studies on the English Civil War, has addressed "the seventeenth-century English perception of German reality"[59], showing that in the 1640s English views and understandings of their own Civil Wars were often influenced by the contemporary perception of the Thirty Years War. Sieges and battles, such as that of Magdeburg in 1631, "lived on in English popular memory as a standard against which their own storms and sacks were measured."[60] Hence the Thirty Years War was obviously something contemporaries in England could relate to, when reflecting on the crisis they were themselves experiencing in the late 1630s and 1640s. In view of this, it seems reasonable to ask how far contemporary Englishmen perceived the events of the Thirty Years War as part of what scholars have termed the 'general crisis of the seventeenth century'. This crisis has inter alia, been interpreted as "a general crisis of the European economy"[61] as well as "a crisis in the relation between society and the state".[62] Studies on the general crisis have, for instance, been concerned with the breakdown of states, with the conflict between 'Court' and 'Country', and with political upheavals both in seventeenth century Europe as well as other parts of the world.[63]

Interestingly, Germany and the Thirty Years War have, as Sheilagh Ogilvie has observed in 1992, largely been ignored in this debate for a long time, although, "the Thirty Years War was the most spectacular disorder of the crisis period."[64] Moreover, Georg Benecke has noted in 1980 that "the study of popular religious and propagandistic media…in the era of the Thirty Years War as part of the mainstream of the general history of the period is long overdue."[65] Hugh Trevor-Roper in his 1959 essay 'The General Crisis of the

---

[58] This has for instance been shown in Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 28 (1978), pp. 127-144.

[59] Barbara Donagan, 'Codes and Conduct in the English Civil War', *Past and Present* 118, 1 (1988) 65-95, here, p. 68; Barbara Donagan, *War in England 1642-1649* (Oxford, 2010).

[60] Donagan, 'Codes and Conduct', p. 70.

[61] Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'The Crisis of the 17th Century – II', *Past and Present*, 6, (1954), pp. 44–65.

[62] *Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', Past and Present, 16, 1 (1959), pp. 31-64*

[63] As a detailed discussion of the *various aspect of this concept and the related scholarly debates would go far beyond the scope of this introduction, it may instead be referred to some of the main contribution to this debate such as Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century';* the essays contained in Trevor Aston, ed. *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660: Essays from Past and Present* (1965); Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The general crisis of the seventeenth century* (Psychology Press, 1997); Geoffrey Parker, 'Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered', *AHR*, 113, 4. 1 (October, 2008), pp. 1053–1079.

[64] Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, 'Germany and the seventeenth-century crisis', *HJ*, 35, 2 (1992), pp. 417-441, here p. 418. Comments on the Thirty Years war may however be found in T*revor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', p. 32.*

[65] Gerhard Benecke, 'The Thirty Years War and its Place in the General Crisis of the XVIIth Century', *JEEH,* 9, 2 (1980), pp. 491-499, here p. 496.

Seventeenth Century', and Geoffrey Parker and Leysley M. Smith in their introduction to a collection of older and more recent essays on the topic, have already indicated a contemporary perception of a general crisis in mid-seventeenth century Europe.[66] Looking at English contemporary reflections on the Thirty Years War may thus help to get some more clarity about how far English commentators saw their own crisis of the late 1630s and 1640s as related to the crisis the Empire was facing between 1618 and 1648.

The references and comments about the role of the Thirty Years War in English politics and public debates between the 1620s and 1640s found in the historiography, already indicate the depth of contemporary English concerns and discourses about the Thirty Years War.[67] However, although an impact of the Thirty Years War on English politics and political discourse has been suggested by a number of scholars, English views and images not only of the war itself, but also of the country and people it affected most, have, to a large extent, been neglected. Studies concerned with English politics and political discourses during the 1620s, a period where debates about England's foreign policy course and her perceived role in Europe reached a peak, have mostly focused on English relations with and attitudes towards the Spanish branch of the House of Habsburg. Printed sources from this period have usually been examined for what they tell about English resentment against Spain, but rarely for their views of Germany, which are often only mentioned in passing. An extensive study combining questions about the character of printed English perceptions and reflections on the Thirty Years War with questions about the impact of the war related print discourse on politics, political thinking and political demands as well as on the English self-image is still missing.[68]

The same can be said about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, the two wars of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV of France. Here too, a substantial analysis of English perceptions of, and reflections on, the Empire in the contemporary print discourse related to the two wars of the Grand Alliance is still missing. This seems even more surprising not only because the Empire, and especially the emperor and head of the Austrian Habsburgs, had become one of England's most important allies at

---

[66] T*revor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', pp. 31-33;* Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, 'Introduction' in ibid., eds., *The general crisis of the seventeenth century*, pp. 1-31.

[67] See for instance Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? the Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context', *TRHS*, 28 (1978), 127–144; Thomas Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *JBS*, 29, 3 (1990), pp. 187-215.

[68] One of the only, but rather short studies commenting on images of Germany found in writings about the Thirty Years War is: Hans Werner, ''The Hector of Germanie, or The Palsgrave, Prime Elector' and Anglo-German relations of early Stuart England: the view form the popular stage', in R. Malcolm Smuts, ed., *The Stuart court and Europe. Essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 113-132. A general English interest in the Thirty Years War has for instance been emphasised in Elmer A. Beller, 'Contemporary English Printed Sources for the Thirty Years War', *AHR* 32, 2 (Jan., 1927), pp. 276-282, here p. 276.

the end of the seventeenth century, but also because English contemporaries of the War of the Spanish Succession witnessed their country's first ever military engagement on imperial soil. Following the Revolution of 1688, Williamite foreign policy was not only shaped by the goal to aid and defend the international Protestant cause but also by the goal to contain French power on the continent. In this struggle, the Empire began to play a vital role, not only as an ally but also as one of the major theatres of war. As such it also became a subject much reflected on in English print discourse. As far as the Nine Years War is concerned, the number of English studies on this conflict is generally still relatively low. In most cases it has been treated and studies as a part of the European struggle against Louis XIV.[69] The German dimension of the conflict, on the other hand, has widely been neglected in the modern English historiography. Whilst the German historiography often refers to the Nine Years War as 'Pfälzischer Erbfolgekrieg' (the War of the Palatine Succession), English studies seem to hardly ever mention this aspect of the Nine Years War.[70] This is certainly surprising as the disputed succession may be seen as a major reason for the French invasion of the Palatinate and other areas of the left side of the Rhine in 1688, and thus also contributed to the outbreak of the war in 1689. As has been shown recently, the devastation of the Palatinate through French troops in the course of the war attracted the attention of contemporaries throughout Europe and became a focal point of international news coverage.[71] Despite this, questions about the English interest in and concerns about the Palatinate, the territory which had been ruled by the oldest son of princess Elizabeth and Frederick V until 1680, have remained largely unaddressed so far.

---

[69] Two studies focusing on the Nine Years War itself are for instance Sir George Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', in John Selwyn Bromley ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970),pp. 223-254; Sir George Clark, 'The Character of the Nine Years War, 1688-97', *CHJ*, 11, 2 (1954), pp. 168–182. For English politics related to the war see Robert D. McJimsey, 'A Country Divided? English Politics and the Nine Years' War' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 23, 1 (1991), pp. 61–74. For studies dealing with the war in the context of the struggle against France see William Young, *International Politics and Warfare in the Age of Louis XIV and Peter the Great: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (iUniverse, 2004); John A. Lynn, *The wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (Routledge, 2013).[70] Sir George Clark in his chapter on the Nine Years War contained in *The New Cambridge Modern History* for instance, does neither refer to the conflict about the succession nor to the term itself.

[70] Sir George Clark in his chapter on the Nine Years War contained in *The New Cambridge Modern History* for instance, does neither refer to the conflict about the succession nor to the term itself.

[71] Emilie Dosquet, 'Die Verwüstung der Pfalz als (Medien-)Ereignis. Von der rheinländischen Kriegshandlung zum europäischen Skandal' in Andreas Rutz ed., *Krieg und Kriegserfahrung im Westen des Reiches 1568-1714* (Göttingen, 2015), pp. 333-370. For the devastation of the Palatinate in general see Kurt von Raumer, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1689 im Zusammenhang der französischen Rheinpolitik* (Pfaehler Dietrich, 1930); John A. Lynn, 'A Brutal Necessity? The Devastation of the Palatinate, 1688-1689' in Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers, eds., *Civilians in the Path of War, Studies in war, society, and the military* (Lincoln, 2002), pp. 79-110.

Even though the War of the Spanish Succession has received more attention in the historiography than the Nine Years War,[72] scholars have just recently pointed to the fact that this major conflict of the early eighteenth century is still one of the least studied wars in the early modern period.[73] However, works on the Duke of Marlborough's role and depiction in the contemporary press, on the news coverage of the Battle of Blenheim in 1704, and on propaganda and public opinion in the war-related print media, clearly indicate a broad English interest in the War of the Spanish Succession and the depth of the contemporary public debate and print discourse related to it.[74] By the early eighteenth century, Brendan Simms has noted, there was a broad public sphere of tens, maybe even hundreds of thousands people in Britain interested in and following foreign policy and the events on the European continent. The printing press and debates in coffee-houses served this interest, provided information, conveyed views, and thus stimulated discourse in the public sphere, in which the literate 50 per cent of the British population could take part.[75]

As one of England's major allies against France, the Empire - and especially the House of Habsburg - have automatically received more attention, but the existing studies have neither exclusively focussed on the Empire, nor have they examined and addressed possible changes in English images and perceptions of the emperor and the House of Habsburg in the course of the seventeenth century. Although England was not actively participating in the Thirty Years' War, English commentators had taken a clear stance against emperor Ferdinand II and his allies. The Press not only heavily attacked the Catholic Empire (here referring to the emperor, the Austrian Habsburg and their allies) but also called for an immediate intervention to safeguard German and European Protestantism against the threat posed by the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs.[76] About half a century later, the Empire had become one of England's major allies in the war against a new threat to

---

[72] A.J. Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe' in Bromley, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume 6*, pp. 410-445; John B. Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession: A study of the English view and conduct of grand strategy, 1702-1712* (New York, London, 1987); Matthias Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg. 1701–1713/14,* (München, 2014).

[73] Matthias Pohlig and Michael Schaich, eds., *The War of the Spanish Succession: New Perspectives* (Oxford University Press; German Historical Institute, 2018).

[74] Tony Claydon, 'A European general in the English press: The print image of Marlborough in the Stuart realms' in John B. Hattendorf, August J. Vaenendaal and Rolof Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, eds., *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Karwansaray Publishers, 2012), pp. 301-319; Thomas Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704. Eine Schlacht als Medienereignis: Kriegsberichterstattung und Gelegenheitsdichtung im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015); James Alan Downie, *Robert Harley and the press: propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge, 1979); Jens Metzdorf, *Politik-Propaganda-Patronage. Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Mainz, 2000).

[75] Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire* (Basic Books, 2008), p. 53.

[76] See below chapter 2.3.

Protestantism and the liberty of Europe: French hegemony. In the third war, then, England explicitly stepped in to fight for the cause of the Catholic emperor and for his family's claim to the Spanish throne. The liberty of the Empire was now regarded as decisive for the liberty of Europe, and the English people were celebrating the success of Marlborough and the imperial forces.[77] Between 1618 and 1704 something had obviously changed. Although the succeeding emperors were all convinced Catholics, from the mid seventeenth century onwards, the Empire was apparently not regarded as great a threat to European Protestantism anymore. At least from a *realpolitik* viewpoint, preventing a French hegemony and maintaining the balance of power in Europe appear to have become more important at the end of the seventeenth century than the confession and religious beliefs of the allies.

Some scholars have argued, that there was indeed a shift from religion to the more secular concept of balance of power as the driving force (not only) in foreign policy ideas in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England, and that Protestant worldviews and biblical language have been replaced by geopolitical considerations and an English national interest.[78] Hence the interconfessional alliance against Louis XIV and the rapprochement between the Protestant powers of England and the Dutch and the Catholic emperor have been interpreted as a new secular form of state policy and as the end of the age of religious wars.[79] Others have again challenged this view, and recent studies suggest that for contemporary Englishmen the wars against Louis XIV, and aiding the emperor in his struggle against France still had a religious dimension.[80]

---

[77] See below chapter 3.2.

[78] Steven Pincus for example has argued that not religion or defending Protestantism, but the fear of universal monarchy was the driving force in English foreign policy. Steven Pincus, 'The English Debate over Universal Monarchy' in John Robertson, ed., *A union for Empire: Political thought and the British union of 1707* (Cambridge 2006), pp. 37-62; Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes', pp. 333-361.

[79] This view has mostly been advanced in Steven Pincus, *1688: The first modern Revolution* (New Haven, London, 2009). For the discussion see also Christoph Kampmann, 'Ein großes Bündnis der katholischen Dynastien 1688? Neue Perspektiven auf die Entstehung des Neunjährigen Krieges und der Glorious Revolution', *HZ*, 294, 1 (2012), pp. 31-58.

[80] See Claydon, *Making of Europe*, especially pp. 192-219; Tony Claydon, 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689–1697' in Esther Mijers and David Onnekink eds., *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 125-142; Tony Claydon, 'The Revolution in foreign policy, 1688-1713' in Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor, eds. *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 219-241. Andrew C. Thompson has also shown that even after 1714, religion and safeguarding Protestantism remained a decisive factor in the thinking of the (English) people. See Thompson, *Protestant Interest*.

The Thirty Years' War, which has long been considered that last war of religion,[81] at the beginning and the War of the Spanish Succession at the end of the period discussed here provide a useful framework to test the assumption that, in the course of the seventeenth century, balance of power considerations have taken the place of religion as the main driver in English foreign policy, and to examine whether or to what extent public opinion followed this secular line by the turn of the eighteenth century. If this was the case, there should be recognisable differences in the English public discourse about the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession, in terms of foreign policy ideas, views of, and attitudes towards, the different German parties involved, as well as in the language used to describe, defend or criticise the wars and the developments related to them. If, however, safeguarding international Protestantism remained a major argument in the press, how was this harmonised with the fact that England had allied with one of the major Catholic powers of Europe?

* * * * * *

What has been said above gives good reason to challenge the assumption that a recognisable English interest in Germany and the Empire only developed in the course of the eighteenth century, and to raise the question why Germany and the Empire have often been neglected in the historiography. It will be the main task of this thesis to begin to fill this historiographic gap and to shed more light on reflections and perceptions of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire in English print discourse between 1618 and 1713. As will be shown, there was an English perception of, and interest in, Germany and the Empire long before the Hanoverian Succession in 1714, and the country received more attention and played a larger role in English print discourse than has so far been assumed. Moreover, the fact that Germany and the Empire have often been neglected, or treated as side issues in studies on England's role and involvement in Europe, provides a good opportunity not only to study seventeenth and early eighteenth century English perceptions and reflections on the Empire in general but also to readdress and test several ideas, concepts and theories recently discussed in the historiography.

When looking at English images of Germany and the Holy Roman Empire and their perception in and influence on political print discourse, the first questions to be asked need

---

[81] For a recent and critical discussion and reassessment of this view see David Onnekink, 'Introduction: The 'Dark Alliance' between Religion and War' in ibid., ed., *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648-1713* (Ashgate 2009), pp. 1-16.

to be what contemporary Englishmen actually had in mind when speaking of Germany and the Empire and what they knew about the country. In order to answer these and other questions about the general English understanding of the country, its history and its geographical, political and religious character, the first chapter of this thesis will be concerned with Germany and the Empire as perceived and described on a rather informative level in English print media. It will be concerned with the Empire's geographical, political and religious structure, with its political institutions and their power, with its people as well as with the contemporary terminology used to describe the country, whose full and official title was 'The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'. It will also explore what kind of general images existed in the public and which parts or principalities of Germany and the Empire were of interest for English contemporaries. Hence, the focus will be put on images of 'the other' itself and not on the appearance and usage of these images in political print discourse.

Although, for reasons of simplicity, this thesis will refer to *English* images, perceptions, views etc. in this thesis, it should be kept in mind, that, no matter how common they became, these views and images were primarily those of a small part of the population, sometimes even of individuals and not of the whole English nation. The images, which will be encountered in the following chapters, first and foremost represent the views of the English educated elite, of people who were not only able to read and write, but also had the means and opportunity to travel, who took part in public debates and were, in some way or the other, engaged in politics. This also applies to the second and third chapter of this thesis, where seventeenth and early eighteenth century English print media will be examined for its perceptions and reflections on Germany and the Empire during the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession. These wars seem particularly interesting, as they all received major attention in the English press, as the Empire was involved in all three of them, and also because the general circumstances as well as Anglo-imperial relations differed during the first and the last two wars. There is a large body of material dealing with the events of 1618 to 1648 and 1689 to 1713, ranging from frequent newsbooks and war accounts over comprehensive histories and description to pamphlets and broadsides. Additionally, sermons and poems celebrated Protestant heroes and victories or lamented defeats and death. Taken together, these sources offer a good and broad insight into contemporary English perceptions and reflections on the three wars, on the Empire and on England's perceived role in European affairs.

The chapters will analyse what English contemporaries knew, thought, wrote, and could read about the origins of the conflicts and the impact of the wars on Germany as well as on England herself. Debates about English foreign policy and English involvements in German and imperial affairs will be explored for England's perceived role as a European Protestant power in general and for the English sense of duty to the people and principalities of the Empire in particular. On the other hand, the chapter will look at the role the Empire played in English perceptions of geo-religious politics.

Given the variety of images and perceptions, the various influences on these as well as the long period covered, this study has to have certain limitations. First of all, it has to be noted that this is not a study of English domestic and foreign policies as pursued by king and parliament. In order to understand English press debates it will at times be necessary to outline the decisions and policies of the English government, but it cannot and will not be the aim of this thesis to study the course of English politics or the decisions, actions or inactions of the English government. What will be studied, though, are the public reactions and debates about these decisions as articulated in the print media. The analysis is thereby limited to *English* views, images, and print discourse. With regards to the question about British national identity and Britishness, looking beyond the English borders could certainly be a fruitful contribution to the still ongoing debate, even more so because reflections and perceptions of Germany and the Empire in Ireland, Scotland or Wales are still an almost completely uncharted territory. Unfortunately, this study cannot serve this historiographic gap either, as including Irish, Scottish and Welsh images would go much beyond the scope of this thesis.

Besides neglecting the politics and decisions of court and parliament, and its concentration on England, this study has a third limitation. People can attend to many different areas in order to compare and contrast their own country and society with others, such as religion, constitution, laws, economy, military, arts and culture, science, customs and traditions, education. This is even more so when the country looked at and referred to for comparison is as complex and diverse as the Holy Roman Empire, where differences occurred regionally. This thesis cannot cover all of these areas. Instead it will adopt a case study approach, exploring particular themes and moments in which English images and perceptions of Germany and the Empire seem to have figured largely in debates about English foreign policy and European affairs, and in which England's perceived role and responsibility in Europe has been expressed most strongly. Hence, the English self-image and the image of 'the other' will be placed and studied in a European context.

By doing so, it will become clear that the English knowledge about Germany and the interest in the country were not limited to general information or the country's past. It will be shown that the imperial affairs of the first decades of the seventeenth century already attracted the attention of the English public, and that an English interest in such affairs continued to persist throughout the period. Contemporary Englishmen closely followed the events and developments in Germany and the Empire and discussed the pro and cons of an English intervention and engagement in continental affairs and wars. English foreign policy towards and relations with the Empire could and did spark off debates about English domestic affairs and made Englishmen think about their role and duty in Europe and define what they considered to be 'truly English.'

1

"A large country which still is call'd by the name of Germania":
General English images of Germany in the long seventeenth century

1.1
The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, a political, confessional, and multi-ethnic patchwork

The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation constituted a unique body, which differed from every other European state in the early modern period. A glance at a map of the Empire already indicates the political and geographical complexity of this giant patchwork situated in the heart of continental Europe. Modern commentators often find themselves struggling to explain and precisely define the political, religious, ethnic and geographical structures and different systems of the early modern Empire. Textbooks, as well as general studies of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation usually underline its complex patchwork character, noting that politically, constitutionally and geographically it was hard to define and certainly represented an exception amongst its European neighbours.[1] Even German contemporaries found it not always easy to define, describe, and explain the character of the 'country' they were living in.[2] They, too, perceived and commented on the Empire's uniqueness and complexity. One of the best know and most quoted examples is probably from Samuel Pufendorf's *De statu imperii germanici,* first published in English in 1690. Here, the Empire was termed "an Irregular Body", "some mis-shapen Monster", which "is not now so much as a *Limited Kingdom,* (tho' the outward Shews and Appearances would seem to insinuate so much) nor is it a *Body* or *System* of many Soveraign States and Princes,

---

[1] The character of the early modern Empire, especially the question whether it was or was not a state, is still much debated amongst scholars. For some recent interpretations and a good overview of the historiography see for example Peter Hamish Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806* (Basingstoke, 1999) as well as Matthias Schnettger, ed., *Imperium Romanum – irregular corpus – Teutscher-Reichs-Staat. Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiography* (Mainz, 2002). The latter contains a good collection of essays on the modern as well as contemporary understanding and perception of the HRE in several European countries, e.g. France, Italy and the Netherlands. The missing of a study on English views of the Empire in this essay collection does once more show the existing gap in the historiography for this field.

[2] This has for example been noted in Burghart Schmidt, 'Mappae Germaniae. Das alte Reich in der kartographischen Überlieferung der Frühen Neuzeit' in Schnettger, ed., *Imperium Romanum*, pp. 3-24, here especially p. 4.

knit and united in a League, but something (without a Name) that fluctuates between these two."[3]

Given that early modern commentators, who were actually living in the country, as well as contemporary Germans, who could draw on a variety of material and sources, had and have difficulties defining the character of the Empire, seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen most likely faced an even more daunting task when trying to understand and describe this complex country, so different from their own. Even the title *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* (*Sacrum Imperium Romanum Nationis Germanicae*) displayed the complexity of the Empire, and already points to the long history and tradition it drew and looked back on. Shaped between the medieval and early modern period, the title combines different elements and reflects different ideas from several centuries, and can only be understood within the traditions of these. 'Empire' is usually seen as referring to a superior and universal authority rather than to a geographical sphere of influence or a certain territory. At least until the late medieval period it was also a synonym for the person of the emperor. The word 'Roman' drew a direct line to the German Empire's ancient predecessor. It expressed the idea of a *Translatio Imperii*, the transfer of authority from the Romans to the Franks and Germans, and was further emphasised by the emperor's coronation by the pope from the ninth century onwards. During the time of the crusades (c. 1100 - c. 1300), 'holy' was added to express and underline the equality of pope and emperor as the spiritual and temporal authority over Christendom, respectively.[4] The words 'of the German Nation' were added to the title and first mentioned in the sixteenth century, in a period when other European countries slowly developed into nation states. Therefore, it should be understood as reflecting the zeitgeist of European nation building, rather than the actual political situation in the Empire. With regards to the Holy Roman Empire, the word 'nation' did of course not yet refer to a political collective or political body in the modern sense but to a group of people, sharing the same origins. Even this definition is somewhat misleading and does not necessarily meet with the actual situation. Not only did the Empire not develop into a nation state, its population was never entirely German either, but included several other ethnic

---

[3] Samuel Pufendorf, *The Present State of Germany,* trans. Edmund Bohun, edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler (Indianapolis, 2007), p. 101. Pufendorf's remark, especially the meaning of the word monster, has long been and is still discussed by scholars. It is generally interpreted in the way Pufendorf himself had explained it, as an irregular body i.e. as something that does not fit into contemporary categories of states. As it was seen as highly offensive by contemporaries, Pufendorf omitted the phrase "some mis-shapen Monster" in the second edition of his tract, which was published posthumously in 1706, whilst adding the sentence "nothing similar...exists anywhere else on the whole globe".

[4] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation: Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806* (München, 2006), pp. 10-11.

groups, too. Although the majority of the population was German speaking, there was a variety of other languages as well as regional and local dialects, and in terms of culture and tradition, differences between individual territories were clearly recognisable. People from Bavaria and Hamburg had probably not much more in common than, for example, people from France and Greece. Even though the full title of the Empire suggests the existence of a German nation, and although patriotic writings, for instance, during the Thirty Years' War tried to create a sense of German unity against the foreign forces[5], a collective German national identity as such did not exist.

Until its dissolution in 1806, the Holy Roman Empire remained an ethnic and political patchwork, consisting of over three hundred states, petty states and city-states with different political, legal and religious systems. Whilst the interests of the Empire as a whole were represented in the imperial Diet, each territory also had its own government, assemblies and courts. There were principalities ruled by earls, dukes, or counts, ecclesiastical territories ruled by bishops and the clergy, as well as imperial cities and Hans-towns governed by magistrates, aldermen or councils. Given that the period under consideration here had seen six different emperors, the number of territorial rulers, spiritual and temporal, can only be estimated; even more so as dynastic houses usually distributed the rule over their dominions to several family members. As the Englishman Peter Heylyn remarked in 1652, "the title of the father descends to all the children; every son of a Duke being a Duke; every Daughter a Dutchesse … For by this common assuming of the Fathers honour; and parting his land amongst all his brethren; the Nobility is beyond reason multiplyed … there being not so long since 17 Princes of Anhalt, and 27 Counts of Mansfield".[6] Besides, the different territories not only had different forms of government but also different statuses within the Empire, and depending on these, certain duties, responsibilities and rights. Due to a complex system of feudal tenure and patronage they could be either accountable to their territorial ruler and the emperor, or as in the case of the imperial cities, to the emperor alone. Next to the various German territories governed by sovereign princes and other secular or ecclesiastical

---

[5] As has been shown by Ronald G. Asch and others, pamphlets published during the Thirty Years War repeatedly referred to the German Fatherland to create and sharpen a feeling of national identity. The reluctance of several German princes to subordinate their own interests to those of the whole country, however, often counteracted such attempts. See Asch, *Thirty Years War,* p. 111.

[6] Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole vvorld, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (London, 1652), p. 38. The remark about the inheritance of titles can be found in several contemporary descriptions and accounts, such as: Richard Blome, *A geographical description of the four parts of the world* (London, 1670), p. 73; John Seller, *A new system of geography* (London, 1685), p. 45; Samuel Clarke, *A new description of the World* (London, 1689), p. 142.

authorities, the Empire also comprised several other territories, such as the dominions and hereditary lands of the House of Habsburg, which again had different statuses in the Empire.[7]

In addition to the political and constitutional complexity, the early modern Empire was also characterised by religious changes and diversity. Since the beginning of the Reformation in 1517, Lutheran ideas had spread quickly, and supported by a group of German princes, the new confession was soon established in several German territories, usually to the disadvantage of the Catholic Church. Officially recognised as an established religion at the Diet of Augsburg, the Lutheran branch of Protestantism was confirmed equal to Catholicism in 1555. Additionally, it was declared the prerogative of territorial rulers (both secular and ecclesiastical), to choose and change the religion in their realm (*cuius regio, eius religio*) as well as the laws related to it. This could have an immediate impact on the inhabitants, who in case of a dynastic change or the conversion of their prince, were now forced to either change their confession, too, or to leave the territory. Although the Peace of Augsburg brought clarity concerning the status of the Protestant Church in the Empire, and settled questions about religious authority in the German principalities, it did neither bring an end to conflicts and tensions between the two major confessions nor did it recognise other branches of reformed Protestantism. Differences between Lutherans and reformed Protestants, especially Calvinists, created further tensions, even more so as for some Lutheran princes Calvinism seemed worse than Catholicism.[8] As Ronald Asch has noted, "the comparative isolation of the Calvinists only encouraged a relentless political activism in the years before 1618 and a search for allies outside Germany, in the Netherlands, in England or amongst the French Hugeenots."[9] Calvinists could thus draw on an international network and with the Electors Palatine and Brandenburg they also had two strong advocates in the imperial Diet.[10]

The struggle between the Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic churches and princes for power and influence in and outside the Empire, finally culminated and reached its peak in the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Although scholars now usually agree that the conflicts of the years between 1618 and 1648 were not solely about matters of religion, the

---

[7] It would go beyond the scope and subject of this thesis to lay out the political and constitutional structure/system of the HRE in detail, but more in-depth explanations will be given where appropriate and necessary for comprehension.

[8] For some of the remaining problems see Asch, *Thirty Years War*, chapter. 1; Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London 2009), pp. 25-48.

[9] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[10] The Elector Palatine had converted to Calvinism around 1560 and the Elector of Brandenburg in 1613. In addition to them the Landgrave of Hesse had converted in 1603 and about twenty other German minor princes and counts had follow by 1618. See. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 36.

conflicting parties were mainly divided along confessional lines, and the course of the wars repeatedly altered the religious structure of the Empire.[11] Finally, in 1648, a more or less lasting settlement was achieved. The restoration of the confessional borders and spheres of influence in the individual territories, as existing in 1624 (*Normaljahr*), the abolition of the *cuius regio, eius religio* principle as well as the (partly) recognition and toleration of other reformed churches, aided the peaceful coexistence of different denominations and brought some religious stability to the Empire.

In summary, the early modern Holy Roman Empire was a multi-ethnical, political and religious patchwork. Wars and peace treaties, dynastic changes and unions, respectively, could and did repeatedly alter the country's political and religious systems as well as inner and outer borders; and this applied to the Empire as a whole and to the individual territories alike.

1.2
Describing and defining Germany – The sources and their authors

Considering all this, it is almost surprising how clear many seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen were in their ideas about the Holy Roman Empire. Various travel accounts, geographical surveys, histories and discourses, published in the period between 1618 and 1713, reported on the country, explained its complex structure and told the English readership about its past and present. In general, English contemporaries who had travelled or become otherwise acquainted with the country, showed and expressed little doubt or uncertainty about the structure and character of the Empire. This does of course not mean that their images and descriptions of the Empire were always correct, but it shows that seventeenth century Englishmen were more interested in and actually had a better understanding of the Empire than has hitherto been suggested.[12] In fact, much of what has been noted about English perceptions of Germany in the eighteenth century is also valid for the seventeenth century, as many of the images and views, identified for the period following the Hanoverian succession, already existed in the preceding century and can be found in descriptions and accounts written and published before 1714.

---

[11] See e.g. Ibid., pp. 1-2 and also Johannes Burkhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), especially pp. 19-28, 128-143.

[12] See again Frauke Geyken, *Gentlemen*, where it is suggested that an English interest in Germany only slowly developed in the course of the eighteenth century.

Moreover, the variety of print material also indicates that there was obviously a market for news and information about the Empire on the British Isles. By serving this market, English commentators also shared their personal experience with or understanding of the Empire with a broader public and thereby communicated and shaped certain images of the country and its inhabitants. This chapter will trace these general images as conveyed in dictionaries, geographical surveys, descriptions and histories written by, and available to, English contemporaries in the almost one hundred years between 1618 and 1713. Additionally, accounts of English travellers will be included and studied for their (usually more personal) perception and descriptions of Germany and its inhabitants. These sources vary in size and detail and whilst some were exclusively concerned with the country, others only covered certain parts of it or just briefly summarised its structure and history.

There were of course always similarities and some overlap between what was said in the different sources. As Tony Claydon has recently pointed out for English travel literature in general, there was "a *shared* stock of facts and opinion"[13] to which authors contributed. Englishmen travelling the Empire in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century often visited and described the same places and reported on the same events and developments, too. Certain facts and views as well as stories appeared in several accounts from this period and this did not only apply to travel literature but also to writings from other genres. Authors of geographical descriptions, surveys and histories equally contributed to that stock, as they, too, focussed on or at least mentioned these events and places of special interest. One story that was frequently recounted, and may serve as a first example here, was that of the Mouse Tower near Bingen on the Rhine. According to the legend, the tower was build in the tenth century by Hatto II, Bishop of Mainz, who, during a famine, allegedly had refused to feed the poor in his territory. Instead he had locked them in a barn, burned them and compared their desperate screaming to the noise of mice. As the legend goes, he was soon haunted by thousands of mice. To escape them, the bishop built a tower on a small island in the Rhine, but the mice followed him and finally ate him up alive. The story of the "barbarous act"[14] of Hatto II and "Gods just judgement"[15] on him found entry in many geographical descriptions and surveys. Englishmen travelling up the Rhine usually came past the tower and the majority of them made some kind of comment on the tower and the legend behind it.[16] The story was

---

[13] Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p. 20.
[14] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 56.
[15] *Bloudy* [sic!] *news from Germany or the peoples misery by famine* ([London], [between 1670-1696]).
[16] For travels along the Rhine route see below chapter 1.7.

even published as a broadsheet under the title *Bloudy news from Germany* in the late seventeenth century and was still recounted in the late eighteenth century.[17]

Authors not only contributed to the same stock of ideas, they also copied from and referred to each other's work and, at least to some degree, seem to have influenced each other as well. Authors of reference works, for instance, repeatedly referred to the accounts and experiences of travellers.[18] Equally, definitions or explanations found in geographical dictionaries, and knowledge drawn from descriptions or histories, for instance, could influence the way people perceived and experienced Germany when visiting it. Given the amount of historical dates and facts, and the details about the different German dynastic houses, included in travel accounts, it seems likely that travellers had consulted some works of reference either prior to their journey or when writing up their accounts.

However, although English travellers often corroborated what was said in dictionaries and surveys, there are several cases in which their experience and perception were different to what was said in reference works dealing with the Empire. Whilst dictionaries and geographical surveys in their descriptions often relied on or simply copied from earlier accounts or texts of ancient writers,[19] accounts of English travellers gave first hand information. It is needless to say that it is difficult to make reliable statements about the readership and public reception of these works. It may be assumed, though, that travel accounts were considered a somewhat better, maybe even more reliable, source of information about a specific country, not only because they usually contained more details but also because the traveller had seen the country and its people with his own eyes, so he most likely knew what he was writing about. Moreover, travellers often noticed changes long before they found entry into dictionaries and surveys, and their descriptions usually went far beyond the information and details given in reference works. By looking both at reference works, whose authors often had never set foot on imperial soil, and at the accounts of those Englishmen who actually had, it will be possible to draw a more complete picture of the understanding, images and perception of Germany in English print media in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

---

[17] The story of the Mouse Tower and Hatto Bishop of Mainz was mentioned in most travel accounts and in many of the descriptions analysed in this chapter. For examples see: Edward Brown, *An account of several travels through a great part of Germany* (London, 1677), p. 47; William Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Hansiactique townes* (Amsterdam, 1688*)*, p. 126-127; Gilbert Burnet, *Some letters, containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy &c.* (Rotterdam, 1686), p. 290.

[18] John Savage for instance explicitly referred to the travel account of Edward Brown. John Savage, *The ancient and present state of the Empire of Germany,* (London, 1702), p. 23.

[19] Peter Heylyn for instance repeatedly referred to a work by Richard Verstegan. See Heylyn, *Cosmographie,* p. 39.

The published texts were of course not all equally successful and whilst some only went through one edition, others seem to have been more popular amongst the English readership. William Carr, English consul in Amsterdam, for instance, had spent several years on the continent as well as in the German territories. In 1688 he published his *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Hansiactique townes*. Other editions followed in 1691, 1693, and 1695. Carr's account of his travels and experiences in the Empire and other parts of continental Europe not only seemed to enjoy some popularity amongst his contemporaries but also amongst future generations. By 1745 it had reached a seventh edition, and it was still read and referred to at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1856, over 150 years after its first publication, Thomas Carlyle, for instance, mentioned that he "read *Carr* thro', with great interest"[20] and later also quoted from the *Remarks* in his History of Frederick the Great.[21]

Whilst the content, apart from some changes in the preface, remained the same in all editions, there was a quite peculiar change in the title. Whilst the edition of 1688 and 1691, were, according to the titles, more concerned with the government and general descriptions of Germany (and other European countries), giving only "some few directions how to travel" and "necessary instructions for travelers",[22] respectively, the two following editions were published as *Travels* and *The tavellours guide*.[23] Although there is no indication in the text why these changes were made, it may be possible that either the author himself or the publisher intended to make a contribution to the increasingly growing genre of travel literature, hoping to attract an even broader readership. As the content was still the same, the reader not only found travel instructions in the account but also reflections on Germany's religious and political situation.

Equally, or maybe even more, popular than Carr's account was Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie,* a chorographical and historical description of the world, which, with 86 pages in small print, probably contained the longest and most detailed encyclopaedic description of

---

[20] 'Thomas Carlyle to Alexander Gilchrist', 1 July 1856; DOI: 10.1215/lt-18560701-TC-AGI-01; in *Carlyle Letters* Volume *31*, pp. 112-113.

[21] See Thomas Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia called Frederick the Great,* eight volumes (New York, 1897), Vol 1, p. 27. The first edition of the *History* was published in 1858.

[22] Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Hansiactique townes*; [William Carr], *An accurate description of the United Netherlands, and of the most considerable parts of Germany, Sweden, & Denmark containing a succinct account of what is most remarkable in these countries, and necessary instructions for travellers* (London, 1691).

[23] [William Carr], *Travels through Flanders, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark Containing an account of what is most remarkable in those countries* (London, 1693); William Carr, *The travellours guide and historians faithful companion giving an account of the most remarkable things and matters relating to the religion, government, custom, manners, laws, pollicies, companies, trade, &c. in all the principal kingdoms, being the 16 years travels of William Carr* (London, 1695).

Germany available in England at that time.[24] First published in 1652, the *Cosmographie* was reissued in 1657, 1666, 1669, 1670, 1674, 1677, 1682 and, in its seventh edition, again in 1703. It served as reference for other authors and even the council of state possessed a copy of the book for instruction.[25] Carr's and Heylin's writings certainly constitute exemptions, as on average, the accounts, descriptions and histories of Germany published during the period under consideration, went through one, sometimes two, but usually not more than three editions.[26] Therefore, it will not be suggested here that it was individual publications, which decisively influenced the English image of Germany, but rather the variety of texts on Germany taken together. Given that the same or at least similar facts and views were continuously repeated over a longer period of time and in writings from different genres, it seems likely that these shaped the contemporary English understanding of Germany and helped to consolidate certain images of the country and its inhabitants.

As for the authors, many of the accounts, descriptions, histories and surveys were written by English contemporaries, who in one way or another also participated in and contributed to public debates, were engaged in politics, and are likely to have influenced public opinion in England. Men like Gilbert Burnet[27] or Edmund Bohun,[28] for instance, were quite active during the debates following the revolution of 1688-89, and the Quaker leader William Penn wrote and published several tracts on religious questions at the end of the

---

[24] Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole vvorld, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (London, 1652).

[25] See Anthony Milton, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599–1662)', *ODNB*, Vol. 26 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 954-958, esp. p. 957.

[26] Although numbers obviously varied, the average number of copies per edition has been estimated to be about 1000 by 1700. See Alain Veylit, 'Some Statistics on the Number of Surviving Printed Titles for Great Britain and Dependencies from the Beginnings of Print in England to the year 1800' http://estc.ucr.edu /ESTCStatistics.html.

[27] For instance, Gilbert Burnet, *An enquiry into the present state of affairs, and in particular, whether we owe allegiance to the King in these circumstances? and whether we are bound to treat with him, and to call him back again, or not?* (London, 1689), and also his various sermons, such as *A sermon preached in the Chappel of St. James's before His Highness the Prince of Orange, the 23d of December, 1688* (London, 1689); *A sermon preached before the House of Commons, on the 31st of January, 1688 being the thanksgiving-day for the deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, by His Highness the Prince of Orange's means*, (London, 1689); *Two sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury: the first, on the Fifth of November, Gun-powder-Treason Day; the second, on the seventh of November, Being the Thanksgiving-Day* (London, 1710). For Burnet's role in the debates about the Revolution and in Williamite propaganda see Tony Claydon, *William and the godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996).

[28] For instance, Edmund Bohun, *The history of the desertion, or, An account of all the Publick Affairs in England* (London, 1689); *The doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience, no way concerned in the controversies now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites* (London, 1689). For Bohun's role in the debate see Mark Goldie, 'Edmund Bohun and Jus Gentium in the Revolution Debate, 1689-1693', *HJ*, 20, 3 (1977) pp. 569-586.

seventeenth century.[29] These men had either been to Germany themselves or had otherwise become acquainted with the country. It is conceivable that their experience with, and knowledge of, Germany also influenced their attitudes towards matters of their country's domestic and foreign policy. Besides, it may be assumed that writings by renowned Englishmen generally attracted the attention of a broader public and that people were not only interested in what these men had to say about domestic issues but also what they thought about other countries and international affairs.

The majority of the sources consulted here for their knowledge and understanding of Germany, were written by contemporary Englishmen. Some few, however, were based on or translated from French, German or Latin originals, or written by foreign commentators. It could certainly be argued that such texts should not be included into an analysis of English general images of Germany, as they do not reflect English views and perceptions. However, there are several reasons speaking against such an objection. First of all, as all the texts were published in England and read by an English readership they could convey knowledge about as well as influence English views on the country. Secondly, many of these works were commissioned or otherwise asked for by Englishmen. In a letter, the Frenchman Michel le Vassor, for instance, reported on "the present state and government of the Empire", because the recipient Thomas Foley of Whitley had asked him to.[30] Even though the tract was not written by an Englishman, it provided the English recipient with information and ideas about the Empire. The fact, that it was published in 1711, now being made available to a broader public, gives reason to assume that Thomas Foley agreed with the content of the tract and the images it conveyed.

Richard Blome's *A geographical description of the four parts of the world* published in 1670, may serve as an example to show how well esteemed English adaptations of foreign books could actually be. The book was a compilation of the writings of the royal French geographer Nicolas Sanson and other authors. Not only did this book, which included several maps, lists, and illustrations, contain a testimony and approbation signed by several renowned Englishmen, who had supervised and approved the work, it also contained a reprint of a letter of command by Charles II, supporting Blome's endeavour and prohibiting any

---

[29] For instance, William Penn, *A declaration or test to distinguish Protestant-dissenters from papists and popish recusants as it was given to the Parliament in the year 1680. by the people called Quakers, and now re-printed* (London, 1689); *An address to Protestants of all perswasions more especially the magistracy and clergy, for the promotion of virtue and charity:in two parts* (London, 1692); *A brief account of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers* (London, 1694); *A call to Christendom in an earnest expostulation with her to prepare for the great and notable day of the Lord that is at the door* (London, 1696).

[30] Michel le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government of the Empire of Germany* (London, 1711).

copying, unauthorised reprinting and translating of the book.[31] Amongst the English readership, Blome's work seemed to have attracted less attention, though. Despite the support the author received from his countrymen and the king himself, *A geographical description* itself only went through one edition. However, it was still reissued over the next decades as it was, with some minor alterations, attached to the *Cosmography and geography in two parts,* another geographical compendium compiled and translated by Blome, published in 1682, 1683 and 1693.

A third and fourth reason for including translations and publications based on foreign language texts, when studying general images of Germany, are the facts that not all translations were indicated as such, and that the personal opinions of the translator usually left its mark on the translation, too. A good example for such a case is the first edition of Edmund Bohun's translation of Pufendorf's *De statu imperii germanici.* Published in 1690 under the title *The present state of Germany,* the work did not contain any information about authorship, except the imprint *By a Person of Quality.*[32] It was neither explicitly marked as a translation, nor did Bohun make any implicit comments on this. Instead, he wrote in the address to the reader, "If the world desires it, it will not be difficult to give a more particular account of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Free Cities of Germany, but without that, it will be sufficient to shew the present state of Germany, which is the thing we Englishmen are most desirous and concerned to know."[33] Unless familiar with Pufendorf and the Latin original, the reader could certainly mistake the translation for the work and views of an Englishman, and in fact, when it came to the thoughts expressed in the work, this was not absolutely false. As Michael J. Seidler has pointed out, Bohun did not always keep to the Latin original but translated it according to his own views, which in many ways were much more royalist and conservative than Pufendorf's.[34] The tract was reprinted six years later, and this time it was marked as "*made English and continued by Edmund Bohun*".[35] Thus, Bohun's translation is not just a replication of Pufendorf's views in English: at least in parts, it reflects an Englishman's view of Germany, too.

---

[31] See Blome, *A geographical description.* The list of supervisors reads: Dorchester, Brounker, Kenelme Digby, Jo. Berkenhead, Tho. Herbert, Sam. Barnadiston, Andrew Riccard, Jo. Evelyn, Christopher Merret, James Howell, Jo. Leake, Nicholas Mercator, Jo. Megalin.

[32] [Samuel Pufendorf], *The Present State of Germany*, By a Person of Quality (London, 1690).

[33] Ibid., To the Reader.

[34] Seidler, ed., 'Introduction', in Pufendorf, *Present State of Germany*, pp. 13-14.

[35] Samuel Pufendorf*, The present state of Germany. Written in Latin by the learned Samuel Puffendorff, under the name of Severinus de Monzabano Veronensis. Made English and continued by Edmund Bohun, Esq* (London, 1696).

1.3
Describing and defining Germany – Terminology, geography, origins

What then, were the views expressed by contemporaries, and what was their knowledge, understanding and perception of Germany? How familiar were Englishmen with the historical origins of the Empire and its inhabitants, how much did they know about its geographical, political, religious, ethnic and cultural structure and character? Did they, too, perceive and describe the Empire as a complex patchwork, and if so how did this comlexity affect not only people's image of the country but also Englishmen travelling it? What was the English image of the German people, were the inhabitants of this vast country all seen as being the same or did travellers, visiting individual territories or regions perceive differences in the peoples' language, appearance, and behaviour? What was, in the eyes of English contemporaries, noteworthy about Germany's history and culture? In the following these and other questions will be addressed in order to shed some more light on a country and people, which as 'the other' could help to define the English self.

As has already been pointed out above, due to its manifold complexity, defining and describing the Empire can be a somewhat difficult task. Seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen, however, seem to have struggled less with this task than one would expect. Despite its complex nature and inherent diversity, in English writings the Empire often appeared to be a coherent and cohesive entity. English commentators did, for instance, not hesitate or express any doubts when using 'Germany' as the common name for the complex, multi-national patchwork in continental Europe. As will be shown, geographical dictionaries, surveys and descriptions from the period under consideration listed the country as 'Germany' and accounts, pamphlets and discourses simply referred to Germany, too.[36] The full title *Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*, on the other hand, did not seem to be used or mentioned anywhere in English print media of this period, nor was there any reference to the word *nation*. Instead, people sometimes referred to the 'Sacred Roman Empire'[37], obviously a direct translation of its Latin title. Hence, although only rarely used in print media, the title was not entirely unknown to English contemporaries. Another name for the country that can be found in several (printed) sources from the sixteenth as well as

---

[36] This becomes apparent from most of the sources quoted and referred to in this thesis and does not only apply to geographical works and travel accounts but also to the print discourse about the Thirty Years War, and in part also to publications concerned with the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession.
[37] John Savage, *The ancient and present state* p. 4.

seventeenth century is 'Dutchland'.[38] It was obviously derived from the word 'Deutschland', used in the German territories since the twelfth but more commonly since the sixteenth century and not unknown in England either. In *A geographical dictionary* published in 1688 Edmund Bohun noted for example, "This Country is called by the Inhabitants Teutschland or Teitschland".[39] 'Dutchland', however, had a broader meaning, as it could not only refer to Germany but also to Holland.[40] Allowing for this, the word 'High' was sometimes attached to 'Dutschland'.[41] The adjective 'Dutch' could refer to the Netherlands too, but was, as will be shown later in this chapter, quite frequently used as a synonym for 'German', especially in the context of language. The adjective and noun 'German' already occurred in English sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, too, albeit rarely. Before the sixteenth century, 'Dutchland' and 'Dutch(man)' seemed to have been the words usually used by Englishmen, when referring to the German territories and people.[42] From the sixteenth century onwards, however, 'German' and especially 'Germany' appeared more often in English printed material. By the late sixteenth century at the latest, 'Germany', and alternatively 'Empire of Germany' and 'German Empire' had replaced 'Dutchland' as the most common name(s) for the Holy Roman Empire used in English print media.[43] Why and when exactly these changes occurred is difficult to determine. However, there are two developments and events, which might explain the increasing usage of the words 'German' and 'Germany' from the sixteenth century onwards. The first one could be found in the history of the Empire itself. As mentioned above, the words 'of the German Nation' (Nationis Germanicæ) were added to the Empire's title in the early sixteenth century and by doing so the country became, at least theoretically, ethnically defined. Consequently, the word, in German as well as in Latin, probably appeared in print more often, too. Several texts

---

[38] See for instance Samuel Clarke, *A brief and yet exact and accurate description of the present state of the great and mighty empire of Germany* (London, 1665), p. 19. When describing the country, Clarke used both Germany and Dutchland in his text.

[39] Edmund Bohun, *A geographical dictionary* (London, 1688), entry Germany.

[40] See for instance *Corante, or, nevves from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, France, and Dutchland.* (London, 1621). Here Dutchland clearly refers to Holland, as Germany is also listed in the title.

[41] See for instance Richard Grafton, *A chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of Englande and kinges of the same deduced from the Creation of the vvorlde, vnto the first habitation of thys islande* (London, 1569), p. 1172; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes described out of the doings of most valiant and expert captaines, and confirmed both by ancient, and moderne examples, and præcedents* (London, 1593), p. 245.

[42] See the examples given in the *OED*, Second edition. There is no separate entry for the word 'Germany' in the *OED*, but it does contain a few examples of the usage of the word in the entry for 'German'. There are more examples for 'Dutch' and 'Dutchland', which according to the *OED* often referred to Germany, too. A title and keyword search for the words on EEBO indicate a similar development for the word 'Germany', which, in contrast to 'Dutchland' seems to have been used rather rarely before the sixteenth century.

[43] A keyword search on EEBO for the period between 1550 and 1650 produced 85 hits in 33 records for Dutchland and 16899 hits in 2180 records for Germany and its various spellings.

published in the Empire made their way into England, where they were translated into English. That English contemporaries thereby adopted the terminology and transferred it into their own language, applying it to the inhabitants of Germany as well as the country itself, seems likely. Maybe even more so as the words 'German' and 'Germany' offered a clear alternative to the much broader meaning of the word 'Dutchland'. Besides, in 1581 seven Dutch provinces separated themselves from the Spanish-ruled Netherlands and declared their independence as the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. The decreased usage of the word 'Dutch' and 'Dutchland', and the contemporaneous increase in the use of 'Germany', from the late sixteenth century onwards, may account for these developments, as the foundation of the Dutch Republic in 1581 may have required a clearer distinction between Germany and the Dutch United Provinces.

The second explanation is related to a small ancient account, which had survived in only one manuscript and was rediscovered in the fifteenth century: *De origine et situ Germanorum* of Cornelius Tacitus, written around 98 AD and now usually referred to as *The Germania*. After its rediscovery, it soon attracted the interest of humanists all over Europe but especially in Germany, where an edition produced by Conrad Celtis was reprinted more than fifty times during the sixteenth century.[44] Like no other description, *The Germania* was to influence and shape the (early) modern comprehension of Germanic history and German identity.[45] In seventeenth century England it decisively contributed to the understanding of ancient as well as then present Germany and the character of its inhabitants, and became a central element in English images of the same. As will be shown in the course of this chapter, the English knowledge and interpretation of Tacitus' account was important and influential in ethnic, geographical and political contexts alike. There are some indications that the influence of *The Germania* went even further and not only shaped English images of Germany and the Germans in several ways, but also had an impact on terminology. As has been shown for continental Europe, people like Voltaire, influenced by and following Tacitus, repeatedly used the word 'Germanie' when referring to the Holy Roman Empire.[46]

---

[44] Anthony, R. Birley, 'Introduction' in Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany*, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by A.R. Birley (Oxford, 1999) pp. xi-xxxix, here p. xxxvi.

[45] The impact of Tacitus' account on German national identity and self-image has been emphasised by several scholars. See Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Nachwort' in P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 59-77, esp. pp. 70-77. For the general influence of the account see Herbert W. Benario, 'Tacitus' *Germania* and modern Germany', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 15 (1990), pp. 163-75.

[46] Schmidt, 'Mappae Germaniae. Das alte Reich in der kartographischen Überlieferung der Frühen Neuzeit' pp. 6-7. In addition to the example of Voltaire, Schmidt also mentions the Italian Count Niccolo Madrisio who had travelled the Empire at the of the seventeenth century.

Although a first English translation was not published until 1598,[47] there is reason to assume that copies of the Latin original had circulated in England earlier than this. References to Tacitus' ethnography can be found in several English sources from the sixteenth century, including printed material as well as private correspondence.[48] Besides, it has also been pointed to a possible influence of the *Germania* on Thomas More's famous *Utopia*, first published in 1516.[49] Although more research would certainly be necessary to further back this up, it may be assumed that the rediscovery and the subsequent circulation of Tacitus' *Germania* and the increasing usage of the words 'German' and 'Germany' in English print media were more than just a coincidence. Other English editions and reissues came out in 1605, 1612, 1622, and 1640[50] until in 1698 a completely new translation of Tacitus' *Annals and Histories*, including *The Germania*, was published.[51] A comparison of the original Latin title and text and the English translation shows, that the Latin terminology was obviously soon adjusted to the English language and also underwent some extensions. According to the Latin title, *De origine et situ Germanorum,* Tacitus' monograph was concerned with the origins and situation of the Germanic people. The English translation from 1589 and the following editions of it, however, were issued as *The description of Germanie and the custom of the people*, and the new translation from 1698 was called *A Discourse of the Situation, Customs and People of Germany*. Thus, the title of the English translation somewhat suggested that the text was more a description of the country than of the people inhabiting it. And not only that, both in the title and the actual text this country was referred to not by its Latin name, which would have implied a difference between ancient and (then) modern times, but by its English name. Apparently Richard Grenewey and Mr R.[52] when translating Tacitus' monograph in 1598 and 1698, respectively, were influenced by, and followed, a general development in England, where Germany had become the common name for both ancient Germania as well as the Holy Roman Empire. Whatever the reasons for the increasing usage of the words 'Germany' and 'German' as the common names for the Empire and its

---

[47] *The annales of Cornelius Tacitus. The description of Germanie* (London, 1598). Translator's dedication signed: Richard Grenewey.

[48] References to Tacitus' *Germania* can e.g. be found in John Leslie, *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande and dowager of France*, Imprinted at London ([i.e. Rheims], 1569), p. 140. Reference to Andreas Althamer's commentary on *The Germania* (1529) is made in Robert Langham, *A Letter* (1575), with an introduction, notes and commentary by R.J.P. Kuin (Leiden, 1983), p. 39.

[49] For the possible influence of *The Germania* on More's Utopia see the introduction and notes to *Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, edited with Introduction and notes by John Churton Collins, (Oxford, 1904), p. xxxvii.

[50] Title and place of publication is the same as in note 47 above.

[51] *The annals and history of Cornelius Tacitus his account of the antient Germans, and the life of Agricola / made English by several hands* (London, 1698).

[52] It is not known who actually translated Tacitus' account for this new edition. The name mentioned in the volume is simply Mr. R.

inhabitants finally were, the terminology certainly affected the English understanding, perception, and image of the country and its people in two decisive ways. First, it conveyed the impression that the Empire was a cohesive and ethnically homogeneous entity, and second it connected seventeenth and early eighteenth century Germany with ancient Germania.

In some ways this also seemed to affect the English geographical understanding of the Empire. Although some Englishmen were aware that "the modern Germanie much differeth from that described by Tacitus",[53] comparison with, and reference to, ancient Germania were made repeatedly. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Edward Wells for instance, started his geographical description explaining, "To the East of the British Isles on the European Contienent lies a large country which both anciently was, and still is call'd by the name of Germania, or Germany."[54] In another geographical work, published in 1714, Wells then presented two maps of Germany, one of present and one of ancient Germany, illustrating the changes which had occurred over the centuries.[55] When compared, it becomes clear that the outlines of these maps, especially in the top half, are more or less identical, indicating that there was probably just one original sketch for the two maps. Obviously some alterations had to be made for present Germany, allowing for the territorial losses in the east, the gains in the west, and the extension to the south east. As far as the outer borders of Germany were concerned, it again seems to have been ancient Germania, which to a certain degree determined the English understanding of the country, also indicating that contemporary Germany was obviously still seen in continuity with ancient Germania. Besides, it once more becomes clear from Well's map of present Germany, that English contemporaries did not make any distiction between Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. Geographically, the Empire of Germany was, as most authors agreed, the territory bordering - from north to west - Denmark and the Baltic Sea, Poland and Hungary, the Alps and Italy, France and Belgium.[56]

Whilst the frontiers of, and to, other European countries allowed a more or less clear definition of the outer borders of the Empire, defining its inner borders was certainly a more

---

[53] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 36.
[54] Edward Wells, *A treatise of antient and present geography, together with A sett of maps, design'd for the use of young students in the universities* (Oxford, 1701), p. 61.
[55] Edward Wells, *A new sett of maps both of antient and present geography, wherein Not only the Latitude and Longitude of many Places are Corrected, according to the latest Observations; but also the most remarkable Differences of Antient and Present Geography* (London, 1714). The two maps have been reproduced in this thesis. See above p. xi
[56] Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*; Seller, *A new system of geography,* p. 44; John Meriton, *A geographical description of the world* (London, 1671), p. 64. Seller and Meriton also added Prussia to the list.

difficult task, even more so as spheres of influence and therefore also borders changed repeatedly in the course of history. Hence, it is little surprising that Englishmen were sometimes mistaken in their geographical descriptions. In two geographical works of reference from the seventeenth century, for instance, the English authors Robert Stafford and Thomas Porter, both located the kingdom of Bohemia in the middle of Germany.[57] Although it could be argued that Bohemia was situated somewhere between the northern and southern part of the Empire, it still formed (with Moravia and Silesia) the most eastern part of it. When travelling to the middle of Germany, however, an English traveller would find him- or herself somewhere in the region of Hessen or Würzburg, rather than in the kingdom of Bohemia.

Over all, however, here too, English contemporaries were quite clear in their descriptions. Of course, none of the authors listed every single one of the over three hundred states, petty and city-states; let alone the governing sovereigns and authorities of these. There were certainly several places in the Empire they had never heard of, and which never attracted their attention or interest at all. Nevertheless, many Englishmen writing about the Empire, tried to describe its geographical structure as precisely as possible, meticulously listing the major principalities together with their chief towns, cities, and bordering countries, some also adding long lists and tables of the same.[58] In order to master the task of geographically describing and defining the Empire, whilst still making it comprehensible for an English readership, some kind of simplifications appeared to be necessary. When it came to the country's inner borders, the most widely used method to explain these in a comprehensible way, was the division of the Empire into smaller units. There were a couple of ways to do so, also depending on how much space a dictionary or survey dedicated to the description of the country. The easiest and most simple method was the division of Germany into a higher (or upper) and lower part; but it said little about the inner structure of the country and was mainly used either in very short descriptions or with some further explanations.[59] The most common, and less superficial, method was the division of the Empire into the ten circles of Franconia, Bavaria, Austria, Swabia, the upper and lower Rhine, Westphalia, upper and lower Saxony,

---

[57] Robert Stafford, *A geographicall and anthologicall description of all empires and kingdoms* (London, 1618), p. 11; Thomas Porter *A compendious view or cosmographical and geographical describtions of the whole world* (London, 1659), p. 36.

[58] See e.g. Patrick Gordon, *Geography anatomiz'd: or, the geographical grammar, Fourth edition corrected and some what enlarg'd* (London, 1704), pp.103-115; Richard Blome, *A geographical description of the world* (London, 1670), pp. 60-68. Blome's text was also reprinted in Nicolas Sanson, *Cosmography and Geography in two parts* (London, 1682), pp. 69-82. A detailed geographical description of Germany can also be found in Bohun's translation of Pufendorf, *The present state of Germany*.

[59] Whilst John Seller considered Belgium and the Netherlands as lower Germany but did not further define upper Germany, George Meriton also gave an overview of the individual (major) territories (or lands) belonging to the upper and lower parts of the country, respectively. Seller, *A new system of geography*, p. 45; Meriton, *A geographical description of the world*.

and Burgundy.[60] This division was actually consistent with the ten German 'Reichskreise', established in 1512. The purpose of these circles, each of which comprised several territories, was not geographical simplification, but rather the exercise of political and legal duties, and the representation of territorial interests within the Empire. Many contemporary English commentators were obviously familiar with this division, as the majority of them made at least some kind of reference to it.[61] However, although it seemed to be a convenient and simple way to divide the complex Empire into units, the difficulty with this division was that did not provide much information about the individual territories belonging to these circles, nor did it include all parts of the Empire. Allowing for this, many authors supplemented the list of the ten circles with descriptions or short notes about large or important territories, often adding Alsatia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Brunswick and Lüneburg, Cleveland, East-Friesland, Hessia, the upper and lower Palatinate, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Württemberg and the bishoprics of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier.[62] What is striking here, is that until the later decades of the seventeenth century English commentators paid little or no attention to Hanover, which was either only listed as a town or not mentioned at all. Although residency of the Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Hanover was, until the late seventeenth century, only one part of the said duchy, and thus apparently not of any considerable importance for English observers. This only began to change after the territory was made the ninth electorate of the Holy Roman Empire in 1692, and when Sophia of the Palatinate, daughter of the late Elector Palatine Frederick V and his wife, the English princes Elizabeth Stuart, was made heir presumptive to the English throne in 1701.

When it came to those territories in the Empire, which belonged to the House of Habsburg, geographical descriptions and accounts sometimes were a little contradictory, indicating that there was apparently some kind of uncertainty about their statuses within Germany. There was an overall agreement that Austria belonged to the Empire of Germany. Especially during the War of the Spanish Succession, 'House of Austria' was, for instance, often used as a synonym for the Habsburgs in general.[63] Whilst some authors simply described Austria as a province of Germany, others regarded or perceived it is a country in itself, somewhat different to the rest of the Empire. The same can be said about other

---

[60] This division is for example used/ mentioned in Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*, Heylyn, *Cosmographie,* p. 48; Samuel Clarke, *A geographical description*, p. 143.

[61] John Savage for example gave a detailed description of these circles. Savage, *The ancient and present state*, pp. 67-69. James Howell also mentioned the ten circles and their purpose in *A Discourse of the empire of Germany*, pp. 38-39.

[62] With some variations these were the main territories mentioned in the majority of the sources.

[63] See below chapter 3.

Habsburg dominions. Bohemia, for example, could hardly be considered German. Although under the suzerainty of the emperor, it was an independent kingdom and, in contrast to Burgundy, for example, not represented in the Ten Circles. However, as part of the Habsburg hereditary lands it technically belonged to the Empire, and it was included in all descriptions and accounts of the Empire. In the early 1620s, Bohemia, and especially its laws and liberties, became the subject of various English publications, as the son-in-law and daughter of King James I had, for a short time, been King and Queen of Bohemia, before being forced into exile.[64] As far as the kingdom's role in the Empire was concerned, several contemporary Englishmen seemed to perceive it as a rather independent country (within the Empire). Edward Wells, for instance, described both Germany and Bohemia, named the latter as a country bordering the first, but on the maps included in his description, he placed it within the borders of Germany.[65] Likewise, John Taylor reported about his travels from Prague in Bohemia to Hamburg in Germany, but elsewhere, when he spoke of Germany in general, he included Bohemia.[66] In his travel account Edward Brown, who had to revise his geographical image of Bohemia during his travels, noting that the country was actually larger than he had expected, also gave the impression that Bohemia was a somewhat independent country.[67] The special status of Bohemia, and the fact that it was the only kingdom within the Empire, seemed to have caused some uncertainties amongst English commentators. Even today it is still debated amongst historians whether Bohemia actually belonged to and should be considered a part of the Empire, respectively.[68]

Although not really the subject of this thesis, it should at least be mentioned here that surprisingly, Switzerland was also included in many descriptions of Germany. However, English commentators seemed to perceive it as a largely autonomous country, noting for instance, that it had separated from Germany. On title pages, it was usually listed separately from Germany, too.[69] The status of Switzerland appeared to be considered as somewhat unclear, especially as the city of Constance lay within the boundaries of Switzerland, but belonged to the House of Austria.[70]

---

[64] For a detailed discussion see below chapter 2.

[65] Wells, *A treatise of antient and present geography*, p. 61.

[66] *Taylor his travells*, D4.

[67] Brown, *An account of several travels*, pp, 1 27.

[68] See Stollberg-Rilinger, *Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation*, p. 22; Neuhaus, *Das Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit,* p. 26.

[69] Comments on Switzerland's seperation from the emperor were for instance made in Samuel Clarke, *A new description of the World* (London, 1689), pp. 144-145. For an example of Switzerland on title pages see Gilbert Burnets *Some letters.* Peter Heylyn on the other hand, did not include Switzerland into his description of Germany.

[70] Meritons, *A geographical description of the world*, p. 70; Clarke, *A new description of the World*, p. 144.

Seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen, interested in the Empire of Germany, could draw on several publications for an overview of Germany's outer and inner borders and its major territories. Although these geographical descriptions were sometimes superficial, simplified and uncertain, they were rarely absolutely wrong. Despite the variety of territories and the differences between these, sometimes perceived by commentators, the Empire of Germany was nevertheless described as *a* country. One aspect that certainly contributed to and influenced the English understanding of the Empire in terms of geography, but also in several other ways, was the country's history, which was not the history of the individual territories but of Germany/the Empire. Many contemporaries made at least some kind of comments on how it had become what it was, and once more it was the knowledge about ancient Germania, which played an important role in the English understanding of it. The country's historical and ethnic origins were often traced back to the Germanic tribes, which had fought and resisted the Romans and many contemporary Englishmen writing about Germany drew a direct line between the ancient Germanic territories and Germany of their own time. "Germany, Germania" Edmund Bohun wrote, is "the Mother of those Nations which in the fall of the Roman Empire, Conquered all the rest."[71] Its inhabitants "were great Warriers, and the invincible Enemy of the Roman Empire, which never could subdue them, but on the contrary, they at last destroyed that vast Empire".[72] Even though the ancient Roman Empire was 'destroyed', in part, it also laid the foundation for the German Empire. Especially when it came to political, constitutional and ideological origins of Germany, English contemporaries focussed less on the Germanic history and character of the country and much more on the imperial. Although the word 'Roman' was used rarely in connection with the country's name itself, in terms of its form of government, Germany was often placed within the tradition of the ancient Empire and emperors. Many English commentators saw the German Empire and its head as direct descendants of, or at least derived from, the ancient Roman Empire, and considered Germany the country "in which at this day the Roman Empire has its Establishment"[73] and at least one contemporary observer called it the "Daughter of Imperial Rome."[74] Those dictionaries and surveys, which outlined the history of the country, usually made some kind of reference to ancient times, and at least two authors started their accounts of the Empire of Germany, its state, government, and affairs with an overview of

---

[71] Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*, unpaginated, entry Germany.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Clarke, *A new description of the World*, p. 51.
[74] John Dennis, *Britannia triumphans: or the Empire sav'd, and Europe deliver'd. By the success of her Majesty's forces under the wise and heroick conduct of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. A poem* (London, 1704), pp. 9, 17.

the Roman Empire, thereby drawing a direct line from the ancient Roman to the German Empire.[75] Other commentators did not go that far back in their accounts, but began with the reign of Charlemagne and Otto I, respectively, whom they recognised as founders of the German Empire.[76]

1.4
Describing and defining Germany – Political institutions and their power

Regardless of whether English contemporaries traced the origins of the German Empire back to the ancient Romans, the Carolingian Empire or Otto I, many of them showed some basic or even a good knowledge about the political institutions of Germany, when describing and explaining to their readers, who the different authorities were and how these interacted in governmental processes. Most of them also agreed that, over the centuries, the Empire had decreased in power as well as in territory, now being "but a mere shadow of that mighty State"[77], "in reality, no more than a commonwealth"[78] and that "by rule of proportion, no parallel can be made 'twixt the Roman Empire pass'd and the present, nor more than 'twixt an Eagle and a Wren".[79] Englishmen knew that on the imperial level, the government of the Empire was a composition of different authorities, and that it was "neither Absolutely Monarchical nor Aristocratical, but a mean between them both"[80]. They were also well aware of the existence of territorial sovereignty. As Patrick Gordon noted in 1693, "This great body comprehends above three hundred Sovereignties."[81] Like Gordon, other Englishmen referred to Germany/the Empire as a body, too, when commenting on its internal division or patchwork character. Similarly, individual principalities such as Bavaria, Saxony or the bishopric of Mainz were referred to as countries, allowing for and emphasising their

---

[75] See for example Howell, *A Discourse of the empire*; Savage, *The ancient and present state*; John Savage, *A compleat history of Germany, comprehending the lives and reigns of all the Emperors, from its origin to this time* (London, 1702).

[76] See for example, Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government*, p. 5. John Savage, although giving a summery of ancient Roman times, considered Charles the Great as the founder of the German Empire. Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 4.

[77] *Europae modernae speculum* (London, 1665), p. 182.

[78] Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government,* p. 3. The Empire's decrease in power as well as territory was for instance also outlined in Pufendorf's *The present state of Germany*, pp. 24-25.

[79] Howell, *A Discourse of the empire of Germany*, p. 51.

[80] Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 29.

[81] Patrick Gordon, *Geography anatomized: or, a compleat geographical grammar* (London, 1693) p. 125.

sovereignty.[82] Although "all, or the most of them are homagers to one head, stil'd the Emperor of Germany",[83] the position of the emperor was usually regarded as much weaker than that of his ancient and medieval predecessors. One reason for this was, according to English commentators, to be found in the political system of the Empire itself. Germany, explained John Seller in *A new system of geography*, "hath one General Governor called the Emperor, a name derived from the Ancient Roman Emperor, but retains very little of that power; for most of the other Princes are absolute in their Respective Dominions, whence this mighty Body, by Reason of Various Interests and Differences, becomes nothing so formidable as it would be, if firmly united under one Sovereign Monarch".[84] A similar view was expressed in a translation from the late seventeenth century, which summarised and quickly assessed the Empire's role in Europe and in the wars against the Turks. The conclusion it drew reminds of Pufendorf's wording, when it "compar'd *Germany* to a Great Monster; with many Heads and Tails, which having a desire to break through a certain quick-set Fence or Hedge, and each particular Head making Way where it cou'd best among the less entangl'd Branches, were all caught in so many different Noozes, by the Interposition of strong Trees, and so the Monster was forc'd to retire with Shame and Loss."[85] At the beginning of the Nine Years War, an English commentator likewise noted that "the Empire's … divers Members, who have each their Sovereign and their different Interests" made it difficult for them to act quickly and coordinated "as a long time is required, and divers Springs must play, to set so great a Machine going; and frequently before the resolution of it be taken."[86] Thus, the existence of several authorities and consequently of different interests colliding in imperial assemblies, diminished the strength of the Empire as a political body in general and the power of the emperor in particular, and thus weakened the country's ability to effectively and successfully wage war.

In the eyes of English commentators, the emperor could actually do only few things without the consent of the electors or the imperial Diet, respectively. Amongst his rights were those to grant privileges, to award titles and dignities and to bestow vacant or confiscated

---

[82] Apart from the examples for the usage of the word 'body' provided later in this chapter, it can for example found in Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 48.

[83] Gordon, *Geography anatomized* (1693), p. 125.

[84] Seller, *A new system of geography*, p. 44. Similar views are expressed in Vassor, *An account of the present state and government*, pp. 45-46.

[85] *The sixth volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy who lived five and forty years undiscover'd at Paris* (London, 1694), p. 204.

[86] *The means to free Europe from the French usurpation and the advantages which the union of the Christian princes has produced, to preserve it from the power of an anti-Christian prince* (London, 1689), p. 18.

territories on a person of his choice.[87] The emperor also called, prorogued, and dissolved the Diets and he confirmed treaties and alliances with foreign countries.[88] "As for matters of higher Importance",[89] however, his power was much more limited as he could not levy new taxes, declare war or make peace in the name of the Empire, change the established religion, make new laws or alter existing ones, or place the imperial ban on or otherwise punish German princes.[90] For all this he usually needed the consent of the Diet. What illustrated the emperors limited power and dependence on the German estates best though, was the fact that the imperial crown was not hereditary but elective. This clearly emphasised the authority of the German princes, who not only had the power to elect, but also to depose the emperor, and whose titles, in contrast to the imperial, were hereditary. To many seventeenth century Englishmen this aspect of the Empire's constitution was clearly remarkable and worth commenting on.[91] When describing the different political institutions of the Empire, James Howell even went so far to explain that it was the electoral college "whose Creature the Emperour may be sayed to be, for tis their breath that makes him".[92]

However, according to English commentators, this restriction of the imperial power did not necessarily weaken the position of the emperor. It also had some advantages, which were, for instance, highlighted by pamphleteers who tried to defend the Revolution of 1688-89 in the so-called allegiance controversy, the English debate about the question whether parliament had the right to turn against the arbitrary rule of a monarch they had formerly sworn allegiance to.[93] In order to vindicate the proceedings against James II, pamphlets published in the context of the controversy often looked to other countries' past and present for comparison and analogies. Thereby the institution of the Holy Roman Emperor served as an example of how societies and their political elites had put restrictions on their monarchs to prevent them from abusing their power. The limitations posed on the emperor's rights were thus seen as a good and effective means to prevent absolute and arbitrary rule, at least on the imperial level.[94] Moreover, the example and history of the Empire also proved that

---

[87] Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government,* p. 21; [Pufendorf], *The present state of Germany*, pp. 31-32.

[88] Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 34.

[89] Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government,* p. 21.

[90] Ibid*.,* pp. 21-22, Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 35.

[91] So for example in Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 30; Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, pp. 44, 47; Clarke, *A new description of the World*, p. 142; Clarke*, A brief and yet exact and accurate description*, p. 4.

[92] Howell, *A Discourse of the empire of Germany*, p. 17.

[93] On the allegiance controversy and its pamphlets see for instance Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument', *BRH*, 83 (1980), pp. 473-564. For references to examples from the German/imperial past used against the doctrine of passive obedience see for instance Thomas Harrison, *Political aphorisms, or, The true maxims of government displayed* (London, 1690), pp. 21-22.

[94] Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 36.

monarchical power and dignity were neither always based on the divine rights of kings, nor necessarily hereditary, but could also be transferred to a person by election.[95]

Whilst the power of the imperial head was limited and controlled in various ways, the electors and other German territorial rulers in the Empire often had unlimited authority, and on a territorial level, several of them were considered as more powerful and more absolute than the emperor could ever be. William Carr, for instance, noted that the Electors of Trier and Mainz were absolute rulers,[96] and Gilbert Burnet reckoned the Elector Palatine to be the most absolute in the whole of Germany, as he could levy taxes as much as he wanted, without being restricted by any form of government.[97] Especially to English travellers, the influence and power of German territorial rulers were quite visible. Many German princes, particularly those without large troops, displayed their power in new palaces, cultural sites and in architecture in general.[98] These were also the places Englishmen usually visited and described when travelling the Empire. It was not only the imperial court in Vienna that was of interest for English contemporaries, although it was probably one of the highlights in terms of pomp and glory.[99] The court of the King and Queen of Bohemia in Prague was according to John Taylor, who had spent several days there in 1620, "magnificent and sumptuous in building, strongly situated and fortified by nature and art, being situated on a high hill, so that at pleasure it keepes the towne in comand, and it is much more spacious in roomes for receipt in gardens, and orchards, then the Towre of London."[100] This description reflects the general enthusiasm about Frederick and Elizabeth, before and during the early years of the Thirty Years War.[101] Whilst Taylor was fascinated by the court in Prague, he was much less impressed by the court of the Duke of Brunswick in Wolfenbüttel, where the guards would not admit him. This impolite treatment made him "call to remembrence the frequent, and dayly Egresse and Regresse, that all people and nations have to his Maiesty royal Court of great Britataine, where none that are of any good fashion or aspect are debar'd entrance:

---

[95] *[A Brief] vindication of the Parliamentary proceedings against the late King James II proving that the right of succession to government (by nearness of blood) is not by the law of God or nature, but by politick institution* (London, 1689); Pierre Allix, *Reflections upon the opinions of some modern divines conerning the nature of government in general, and that of England in particular* (London, 1689).

[96] Carr, *Remarks of the government*, pp. 124-125.

[97] Burnet, *Some letters*, p. 281. As Burnet pointed out, this absolute power was not necessarily something negative, as the elector Charles Lewis had used the money to rebuild his territory after the French attacks of the 1680s.

[98] See T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of power and the power of culture: old regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002), p. 59, and chapter 2 in general.

[99] Brown, *An account of several travels,* pp. 100-101; William Bromley, *Several years travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces. Performed by a gentleman* (London, 1702), p. 226.

[100] *Taylor his travells*, C4-D.

[101] See below chapter 2.

when those inferiour Princes houses are guarded with hungry Halberdiers … so that their palaces are more like prisons, then the free & noble courts of comanding potentates."[102] John Taylor's description clearly shows that princely courts in Germany were of interest for Englishmen and could also leave some impression on the visitor. On the other hand, it also illustrates the degree to which personal perception and experience could shape these descriptions.

In addition to evaluations of, and remarks on, the political strength of the Empire, and the power as well as influence of the emperor and electors, English commentators also provided information related to the imperial crown. John Savage, for instance, gave a detailed description of the imperial election and coronation ceremony, promising that it contained "several Curiosities that will not be unpleasant to the Reader". Elsewhere, the interested English readers got to know how the imperial crown was first settled on the House of Habsburg and that the emperors now usually came from this house. They also learned that according to the imperial laws, only a German could become emperor and that he did not necessarily need to be a catholic; even though it was seen as rather unlikely that the six catholic electors would elect a protestant and that the pope would then confirm this election.[103]

Despite the limitations of his actual political power in the Empire, the emperor still embodied at least some symbolic greatness and was considered a key figure on the international stage, for instance with regard to the threats the Ottoman Empire posed to Christendom,[104] and, in a negative way, as one of the main aggressors in the Thirty Years War.[105] Contemporary Englishmen referred to him as "the first Prince in Christendom, in Rank and Order",[106] or as so many sovereign (German) princes were united under him "the King of Kings".[107] Of course, descriptions like these ought to be understood as referring to the office rather than to the person itself, which may also be illustrated by the example of another European monarch of this period. As King of France, Louis XIV carried the title 'his most Christian majesty' and was called so by many Englishmen. At the same time he was heavily attacked for persecuting Protestants in his realm and repeatedly accused of popish and tyrannical designs in English print discourse of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth

---

[102] *Taylor his travells.* C.
[103] Howell, *A Discourse of the empire of Germany*, p. 81, *Europae modernae speculum*, p. 182.
[104] For a more detailed discussion of this role see below chapter 3.
[105] Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government,* p. 32. For the emperor's role in the Thirty Years War see below chapter 2.
[106] Bohun, *A geographical dictionary*, entry Germany.
[107] Stafford, *A geographicall and anthologicall description,* p. 12, and also Blome, *A geographical description of the four parts of the world,* p. 74.

century.[108] Thus, titles or descriptions did not necessarily reflect the actual contemporary view of the man wearing the imperial crown. Moreover, as will be shown in the course of this thesis, the general attitude towards the emperor, expressed in English print discourse was usually open to change, depending on England's relation with the imperial court as well as on the emperor's actions.[109] In dictionaries, general description, accounts and histories of the German Empire, however, the tone used by commentators when speaking of the Holy Roman Emperor, was usually respectful and sometimes almost sympathetic for his limited power.[110] As far as Germany was concerned, the English understanding and definition of the term 'empire' was similar to the one mentioned earlier in this chapter. Its' main characteristic was not such much the (emperor's) exercise of actual political power or control over a territory and people, but much more the claim to universal authority on the basis of history and tradition. Here too, 'empire' was very much associated with the person and office of the emperor, which may be underlined by the fact that those troops fighting on behalf of the emperor, not only against foreign enemies but also against other German Princes or states, were called imperial forces and imperialists, respectively.[111] The emperor symbolically embodied and united the Empire, but he did not rule it, nor was he the sole authority in the Empire. When compared to the ancient Roman Empire, early modern Germany was usually seen as much weaker, with its fractured political structure often hindering concerted action within as well as outside the German territories; a fact that was, for instance, also addressed by Englishmen reflecting on the Anglo-imperial alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession.[112]

---

[108] For contemporary English views and descriptions of the French king see below chapter 3 and the literature and sources referred to in the footnotes.

[109] See below the chapters on the Thirty Years War and on the two wars of the Grand Alliance.

[110] For different English descriptions and images of the emperor in the long seventeenth century see below chapters 2.2.3, 3.2.3, 3.3.2.

[111] See e.g. Edward Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 120.

[112] See below.

1.5
Describing and defining Germany – Territorial and religious diversity

Thus, the Empire's patchwork character and the existence of various authorities and spheres of influence, geographically and politically shaped the face of the country, and several English contemporaries also perceived or experienced some of the immediate consequences of this. One anonymous commentators, for instance, described Germany as "a great but heterogeneous Body, made up of divers Religions, divers Laws and Customs, and different Constitutions, under many Princes"[113]. Likewise, Richard Blome explained, "There are so many inferiour (yet free) Princes in this country, that in a dayes journey, a Traveller may meet with many Laws and as many sorts of coyne, every Prince making use of his own Laws and coynes".[114] English travellers indeed noticed and met with several differences in law, money, and other areas, sometimes making their journeys complicated or even unpleasant. As for local currencies, for instance, the English clergyman Theophilus Dorrington noted, "the money of Colen would go no further than in the Jurisdiction of the Duke of Neubourg, and the money of Colen and Neubourg would not afford us the value we took it at in the Country of the Electour of Brandenburg".[115] Most Englishmen were not familiar with the individual laws and customs of the Empire and its territories, only a minority was able to understand or speak German, and as foreigners they were likely to attract people's attention. When travelling through Germany in 1675, the Quaker leader William Penn and his companions had a rather negative encounter with territorial law, which Penn later recounted in his travel account. As the men were wearing a foreign habit, they attracted the attention of Count Falkenstein-Bruch and were stopped for questioning. Not knowing the customs of the country, the men did not take off their hats when addressing the count, which caused some argument. When Penn and his friends explained that they also wore their hats when addressing their own king and would not to take it off for anyone but God, the count called them Quakers and expelled them from his territory.[116]

Penn might not have been aware of the fact that different territories had different laws, and that these laws usually depended on the territorial ruler, in this case on Count

---

[113] *Europae modernae speculum,* p. 81.

[114] Blome, *A geographical description,* pp. 73-74. Similar reflections are made in Clarke, *A briefe and yet exact and accurate description* p. 6.

[115] Theophilus Dorrington, *Observations concerning the presnt state of religion in the Romish church...made in a journey through some provinces of Germany* (London, 1699), p. 334. Local currencies are also mentioned in Clarke, *A briefe and yet exact and accurate description* p. 6.

[116] William Penn, *An account of W. Penn's travails in Holland and Germany, anno MDCLXXVII* (London, 1694), pp. 112-115.

Falkenstein-Bruch. In a letter to the Count he later wrote: "by what law are we judged, yea, thus punished before heard? Is this the Law of Nations, or Nature, or Germany, or of Christianity? … Well, but we are Quakers: Quakers! What's that for a Name? Is there a Law of the Empire against that Name? No".[117] There was indeed no law of the Empire prohibiting or persecuting Quakers, but the reason for this was not a general toleration of all kinds of religious beliefs in the Empire but simply the fact that such a thing as an imperial law concerning religion did not exist.

Apart from this negative experience in the territory of Count Falkenstein-Bruch, Penn had met several German people during his travels, who were, as he later told his readership, not only kind but also interested and well-disposed towards his religious beliefs and obviously searching for answers and spiritual guidance.[118] "I must tell you," Penn wrote, "that there is a Breathing, Hungering, Seeking People, solitarily scattered up and down this great Land of *Germany* where the Lord hath sent me". Hence, in Germany the group of Quakers "had many blessed Opportunities amongst them, wherein our Hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply sensible of the Love of God towards them, and of the great openness and tenderness of Spirit in them to receive the Testimony of Light and Life through us".[119] All in all, the image Penn conveyed was more positive than negative, but as most of Penn's account was concerned with his faith and his missionary work in Germany, it contained only little general information about Germany, its people or customs. Paderborn for instance was describes as "a dark Popish Town"[120] and on their way to Kassel the group of travellers was "wearied with the foulness of the Ways and Weather."[121] The image of the people and country of Germany often remained superficial, not going beyond some general observations and comments. Penn's perception of the places and people he visited during his travels, and the comments he made, were clearly influenced by his own religious beliefs and sometimes he seemed to look with incomprehension at the way the German people practiced their religion. He, for instance, criticised the behaviour of a group of people they had been travelling with from Herford to Wesel, and who, as Penn recounted, "were often, if not always Vain, yea, in their religious Songs, which is the fashion of that Country especially by Night, they call them *Luther*'s *Songs*." Due to this apparently inconsiderate behaviour, Penn and his companions "were forced often to reprove and testify against their Hypocrisy, to be full of all vain and often prophane Talk one hour, and sing Psalms to God the next." In the

---

[117] Ibid., pp. 131-132.
[118] Ibid., pp. 41-42, 47, 51.
[119] Ibid., p. 80.
[120] Ibid., pp. 79-80.
[121] Ibid., p. 52.

end, however, the Quakers and their Lutheran fellow travellers had much to talk about and engaged in "many Discourses … of Truth, and the Religion and Worship that was truly Christian".[122]

The religious situation in Germany was clearly something many English commentators mentioned when writing about the country. They were quite aware that here the Reformation had begun and that "the Princes of Germany … were the first that stood up for the Defence of Religion".[123] They were also aware of the existence and the practice of the different denominations in Germany and of the fact that these were either *pari passu* or at least tolerated. "The Religion of this Country", Peter Heylin wrote, "is not easie to name, considering so many are here allowed".[124] Geographical descriptions and surveys usually contained a paragraph or at least a few sentences on religion, and (travel) accounts, histories, and discourses mentioned and commented on it, too. English authors usually explained to their readers, that Lutheranism, Catholicism, and Calvinism were the three major religions practiced in the Empire and some added, that Jews also lived amongst the Christians.[125] Others noted that Lutherans and Calvinists, although both Protestant, were not identical and that they obviously had some disputes as "there is as great a Fend and Difference, as between the *Romanists,* and either of them."[126] Most travel account writers and authors of geographical dictionaries actually seemed to prefer to draw a distinction between the two branches of the reformed denominations in Germany, and to speak of Lutherans and Lutheranism rather than to use the more general terms Protestants and Protestantism.

On the other hand, as will be outlined below, in English political print discourse, the Protestant German territories were considered as members of the Protestant international. Here it did not matter whether these were Lutheran, such as Saxony, or Calvinist such as the Palatinate. They were all part of a European pan-Protestantism, regardless of the differences in their religious practices and beliefs.[127] Those English observers, however, who had either been to the Empire or dealt with the religious settlement and map of Germany, often clearly differentiated between the two main Protestant doctrines found in Germany. Lutheranism, it seems, was thereby watched with some suspicion and appeared to be a rather exotic or even

---

[122] Ibid., pp. 217-218.
[123] [Daniel Defoe], *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd: From the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (London, 1701), p. 3.
[124] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 40.
[125] Patrick Gordon, *Geography anatomiz'd, or, The compleat geographical grammar* (London, 1699), p. 123; Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 40; Clarke, *A briefe and yet exact and accurate description,* pp. 30, 33.
[126] *Europae modernae speculum* (London, 1666), p. 184.
[127] Defoe for instance noted that he "Rank[ed] all the Powers of Europe into two classes only, *Papist* and *Protestant*". *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd,* p. 17, italics in the original.

peculiar version of Protestantism, which in practice had but little to do with English Protestantism.

English travellers and authors not only wrote about the confessional settlement in Germany, religion was also a topic that allowed contemporary Englishmen to draw comparisons between Germany and their own country, and to reflect both on the situation abroad and at home. Commentators thereby noted and praised the degree of religious toleration and the peaceful co-existence of different confessions in Germany.[128] As has been recently shown, English travellers reported about several German towns and cities where the members of the Catholic and reformed churches lived together peacefully, and they also commented on the practice of church-sharing, which could for instance be found in churches in Spire and Mannheim.[129] The fact that Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinist rotationally used the same church for their mass and worshipping, and thereby treated each other respectfully was certainly noteworthy, if not admirable.[130] When reflecting on religious issues in individual German cities or territories, some observers also underlined the positive aspects of Germany's religious settlement, achieved after decades of conflict and this also gave them reason to think about the religious situation in England. During his stay in Germany, William Carr had observed that the people there managed to get along with and respect each other, regardless of their beliefs. "The town of Lambspring", he explained,

> "is Lutheran though under the Lord Abbot and his chapter, who constantly choose Lutheran Magistrats and Officers for the civill administration, and live together in that love and unitie, that as yet there hath never been the least debate happened amongst them; and indeed this harmoney is now to be observed in most parts of Germany where different religions are professed."[131]

Not only did Carr emphasise the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of Lutherans and Catholics, he also took this as an opportunity to reflect on the effects and consequences religious conflicts and persecution had on his own country. With some regret he realised, that many good Englishmen, after having faced religious intolerance, had left England and moved

---

[128] John Ray, *Observations topographical, moral, & physiological made in a journey through part of the low-countries, Germany, Italy, and France* (London, 1673), pp. 75, 79, 83.

[129] See Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England,* pp. 25-28.

[130] Remarks about the peaceful coexistence of, and churches shared by, Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists can for instance be found in Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 56; Gordon, *Geography anatomiz'd* (1699) p. 123; Maximillian Misson, *A new voyage to Italy* (London, 1695), pp. 60-61; Alexander Doriack Chancel, *A new Journey over Europe* (London, 1714) p. 17; Abel Boyer, *A geographical and historical description of those parts of Europe which are the seat of war* (London, 1696), pp. 91-92; Gilbert Burnet, *Dr. Burnet's travels, or Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, France, and Germany* (London, 1687), p. 24.

[131] *Carr, Remarks of the government,* p. 144.

to cities in Germany and other European countries. "The loss that both King and Kingdom suffered thereby" made him conclude "I could heartily wish that Papists and Protestants could live as lovingly together in England, as they doe in Holland, Germany and other Countries".[132]

1.6
The image of the German people – Tacitus and beyond

Having seen how detailed and also precise Englishmen could be in their descriptions of the Empire's political, geographical, and religious structures, it is surprising that this was often not the case when it came to the (common) people of the country and their customs. Whilst some accounts said nothing about the inhabitants of the Empire at all, other just mentioned them in passing. Of course here too, Englishmen writing a general geographic dictionary or account often had limited space and could therefore not go into much detail. Additionally, how, and in what detail, the German people were depicted also depended on whether the description was based on earlier and other accounts, or on the author's personal experience. Moreover, for those writing about Germany without ever having been there, getting detailed information about the population was probably not as easy as, for instance, getting accounts on political or religious aspects. However, even those commentators who had travelled the country in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century often gave only short descriptions of the German people and said relatively little about their experience and encounters with, and perception of, the local population. It seems as if only few Englishmen actually followed Francis Bacon's advice to mingle with the native population.[133] If they did, they obviously did not find it necessary to include details about their encounters in their accounts, but rather focussed on describing important places and buildings. The people they spoke with were usually either other travellers, people who had shown them around important or famous places or whom they have met on official occasions.[134]

Travel accounts should of course not only inform, but also entertain the English readership back at home. Some authors therefore recounted strange stories and curiosities they had either experienced themselves or heard about while travelling the Empire. One

---

[132] Ibid., pp. 145-146.
[133] Bacon, *The essayes or counsels, ciuill and morall*, p. 103.
[134] See Bromley, *Several years travels*, pp. 222, 232; Brown, *An account of several travels,* pp. 43-45.

commentator retold two stories he had come across in Hamburg and Halle, respectively. The first had, as he explicitly mentioned, occurred during times of popery, and was about a young pretty nun. She had been courted by her lover and his dog and soon gave birth to a creature half man, half dog. For this she was immured and starved to death.[135] Whilst this story certainly uttered some implicit criticism towards the wrong and depraved behaviour, but also towards cruel punishment within the Catholic Church, the second story was seen as rather miraculous. A woman, the commentator reported, was found alive in her grave after she had been buried for three days. She was brought home to her husband were she continued her life with him and gave birth to and brought up three children.[136] Both stories drew a somewhat odd picture of the local population; even more so as the travel account in general contained only little further information about the German people. Some English readers may well have wondered about the strange people living in Germany and about the strange things occurring there. Another story, English readers repeatedly came across, and which presumably also contributed to a somewhat odd picture, was the legend of the Mouse Tower already mentioned earlier in this chapter. Carr, Brown, and Heylyn, for instance, all mentioned the story in their accounts and descriptions. Surprisingly neither them nor any other author writing about the "barbarous act"[137] of the Bishop of Mainz seemed to have taken this as an opportunity for any explicit criticism towards Catholicism or Catholic clergymen. The story was however used as an example in a book on "Gods judgements", representing "the admirable justice of God against all notorious sinners", which went through several English editions in the seventeenth century.[138] Based on a French original of the late sixteenth century, the tract not only recounted the story of Hatto, it also pointed to the unrighteous behaviour of the churchman. The archbishop, now referred to as a "bloudy arch-butcher," had not "as he might and ought" fed the poor but had instead "rid their lives, as he ought not, but did" and had moreover "compared poore Christian soules to brutish and base creatures." For this, he was punished by God, who "quit this proud Prelate with just revenge for his outrage committed against them."[139]

Whilst the local population seemed of little interest to travel writers, German territorial princes and their courts received more attention. Samuel Clarke, for instance, spent

---

[135] Bromley, *Several years travels*, p. 221.
[136] Ibid. p. 223.
[137] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 56.
[138] Thomas Beard, *The theatre of Gods iudgements reuised, and augmented* (London, 1631), 3rd edition. The book was a translation of Jean de Chassanion *Histoires memorables des grans et merveilleux jugemens et punitions de Dieu,* and was first published in England in 1597. It went trough several editions in the first half of the seventeenth century.
[139] Ibid., p. 274.

almost his entire *Description of the great Empire of Germany* talking about the Count Palatinate, the elector of Saxony, and other princes, but did not say anything about the common people.[140] Here, the English reader learned about the Princes' households, schedules, daily routines and other things related to the princely courts. The Count Palatine, for example, the Clarke reported, got up at five every morning, went to the chapel from six until seven, spend the rest of the morning first in the chancery and then dining with his family, dedicated his afternoon to the reading and answering of petitions, and the evening and night again to his family, dining and praying. For his leisure the prince listened to music and when he found the time went hunting or horse riding.[141] Descriptions like this certainly provided an insight into the organisation and etiquette of a princely court in the Empire, but it was of course not representative for the majority of the inhabitants of Germany.

As far as appearance, character and habits of *the* Germans were concerned, the majority of English commentators referred to a very much identical set of customs and features, alleged to be German. As these appeared in various writings from different genres throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, English readers interested in the Empire, repeatedly came across the same or at least very similar images of the German people. This continuous repetition helped to shape and consolidate images and over the course of time, resulted in a stock of stereotypes of 'the German', with some of them still existing today. In the contemporary English understanding, German initially meant being an inhabitant of any of the over three hundred territories within the Holy Roman Empire. Especially in geographical descriptions and shorter accounts, authors did not differentiate between people living in different principalities or parts of the Empire. Descriptions of the population were usually not longer than two or three sentences and contained no information or details about ethnic diversity but merely referred to 'the people' or 'the inhabitants' of this country. Even where commentators talked about the inhabitants of a particular territory, descriptions did not really go beyond the usual features ascribed to Germans in general. Dictionaries and geographical surveys, in particular, used the same or similar adjectives or attributes to describe the people living within the borders of the Empire, usually focussing on physical appearance, character traits, and resulting from these, their skills. The typical (male) German was, according to the common contemporary view, tall, of a strong constitution, and warlike; descriptions already contained in Tacitus' *Germania*. This made

---

[140] Clarke, *A brief and yet exact, and accurate description.*
[141] Ibid. pp. 10-11.

him a good soldier, even more so as he was also honest and loyal.[142] Views like these were further emphasised and supported through descriptions of German princes and military men. One commentator explained that the Elector of Saxony was "of a Warlike disposition, which makes his Subjects that way inclined" and that he "never saw stronger, nor better look'd Men, than those of the Garrison in this Town."[143] Edward Brown recounted the story of Jan Zizca, a Bohemian general during the Hussite Wars, who had lost one of his eyes in battle, was soon blind on both but still continued fighting in wars and who "wished his Friends to make a Drum of his skin, which should serve to fright away their Enemies."[144] Apart from this anecdote about Zizca, Brown's description of the people of Bohemia did not differ much from what was generally assumed about the inhabitants of the Empire; they, too were "strong, stout, and hardy People [who] make good soldiers".[145] Peter Heylyn, however, also remarked that, if not promptly paid, a German soldier would not hesitate to change sides even in the midst of a battle.[146]

Whilst Germans were considered good and strong warriors by many English commentators, they were certainly less associated with the fine arts or passion, and generally seen as "little addicted to Venus".[147] Nevertheless, they were described as deft people, who had discovered gunpowder, invented the printing press and other mechanical things.[148] According to most English descriptions, the Germans were sincere, honest, industrious, ingenious, laborious, people who duly followed orders, and thus made good soldiers.[149] Here, at least to a certain degree, the idea of the so-called German virtues and the stereotypical idea of German efficiency, still around today, seem already recognisable.

All in all, the image of the German people was more positive than negative, had there not been "their imperfect custom of drinking",[150] which applied to the male and female part of the population alike.[151] The Germans might have been "little addicted to Venus, but very

---

[142] See for instance Meriton, *A geographical description of the world*, p. 65; Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 37; Blome, *A geographical description,* p. 73; Seller, *A new system of geography*, p. 44; *Europae modernae speculum*, p. 185.
[143] Bromley, *Several years travels*, p. 218, wrong page number, should read 243. 'This town' refers to Dresden.
[144] Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 120.
[145] Ibid., p. 128.
[146] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, pp. 37-38. This indeed happened quite frequently, especially during the Thirty Years War.
[147] Clarke, *A geographical description,* p. 82; Heylin, *Cosmographie*, p. 37.
[148] Gordon*, Geography anatomiz'd* (1704), p. 127.
[149] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 37; Speed, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the world* (London, 1631); Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 61.
[150] Meriton, *A geographical description of the world*, p. 65.
[151] Savage, *The ancient and present state*, p. 20; Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, pp. 37-38; Porter, *A compendious view*, p. 37; Stafford, *A geographicall and anthologicall description*, p. 11. For similar English stereotypes and comments about the drinking habits of the French see Harris, 'Francophobia', pp. 41-42.

much to Bacchus",[152] as the phrase continued. This and similar views were expressed by the majority of Englishmen commenting on the inhabitants of Germany and it was - once again - an image heavily influenced by Tacitus' description of the ancient Germans, where Englishmen got to know the following:

> "Their drink is a liquor made of barley and corne, corrupted into the likeness of wine. But those which dwell neere the bank of Rhene, buie wine: their meats are simple; wilde Apples; fresh venison; or curds or cream: they drive away hunger without any solemne service or dainties: but against thirst they use not the like temperance: if thou wilt please their humour in drunkenness, in giving them what they aske: they will be as easily overcome with vices as arms."[153]

This description of the eating and drinking habits of the ancient Germans from the first English translation of *The Germania*, remained the same for a century until the publication of the new translation in 1698. In contrast to the first the latter departed a bit more from the original Latin text, was shorter and focused less on the food and more on the drinking:

> "Ale is their Drink: Those who are next the Sea-Coast traffick for wine. Their Diet is simple, wild Apples, fresh Meat, or Curds; without preperations, without Dainties they expect Hunger. Against Thirst there is not the same Temperance; if though wilt indulge their Drunkenness by furnishing them with as much as they covet, they'll as easily be conquer'd by Wine as Arms."[154]

In his account from 1620, John Taylor gave a similar description of the Diet in Germany, which consisted of cabbage, boiled apples, and different kinds of fish, usually over salted. When asking his hosts "why they did salt their meate so unreasonably, their answer was, that their beer could not be consumed, except their meat were salted extraordinarily."[155] In Blome's *Geographical description*, the interested reader could learn that in Higher Saxony philosophers and common people enjoyed beer so much that the Duke of Saxony yearly gained 20000 pounds sterling through beer tax.[156] Edward Brown told his reader about an "odd custom" he came across in St. Goar in the Rhine region, where strangers had to put their necks in a collar of brass, then being asked by the people "Whether they will be sprinkled with water, or drink wine? and if they choose the latter, they give an entertainment of wine

---

[152] Clarke, *A geographical description*, p. 82.
[153] *The annales of Cornelius Tacitus. The description of Germanie*, p. 264.
[154] *The annals and history of Cornelius Tacitus his account of the antient Germans*, p. 63.
[155] Taylor, *Taylor his trauels*, D3.
[156] Blome, *A geographical description*, third part of the book p. 71. A similar remark was made in Clarke, *A brief and yet exact and accurate description*, p. 14.

to the Company."[157] Not all contemporary English travellers explicitly mentioned or commented on the German drinking habits, but alcohol was often a present theme in their accounts, as they also reported on other things somehow related to it. One traveller praised the beer in Bavaria[158], others repeatedly mentioned the wine grown in several regions, and reported that some of the largest wine tuns in the world were to be found in Germany.[159] As Frauke Geyken has emphasised, descriptions of German drinking habits, and the image of the Germans as drunkards, appeared in English print media only after the rediscovery of Tacitus' account, and are therefore most presumably very often borrowed from *The Germania* rather than based on the personal experiences of Englishmen.[160] Travel writers did little to revise this image.

Although English commentators drew on Tacitus as a reliable source in various contexts, they sometimes also departed from his description and had to revise their views According to the Roman annalist, the Germans were less able to stand physical work and travails.[161] Seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen, however, reported quite the opposite, describing the inhabitants of Germany as laborious and especially the poorer people as "great pain-takers".[162] After he had travelled through several parts of Germany, Edward Brown, had, not without some amazement, to observe that obviously some changes had occurred, both in the country and in the people's customs:

> "While I read in Tacitus about the old barbarous and rude State of Germany, how poorly they lived, that they had their Houses at a distance from one another; how ignorant they were in Arts; and it is doubted whether their Country afforded Mines; that they lived by exchange of things; making little or no use of mony, and the like, I may justly wonder to behold the present advance and improvement in all commendable Arts, Learning, Civility, splendid and handsome Cities and Habitations, and the general face of things incredibly altered since those ancient times."[163]

Several decades earlier, Brown's countryman John Speed had already noted that Germany and its people had obviously undergone some changes since the ancient Roman times. "The

---

[157] Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 47.

[158] Bromley, *Several years travels*, p. 224.

[159] Carr, *Remarks of the government*, pp. 133-134; Burnet, *Some letters*, p. 281.

[160] Geyken, *Gentlemen,* p. 13.

[161] Here translations differ slightly, but still seem to imply that the Germans did not like or were not able to stand much physical activity and hard work. Whilst the Latin text reads "laboris atque operum non eadem patientia" the translation in the 1598 edition is "Trauell [travail?] and paine they cannot endure" (p. 259), and in the new translation of 1698 it then says "impatient of Work and Labour" (p.51)

[162] Blome, *A geographical description*, p. 73. Similarly, Heylin wrote "The men of the poorer sort laborious, painfull", *Cosmographie,* p. 37

[163] Brown, *An account of several travels*, pp. 152-153.

Inhabitants" he wrote about the Germans, "have put off their ancient rudenesse as the Countrey her barrennesse. They are as goodly of person as ever, as stout as ever, and farre more civill, then in the time of the *Romanes*. It seems they were then esteemed but an ignorant and simple people."[164] Here once more, the influence of the Tacitan account on English views of contemporary Germany becomes evident, and in some cases it almost seems as if Englishmen expected the country and its people still to be the same as in the time of the Roman historian.

1.7
Germany's changing face – Destruction and prosperity

Several of these images of Germany in general, and the Germans in particular, remained unchanged and can be found in various printed sources of the period. English travellers repeatedly complained or at least commented on inconveniences in terms of transportation and lodging throughout the seventeenth century, and as Jeremy Black has shown, this had not changed much by the eighteenth century either.[165] However, to some degree, images and, even more, perceptions of the wealth and infrastructure in the Empire, as well as in its individual territories, did change in the course of the seventeenth century. This was, at least in part, due to the fact that after the Thirty Years War, the Empire experienced a relatively peaceful period between the middle of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Of course it again saw some fighting during the Nine Years War and during the War of the Spanish Succession, however, both of these wars mainly affected individual principalities or certain regions (mainly in the south and south-west) of the Empire and not the country as a whole. This meant that the other parts of the Empire had some time to recover from the devastation of the Thirty Years War and to rebuild towns and cities. Even in those regions, effected by the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, some positive changes were recognisable.[166] The necessity to re-erect or build new bridges,

---

[164] John Speed, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the world* (London, 1631); similar was noted by Peter Heylin, *Cosmographie,* p. 38.

[165] Jeremy Black, *The British abroad, The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud, 1992, 2003). For examples for travellers' complaints about poor lodging in the seventeenth century see for instance *Taylor his travells,* D3; Brown, *An account of several travels*, p. 112; Dorrington, *Observations concerning the present state of religion*, pp. 299-300.

[166] Gilbert Burnet for instance commented on the re-flourishing of the Palatinate after the French invasions of the 1680's. Burnet, *Some letters*, p. 281.

churches, palaces, and the like also meant that new styles in architecture could be followed and new and improved methods could be applied. Consequently, Englishmen who travelled the country during or shortly after the Thirty Years' War[167] had a somewhat different impression of it than those who visited Germany in the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

William Crowne had been to the continent in 1636, accompanying Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, extraordinary ambassador to the English king, who had been sent to Germany to assess the chances of a peace settlement.[168] By this time, the country was already in its eighteenth year of war.[169] The year before had seen some hope for settling the war, as negotiations between the conflicting German parties had led to the Peace of Prague, ending, at least, the fighting between the imperial forces and Protestant princes of the Empire. However, as France, in alliance with Sweden, declared war on the Spanish Habsburgs the same year, a general peace was not achieved.[170] Fighting continued, most of it taking place on German soil. When Crowne visited Germany between April and December 1636, his journey took him from Duisburg up the Rhine to Mainz, then to Frankfurt, Würzburg, Nuremberg, and Regensburg and from there into Austria and Bohemia to Prague. Part of this travel route led right through those western and southern regions of the Empire, which had been largely affected by the war and were still seeing much fighting and ravaging in 1636. Although Crowne, in contrast to other contemporaries, who used the Thirty Years War as a warning to point out the miseries of civil wars,[171] refrained from such reflections and made only few personal comments on what he saw, his account, published in 1637, provides a vivid picture of the devastating effects, the war had on Germany and its inhabitants. Several of the places Crowne and his companions passed and entered were still besieged. At least twice, Crown recounted, the group of travellers was mistaken with the enemy, and one time they were even shot at.[172] Maybe worse than the degree of military action, of which Crowne actually speaks little, was the degree of destruction caused by the troops and the continuous fighting. He repeatedly reported on poor villages, plundered,

---

[167] At that time, Englishmen did not yet refer to the conflict as the Thirty Years War, but used e.g. the description 'German wars'. See for instance Brown, *An account of several travels;* Ray, *Observations,* p. 95. German contemporaries, too, spoke of *teutsche(r) Krieg(e).* See Schmidt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, p. 11.

[168] For Howards political career and his role as an extraordinary ambassador see Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585–1646),' in *ODNB*, Vol. 28 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 439-447.

[169] For an outline of the course and events of the Thirty Years War see below chapter 2.1.1.

[170] For the peace negotiations, the Peace of Prague and France's reasons for entering the war see Asch, *The Thirty Years War*, chapter 4.

[171] For a detailed discussion of the usage of the Thirty Years War as a warning see below chapter 2.

[172] William Crowne, *A trve relation of all the remarkable places and passages observed in the travels of the right honourable Thomas Lord Howard* (London, 1637), p. 4.

demolished, shot at, and burnt down, and on the people's suffering and dying from diseases and famine. More than once, the author and his companions had to rely on their own provisions for dinner, as there was little or no food left in the smaller places they went to.[173] In Hemau, a village near Regensburg, which had "beene pillaged eight and twenty times in two years and twice in one day" as Crowne reports, "they have there no water but that which they save when it rainth."[174] During the months of Crowne's journey there seemed to have been little improvement of the situation or relief for the people in the regions he and his companions travelled through. On their way back, they took the same route, passing many of the places they had been to before, finding them in the same poor conditions as before. In Mainz "his Excellence went on shore, to see if it were any way inriched since our being here, but alas, we found it as miserable as before, with divers poore people lying on Dunghils almost starved, being scarce able to crawl for to receive his Excellencies almes".[175]

The degree of destruction and suffering caused by the Thirty Years War was highly visible to travellers and in some places still noticeable in later decades, as of course not all regions, towns, and cities had been rebuilt or recovered from it by the second half of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. English travellers commented on this, especially when coming to places where major battles had been fought. Coming to Magdeburg, which had been largely destroyed during the Thirty Years War, Edward Brown in 1677, "could not but observe the ruinous and destructive effects of the late wars in many parts of Germany".[176] At the same time, however, Brown also noticed the recovery the country had made, particularly in terms of population and architecture.[177] His travels through several part of Germany had changed and much improved his opinion about the country. "A true estimation of the Cities and Towns of these days," he concluded, "cannot be duly made from the Accounts and descriptions thereof left an hundred years since or more, for since those times, Buildings have been better modelled and ordered; Fortifications and Out-works more regularly contrived".[178] Other authors noted a clear improvement and progress, too. Although he had probably never been to the country himself, in the article on Germany contained in his *Geographical dictionary* Edmund Bohun noted that, "Germany is become one of the most

---

[173] Ibid., pp. 10, 12.
[174] Ibid., p. 14.
[175] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[176] Brown, *An account of several travels*, pp. 141-142.
[177] Ibid., p. 150, 152.
[178] Ibid., p. 151.

Civilized, cultivated, Learned, Countries in the Word, full of noble and populous Cities, and most flourishing Churches".[179]

That travellers' impressions of Germany had somewhat changed by the end of the seventeenth century may also be illustrated by comparing Crowne's impression and perception of the towns and villages along the Rhine with those of Englishmen who travelled the same route about half a century later. Long before it became an essential part of the Grand Tour, or known and appreciated for its romantic scenery, the Rhine had already been a popular and convenient route to travel through Germany, and was used as such by English travelers throughout the period. Moreover, the region continuously played an important role both in the Thirty Years War and in the wars of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. In the 1620s it had been invaded, occupied, and heavily destroyed by the Spanish and imperial armies. Being situated near the Franco-German border, it was also repeatedly invaded, overrun, and occupied by the French troops and saw some major fighting during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession.

Many travel accounts written and published during the seventeenth and eighteenth century contain descriptions of that region along the Rhine, which Crowne had seen and perceived as being in such a bad condition. Later travellers often still recounted that here some major fighting had been taking place, but the region was now also famous for its good wine. Even Gilbert Burnet, whose views on several places in Germany were not particularly positive, reported on the Rhenish wine, the wealth it brought to the country, and on "a great Number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River".[180]

It would certainly go to far to assume that at the turn from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, images of Germany had completely changed. However, English images and perceptions of Germany and its various territories were certainly not static, but could and also did alter over time. The development of the news market and the subsequent increase in publications may also have helped to deepen and influence contemporaries' views and knowledge of Germany. The various examples given above clearly underline the diversity and depth of the English knowledge and perception of the political, geographical, and religious structure of the Empire. They also prove that contemporary Englishmen were much more interested in, and concerned with, Germany than has so far been suggested. As will be shown in the following chapters, the English perception of the Empire was not limited to general knowledge and images, but went far beyond these. In the context of English foreign

---

[179] Bohun, *A geographical dictionary,* entry Germany.
[180] Burnet*, Some letters*, p. 290.

policy considerations and debates, for instance, contemporaries repeatedly looked and referred to the Empire and the individual German territories. The Empire thus functioned as an example, was used for comparison, and provided a background against which English observers could not only discuss their country's policy courses, but also express and shape their views about the character of the English nation and her role and responsibilities in Europe and as a European power.

2

"*The mournefull face of a sister Nation*":
Reflections on Germany and the Empire in the context of the Thirty
Years War, 1618-1648

1618 to 1713, the period under consideration here, witnessed some major transformations both on the continent and in England. It was marked by a series of wars and consequently by repeatedly changing alliances. More than once the European balance of power was altered and, at least from a Protestant point of view, the achievements of the Reformation seemed to be at stake again. Whilst 1618 marks the beginning of the Thirty Years War, 1713 marks the end of the English participation in the War of the Spanish Succession. Both of these wars were largely fought on the soil of the Holy Roman Empire and had an enormous impact not only on the country and its inhabitants, but also on its European neighbours. Additionally, the period also witnessed a major English military engagement on the continent during the Nine Years War. All three of these wars received a lot of public attention in England and were much discussed in the English press of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, respectively. English contemporaries have certainly been aware that England, despite her insular character, could in many different ways be affected by European conflicts. This gave reason to follow what was happening on the continent, even when England was not actively involved in it, as it was the case during the Thirty Years War.

2.1
Events and developments of the Thirty Years War period

In 1865, Samuel R. Gardiner published a collection of *Letters and other Documents illustrating the Relations between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War*. He began the preface with the following statement:

> "It is seldom that events which have taken place upon the Continent have affected the course of English history so deeply as the struggle between the two religious parties in Germany which lit up the flames of the Thirty Years' War. The second growth of Puritanism, and the anti-monarchical feeling which reached its culminating point in the reign of Charles I., may be distinctly traced to the dissatisfaction of the nation with the desertion by James of his Protestant allies."[1]

---

[1] Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Letters and other Documents illustrating the relation between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years War: From the outbreak of the revolution in Bohemia to the election of the emperor Ferdinand II*. No. 90 (London, Camden Society, 1865), preface.

Even though this observation was made retrospectively, it still supports the assumption, that an English interest in, and knowledge of, Germany existed much earlier than has so far been suggested. If the people, as Gardiner wrote, were dissatisfied with their king's role in the Thirty Years War, they had to be aware of what was happening in the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, Gardiner's statement underlines not only the enormous impact these events had on religion and politics in England, but also the influence and effects of public opinion on English politics. Besides, it once more points to the inseparable relation between politics and religion, symptomatic of the time. If events taking place on the continent could have such an impact on the English society, as Gardiner suggested in 1865, it is certainly worth looking at what English contemporaries of the Thirty Years War actually knew about the conflict, how they perceived it, and what they thought about it.

2.1.1
From a local crisis in Bohemia to a European war in Germany

In order to better understand the English interest in as well as contemporary reflections on the Thirty Years War, it seems appropriate to dedicate some space to the conflict's motives, outset and major events.[2] It should be clear that the Thirty Years War was not one single, clearly defined conflict, with two parties fighting against each other for one certain cause. It was rather a series of wars in which most of the major German territories as well as several European countries were involved. Its origins, motives, and course are manifold and complex. For centuries the Thirty Years War has been interpreted as the last (European) war of religion, the last large military conflict between Catholics and Reformed in Europe. However, this view has repeatedly been challenged and over the last decades, scholars have identified other factors as equally important as religion. The political and economic rivalry between the major European dynasties and their fight for the hegemony in Europe as well as

---

[2] For a rich and detailed account of the Thirty Years War, its origins, events and settlement see for instance Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London 2009). For shorter accounts see C.V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Tears War* (London, 1938, RP 1968), Asch, *Thirty Years War,* and Burkhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg.* For most recent discussions of the conflict and its various apects see Olaf Asbach and Peter Schröder, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War* (Routledge, 2016); 'Dreißigjähriger Krieg', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 30-31/2018 (Bonn, 2018), and the essays therein.

questions about the character of the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire have been characterised as central issues of the Thirty Years War.[3]

The decisive events, which finally led to the outbreak of the war, took place in Bohemia, where king and estates had been fighting over constitutional, religious rights since the late sixteenth century, culminating in open rebellion in 1608, 1611, and again in 1618. There is probably no other incident as much associated with the beginning of the Bohemian Revolt, and consequently with the Thirty Years War, as the Defenestration of Prague on 23 May 1618, when members of the Estates of Bohemia pushed two of the emperor's regents and their secretary out of the window of Hradschin castle. The year before the beginning of the uprisings in Bohemia, Emperor Matthias had named Ferdinand of Styria, a strict Catholic with close relations to the Jesuit Order, his successor to the Bohemian throne. This also meant that Ferdinand would (in all likelihood) become emperor himself, one day. Ferdinand had already promoted and conducted re-Catholisation in his own lands, but as he promised to stick to the Letter of Majesty, which granted religious and political freedom and rights to the Bohemian Protestants, and was signed by Emperor Rudolf II in 1609, he was accepted and crowned as king designate by the Estates of Bohemia.[4] However, soon after the coronation, Matthias and Ferdinand continued to follow a pro-Catholic policy, in the course of which several rights of the Bohemian Protestants were reduced and two of their churches closed. As a reaction to this infringement of their rights and the disregard of their grievances, the members of the assembly of the Bohemian Protestants went to confront the imperial regents, and when the situation escalated, threw them out of the window.[5] Although all three men survived the fall almost unharmed and were able to flee the country, a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the Bohemian Protestants and their Catholic ruler seemed to have become impossible.[6] Within the next few months both sides started to prepare for military engagement.

There was much at stake here for Emperor Matthias, his successor-designate Ferdinand, and the whole House of Austria: With a loss of Bohemia to a presumably Protestant prince, the Habsburgs would also have lost the country's vote in the imperial election. Such an alteration would also have changed the majority in the Electoral College

---

[3] For a summary of the different interpretations of the Thirty Years War see Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 1-2 and Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 1-8.

[4] See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 112-115.

[5] For a summary of the events leading up to the Defenestration on the 23 May 1618 see Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. 269-273, see also Josef V. *Polišenský, The Thirty Years War,* translated by Robert Evans (London, 1971), pp. 98-99.

[6] See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 43-48, see also Asch, *Thirty Years War,* p. 54.

from Catholic to Protestant. With the three spiritual electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier being Catholic and the three temporal electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg being Protestants, the Bohemian vote was the one to tip the scales in case of a tie. Usually, the Protestant electors voted for the Habsburg candidate, too. With a majority in the college, though, it seemed all too possible that they would try to place a Protestant on the imperial throne. Taking this into account, losing the Bohemian crown would have proved fatal for the Habsburgs', endangering the dynasty's future as Holy Roman Emperors.[7] Thus, it was little surprising that not only the Austrian Habsburgs, but also the Spanish branch of the family, were anxious to maintain Austria's influence over Bohemia.[8] In terms of power and influence, Spain was still the most dominant country in Europe at this time. However, unpredictable shifts within the European political power structure, triggered by Austria's loss of Bohemia, would also have put Spain's strong position at risk. With his treasury being empty, the emperor would have hardly been able to raise an army on his own, and the German Catholic princes proved rather reluctant to get engaged in the conflict, if Spain stayed out of it.[9] If he wanted to secure his country's power and influence within Europe, Philip III of Spain, head of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg family, had no choice but to support his cousin's cause in Bohemia. In the summer of 1618, Spain began to send subsidies to the Empire to maintain and reinforce imperial troops.[10] For Ferdinand, assistance from his Spanish relatives was crucial, not only from a financial point of view. The Spanish decision to intervene in the conflict also helped to convince the German Catholic states to side with Ferdinand and to enter the war, as the involvement and support of powerful Spain seemed to promise a successful outcome of the fighting.[11]

Whilst Ferdinand was gathering his forces to secure his position in Bohemia and in the Empire, the Bohemians were also preparing for war, looking for support throughout Europe. In mid-1618, the Bohemian Estates had turned to several European princes for help, without much success. Frederick V, Elector Palatine, head of the Protestant Union, and son-in-law of King James I of England, was the first and one of the only princes to side with the Bohemian Protestants. The young elector had been born into one of the most influential

---

[7] See also Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution,* p. 16 and Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* p. 276.

[8] For a good outline and discussion of Spain's interests, involvement and intervention in the Thirty Years War see Peter Brightwell, 'The Spanish Origins of the Thirty Years' War', *EHQ,* 9 (1979), pp. 409-431; Peter Brightwell and Geoffrey Parker, 'Spain and Bohemia: The Decision to Intervene, 1619' *EHQ,* 12 (1982), pp. 117-141; Peter Brightwell, 'Spain, Bohemia and Europe, 1619-21', *EHQ,* 12 (1982), pp. 371-399.

[9] Brightwell, 'Spain, Bohemia and Europe', pp. 373-374

[10] Brightwell, 'Spanish Origins,' p. 410, 418. In 1618 a sum of about 300,000 ducats was sent from Spain to Germany in order to pay the troops in Ferdinand's service.

[11] This was also the opinion of the Spanish diplomat at the court in Vienna, Count Oñate. See Brightwell, 'Spain, Bohemia and Europe', pp. 373-374.

courts of Germany, with family relation to the House of Orange, the House of Bourbon-Montpensier and other noble houses of the Holy Roman Empire.[12] In 1610, the young prince had inherited his father's land and titles. Although his designation and succession as count-elector was disputed by Maximilian I and the Bavarian line of the Wittelsbachs, Frederick took over the rule of the Palatinate when he came of age in 1614.[13]

The Elector Palatine was one of the most powerful and influential princes of the Empire, a position Frederick had been prepared for since his early childhood. His marriage to the English princess Elizabeth was meant to further underline and strengthen the Elector Palatines' position as one of Europe's leading (Protestant) princes.[14] Frederick was brought up as a Calvinist and educated by the renowned Calvinist theologian Daniel Tilenus. His tutor's teachings may well have influenced Frederick's own views and later actions. Tilenus did not only argue for cross-border-solidarity and tolerance amongst the Reformed churches, he also considered it the right and duty of Christian sovereigns to intervene in other states to defend oppressed co-religionist.[15] These views were clearly recognisable in Frederick's policy towards Bohemia, as the Palatine court supported the rebellion of the Bohemian Protestants ideologically, financially as well as militarily almost right from the beginning of the crisis, and also guaranteed assistance from the Protestant Union.[16]

---

[12] His father was the Elector Palatine Frederick IV, who was related to almost all courts in the Empire. Frederick V's mother was Louise Juliana of Nassau, daughter of the William I of Orange and Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier. See Peter Bilhöfer, 'Außer Zweifel ein hoch verständiger Herr und tapferer Kavalier. Friedrich V. von der Pfalz- eine biographische Skizze', in Peter Wolf, ed., *Der Winterkönig. Friedrich von der Pfalz. Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen* Krieges (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 19-32, here especially pp. 19-21.

[13] The members of the Bavarian branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty had challenged the claim of the Palatine line to the electoral dignity for several centuries. They argued that Frederick was of illegitimate descent, a claim that was derived from the fact, that his grandparents had got married although his grandfather William of Orange had not officially divorced his first wife. See Peter Bilhöfer, *'Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen'. Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz- der Winterkönig von Böhmen* (Heidelberg, 2004), p. 39.

[14] The lands of Frederick V were not only amongst the wealthiest in the Empire, according to the Golden Bull of 1356 the Elector Palatine also held a several privileges in the Empire. He acted as vicar (together with the Elector of Saxony) and took over the imperial affairs in some of the territories when the emperor was unavailable, and it was his prerogative to sit in judgement on the emperor, as long as this took place at a Diet and in the emperor's presence. See chapters 4 and 5 of the Golden Bull of 1356. See also Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 17.

[15] See Bilhöfer, 'Außer Zweifel', p. 19. For the teachings of Tilenus see for instance Hartmut Kretzer, *Calvinismus und französische Monarchie im 17. Jahrhundert. Die politische Lehre der Akademien in Sedan und Saumur, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Pierre Du Moulin, Moyse Amyraut und Pierre Jurieu* (Berlin 1975), pp. 105-130, esp. pp. 109-111.

[16] See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 48-49. As Pursell points out, the costs for the troops sent to Bohemia were not paid by Frederick alone but were shared between him and the Duke of Savoy, a fact that was unknown to the Bohemians. Additionally, the Bohemians were assured that the members of the Protestant Union would prevent the emperor and his allies from recruiting in their lands and crossing their territory. See Antonin Gindely, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, Erste Abteilung Geschichte des böhmischen Aufstandes von 1618* (Prag, 1869), pp. 352-354.

The early campaigns of the Bohemians and their allies were in fact quite successful. The siege of Pilsen in late 1618, the Bohemian invasion of Moravia in April 1619, and the promised support of Silesia, Hungary as well as Upper and Lower Austria for their neighbour's cause, all this might have led to the assumption, that a victory over the emperor and the imperial troops was possible.[17] It might have been this early success of the Protestant party which, in the summer of 1619, induced the Bohemian Estates to take a momentous step: In August 1619, they deposed Ferdinand as their king, and after some debates and considerations offered the crown to Frederick, who accepted it. This was clearly an affront against Ferdinand - who was elected emperor by the Electoral College[18] less than two weeks after his deposition as King of Bohemia - and it made war inevitable. By accepting the Bohemian crown, the Elector Palatine not only antagonised the emperor, he also alienated some of his closest allies, who disapproved of his decision. This was to prove fateful in the war to come, as both the Bohemians and their new king, expected and relied on help from other German and European princes, especially from the members and allies of the Protestant Union.[19]

Whilst the first campaigns of the Bohemians and their allies seemed to be promising, tide began to turn against Frederick in 1620, as the conflict was carried into other parts of the Empire. Contrary to his expectations, the Protestant princes of Europe were not rallying to his support, and the inhabitants of the lands Frederick had acquired when accepting the Bohemian crown, soon began to criticise or even turn against their new king, too, as there seemed to be only little improvement to their situation.[20]

At the same time, Catholicism was on the rise again. Under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria, the Catholic League had been re-established in late 1619. From all the German (Catholic) states, Bavaria was the strongest force within the imperial camp and Maximilian was to become one of the leading figures in the war and one of Ferdinand's strongest allies. Besides, the Duke of Bavaria was pursuing his own plans, hoping for the most possible gains for himself and his family: the Electorate of the Palatinate. In order to

---

[17] For details about the different campaigns and developments see Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. 276-281, see also Asch, *Thirty Years War*, p. 55.

[18] The Bohemians were excluded from the election and Ferdinand was not allowed to exercise his vote as Bohemian king. Thus, only six electors or their representatives casted their votes. Interestingly, he was elected unanimously, also receiving the Palatinate's vote, due to the lack of another suitable candidate. See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* p. 282.

[19] For Frederick's motives to accept the crown and the confusion and problems it caused amongst European princes and in the Protestant Union see Pursell, *Winter King*, pp.76-86, Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. 284-287, see also Anton Schindling 'Gab es eine kurpfälzer Kriegsschuld? Die Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein und die Union 1608 bis 1622' in Albrecht Ernst und Anton Schindling, eds., *Union und Liga 1608/09. Konfessionelle Bündnisse im Reich – Weichenstellung zum Religionskrieg?* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 301-341.

[20] See C.V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1938, RP 1968), pp. 118-120.

achieve this objective, Maximilian needed the emperor on his side as much as the emperor needed him as his ally. For Ferdinand II and his cause, the alliance with the Duke of Bavaria was probably as important as the assistance from Spain. Both, Bavarian and Spanish troops, played an essential role in the major campaigns and contributed largely to Habsburgs' success in the early stages of the Thirty Years War.

In August 1620, Spanish forces, under the command of Ambrogio Spinola, marched into the Lower Palatinate, where they occupied several cities. However, for the time being Frederick's supporters, including 2000 Englishmen, managed to prevent worse and secured the main cities and fortresses in the Palatinate before both armies retreated into winter quarters.[21] Whilst Spanish forces invaded the Palatinate, an imperial-Bavarian army began to make its way towards Bohemia. In early November 1620 it reached the outskirts of Prague, where on Sunday, the 8 November, one of the most decisive and most famous battles of the Thirty Years War took place. The Battle of White Mountain, in which about 20,000 confederate soldiers fought against an pro-imperial army of about 30,000 men[22] was to prove most fatal for the young King of Bohemia and Elector Palatine. After the defeat of the Confederates, Frederick left Prague in a hurry, leaving behind his crown and insignia, fleeing first to Berlin, before he, together with his wife and children moved into exile to The Hague.[23]

With Spanish and Bavarian help, Ferdinand had managed to regain control over Bohemia. Frederick, on the other side, was placed under the imperial ban, resulting in the confiscation of his titles and lands. Thus, only one year after his coronation, Frederick had not only lost the Bohemian crown again, but also his inheritance, and was consequently deprived of his position as Elector Palatine. In 1623, the electorate was transferred unto Maximilian I and later to the Bavarian branch of the House of Wittelsbach, where it remained for the rest of the war period.[24] With this the composition of the electoral college of the Empire was further altered to the advantage of the Catholic side, and for the next decades only two of the seven electors were Protestants. These changes, likely to strengthen Catholicism in the Empire in the long term, did not go unnoticed in England.[25]

---

[21] See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 300-301.

[22] See Olivier Chaline, 'Die Schlacht am Weißen Berg (8. November 1620)' in Klaus Bußmann, Heinz Schilling eds., *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa.* Katalog zur 26. Europaratsausstellung, Bd.1 (Münster 1998), pp. 95-101, here p. 97.

[23] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 314-315. See also Bilhöfer, *Ehre*, p. 95. As Bilhöfer points out, Frederick was given only a cease fire of eight hours, leaving only little time to evacuate a royal household. According to Bilhöfer this was also the reason why Frederick left behind his insignia, including the crown.

[24] See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 12, 137-139, see also Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 355-356.

[25] See for instance *A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate The which consist in foure principall heads* ([London?], 1624), p. 40. The tract is sometimes attributed to Thomas Scott. The plan to take the electorship from Frederick and to transfer it unto the Duke of Bavaria was also mentioned in *Corant Newes out of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Poland &c.*, Amsterdam 9. July (Amsterdam, 1621).

It was only with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, that part of the Palatinate and the electoral dignity attached to it, were returned to the heirs of Frederick and Elizabeth. Maximilian and the Bavarian party however, did not lose out. In 1628, the Upper Palatinate was officially annexed to Bavaria, to which it still belongs today, the formerly Protestant territory was re-Catholisised, and as part of the settlement of 1648, Bavaria was raised to the electoral dignity, becoming the eighth member of the imperial Diet. For the Bohemians, who had taken up the fight for what they considered their ancient customs rights and liberties, the enterprise did not end well. By imposing some alterations on the Bohemian constitution in 1627, Ferdinand II abolished the right of free election and declared the crown of Bohemia hereditary.[26]

Frederick's decision to accept the Bohemian crown had triggered a chain of events, which proved disastrous for him and his family. However, despite the loss of Bohemia, the Spanish-Bavarian occupation of large parts of the Palatinate, and his being forced into exile, Frederick did not capitulate. He remained an active figure in the war. Until his death in late 1632, he tried to find allies and financial support for his own cause in the Palatinate and Bohemia as well as for the Protestant cause in the Holy Roman Empire.[27] One of the countries he repeatedly placed his hopes in and turned to for help, was England. His relation to the English royal family and the mutual goal of safeguarding Protestantism obviously made him assume that England would aid his cause, both financially and militarily. Right from the beginning of the crisis in 1618, the Palatine court had been engaged in correspondence with the court in London about the proceedings in Bohemia, as well as about the possibilities of an active English support on the continent.[28]

The King of England, however, pursued a course of diplomacy rather than of military engagement. James I, had never approved of his son-in law's decision to accept the Bohemian crown. He regarded "the Prince Palatine's election as factious" and was not willing "to embark his subjects, who are as dear to him as his children, in an unjust war."[29]

---

[26] See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 349.

[27] As Pursell has pointed out, there were two main causes, the Elector Palatine was fighting for; the common cause and the Protestant cause. Whilst the objective of the first was recovering Bohemia and defending the Palatinate, the aim of the latter was to safeguard Protestant interests, rights and liberties in the Empire and throughout the whole of Europe. See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 126-128.

[28] For the diplomatic efforts and the disappointed hopes of support from the English court in the Bohemian crisis see for instance Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, pp. 16-21.

[29] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23, Volume 110: October 1619, Chamberlain to Charlton, Oct. 2,* edited by Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1858), p. 83. James I also explained his disapproval of Frederick's decision to accept the Bohemian in his opening speech Parliament on 30 January 1621. See John Rushworth, *Historical collections of private passages of state Weighty matters in law. Remarkable proceedings in five Parliaments. Beginning the sixteenth year of King James, anno 1618. And ending the fifth year of King Charls, anno 1629* (London, 1659), p. 22.

Accordingly, he also refused to support Frederick's endeavour to regain Bohemia after the defeat at White Mountain. Instead, James I tried to convince his son-in-law to abandon Bohemia and to make peace with Ferdinand II, in order to secure his position and rights in the Palatinate. Frederick, however, proved reluctant to admit any fault on his part and was unwilling to give up his claim to the Bohemian throne and to officially ask the emperor's forgiveness. Ferdinand II on the other hand, would not let matters rest unless Frederick agreed to his terms. The conflict as well as negotiations to settle it peacefully had reached a deadlock.

Although James I did not support him in the way Frederick was hoping for, he was not inactive either. The English king repeatedly sent extraordinary ambassadors to the different courts in the Empire and in Europe to mediate in the conflict and to negotiate a settlement. An English military intervention in the conflict about the Bohemian crown, however, was not going to happen, as James I repeatedly emphasised to both sides.[30] As far as a possible invasion of the Palatinate was concerned, matters were different, thought. As an ally of the Protestant Union, England was obliged to support and defend Palatine territory against attacks from outside. James I was willing to meet this obligation, but he also made clear, that the mere threat or possibility of an assault were not reason enough to invoke the mutual defence clause and that he would only sent an English army if the Palatinate was under immediate attack. Until then, the king would continue to pursue a peaceful solution.[31]

In addition to mediating between his son-in-law and the emperor, the English king, through the Privy Council, made it possible for the supporters of Frederick and his cause to directly recruit soldiers in Britain.[32] The recruitment of mainly Scottish and English soldiers for the service against the Habsburgs began in 1620 and several thousand men left Britain to fight abroad and to defend the Palatinate.[33] Between summer 1624 and fall 1625, the number increased drastically, exceeding even those of several other European powers. In only 15 months about 29,000 soldiers from the British Isles enlisted for service in the anti-Habsburg

---

[30] See for instance Bilhöfer, *Ehre*, pp. 65-66.

[31] See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, pp. 219-21.

[32] *Acts of the Privy Council of England,* Volume 37, 1619-1621, edited by J.V. Lyle, (London, 1930), p. 141. The Act is dated 28 Feb. 1619/20. However, as Elmar Weiss has pointed out, the direct recruitment in England, Scotland and Wales was no privilege granted to the countries supporting the Protestant side in the Thirty Years War, but was also granted to Spain, Poland, the States General and Venezia. See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, p. 20, especially note 26. See also Boys, *London's News Press,* p. 7.

[33] In 1621/22 several thousand English soldiers were stationed in the Lower Palatinate under the command of Sir Horace Vere. They were assigned to the defence of the main cities and castles, against the Spanish troops. See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, p. 49.

armies on the continent.[34] Recruitments also continued under Charles I, who followed his father on the throne in March 1625. Although Britain never really took an active role in the Thirty Years War, between 1620 and 1648 men from England, Scotland, and Wales were enlisted and fought in the service of the Elector Palatinate and of other European states, such as the United Provinces, France, and Sweden. It has been estimated that over the years, a total of about 100,000 British soldiers (of which about 50,000 were Scots[35]) were fighting on the anti-imperial side in the Thirty Years War.[36] During the early years of the conflict, Frederick was supported by many British people, and the number of men from Britain ,ready to fight for both the Palatine and the Protestant cause abroad, should not be underestimated. Moreover, in addition to the recruitment of troops, people in England also began to collect (private) donations for the defence of the Palatinate in late 1620, and within only a few months over 30,000 pounds had been raised.[37] However, the support of the English (or British) public alone could hardly bring the desired results. Despite his own effort, and the effort of his diplomats and followers, Frederick had trouble finding enough financial and military help to pursue both of his aims at once, i.e. to regain power over Bohemia and to keep and defend the Palatinate.

The dissolution of the Protestant Union in May 1621 was yet another setback for Frederick. The coalition of (German) Protestant states had been more or less inactive throughout the conflict between the Elector Palatine and the emperor. In fact, there was never to be any military engagement between the Protestant Union and its Catholic counterpart during the Thirty Years War. After 1620, the Union had maintained a neutral position towards the Catholic League, and in early 1621 its members turned against Frederick, agreeing not to fight for him or in defence of the Palatinate, unless he apologised and came to terms with the emperor.[38] Thus, the exiled elector and king could not expect any help from the Union, on whose assistance he had counted so much.

Although the majority of the princes and potentates in Germany and Europe disagreed with Frederick's endeavours in Bohemia and were therefore neither inclined to pay nor to

---

[34] In 1624 Denmark and Sweden for instance, provided a little over 21,000 men together. See Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction', in: Steve Murdoch ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden, Boston, Köln 2001), pp. 1-23, here, pp. 9-10.

[35] It has been argued, that the Scottish people were especially supportive of the Palatine and Bohemian cause in Germany as it was also the cause of the Scottish princess Elizabeth. Murdoch, 'Introduction', pp. 2-3.

[36] Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang, and Matthew Strickland, eds. *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012), p. 265.

[37] See for instance *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23, Volume 118: December 1620*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1858,) p. 198, and the same *Volume 119, January 1621*, p. 213. The countributions paid by noble- and gentlemen were 5,345*l.* for the period between October and December 1620 and a total of 32,361*l.* 13*s.* 4d in January 1621.

[38] Schindling, 'Kriegsschuld', p. 307; Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 134.

fight for his mistakes, the Elector Palatine did not stand entirely alone in his attempts to regain power over his territories. Bethlen Garbor, prince of Transylvanian, for instance, fought for the anti-Habsburg alliance most of the time until his death in 1626. Denmark and the States General subsidised the defence of the Palatinate and the English king sent money to Frederick and to the Protestant Union as well.

Whilst James I was not willing to get engaged in a war for the recovery of Bohemia, an English contribution to the defence of the Palatinate was a different matter; a matter which failed, not because the king was reluctant to intervene, but because he lacked the financial means to do so. In 1621, James I summoned parliament, the first in seven years, asking it to grant money to set up an army in order to push forward negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, and, if necessary, to defend the Palatinate.[39] "I will", the king declared before the Lords and Commons, "engage My Crown, My Bloud, and My Soul in that Recovery."[40] For a moment, an official English intervention in the Thirty Years War, both with money and men, seemed possible. Parliament however granted only a fraction of what would have been needed to supply and maintain a British army of about 30,000 men (foot and horse) abroad.[41] The Commons were not necessarily unwilling to provide further supplies. However, the granting of these seemed to have been dependent on a variety of aspects related to English domestic and foreign policy affairs, such as the character and scale of the war James I was planning to get engaged in, England's attitude towards Spain, law enforcement at home, and religious toleration. Likewise, questions about the right of parliament to discuss foreign policy, or to suggest possible marriage candidates for Prince Charles, contributed to the tension between crown and parliament as well.[42] When James I finally dissolved parliament in early 1622, the hope of further supplies was destroyed, making an active English engagement for the Palatine cause virtually impossible. It took more than two years before a new parliament was summoned.

Whilst many of the other people Frederick was counting on for help, were either not willing or lacked the financial means and military capacities to get actively engaged in the conflict, a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the Habsburgs and the Elector Palatine became increasingly unlikely, too, as negotiations between the two sides failed repeatedly.

---

[39] See 'The King's speech to Parliament on 30 January 1621' reprinted in Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, p. 22.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, p. 36.

[42] For the role of parliament in the context of Stuart foreign policy and the parliamentary debates in 1621 see for instance L. Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624' in Kevin Sharpe, ed., *Faction and Parliament, Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 139-171 and Conrad Russel, 'The foreign policy debate in the House of Commons in1621', *HJ*, 20, 2 (1977), pp. 289-309, here p. 297.

Instead, more parties became involved, soon turning the conflict, which had begun as a local crisis in Bohemia, into a major European war; a war that spread over the whole Empire and drew several European nations into decades of fighting. Whilst the early years of the Thirty Years War were characterised by the Bohemian revolt and the struggle for power and influence in the eastern parts of the Empire, the following decades saw an increasing involvement of other European states. From the mid-1620s onwards, the theatre of war shifted to the northern parts of the Empire and the years between 1625 and 1629 were dominated by the conflict between Denmark and the imperials.[43] The Danish king, Christian IV, who was also the uncle of princess Elizabeth, was hoping to stabilise and extend his political authority and influence in Lower Saxony. At the end of 1625, Denmark, England and the United Provinces had established the Hague Alliance, in support of Frederick's cause in the Palatinate. So far the Anglo-Spanish relations under James I, and the plans for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta had prevented an open alliance between England and the anti-Habsburg forces on the continent. A change came in 1624 after the return of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Madrid and the failure of the Spanish match. Although James I's main focus was still on the restitution of the Palatinate, the English king, urged by his son, his chief minister, his son-in-law, and parliament, finally agreed to get engaged in military campaigns against Spain. The newly summoned parliament granted a supply of £ 300,000, which was used to finance Mansfeld's campaigns in the United Provinces and Northern Germany, and to subsidise the Danish intervention in the Thirty Years War with a monthly payment of £ 30,000. However, despite the English help for the anti-Habsburg alliance, and the much more belligerent course of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham, James I continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the Spanish court, not giving up hopes for a peaceful restoration of Frederick as Elector Palatine.[44] Hence there was still no clear break with Spain, and it was only after James I's death in 1625 that an active intervention and English military engagement in the Thirty Years War finally seemed to become possible. Charles I was certainly less reluctant to take up arms for Frederick's restoration in the Palatinate, than his father. However, despite the promising prospect of a European league against the emperor and the House of Habsburg, the Hague Alliance never reached the strength its founders were initially hoping for.[45] In 1629, Denmark made peace

---

[43] For a short summary of Danish involvement in the Thirty Years War see Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. 385-433.

[44] See Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', pp.168-169; W.B. Patterson, *King James,* pp. 348-353.

[45] See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 234-241.

with Ferdinand II and withdrew from the war, and England began to negotiate a peace with Spain. The Hague Alliance had come to an end, and when it did, it had achieved only little.

A year later, in 1630, Sweden entered the war under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus, giving fresh impetus to the Protestant cause. Once again a Protestant victory over the House of Habsburg and its allies seemed possible, even more so as the siege of Magdeburg in May 1631 convinced several German Protestant princes to support and fight alongside the Swedish king. The city of Magdeburg had been one of the few remaining Protestant strongholds since the time of Charles V. Its taking and complete destruction through the imperial troops under the Count of Tilly, brought about a storm of protest amongst the German population, expressed in a series of pamphlets and broadsides[46] and news about it also reached England.[47] After the assault on Magdeburg the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony as well as other German princes sided with the Swedish king to stop and prevent the advance of the pro-Habsburg forces in their own and other territories of the Empire. They defeated Tilly at the Battle of Breitenfeld in September 1631 and invaded and occupied Prague as well as parts of Bavaria, including Munich. Between 1630 and 1632, Swedish troops and their German allies managed to weaken and repel the Catholic forces in several parts of the Empire.[48] Although the Swedish involvement in the war had produced some important victories, it did neither decide nor end the war, and the deaths of Gustavus Adolphus and of Frederick V within only a few weeks in late 1632 were a major drawback for the Protestant cause. Despite the death of two of the leading figures in the war, fighting as well as the Swedish engagement in Germany continued.

A turning point came in September 1634, with the Battle of Nördlingen, in which the Swedish and Protestant forces suffered a major defeat.[49] Whilst the Swedish troops temporarily retreated, the leading German Protestant princes started to negotiate for a settlement with the emperor. On 30 May 1635, Ferdinand II and the majority of the German Protestant Estates signed the Peace of Prague, which settled the inner German conflict.[50] It did, however, not end the war, as a few weeks before the signing of the Peace of Prague another major European power had entered the stage. Worried about a loss of influence in the Rhine region and about a growth in Habsburg power, France had allied with Sweden and

---

[46] See Asch, *Thirty Years War*, pp. 105-106.
[47] See below chapters 2.1.2 and 2.2.2.
[48] See Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 105-107. For the individual reasons of the electors to ally with Sweden see also Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy* pp. 470-473.
[49] For a summary of the events and the battle see Wedgewood, *Thirty Years War*, pp. 373-377; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, pp. 545-549.
[50] Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 109-117.

declared war on Spain on 19 May 1635. With these developments the war had completely turned into a European conflict and with the French support for the Protestant side it had also lost its religious dimension. The French intervention on German soil did not bring about any resolution either, and although the conflict had reached another deadlock by the end of the 1630s, it was to take yet another ten years before a settlement between the various factions was achieved. The last decade of the Thirty Years War was thus characterised by conferences, negotiations, and only minor skirmishing.[51]

As far as England was concerned, Charles I began to withdraw from the affairs related to the Thirty Years War in the early 1640s. The English participation at the Diet of Regensburg in 1641 was one of the country's last diplomatic attempts to restore the Palatinate before the developments in Britain and Ireland led the attention away from the continent and towards home. Money, weapons, and soldiers were now needed at home, and resources had to be concentrated on the British Isles. On the continent, the war continued for another seven years, until in 1648 the Peace of Westphalia, signed in Münster and Osnabrück, finally ended what had become the longest and most devastating war period in the history of early modern Europe.

What made the Thirty Years War so complex and thus hard to grasp for many contemporaries and modern students of history alike, was not only its long duration but also the various, and changing, parties involved, their interests, and the shifting alliances between them. In most cases, alliances were still formed along confessional lines. Denmark and Sweden for instance, entered the war in support of the Protestant forces, whilst Bavaria and Spain fought for the Catholic side of Emperor Ferdinand II. However, there were also exceptions. In 1620 Johann Georg, Elector of Saxony, next to Frederick V the most powerful Protestant prince in the Empire, had joined the imperial forces and only changed sides when Catholic troops began to ravage his own lands in the early 1630s.[52] Catholic France, on the other hand, was part of the anti-Habsburg coalition and supported the Protestant side, more or less, throughout the war, and thus long before finally entering it herself in 1635.[53] Hence,

---

[51] For the events and developments between 1635 and 1648 see Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy* pp. 554-747.

[52] See Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 61-62, 106. As Asch points out, there was some kind of rivalry between the two Protestant electors, and although Johann George himself had declined when offered the Bohemian crown, he did not want Frederick to become King of Bohemia either, as this would have made him Frederick's tenant.

[53] The alliance with several European Protestant countries against the House of Habsburg did however not stop the French king to fight against his Protestant subjects and to lay siege on La Rochelle between 1627 and 1628. The suppression of the French Hugenots in La Rochelle resulted in a military conflict with England. France was also not a member of The Hague Alliance. For the French conduct in La Rochelle and her proceedings against Protestants in general see for instance Joseph Bergin, *The politics of religion in early modern France* (Yale University Press, 2014). For La Rochelle especially p. 96.

confessionalism and religious affiliation were still factors for alliance formation during the Thirty Years War, but they were certainly not the only ones. Likewise, safeguarding Protestantism and promoting re-Catholisation, respectively, were just one reason for European states to get involved in the war waged on imperial soil. Denmark, Sweden, and France, as well as Bavaria and Spain, all had their own interests in the affairs of the Empire and their individual motives to get engaged in the fighting.[54] This is also reflected by the fact, that several of the German and European princes got involved in the Thirty Years War, not when asked for help by Frederick V and his allies, but when they sensed a threat to their own status and lands. The preservation of existing power structures as well as the chance to acquire new territory and consequently more power and influence in the Empire, and the attempt to prevent others from achieving the same, were amongst the main reasons to enter the war, on either side. Questions about the distribution of power and influence within the Empire and other parts of Europe became increasingly important in the course of the war, and in this context confessional affiliations could, at times, fade into the background. As far as France was concerned, the motive for fighting on the Protestant rather than on the Catholic side may be found in the general concern about a too powerful and influential House of Habsburg. Keeping Habsburgs power in check was certainly one major reason that induced France and other European states to get involved in the Thirty Years War. Like France, Denmark and Sweden both actively entered the war at times when the forces of Ferdinand II and his supporters appeared particularly strong. The two Scandinavian countries intervened when the imperial forces advanced towards the Protestant territories (mainly) in the north of the Empire. However, it was rather the position of the territories than the confession of the population, which convinced Christian IV and Gustavus Adolphus to intervene in the Thirty Years War. Neither Denmark nor Sweden had stepped in to help the Protestants of Bohemia, but only got engaged in the conflict when they could expect some gain for themselves, and when the fighting came closer to their own borders and spheres of influence. Safeguarding Protestantism and defending suppressed or threatened co-religionists might have been a reason to intervene in the war, however, it did not necessarily rank first.

Despite its name, the Thirty Years War was much more a conglomerate of different conflicts than one single and long war. There were nevertheless issues, which remained central throughout the period. From a Protestant and anti-Habsburg point of view, the struggle over the Palatinate and the containment of Habsburgs' religious and political power

---

[54] See for instance Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 103-104.

in Europe, were two of them. This view was definitely shared by contemporaries in England, who closely watched and discussed the developments on the other side of the Channel.

2.1.2
Frederick V, the war, and the development of the English news market

As may be taken from this outline of the Thirty Years War, it was neither mere political nor mere religious issues that ignited the conflict in 1618 but a combination of both. In the eyes of many English contemporaries, it was a war between the defenders of the true religion and the forces of the counter reformation, but it was also a war against Universal Monarchy and for a European balance of power.[55] As such, the course and the outcome of the war were expected to have a decisive impact not only on the religious and political face of Germany, but also of Europe and England herself. Besides, for contemporary Englishmen the conflict also became a battle for the honour of the royal family, which was at stake when Frederick and Elizabeth lost their crowns, titles, and territories and were driven into exile. Whether or not Englishmen would have paid as much attention to the fate of Bohemia and the Palatinate or to the Thirty Years War, if the son-in-law of King James I had not been a leading figure in the events, is hard to tell. But Frederick's decision to support the Bohemian cause against the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia carried the conflict from the continent to England and into English public debate. Even though England had not officially entered it, members of the royal family were at war, and this alone might have been reason enough to arouse an English public interest in events unfolding in a country, which was more than 700 miles away from the English capital.

In any case, Frederick V's close relation to the English court was most certainly one of the main reasons why an English interest in a conflict so far away, emerged at such an early stage. In 1612 he had been chosen over several other European princes, including Philip III of Spain and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, to marry James I's only daughter Elizabeth.[56] The marriage arrangement was meant to underline James' support for the Protestant Union, which the English king had allied with the same year. Held in London on Valentine's Day in

---

[55] See for instance [Thomas Scott], *A speech made in the lovver house of Parliament, anno. 1621. By Sir Edward Cicill, Colonell* ([London], 1621), especially pp. 2-3. Attributed to Scott by STC 2nd. Ed. For a discussion of the role of universal monarchy and balance of power in the English print discourse about the Thirty Years War see below chapter 2.3.2.
[56] Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 26

1613, the wedding ceremony received an enormous attention throughout Europe.[57] The celebrations accompanying the wedding lasted several days, and a series of poems and ballads as well as masques and sermons were published to commemorate Princess Elizabeth and "that Prince, the Empires prime Elector/Of the religious Protestants Protector/The high and mighty Palsgrave of the Rhyne,/Duke of Bavaria, and Count Palatyne".[58] The expectations towards Frederick V, as one of the most powerful and influential (Protestant) rulers in the Empire were immense. This was even more so as the Prince of Wales had died only months before the wedding, and many commentators thought that Frederick would take on the legacy of Prince Henry as a chivalric hero of European Pan-Protestantism.[59] The marriage between the seventeen years old prince and princess was much more than just a union of a young couple; it was a union between England and the Palatinate, depicted and celebrated as a union against Rome:

> "Happy they, and we that see it,
> For the good of Europe be it.
> And heare Heaven my devotion,
> Make this Rhyne and Thames an Ocean:
> That it may with might and wonder,
> Whelme the pride of Tyber under."[60]

When in 1614 the first son of Frederick and Elizabeth was born, the expectations of the Crown Prince Palatine were equally high. Named after Elizabeth's late brother Henry Frederick, the young Frederick Henry was soon depicted as a future (Protestant) hero, too,

---

[57] For a discussion of the various aspects of the wedding and especially for its symbolism as a Protestant alliance see Sara Smart, Mara R. Wade, eds. *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival,* Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung Band 29 (Wiesbaden 2013) and the essays therein.

[58] Thomas Heywood, *A Mariage Triumph, solemnized in an Epithalamium* (London, 1613). For cotemporary poems and other writings commemorating the marriage/wedding see George Gömöri, 'A Memorable Wedding': The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz', *JES,* 34 (2004), pp. 215-224 and also David Norbrook, ''The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the early Stuart Period', *The Seventeenth Century*, 1 (1986), pp. 81-110.

[59] See Jaroslav Miller, 'Between Nationalsim and European Pan-Protestantism: Palatine Propaganda in Jacobean England and the Holy Roman Empire', in Smart, Wade, eds. *The Palatine Wedding*, pp. 61-81.

[60] George Wither, *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall poems vpon the most blessed and happie mariage betweene the high and mightie Prince Frederick the fifth, Count Palatine of the Rhein, Duke of Bauier, &c. and the most vertuous, gracious and thrice excellent Princesse, Elizabeth, sole daughter to our dread Soueraigne..., Celebrated at White-hall the fourteenth of Februarie, 1612* (London, 1612, i.e. 1613), B2.

who was thought to unite Germany and Great Britain, and to bring peaceful times to Europe:

"But (happie Prince) thy time foretels thee peace,
And restfull dayes, with Honors large increase.
Now *Germanie*, and *Brittaine*, shall be one,
In League, in Lawes, in Loue, Religion."[61]

Given the interest in the royal couple, and the expectations expressed in English print media, it seems little surprising that contemporary Englishmen also became interested in Frederick's and Elizabeth's life, lands, and affairs abroad. In addition to the family relation between the Palsgrave's and the English court, the confessional component of the conflict, which erupted in 1618, certainly contributed to an increased public interest too, as both, Bohemia and the Palatinate had a large, or even predominantly, Protestant population. Moreover, the systematic representation of Frederick as the hero of European Pan-Protestantism in German, Bohemian, and English printings, emphasised the idea that this conflict was of great concern not only for Protestants in Bohemia or the Palatinate, but for Protestants all across Europe.[62] At least since the intervention of Spain, the conflict got a European dimension. It was no longer a local dispute between ruler and subjects, happening somewhere on the outskirts of the Holy Roman Empire, but had turned into a major crisis, which soon spread into other territories of the Empire and threatened to and eventually also did plunge most of Europe into war. English language corantos and newsbooks of the early 1620s already indicated the European character of the war and conveyed it to a broader

---

[61] Henry Peacham, *Prince Henrie revived Or A poeme vpon the birth, and in honor of the hopefull yong Prince Henrie Frederick, first sonne and heire apparant to the most excellent princes, Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the mirrour of ladies, Princesse Elizabeth, his wife, only daughter to our Soueraigne Iames King of Great Brittaine* (London, 1615), unpaginated. For a discussion of the celebrations of the birth of Frederick Henry and his comparison with the Prince of Wales see Rebecca Calcagno, 'A Matter of Precedence: Britain, Germany, and the Palatine Match' in: Smart, Wade, eds. *The Palatine Wedding*, pp. 243-266. Like his namesake Frederick Henry died of young age. He drowned in 1629 at the age of fifteen.

[62] See Jaroslav Miller, 'Between Nationalsim and European Pan-Protestantism: Palatine Propaganda in Jacobean England and the Holy Roman Empire', in Smart, Wade, eds. *The Palatine Wedding*, pp. 61-81. This image of Frederick was especially prominent in the poems and descriptions commemorating the Palatine wedding. In addition to the poems cited in the text see also Robert Allyne, *Teares of ioy shed at the happy departure from Great Britaine, of the two paragons of the Christian world. Fredericke and Elizabeth, Prince, and Princesse Palatines of Rhine Duke and Dutches of Bauaria, &c* (London, 1613); Joannes Maria de Franchis, *Of the most auspicatious marriage: betwixt, the high and mightie Prince, Frederick; Count Palatine of Rheine, chiefe sewer to the sacred Roman Empire, Prince Elector, and Duke of Bauaria, &. and the most illustrious Princesse, the Ladie Elizabeth her Grace…composed in Latine…And translated into English* (London, 1613); Martin Opitz, *An oration to the most illustrious and mightie prince Frederick King of Bohemia...Translated out of Latin* (London, 1620).

English public.[63] Although separated from continental mainland, England was deeply entangled in European affairs, and therefore likely to be affected by the conflict, too. Especially the question, which role the Spanish were going to play in the war, was of major concern for many contemporary Englishmen, who still regarded Spain as a great potential threat to England's religious and political freedom. The Spanish intervention in the war, and especially the invasion of the Palatinate, seemed to prove that this concern was everything but unfounded.

Taking all this into account, English contemporaries had good reasons to be interested in what was happening on the other side of the channel, and to be concerned about the possible effects of a Europe-wide war. The struggle of the Bohemian Protestants, the fate of the Palatinate, the devastation of Germany, and finally the rivalries of the major European powers fought out in the course of the war, became much observed and discussed topics in English political debates, even after the early defeat of Frederick in 1620. Englishmen, who had recently been to the Empire, were stopped on the street by people, asking them 'what newes', they had to tell.[64]

From a very early stage on, the English printing press was trying to respond to the public interest in the war, its events, and main protagonists. It was the news market that largely benefited from the events and developments in the Holy Roman Empire. The interconfessional struggle for political and territorial power and influence was of great concern for Protestant English contemporaries fearing popish plots and Counter-Reformation. Besides, the course of the conflict was also of interest for those, who were involved in trade with people on the continent.[65] Thus, there was a great demand for any kind of news about the fighting and suffering of continental co-religionists and the situation in the Empire in general. Responding to this growing interest, a variety of printed news and relations about the conflict in Bohemia began to appear in England. In 1619, for instance, several tracts about the Bohemian crisis, translated from German, Dutch, and French

---

[63] The early corantos and newsbooks, already contained news from various places somehow involved in the conflict, both in the Empire and in Europe. Later place names also appeared on title pages and in headlines. In addition to the corantos and newsbooks referred to and quoted in this chapter see for instance *Corant or vveekly nevves, from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, Bohemia, France, and the Low-Countries* (London, 1621); *A coranto Relating diuers particulars concerning the newes out of Italy, Spaine, Turkey, Persia, Bohemia, Sweden, Poland, Austria, the Pallatinates, the Grisons, and diuers places of the higher and Lower Germanie* (London, 1622).

[64] See the description given by John Taylor about people asking him questions after his return from Bohemia in 1620. John Taylor, *Taylor his trauels: from the citty of London in England, to the citty of Prague in Bohemia* (London, 1620), A2-A3.

[65] See Edward Haig, *The History of the Earliest English Newspaper*, 1620-1641 (2006), p. 16; see also Sommerville, *News Revolution*, p. 22.

originals, circulated in England,[66] and between 1619 and 1620 corantos written in English were smuggled from the Netherlands to the British Isles[67].

Translations, it may be objected, do not really convey English images of Germany. However, they do serve as examples for an early English interest in the Empire, and they give an insight into what kind of information was available to the English public during the early stages of the conflict and before the emergence of the domestic news market. Additionally, it may be assumed that at least some of these translations influenced the formation and consolidation of public opinion in England. Throughout the war, they not only provided the English readership with first-hand accounts of what was happening in the Empire, but often also offered them legal as well as religious arguments to condemn or defend the events. For these reasons it seems appropriate to include them in the analysis, not so much as the expression of English views, but much more as an influential factor on the forming of the same. Besides, some of the texts began with a preface written by an English contemporary, either the translator or publisher, who in most cases also took the opportunity to comment on the subject. Whilst the actual accounts, relations or histories often presented the facts in a rather impersonal manner, the preface or even the short address *To the reader* had a much more dramatic tone. In such cases, translations could contain a clear expression of English views on the Thirty Years War.

Whilst in the first years of the war English contemporaries primarily had to rely on translations or news sent over from abroad, from 1620 onwards the number of texts written, printed, and published by Englishmen in England began to increase.[68] Continental corantos and translations remained a valuable source for information about the Thirty Years War, but they were increasingly supplemented with news and accounts English commentators themselves had received.[69] The demand for frequent, detailed and reliable news was

---

[66] See for example *The Reasons which compelled the states of Bohemia to reject the Archduke Ferdinand &c. and inforced them to elect a new king ... translated out of the French copies.* (Dort, 1619); *Newes from Bohemia. A true relation of the now present warres in Bohemia, their manner of proceeding in the same, fortifying and besieging of certaine townes, with such supplies and aide as they haue already receiued, and further expect from other countries. With the troubles and disagreements, betweene them, the Emperor and Empresse. / Translated out of the Dutch copie printed at Newinberg. the 4. of May 1619* (London, 1619).

[67] See Levy, 'Decorum', p. 28. Whilst Levy dates the production and smuggling of the first English language corantos to some point between 1619 and 1620, Haig as well as Boys refer to a coranto published in Amsterdam on 2 December 1620 as the earliest surviving one in English. See Haig, *History of the Earliest English Newspaper*, p. 16, and Boys, *London's News Press*, p. 277.

[68] Quite a lot of the corantos and early newsbooks have false, usually Dutch, imprints. The number of news and other texts printed and published in England in the early 1620s is probably much higher than imprints may suggest. See. Boys, *London's News Press*, pp. 69-70 and the appendices in her book. The increase of the number of English corantos and newsbooks can also be taken from the publications listed in Dahl, *Bibliography*.

[69] See for instance *Good Newes for the King of Bohemia? Or, A Certaine Relation of the last and great Overthrow* (London, 1622).

continuously growing, becoming so great that corantos sent from abroad alone, obviously no longer gave "satisfaction vnto the world, and that yet men throng as fast to heare Newes, as they beyond the Seas throng over, and huddle together all manner of things to please the people, both here and else-where".[70] During 1621, the number of corantos printed and published in London increased, too, before in 1622, the first frequent 'newspapers' were published in England. On a weekly basis, these so-called newsbooks, provided the English readership with detailed news and descriptions about the campaigns and events in Germany. In addition to newsbooks, other publications such as broadsides, pamphlets, histories, and political discourses soon delivered background information and discussed origins, motives, cruelties or the legitimacy of the war.

Right from the beginning the English printing press about the Thirty Years War was subject to a variety of factors, which could influence printing and publication. It has been shown for English newsbooks that the demand for news about the Thirty Years War often decreased when the Protestant forces were less, and the Catholic armies, more successful.[71] One explanation for the fluctuation in publication numbers is the demand for news and the interest of the readership. However, this is certainly not the only explanation there is. It is important to keep in mind, that press coverage and publication numbers did not necessarily reflect the degree of public interest in Germany and the events taking place there. News flow and circulation could be slowed down, interrupted or stopped by external factors other than a decrease of public interest, such as the loss of informants or bad weather conditions. In a newsbook from 1625, for instance, the author explained: "[T]hey haue beene so long without newes; but there is onely one surpreme power, whom the Wind and Sea obey: as for man he must purpose, but God determines, for howsoeuer it was was [sic!] our desire to satisfie the desire of men. Whose nature is nouitatis auida, yet through the aduersitie of the winds wee were frustrate [sic!] a long time of our intelligence."[72]

Worse than anything else for the news market, however, were prohibitions and censorship through the state.[73] In 1618, John Everad noted in the dedicatory preface to one of his sermons, "The liberty of the Pulpit is too little, but that of the Presse, in our affaires, is

---

[70] Ibid. p. 1.

[71] Haig, *History of the Earliest English Newspaper*, p. 27, Dahl, *Bibliography*, pp. 162, 166-168.

[72] *A Certaine And Perfect Relation Of The Encovnter And Bloody Slavghter which is newly happened betweene the Marquesse Spinolas forces, and the forces within the Towne of Breda* (London, 1625), p.1. Another example for delays caused by bad weather can be found in *Corant out of Italy, Germany, &c,* Amsterdam, 23 of December 1620. The coranto starts with: "Letters from Roome are not yet com/ because of great stormes and highe waters."

[73] For censorship in seventeenth centuru England see Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England; Press Censorship in Caroline England*; Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England.*

much lesse".[74] Ten years later the situation did not seem to have improved much, as one author chose verse to comment on England's foreign affairs, "As if truth's friend, must needs be *Englands* foe. These rimes, I hope, shall not be censur'd so."[75] Since the late sixteenth century, writing about and publishing domestic news was illegal in England and continued to be so until the early 1640s, when censorship through the state broke down.[76] Thus, corantos, newsbooks and other printed writings, regardless of whether published abroad or at home, were not permitted to contain English domestic news and news about the English engagement or English soldiers abroad, or as one newsbook author from the continent wrote: "I understand by many messengers, that your corantos in England are so translated, and obsequious to the Dutch coppies, that they neuer mention any exployt of the English, nor vouchsafe to attribute the glory of any enterprise to them".[77]

Due to these restrictions, English language corantos and newsbooks did not tell much about the English involvement in and attitudes towards the conflict abroad and comments about it were rare, too, though not non-existent. Whereas the printing of domestic news was prohibited, publishing foreign news and debating continental events was not, at least not during the first decade of the Thirty Years War. This provided a loophole for contemporaries, who used the guise of publications about foreign affairs to comment on aspects such as England's role in the war and her responsibility towards Protestant brethren on the continent. In most cases, comments and criticism about English politics were of course not yet as straightforward as they were for instance during the later years of the War of the Spanish Succession, when the press openly discussed the English engagement and conduct abroad.[78] However, they obviously were direct and obvious enough to attract James I's attention,

---

[74] John Everad, *The arriereban a sermon preached to the company of the military yarde, at St. Andrewes Church in Holborne at St. Iames his day last* (London, 1618), unpaginated dedicatory preface.

[75] I.R., *The Spy. Discovering the Dangers of Arminian Heresie and Spanish Trecherie* (Strasburgh [i.e. Amsterdam], 1628), unpaginated, A1. The poem was in all likelihood written by John Russel, but is sometimes also attributed to John Rhodes and to John Robinson

[76] For a discussion of the breakdown of pre-publication licensing and censorship see Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 7, 80-85.

[77] *More nevves from the Palatinate; and more comfort to euery true Christian, that either fauoureth the cause of religion, or wisheth well to the King of Bohemia's proceedings. According to faithfull and honest letters, sent ouer since the beginning of March, and now published for the satisfaction of euery true English heart* ([London], 1622), p. 10.

[78] See below chapters 3.2 and 3.3.

convincing him that he had to take some kind of action, when in 1620 the king

> "thought it necessary, … to command them [his subjects] and euery of them, from the highest to the lowest, to take heede, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home, or abroad, but container themselues within that modest and referent regard, of matters, above their reach and calling, that to good and dutifull Subjects appertaineth; As also not to giue attention, or any manner of applause or entertainment to such discourse, … vender paine of imprisonment, and Our High displeasure."[79]

The *proclamation against excess of Lauish and Licentious Speech of matters of State* first issued in 1620, was re-issued several times and followed by two other royal proclamations "against the disorderly printing, vttering, and dispersing of bookes, pamphlets" and "against seditious, popish, and puritanicall bookes and pamphlets" in 1623 and 1624, respectively.[80] The (repeated) issuing of these proclamations as means to control what people discussed, wrote and published, not only underlines the existence of a general public interest in the political affairs and events of the time, it also reveals that it was obviously not easy to stop the public and the press from discussing and reporting about such matters. While James I had rather unsuccessfully tried to prevent the circulation of foreign news in England, and to stop his subjects from publicly discussing matters of state related to the events of the Thirty Years War in the early 1620's[81], Charles I managed to achieve it in 1632.[82] At least from 1627 onwards, the foreign news press had already been subject to substantial licensing[83] and on

---

[79] *By the King. A proclamation against excess of Lauish and Licentious Speech of matters of State* (London, 1620).

[80] *By the King. A proclamation against the disorderly printing, vttering, and dispersing of bookes, pamphlets, &c.* (London, 1623); *By the King a proclamation against seditious, popish, and puritanicall bookes and pamphlets* (London, 1624).

[81] The fact that the *Proclamation against excess of Lauish and Licentious Speech of matters of State* was re-issued in 1621, 1623 and 1624, gives reason to assume that this measurment did not have the effect James I's was aiming for. Additionally, at James I's urging the States General prohibited the export of corantos from the Netherlands to the British Isles in 1621. See Raynolds, *Invention*, p. 7. However, neither of these measures seemed to really stop people from dicussing the events abroad and England's role in the conflict.

[82] For censorship during the personal rule of Charles I in general and the censoring of foreign news during the 1630s see Sharpe, *Personal Rule,* esp. pp. 644-647.

[83] In 1627 the native German Georg Rudolf Weckherlin was appointed licenser for the news press and for more than ten years he decided which news and other information about foreign affairs and affairs of the state were printed. For the life, work and influence of Weckerlin in England see Anthony B. Thompson, 'Licensing the Press: The Career of G. R. Weckherlin during the Personal Rule of Charles I,' *HJ,* 41 (1998), pp. 653–78. See also, Barbara Ravelhofer, 'Censorship and Poetry at the Court of Charles I: The Case of Georg Rodolf Weckherlin [with illustrations]', *English Literary Renaissance,* 43, 2 (2013), pp. 268-307.

October 17th 1632 the Star Chamber issued the following decree:

> "Upon Considerac[i]on had at the Board of the great abuse in the printing &
> publishing of the ordinary Gazetts and Pamphletts of newes from forraigne
> p[ar]t[e]s, And upon significa[it]on of his ma[jes]t[ie]s expresse pleasure and
> Com[m]aund for the p[re]sent surpressing of the same, It was thought fitt and hereby
> ordered that all printing ad publishing of the same be accordingly suppress and
> inhibited."[84]

From now on, not only domestic but also foreign news were banned in England. This official ban resulted in a large gap in the publication of weekly newsbooks and corantos for the time between late 1632 and 1638. Although Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter, two of the most industrious printers in the field of foreign news, continued to publish news about the events in Germany under the cloak of 'histories', the numbers of these were relatively low. For a few month people again resorted to the old method of getting newsbooks printed and shipped over from Amsterdam, but their numbers were low, too.[85] The decree also seemed to affect other genres dealing with events and issues related to the Thirty Years War, as the number of publications touching on the subject dropped shortly after the decree, too. For the interested English reader, and for those people relying on printed news for information about the war on the continent, things were to become even worse. In late 1634, after the Protestant forces had suffered a crushing defeat in the Battle of Nördlingen, the ban was extended to all writings about foreign news, resulting in three years of almost absolute silence about what was happening on the continent.[86]

It is of course hard to tell, whether censorship alone was responsible for the drastic decline in publication numbers, or if there have been other reasons, too. An increasing lack of interest in the war after the deaths of Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick V, the two Protestant heroes of the conflict, in November 1632,[87] a period of Protestant defeats, or more urgent domestic concerns, such as the plague, which was spreading in London in the mid-

---

[84] Star Chamber decree of October 17th 1632 printed in Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam - Cradle of English Newpapers', *The Library* 5th Series IV (1949), pp. 166-178, here pp. 173-174. According to Dahl, there were two reasons for the ban. The first being the fact that Charles' I did not appreciate the heroic way the Swedish king Gustavus Adophus was presented in the newsbooks as this cast a poor light on himself. The second and official reason was that the Spanish agents had obviously complaint to Charles' I about the content of the newsbooks.

[85] It is not entirely clear how many of these newsbooks, attributed to Jan van Hilton, have been published, as only three numbers seem to have survived. These three are from February and March 1633. See Dahl, Bibliography, pp. 280-283.

[86] For the Battle of Nördlingen see Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy,* pp. 545-549. For the 1634 ban of newsbooks and other writings see Boys, *London's News Press*, pp. 1, 231-237.

[87] As Folke Dahl has shown, even contemporary English intelligencers did not seem to be sure, whether people would still buy newsbooks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. See Dahl, *Bibliography*, p. 280.

1630s, could all have had negative effects on the English press about the Thirty Years War. It is striking though, that the decrease in publications falls right into the time, the bans against foreign news and newsbooks were passed and that the number of publication about the Thirty Years War rose again in 1637/38, the same years these bans were repealed.[88]

Thus, at the end of the decade, the conflict re-entered English print discourse, and between 1638 and 1642, when England herself was experiencing a domestic crisis and was at the brink of a civil war, the Thirty Years War once more became a subject discussed in a series of publications. Many authors now used the conflict, the suffering of the people, and the devastation of the Empire of Germany as a warning for the English people, as will be shown below. After 1642, however, publication numbers dropped again. With the outbreak of the English Civil War and the collapse of censorship, the press and especially the newsbooks turned to domestic matters, reporting mainly on events and developments on the British Isles.[89] Although hard to prove from the sources, it may well be that after almost twenty-five years of fighting in Germany, English people had eventually become war-weary. The conflict became more and more complex, the longer it lasted, with parties leaving and new parties entering the scene. The original causes had long been lost, the great Protestant heroes had died, and with France entering the war on the Swedish side in 1635, if not earlier, former confessional lines had dissolved, too. In its last years, the conflict abroad became more and more meaningless.[90] Given all this, people in England might have found it difficult to understand why the war continued and what the different parties were actually fighting for.

---

[88] This is based on the numbers of texts printed in English and in England listed in the ESTC, having Germany, Bohemia or Palatinate in the title. A search for the periods between 1618-1632, 1633-1637 and 1638-1648 shows that there were fewer titles published in the mid-1630s, than in the years before and after the Star Chamber decree.

[89] For the English newsbooks of the civil war period and interegnum see Joad Raymond, *Making the News. An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* (Gloucestershire, 1993).

[90] See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 622.

2.2
The war in Germany

2.2.1
A just war for a just cause

By 1619, publications about the crisis in Bohemia had begun to appear and circulate in England.[91] Initially, the majority of these texts were direct translations, collections, extracts or summaries of various continental publications,[92] but there were also already a few texts written by contemporary Englishmen. They dealt with the Defenestration, the deposition of Ferdinand, and the election of Frederick V as King of Bohemia and outlined the origins of the conflict between monarch and people. What many of these texts had in common was their aim to defend and justify the proceedings of the Bohemian Estates and Frederick's involvement in the conflict. The picture presented to the English reader, was clear: The Elector Palatine was not the aggressor in this conflict, but the defender of the Protestant religion and of the Bohemian people and their ancient rights and customs. Law was on his side, whilst the actions of Emperor Ferdinand II and his allies were infringing it. Frederick was doubtlessly fighting for a just and right cause. As will be shown in what follows, this interpretation of the events at the outskirts of the Empire, was a common thread in the English print discourse during the early years of the Thirty Years War.

One of the first English contemporaries, who propagated, or at least openly shared, this view was John Taylor, who had become acquainted with Germany and Bohemia whilst travelling across the Empire in 1617 and 1620, respectively. In 1620 he published a poem called *An English-mans love to Bohemia,* which was meant as *a friendly farewell to all the noble soldiers that goe from great Britaine to that honorable expedition.* The title already showed Taylor's affirmation for the Protestant Bohemian cause, the first paragraph of the

---

[91] The earliest publications about the Bohemian crisis and the Thirty Years War to be found in the ESTC are dated 1619. If there have been earlier texts in English, they do not seem to have survived.

[92] See for instance *An Answer to the Question: Whether the Emperor that now is can bee Judge In the Bohemian Controuersie or not? Together with the extract taken out of the acts of the Dyet at Auspurghe, in the yeare 1584* [sic!]*: concerning the kingdome of Bohemia* ([London], 1620). This was a word by word translation of a German tract called *Antwort Auff die Frage: Ob der jetzige Kayser in der strittigen Böhemischen Sachen Richter seyn könne oder nicht? Sampt angehengtem Extract ex Actis deß zu Augspurg gehaltenem Reichstag/ im Jahr 1548. das Königreich Böheim betreffend* (1620). See also *Newes from Bohemia. An apologie made by the states of the Kingdome of Bohemia, shewing the reasons why those of the reformed religion were moued to take armes, for the defence of the king and themselues, especially against the dangerous sect of Iesuites…Translated out of Dutch into Latine, and thence into English by Will. Philip* (London, 1619).

poem, then left no doubt, that its author was a strong supporter of this cause:

> "Warres, noble Warres,
> and manly braue designes;
> Where glorious valour
> in bright armour shines:
> Where God with guards of Angels
> doth defend,
> And best of Christian Princes doe befriend
> Where mighty Kings in glittering burnisht armes
> Lead bloody brusing battels, and alarmes,
> Where honour, truth, loue, royall reputation,
> Make Realmes and Nations ioyne in combination".[93]

The just cause of the venture was emphasised through words like noble, brave, and glorious. At the same time, attributes such as honour and truth were ascribed to those who supported the right side, and fought for it in the war. During the early years of the conflict, it was not yet the horror of warfare and the suffering of the people, but the excitement, the celebration, and also the justification of a just war that dominated English publications about the Thirty Years War. What this just cause was actually about, was for instance explained by John Harrison, an English political and commercial agent for Morocco, who had spent some time in Germany, hoping for patronage at the court of Frederick and Elizabeth.[94] "[T]he mayn motiue", Harrison wrote in 1619 "being the cause, and defense of religion, and the professors thearof [sic!], oppressed, and otherwise, like to be supressed, and vtterlie rooted out of the countrie of Bohemia: and elswhearc [sic!] also to be feared".[95] Harrison was one of the first Englishmen to report and comment on the events in Bohemia. In 1619 and 1620, he published three tracts, which outlined and defended the proceedings of the Estates and Frederick's right to the Bohemian crown. Whilst two of the texts seem to have only been translated and published by Harrison,[96] one was also composed by him. In *A short relation* which was, as he explained to the reader, his "meditation coming downe the Rhyne" and meant "to wit, my zeale & affectiõ",[97] Harrison was full of praise for Frederick, whom he described as a "a

---

[93] John Taylor, *An Englishmans loue to Bohemia* (Dort, 1620).

[94] See Nabil Matar, 'Harrison, John (*d.* 1641x52)', *ODNB*, Vol. 25 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 508-509.

[95] John Harrison, *A short relation of The departure of the high and mighty Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia* (Dort, 1619), Aii.

[96] *The reasons which compelled the states of Bohemia to reiect the Archiduke Ferdinand,* and *Bohemica iura defensa. = The Bohemian lawes or rights defended, against the informer or an answer to an information, falsly so called, secretly printed and divulged against the writings published by the states of Bohemia. Translated out of Latin by I.H.* ([London], 1620).

[97] Harrison, *A short relation, To the Reader*

noble, & religious yong prince" who had "whollie devoted himself" to the "service of Almightie god against the enemies of his church".[98]

The tone of the relation is clearly religious and it is full of biblical references. Harrison repeatedly referred to the defence of the Protestant religion and Protestant rights as "the Lord's cause" and "Gods good will", which seemed to manifest in the early success of Frederick and his allies.[99] For Harrison there was no doubt, God was on their side, and he began and ended his relation with a saying, first in Latin, then also in "english, so that euery one may read it running. SI DEVS NOBICVM; If God be with vs, and for vs. QVIS CONTA NOS? Who can be against vs."[100] This was a view, he obviously shared with Frederick, who explained that he, when deciding to accept the offer of the Bohemian crown, had "sensibly felt the miraculous assistance and providence of God, who, thereto put his helping and omnipotent hand."[101]

Whilst the Elector Palatine and new King of Bohemia, and Englishmen like John Taylor or John Harrison, believed in the right and good cause of the proceedings in Bohemia, this view was neither accepted nor shared by all contemporaries and especially not by Ferdinand II, his allies and supporters. Even amongst the Princes of the Protestant Union, Frederick's proceeding met with criticism.[102] As a reaction to this, Frederick himself outlined his motivation for intervening in Bohemia and defended his actions in the ongoing conflict in a series of declarations and proclamations of which several were also translated and published in England. Given the widespread disapproval of the Bohemian rebellion, the publication and translation of Frederick's declarations and of the texts written in his defence clearly need to be understood as means of propaganda. They were not only intended to justify his actions but also to win the support of other European princes and monarchs, including James I.

Frederick's description of the situation in Bohemia was gruesome, leaving little doubt that he has had no choice but to intervene. No one, he noted, could be "ignorant of such actions of Oppression, hostilitie, and violence, which have been practiced within a little time, through continuall Rapines, Murders, Combustions, Deuastations, plentifull effusion of

---

[98] Ibid.

[99] In the text Harrison refers to a sermon by a D. Chapman, chaplain to Princes Elizabeth, preached before the departure to Prague, which he had planned to publish. As he did not receive a copy of the text before his departure, he cited parts of the sermon from his memory. It is not entirely obvious, whether all references to and quotes from the bible used by Harrison were taken from that sermon.

[100] Ibid. last page.

[101] *A declaration of the causes, for the which, wee Frederick, by the grace of God King of Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector of the sacred empire, &c. haue accepted of the crowne of Bohemia, and of the countryes thereunto annexed* (Middleburg [i.e. London], 1620), p. 15.

[102] See Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 80-81.

Innocent blood, violation and vauishing, both of Wiues and honest Virgins, dismembring of little sucking Children, with many other inhumane, most Cruell, Barbarous insolences."[103] The people of Bohemia had been treated "most cruelly & barbarously, yea more then Turkes, Tartarians and Infidels there tyrannized upon".[104] Although Frederick did not explicitly mention the emperor or the Catholic Church, it was clear that they were seen as responsible for the "most miserable Estate this Crowne of Bohemia, with the incorporate Countries thereunto adioyning, hath been plunged"[105] in.

It can only be speculated what effect these descriptions had on Protestant English readers, but it may be assumed that their worries about the future of the Protestant religion and liberties seemed confirmed. These concerns may have been reinforced further by fears of an alleged large-scale international Jesuit conspiracy to subdue Protestantism. Many contemporary Englishmen held the Society responsible for the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.[106] Ever since then the Jesuits had been watched with some suspicion, and the image of "state-medling Jesuits" and their "Diuellish practices"[107] had become quite common in Jacobean England.[108] The news and statements coming over from Bohemia probably contributed to the view, that the Jesuits' threat to Protestant liberties was real and that the Society was now laying its counter reformation plots in the Protestant parts of the Empire.[109]

As for Frederick himself, Jesuit involvement in the Bohemian crisis was obvious, too. In the correspondence with his father-in-law,[110] but also in his declarations, he repeatedly held the Society responsible for the rebellion in Bohemia and for the bad state the country

---

[103] *A declaration of the causes,* p. 1.

[104] *A proclamation made by the high and mighty Fredericke by the grace of God King of Bohemia, &c. Commanding all those his subiects which are now in the seruice of his majesties enemies, to repaire home within the space of 14. dayes, vpon paine of his highnes displeasure, and confiscation of goods and lands. Translated out of the Dutch coppie. Printed at Prague* [i.e. London, 1620], p. 1.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Although there was no proof that the Jesuits were involved in the plot, they were still blamed for it. The only known link between the Jesuits and the Gundpowder Plotters was a confession made to the Jesuit Provincial Henry Garnet, in which he learnd about the plot. Garnet did not come forward with the information as he would have violated the confessional seal, and was later arrested, tortured and executed. See Antonia Fraser, *The gunpowder plot: Terror and faith in 1605* (Hachette UK, 2010). For the role of the Society of Jesus in politics and the early modern state see: Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit political thought: the Society of Jesus and the state, c. 1540-1630* (Cambridge, 2004).

[107] *Troubles in Bohemia, and diuers other Kingdomes Procured by the Diuellish practises of state-medling Iesuites. With a true discouery of them, in their most secret consultations. Written by a Father of their owne facultie, in the Iesuites Colledge at Prage in Bohemia: truely translated out of French, according to the originall copy* (London, 1619).

[108] See Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 51 (May, 1971), pp. 27-62.

[109] This view was not confined to the Jacobean period but was also still around in the 1640s and was for instance expressed in Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *A speech delivered in the House of Commons, July 7th: 1641. being resolved into a committee, (so neer as it could be collected together) in the Palatine cause* ([London], 1641).

[110] See the letters from Frederick V. Elector Palatine to James I. in Gardiner, *Letters and other Documents*, pp. 6-9, 34-35, 52-55.

was in. As the interested English reader could take from Frederick's *Declaration of the causes*, the Jesuits were far from innocent in the Bohemian crisis and their intentions seemed clear. They had spread over the Empire, Bohemia, and other parts of Europe, where they, as counsellors and confessors to princes, potentates and magistrates, meddled in state affairs. In these places "an implaceable desire and thirst, did meruailously grow and increase, of persecuting all those, who were seperated from the Romaine Church, yea and totally to extirpate them, if they did not yeeld, and come vnder that Iurisdiction."[111]

In *Newes from Bohemia, An Apologie made by the States of the Kingdom of Bohemia*, English contemporaries could find a quite similar picture of the Society. The text was a translation of the apology, written and published by the Protestant Estates only two days after the Defenestration, on 25 May 1618, and outlined their grievances as well as the motives for their actions. Interestingly, the Estates did not yet accuse the emperor and king of being responsible for the deplorable state of the country.[112] Instead, they blamed the "common enemies, as well of the King, and this Kingdome, as of all peace and quietnesse"[113] for the mistreatment of Protestants and the disregard of their rights. For one thing, these enemies were those regents who had repeatedly ignored the complaints of the Protestant Estates, and for another, it was "that pernicious and most dangerous Sect of Iesuites, in the Kingdome of Bohemia (whose whole practises, actions, and counsels, tend onely and specially, by crafty and subtill meanes, not onely to bring our Kings soueraigne Maiestie, but also the States, and all the common people of the said Kingdome, … into the yoke and subiection of forraine power, that is, of the Church of Rome)".[114]

Both, Frederick and the Bohemian Estates assigned at least part of the blame for the escalation of the conflict to the influence and meddling of Jesuit advisors in politics and political affairs. And whether deliberately or not, they thereby contributed to the idea of an international Jesuit conspiracy against Protestantism. In the English translations of the two texts, this aspect of the conflict was additionally highlighted. The English copies of Frederick's *Declaration of the causes* and of the *Apologie* are more or less word by word translations, however, there are some differences between the originals and the translations, further emphasising the Society's role in the conflict. In the English copy of the *Declaration*

---

[111] *A declaration of the causes,* p. 3.
[112] There may be several reasons why the Estates did not blame or attac the emperor and king (designate) of Bohemia. One might have been that a settlement of the conflict was still seen as desirable and possible and that accusations against the king would have made such a settlement difficult if not unlikely. It might also have been the contemporary idea of *Rex non potest peccare*, (the King can do no wrong) which made the Estates blame the royal regents and advisors rather than the king himself.
[113] *An apologie*, unpaginated.
[114] Ibid.

of the Causes, the word *Jesuits* was printed at the margin next to a paragraph about the Society. The marginalia can only be found in the English translation and it is the only one in the whole document. The translator or editor obviously considered it necessary to highlight the description of Jesuit practices and involvement for the English readership, making sure, that the reader would not miss the point here, even more so as the term *Jesuit* was not used in the text itself. [115]

The English copy of the *Apologie* also contains an alteration, or better addition, concerning the Jesuits. The title of the translation is not only longer than the German original, it also provides a first explanation and justification for the proceedings in Bohemia, "*shewing the reasons why those of the reformed religion were moued to take armes, for the defence of the king and themselues, especially against the dangerous sect of Iesuites*". Thus, the Jesuit threat was presented as one of the main reasons for the Bohemian revolt, a view which was expressed even more explicitly in the caption title on the first page, where the title was shortened to *Newes from Bohemia. An Apologie made by the states of Bohemia, in their Defence against the Iesuites.* Neither of these references to the Jesuits can be found in the German original.[116] The insertion of the marginalia and the changes in the title seem to be adjustments especially made for the English readership, albeit for different reasons. While the first helped to direct the reader towards an important point of the text, the latter probably also had an economic reason. The title of the publications was often what caught the eyes of potential readers. By putting certain keywords such as *Jesuits* or *Bohemia* in the headlines or by simply promising *News*, the texts were likely to attract more attention amongst the English readership and consequently sell better.[117] Even if the reader had still little knowledge about the country of Bohemia in 1619, the fear of, and fight against, Jesuit conspiracies was

---

[115] The term Jesuit was not used in either of the copies, except in the marginalia of the English translation. However, from the content of the paragraph it seems quite clear, who Frederick was referring to. "Yet so it is, that a certaine extraua|gant, and strange kinde of people, hauing disper|sed themselues ouer Christendome, but especial|ly within the Empire, and other Kingdomes and Countries, bordering and depending thereupon, and hauing there brought in, and planted a new Doctrine, absolutely funestall and obnoxious, to all Potentates, and Magistrates: nay and further, hauing not onely obtained fauour and ac|cesse to great men, but also drawne to their own bent, both their Councellours, and Officers, and generally the most Honourable, and opulent of euery place, through the false charme, of a counterfeit and masked Sanctitie…"*A declaration of the causes,* pp. 2-3.

[116] There are different editions of the German Apologia, but none of them had the word Jesuit in the title. The German original from 25 May 1618 bore the title: *Apologia oder Entschuldigungs Schrifft, aus was für unvermeindlichen Ursachen alle drey Stände des Kön. Böheimb sub utraque ein defension werk anstellen müssen.*

[117] That this seems to have been a common practice at the time, sometimes rather disappointing for the buyers of the texts, can for instance be taken from John Taylor's travel account, which to a large extent dealt with his travels to Bohemia (see above). Despite the topicality, the author had, as he himself explained, "not given my booke a swelling bombasting title of a promising inside of newes" and was telling the potential reader not to buy the book if he or she was expecting detailed news about the current situation in Bohemia or the Empire. Taylor, *Taylor his travells*, A2.

something he or she had in common with the Bohemians and was most certainly interested in. From a Protestant point of view, the counter reformation had found its face in the Society of Jesus.

Similarly, the events in Bohemia provided a background for the discussion of Jesuit threats. In *Troubles in Bohemia*, published in 1619, for instance, a former Jesuit father from Prague laid open the Jesuits "most secret consultation." Here too, the Jesuits were seen as aiming at a large-scale re-Catholisation of the Protestant territories in the Empire. To achieve this, the Society's plan was, according to the authors, to alienate the Princes of the Empire from one another, "to induce … the tyranny of Spaine and the Papall Primacy into Germany."[118] Considering the Bohemian crisis, the reluctance of the Protestant Union to intervene in the conflict and the entry of Spain into the war, the Jesuits' plan seemed to work out; the reformed princes were struggling with disagreement, whilst Catholicism was regaining ground in the Empire. The alleged threat of Jesuit conspiracy and counter reformation was not confined to the Empire or continental Europe, though, but was of great concern for English Protestants, too. Hence, the publisher's or editor's address *To the Reader* of *Troubles in Bohemia* "to reade it aduisedly, and with iudgement, because it is a Relation of no meane importance: Incessantly beseeching Almighty God, to blesse our King & Countrie, and all Kingdoms else beside, from the horrid machinations of State-medling Jesuites."[119]

The origins of the conflict between the Catholic king and his mainly Protestant subjects, and the threats of Jesuit conspiracies and of re-Catholisation in Bohemia and elsewhere in the Empire, were two aspects the English press was concerned with. Although religion figured largely in the debates and in the press coverage about the crisis abroad, there was a strong non-religious dimension to it as well. The character of the Bohemian constitution, and especially the question whether or not the Estates had the right to depose a king and chose a new one, was another major issue. Associated with this, was the question about Frederick's right to the Bohemian throne, an issue that was repeatedly addressed by the young elector and king himself. The language used by Frederick in this context was both,

---

[118] *Troubles in Bohemia, and diuers other Kingdomes Procured by the diuellish practises of state-medling Iesuites. With a true discouery of them, in their most secret consultations. Written by a Father of their owne facultie, in the Iesuites Colledge at Prage in Bohemia: truely translated out of French, according to the originall copy* (London, 1619), p. 30. Another example for references to the events in the Empire to show the alleged danger of the Jesuits is *Jesuites plots and counsels plainly discovered to the most unlearned: which hath satisfied many about these present distractions. VVherein is laid open the Jesuites endeavours to bring all states to monarchies, and all the commons in monarchies to slavery, and how they have been put on foot here in England. Also how their counsels brought Germany into these long and bloudy wars, and endeavoured to bring Poland into slavery* (London, 1642).

[119] The quote can be found at the end of the unpaginated address *To the Reader* in *Troubles in Bohemia*.

religious and political. His claim was not solely based on divine right, the Bohemian people had had a say in it, too. This was already made clear on the reverse of Frederick's coronation medal, which displayed the sun, a symbol for God, and five hands carrying a crown. Additionally, the image had the words *DANTE DEO ET ORDINVM CONCORDIA* inscribed around it.[120] The language Frederick used when talking about his election and his right to the Bohemian Crown very much corresponded to this image. He had received this right by "election through Gods singular providence and speciall Grace, by the vnanime, orderly, and unreprouable consent of our loyall Estates of Bohemia."[121] And a bit further on in the text he refers to himself as "their lawfull King, called by GOD, and Elected and Crowned by the Estates, of the said Kingdom, to whom be due an right true and ancient Custome in belongeth".[122] Frederick seemed to fully accept the elective character of the Bohemian monarchy, and following this interpretation of the Bohemian constitution, the Elector Palatine had indeed a justified, and better, claim to the Bohemian crown than his deposed predecessor, as he had the consent of the Estates. By employing the facts in the way he did, Frederick provided himself and his claim to the Bohemian crown with a dual legitimacy of divine right *and* the voice of the people.

Needless to say, this interpretation of the Bohemian monarchy and constitution was not accepted by all contemporaries, familiar with the events. In the Empire, the proceedings of the Bohemian Estates against Ferdinand II triggered a pamphlet war in which several authors criticised and condemned the deposition of Ferdinand and election of Frederick in his stead.[123] It is unclear, whether these were actually published and circulated in England. In fact, there seem to be no English language copies of pro-Habsburg publications. However, it may be assumed, that some of these tracts and the main arguments against the Bohemian proceedings, were known to contemporary Englishmen, and there was at least one pro-Habsburg treatise English authors were familiar with or had heard about. The tracts *Bohemiae regnum electiuum* and John Harrison's translation *Bohemica iura defensa* were immediate

---

[120] A description of the medal can be found in an auction cataloque from 1910 by Jakob Hirsch, Hugo Helbing, *Sammlung Kommerzienrat Otto Bally Säckingen: Münzen und Medaillen von Baden und den angrenzenden Gebieten; Versteigerung: 25. Mai 1910, Katalog Nr. 27* (München, 1910), p. 62, number 1061. A reference to the medal and its inscription can also be found in Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 284 and in Benita Berning, *"Nach alltem löblichen Gebrauch": die böhmischen Königskrönungen der Frühen Neuzeit (1526-1743)* (Köln, Weimar, 2008), p. 221.
[121] *A proclamation made by the high and mighty Fredericke,* p. 2.
[122] Ibid., p. 3.
[123] See Burkhardt, *Dreißigjährige Krieg*, pp. 226-227.

responses to a continental publication called *Informatio fundamentalis*[124], which was arguing for the hereditary character of the Bohemian monarchy and for the Habsburgs' case. The two responses, on the other side, argued against such an interpretation presented by the "Adversaries both of Truth and Religion".[125] By drawing on Bohemia's history, both commentators tried to prove that the country's crown had always been elective and not hereditary. They went back to the seventh century to show that in Bohemia, the free election of the sovereigns had already been an established custom and right, long before it was officially acknowledged and confirmed by the Holy Roman Emperors through imperial letters and privileges in the twelfth century.[126] Although, they argued, in the course of the centuries, kings had repeatedly aimed at the restriction of this right of election in favour of their posterity, the Bohemians never accepted such alterations. It was not the right of "any King to ouerthrow the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome: especially seeing they proceeded not from the precedent Kings, but had their beginning euen with the Nation it selfe."[127] Despite the fact that the candidates of the House of Habsburg had been chosen as kings for some time now, this had, according to the commentators, not automatically established a successive claim for the Austrians; and even though the title had been passed from father to son in several cases, this did not make the crown of Bohemia hereditary as the practice of free Election had always endured.[128] It was the sole right of the Estates of Bohemia to chose their kings, and, what was equally important in the controversy, to depose and replace him in cases of misgovernment or when disregarding the ancient rights and liberties of his people.[129]

The debate about Ferdinand's deposition and Frederick's election in his stead thus also addressed questions about the character of the Bohemian state and constitution, and about ancient rights and customary laws. As such, it ranks amongst other early modern debates about government, sovereignty, and the right of the people, and it became a much

---

[124] *Bohemiae regnum electiuum. That is, A plaine and true relation of the proceeding of the states of Bohemia, from the first foundation of that prouince* ([London], 1620); John Harrison, *Bohemica iura defensa.;* [Augustin Schmid von Schmiedebach], *Informatio fundamentalis super discursu quodam circa modernum regni Bohemiae statum facto* (Frankfurt, [1620]); and in the German language: [Augustin Schmid von Schmiedebach], *De Statu Bohemico Das ist: Der Röm. Kayser. Auch zu Hungarn und Böhaim Königlichen Majestät Ferdinandi Secundi, Fundamental Deduction und gründliche Außführung der Erb-Gerechtigkeit und Erblichen Succession, welche die allerhöchstgemeldte Kays. May. Unnd das gantze hochlöbliche Hauß Oesterreich* (Frankfurt, 1621). There seems to be no English translation of this tract. The differences in the year of publication between the *Informatio fundamentalis* and the two responses can be ascribed to the two calendars used on the continent and on the British Isles.
[125] Harrison, *Bohemica iura defensa.*
[126] Ibid., p. 17.
[127] Ibid., p. 16.
[128] *Bohemiae regnum electiuum,* pp. 2-4.
[129] Ibid., p. 4.

observed and discussed topic in English print media. In addition to the texts already mentioned, there were several other publications dealing with questions related to the events in Bohemia and they all had one thing in common, they were intended to defend the proceedings against the Catholic rulers and to justify Frederick's intervention in the conflict and his subsequent election as King of Bohemia.[130] Thus, the English perspective expressed in the contemporary print discourse was everything but impartial. It was clearly on the Protestant side and in many ways reflected a Protestant point of view. However, the debates about the Thirty Years War were not solely based on religious arguments. Especially when talking about Frederick's right to the Bohemian crown and the lawfulness of his actions, English writers referred to customary and constitutional rights, too. In John Taylor's *An English-mans loue to Bohemia*, for instance, the language was going beyond a religious legitimation of the war, as according to the poet, the Protestant princes of the Empire had united "t'oppose foule wrong and to defend faire right … to ayde a gracious prince in a just warre. For God, Natures, and for Nationes Laws this martiall armie vundertakes this cause."[131] These arguments brought forward to defend the proceedings in Bohemia are in fact quite similar to those found in English pamphlets published after the revolution of 1688/89, when contemporary Englishmen were justifying the deposition of James II and the transfer of the English crown to the Dutch William of Orange.[132]

2.2.2
Early news reports and the beginning of the Palatine cause

Alongside the published explanations and justifications of the events in Bohemia, corantos and newsbooks were the main source for printed information available to contemporary Englishmen during the first years of the war. In the early 1620s, the corantos reported on the war effort and the campaigns, and in contrast to many other publications concerned with the Thirty Years War, they did not engage in extended commentary, but focussed more on developments and facts. However, despite their rather moderate tone, these early corantos clearly supported the Protestant side in the conflict, whilst the emperor and his allies were

---

[130] *An Answer to the Question,* A French Gent.*, A plaine demonstration of the vnlawful succession of the now emperour Ferdinand the Second, because of the incestuous marriage of his parents, Translated out of the Latine printed copie* ([London, 1620]); *A briefe description of the reasons that make the declaration of the ban made against the King of Bohemia, as being Elector Palatine, dated the 22. of Ianuarie last past, of no value nor worth, and therefore not to be respected* ([London], 1621).
[131] Taylor, *An Englishmans loue*, p. 2.
[132] For the debate see Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument.'

repeatedly referred to as the enemy. Due to these continental and early English news publications, contemporary Englishmen were able to follow the events in the Empire from an early stage of the war. The earliest known coranto in English is dated 2nd December 1620 and covered the weeks between 6 and 24 November of the same year. It has been assumed that this was not the first English coranto ever published, but that the series to which it belongs, had started early in 1620.[133] However, the issue from 2 December is the earliest surviving one, and it may just be a lucky coincidence that this issue is covering the events of the Battle of White Mountain, one of the most famous battles of the Thirty Years War and Frederick's decisive defeat.[134] The news were sent from different places in the Empire and are not in chronological order,[135] nor are they very precise, but they give evidence of the prevailing confusion about what had happened on 8 November 1620. The first news, sent from Cologne dated the 21 November, read as follows: "Heere is tydings, that between the King of Bohemia & the Emperours folke hath beene a great Battel about Prage, but because there is different writing & speaking there uppon, so cannot for this time any certainety thereof be written, but must wayte for the next Post."[136] The next paragraph, dated 12 November, contained a little more details, reporting about "a very strong Battelle & on both sides more then 6000 men slaine, though most on the Kings side, also hath the enemie gotten of the som peeces of Ordenuaunce and waggens with amnunitie, so that the King must retire back to Praghe".[137] In Amberg in the Upper-Palatinate, people had also heard about a battle and "that the Duke of Beyeren should have taken in Praghe and beaten our King out of the fielde, but is not certaine".[138] The number of casualties estimated was, with about 8000 men dead and many wounded, even higher than before. Additional news from Cologne than reported of "many 1000. slaine on both sides."[139] Although the news were scattered, it did not seem to look too good for Frederick and the confederates. The interested English reader, after having read this coranto, probably wanted to know whether the news were true and what had actually happened to Frederick and his Protestant allies in Bohemia. From the next issue

---

[133] See Dahl, *Bibliography*, pp. 31, 49-50.

[134] The coranto does not seem to have a real title. It is listed as: *The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1620. the 2. Of December.*

[135] The order in which the news are given is: Weenen [Vienna]: 6 November, Prage: 5 November, Ceulen [Cologne]: 21 November, Cadan, Bohemia: 12 November, Amberghe, Upper-Pallatine: 17 November, Ceulen: 24 November.

[136] *The new tydings out of Italie.*

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid. Although numbers given in the studies on the Thirty Years War vary, the number of casulties has been much lower than estimated in this coranto. Peter H. Wilson speaks of 650 killed and wounded on the imperial side and of 1600 dead plus 1200 wounded on the Protestant side. See Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, p. 306. Pursell cites much lower numbers of 400-500 on the imperial and 500-700 on the Protestant side. See Pursell, *Winter King*, endnote 136.

of this coranto series it became clear: Frederick had not only lost a battle, he had left Bohemia and travelled to Breslau, where he arrived together with his wife and entourage and "300 Waggens of bagage"[140], which already suggested that he was not planning to return to Prague.

However, at this point it was not yet clear that the whole of Bohemia was a lost cause. The corantos continued to report about the councils held by Frederick and his allies, the gathering of troops, and the loyalty of the confederates, who were willing "to live and dye in this Confederation".[141] There seemed to be a chance for Frederick to return to Bohemia with a great army, and in early January there was news that the Hungarian king, Bethlen Gabor, "would assist his Majestie of Bohemia with all his power and never forsake the confederation".[142] After this, there is a gap of two months, and the next existing coranto is dated 31 March 1621. In the meantime, Frederick had been placed under the imperial ban and a great number of the Bohemian rebels had been arrested. The tide began to turn against the Protestant cause, a development that was also picked up in the corantos and conveyed to the readership in England. War had already begun to show its grim face and now as victory seemed to be out of reach, the coranteers were hoping for "a good peace"[143]. This peace was not yet to come, though. Within a few months and with the help of Maximilian of Bavaria and Johann Georg of Saxony, Ferdinand II managed to subdue Bohemia as well as the other countries of the confederation, and to re-establish and reinforce the power of the Catholics Habsburgs.[144] The Bohemians who had been involved in the rebellion against Ferdinand were turned into an example and twenty-seven of them were publicly executed for treason on the 21 June 1621. News about what was to become known as the Day of Blood or the Blood Court of Prague also reached England. In a coranto published in July 1621, and in a translated account, contemporary Englishmen could read about the executions, which were said to have lasted four long hours.[145] As far as the method of execution was concerned, the reader was not spared the gruesome details, and was informed, that most of the prisoners were beheaded, whilst some also had their hands cut off,[146] and that then "twelve of these heads were placed

---

[140] *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1620. The 23 of December.*

[141] *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 21 of Januari.*

[142] Ibid.

[143] *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 9 of April.*

[144] See Asch, *Thirty Years War,* pp. 65-66.

[145] See *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 9 of July.* and *A true relation of the bloudy execution, lately performed by the commaundment of the Emperours Maiestie, vpon the persons of some chiefe states-men, and others; in Prague* (London, 1621).

[146] *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 9 of July.*

and fastened vpon the Bridge-tower, sixe on the one side and sixe on the other, and some of the handes were nayled to their heads."[147]

With the execution of the rebels, the rebellion in Bohemia was crushed, and with this a return of Frederick as king became more than unlikely. On the continent, he was soon mocked as the *Winter King*, referring to the shortness of his reign in Bohemia.[148] In England, however, people remained loyal to Frederick. Interestingly, even several years after his defeat, many newsbooks and other publications still referred to him as *King of Bohemia*.[149] Although Ferdinand II had regained power in Bohemia, Frederick never actually abdicated, nor was he deposed by the Estates, the representative body, who had made him king in the first place and who had the sole right to deprive him again of this dignity. Thus, it would have been possible to argue, that Frederick remained King of Bohemia, even after he had left the country and lost the war. The same was true for Princess Elizabeth, who was still called the *Queen of Bohemia* in the English press of the 1640s.[150]

Frederick's defeat at White Mountain, and the subsequent loss of the Bohemian crown, were a major setback for the Protestant cause, but there was worse to come. In the summer of 1620 Spanish troops had already marched through the Palatinate and in 1622 large parts of Frederick's hereditary lands were occupied by Spanish-imperial troops. In contrast to the Bohemian crown, which had been placed on Frederick and Elizabeth only by election, the title, honours and territory of the Palatinate were hereditary and thus the inheritance of their children, who were also members of the English royal family. Hence, when it became clear that the Bohemian cause was a lost one, it was soon replaced by the Palatine cause. The English press turned to the anticipated loss of Frederick's hereditary territory, the Spanish-Bavarian invasion, the fighting in the Palatinate, the imperial ban placed on Frederick, and the transferral of the electoral dignity unto the Duke of Bavaria. The Palatine cause was probably the issue, which, throughout the period of the Thirty Years War, received the most attention in the English press.[151] Regardless of how complex and hard to understand the war

---

[147] *A true relation of the bloudy execution,* p. C2.

[148] For the mockery and contemporary caricatures of Frederick see for instance: Elmers A. Beller, *Caricatures of the'Winter King'of Bohemia from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodeian Library: And from the British Museum* (H. Milford, 1928).

[149] Examples for this can be found in several corantos and newsbooks. See for instance *The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes*, Thursday, April 21, 1625; Issue 18 (London, 1625); *The continuation of ovr weekely avisoes, since the 30. of the last moneth to this present*, July 6. Numb. 32 (London, 1632).

[150] Here, too examples can be found in a variety of sources. See for instance: Francis Wortley, *The dutie of Sir; deliniated, in his pious pitty, and Christian commiseration of the sorrowes and sufferings of the most vertuous, yet unfortunate Lady Elisabeth Queene of Bohemia* (London, 1641).

[151] For English interests in and concerns about the Palatinate during the Thirty Years War see below chapter 2.3.3 and the quotations and references provided therein. For English interests in and concerns about the territory and its inhabitants during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession see chapter 3.2.4 and the quotations and references provided therein.

and its different conflicts were, the struggle for the Palatinate remained a central theme, running like a thread through the whole period. It was also the aspect of the war, which was most suitable for public reflections and debates about England's foreign policy and her responsibility as a Protestant European nation. Besides the leading role of Frederick V in the conflict, it was the involvement of Spain, which attracted the interest of the English public and became a much-debated topic in the press.

2.2.3
Habsburgs' power, a threat to Germany's liberties and Europe's freedom

With the Spanish intervention and engagement in the Thirty Years War, and the eventual loss of the Palatinate, two issues of great concern for many contemporary Englishmen were suddenly combined: the alleged Spanish threat to the freedom of Europe in general and to England's religion, rights and liberties in particular, and the preservation of royal inheritance abroad. In the 1620s, resentment against Spain was still widespread amongst English contemporaries, a result from the period of the first Anglo-Spanish War of 1585-1604. Many of them had either witnessed the Spanish Armada in 1588 themselves or had relatives or friends who had fought against the imminent invasion of the British Isles.[152] As one of the few instances when a foreign power actually tried to invade the British Isles, the Armada had become a part of the English collective memory.[153] In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Catholic Spain was still considered the country, which posed the greatest threat to English liberties and religion. Thus, it was little surprising that the Spanish intervention in the Thirty Years War on the side of the imperials caused some uneasiness amongst English spectators. Spain's engagement in the war soon raised questions about the distribution of power between the different states in Europe, and English commentators were especially worried what possible consequences a Habsburg dominated Europe would have, both for the Protestant territories on continental mainland as well as for their own country.

---

[152] As Thomas Cogswell has pointed out, there was a romanticisation of the English sea fights against the Spanish. See Cogswell, *Revolution*, p. 14. For recurring references to the Spanish Armada 1588 in the context of the alleged Spanish threat in the 1620s see for instance Francis Bacon, *Considerations touching a vvarre with Spaine* (London, [1624]). The edition used here was published in *Certaine miscellany works of the right honovrable Francis Lo verulam, Viscount S. Alban, published by William Rawley* (London, 1629).

[153] See for instance the debates about the Revolution of 1688/89 where pamphleteers, due to the centenary of the Spanish Amarda, referred to the unsuccesfull attempt to invade England, arguing that the English had once more been delivered from the threat of Catholicism and foreign influence.

One of the most active English writers against Spain and the House of Habsburg was the Puritan minister and pamphleteer Thomas Scott.[154] Between 1619 and his violent death in 1626, he published more than twenty, often quite polemical tracts about the alleged Spanish threat, and the country's plans and practices to establish a universal monarchy in Europe. Scott supported Frederick's case, both in Bohemia and in the Palatinate, and at least one of his pamphlets was dedicated to the royal couple.[155] He was also a vigorous supporter of an English war against Spain and repeatedly argued against any kind of English involvement with the court in Madrid.[156] The Spanish, he believed, had heavily contributed to the escalation of the conflict in the Empire, as they were playing false, broke treatises, and tried to set the European princes against one another to destroy any kind of unity amongst them.[157] Similar views were, for instance, expressed in verse by an I.R. in *The Spy Discovering the Danger of Arminian Heresie and Spanish Trecherie*,[158] and by Sir Robert Cotton, who argued in *The Danger wherein the Kingdom now standeth & the Remedie,* that Spain had repeatedly attempted and succeeded to "sow division betweene vs and our confederates, by which we se they haue swallowed vp the fortune of our Masters brother, with the rest of the Imperiall States".[159] Accordingly, the Spanish were responsible for the disunity amongst the princes of the anti-Habsburg coalition, and as Cotton suspected, also for the unfortunate course of the English campaigns in the Thirty Years War.[160]

---

[154] For a discussion of Scott's pamphlets, his contribution to contemporary debates and his criticism of jacobean foreign policy see for instance Louis B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's Appeasement of Spain', *HLQ*, 6, 2 (1943), pp. 149-172, and more recently P. G. Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *HJ*, 25, 4 (1982), pp. 805-825.

[155] [Thomas Scott], *The second part of the Vox populi* ([Gorinchem, i.e. London], 1624). The tract was dedicated TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCES, FREDERICK and ELIZABETH, by the Grace of God, King and Queene *of* Bohemia*, Princes* Pallatines *of the* Rhine*, &c.*

[156] According to Wright there have been at least twenty-five pamphlets. See Wright, 'Propaganda', p. 161. For examples of Scott's anti-Spanish attitudes and criticism of England's foreign policy in his writings, see for instance the following pamphletes published during the early years of the Thirty Years War: Thomas Scott, *Nevves from Pernassus The politicall touchstone* (London, 1622); *An Experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises, or, The Counsell of a well-wishing souldier, for the good of his prince and state wherein is manifested from known experience, both the cruelty, and policy of the Spaniard, to effect his own ends* (London, 1623); *Englands ioy, for suppressing the papists, and banishing the priests and Iesuites* (London, 1624).

[157] [Thomas Scott], *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie; which may serve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences* ([London], 1620), unpaginated; [Thomas Scott], *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie, why the King of England should hereafter giue over all further treatie, and enter into warre with the Spaniard* ([London, 1624]) unpaginated.

[158] I.R., *The Spy*, E. Writing about the threats Spain posed to England and all of Europe, the author also commented on how the Spanish tried to make mischief between England and France and thereby prevented English and French help for Denmark's fight against the Imperials.

[159] Sir Robert Cotton, *The Danger wherein the Kingdom now standeth & the Remedie* ([London], 1628), p. 4. According to Kevin Sharpe the treatise "was widely known and distributed." Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631* (Oxford, 1979), p. 183.

[160] Cotton, *The Danger*, pp. 14-15.

Spain, Scott and Cotton as well as several other commentators assumed, was aiming at the establishment of a universal monarchy in Europe. The re-union with the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg, seemed to be a first and major step towards it.[161] "AS soone as the House of Austria had incorporated it selfe with Spaine," Cotton wrote, "they began to affect and haue ever since pursued a first Monarchy."[162] The Spanish ambition for universal monarchy was traced back to the reign of Charles V, who was seen as the first to pursue this objective. Ever since then, it was argued in a French tract, translated and published by Scott, the Spaniards had tried "to make themselves Majestrates and Arbiters of Christendome".[163] Although most of Scott's works focussed on Spain and dealt with the alleged dangers posed by Spanish influence on English politics, many of his views and concerns were closely linked to the events of the Thirty Years War. The invasion and conquest of the Palatinate and other territories in the Empire, for instance, were regarded as further proof for Spain's intention to take over large parts of Europe. Scott clearly knew about the importance of the Palatinate within the Empire's political system, noting that "*Germanie* is the heart of *Europe,* for so Nature seems to haue placed it, the *Palatinate* is the motion in the heart, according to the lawes."[164] Moreover, he seemed also aware that the war abroad was no inner-German issue but a conflict likely to affect all of Europe, including England. "The liberty of *Germany*", he wrote in 1624, "now ready to perish, is to be relieued; and the conseruation of it doth greatly concerne both the *English* and all the Princes of *Europe*".[165]

When talking about Spanish practices and threats, Scott consistently reflected on the House of Austria and on the emperor as well, and he drew on the situation of Germany to outline and stress the danger and consequences of Spain's meddling in the affairs and policies of other European states. Due to the close ties between the courts in Madrid and Vienna in general, and the events in the Empire as well as the dispute between Frederick V and Ferdinand II in particular, the Austrian Habsburgs were brought into the spotlight, too. When in alliance, the two branches of the Habsburg family could prove extremely dangerous to the

---

[161] In addition to Scott and Cotton, this view was for instance expressed in William Wood, *Considerations vpon the treaty of marriage between England and Spain* ([The Netherlands?, S.n], [1623]); S.B. *An excellent and materiall discourse, prooving by many and forceable reasons what great danger will hang ouer our heads of England and France* (London, 1626). As can be taken from the ESTC the latter was a translation of a Latin discourse also published in London in 1626.

[162] Cotton, *The Danger*, p. 1.

[163] *The Spaniards perpetuall designes to an vniuersall monarchie. Translated according to the French* ([London], 1624).

[164] [Scott], *Certaine Reasons,* umpaginated. The quote can be found under 4. in the second section to the pamphlet.

[165] Ibid.

whole of Europe, as William Hampton pointed out in a printed sermon in 1627:

> "What is the strength of *Spaine* the world knowes: of what power hee is ioyning his Forces with the *Eagle,* (I meane with the Emperour whose Armes and Ensigne is the *Eagle,*) Christendome hath felt by wofull and sorrowfull experience: What hath *Spaine* of late dayes vndertaken with the *Eagle,* or for the *Eagle,* or vnder the Ensigne of the *Eagle,* but they haue effected it, and gone thorough with it to the purpose? *Bohaemia* is subdued, *Silesia* vanquished, *Morauia* conquered, the *Pals graue* oppressed, the *Laut-graue* distressed, *Breda* sacked, and all by the combination of *Spaine* with the *Eagle.*"[166]

For many English contemporaries, the interests of the Austrian and the Spanish line of the Habsburg dynasty might have been indistinguishable, as there was not always a clear-cut differentiation between the two. The House of Habsburg was often simply referred to as the House of Austria, no matter whether commentators actually meant the Austrian or the Spanish branch, and some also seemed to take liberties with the exact structure of the Habsburg family. John Reynolds, for instance, who also wrote about the alleged Spanish threat and called for an English military campaign against Spain, referred to the Spanish king as "the head and Oracle of the House of Austria".[167] Although Reynolds' statement is factually incorrect, it still tells something about how English contemporaries might have interpreted the emperor's and Austria's position within the system of European powers. The emperor was obviously regarded as weaker and less influential than his Spanish cousin. Reynolds even went as far as to call him the servant of the King of Spain.[168] Thus, the power of the head of the Holy Roman Empire was more of a symbolic nature, than of actual military or financial strength. This corresponds to the general perception of the political influence of the emperor, found in English works of reference and histories from the seventeenth century.[169] However, in the context of the Thirty Years War and the Counter-Reformation, the emperor and the House of Austria, as part of the Habsburg dynasty, were nevertheless considered a threat to the people in the Empire and to all European Protestants. The Austrian

---

[166] William Hampton, *A proclamation of vvarre from the Lord of Hosts. Or Englands warning by Israels ruine shewing the miseries like to ensue vpon vs by reason of sinne and securitie. Deliuered in a sermon at Pauls Crosse Iuly the 23*. 1626 (London, 1627), pp. 22-23.

[167] John Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae: or, The Desires and Wishes of England, Contained in a patheticall discourse, presented to the King on New-yeares Day last. Wherein are vnfolded and represented, many strong reasons, and true and solide motiues, to perswade his Majestie to drawe his royall sword, for the restoring of the Pallatynat, and Electorat, to his sonne in law Prince Fredericke, to his onely daughter the Lady Elizabeth, and their princely issue. Against the treacherous vsurpation, and formidable ambition and power of the Emperour, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Bavaria, who vnjustlie possesse and detaine the same* ([London], 1624), unpaginated. The reference to the King of Spain as head of the House of Austria can be found on the second page of the dedication of the tract to Prince Charles.

[168] Ibid. unpaginated. B.iii, D.

[169] See above chapter 1.4.

Habsburgs, it was assumed, were not only attempting to subdue large parts of the Empire and to transform these into Habsburg hereditary lands, but also tried to supress and destroy the Protestant religion in Europe. As Scott saw it "the house of Austria hath beene alwayes a capitall enemy to our Religion to increase their owne greatnesse, by extirpiting the protestant party in all places where they can prevaile".[170] Despite their supposed weaknesses, the Austrian Habsburgs still constituted the strongest Catholic power within the Empire, which could also draw on the help of several Catholic or pro-imperial Princes in- and outside Germany. With Bavaria and Spain, the House of Austria formed a Catholic triumvirate, which threatened the rights and liberties of Protestants all over Europe.[171]

The strength and influence of the House of Habsburg in the Empire and in Europe were mutually dependent on each other. Hence, Philip III and after him Philip IV had but little choice than to support their Austrian relatives in the Thirty Years War, if they wanted to prevent a possible loss of Habsburgs' influence and power in Europe.[172] Victories over the Protestant forces in the Empire and in other parts of the continent, would help and strengthen Ferdinand II, both in his position as Holy Roman Emperor and as the head of the Austrian Habsburgs and its hereditary lands; a development Spain would benefit from as well: The stronger the Austrian branch of the family, the stronger the House of Habsburg's position in Europe. Due to the military and financial support he received from Spain, the emperor was put under some obligation towards the court in Madrid, which in turn increased Spain's options to influence imperial decisions and politics.

As far as English commentators were concerned, Spain was definitely considered the greatest threat to the freedom of Europe, whose fate was to be decided in the war waged on German soil. Europe's future, and the liberties of its people, depended on Germany and when Germany was lost, Europe was too, or as Scott put it: "If *Germanie* as the heart bee possest by the *Spaniard,* who striues to get the dominion ouer all *Europe,* the rest of the Princes shall not long draw or enioy any vitall life or spirits. The heart therefore must be succored, if you would haue the rest of the members or the body to be safe".[173] In a similar manner, an anonymous commentator stated, if Germany "be ruined, it cannot bee but all other

---

[170] Thomas Scott, *A Second part of Spanish practises, or, A Relation of more particular wicked plots, and cruell, in humane, perfidious, and vnnaturall practises of the Spaniards with, more excellent reasons of greater consequence, deliuered to the Kings Maiesty to dissolue the two treaties both of the match and the Pallatinate, and enter into warre with the Spaniards* ([London], 1624), unpaginated, and [Thomas Scott], *The interpreter wherin three principall termes of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded* (n.p. 1622), p. 15*; The Spaniards perpetuall designes.*
[171] See Reynolds*, Votivae Angliae,* unpaginated dedicatory, see also Scott, *The Spaniards perpetuall designes.*
[172] See Brightwell, 'Spanish Origins', p. 411.
[173] Scott, *Certain reasons*, unpaginated, B3.

Kingdomes must needs fall together with it."[174] The English wish to get actively engaged in the war also needs to be understood against this background. It was assumed that Spain, if engaged in and weakened by a war against England and other European powers, would, in the long run, neither be able to effectively support the imperial forces in the Empire, nor to invade the British Isles.[175] Declaring war on Spain, and the containment of Habsburgs' power, were seen as means to safeguard religion and liberties not only in Germany and on continental mainland but also at home in England.

2.2.4
Alliances, battles, Protestant heroes –
English special interests and unexpected reticence

The worries about Habsburgs' negative impact on Europe's political, religious, and economical freedom expressed in the press, clearly show, that for contemporary Englishmen, there were more aspects to the Thirty Years War than just the fighting over Bohemia and the Palatinate. The English interest in the crisis might have originated from the fact that a member of the royal family was involved in it, but it was not only the fate of Frederick V, his family and territories, the public was interested in. The newsbooks of the 1620s already indicated that the conflict on the continent was not limited to Bohemia and the Palatinate, as they soon began to report about events in other places, somehow related to the war and to the different parties involved in it.[176] When the conflict spread, the interest spread too, and, from a very early stage, the English printing press dealt with various aspects of the war, published all kind of news from the continent, and continued to do so throughout the 1620s and early 1630s. English news writers and pamphleteers commented on the developments in Germany and emphasised the importance as well as the historical rarity or even singularity of certain events. For instance, when in 1626 the members of the Catholic league and Spain met for a conference in Brussels to negotiate possible alliances, it was seen as "A Noueltie of so high a nature as this is (in which all *Christendome*, or the greatest part of it, standeth

---

[174] S.B. *An excellent and materiall discourse*, p. 5.
[175] See also Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', p. 151.
[176] Title pages and headlines often already contained names of various places in Germany and the Empire and also mentioned the names of various German princes, dukes, potentates etc.

interested)".[177] The siege of Magdeburg in 1631, during which about 20,000 inhabitants were killed within only a few days, was to become the greatest massacre in the course of the Thirty Years War, and as one English commentator believed there was no doubt that "since the destruction of Ierusalem, scarce any the like wofull spectacle of the great and sodaine devastation of so famous a Citie, and the losse of so much Christian bloud hath been heard of."[178] A religio-political explanation for "the inhumane crueltie there vsed by the Imperialists" was provided by William Watts, an English newsbook writer. "[T]he Protestants", he wrote, were „strongly suspecting ... that it was not a heate of warre alone, but that there was a Coare of malice discovered in it: not an Imperiall, but a Popish spite, vnto that Citie aboue others; for having beene one of the first that harboured Luther and his Religion".[179] With the Thirty Years War, it seems, the cruelties and devastation committed by Christians, and the potential danger of Catholicism and of religious strife to the freedom of Europe, had reached a new dimension, leaving contemporary spectators curious, astonished and appalled at the same time.

In addition to stories about special incidents, the press also provided information about troop movements, skirmishing, and other military aspects. The interested English reader could, for instance, follow the expeditions and campaigns of the war's great (Protestant) champions, such as Count Mansfeld or the Duke of Brunswick, whose "victories and warlike proceedings"[180] were covered in many of the issued newsbooks and in individual publications.[181] There were continuous reports about the expeditions of Bethlen Gabor and of the Danish armies; and the pro-Habsburg forces, under the leadership of Spinola, Tilly and

---

[177] *A Relation of a new league made by the Emperour of Germany, with other Princes, Potentates and States Catholicke, against the Enemies of the Roman Catholick-Religion, printed for Mercurius Britannicus* (London, 1626), p.1. For details about the conference see Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 242.

[178] *The continvation of our weekely Avisoes, since the 16. of May to the 4. of Iune, contayning amongst many other matters, These Particulars following. The late Deplorable losse of the famous Citty of Magdenburgh, taken by the Imperialists, with the vtter Devastation thereof, by Killing, Fiering, and taking Prisoner of most of the Inhabitants, wherein were Butchered and Burned aboue 20000. Soules, the like miserable, bloudy and inhumaine Cruelty neuer committed (since the Seidge of Ierusalem) in so short a space* (London, 1631), unpaginated, quote is on the last page.

[179] William Watts, *The Swedish intelligencer. Wherein, out of the truest and choysest informations, are the famous actions of that warlike prince historically led along: from his Majesties first entring into the Empire, vntill his great victory over the Generall Tilly, at the Battell of Leipsich* (London, 1632), p. 28.

[180] *August 24. Numb. 26. The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes* (London, 1626), title page.

[181] See for instance *The appollogie of the illustrious Prince Ernestus, Earle of Mansfield, &c. Wherein from his first entertainment, are layd open the occasions of his warres in Bohemia, Austria, and the Palatinate, with his faithfull seruice to the King of Bohemia. Translated out of the originall French coppie* ([London], 1622), *The 19. of August. The entertainement of Count Mansfield, and the Duke of Brunsvvick, into the seruice of the Duke of Bulloygne, being both dismissed by the King of Bohemia* (London, 1622).

Wallenstein, were likewise subjects of the English news coverage.[182] There were other aspects, however, which seem to have been largely neglected in the contemporary English news coverage; aspects, modern scholars of the Thirty Years War period would probably expect to have been widely discussed in print. The Hague Alliance, for instance, was apparently one of these subjects. The English press did write about the Danish campaigns in Germany and also reported about the plans and negotiations to establish a new league between the Protestant powers of Europe,[183] but the surviving sources[184] related to the Thirty Years War contain only few details about the actions and efficiency of the Hague Alliance after its establishment in late 1625. Although it could have marked the beginning of England's active engagement in the war against the Catholic forces, the press response to the alliance was rather poor. Given the overall interest in the events abroad and the English wish to fight for their continental co-religionists, uttered in various tracts and pamphlets,[185] such a reticence seems surprising. Again, prohibition and censorship might be one explanation for this. Even more so as by the time of the foundation of the alliance and in the years following several ten thousand of British soldiers were enlisted (and fighting) in the service of several of the members of the alliance. The participation of England had turned the matter into a domestic affair, which English news writers were still forbidden to report. Here the failure of the Stuart monarchs to use the printing press as a means of propaganda becomes apparent once more. It has been argued, that although Charles I tried to get the support he needed from parliament, he did not make any use of the press to advertise the new alliance, which was neither celebrated nor promoted.[186] Thus, it is likely that the importance, maybe even the establishment of the Hague Alliance was unknown to the majority of people in England. Additionally, London publishers had problems with the news supply from the continent, as shipping was repeatedly blocked by commerce raiders, which also prevented news and letters

---

[182] See for instance the news published by Edward Allde in the early 1620s, such as *October 2. Number 50 Our last nevves containing, a relation of the last proceedings betwixt the Emperour, Bethlem Gabor and other princes. As also, the King of Denmarks, the landgraue of Hessens, and the lower Saxonies preparations for the defensiue* (London, 1623); *The newes of Europe, containing these particulars. the iealousie of Italy concerning Bethelem Gabor, and the Emperour. The distresse of the Emperours army. The proceedings of Bethelem Gabor. The seuerall townes he hath surprised. The diuers ouerthrowes, to which the Imperiall Army hath beene subiect. The affrightings of Prague and Vienna. The calling of Tilly out of Hessen. The preparations of Mansfield and Brunswicke to rise* (London, 1623).

[183] There are references to a new league between England, Denmark, the Dutch and other potentates and princes in several newsbooks printed between late 1624 and December 1625 see for instance *The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes, Thursday, May 5, 1625; Issue 20* (London, 1625), pp. 18-19.

[184] Unfortunately, for the year 1626 only a few issues of the contemporary English newsbooks have been preserved, so that it is almost impossible to tell, if and how much these actually dealt with The Hague Alliance. See Dahl, *Bibliography*, p. 146.

[185] For a detailed analysis and discussion see below.

[186] Boys, *London's News Press,* p. 213. For the press under the first Stuart kings see also Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', pp. 187–215.

from being send to the British Isles.[187] With a monarch, who apparently had no interest in using the press for his means, and with severe interruptions in the news flow, English news writers and publishers had only little information to provide their readership with. One of the reason to supress the publication of news about the campaigns abroad may also have been Charles' envy of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus, who received much attention from the English public.[188] When Sweden entered the war under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus in 1630, many English contemporaries celebrated him as their new Protestant hero. This image was soon taken up and further promoted by the English press, which closely followed the Swedish intervention in the Thirty Years War. There were about 30,000 British soldiers enlisted in the service of Sweden[189] and the campaigns of the Swedish forces in Germany were closely watched and dealt with in various publications. In 1632, Butter and Bourne began to publish a more or less frequent news journal, called *The Swedish Intelligencer*, which was stimulated and inspired by Sweden's engagement in the war. In contrast to the corantos and early newsbooks, *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its follow-up publications[190] were much longer (between 120 and 250 pages long) and provided detailed accounts of the events related to the Thirty Years War. Whilst the later issues, published after Gustavus Adolphus death, were concerned with all kinds of aspects of the war and conflicts in Germany, the first issues focussed mainly on the life, actions and campaigns of the Swedish king. In *The Preface to the Reader* of the first part of *The Swedish Intelligencer* the motives for publication were explained:

> "Out of our high respect vnto that *Caesar* and *Alexander* of our times, that admirably victorious King of *Sweden:* wee haue here (and for thy pleasure too) adventured vpon an Essay of his Story; which if liked, may encourage vs to continue it."[191]

According to the author and editor William Watts, the first part, was moreover intended "to cheere up the long-exercised expectations of such well-affected *English,* as desired in their dayes, to see some *ease* and *consolation,* to the miserably afflicted *Churches* of *Germany.*"

---

[187] See Boys, *London's News Press,* p. 213.
[188] Beller, 'Contemporary English Printed Sources for the Thirty Years War', p. 276.
[189] See Murdoch, 'Introduction', p. 19. The number relates to the period between 1628 and 1648. About 25,000 out of the 30,000 men were Scots.
[190] These were not published under one consistent title but they were all printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. *The continvation of the German history* (London, 1633); *The history of the present warres of Germany* (London, 1634)*; The German history continued* (London, 1635)*; The modern history of the world. Or, An historicall relation of the most memorable passages in Germany, and else-where* (London, 1635).
[191] Watts, *The Swedish intelligencer.* The quote can be found in the unpaginated preface. For the background of this news journal, its author and motives see Boys, *London's News Press*, pp. 143-149.

Watts was a ardent worshipper of Gustavus Adolphus,[192] and consequently the image *The Swedish Intelligencer* conveyed to its readership, was influenced by Watts personal views of the Swedish king, whom he described as a "Prince ... descended of a Family of *Deliverers*"[193] who was sent by God to deliver the (Protestant) people of Germany.[194]

Doubtless, Gustavus Adolphus played a significant role for the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years War, and the degree of attention he received in the English press should certainly be taken into account when looking at the English perception of the war in general, especially as the Swedish intervention abroad also bolstered the news market in England. However, this thesis cannot be the place for a detailed discussion of English views of Gustavus Adolphus, as it would provide but little insight into questions about views and images of Germany. There are nonetheless aspects about the English praise of the Swedish king, which are also interesting and relevant in the context of English perceptions of Germany and the Thirty Years War. First, it seems that after the German princes had failed, the Palatinate as well as the Protestant cause in Germany could only be safeguarded by an outsider, and second, it did not take long before Gustavus Adolphus had replaced Frederick as the alleged hero and saviour of European Pan-Protestantism in English public opinion.

From the late 1620s onwards, after the failure of the Hague Alliance, the English public interest in the exiled Elector Palatine suddenly seemed to decrease.[195] News about him became rare, his name disappeared almost entirely from the press about the Thirty Years War, and there is a noticeable absence of printed material about his death on 29 November 1632, a reticence, which is most surprising. In the first instance, it seems rather unlikely that people in England would remain absolutely silent about the death of a member of the royal family, who had been celebrated as a Protestant hero only ten years earlier. It is not absolutely clear why there is so little about Frederick's death in the contemporary English press. One possible explanation could be that his death was coinciding with the state's crack down on foreign news. With the ban on newsbooks in late October 1632, news about the Thirty Years War were limited to a minimum, and writers, publishers, and printers had only few possibilities to bypass the ban. It may well have been the case that reports, discourses, and

---

[192] See Boys, *London's News Press*, p. 143.

[193] Watts, *Swedish Intelligencer*, p. 40.

[194] William Watts, *The Swedish Intelligencer, the second part* (London, 1632), see for instance the unpaginated *To the Reader* and pp. 9, 34, 74.

[195] This is not to say, that the interest in the Palatinate decreased, too. Regaining the territory and the restoration of Frederick's heirs as elector Palatine were still considered a main objective. It seems to have rather been the interest in Frederick as a person and European prince which decreased. Brendan Pursell has concluded, that Frederick had become a *persona non grata* in England. Unfortunately, he does neither give any possible reasons for such a development, nor refer to the source he has taken this information from. See Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 277.

other kinds of texts about the prince's death were deliberately suppressed and censored, even more so as a public debate about it was likely to reopen old wounds and to bring about new criticism towards those who had, in the eyes of many English contemporary, failed to support him during his life time. Censorship could thus be one explanation for the lack of news and discussions of Frederick's death. However, it is probably not the only one there is.

If not forced through censorship, the silence about Frederick's death could be interpreted as an expression of disappointment about his early defeat, the subsequent loss of the Bohemian crown, the lands and titles of the Palatinate, and about his failure as the assumed Protestant hero in general. From a contemporary point of view, Frederick's life and actions had probably turned out less successful and victorious than the people in England and abroad had hoped for in 1613, when the young Elector Palatine married Princess Elizabeth. It is of course more than questionable whether he ever had a chance to live up to the high expectations placed in him. Despite his continuous effort to find allies for the Palatine cause and for the Protestant cause in general, Frederick never managed to regain what he had lost.[196] In addition to this, there is reason to assume, that at the time of Frederick's death the attention of the English print media was distracted, and the prince's passing eclipsed by the death of the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus. The other great Protestant hero of the war had fallen in the Battle of Lützen in early November, only weeks before Frederick died. Gustavus Adolphus' death was a shock for the Protestant forces on the continent as well as for their supporters in England, where several poems and elegies about the life and death of the Swedish king were published despite the news ban.[197] Frederick, however seemed to have died almost unnoticed or at least unmourned, both on the continent and in England.[198] Compared to Gustavus Adolphus' death on the battlefield, Frederick's end, caused by pestilent fever, was rather unheroic and thus provided little material for elegies and commemorative poems. One of the few texts related to his death was the poem *Upon the King of Bohemia* published in the third part of the *Swedish Intelligencer* in 1633, along with seven poems and elegies about the life and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Although Frederick

---

[196] For the attempts to establish alliances against the Imperials in the 1620s see Bilhöfer, *Ehre*, pp. 108-111.

[197] Here, censorship was either not as effective, or not regarded as necessary as in the case of Frederick's death. Several poems dedicated to Gustavus Adolphus were published in William Watts, *The Svvedish Intelligencer. The third part* (London, 1633). Additionally, several other texts commemorated the life and death of the Swedish King, too. See for instance John Russell, *The two famous pitcht battels of Lypsich, and Lutzen wherein the ever-renowned Prince Gustavus the Great lived and died a conquerour: with an elegie upon his untimely death, composed in heroick verse* (Cambridge, 1633).

[198] See also Pursell, *Winter King*, pp. 277-278. As Pursell points out, a general mourning for Frederick did not take place and his remains were not buried, but moved around before they apparently got lost on their way to Sedan.

was celebrated as a good and just prince, as a "Religious Martyr" here, the ending of the sixteen-line long poem could not be clearer:

> "It is enough this Tragedie to tell,
> This is the Prince for whom Gustavus Adolphus fell."[199]

Even in a poem about his own death, Frederick was eclipsed by the King of Sweden's heroic end, and what was more, according to another author it was the news about Gustavus Adolphus death, "which wrought so on his mind, and body, that his disease was aggravated, and his death ensued".[200]

In *The great and famous battel of Lutzen*, the English reader could find a quite sympathetic description of the Elector Palatine. Within a few pages the tragic role of Frederick was displayed and the cause of his failure outlined. The acceptance of the Bohemian crown was regarded as his main mistake, "fatall to him, and all Germanie", but it was also the opposition he met in many of his endeavours, which apparently contributed to his downfall.[201] Frederick had become an "unfortunate prince", "a Prince, who had been a long time the common But of afflictions and insultations."[202]

How unfortunate he actually was, becomes even more apparent from the fact that he died at a moment when he, as one commentator noted, "was ready to take a new possession of his Countrey".[203] Only weeks before Frederick's death, the English king had decided to put together an army of 10,000 men to support and to be commanded by Frederick himself to regain the Palatinate. The English support, he had hoped and waited for since the beginning of the conflict, was finally about to be granted by Charles I, but it came too late for Frederick.[204]

Notwithstanding Frederick's death, the interest in the recovery of the Palatinate and the electorate, and in his wife's and heirs fate, remained a much debated topic in England, as will be shown later in this chapter. It was, however, not the only aspect of the Thirty Years War, the English contemporary print discourse remained concerned with in the later years of

---

[199] 'Upon the King of Bohemia' in Watts, *Svvedish Intelligencer, third part.* The poem can be found on the fourth page in an unpaginated appendix, following an index to the *Intelligencer*.

[200] *The great and famous battel of Lutzen fought betweene the renowned King of Sweden, and Walstein; vvherein were left dead vpon the place between 5 and 6000. of the Swedish party, and between 10 and 12000. of the Imperialists, where the King himselfe was vnfortunatly slain ... Here is also inserted an abridgment of the Kings life, and a relation of the King of Bohemia's death. Faithfully translated out of the French coppie* ([London], 1633), p. 25.

[201] Ibid., pp. 25/26.

[202] Ibid., pp. 24, 28.

[203] Ibid., p. 24.

[204] See Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 276.

the war. As can be taken from the examples of the leagues, battles, and war heroes mentioned above, the English press published and discussed all kinds of news and stories related to the war waged in the Empire. Authors, editors, and publishers thereby often already recognised the importance and impact of certain events or persons, but sometimes people also seemed to overestimate the importance of some developments. On the other hand, there are several instances where the printing press provided unexpectedly little information or remained surprisingly silent about certain aspects of the war. And then there were events and developments, which had nothing to do with European politics, grand alliances or heroes in shining armour at all, which were not suitable to be turned into heroic war stories, but nevertheless caught the attention and evoked the sympathy of many contemporary Englishmen; and these were the reports and stories about the fate of the people of Germany.

2.2.5
The suffering of the German people

The corantos and newsbooks of the early 1620s had already reported on the negative effects of the fighting and of the militarisation of large areas in the Empire. With the war progressing, the English printing press increasingly turned to the consequences of the war. In contrast to the publications concerned with Frederick, Bohemia or the Palatinate, these accounts and discourses focussed less on political and military aspects of the Thirty Years War, and more on its devastating effects on Germany and the people there. Some of the texts were based on word of mouth, and some had been written by Englishmen, who had travelled the Empire and had thus become eyewitnesses of the Thirty Years War. Other texts were translations of German originals or came out of the pen of German contemporaries, a fact that seemed to give them additional credibility, because "How great the misery of *Germany* hath beene, no tongue can expresse, no heart can beleeve, except those that have seene, and felt the bitternesse of it."[205]

When William Crowne's published *A trve relation of all the remarkable places and passages* in 1637, it was one of the first descriptions of the condition and devastation of the Empire, caused by almost twenty years of warfare. As the travel account was published

---

[205] *The invasions of Germanie with all the civill, and bloody warres therin, since the first beginning of them in anno 1618 and continued to this present yeare 1638...faithfully collected out of good and credible originalls by a Gentleman well deserving that hath suffered much in those warres* (London, 1638), A similar statement was for instance made by Charles' I secretary Edward Wallker. See Donagan, *War in England*, p. 28.

during the period of the news ban, it was also one of the few publications, which actually provided information about the situation in the Empire at all.[206] Whilst travelling the Empire in 1636 as a member of the entourage of the English extraordinary ambassador to emperor Ferdinand II, Crowne had seen the suffering of the local population, witnessed the miseries of war, and even experienced the dangers this could bring to one's own life. In several parts of the country people were dying of, and fleeing from, the plague. Whole villages were left deserted or even burnt down in the desperate attempt to prevent the disease from spreading.[207] Crowne noticed the devastation caused by fighting und pillaging, and it seems that almost everywhere he went, people were starving. In the Lower Palatinate, for instance, starvation had hit the population so badly, that, the traveller noted, "the poore people are found dead with grasse in their mouthes".[208] Crowne took the position of an observer, who described what he saw rather than critically or polemically commenting on it. His travel account nevertheless provided a clear insight into the destruction and suffering the war had caused in the Empire.

About five years later, in 1642, Henry Parker, an active participant in the pamphlet wars of the civil war period,[209] recapitulated what he had obviously heard from either William Crowne himself, or from one of his co-travellers, about the devastating effects of the war on Germany.[210] "[T]hat goodly and most fertile Countrey", he explained, "[is] wasted with famine, fire, and sword, now lying like a Wildernesse, in many places desolate and uninhabited".[211] Although *The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre and Discord in a Kingdom* was a rather short pamphlet and even though its author had not witnessed the devastation himself, it managed to give a quite graphic description of the suffering caused by the war, in only a few paragraphs. Parker especially stressed how badly the country had been struck by famine and starvation. He, too, mentioned that in several places dead bodies were found with grass in their mouths and outlined to his readership "that not onely men, women, and children have dyed for very hunger, but also wild beasts in Woods and Forrests for want of food have perished."[212] The fact, that the war was already affecting animals, emphasised the desperate

---

[206] See above chapter 1.
[207] William Crowne, *A trve relation of all the remarkable places and passages observed in the travels of the right honourable Thomas Lord Howard* (London, 1637), pp. 11, 58, 66.
[208] Ibid. p.8.
[209] Michael Mendle, 'Parker, Henry (1604–1652)', *ODNB*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 678-680.
[210] Parker refers to "a follower of the right Honourable the Earle of *Arundell*". It is possible that this was Crowne, as at least part of the description given by Parker is similar to that in Crowne's travel account.
[211] Henry Parker, *The manifold miseries of civill vvarre and discord in a kingdome: by the examples of Germany, France, Ireland, and other places. VVith some memorable examples of Gods justice, in punishing the authors and causers of rebellion and treason* (London, 1642), p. 2
[212] Ibid

situation in Germany even more. In order to give the interested reader an example of the immense suffering of both, people and animals, Parker recounted the following story:

> "A poore man barefoot and bare-legd followed my Lords Coach to beg bread or other sustenance of him, while an hunger-starved Fox followed this poore soule close, to get a piece of the calf of his leg to satisfie his hunger, which my Lord seeing he relieved the man, and caused the Fox to be taken up (for so weake he was growne with hunger) and to have something given him, but he dyed presently after, notwithstanding his belly was filled."[213]

Crowne and Parker were only two English contemporaries who reported and commented on the suffering caused by the Thirty Years War. Especially 1638, the year of the collapse of the news ban, saw an increased output of publications solely dedicated to this topic. It seems as if the English printing press felt the need to catch up on informing people at home about what had happened abroad during the years of the news ban. At this point, war had already been waged for two decades and had clearly left a swath of destruction in many parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Accounts and discourses, dealing with the consequences of the war, were published under such expressive titles as *The Lamentations of Germany*, *The warnings of Germany,* and *Lacrymae Germaniae: or The Teares of Germany.* They all painted a vivid picture of "[t]he mournefull face of a sister Nation, now drunke with misery"[214] and of the suffering of the people through famine, diseases, pillage, fighting as well as torture; and they outlined how, in their view, "the beauty of Europe, [was] by a fearefull, catastrophy made a Terrible *Aceldama*",[215] "a field of blood".[216] The comments and descriptions of the devastation caused by the war, were clear and drastic, and in most of the texts the suffering of the common people was put in the focus.

In *The Lamentations of Germany,* Philip Vincent chose the following order to report about what he had heard, seen, and experienced in the Empire during his travels in the mid 1630's: "first, extortions and exactions: secondly, tortures and torments: thirdly, rape and ravishing: fourthly, robbery and pillaging: fifthly, bloud-shed and killing; sixthly, burning and destroying, … Famine and Pestilence".[217] Vincent was not just an observer, he was also commenting quite critically on what he had seen abroad. Thus, he took a completely different

---

[213] Ibid.
[214] Philip Vincent, *The lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, and reade the woefull effects of sinne. Composed by an eye-witnesse thereof: and illustrated by pictures, the more to affect the reader* (London, 1638), A3.
[215] *Lacrymae Germaniae: or The Teares of Germany* (London, 1638).
[216] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, unpaginated preface. A similar description can also be found in Edmund Calamy, *Englands looking-glasse presented in a sermon preached before the Honorable House of Commons at their late solemne fast, December 22, 1641* (London, 1642), p. 33.
[217] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, B3.

approach to the topic than, for instance, his countryman Crowne. In Vincent's discourse, the miseries of the Thirty Years War and its (side) effects were emphasised not only through textual descriptions, but also through visual representation, in the form of woodcuts. Meant to "affect the Reader" the graphical illustration of the miseries and cruelties of the war served a clear purpose.[218] There are 14 woodcuts with a total of 38 pictures printed in the discourse, depicting the different aspects, Vincent addressed.[219] Each woodcut has a few words or short sentences inscribed, explaining what was shown in the image. Text and images together provide a detailed, often gruesome, illustration of wartime atrocities and the suffering of the people, and might well have sent shivers down the spine of readers and beholders.

Vincent's account is certainly one of the most drastic and dramatic English description of the Thirty Years War and it seems that *The Lamentations of Germany*, and the woodcuts contained in it, have inspired one of Vincent's countrymen to write a ballad about the atrocities of the war.[220] *A briefe dissection of Germaines Afflictions*, written by ballad writer Martin Parker, consists of 68 six-line stanzas of which many describe exactly what readers of Vincent's account would either see in the woodcuts or find in the text, sometimes even in the same wording. Vincent's report about ravaging soldiers, for instance, who were "rather monsters than mankinde" as "nor Turkes nor Infidells have so behaved themselves"[221] was put into verse by Parker, who then wrote "*Germany* hath had (and still retaines)/ An army whom the devill (their captaine) traines."[222] As Martin Parker had received some attention for his ballads, was apparently much read throughout England, and was praised by other contemporary English writers, it seems likely, that through his drawing on and copying from *The Lamentations of Germany*, an even broader readership got to know about the atrocities committed in the war abroad.[223]

---

[218] This is stated on the title page of Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*.

[219] The woodcuts have been reproduced in this thesis. See above pp. xii-xv

[220] Whether Vincent knew about this and had actually approved or agreed to it, is unknown. The imprimatur of *The Lamentations of Germany,* which is printed on the last page of the text dates November 12, 1637. *A briefe dissection of Germaines Afflictions* was registered on February 9, 1637/38. See Hyder E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger', *Modern Philology* 16, 9 (1919), pp. 449-74, here note 5, p. 457.

[221] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, p. 3.

[222] Martin Parker, *A briefe dissection of Germaines affliction with warre, pestilence, and famine; and other deducable miseries, lachrimable to speak of; more lamentable to partake of. Sent as a (friendly) monitor to England, warning her to beware of, (generally) ingratitude, and security; as also (particularly) other greevous sinnes, the weight whereof Germany hath a long time felt, and at this present doth (and England may feare to) feele. Written from approv'd intelligence* (London, 1638), unpaginated, stanza 9.

[223] For the reception of Parker's work in the seventeenth century and for details about his life see Rollins, 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger' and also Joad Raymond, 'Parker, Martin (*fl.* 1624–1647)', *ODNB*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 704-706. See also Thomas Seccombe 'Martin Parker', *DNB*, Vol. 48, pp. 252-254. The best known English writer praising Parker was probably, as Seccombe noted, John Dryden.

Vincent's account also dealt with methods of torture "exercised by the furious Soudiers on all sides",[224] describing how people were skinned, burned, quartered, and otherwise tormented and killed. Much of this was also depicted in the woodcuts, and again echoed by Martin Parker.[225] Like several of his countrymen, Vincent also wrote about food shortage and its effects on the German population, which had, according to him, reached a dimension unheard of in the history of mankind.[226] Famine and starvation were repeatedly mentioned and discussed in the text and also came up in several of the woodcuts, which displayed people eating frogs and snails, dead horses, and carrion.[227] One aspect of famine addressed in *The Lamentations of Germany* was especially gruesome: cannibalism out of desperate hunger. There have indeed been cases of cannibalism during the Thirty Years War and stories about people eating other people, were told in several parts of the Empire and obviously also made their way into England.[228] Cannibalism is shown in four of the pictures printed in *The Lamentations of Germany,* depicting two women eating the intestines of two dead men, three women killing and eating each other, a woman eating her own child, and people digging out the dead in order to eat them.[229]

Both, *The Lamentations of Germany* and *A briefe dissection of Germaines Afflictions* left but little doubt about the cruelty of the Thirty Years War and the atrocities committed by soldiers as well as civilians. They provided a shocking and gruesome image of the war waged in the Hoy Roman Empire and made quite clear that this war did not differentiate between confessions, between men, women and children, or between poor and rich. Throughout the Empire people were suffering and killed, regardless of their social status, gender, wealth or religiousness. Religion still figured largely in the interpretation of the conflict abroad. However, through people's experience and knowledge of the war, and especially of the cruelties committed by soldiers and civilians, by Protestants and Catholics alike, it began to

---

[224] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany,* p. 11.

[225] See the woodcuts above and in Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, pp. 5, 9, 17, 21, 27 and also Martin Parker, *A briefe dissection,* stanzas 14, 15, 16, 17, 21.

[226] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, p. 35.

[227] See the woodcuts above and in Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, pp. a2, 35, 40. Vincent also recounted the story of the starving fox, which was later used by Henry Parker in *The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre*.

[228] For the perception of cannibalism during the Thirty Years War and its representation in literatur see Daniel Fulda, 'Gewalt gegen Gott und die Natur. Ästhetik und Metaphorizität von Anthropophagieberichten aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Markus Neumann and Dirk Niefanger, eds., *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst: Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 240-269.

[229] See the woodcuts above and in Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, pp. a2, 44, 52. There is a fifth image addressing cannibalism on p. 27. According to the inscription, it shows "Croats eate Children", and was thus not meant to emphasise the suffering of the people, but rather the cruel nature of foreign mercenaries fighting in the Thirty Years War. Interestingly, the people shown in the woodcuts and talked about in the text are mostly female. One possible explanation for this might be that their husbands and fathers had already been killed in the war, whilst they were left behind and had to take care of themselves.

move beyond confessionalism. "The Throne of Europes Empire", Vincent wrote, "is now the stage whereon most direfull Tragedies are acted. And therein as well the Protestant (the more the pity) as the Papists: no difference for religious sake; nor any respect of persons, ages, sexes or condition".[230] He could not but wonder how Christians were capable of doing this to each other; or as Martin Parker put it:

> "O pitty 'tis that Christians thus should spill
> The blood of Christians, but alas, they will."[231]

Similarly, the English clergyman Josias Shute, who used the war in Germany as an example in a sermon on Genesis 16.12.,[232] expressed his shock at the fact that Christians and even brethren were torturing and killing each other. "What horrour is there in reading the late outrages in Germany!" he noted, "where as cruel acts are done, as any former story can paralell: and by brethren, by Christians against Christians! how have people buried all sense of Christianity."[233]

As far as Vincent's discourse was concerned the Thirty Years War was ascribed a strong religious dimension. Obviously inspired by the *Book of Lamentations* from the Old Testament,[234] *The Lamentations of Germany* had a clearly religious message, its language is often biblical and so are the images used to describe the situation in Germany. Here, the war was not only seen as a conflict between Protestants and Catholics, it was also interpreted as God's punishment for a sinful people, a view which beame already apparent when the author addressed his reader, explaining that "Onely the thing I desire, is to move thy Christian heart to compassionate the estate of thy poore brethren, so lamentable, and almost desperate, that thou mayest (at least) by the vials of thy prayers poured out in their behalfe helpe to appeale this wrath of Heaven which is upon them."[235]

Sin was one of the main and recurring themes in Vincent's account, where it was identified as the basic cause for the suffering of the people in Germany. This interpretation of the war waged in the Empire was shared by several other commentators as well. *Lacrymae Germaniae, The warnings of Germany,* and *The invasion of Germanie,* for instance*,* were

---

[230] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*. Quotation can be found in the unpaginated preface.
[231] Martin Parker, *A briefe dissection* stanza 4.
[232] "And he will be a wilde man, and his hand will be against every man, and every mans hand against him."
[233] Josias Shute, *Sarah and Hagar, or, Genesis the sixteenth chapter opened in XIX sermons being the first legitimate essay* (London, 1649), p. 170. Although first published in 1649, the sermon had in all likelihood been preached several years earlier, probably during the early 1640s as Shute also referred to the Irish Rebellion in the same sentence, when writing about "those now fresh bleeding wounds of Ireland!".
[234] For the connection between Vincent's account and the book from the bible see Eamon Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Suffolk, Rochester, NY, 2013), pp. 104-107.
[235] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, unpaginated A3.

three other accounts related to the Thirty Year War, published after the collapse of the news ban.[236] Although quite different in their nature, the first being a translation of a sermon preached in Nuremberg, the second a summary of strange prodigies and signs, and the third a detailed outline of the course of events, all three text did in some way address the miseries caused by twenty years of warfare, and at least the first two of them also considered sin as a major cause of the violent conflict abroad.

In *Lacrymae Germaniae*, for instance, the Thirty Years War was interpreted as a curse,[237] as God's punishment for capital sins,[238] and as the "sequell of sin".[239] Pride, idolatry, disobedience to God's word, contempt of ministers, as well as gluttony and drunkenness, were considered the sort of sins, God punished with war, and accordingly these were the sins the people in Germany were said to have committed. The sermon painted a vivid picture of the grim face of war, based on, and emphasised by, examples and quotes from the bible. The case of the German people, their faults and misbehaviour, were continuously compared with the history of biblical Israel and their sins were seen as equally great, if not worse.[240] However, owing to the nature of the publication itself, it refrained from providing concrete examples from the German past and present. The people of Germany, it was argued, had violated God's law and committed several sins, and for this they were now facing divine punishment. What was criticised here, was a general decay of morality amongst the German people,[241] and this was, in many ways, seen as related to or even as identical with religious misbeliefs and misbehaviour as well as ecclesiastical misgovernment and disputes. In order to end the war, all these deficiencies had to be corrected, as "there is no hopes of Peace in the Kingdome, if Warre be in the Church".[242] The condition and even the existence of state and church seemed to be interdependent: "No State can long stand without government, no government without Religion, no Religion without Gods service; so that seldom, nay, indeed, never is it that the Church is on fire, but the State presently kindles too".[243] From this point of view, the Thirty Years War was a religious conflict, a war of religion, and a war resulting from peoples religious disputes as well as their misbelief. Although this was a rather general interpretation of the causes and effects of the war, it had the advantage that it was not

---

[236] As Eamon Darcy has noted, all four texts had been printed for the same person, namely John Rothwell. See Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641*, p. 104.

[237] *Lacrymae Germaniae,* p. 26

[238] Ibid., p. 33.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Ibid., p. 41.

[241] This has also been noted in Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641*, p. 104.

[242] *Lacrymae Germaniae,* p. 13.

[243] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

restricted to the case in Germany, but was valid for and could be applied to any other nation, too. Hence, the sermon not only provided interested English readers with information about the situation in the Holy Roman Empire, it was also meant to serve as a looking glass,[244] warning them not to make the same mistakes as the people in Germany.

The warnings of Germany, another discourse dealing with the events abroad, also had a strong religious component in its interpretation of the Thirty Years War. Written by a Captain L. Brinckmair, about whom nothing seems to be known, it is a somewhat peculiar publication, dealing with all kinds of strange occurrences and phenomena, seen and heard of in the Empire between 1618 and 1638. According to Brinckmair, these predicted or accompanied various events of the Thirty Years War, as "such civill warres were never without strange prodegies".[245] The first sign of the terrible things to come was a comet, which appeared in the sky over the Empire in 1618.[246] In the years following, the Empire became the scene of various supernatural and remarkable occurrences. Brinckmair's text reported about water turning into blood, about armies appearing in the sky, about "bloody signes and tokens on houses, stones and walls"[247] which were now, retrospectively, all interpreted as foretelling certain battles, killings, and the like. Moreover, the author was sure that all the strange things, allegedly witnessed in Germany, happened according to the will of God and that they were "fore-runners of his wrath", signs meant to warn the people to repent and to "awaken men from thei[r] even dead sleepe of sin".[248]

Just like in the case of *The Lamentations of Germany*, the content of *The warnings of Germany* was also turned into verse. The broadside *A lamentable list of certaine hidious, frightfull, and prodigious signes*, referred to several of the occurrences described by Brinckmair and was meant to address those interested in foreign news, promising to tell them

---

[244] In 'To the Understanding and tender-hearted Reader' of *Lacrymae Germaniae,* which was obviously written by an Englishman, this function of the sermon was explicitly emphasised and named as one of the reasons why it had been translated and published in England. See the second and fourth page of the unpaginated 'To the Understanding and tender-hearted Reader'.

[245] L. Brinckmair, *The vvarnings of Germany By wonderfull signes, and strange prodigies seene in divers parts of that countrey of Germany, betweene the yeare 1618. and 1638. Together with a briefe relation of the miserable events which ensued. All faithfully collected out of credible High Dutch chronicles, and other histories* (London, 1638), p. 5.

[246] The comet was also mentioned by Philip Vincent in 1638 and again in the 1640s by several other authors. See below chapter 2.3.4.

[247] Brinckmair, *The vvarnings of Germany*, p. 15.

[248] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

about the strange things that were happening "In *Germany* that famous Empire faire".[249] The anonymous author not only summarised what "Strange sights were seene'ith water earth & aire, /Which from good testimonies hither brought", he also had but little doubt about God's involvement in the occurrences abroad, which he interpreted as the "wonders God hath wrought."[250]

In contrast to *Lacrymae Germaniae, The Lamentations of Germany* and *The warnings of Germany, The invasions of Germanie* was more of a history than a treatise. Written by a German "Gentleman well deserving that hath suffered much in those warres",[251] it rather focussed on facts, dates, and names than on comments and interpretations. The preface, however, was written by a contemporary Englishman, who took the opportunity to comment on the subject and described the situation of the country after twenty years of war as follows:

> "She is now left so poore, that she can call nothing her owne, she that relieved others
> is now in need of others relief. She that of late was a Princesse amongst the Nations,
> with her sumptuous Palaces is now with the Daughter of Zion, as a Cottage in a Vine-
> yard, or as a desert Wildernesse."[252]

The invasions of Germanie is a detailed eyewitness account of what had happened in the Empire between 1618 and 1638, which Englishmen should "read and consider".[253]

Such instructions for the reader can actually be found in several of the texts dealing with the consequences of the Thirty Years War. Philip Vincent, for instance, considered "the miserable estate of Germany [a] most grave, serious, and weighty subject, and above all other most necessary for us to peruse, and ponder."[254] Brinckmair told his readership that "If it seeme strange I make so much a doe to usher in a small Pamphlet, consider not the book, but the subject."[255] The author of *A lamentable list* hoped that "These wonderous Signes," which

---

[249] *A lamentable list of certaine hidious, frightfull, and prodigious signes, which have bin seene in the aire, earth, and waters, at severall times for these 18. yeares last past, to this present: that is to say, anno. 1618. untill this instant. anno. 1638. in Germany, and other kingdomes and provinces adjacent; which ought to be so many severall warnings to our kingdome, as to the said empire. To the tune of aime not to high* (London, [1638]).

[250] Ibid.

[251] *The invasions of Germanie with all the civill, and bloody warres therin, since the first beginning of them in anno 1618 and continued to this present yeare 1638...faithfully collected out of good and credible originalls by a Gentleman well deserving that hath suffered much in those warres*, (London, 1638). As can be taken from the preface, the author of the preface to the reader and of the actual account are not the same. Whilst the first is English, the latter is German.

[252] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[253] Ibid., p. 3.

[254] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, A4.

[255] Brinckmair, *The warnings of Germany*, last paragraph of the unpaginated preface.

had occurred in Germany, "may move a Christian heart" and at the same time noted that "England (and all the Christian world) hath had, / Sufficient notes and motives to be sad." [256] Given this, it becomes clear that the authors wrote and published not only to inform their countrymen about the events and consequences of the war waged in Germany, but were pursuing yet another objective: By outlining the horrors of warfare, they intended to warn and even instruct their readership. The texts could have a religious or a political message, as well as both, and whilst some authors tried to advise their readership to lead a pious and moral life and to be thankful for God's love and mercy, others intended to warn about the consequences of internal disputes and political disorder. When Henry Parker, for instance, vividly described the suffering of the German population, he most certainly did this to illustrate and convey the gruesome consequences of war to his readership. His discourse *The Manifold Miseries of Civill Warre and Discord in a Kingdom* was published on 2 July 1642, and both the time of publication and the title of the text indicate that it was intended as a warning for the English people.[257] At a time when his own country was at the brink of war, Parker used the devastation of Germany and the suffering of the German people as an example to show his own people what terrible consequences a civil war could have for England.

In *Lacrymae Germaniae* the English reader was confronted with a clear and unmistakable conclusion as well: Germany had become an example of "the fearfull and horrible issues of sin … her sinfull transgressions Eclipsed her glory."[258] What had happened to the country and people of Germany could, and also would, happen to any other country, too, if not prevented by true repentance. As the war in the Empire had shown, the wrath of God could strike anywhere and at any time, as for "no Nation in the whole world thought themselves more secure, or more free from danger than we did".[259] Thus, the sermon contained a clear warning to the German people as well as to any other nation, not to take peace and prosperity for granted but to be humble and grateful. "We all this while," English readers were warned in the preface to *The invasions of Germany,* "continue as the Vine-yard of the Lord, fenced about by his providence, and sheltered under his protection, wee only heare what others feel. God strikes some that others might take warning."[260] So far, most commentators warned their readership, England had been spared the fate of Germany, which should be considered a warning as well as a chance to do things better. "Now loving

---

[256] *A lamentable list.*
[257] Henry Parker, *The manifold miseries of civill vvarre.*
[258] *Lacrymae Germaniae, To the Understanding and tender-hearted Reader.*
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.

Countrymen heare me," Martin Parker addressed his readers in 1638, "this hath long beene (and yet is) the case of afflicted Germany, that it never may be our owne case, let us pitty hers, and leave off those sinnes which have drawne these plagues upon her, though we (by Gods mercy) are yet spared, that still we may, and that our mercifull Lord will continue his blessings, (health, peace and plenty) among us."[261]

In the last years before the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, such appeals became more and more common in the English press. Apparently, the perception, knowledge, and experience of the war and the atrocities committed in the Empire also increased English fears about similar circumstances at home.[262] Here, an important aspect of the English print discourse concerning the Thirty Years War (which will be dealt with in detail later in this chapter) becomes already apparent: English contemporaries were not only very interested in the Thirty Years War, they were also looking for parallels between Germany and their own country. Germany was used as a negative example and as a warning for the English people, not only to show them what sin, internal disputes and (civil) war could do to a country, but also to reflect on the situation at home, and to underline how blessed their own country, the English Nation was. The war, the suffering of a whole nation, and the mistakes made in Germany provided a background against which the English self could be shaped and defined. Similar can be said about the contemporary public discourse about the way the Stuart court dealt with the crisis abroad. The course of England's foreign policy in the context of the Thirty Years War not only met with incomprehension, as far as censorship allowed it, it also became the subject of criticism in the English printing press.

2.3
The war in England

The effects of the Thirty Years War on the Empire of Germany were devastating. It not only claimed the lives of several million people and destroyed the infrastructure of whole regions, it also altered the religious and political structure of the Empire itself, at least temporarily. As has been shown in the preceding chapter, all this did not go unnoticed in England, where the printing press outlined and discussed the war itself as well as its negative effects on the Empire, its people, and on continental Europe in general. Given the dimension of the conflict abroad, it did not take long before English commentators began to consider the war's possible

---

[261] Martin Parker, *A briefe dissection, To the Reader,* unpaginated.
[262] Donagan, *War in England*, pp. 24-30.

impact on the British Isles, too. This chapter will once again return to some aspects of the Thirty Years War already dealt with earlier in this chapter, in order to examine to what extent the war influenced or even triggered English debates about foreign and domestic politics, about England's responsibilities towards continental Protestants and allies, and about the character of the English nation. It will be argued that although England was not officially participating in the Thirty Years War, both the war itself and the debates about it in the public sphere nevertheless had an undeniable impact on English society and politics. In the same way contemporary Englishmen had discussed the origins of the war, and its effects on Germany and the continent, almost right from the beginning of the Bohemian crisis, they soon also dealt with various aspects of the conflict from a national, domestic point of view. Hence, occasional repetition of facts and arguments already mentioned above, may be inevitable here, as those events, which sparked criticism and affected domestic debates in this context, were quite often identical with or at least linked to what people had discussed, reported or read about in newsbooks and accounts. The fate of the royal couple and of the European Protestants, the loss of the Palatinate, the advance of the Habsburgs, the prospects of another Spanish Armada and of a possible re-Catholicisation of England, resulted in an increasing debate about the foreign policy pursued by the Stuart kings. Those who participated in these debate often also expressed their worries about the possible effects this policy could, or already did, have on England's image and reputation in the world in general and that of the royal family in particular. In these contexts, people began to publicly discuss, and to define, the character and identity of the English nation, her alleged role as a European power, as well as her responsibility as a Protestant state in a Pan-European Protestant community. They did this against the background of the Thirty Years War, and their knowledge, perception, and images of the conflicts fought out on German soil, its causes and effects, it will be argued, had an obvious impact on these considerations. Confessionalism was still a driving factor in many of the debates and discourses; however, it was by far not the only one.

People in England were not only concerned about the growth of Habsburg power and about the reinvigoration of Catholicism on the continent, they were also aware that these developments would eventually affect their own country, too. Indicating the spreading nature of the conflict, the clergyman Jeremiah Dyke left no doubt that the Thirty Years War was about to reach England. In a fast sermon delivered in the House of Commons in 1628 he

warned his audience:

> "Have wee not seene the sword in Commission and vpon Circuit? Hath it not circuited from Bohemia to the Palatinate: from thence into other Prouinces of Germany, and so vp the borders of Denmark … Hath not the sword ceazed vppon our own armi? Hath it not begunne to eate English flesh and drink English blood? Warnes it not vs fairly, that it is bending its course, and laying its roade towards us?"[263]

For Dyke, and many of his fellow-countrymen, it was evident that the natural border of the channel could not prevent the British Isles from being affected by the war, or at least its outcome. The Spanish engagement in the war waged on German soil had stoked new fears of a Spanish universal monarchy. Containing Habsburgs' power and maintaining some kind of balance amongst the powers of Europe, therefore became an increasingly relevant idea in the minds of seventeenth century English commentators and thus in public and printed discourses. A too mighty House of Habsburg, it was assumed, would sooner or later attempt to subdue large parts of Europe, a prospect which concerned both continental mainland and England. Even more so as it seemed only a matter of time before England was to become the next target of the European Counter-Reformation and of Spain's hegemonial ambitions.[264] Thus, England had to take a stand in the Thirty Years War.

2.3.1
Mediation, negotiations, calls for war –
Stuart foreign policy and the reaction of the press

As can be taken from the news press and print discourse of the early 1620s, people in England began to support the Bohemian revolt and the Palatine cause as soon as news about the events had reached England. One of the most important aspects in this context was, once again, the involvement of Frederick V as a leading figure in the conflict abroad. It was mostly for him and his relation to the English royal family that contemporary Englishmen had heard about and got interested in the Bohemian crisis in the first place. As outlined above Frederick and the Bohemian Estates were, in all likelihood, not only hoping for, but also counting on

---

[263] Jeremiah Dyke, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast To the Commons house of Parliament. April. 5th. 1628* (London, 1628), p. 23.

[264] These fears were expressed in several publications of the Thirty Years War period. See for instance Denzil Holles, *Mr. Denzell Hollis His speech to the Lords concerning the settling of the Queen of Bohemia and her electorall family in their right and inheritance with restitution for their sufferings July 9, 1641* (London, 1641).

England's military support in the conflict,[265] and by distributing the various declarations, proclamations, and apologies made by Frederick and the Bohemian Estates in England, they communicated their motives and aims to the English public.[266] Given that the king's son-in-law was fighting for the Bohemian Protestants, who were believed to "suffer much from the house of Austria, and no litle by the present Emperour",[267] English contemporaries most certainly expected some kind of active engagement on the continent, too.[268] When it became more and more obvious that the conflict in the Empire was to be settled neither soon nor peacefully, pamphleteers, preachers, and politicians in England began to call for a military intervention for the cause of Frederick and Elizabeth, for safeguarding Protestantism, and against the Spanish threat.[269] As John Reynolds declared in 1624, "all the Subiects of this Kingdome, doe vehementlie desire Warre with Spayne, as knowing it necessarie for our Estate, and safe and honnorable for our King."[270] According to those commentators in favour of an military intervention, the English people wanted to enter the war on the continent, they wanted to go abroad and fight side by side with their co-religionists in what John Taylor described as "noble warres … where honour, truth, loue, royall reputation/Make Realms and Nations joyne in combination".[271] The purpose of the war seemed clear and those who left the British Isles to serve this purpose were assured of their fellow-countrymen's support:

> "And you that for that purpose go from hence
> To serve that mighty Princess, and that Prince,
> Ten thousand, thousand praiers shall euery day
> Implore th' Almighty to direct your way.
> Goe on, goe on braue souldiers; never cease
> Till noble warre, produce a noble peace."[272]

---

[265] Such expectations might have been additionally fuelled by Archbishop Abbot's advice to Princess Elizabeth that Frederick should accept the Bohemian crown. As has been noted by Tim Harris, Abbot seemed to believe that the English king would in the end step in for his son-in-law. See Harris, *Rebellion*, p. 189.

[266] See again *Newes from Bohemia. An apologie*; *A declaration of the causes*; *A proclamation made by the high and mighty Fredericke*; *The reasons which compelled the states of Bohemia to reiect the Archiduke Ferdinand &c. & inforced them to elect a new king*; and *Bohemica iura defensa*.

[267] Alexander Leighton, *Speculum belli sacri: Or The looking-glasse of the holy war wherein is discovered: the evill of war. The good of warr. The guide of war* (London, 1624), p. 15.

[268] This has also been suggested in William Brown Patterson, 'King James I and the protestant cause in the crisis of 1618–22' in *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982), pp. 319-334, here p. 320.

[269] See for instance John Everad's sermon, *The arriereban*, which was published as early as 1618 and called for "a just warre, whose naturall and intended efefcts are to recouer our; to revenge injuries: to succour the distressed; to subdue rebels; to defend our own land; to maintaine true religion", pp. 16-17. On Everad's sermon see also Harris, *Rebellion*, p. 190.

[270] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*.

[271] Taylor, *An Englishmans loue*, p. 1.

[272] Ibid. p. 10.

Whilst the English public seemed to prepare for a possible intervention abroad, the English government did not. The question about a possible English participation in the conflict on the continent, and about attitudes and policies towards Spain, was one of the instances where the general public opinion, as expressed in print, and the political line of the Jacobean court diverged immensely. Whilst English pamphleteers began to discuss matters of state, and expressed their displeasure concerning Anglo-Spanish relations, their king was working on a closer bond between England and Spain. Whilst the English court tried to arrange a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna, the English people argued for a war against the country of Charles' bride-to-be. At the same time, the presence of Spanish ambassadors and councillors, especially of Count Gondomar, at the Jacobean court, and their presumed influence on English politics, was watched with suspicion and alarm, and added more fuel to the controversy.[273] At first glance, the way James I dealt with the situation appeared to be in sharp contrast to the views and wishes of his people. This was of course only one side of the story.

As has already been noted above, James I did indeed not approve of Frederick's election and coronation, he questioned the legality of the proceedings in Bohemia, and was reluctant to get involved in a military campaign to recover the Bohemian crown for his son-in-law. The English press of the early 1620s rarely commented on James' motives, but these matters were obviously discussed abroad. Here, an English Catholic gentleman form the continent observed, "speech hath more freedom then in England."[274] This made it possible for him to explain to his Protestant friend in England that "his Maiesty, being regardful of justice and equite, hath shewed his dislike of this Prince his great errour, in accepting at the hands of Rebells the Bohemian Crown, which appertained vnto his owne soueraygne Lord the Emperour, vnto whome he being a subject, it maketh the case so much the more dishonourable and vniust".[275] Approving of, or even actively supporting, the rebellion of another people against their legitimate king was clearly against James I's own beliefs and his ideas of monarchy and kingship. "The State of MONARCHIE", he had proclaimed in a speech before the Lords and Commons in 1609/10, "is the supremest thing vpon earth: For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and sit vpon GODS throne, but euen by

---

[273] For comments on Gondomar, his presence at the English court and his presumed influence on James I see for instance [Scott], *Vox populi*, as well as Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, unpaginated

[274] N. Crynes, *The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman, lately become a Catholike beyond the seas, to his Protestant friend in England in answere to some points, wherin his opinion was required, concerning the present busines of the Palatinate, & marriage with Spayne* ([St. Omer], 1622), p. 4.

[275] Ibid. p. 5.

GOD himselfe they are called Gods."[276] Originally, James I had argued, the power of kings had been more or less unlimited as "they make and vnmake their subiects: they haue power of raising, and casting downe: of life, and of death: Iudges ouer all their subiects, and in all causes."[277] Whilst the kings "willes at that times, serued for Law", in "Kingdoms … setled in ciuilitie and policie … Kings set downe their mindes by Lawes, which are properly made by the king only; but at the rogation of the people, the Kings graunt being obtained thereunto."[278] Thus, the power of kings, was not longer absolute but had become limited by the laws of the kingdom, which the monarch was obliged to observe and protect. However, it was still him and not the people who made these laws. Despite acknowledging the rule of law as some sort of control and limitation to monarchical power, James I denied the people any right to hold a monarch liable for his misgovernment. Although bound "to the obseruation of the fundamentall Laws of his kingdom", in the end kings were still "accomptable to none but God onely" as "no Christian man ought to allow any rebellion of people against their Prince, yet doeth God never leaue Kings vnpunished when they transgresse these Limits."[279]

Given this understanding of monarchy in general, supporting the Bohemian rebellion against the alleged misgovernment of Ferdinand II was hardly an option for James I, not least because it would have set the wrong example for his own people and could therefore have proven dangerous for the English king himself.[280] Even if Ferdinand II had acted against the laws of Bohemia and violated his obligations towards his subjects, it was for God and not for the Bohemia people or anybody else to call him to account for it. However, despite his reluctance to recover a crown, which in his opinion Frederick should not have accepted in the first place, James I continuously tried to solve the troubles his son-in-law had caused and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. This was a difficult endeavour, considering the explosive nature of the situation, both in terms of domestic and foreign policy. Letters, private as well as diplomatic, written by James I, Frederick, and their ambassadors and diplomats clearly show the English involvement in the negotiations and the efforts to settle the matter peacefully.[281] The policy of mediation might not have been the quickest way to achieve a settlement and it was not always successful either, as several embassies sent to

---

[276] *The Kings Maiesties speach to the Lords and Commons of this present Parliament at Whitehall, on Wednesday the xxj. of March. Anno Dom. 1609* (London, [1609]), unpaginated, B.
[277] Ibid. On James I's views of government, the divine rights of kings and the obligations of kings see W.B. Patterson, *King James* especially pp. 21-30, as well as Harris, *Rebellion*, here especially pp. 12-41.
[278] *The Kings Maiesties speach*
[279] Ibid.
[280] See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, pp. 10-11.
[281] See Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, and Gardiner, *Letters and other Documents*.

negotiate with the emperor returned to England empty handed.[282] Not all of James I attempts to help his son-in-law without using force failed, though, and it can only be speculated how bad Frederick's situation would have become without English mediation and support. During an embassy to Vienna in 1621, Lord Digby had for instance prevented an immediate transferral of the electoral dignity to the Duke of Bavaria, delaying its loss until early 1623.[283] The English court supported the Protestant cause abroad, but often the means and options available were rather limited, even more so as the king lacked the financial means to get involved and fight in a long war.[284]

Besides, many of the actions of James I need to be understood as attempts to keep a political and confessional balance of power in Europe.[285] In his self-chosen role as the arbiter of Europe, James I tried to prevent and put an end to religious fighting through the establishment of interconfessional family ties. The first step to achieve this was the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the prominent German Protestant prince Frederick. This Protestant alliance was then meant to be complemented by marrying Prince Charles to Maria Anna, the Infanta of Catholic Spain.[286] Whilst the Palatine wedding had been celebrated throughout Protestant England, the plan for the Spanish match sparked a public outcry, not just because people feared the prince's marriage to the Infanta would result in the toleration of Catholics in England.[287] As we shall see, in the view of the general English public, as reflected in the press, Spain posed a clear threat to English right, liberties, and interests at home as well as abroad, and thus had to be fought against. Spanish troops were involved in the imperial occupation of the Palatinate and thus responsible for the loss and partial destruction of the rightful territory of Princess Elizabeth and her heirs. By assisting the emperor in his proceedings against Frederick V, it was argued, the Spanish king had given the King of England a "just cause to undertake that warre" against Spain, "which is soe Iust, Honnorable, and Charitable, as to the eyes and censures of the whole world, it beares its perswasion with it".[288] From this standpoint, James I's policy towards Spain, and his

---

[282] For an overview of English diplomacy and embassies to the continent in 1618 and 1619 see Edward McCabe, 'England's Foreign Policy in 1619. Lord Donaster's Embassy to the Princes of Germany', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1950), pp. 457-477.

[283] See Bilhöfer, *Ehre*, p. 100.

[284] See Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V*, pp. 23-24. According to contemporary estimations a sum of £ 258,370 was needed to put together and equip an army for the defence of the Palatinate. An additional amount of £ 912,768 per annum was estimated for maintaining such an army abroad. See S.L. Adams 'Foreign Policy', p. 150.

[285] See Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p.87. For the different interpretations of James' policy and actions see also W.B. Patterson, 'King James I and the protestant cause', p. 320.

[286] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution,* p. 16.

[287] For the fear of Catholic toleration in the context of the Spanish match see White, *Militant Protestantism* pp. 39-45.

[288] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, unpaginated.

"unlimited desire of peace"[289] was not only hard to understand, but also quite obviously wrong. In addition to this, commentators believed, that James I's favourable policy and his relation to the Spanish court as well as the marriage plans had a negative impact on England's course of foreign policy, as this seemed to be factors, which determined the king's action in the international arena. Much of what the English king did, or did not do, was, as John Rushworth, for instance, noted in retrospect in 1659, done "to gratifie the *Spaniard*".[290] This however, "rendred him disgusted by his Subjects"[291] and influenced his behaviour in the Bohemian and Palatinate crisis. "It was an high business to the whole Christian World, and the issue of it had main dependence upon the King of *England*, being the *Mightiest Prince* of the Protestant Profession: But this Kings proceedings were wholly governed by the unhappy *Spanish* Treaty."[292]

Whilst James I's policies and decisions are now usually regarded as attempts to settle the conflict between his son-in-law and Emperor Ferdinand II through diplomacy rather than war, and as the wish to establish and keep a peaceful balance in Europe, many of his subjects interpreted these as a pro-Spanish policy or political inaction. One of the main reasons for this misunderstanding between the souvereign and his people, and for the very different views on the matter, was the discrepancy between what James I actually did to help Frederick and to aid the Protestant cause and what he communicated to the public. The English court provided only little information about England's role in the war abroad and news about the efforts undertaken to mediate between the conflicting parties or the role of English (and Scottish) soldiers in the fighting abroad seem to have been deliberately withheld from the general public.[293] Aspects like an empty treasury or the recurring struggle between king and parliament over subsidies and supplies rarely reached the public. As most of the debates about the course of foreign policy, as well as the negotiations between the different parties, took place behind closed doors, the policy of the Stuart king was not at all transparent to his people and James I did little to change this.[294] Instead, the ban on domestic news further prevented the information flow and may thus have been an additional reason why English contemporaries knew and heard so little about their king's attempts to help his son-in-law. As it was prohibited to report about England's involvement in the Thirty Years War, details

---

[289] *The practise of princes. Published by A. Ar* ([Amsterdam], 1630), p. 6
[290] Rushworth, *Historical collections* p. 9.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid., p. 5.
[293] See for instance Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', pp. 192-193. As Cogswell has noted, James I considered military actions a part of the *arcana imperii*, the state secrets of foreign affairs.
[294] See Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', p. 192.

about it, contained in continental corantos and newsbooks, were not translated and deliberately left out of the English copies. Thus, news like "Men verhoort uyt Enghelandt dat syne Majesteyt metten eerste groote hulpe senden sal tot assistentie van Coninck Fredericus, om Spinola uytte Pfalts te helpen"[295] hardly ever appeared in the English press of the Thirty Years War period. The imposed silence about England's involvement in the war and James I's attempts to suppress any public debate about the same were soon backfiring on the English king.

Despite the prohibition of domestic news, contemporary Englishmen often still found a way to discuss and comment on their country's role in the war abroad, at least during the reign of James I. Discontent with the king's inaction, his relations with the court in Madrid, and England's neutrality in the conflict was expressed in various forms. As outlined above, this repeatedly induced James I to issue proclamations against discussing state affairs and against the printing, importing and circulation of unauthorised books and pamphlets dealing with matters of state or religion in the early 1620s. However, in contrast to the bans on foreign news passed under Charles I in the 1630s, the proclamations did not stop public debates or the news flow. At least when looking at the numbers of publications concerned with the Thirty Years' War, the 1620s appear to be amongst the most productive years.[296] How many works, dealing with aspects related to the conflict abroad and England's foreign policy course, were actually prevented from publication and how effective James I's proclamation was in the end, is hard to tell. It may be assumed though, that several treatises, pamphlets and sermons have fallen prey to censorship prior or after publication.[297] In 1624, John Reynolds, who was imprisoned for his critical writings the same year, revealed to his readership that one of his own writings had repeatedly been suppressed "because the Seas of our Kings affection to *Spaine* went so loftle, and the winder were so tempestious, that it could not possibly be permitted to passe the Pikes of the Presse".[298] As Reynolds himself explained, he was by far not the only one whose works were censored: "I sawe *Allureds* honest letter,

---

[295] This quote from a Dutch coranto published in 1621 is taken from Dahl, *Bibliography*, pp. 34-35.

[296] This may be taken from the number of printed works related to the Thirty Years War in the ESTC. A subject search for 'Thirty Years War' produced 145 hits for the years 1620-1625; 111 hits for 1626-1632; 21 hits for the period of the news bans under Charles I, and 86 hits for 1638-48.

[297] For the effectiveness and uneffectiveness of these proclamations see Clegg, *Censorship in Jacobean England*, pp. 57-59.

[298] Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*, unpaginated Dedicatory. For the actions taken against Reynolds as well against the printer of his two pamphlets *Votivae Angliae* and *Vox Coeli* see Clegg, *Censorship in Jacobean England*, p. 56. On John Reynolds see also K. Grudzien Baston, 'Reynolds, John (*b. c.*1588, *d.* after 1655)', *ODNB*, Vol. 46 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 542-543.

Scots loyall *Vox Populy,* D. *Whiting,* D. *Euerard,* and *Claytos* zealous Sermons, and others, suppressed and silenced".[299]

The print discourse about what role England could and should play in the increasingly escalating conflict abroad was closely related to and often directly triggered by the foreign policy pursued by the Stuart courts. The disappointment amongst English contemporaries about their country's reserved attitude must have been tremendous, considering the expectations people had obviously had of the close alliance between England and the Palatinate when established in 1613:

> "The Princely enioyers of this Vnion,
> That in the sacred band of loue are twyned,
> Are both from Kings, and lignes Imperiall sprung,
> And by their match, great Kingdoms are combinde:
> By it great Brittaine, and the Palsgraves Land,
> Shall checke the Popish pride with fierce Alarme,
> And make it in much trepidation stand,
> When both their Colours shall ioned arme in arme:
> And (thus conioned) shall tryumphant flye,
> Both in one line of Loue and Dignitie."[300]

In retrospect, this poem could have been foretelling a completely different course of the early years of the Thirty Years War. Written to commemorate the Palatine wedding, it was assuming and praising a union between England and the Palatinate, in which both countries stood side by side to fight back and defeat the Catholic powers in Europe. In 1619, when this union was needed most, when the Palatinate was in need for support from England, it seemed to fail, with disastrous consequences for Frederick. Given the role which had been ascribed to the young Elector Palatine and to his alliance with England, it seems little surprising that contemporaries called for an active support and engagement in the conflict, and consequently, when this engagement did not take place, began to question and eventually to criticise their government's policy. For the majority of contemporary Englishmen, James I's behaviour in this crisis must have been rather incomprehensible. Their king did not seem to do much to aid the Protestant cause in the Empire, nor did he in any way seem to help the husband of his only daughter. Hence, it did not take long before questions about a possible support for Frederick V and the continental Protestants, and about the way to deal with the conflict in the Empire, sparked off general debates about England's foreign policy, about the responsibility towards allies and European neighbours, and especially about English relations

---

[299] Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*, unpaginated Dedicatory.
[300] Anthony Nixon, *Great Brittaines generall Ioyes, Londons glorious Triumphes*, (London, 1613).

with Spain.[301] Whilst their king seemed to have decided to remain inactive, English pamphleteers called for action. Especially in the last years of James I's reign, and after the failure of the Spanish match, a whole series of sermons, pamphlets and treatises argued for an English military intervention, for a just war, abroad.[302] The anti-Spanish attitude of Charles and Buckingham, and their support for the war and the Protestant cause abroad, seemed to encourage more critical reflections and comments on the Jacobean foreign policy.[303] "Warres well vndertaken", it was assumed in 1625, "are good and lawfull … so wee must not be cowards vpon just cause to refuse it".[304] English commentators began to define an engagement in the conflict, in support of their friends and neighbours, as their country's duty. On the title page of John Harrison's *A Short Relation of the departure,* for instance, the motives for publishing the tract, as well as the author's expectations towards the English king are articulated quite clearly. Apart from convincing people of the lawfulness of the proceedings in Bohemia, the tract was meant "to encourage all other noble & heroicall spirits (especially our own nation, whome on honour it first and chieffelie concerneth) by prerogative of that high and soveraigne Title, hereditarie to our Kings & Princes: defendees [sic!] of the faith) to the lyke Christian resolution, against Antichrist and his adhaerents."[305] King James I was thus reminded, that it was his inherited duty and responsibility to defend the Protestant faith and that he therefore had to intervene in the conflict in support of Frederick's and of the Bohemian cause.

A few years later, John Reynolds wrote and published a treatise intended to "perswade his Majestie to draw his Royal Sword for the restoring of the Palatinate, and Electorat, to his Sonne in Law … AGAINST THE TREACHEROVS VSVRPATION and formidable Ambition and Power of the *Emperour*, the King of *Spain* and the Duke of Bavaria".[306] The text was addressed and presented to James I, and later also to Prince Charles, and here too, the English king was repeatedly reminded of his obligations, this time towards his family. The phrase "your son-in-law" was used about twenty-five times, "your daughter" about

---

[301] For English resentments against Spain expressed by the public and the call for a more belligerent foreign policy under James I see also Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*.

[302] In addition to the works discussed here there were several other publications which argued for a war against Spain and the imperials and condemned the proceedings in Bohemia and in the Palatinate. See for instance Leighton, *Speculum belli sacri*, William Hampton, *A proclamation of vvarre from the Lord of Hosts. Or Englands warning by Israels ruine shewing the miseries like to ensue vpon vs by reason of sinne and securitie. Deliuered in a sermon at Pauls Crosse Iuly the 23. 1626* (London, 1627).

[303] See White, *Militant Protestantism*, pp. 57-58; Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda', p.194.

[304] George Marcelline/ Barneby Rich*, Vox militis foreshewing what perils are procured where the people of this, or any other kingdome liue without regard of marshall discipline, especially when they stand and behold their friends in apparent danger, and almost subuerted by there enemies vniust persecution* (London, 1625), p. 3.

[305] Harrison, *A short relation of the departure*, title page.

[306] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, quotation on title page, emphasis in the original.

fourteen times and "your Children" another six times in the text, being a constant reminder that the conflict in the Empire was a family affair. The recovery and restoration of the Palatinate was one of the major themes of the discourse and albeit Reynolds considered Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown an "errour of Estate",[307] he still warned his king not to make a mistake himself by "permitting him [i.e. Frederick V] to lose his Palatinate".[308] The tone of the text was critical throughout and already its title was unambiguous: *Votivae Angliae: or, the Desire and Wishes of England.* Thus, Reynolds was not just expressing his own views, but according to the title, those of the whole nation, and it was the wish of that nation to enter into the war abroad.

In contrast to their king, the majority of those Englishmen engaged in the controversy, did not seek a peaceful solution to the conflict, and a war for the defence of the Palatinate without fighting against Spain seemed impossible. At least in the early and mid 1620s, questions about how to dealt with the loss of the Palatinate and with the actions of Spain seemed inextricably linked. Debates about England's policy towards Spain often reflected on the invasion and occupation of the Palatinate, and the loss of the Electorate was blamed on the Spanish and their alleged habit of playing false and violating agreements. For many commentators Spain's hegemonial ambitions and plans thus became manifested in her proceedings in the Palatinate. One of the most active figures in English anti-Spanish pamphleteering was Thomas Scott, who repeatedly wrote and published pamphlets and treatises in which he criticised Anglo-Spanish relations. His most famous treatise *Vox Populi*, first published anonymously in 1620, was directed against the Spanish ambassador in England, Count Gondomar, who in fictional dialogues revealed Spain's plans to influence English politics and to establish a universal monarchy in Europe.[309] The tract serves as a good example of how important the matter actually was to the English public: *Vox Populi* went through seven printed editions in only one year and was also available and distributed in hand-written copies.[310] The public's negative attitude towards everything Spanish and the continual attacks against Spain, written and published by Scott and other contemporaries, did not make it any easier for the English king to negotiate a peaceful settlement, including Frederick's restoration to the Palatinate, a fact that was already noted

---

[307] Ibid., A2.
[308] Ibid.
[309] [Scott], *Vox populi.*
[310] Boys, *London's News Press*, p. 67; Cust, News and Politics', p. 64.

by contemporaries.[311] More than once, the English policy of settling matters related to the Bohemian and Palatinate crises through treaties rather than through military force, was under attack. As far as pamphleteers were concerned, negotiations and mediation did not seem to lead anywhere and were thus regarded as not sufficient to resolve the conflict between the Habsburgs and Frederick V. On the continent, the lack of military support for the Palatine cause amongst the leading Protestant nations of Europe, and the English king's way of dealing with the crisis, were soon turned into objects of ridicule and people were joking "that the *Palatinate* was likely to have a numerous Army shortly on foot: For the King of *Denmark* would shortly furnish them with a thousand *Pickled-Herrings,* the *Hollanders* with one hundred thousand *Butter-Boxes,* and *England* with one hundred thousand *Ambassadors*".[312] The English solution to the conflict abroad seemed to be talking not acting.

Thomas Scott seemed to share the view of his continental contemporaries. In *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie,* published in 1624, he argued for an immediate dissolution of all English treaties with Spain and for a declaration of war. In his opinion "[t]he King by seuen divers treaties and Ambassages hath effected just nothing in this cause, which concernes the peace of Germany and the whole estate of his Sonne in law."[313] Letters sent back and forth, and attempts of ministers and ambassadors on side had been just as unsuccessful and Spain had repeatedly violated and broken agreements. For these reasons, Scott suggested, England should withdraw from all existing treaties with the two branches of the House of Habsburg and should not arrange or agree to any new ones. "The restitution of the Palatinate" he argued, "cannot by procured by treaty: for this course hath bin often tryed and vsed, euen by the Prince himselfe, but euer in vaine. Therefore there is now no other meane to be vsed, saue the way of Warre."[314] The experience drawn from the Spanish proceedings further emphasised the necessity to put a stop to the Spanish advance on the continent, and the only possible and effective way to rescue and recover the Palatinate appeared to be warfare against Spain.

Men like Scott and Reynolds, whose writings were often polemical and controversial, were not the only ones arguing for an English declaration of war, though.

---

[311] *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., During the Reigns of James I and Charles 1*, Volume 1, ed. James O. Halliwell (London, 1845), pp. 158-59. For English popular dislike and anti-Spanish attitudes expressed in the press in the early 1620s see also Harris, *Rebellion*, esp. pp. 223-226.

[312] Roger Coke, *A detection of the court and state of England during the four last reigns, and the inter-regnum consisting of private memoirs, &c., with observations and reflections: also an appendix discovering the present state of the nation: in two volumes* (London, 1694), p. 109.

[313] Scott, *Certaine reasons and arguments*, unpaginated, A3.

[314] Ibid., last page.

Renowned Englishmen such as the Viscount St Albans and former Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, equally favoured an engagement abroad. The year 1624 and the years immediately following the failure of the Spanish match saw an increased output of treatises and pamphlets arguing for changes in England's foreign policy and her relations with Spain. The final abandonment of the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta seemed to encourage English pamphleteers, preachers and politicians to openly express their animosity against Spain and the House of Habsburg, and to harshly condemn the Spanish occupation and treatment of the Palatinate. Shortly after the failure of the Spanish Match, Bacon had composed a tract in which he discussed the motives for a possible war against the Spaniards. The *Considerations touching a warre with Spain* was written for and dedicated to the Prince of Wales, and its content was in line with the new anti-Spanish course of foreign policy, pursued by Charles and Buckingham after their return from the court in Madrid.[315] Like many of his fellow countrymen, Bacon was convinced that Spain posed a threat to continental Europe and to Britain alike. Hence he set out to prove that there were at least "three iust Grounds of warre with Spain: One plaint, Two upon Defence" namely "[t]he Recovery of the Palatinate; a iust Feare of the Subversion of our Ciuill Estate; a iust Feare of the Subversion of our Church and Religion."[316] The invasion and taking of the Palatinate, Bacon argued, were reason alone to declare war on Spain.[317] However, these acts of "Rauishing" and "Super-Injustice"[318] also emphasised the Spanish ambitions to overtake large parts of Europe, and thus gave "this Kingdom…cause of just Feare of Ouerthrow from Spaine."[319] The war, Bacon was promoting in his tract, was therefore "not for the Palatinate onely, but for England, Scotland, Ireland, our King, our Prince, our Nation, all that we have."[320] Moreover, he believed that in contrast to other wars which were "generally a cause of pouerty and consumption…this warre with Spaine (if it bee made by Sea) is like to be a lucrative and restorative war".[321] From Bacon's *Considerations* it once more becomes obvious that although confessionalism and religious considerations were still important aspects in the debates about the course of England's foreign policy, they were not the only ones.

---

[315] See Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)', *ODNB*, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 123-145, esp. pp. 141-142.
[316] Francis Bacon*, Considerations touching a vvarre with Spaine* (London, 1629), p. 4. According to the title page the tract was written about five years before its publication, which would be in 1624.
[317] Ibid., p. 4.
[318] Ibid., p. 5.
[319] Ibid., p. 23.
[320] Ibid., p. 12.
[321] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

With Prince Charles' and Buckingham's return from Madrid, the court's attitude towards Anglo-Spanish relation had begun to change. Although James I himself was still not much in favour of entering into a war with Spain, under the influence of Charles and Buckingham, a belligerent foreign policy course towards the House of Habsburg finally seemed within reach. Existing treaties with Spain were abrogated and parliament began to discuss the possibilities and conditions of a war against Philip IV.[322] After his father's death and his succession to the throne, Charles I issued a proclamation calling home all his subjects, who had been "imployed … in the seruices of the emperour, the king of Spaine, or the archduches", in case the English king needed "His owne Subiects in his Seruice in any warre, either defensiue, or offensiue, by Land or by Sea".[323] All signs pointed to war, a development that was celebrated by many English commentators. London minister Thomas Barnes, for instance, was very much in favour of the changes in the foreign policy course. His treatise *Vox belli, or, An alarum to warre,* published in 1626, was dedicated to Sir Horatio Vere, the leading general in the English campaigns in the Palatinate and in Breda, and, like many earlier discourses, it called for an English military intervention in the Thirty Years War. Barnes welcomed the fact that under Charles I, England was finally preparing for such an intervention as "now the royall head of great Brittanne, our dread Soveraigne, hath taken the course to exempt his kingdoms from this Curse, by beginning to draw is weapon for the helpe of the Lord against the mighty".[324]

The *Vox belli* was promoting a military solution to the conflict abroad, but not just that: The treatise could also be understood as an advice to the new king, not to continue his father's policy in the Thirty Years War but to pursue a more active course. Barnes not only justified a possible war against Spain and the imperials by referring to examples from the scripture, he also criticised the foreign policy of the late Stuart king by outlining the rights and responsibilities of the English monarch towards his people, relatives, and allies in general. "[W]ee speake of a *necessary defensive* warre", he explained to his readership, "when a Christian Prince, partly to preserve the lives, liberties and religion of his own subjects; partly to relieve his *Allies* abroad, which are neere unto him, both in the flesh and in the Lord, when they are oppressed by the common adversary, shall make warre, it is not only lawfull, but also so needful."[325] Then, the minister from London went even further,

---

[322] On the breaking of the treaties, the public reaction and the debates in Parliament see for instance Harris, *Rebellion*, pp. 221-223.

[323] *By the King a proclamation for the calling home of all such His Maiesties subiects as are now imployed either by sea or land, in the seruices of the emperour, the king of Spaine, or the archduches* (Oxford, 1625).

[324] Thomas Barnes, *Vox Belli or an Alarum to Warre* (London, 1626), p. 34.

[325] Ibid., p. 31. Italics in the original.

taking the liberty to explain that in case the prince would not wage such a war, "he should highly displease God, as being an unnatural father to his country, & an unkind friend to them whom hee doth owe, and should shew most kindenesse unto."[326] Although he, at this point, refrained from explicitly mentioning the electors name, it is clear that Barnes referred to the defence and support of Frederick and to the Protestant cause, which he considered a duty of the English sovereign. The "common adversary" he spoke of were the Catholic Church, the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of Spain and the papists in general. These "Romish Moabites" had wronged and insulted England, the English church and the royal couple of the Palatinate. They did "rejoice in the ruins of the Palatinate of the Rhine", were "glad to see the Sunne of another Elizabeths glory in the eclipse" and "the Romish Emperour [had] insulted over the person of the noble Palatine, calling him in base and contumelious termes a *slave* or *vassalle* and that to the face of the English Embassador".[327]

The criticism of the late king's policy, expressed in the *Vox Belli*, was extremely open. Barnes, like many of his countrymen argued for an English intervention abroad and emphasised the general lawfulness and necessity of getting engaged in a defensive, and thus just war. More clearly then others, he declared it a prince's right, and more importantly, his responsibility to fight, as leading a just war was identified as part of the monarchical duties. A non-intervention in the Thirty Years War, on the other hand, was seen in sharp contrast to the basis and obligations of early modern sovereignty, as it was the monarch's duty to protect and defend his people and country against possible attacks from outside, and in this particular case also to support and fight for his family members and co-religionists on the continent. This was a clear attack against James I's reserved attitude and alleged inaction.[328] This new degree of criticism towards the policy of the late monarch, which can be found in several writings concerned with the Thirty Years War published in or after 1624[329], and the fact that it was actually allowed to appear in print, was related to the new foreign policy course and the anti-Spanish atmosphere under Charles I .[330]

The *Vox belli* was not just critical towards the foreign policy of the late king, though. Besides, justifying a possible engagement in the war abroad, which Barnes clearly

---

[326] Ibid.

[327] Ibid. p. 37.

[328] See also Martina Mittag, *Nationale Identitätsbestrebungen und antispanische Polemik im englischen Pamphlet, 1558-1630* (P. Lang, 1993), pp. 148-149.

[329] Thomas Scott noted for instance that "magnanimous Princes are more bound in honour to recover the estates of their friends which they haue taken into their protection, then their owne goods." Scott, *Certaine resasons*, last page. For other examples of open criticism of the Jacobean foreign policy see the section on England's honour below.

[330] See Harris, *Rebellion*, p. 226. For the new anti-Spanish politics after Charles' return from Madrid and the reasons for the changes in attitude see Sharpe*, Personal Rule*, esp. pp. 4-7.

considered in accordance with God's will, he also appealed to the English people not "to withhold the sword from blood when the Lord calls it forth."[331] He wished for his treatise to "goe … into all Brittanne; be as a trumpet to her inhabitants, to sound an alarme unto war.…that the sight of thee may make them stirre in the Lords quarrel who have been backward all this while, and make them constant that have begunne, until they have done the work of the Lord."[332] The invasion and confiscation of the Palatinate, the transferral of the electoral dignity unto Bavaria, and the mistreatment of Frederick were seen as just reasons for a war against the Imperials and their allies, whose false promises had also deceived and insulted the English king and all of Britain.[333] Hence, Britain "never had … a greater cause to fight … with Rome, and *if ever with her*, then *now*, … while the snares which she layeth for the bloud royall of the British race, besides other manifest wrongs, doe call us Brittiaines to goe forth against her."[334]

2.3.2
Preventing universal monarchy

The foreign policy course called for in the English press of the 1620s was anti-Spanish and subsequently anti-Habsburg. It was influenced by the wish to help and defend Protestants abroad and to safeguard Protestantism at home. Intervening in the Thirty Years War and declaring war on Spain were regarded as inevitable in order to achieve these goals. Additionally, it was necessary for securing England's (and Europe's) liberty and for restoring the Palatinate "and recovering the right thereof, which it hath lost in defence of the Protestant liberties in Germany."[335] Catholicism was doubtless still considered a major threat to English rights, liberties, and religion. However, the alleged dangers of Habsburg supremacy and a too-dominant Catholic bloc went far beyond the possible threat of Counter-Reformation. In the end, it was to be feared, an all-too powerful House of Habsburg would alter much more than just the confessional map of Europe. The Austrian branch, one commentator assumed as early as 1620, was also planning to make the Empire hereditary and this was quite

---

[331] Barnes, *Vox Belli*, p. 33.
[332] Ibid., pp. 33-34.
[333] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[334] Ibid., p. 39.
[335] Samuel Hartlib, *A faithfvll and seasonable advice, or, The necessity of a correspondencie for the advancement of the Protestant cause humbly suggested to the great councell of England assembled in Parliament* ([London?], 1643), p. 4.

140

obviously an assault on and "to the preiudice of the Imperiall Liberties and Constitutions, and particularly to that of the Golden Bull, which expresly forbids the perpetuating of the Succession in one and the same Family."[336] "In a worde then," he stated, "it is a busines of State and not of Religion."[337]

The transferral of the Palatine electorate, and its attached dignities, unto the Bavarian Wittelsbacher, further intensified English fears of a Habsburg hereditary supremacy in the Empire. Now, one commentators noted, "the Catholique Romanes may haue more, and pluralitie of Voyces, in the Colledge of the Electors."[338] As the Catholics had gained majority control in the imperial Diet, it seemed both possible and likely that "the Empire may bee perpetuated in the House of Austria; vnto the aduancement of which, the Duke of Bauyer shall be obliged and bound, for this great benefit receiued from the House of Austria."[339] Thus the loss of the Palatinate not only meant that Frederick forfeited his territories and titles, it also resulted in a weakening of Protestant interests and influence on an imperial level, whilst at the same time the positions of the emperor within the Empire and the Habsburgs in Europe were strengthened. These changes clearly altered the "balance of Germanie".[340] Given the developments of the Thirty Years War, it seemed only a matter of time until the continuing success and strengthening of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs was to tip the political and confessional balance of power in both the Empire and Europe in their favour.

The English worries about Habsburg and especially Spanish supremacy, the alleged consequences thereof, and the debates about how to possibly prevent it, not only underline the English knowledge of, and interest in, German affairs, they also show that the concept of a European balance of power had begun to take shape as a factor in English foreign policy considerations. Although the term itself was not yet used in the writings concerned with England's foreign policy in the Thirty Years War, the call for war against Spain to contain Habsburgs' power can certainly be regarded as the wish to prevent the emergence of any supreme power in Europe.[341] Re-establishing the balance in the Empire by recovering the Palatinate, and declaring war on Spain, could both be seen as means to restore and maintain

---

[336] French Gent, *A letter written by a French Gent: of the King of Bohemia his army: concerning the Emperour Ferdinand his embassage into France. Translated out of the French coppie* ([London], 1620), pp. 3-4.

[337] Ibid.

[338] *A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate,* p. 4.

[339] Ibid.

[340] D'Ewes, *A speech*, p. 9.

[341] Suspicions and fears of the emergence of a supreme power in Europe can found in English publications throughout the seventeenth century. In the first half of the century the House of Habsburg and especially Spain were seen as the power most likely to establish a universal monarchy. In the second half of the century later the focus shifted first towards the Dutch and then towards France. See for instance Steven Pincus, 'The English Debate over Universal Monarchy' in John Robbertson, ed., *A Union for Empire. Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 37-62.

an equal distribution of power between the princes in the Empire as well as between the states in Europe. As far as the prevention of any kind of supremacy and the maintaining of a balance of power in Europe was concerned, James I and his subjects were obviously not that far apart in their views. What was different though, was the idea about the best ways and means to reach these goals. Whilst James I was seeking peaceful solutions through marriages, treaties, and especially through close relations with Spain, his subjects preferred a more belligerent course of action, which also meant working not with, but against the Spaniards. For Protestant Englishmen this balance between the European states also constituted a guarantee against Habsburg supremacy, Spanish universal monarchy, and thus against Catholic predominance in the Empire and Europe, respectively. A further indication for this can be found in the discussion about and the search for possible war allies in the English press. In all the considerations concerning a war with Spain and the imperials, religion and confession were doubtlessly still important aspects, which in many ways determined contemporary thinking about England's foreign policy. Hence several commentators first looked to the Protestant Dutch, who were considered potentially good allies, but due to their geographical position and their own conflicts with the Spanish Habsburgs also likely to be the next target of the Counter-Reformation and of Spain's hegemonial ambitions.[342] Contemporaries, within English governmental circles as well as in the press, therefore began to discuss and explore options for establishing a broad interconfessional alliance against the Habsburgs.[343] At least for a short while they seemed to consider the possibility and to see the advantage of a broad alliance consisting of both Protestant and Catholic states to check Habsburg and especially Spain's power and alleged hegemonial ambitions. Thus, according to some tracts circulating in England in the mid-1620s, one of the best and strongest candidates for a successful league was not, as one might expect a Protestant nation, but Catholic France. The majority of English Protestant pamphleteers, politicians, and preachers was admittedly still more than sceptical about getting involved with France, especially when considering that the French king still

---

[342] For references to the Dutch as good allies see for instance, Bacon, *Considerations,* p. 42, Thomas Scott, *Symmachia: or, A true-loues knot Tyed, betvvixt Great Britaine and the Vnited Prouinces, by the wisedome of King Iames, and the States Generall; the kings of France, Denmarke, and Sweden, the Duke of Sauoy, with the states of Venice being witnesses and assistants. For the weale and peace of Christendome* ([Holland, 1624]). For comments on the Spanish threat for the Netherlands and on England's relations and alliance with the Dutch see for instance Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*, unpaginated preface dedicatory.

[343] For the plans and attempts to establish such an alliance discussed in English governmental circles see Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 70-75; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 82-85. For the necessity to find allies see also Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 7-8. For contemporary thoughts on possible allies see for instance Bacon, *Considerations*, p. 45.

persecuted and fought against his own Protestant subjects.[344] However, despite these fears and doubts, there were at least a few works dealing with and supporting the possibility of an Anglo-French league for the relief of the Empire and its defence against the Catholic imperial forces.[345] When arguing for an alliance with Catholic France, commentators obviously had to move beyond confessional boundaries, as a clear comparison and sharp differentiation between Protestantism and Catholicism as generally good and generally bad, respectively, was no longer possible in this context. *The necessarie league*, a tract about France's role and responsibility in the war, published both in English and French provided English contemporaries with a line of argument, which might have allowed them to embrace a league with the French: "The King of Spaine couereth all his bad designs with a false Catholike Cap: Wherefore shall the King of France not protect the good people of Christiandome (which are desolate) with the lawfull cloake of most Christian."[346] According to this, the Catholic faith of the Spanish and French king, respectively, could be seen as fundamentally different. Whilst the first mainly served to achieve and justify Spain's ambitions and proceedings, the latter was depicted as part of an interdenominational Christianity, which the King of France as a member, was meant to protect. The arrangement of the marriage between Charles and the sister of Lewis XIII in 1625, "the happie and long wished for Vnion between the two great Monarchies of France and Great Britain" could thus described as "Presaging the destruction and ruine of Antichrist, ... the restitution of the *Palatinate,* the ouerthrowing of the Enemies designes, the erection of Peace, ... and the generall well-fare of all Christendome."[347] Although an English league with France did not come into being,[348]

---

[344] Comments about the French policy towards French Hugenotts may for instance be found in [Thomas Scott], *A speech made in the lovver house of Parliament, anno. 1621. By Sir Edward Cicill, Colonell* ([London], 1621), p. 3.

[345] Works arguing in favour of an alliance or at least some kind of collaboration between England and France were for instance Reynolds, *Vox Coeli*; S.B. *An excellent and material discourse*; Wood, *Considerations*. A French call for such an alliance, also published in English, was for instance François de Bonne duc de Lesdiguiéres*, A letter which Monsieur Desdiguieres constable of France, hath sent to the king his master to perswade him by pregnant reasons to make peace with the Rochellers, and the other Protestants who liue in his dominions* (London, 1626).

[346] *The necessarie league* ([London?], 1625), p. 3. Although author and place of publication are unknown, the content of the tract and the way it speaks of the French king and the Catholic religion suggest that the author was a French Protestant. The usuage of the term most Christian may be seen as a reference to the King's official title.

[347] George Marcelline, *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum or, Great-Britaines, Frances, and the most parts of Europes vnspeakable ioy, for the most happy vnion, and blessed contract of the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Lady Henrette Maria* (London, 1625), titlepage. The press reaction to the marriage between Charles and Henrietta seems to have been much less enthusiastic than that of Frederick and Elizabeth in 1613, though. A search in the ESTC provides less than ten publications concerned with the wedding in 1625 and not all of them came from an English pen.

[348] In the late 1620s the religious component of the Thirty Years War became once more important. During these years, alliances were formed and conflicts fought along confessional lines. France allied with Spain against England in 1627 and also fought against the English in the conflict about the siege of La Rochelle. See Asch, *Thirty Years War*, pp. 75-80.

Christendom became a possible level on which both Protestants and Catholics could, at least theoretically, unite against the alleged hegemonial ambitions of the House of Habsburg.

Even though the succession of Charles I to the English throne seemed to open up the possibility for a change in England's foreign policy, hopes for an active, maybe even leading role in the Thirty Years War were soon disappointed. The Hague Alliance, as has already been mentioned above, achieved only little. The campaigns of Mansfeld and the engagement of British troops turned out unsuccessful and ended in disaster with several thousand casualties in the British lines.[349] As far as the recovery of the Palatinate was concerned, negotiations had not brought the desired success either. In a speech in the Commons in 1641, Benjamin Rudyerd admitted, "[i]t is true, That our Treatyes heretofore have not been prosperous".[350] Rudyerd had already been a member of the 1620s parliaments and the Short Parliament and had been in favour of an English engagement in the Thirty Years War as early as 1621.[351] For him, one of the reasons for the failure of the English foreign policy lay in "the unhappy distance between the King and his people,"[352] of the late 1620s and 1630s, "which brought a disvalue upon this Kingdom abroad."[353] During this period the struggle and dispute about supplies for the existing and additional British troops abroad, had exacerbated the already tense relation between king and parliament, resulting in the dissolution of the latter and followed by the personal rule of Charles I. With no parliament to grant subsidies to finance English warfare, a belligerent foreign policy and an active engagement in the Thirty Years War was rather unfeasible in this eleven-year period. Instead, coming to terms and making peace with England's two greatest rivals Spain and France became essential for Charles to rule without parliament.[354] As Kevin Sharp has shown, the English king and his Council nevertheless tried to assist the Protestant cause abroad in various ways and continuously worked for the restoration of the Palatinate.[355] However, in the eyes of contemporary commentators, all chances to solve the issues and to settle the conflicts abroad had been missed during the years of the personal rule, as John Pym, for instance, noted in a speech in one of the first session of the newly constituted parliament in 1641/42. "The differences and discontents betwixt this Majestie, and the people at home," he explained,

---

[349] See Harris, *Rebellion*, pp. 227-228; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 8.

[350] Benjamin Rudyard, *The first speech upon the second day, concerning the Palatinate*, (London, 1641), p. 5.

[351] See Russel, 'The foreign policy debate in the House of Commons in 1621', here p. 297. For Rudyerd's life and political career see David L. Smith, 'Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin (1572–1658)', *ODNB*, Vol. 48 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 90-93.

[352] Rudyard, *First speech upon the second day*, p. 5.

[353] Ibid.

[354] For the various reasons for the struggle between Charles I and his parliaments and for the consequences the personal rule had on England's foreign policy see Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, esp. part I and part II

[355] Ibid., pp. 86-97.

"have in all likelyhood diverted his Royall thoughts and Councells from those great opportunities which he might have, not only to weaken the House of *Austria,* to restore the *Palatinate,* but to gaine to himself a higher pitch of power and greatnesse, than any of his Ancestors."[356]

As far as the English press about the Thirty Years War was concerned, it remained silent for most of the 1630s. Censorship seemed to have prevented an open public print discourse about England's role and responsibilities in general, and about the foreign policy of Charles I in particular, during these years. For some time, a few newsbooks and histories continued to provide information about the events abroad, but only until the publication of these was also prohibited in the early 1630s. With the repeal of the foreign news bans in 1637/38 the English press once more turned to the events abroad. This time, however, it were not so much calls for war and intervention or criticism on England's foreign policy, which dominated the print discourse, but, as already hinted at above, much more the effects and horrors of warfare and the role of Germany as a negative example. For a few years, the Thirty Years War served as a warning for the English nation not to make the same mistakes; but it was a warning unheard. Then, with the outbreak of the civil war, reports and discourses about the Thirty Years War and related foreign policy matters soon made space for debates about domestic issues.

2.3.3
Restoring the Palatinate – Restoring England's honour

In the eyes of many contemporary English commentators, the foreign policy under the first two Stuart kings had taken a wrong turn almost right from beginning of the crisis in the Empire, and had in many ways either failed completely or achieved only little. Especially Jacobean foreign policy had, as it was declared in *The practise of princes*, "found no better fruite then the increase of papists and the emboldening of them here, the shamfull losse of the Palatinate, the undoing of his posterity there, the danger of loosing his only Sone in Spaine, the more violent persecution of the protestants ... Germanie and France."[357] The king's "unlimited desire of peace"[358] and the influence of pro-Spanish counsellors at the English court had not only worsened the situation in the Palatinate and of Protestants abroad,

---

[356] John Pym, *A Decleration Presented to the Honourable House of Commons. With A Speech delivered at conference with the Lords, Ianuary 25. 1641* (London, 1641), p. 21.
[357] *The practise of princes*, p. 6. Some words missing/illigible.
[358] Ibid.

it had also played into the hands of Catholics and contributed to the strengthening of Catholicism both on the continent and at home. In the end, the author assumed, this had resulted in "the losse of many freinds abroad, of ... Subiects hearts at home, and his [i.e. James I] owne fame every where."[359] It did not take long before commentators and pamphleteers, who discussed England's foreign policy and the various reasons for an English participation in the Thirty Years War, began to address yet another matter, which seemed to be equally important in this context: England's honour and reputation.

For one thing, getting militarily engaged in the war abroad was soon considered a question of honour, not least because of the existing family ties between the English and the Palatine-Bohemian courts. Once again, John Taylor was one of the first to pick up the theme: "true borne Britaines, worthy countrymen" he called upon the British soldiers leaving for the continent in 1620, "resume your ancient honors once agen. I know your valiant minds are sharpe and keene To serve your Soueraignes daughter, Bohems Queene."[360] Considering "the oppression of his Maiesties Issue," contemporary Englishmen felt "bound in honour & safetie to redeeme them out of it."[361] For another thing, those engaged in the press debates also began to think about what impact the war, and the king's way of dealing with it, could have on the honour and reputation of the King of England, of the royal family and of the English nation as a whole. Contemporaries were worried that their country's image and reputation in the world would or already had suffered under the government's reserved position and hesitating attitude towards the conflict in the Empire. Thus, many of them started to argue for a participation in the war abroad, not only for the sake of the Palatinate, but also to defend England's honour. Whilst some commentators only saw it at stake, other went even further, arguing that it had not just suffered, but already been lost. Safeguarding and restoring the honour of the English nation thus became an important motive in the print discourse about the Thirty Years War, where it was often inextricably linked to questions about England's responsibilities and behaviour towards the electoral family, and the recovery and defence of their territories in the Empire. The honour of the English nation, it seemed, was defended not on English but on German and imperial soil. As Martin Parker assumed in one of his poems, the English soldiers' fight for the cause of Frederick, was also a fight for the honour of their own country:

> "Theres no Land-service as you can name,
> But I have been actor in the same,

---

[359] Ibid.
[360] Taylor, *An Englishmans love*, p. 2.
[361] [Scott], *A Speech*, p. 4.

> Inth Palatinate and Bohemia,
> I served many a wofull day,
> at Frankendale I have,
> like a Souldier brave,
> receivd what welcomes Canons gave;
> for the honour of England,
> most stoutly did I stand.
> gainst the Emperours and Spinolaes Band."[362]

Whilst some Englishmen went abroad and voluntarily enlisted in foreign armies to fight for the Palatine and Protestant cause, for England's honour, and against the Catholic league, others began to fight with pen and paper instead. Several authors thereby explicitly turned to their king and called for a change in foreign policy, outlining the negative effects the hitherto existing policy of negotiations and treaties had already had on the reputation of the English king and nation. According to the author of *Tom-Tell-Troth, or a free Discourse touching the Murmurs of the Times*, the English monarch had so far cut a rather poor figure in the controversy over the Palatinate, appearing to be little more than a pawn in the hands of Spain, the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria. "They", the author proclaimed, "hold fast your children's Patrimony, and play with your Majesty, as men do with little Children at handy dandy, which hand will you have."[363] Moreover, the way the Catholic powers of Europe treated England, or even Britain as a whole, additionally damaged the image of king and country and contributed to a further loss of reputation. "They make a mocke of the word great Brittaine," noted the commentator, "and offer to prove that it is a great deal lesse then little England was wont to be, lesse in reputation, lesse in strength, less in riches, lesse in all manners of vertues, and whatsoever else is required to make a state great and happie."[364] Having outlined to his sovereign what damage had already been done to the nation's image, the author was hoping that James I (and later Charles I) would finally change his mind and "now really and Royally ingage your self in this righteous Warre".[365] The Thirty Years War was once again depicted as a just war, but here an English military intervention in the Thirty Years War was considered to be about much more than the restoration of Frederick to his Palatine territories and rights. This becomes clear when the author continues: "If your Majesty will take the thing aright, we do not contribute to this Warre so much as to regaine

---

[362] [Martin Parker], *The maunding souldier: or, The fruits of warre is beggery To the tune of, Permit me friends* (London, [1629?]).

[363] *Tom Tell Troth, or a free discours touching the murmurs of the times, directed to His Majesty, by way of humble advertisement* ([London], 1642), p. 12.

[364] Ibid.

[365] Ibid., p. 13.

147

the Pallatinate, as to redeem the credit of the Nation, which all mony in the Kingdom is not able to do without Action."[366]

Considered as a righteous and just war, an official English military participation in this struggle for European Protestantism as well as for the Palatinate, was a good, and apparently also the only, way to restore England's honour and reputation in the world. In 1624, John Reynolds assumed, for instance, that the way his country was dealing with the situation in the Empire was closely watched by the nations abroad, and he was convinced that anything less then an active English engagement in the war would have a disastrous effect on England's image in Europe. "The eyes of the whole Christian world," he explained, "are constantly and curiously fixed on the glorious action, to see whether great Brittayne (in this just and famous quarrel) will couragiouslie resolve to redeem her lost Honnor, or else cowardlie consent to lose it without any further sence, or hope of redemption."[367]

Reynolds had written two very explicit discourses on the Thirty Years War's impact on England's honour in general and on James I's honour in particular, in which he openly expressed his concerns regarding the negative impact of the Jacobean foreign policy on his country's reputation. In *Votivae Angliae,* already mentioned above, he not only repeatedly emphasised the kinship between the English monarch and the Elector Palatine, he had also chosen 'honour' as a recurring and central theme for his discourses. *Vox Coeli,* a fictive conversation held in heaven between seven former English monarchs and princes, was primarily concerned with the Spanish threat, but here too the loss of the Palatinate was portrayed as a clear and bitter setback not only for Frederick, but also for "the honour of our King, and his three famous Kingdoms", which did "most extreamely suffer."[368] Reynolds was convinced though, that a change in his country's foreign policy course and an English military engagement in the Thirty Years War, could not only "put a newe face uppon Germanie", but would also help to "make England (consequentlie) assume her olde one, which was ever woont to looke more Martiall, and lesse Effemynate, lesse contemptible to our Friends, and still more terrible to our Enemyes."[369] According to this view, the honour and reputation of the English nation very much depended on the country's immediate, active, and military support for the Palatine and Protestant cause. By entering and fighting in the

---

[366] Ibid., p.14.
[367] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, unpaginated.
[368] [John Reynolds], *Vox coeli, or, Newes from heaven, of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen. 8., King Edw. 6., Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most kingdomes and free estates of Europe, are vnmask'd and truly represented, but more particularly towards* ([i.e. London], 1624), umpaginated preface dedicatory. The pamphlet is sometimes attributed to Thomas Scott.
[369] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae.*

war abroad, England could then both improve her image in the international arena, and rise to former greatness. Thomas Scott, too, believed, that "[t]he honour of the king and kingdom requires, that now these wrongs be fought to be righted by Warre,…the onely meane now left of preserving reputation".[370] In this context, the new foreign policy under Charles and Buckingham certainly appeared more promising than that of James I. However, as Scott already warned in 1625 "if now, after they haue raised so good opiniõ and hope of themselues in the World, they should grow faint, and fall backe into their former lethargie, they should lose all faith & reputation."[371]

Against the hopes of Scott and other English commentators, many of the issues related to the Thirty Years War, which had already been discussed in the early and mid 1620s, repeatedly recurred during the Caroline period. Although initially addressed to James I, both the anonymously published tract *Tom-Tell-Troth* and Reynolds' *Votivae Angliae* were (re-)issued during the reign of the second Stuart king, showing not only people's hope for a change of policy, but also indicating that many of the concerns expressed by English commentators regarding the disputes in the Empire had obviously not dissolved under Charles I.[372] Besides, in the early 1640s tracts like *The Practise of Princes*, *Tom-Tell-Troth*, *Votivae Angliae*, and Scott's *Vox Populi* were brought back to the memory of the readership by the publication of a discourse originally written a decade earlier by the late Secretary of State George Calvert Baron Baltimore. *The answer to Tom-Tell-Troth the practise of princes and the lamentations of the kirke*, addressed to Charles I, was a direct response to the criticism towards the Jacobean foreign policy and the Anglo-Spanish relations of the early 1620s. In contrast to the tracts Calvert was commenting on, his *Answer* was written in defence of the course of foreign policy under the first Stuart king and clearly argued against a military intervention to restore the Palatinate.[373] Throughout his career, the former Secretary of State had been an advocate both of close Anglo-Spanish relations in general and of the Spanish match in particular, and in his view Spain had done nothing in the conflict about Bohemia and the Palatinate that could justify a termination of the existing treaties or a declaration of war. Frederick, however, Calvert assumed, had never had a rightful claim to the Bohemian Crown, but had unjustly replaced Ferdinand, who had always been the true

---

[370] Scott, *Certaine reaso*ns, last page.

[371] Ibid.

[372] When exactly *Tom Tell Troth, or a free discourse* was first published is not entirely clear. The ESTC suggests 1630 as the year of publication. As noted above, Reynolds' tract was originally written for James I, but only published after the king's death, with a new dedication and forward added to it.

[373] For Calvert's role in English politics and his position in the controversy about the Spanish match and Anglo-Spanish relations see John D. Krugler 'Calvert, George, first Baron Baltimore (1579/80–1632)', *ODNB*, Vol. 9 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 584-587.

ruler of the country and "holds *Bohemia* by Election as well as by inheritance".[374] As a consequence, the Spanish Habsburgs had then decided "to aide their Familie, and to revenge so intollerable injuries to the Emperour in a just cause"[375] and as Calvert saw it "there is no reason why the King of *Spaine* might not succour the Familie whereof he is the Root".[376] Frederick's actions, on the other side, had given the Emperor good reason for placing the Elector Palatine under the imperial ban.[377] Given this interpretation of the events in Bohemia and the Empire, Calvert's view and approval of James I's policy were only logical. In contrast to many other English commentators, he did not consider an intervention abroad a matter of honour, as for him the cause itself was neither honourable nor just. "For it cannot bee honourable", he wrote, "to justifie an unjust and condemned action, or seeke to take vengeance on the execution of justice on offenders, decreed by the generall consent of the whole Empire."[378] Accordingly, the former Secretary of State advised Charles I, "not to assist the *Palsgrave*, either for his restoration or revenge, because hee dispossessed K. *Ferdinand* without any just title or claime, and only upon quirks and cavills."[379] If he however, decided to intervene in the conflict abroad to help his brother-in-law, Charles would, Calvert argued, "aide a usurper against a lawful King and an Emperour".[380] The former Secretary of State did obviously not share his countrymen's view that the English king and nation would benefit from a military engagement abroad. In fact, Calvert highly disagreed with the authors of *The Practise of Princes* and *Tom-Tell-Troth*, whose writings were, as he explained, "able to set the whole State on fire, imbroyle the Realm and aliene the hearts of people from their Prince, for these Maskers under the Visards of Religion, seeke to undermine Loyalty, and either to ingage you abroad in forraigne wars, or in danger Your person at home in Civil."[381]

Calvert's *The Answer* seems to be one of only few published (or at least surviving) texts, which clearly argued against a military intervention to safeguard the Palatinate, and for keeping up close relations and negotiations with Spain.[382] Whilst Calvert saw neither a

---

[374] George Calvert, *The answer to Tom-Tell-Troth the practise of princes and the lamentations of the kirke* (London, 1642), p. 8.
[375] Ibid., p. 21.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid., pp. 17-19.
[378] Ibid., p. 21.
[379] Ibid., p. 28.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid., p. 1.
[382] As far as can be taken from the texts listed in the ESTC and found in the EEBO database, there seem to be hardly any printed texts arguing for a pro-Spanish policy and against an involvement in the wars abroad. It is of course hard to tell whether such texts have actually not been written and published or have simply not survived.

just cause nor any good reason to declare war on Spain, the majority of the published tracts on Stuart foreign policy related to the Thirty Years War, was clearly in favour of an active English participation in the war. A successful military endeavour on the continent, it was hoped, would not only solve the dispute about the Palatinate, but also help to repair England's damaged reputation.

These issues were of course not only discussed by the general public, but also in English politics. In the early 1620s, the Palatine cause had first brought the war on the continent to Westminster.[383] During these years and again in the early 1640s, the Thirty Years War, England's official position in the conflict as well as the possible effects on the country's honour, reputation, and image abroad, became matters discussed in parliament. The Anglo-Spanish marriage plans, for instance, as well as the treaties and agreements between James I and the King of Spain concerning the Palatinate, had been subjects of parliamentary discussions in 1624 and 1625. With the failure of the Spanish match it became clear that the restitution of the Palatinate through treaties with Spain was more than unlikely. Hence, the English political elite assembled in Westminster, began to look for other ways to return the Palatinate, and the rights and honours attached to it, to its rightful owner.

Obviously, questions discussed in the two Houses did not necessarily reflect the view of the general public and often did not reach the people outside parliament at all. The parliamentary foreign policy debates of the 1620s took place behind closed doors and in contrast to later decades, speeches concerned with the Thirty Years War and England's foreign policy course were not yet printed. However, despite the secrecy of the parliamentary proceedings, the contents and summaries of the debates still could and often also did reach the public, for instance in the form of scribal publications.[384] During the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, many parliamentary speeches circulated as separates, and it is likely, that various manuscript copies of the foreign policy debates of the mid 1620s were available both in and outside London.[385] It has been shown that in 1624 English MPs were provided with some very detailed accounts of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations, which they were not only allowed to discuss amongst themselves, but also to share with the people they were

---

[383] The importance of the Palatinate in parliamentary and governmental debates may for instance be taken from its frequent appearance in the domestic state papers. In the view of Edward Conway, Secretary of State, the Palatinate was much more important than Germany as a whole and it hardly mattered if Germany was lost. Losing the Palatinate, on the other hand, would, Conway believed, sooner or later result in the loss of the Netherlands, of Ireland and eventually of England herself. See Pursell, *Winter King*, p. 226.

[384] On scribal publications during the reigns of James I and Charles I see for instance Harold Love, *Scribal Publications in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 19930, see also Cust, 'News and Politics'.

[385] See Love, *Scribal Publications,* pp. 16-17.

representing.[386] Even if the parliamentary debates and the corresponding manuscripts about the English foreign policy in the 1620s are no actual part of the print discourse, they are certainly a further proof of people's general concern about the Palatine and Protestant cause as well as of their wish to get actively, that is, militarily engaged in the Thirty Years War. Moreover, as can be taken from the Journals of the House of Commons, the views expressed by several MPs during the debates in 1624 were quite similar to those found in political pamphlets and treatises of the time, albeit less open in their criticism of Jacobean foreign policy. Here too, Englishmen called for a change in England's policy towards Spain as well as for the restoration of the Palatinate, not least because they feared for England's honour and reputation, too. Especially the Commons' debates during the session on 1 March 1624 showed that many of the MPs saw "No Choice, but to recover it by a diversive War".[387] Most Englishmen assembled in the Commons in 1624 seemed to agree that the previous foreign policy course under James I had failed, and should therefore no longer be pursued. Like many commentators outside parliament, MPs such as Benjamin Rudyard, Robert Phelips and others now also argued for the termination of negotiations and existing treaties with the Spaniards and called for a "diversive war upon Spain"[388] instead. The sobering outcome of several years of negotiating the Spanish match was summarised by Rudyard at the beginning of the debate on 1 March. "By this treaty," he stated, "we have lost the Palatinate, our part of religion abroad, and a great bulk of papists grown at home".[389] Following Rudyard's speech, Robert Phelips, MP for Somerset and an early opponent of the Anglo-Spanish marriage, agreed with the previous speaker, adding that "We have lost our friends abroad, almost ourselves at home, nay more than that, almost God Almighty, and we have lost our reputation, which is the main pillar of all states."[390] Hence, the English attempts to restore

---

[386] See Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 171-173.

[387] Sir Robert Phelips, Journal of the House of Commons, PA, HC/CL/JO/1/13, [CJ 722; f. 17], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01.

[388] Sir Robert Phelips, Journal of the House of Commons, PA, HC/CL/JO/1/12, [CJ 674; f. 14],'1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01.

[389] Benjamin Rudyard, 'Diary of John Holles,' BL, HARL. MS 6,383, [f. 86v], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01.

[390] Sir Robert Phelips, 'Diary of John Holles,' BL, HARL. MS 6,383, [f. 86v], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. Ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01. For Phelips life see Thomas G. Barnes, 'Phelips, Sir Robert (1586?–1638)', *ODNB*, Vol. 43 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 995-996.

the Palatinate by arranging various treaties and a marriage with Spain, had not only proven unsuccessful, it had also caused and added to a range of other problems on the British Isles and the continent alike.

Whilst during the 1620s, information about parliamentary proceedings related to the Thirty Years War, were only available in manuscript, two decades later, some of the speeches and decisions regarding the Palatine cause found their way into print. As far as the restoration of the Palatinate, and the concerns about England's reputation were concerned, the views expressed by several MPs in 1641/42, were again quite similar to those communicated in pamphlets, tracts, and discourses of the time. In 1641, for instance, Benjamin Rudyard once more argued for the restoration of the Palatinate and left little doubt about the importance of the territory. "The restoring of the Prince Elector to his Territory and Dignity," he assumed, "will restore Religion there; will strenghthen it; may increase it further in Germany; which consideration is of a great and vast Consequence, proportionable to the greatnesse and vastnesse of that Countrey."[391]

When Rudyard made this speech, which appeared in print afterwards, war had been waged in Germany for over twenty years. The Palatinate had long been lost, Frederick V had died in 1632 and Princess Elizabeth and her children were living in exile. However, despite all this, the "great Affaire of the Palatinate", Rudyard declared, still "concerns this Kingdom in Nature, in Honour, in Reason of State, in Religion."[392] In all these years, Rudyard's views and his commitment for the Palatine cause had obviously not changed much. "We all know," he noted, "how neare in Bloud the prince Elector is to his Majesty. Many of us here know, what solemn Protestation hath been made in this place, for the recovery of the Palatinate, by which we are bound in Honour to pursue it with our best assistance."[393] After more than two decades of war, the fate of the territory was thus still a matter of interest and a subject of discussion in England, and its recovery and return to Frederick's heir were not only vital for re-establishing and consolidating Protestantism abroad, it was, and had always been, as Rudyard indicated, a matter of English honour.

A similar view was advocated by Denzil Holles, who in 1641 informed the Lords about the Commons' debates concerning the support for the Electoral family. "The Loyall Subject of *England*," he argued, "is so well tuned in a sweet agreeing harmony to the Person of his Prince" Palatinate, and "our love and affection, and our duty to the King" would have

---

[391] Benjamin Rudyard, 'The first speech upon the first day, concerning the Palatinate', in *Two Speeches by Sir Beniamin Rudyard, concerning the Palatinate* (London, 1641), p. 1.
[392] Ibid., p. 2.
[393] Ibid.

been reason "enough to make us zealous for the redresse of the Prince Electors wrongs, to desire (with impatience) to see him reinvested in his rightfull possessions".[394] However, there was, as Hollis continued, "yet another motive" for supporting the restoration of the Palatinate, "which hath a strong irresistable operation with us; and it is the consideration, how much this is of importance to the good of Religion, the advancement of the Protestant party, and the redeeming many soules from their Antichristian bondage".[395] Supporting continental Protestants in their fighting against the forces of the Counter-Reformation, had, in the view of the Commons as conveyed by Holles, "a double aspect; and relates to us, not only as we are fellow-members with them of the true Church, which obliges us to a care and defence of them, and gives us an assurance of a reward in heaven." It was clearly not a matter of religion alone, "But doth more particularly concern us in point of Policy and Reason of State".[396] Thus, "by supporting our Allyes," on the continent, it seemed possible "to advance this Kingdom to the highest pitch of Greatnesse and Reputation, to make us formidable abroad to the enimies of our Church and State, and so enjoy Peace, and Safety, and Tranquility at home."[397]

The kinship between the English monarch and the exiled Palatine electoral family, and the common ground of Protestantism, made it the duty of the English nation to help restoring the Palatinate to its rightful heirs. If successful, it was assumed, England herself would clearly benefit from this endeavour, too, both at home and abroad. When compared to the speeches made in the parliaments of the early and mid 1620s, and to pamphlets from the same years, it becomes clear that the arguments brought forward for an active support of the Palatinate, the Protestant cause, and an English military engagement in the Thirty Years War, were still the same in the early 1640. Throughout the period, honour was considered one of the main reasons for a possible military engagement abroad. It was mentioned by many English commentators in and outside parliament and had become a leitmotiv in the related print discourse. A damaged reputation and lost honour, it was feared, could not only have a negative impact on England's international relations, but also on the relation between the English monarch and his people. The fact that Britain, as one of only few European powers, was not officially engaged in the Thirty Years War seemed to be in sharp contrast to England's alleged role and importance in European politics.

---

[394] Denzil Holles, *Mr. Denzell Hollis His speech to the Lords concerning the setling of the Queen of Bohemia and her electorall family in their right and inheritance with restitution for their sufferings July 9, 1641* (London, 1641), pp. 2-3.
[395] Ibid., p. 3.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Ibid.

In the past, commentators suggested, the English had fought heroically for their own liberties and for the freedom of European Protestants. John Taylor's address to the "true borne Britaines, worthy countrymen", for instance, to "resume your ancient honors once agen"[398] can certainly be understood against this background. When the conflict in Bohemia escalated, people in England expected their country to take a leading role in the fight for European Protestants and against the Habsburg, as it had been the case in the past, especially during the first Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604).[399] Now, however, when the whole continent was at war and Protestantism was once more at stake, England was watching instead of fighting. Pamphleteers and political writers in favour of an English engagement abroad therefore often reminded their readership of the Elizabethan foreign policy and decision making. Since the experiences of 1588, the Queen, Robert Cotton noted, "would never afier [sic!] admit of Peace", and with this she had been "winning … the hearts of a loving people".[400] When compared, the foreign policy of the last Tudor monarch appeared entirely different to that of her "peacefull successor".[401] Whilst the foreign policy of the Stuart monarchs was repeatedly criticised for its ineffectiveness, the Elizabethan course was regarded and referred to as an example of a wise and successful way to face and fight the dangers of the European Counter-Reformation in general and the Spanish threat in particular. The late queen had "ever found hands and money at home and keeping sacredly her Aliances abroad, securing to her Confederates all her time, freedome from Spanish flattery".[402] Here, Cotton's criticism of the Jacobean foreign policy is unmistakable. The author of *Tom-Tell-Troth* went even further, claiming that there were some people in England, "that finde such fault with your Majesties government, as they wish Queene Elizabeth were alive againe, who (they say) would never have suffered the Enemies of her Religion to have vnballanced Christendom as they have done within these few years."[403] According to this, James I had completly failed his primary goal of keeping Europe and Christendom in balance.

Besides, the English king's acting on the international stage often also affected his position at home. A monarch not hesitating to take up arms to defend his family, friends, and co-religionist, could, as Cotton wrote about Queen Elizabeth, end her/his "old and happy

---

[398] Taylor, *An Englishmans love*, p. 2.
[399] For the Anglo-Spanish War and the Spanish Armada see for instance James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: the necessary quarrel* (Yale University Press, 2005).
[400] Cotton, *The Danger*, p. 3. For references to Elizabeth I in political pamphlets from the Stuart period see also Mittag, *Nationale Identitätsbestrebungen* pp. 134-136.
[401] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[402] Ibid., p. 3.
[403] *Tom Tell Troth*, p. 4.

dayes in glory."[404] But how much authority did a monarch possess, who was either to weak or not willing, or simply did not have enough money to wage a war? When compared with the government of their Tudor predecessor, the Stuart governments appeared weak, indecisive, and unsuccessful, and one of the main reason for this was the fact that England hardly played a role in the Thirty Years War. The conflict in Germany and the question whether to intervene or not, had created a rather difficult situation for the Stuart kings. An English participation in the war waged on the continent was considered a sign of strength, an honourable action, which also reflected on the king himself. Inactiveness or neutrality on the other side was likely to result in a loss of respect for the English sovereign, not only on the continent but also amongst his own subjects, and consequently weaken royal authority. Already the mere fact that in the 1620s contemporary Englishmen began to question and openly criticise royal decisions, could be considered an undermining and challenge of royal authority. It is no coincidence that several of the discourses and pamphlets related to the war abroad also warned about an alienation between king and country, which could and in 1642 actually did prove fatal. By then the king and many of his subjects had not only grown apart, they were waging war against each other. The warning of many English commentators had not been heard.

2.3.4
Germany, a warning

Warnings about the causes and effects of war in general and civil war in particular had begun to circulate in England during the last years of the personal rule of Charles I. As has been outlined above, after a period of censorship and government induced silence, writing and publishing about the events abroad became less restricted again from the late 1630s onwards. The attention of the English press now often turned to the impact of the war, which had "for the space of above twenty yeares last past, drawen all the Kingdomes, and States of *Europe*, into an immediate or mediate ingagement".[405] The English readership got to know that within these years "[t]he furious Warres of *Germany*", had caused widespread devastation, with "twenty pitch't Battles fought, a Million of Men, Women, and Children destroyed by the Sword, by the Flames, by Famine, and by Pestilence" leaving "that sometimes populous and

---

[404] Cotton, *The Danger*, p. 3.
[405] D'Ewes, *A speech*, p. 4.

fertile Empire of *Germany*, reduced to a most extreame and calumitous desolation".[406] Contemporary commentators in England were not only aware of, and often shocked by, the degree of devastation and suffering caused by the war, many of them also used it as a warning for their countrymen. In 1628, for instance, Jeremiah Dyke had already asked his audience and readers "what warnings hath God given vs in the calamities, and miseries of our neighbour, and sister Churches?"[407] The closer England came to the brink of civil war herself, the more English contemporaries pointed to Germany to highlight the miseries and consequences of internal disunity and (civil) war. "What is it wee must doe, or learne from the state of things in Germany",[408] Philip Vincent asked in 1638, and in the same year Martin Parker addressed the miserable state of Germany, warning his readership not to take the peace at home for granted, but to acknowledge God's mercy on the English nation. Here, Parker's pro-royalist attitude, for which he was still remembered at the end of the seventeenth century,[409] was already recognisable:

> "THus (tender hearted Reader have I set
> Before thine eyes (what thou shouldst nere forget)
> The misery which neighbour Nations feele,
> Through war, famine, and pestilence, the wheele
> Of Fortune's still in motion, though we sit
> In peace, and plenty, yet ith midst of it,
> Tis fit we should on *Iosephs* troubles thinke,
> Least of the cup of wrath, we also drinke,
> Let's all consider tis th' Almighties hand,
> That striketh others, and doth spare our land,
> And that his love, (not our desarts) are cause,
> Why from our Nation he the stroke withdrawes,
> We are as wicked (if not more) then they
> On whom he doth his rod of anger lay
> And therefore though as yet we live in mirth,
> (Injoying all the blessings upon earth,

---

[406] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[407] Dyke, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast*, p. 23.
[408] Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, Preface.
[409] See Raymond, 'Parker, Martin (*fl.* 1624–1647)', p. 706.

A Gracious King, under whose Governement
We live, in peace, and for our more content
Are fortifi'd with Royall Off-spring which
Our land with future blessings may inrich)."[410]

The appreciation of peace and order at home became a central theme in many of the political publications of the late 1630s and early 1640s. In England, the experience of the Thirty Years War as well as the knowledge about the suffering of the German people, seemed to raise the awareness, and thus the anxiety about the possible consequences of an ongoing conflict between king and parliament and of the division of the whole country.[411] The Scots revolt in 1637 and the Bishops' Wars in 1639 and 1640 already provided a glimpse of where Britain was heading. Finally, the Irish rebellion of 1641 had brought the horrors of war even closer to home[412] and, as will be shown, apparently gave further reason to pamphleteers not only to warn their countrymen of the effects of discord, but also to remind them how blessed their nation had been so far. Despite all warnings, war broke out in August 1642.

With the beginning of the English Civil War, the press coverage about the events and developments of the Thirty Years War decreased and the fighting on the continent faded into the background. News reports about troop movements, plundering and battles in Germany were replaced by news about the campaigns and cruelties of the English Civil Wars.[413] However, Germany did not disappear from English print discourse. The country's suffering and mischief caused by the war, were referred to in many writings of the Civil War period, and the English press was full of direct and indirect references to the war in Germany. The emphasis had shifted, though. Commentators now focused on the lessons to be learned from the events in Germany rather than on the actual events themselves. Unlike those contemporaries writing about the Thirty Years War itself, Englishmen writing about the dangers of disunity, internal conflict, and civil war, concentrated more on the domestic aspects and provided only little information about the war abroad. Here, readers were usually spared the details of the cruelties committed in the German territories. Most authors seemed to assume that their readership was already familiar with the things that had occurred in the Empire. It was obviously no longer necessary to repeat the gory descriptions of torture and

---

[410] Martin Parker, *A briefe dissection of Germaines Afflictions,* unpaginated.

[411] The connection between the English perception of the Thirty Years War (as well as other continental conflicts) and the Civil Wars in England, including the preceeding developments, has also been emphasised and analysed by Donagan, *War in England*, pp. 24-32.

[412] For an overview of the inner British events of the late 1630s and early 1640s see for instance Conrad Russel, *The fall of the British monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991).

[413] For details on printing, publishing, publication numbers of pamphlets etc. during the Civil War period see for instance Stephen J. Greenberg, 'Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641-1644', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 20, 3 (1988), pp. 387–401.

killings, which had been the subject of *The Lamentations of Germany* and other writings from the late 1630s. In order to call to mind the atrocities and suffering of the 1620s and 30s, simply referring to 'Germany' seemed to do the trick. To outline the consequences of division it was enough to warn that "[t]he Kingdome, City, or house divided … shall bee desolate, bee as *Germany*".[414] At least amongst the informed political readership, the horrifying stories from the war in Germany, which had circulated in England for several years, had become common knowledge, and the word 'Germany' itself had become a warning; it stood for the horrors of war and all its terrible side effects.

It did not take long before contemporaries pointed at the similarities between the events at home and abroad, and began "to parallel the present distractions of England with the Warrs of Germany, which were" as one author thought, "no disparity".[415] "[T]o them", Thomas Morton wrote in August 1642, "must we needs be compared, if amongst us (as amongst them there have) civill dissentions should arise."[416] With the escalation of the conflict between royalists and parliamentarians, the English events were soon placed in one line with "those horrid barbarismes in *Germany* and *Ireland*".[417] To many English contemporaries the war in Germany (and in Ireland) and the crisis in England were not only comparable, though. There also seemed to be an undeniable connection between them. For some commentators these events were all part of "the great battell against Antichrist" which "hath beene begun these many yeares in *Germany*".[418] Others believed that "[t]he bloud of Germany puts in an Indictment against us, for our neutrality",[419] seeing the situation in England as the result of, if not as a punishment for their country's inactiveness in the Thirty Years War. Here, the Civil War was placed in a European context. It was thus not so much considered as a self-contained conflict, isolated from the events in Germany and other neighbouring countries, but rather as a part of one great war and of a general crisis

---

[414] Walter Bridges, *Division divided, or, Ruines fore-runner discovered and decyphered in a sermon* (London, 1646), p. 7.

[415] R. Andrewes, *A perfect declaration of the barbarous and cruell practises committed by Prince Robert, the Cavalliers, and others in His Majesties army* (London, 1642), unpaginated.

[416] Thomas Morton, *Englands warning-piece: shewing the nature, danger, and ill effects of civill-warre, and of those nations which have bin infested with it, described. Very necessary for these times wherein we are in so great feare and imminent danger of civill dissention. With a true relation of the miseries and distractions of Germany, France, Ireland, and Spaine* (London, 1642), p. 3.

[417] Elizabeth Warren, *Spiritual thrift. Or, Meditations wherein humble Christians (as in a mirrour) may view the verity of their saving graces* (London, 1647), p. 38.

[418] Samuel Bolton, *A tossed ship making to safe harbor, or, A word in season to a sinking kingdome wherein Englands case and cure, her burthens and comforts, her pressures and duties are opened and applyed* (London, 1644), p. 191.

[419] George Smith, *Great Britains misery; with the causes and cure* (London, 1643), p. 15.

encompassing Europe.[420] "This war", Henry Scudder, member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, noted in 1644, "layeth all wast before it in other Countries: How can we think it should do any otherwise in *England*?"[421] The course of this war, some people believed, had been foretold by the great comet, which had first appeared in the sky over Bohemia and the Empire in 1618. Before finally disappearing in 1619, the blazing star, the "flaming Usher of Gods vengeance"[422] had pointed towards the British Isles, and it seemed as if "it meant to tell the world, that these islands should be the Stage whereupon the last Act of the Tragedie should be plai'd."[423] In the light of the events abroad and "the great Miseries and Calamities, which poore dilacerated *Germany* hath, since its appearance felt and found"[424] the comet could thus be understood as "a visible demonstration of [God's] just wrath and displeasure"[425] as well "as a Warning piece, the Lord thus sent / To rouze-up England, timely, to repent".[426]

As laid out above, in the late 1630s English commentators had already placed the events in Germany into a religious context, and discourses like *The Lamentation of Germany*, *Lacrymae Germaniae*, and *The warnings of Germany* had described the sins of the German people as a major cause of the war in the Empire. In the early and mid 1640s, Englishmen began to draw similar conclusions to explain the things that were now happening in their own country. Several ministers, some of them also members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, picked up the theme in their sermons, warning the audience about the rod or the wrath of God, which after having hit Germany and Ireland already, was now about to strike England, too. The events abroad, the fighting, the suffering, and the bloodshed were thus interpreted as divine punishment, and as the Civil War continued, it appeared rather clear that England had not been spared after all. As biblical history had shown, God's anger and punishment had repeatedly revealed itself in the form of war and "when *Israel* or any people

---

[420] For the idea of a general crisis in seventeenth century Europe see again Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century'; Aston, ed. *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660.*

[421] Henry Scudder, *Gods warning to England by the voyce of his rod. Delivered in a sermon, preached at Margarets Westminster, before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn fast, Octob. 30. 1644* (London, 1645), unpaginated Epistle Dedicatory.

[422] James Howell, *The trve informer who in the following discovrse or colloqvie discovereth unto the vvorld the chiefe causes of the sa[]d distempers in Great Britanny and Ireland* ([London], 1643), p. 2.

[423] Ibid., p. 3. A similar view was expressed by William Bridge, *Two sermons viz. I. The diseases that make a stoppage to Englands mercies discovered and attended with their remedies* (London, 1642), To the reader.

[424] Brinckmair, *The warnings of Germany*, p. 3.

[425] John Vicars, *Prodigies & apparitions, or, Englands warning piece being a seasonable description by lively figures & apt illustration of many remarkable & prodigious fore-runners & apparent predictions of Gods wrath against England, if not timely prevented by true repentance* (London, 1643), p. 15.

[426] Ibid., p. 14.

are smitten by the sword of an Enemy, it is the Lord that smiteth them."[427] From this, commentators assumed, "it must needs follow that *Germany* [had been] smitten, and miserably wasted" by God and that in the case of "*England,* at this time smitten, devided and much weakened," it was also "the Lord that hath smitten us."[428] England, it was suggested, had had so many warnings and had been spared so many times, and still, the English people seemed ungrateful and reluctant to repent, making "the least sinne of us in *England* greater than the greatest sin of *Germanie* ... because God hath dealt more mercifully with us, than with them."[429] As could be taken from the war and destruction abroad, "*Bohemia,* and the *Palatinate* had [not] had the mercies and deliverances"[430] as England. The direct comparison with the fate of their German brethren revealed the English ingratitude and pride, for which the country now seemed to pay the price,[431] as in the end, God had "changed his countenance towards us and hath taken the Rod and sword in hand to correct and punish us".[432] He had "caused the fire of war, the fire of his anger to begin to burn and break out in *Bohemia,* and in the *Palatinate* … yea it is run through all *Germany*" before it had "now, to our woe, come into *Ireland* and *England*".[433]

Whether placed into a religious context or not, many commentators considered the war in the Empire and the war on the British Isles part of the same development or struggle. Germany, Ireland, and now England, the conflict that had originally started in Bohemia in 1618, had turned into a conflagration. It had crossed the channel and was now threatening the lives and liberties of the English people. "Germany" one author noted, had been "leading this dance of death" but now "England the little Eye of nature, the darling and delight of Europe, has thrust it selfe into the same bloody Matachin".[434]

---

[427] Nicolas Proffet, *Englands impenitencie under smiting, causing anger to continue, and the destroying hand of God to be stretched forth still. Set out in a sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at a publike fast, Sept. 25. 1644* (London, 1645), p. 9. Proffet was a member of the Assembly, too.

[428] Ibid.

[429] Edmund Calamy, *Gods free mercy to England presented as a pretious and powerfull motive to humiliation: in a sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons at their late solemne fast, Feb. 23, 1641* (London, 1642), p. 26. Calamy was a member of the Assembly, too. For further comments on God's mercy in the context of a direct comparison between England and Germany see for instance Ezekias Woodward, *The churches thank-offering to God her King, and the Parliament, for rich and ancient mercies* (London, 1642), p. 106.

[430] Calamy, *Gods free mercy to England,* p. 26.

[431] Ibid., p. 29. Further references to pride as one of the reasons why England had shown such ingratitude towards God's mercy and ignored all warnings may for instance be found in Proffet, *Englands impenitencie,* p. 23 and in Vicars, *Prodigies & apparitions*, p. 14.

[432] Scudder, *Gods warning to England*, unpaginated Epistle Dedicatory.

[433] Ibid.

[434] *Englands present distractions. Paralleld with those of Spaine, and other forraigne countries, with some other modest conjectures, at the causes of the said distempers, and their likeliest cure* (London, 1642), p.3.

Reflecting on the origins of the conflict in England and on the course it had taken, commentators urged their readers as well as their representatives in parliament to "behold the miseries of *Germany,* a Kingdome once as famous and flourishing as ours lately was, but hath now suffered the miseries of almost 20 yeares warre",[435] to take "into consideration the lamentable and miserable effects that the late unhappie Civile Warres have produced in *Germanie*"[436] and to "[r]emember the miseries of the Paltinate [sic!], of Germany, how civill discords and disagreements in matters of Religion exposed them to thirty years wars and miseries thereby."[437] In the Empire the collapse of society and the breakdown of moral standards had created a situation in which countrymen and former friends suddenly became enemies, who fought and killed each other. The events of the Thirty Years War not only showed how detrimental internal conflicts and division could be to state and society, a look at the German present also seemed to offer a glance into the English future. Most English commentators feared, not without reason, that sooner or later "it may bee our turnes to suffer the like, or worse calamities" as in Germany, and "that if this Warre and Dissention still continue in *England,* the same will not onely greatly prejudice, but also hazard the Religion, Estates, Lives, and Liberties of their poore distressed Brethren in that Kingdome".[438] Given this gloomy prospect, ending the civil war seemed urgently necessary. "England reflect and feare 'twill be thy fate/ To be as Germany so unfortunate" one contemporary rhymed in 1645, "Vnlesse the sager Councels of our King / And Parliament a mediation bring".[439]

Regardless of the side people were on, whether Cavaliers or Roundheads, the majority of those engaged in print discourse argued against a continuation of the fighting, not least because of what had occurred in the Germany. England had "had war enough … that cost deer enough" and if not ended, people feared, the war would make "England like Germany".[440] However, as commentators had also learned from "[t]he long continued warre in Germany, … Peace is not easie to be obtained".[441] The war in the Empire and the cruelties committed in over two decades of fighting, did not only serve as a negative example or warning, though, they also played a role in the propaganda war of the Civil War period. On

---

[435] [John Norton], *The miseries of war. By a Lover of truth and peace: and by him dedicated to all that are such* (London, 1643), pp. 10-11.

[436] *To the right honorable assembly of knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons The humble petition of the inhabitants of the Citie and libertie of Westminster* (London, 1642).

[437] Enoch Grey, *Vox coeli, containing maxims of pious policy* (London, 1649), p. 49.

[438] *The humble petition of the inhabitants of the Citie and libertie of Westminster.*

[439] [John Abbot], *The Sad condition of a distracted kingdome, expressed, in a fable of Philo the Jew* (London, 1645), p. 28.

[440] *A vindication of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, with an answer to several objections made against them, &c, The second Edition, corrected and enlarged* ([London], 1647).

[441] [Norton], *The miseries of war,* pp. 10-11.

the Royalist side, for instance, the Thirty Years War, the miseries it had caused but especially its origins, were used to emphasise the importance of loyalty and obedience of subjects, even towards an oppressive and unjust ruler. "Experience shewes," the royalist political writer Dudley Digges wrote, "that Kingdomes suffer infinitely more by Civill Warre, then by the most Tyrannicall Prince".[442] Admittedly, Digges noted, there had been instances when monarchs had occasionally ignored or acted against the *tenor of law* and had thereby injured the rights of some of their subjects. However, in the end these violations were not only few but apparently also necessary and to the advantage of the whole country, as "the greatest part of the Kingdome reaped the fruits of order."[443] Disobedience and attempts to achieve changes by force and against the will of the monarch, on the other hand, would "introduce a cessation of all law and justice"[444] and thus hit the people much harder than ship money and monopolies could ever do. Therefore, it was considered "better for a people, though oppressed, to submit with patience even to a Tyrant."[445] Deposing an unjust monarch, Digges argued, could not be an option, since in case of his restoration the monarch's reign would probably become even stricter and more tyrannical in order to prevent any further disobedience and rebellion. Besides, even if successful at first, such means could not be the "end of our unhappy distractions."[446] On the contrary, they were likely to alarm other European princes, who sooner or later would "certainly afford supplies for recovering his just rights … for it might suddainly be their owne case, and they are bound to it in State interest".[447] These remarks were clearly made against the background of the experiences drawn from the Thirty Years War, when the quarrel between Ferdinand II and the Bohemian Estates and Frederick V precipitated half the continent into war. If the disputes between the king and his subjects were not resolved, Digges warned, "*England* would be the unhappy scene, where the tragedies of *Germany* would be reacted."[448]

What this could mean in practice, English readers could, for instance, take from the tract *No peace 'till the king prosper,* anonymously published in 1645. Here, the author, John Arnway, pointed to the causes and effects of the Thirty Years War, telling his readers to "Behold *Germany* and it will shew us what a deere-price they have paid for the seizure of the *Bohemia Crowne,* albeit (that having been Elective) faire Right was pretended and pleaded

---

[442] Dudley Diggs, *The vnlavvfulnesse of subjects taking up armes against their soveraigne in what case soevertogether with an answer to all objections scattered in their severall books* (Oxford, 1643), p. 136.
[443] Ibid.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid., p. 137.

for the seizure?"[449] As a royalist he challenged the lawfulness of the proceedings in Bohemia, that had cost the people of the Empire "many Millions of Pounds, and Lives."[450] As Arnway noted, "that Crowne-Quarrell" and the wars, which followed had destroyed "their Countries, Cities, Townes, Villages, Houses, Lands, Estates, Goods" and "after six and twenty yeares of reigning Warres and Woes", the Germans were still "overwhelm'd in a Sea of bloud".[451] The deposition and replacement of a lawful king, English royalists had learned from the Thirty Years War, could only prove disadvantageous to a country and its people, and it had to be feared that "*England,* too like poore *Germany* already, would be yet more miserably like it, should any Head, but the right-borne, weare the *English Crowne.*"[452]

For royalists the Bohemian crisis, the deposition of Ferdinand II, and the election of Frederick V, provided a case against rebellion and deposition and for obedience and loyalty. "Obedience to Monarchie" Thomas Swadlin argued "is an excellent conservative of peace, especially where the Monarchie is bounded by an Aristocracie of Peeres, and Democracie of Commons and this mixture meeting in their command and observed in our obedience".[453] However, if one of these three began to invade the rights of the others, peace was unlikely to last, as contemporary Englishmen could "see it true in *Germany* of late dayes, when the Commons were weary of a well settled Government"[454] and began to claim more rights and influence. According to Swadlin, they not only wanted to "have the free choyce of sincere Ministers" and to "be disburthened from paying Tythes", they also wished "all men to be equall in dignitie", but what followed was "Confusion: that which was once the *Garden* is now the dung-hill of the world."[455] As far as English royalist authors were concerned, the fault was not with Ferdinand II, but with the Bohemian people and their representatives, who had turned against an established and apparently well working system and thus dragged the whole country into war. In the light of this development, the English people had to make sure "[t]hat *England* never be made a like spectacle." To do so, Swadlin argued, they had "to remember we have a King and to obey him" and that they were "brethren … all subjects under that one King, as being all members of one Church, as being all sworne by one oath as being all professors of one truth".[456] Obedience and unity seemed to be the two things that

---

[449] [John Arnway], *No peace 'till the king prosper* (Oxford, 1645), p. 3.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid
[452] Ibid.
[453] Thomas Swadlin, *The soveraignes desire peace: the subjectes dutie obedience* (London, 1643), pp. 10-11.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.

could make a difference in England, and prevent her from suffering the same fate as Germany.

Whilst royalist authors repeatedly defended their case by pointing to the mistakes made in Bohemia, parliamentary supporters in their writings often condemned the brutality with which Cavalier troops treated the local population, and here too, it was possible to draw parallels to Germany and the Thirty Years War. The Civil War, English readers were warned, had created a situation in which they had to fear that "the enemy rusheth in upon you, and presently makes your habitation desolate, ravishing your wives, and ripping them up before your faces, using all violence and mischiefe upon you as they have done to our neighbour Nations, *Germany* and *Ireland*".[457] In the 1620s and 30s, reports about torture and mass killings in the Empire had been circulating in England. In the 1640s, news about similar war crimes made the round, but this time the victims were Englishmen and –women. Descriptions of pillaging and massacres in towns such as Birmingham or Bolton clearly bore some similarities to the atrocities of the Thirty Years War.[458]

One name continuously associated with the brutal acts committed by royalist troops, was that of Prince Rupert. The third son of Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart became one of the most prominent and notorious figures in the English Civil War.[459] For those supporting the parliamentary side, "that inhumane Prince Rupert" stood for "[t]he cruell Impieties of Bloud-thirsty Royalists, and blasphemous *Anti-Parliamentarians*" and embodied the cruellest side of "our Civill uncivill Warres".[460] This image was even picked up in a royalist satirical poem which referred to the "Dutchland Devil, Rupert, Prince of mischief and all evil."[461] The fact that Rupert was the son of the Prince and Princess Palatine, whose cause abroad Englishmen had been so eager to support in the 1620s and early 1630s, was hardly mentioned in the English press of the Civil War period at all. Prince Rupert, it seems, was

---

[457] *An appeale to the world in these times of extreame danger* (London, 1642), p. 8.

[458] *Prince Rvperts burning love to England discovered in Birminghams flames, or, A more exact and true narration of Birmingham's clamities under the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of P. Ruperts forces* (London, 1643); *An exact relation of the bloody and barbarous massacre at Bolton in the moors in Lancashire, May 28 by Prince Rupert being penned by an eye-vvitnesse* (London, 1644). For massacres during the Civil War in general see: Will Coster, 'Massacre and Codes of Conduct in the English Civil War' in Mark Levene and Penny Roberts, eds., *The Massacre in History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 89-105.

[459] See John Emmerson 'Prince Rupert's White Dog: an episode in publishing history', *Bulletin* (*Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand)*, 18, 2-3 (1994), pp. 86-92l; Greenberg, 'Dating Civil War Pamphs', pp. 399-400.

[460] *Englands vvolfe with eagles clavves or the cruell impieties of bloud-thirsty royalists, and blasphemous anti-parliamentarians, under the command of that imhumane Prince Rupert, Digby, and the rest. VVherein the barbarous crueltie of our civill uncivill warres is briefly discovered;* (London, 1646).

[461] 'The Earl of Essex his speech to the Parliament after Keinton Battle' in *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits from anno 1639 to anno 1661* (London, 1662), p. 121.

not associated with the good Protestant cause his father had fought for, or with any other good cause. Rupert, some commentators suggested, had come to England and sided with his uncle Charles I for entirely selfish reasons and only to enrich himself. He was either aiming for nothing less than the English throne,[462] or had at least come "for *Plunder*…With *German tag* and *rag*".[463] Plundering was one of the words and actions continuously associated with Prince Rupert in the press. He was said to have brought both the term and the practice of plundering from the wars in Germany to England, and according to contemporary accounts and pamphlets, there was bloodshed and plundering wherever Rupert and his troops turned up. It has been argued, that much of what was written about Rupert in anti-royalist pamphlets should be considered as false accusation or at least as propaganda.[464] However, there appears to be a connection between plundering and Rupert's joining the royal forces, at least terminologically. It was indeed only after the outbreak of the Thirty Years War that the word *to plunder*, derived from the German *plündern*, appeared in English (printed) sources.[465] "Plunder both *name and thing*," Peter Heylin noted later, "was unknown in *England*, till the beginning of the War; and the War began not, till *September, An.* 1642."[466] At about the same time, Prince Rupert first joined his uncle Charles I as cavalry commander in England, and with the beginning of his engagement the usage of the word and the number of reports and complaints about plundering and pillaging troops increased, too. Referred to as "Prince of *Robbers,* Duke of *Plunderland*",[467] and as "Prince Plunderer",[468] Rupert was soon known and feared for "his *Germaine* manner of plundering".[469]

---

[462] See *An item to his Majestie concerning Prince Rupert and his cavaliers. Or, A looking-glasse, wherein His Majesty may see his nephews love; vvho secretly under pretence of assisting him, to gain an absolute prerogative or arbitrary power, will disthrone him to set up himselfe* (London, 1643), p.4; [Marchamont Nedham], *Ruperts sumpter, and private cabinet rifled. And a discovery of a pack of his jewels by way of dialogue between, Mercurius Britannicus and Mercurius Aulicus* (London, 1644).

[463] *The sence of the Oxford-Iunto, concerning the late treaty wherein the severall reasons are delivered, why they could not conclude a peace with the Parliament: and published for the satisfaction of the whole kingdome* ([London, 1645]).

[464] See John Emmerson 'Prince Rupert's White Dog'.

[465] This has already been noted in Thomas Erskine May, *The History of the Parliament of England: Which Began November the Third MDCXI with a Short and Necesary View of Some Precedent Years* (London, 1812), p. 160. See Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? the Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context', *TRHS,* 28 (1978), pp. 127–144 and also Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Prince Rupert, 1619-82' *History Today*, 32, 3 (1982); pp. 8-11, here p. 9. See also the entry for 'plunder' in the *OED*.

[466] Peter Heylin, *Examen historicum, or, A discovery and examination of the mistakes, falsities and defects in some modern histories occasioned by the partiality and inadvertencies of their severall authours* (London, 1659), p. 248.

[467] John Taylor, *A dog's elegy, or, Rvpert's tears, for the late defeat given him at Marstonmoore* (London, 1644), p. 8, see also John Vicars*, Gods arke overtopping the worlds waves* (London, 1645), p. 163. Rupert had been created Duke of Cumberland by Charles I in 1644.

[468] *Englands vvolfe with eagles clavves.*

[469] *An item to his Majestie concerning Prince Rupert and his cavaliers*, p. 4.

Commentators seemed to be truly shocked by Rupert's practices and by his "promoting, countenancing, and personally executing those destructeve, dishonourable, and so much detested designes of pillaging and plundering the inhabitants of this Kingdome."[470] From an anti-royalist point of view, there was nothing heroic or chivalrous about Rupert or his engagement in the Civil War, quite the contrary. His "bloody mind" was considered so terrible, "that it would make any Christian mans heart to ake to think of it"[471] and in contrast to the Roundheads, whose "endeavours" were said to "have been, and still are, for peace", Rupert, "the bloody prince"[472] aimed "for warre and bloud-shed"[473] and was "violating … all lawes both humane and divine".[474] At least one commentator linked this behaviour to the circumstances of Rupert's birth and growing up in Germany during the Thirty Years War, suggesting that "as he was begot in the heate of a bloody war, so he lives and hopes to thrive by his bloody practices".[475] The prospect of his death on the other hand, which occurred as late as 1682, was thought to be "the expectation of the Kingdoms happnisse [sic!]".[476] It seemed that with Prince Rupert's coming into England in 1642, the cruel practices and horrors of the Thirty Years War had come, too, and Englishmen were now experiencing and seeing at home what they had formerly only read or heard about.

Whether seen as the results of divine punishment against sinful people and societies, or as the outcome of disobedience, disloyalty, and especially disunity, English commentators saw various similarities and parallels, if not a clear connection between the Thirty Years War on the continent and the Civil War at home. For some the war in the Empire and the events in England appeared to be part of a European development, of a general crisis, which affected large parts of the continent as well as the British Isles. Given this contemporary interpretation, which seems to differ from that of modern scholars, it may be appropriate to revive the historiographic debate about a general crisis of the seventeenth century and to

---

[470] *Ioyfull newes from Lichfield, being the true copie of a letter sent from a captain in Lichfield to his wife in London, dated Aprill 17* (London, 1643).

[471] R. Andrewes *A perfect declaration of the barbarous and cruell practises committed by Prince Robert, the Cavalliers, and others in His Majesties army* (London, 1642), unpaginated.

[472] This and similar titles given to Rupert can be found in several pamphlets and reports from the 1640s, for instance in *Englands vvolfe with eagles clavves,* and in T.B. *Observations vpon Prince Rupert's vvhite dog, called Boy* (London, 1643).

[473] I.W. *The bloody prince, or A declaration of the most cruell practices of Prince Rupert, and the rest of the cavaliers, in fighting against God, and the true members of His Church* (London, 1643), p. 7.

[474] Andrewes, *A perfect declaration of the barbarous and cruell practises,* unpaginated.

[475] *A perfect declaration of the barbarous and cruell practices.*

[476] *Prince Robert his plot discovered,* w*herein is declared, how he caused a souldier to be disguised like himselfe, who in that habit was set upon and slaine by the souldiers of the Parliaments forces. Published to prevent the false and lying discoveries concerning Prince Robert. Also the happinesse of peace; and the misery whereinto a land is ingaged by the cruelty of civill and domestick war* (London, 1642), p. 2.

167

complement it with further studies about the contemporary understanding and perception of this crisis.[477]

Moreover, the fact that English commentators continuously referred to and commented on the miserable condition of Germany when reflecting on the state of their own society and nation, also suggests that seventeenth century Englishmen were less insular and xenophobic as has recently been assumed.[478] Many English contemporaries were not only concerned about the fate of their German brethren, they also saw their own fate closely connected to that of their European neighbours. They considered the suffering, the bloodshed, and the collapse of moral standards in Germany not only as part of a European crisis but also as a warning to the English government and people, not to make the same mistakes, but to settle the conflict before it was too late. At the same time, the comparison and paralleling of these two wars, their causes and effects, and the debates about how to deal with the events, also provided an opportunity for English contemporaries to define, convey, and communicate an image of their own society and nation.

2.3.5
The English self defined, 1618-1648

When discussing the circumstances of the war in the Empire, and the way the English court dealt with the crisis abroad, commentators repeatedly took the chance to reflect on their government and their country's situation. It did not take too long before comments and criticism, but also praise and pride, appeared in print, whereby the conflict in Germany obviously also influenced the way contemporary Englishmen perceived their own country. Whether intended and planned or not, the debates about England's role and responsibility in Europe in general, and towards German Protestants and the Palatinate in particular, seemed to have a self-reflecting and self-defining effect. The print discourse about the war in Germany thus also offers an insight into what English commentators of the earlier

---

[477] For the debate about the general crisis see again Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century'; Aston, ed. *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660;* and more recently Geoffrey Parker, and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The general crisis of the seventeenth century* (Routledge, 2005); Geoffrey Parker, 'Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered', *AHR*, 113, 4, 1 (October 2008), pp. 1053–1079.

[478] For instance, in Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000).

seventeenth century considered to be the character and responsibility of the English nation and its inhabitants.

In the 1620s, political writers and pamphleteers concerned with the conflict abroad and with England's possible options for dealing with it, began to speak of a behaviour they regarded as particularly English, and some even seemed to expect their countrymen to act and react in a certain, an 'English' way to the events in Germany. More than once commentators turned the question about people's attitude towards the Thirty Years War into a question of true Englishness, and by doing so they may well have helped to shape an English self-image and to construct an English national identity.

News of the Thirty Years War were "published for the satisfaction of euery true English heart" to give "more comfort to euery true Christian, that either fauoureth the cause of religion, or wisheth well to the King of Bohemia's proceedings".[479] Reports about the Swedish intervention and the following campaigns and victories, were compiled and printed "to cheere up the long-exercised expectations of such well-affected *English,* as desired in their dayes, to see some *ease* and *consolation,* to the miserably afflicted *Churches* of *Germany.*"[480]

The true (hearted) Englishman followed the events in Germany, was interested in the Protestant as well as in the Palatine cause, and also felt a responsibility towards (distressed) Protestant brethren abroad. Protestantism clearly was what most defined the English nation during these as well as later decades of the seventeenth century. "[T]he true Religion", said Denzil Hollis, "is in the truth, the heart of England, which gives it life, and makes it flourish with strength and power".[481] This, Hollis believed, made "England, (in politick respect) the heart of the Protestant Religion in all the other parts of Christendome; and upon occasion, must send out supply into all the neighbouring Countreyes, professing the same Religion with it."[482] Hence, it was not only England's responsibility to support her brethren in all Europe, it was also her destiny and obligation to take a leading role amongst the Protestant states in Europe.[483] Despite being separated from continental mainland, England, as well as Britain as a whole, was clearly considered a part of Europe, not only in the context of a Pan-

---

[479] *More nevves from the Palatinate; and more comfort to euery true Christian, that either fauoureth the cause of religion, or wisheth well to the King of Bohemia's proceedings. / According to faithfull and honest letters, sent ouer since the beginning of March, and now published for the satisfaction of euery true English heart* ([London], 1622).

[480] Watts*, The Swedish intelligencer, The second part,* preface.

[481] Holles, *Mr. Denzell Hollis His speech,* p.4.

[482] Ibid.

[483] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae,* unpaginated.

European Protestantism. As such, Protestant England, "the beautie of *Europe*"[484] also had to face the threats posed by the European counter reformation and its three chief representatives Spain, Rome, and the Emperor. In order to "lie no longer exposed to the apparant danger, and merciles mercy of this Castilian Rat, of this Crocodile of *Italy,* of this vulture of *Germany*", England had to get engaged abroad and the English people were urged to prepare for war "with cheerefull hearts and ioyfull soules".[485] As has already been outlined above, for many commentators, intervening in the war was the only possible reaction to the events on the continent, especially to the invasion and taking of the Palatinate, and to the failure of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations and treaties. According to some people, an official military intervention on the continent was not just necessary and logical, though. Fighting for justice, both at home and abroad, was also depicted as something particularly English. To "make good the breach of the [Spanish] match with a war" was, as Benjamin Rudyerd suggested in the Commons in 1624 "the more English way."[486]

By preparing for such a war, it was argued, the English people had the opportunity to "signaliz our fidelities to our Soueraigne by our courage, and immortaliz our zeale to our Country by our valour and resolutions herein".[487] The wish and willingness to get militarily engaged in the Thirty Years War was thus identified as the expression of an Englishman's love and loyalty to his king and country. And not only that. By supporting a war against Spain and for the Palatine cause, people could obviously also prove their Englishness, or, allowing for the large number of Scotsmen fighting in continental armies, their Britishness. John Taylor, for instance, assumed, that "[t]rue *Britaines*, wish iust warres to entertaine, (I meane no aide for *Spinola* or *Spaine*)"[488] and the author of *Tom Tell Troth* assured James I, that his subjects were ready to support an English intervention in the Thirty Years War. "[Y]our faithfull Parliament" he stated, "hath already made you a liberal offer of our lives and fortunes and every good *Englishman* hath long since confirmed it in his particular devotion."[489] A similar view was also expressed by Thomas Scott. Condemning the occupation of the Palatinate, the transferal of the Electorate unto Maximillian of Bavaria, and the Spanish practices in general, Scott had "no doubt [that] euery true English heart will afford his helping hand, heart, purse, prayers, and all he hath to ouerthrow the boasting pride

---

[484] Reynolds, *Vox coeli,* unpaginated.
[485] Ibid.
[486] Rudyard, 'Diary of John Holles,' BL, HARL. MS 6,383, [f. 86v].
[487] Reynolds, *Vox coeli,* unpaginated.
[488] John Taylor, 'A funeral Elegie Upon King James', in *All the vvorkes of Iohn Taylor the water-poet Beeing sixty and three in number. Collected into one volume by the author: vvith sundry new additions corrected, reuised, and newly imprinted* (London, 1630), p. 323.
[489] *Tom tell troth*, p. 13, Italics in the original.

of this running enemy, and teach him a new lesson for his great ambition, and forward presumption."[490]

The active support and participation in the Thirty Years War against the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs was turned into a question of national identity, an identity which could be both, English and British. The readiness to pay, fight, and maybe even to fall for the Palatine and Protestant cause abroad, was depicted as a sign of loyalty and true Englishness. "[H]ee", wrote John Reynolds, "is not a true Subiect, a faythfull and loyall-harted Britton, noe nor the sonne of an honnest man, that is not ready and willing to beare his life on the poynt of his Sword, and (if occasion present) to lose it, rather then to retayne and preserue it in soe Iust and Honnorable a quarrell."[491] Assuming that the war on behalf of Frederick V, Bohemia and the Palatinate was righteous and just, the support of the Protestant cause abroad and the wish and willingness to go, fight and possibly die for it was now considered a patriotic duty. In reverse, this could also mean that only those interested in and concerned about these causes were true Englishmen, whilst those against an intervention in Germany were not. Thomas Barnes, who was so much in favour of a great English military campaign in the Empire, found clear words for those not ready or willing to fight:

> "I may here take just occasion to preach terror unto all those, whom God hath indued with strength of body, so that they might bee fit in time of neede, to stand their country in good stead, by bearing the sword against her enemies: and they waste this strength and ability of theirs, some on wine, some on women, some by one kinde of riotous living, some by another, and so indispose themselves for all good offices at home in peace, for all good services in the warres abroad."[492]

Hence, commentators, when beating the drum of war, repeatedly appealed to people's patriotism and their duty to serve their country both at home and abroad, and thereby conveyed an idea of what they seemed to believe was specifically English in nature.

Additionally, reflections on the Stuart's policy of treaties and negotiations, and their attempts to settle the war in Germany through means of diplomacy, could help to communicate images of what commentators perceived to be English approaches to the matter. The Habsburgs' repeated non-compliance to agreements and treaties, and the vain attempts to settle the disputes about the Palatinate diplomatically, it was assumed, had made the English look like fools. "His Majesties Father (of blessed memory) and Himselfe," Rudyerd explained in 1641, "have for many years mediated and treated with the successive

---

[490][Thomas Scott], *The Belgick souldier warre was a blessing* (London, 1624), p. 44.
[491] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, last page of the preface dedicatory.
[492] Barnes, *Vox Belli*, p. 33.

Emperours, by all faire and amiable ways. They have been deluded, they have been neglected."[493] This, the members of the two houses were asked to keep in mind when drawing up a declaration for the Diet of Regensburg in the same year, where the imperial Estates met to discuss matters of the Empire including the ongoing war.[494] "It behoves us," Rudyerd urged his fellow MPs, "to be *Englishly* sensible of the Injustice, of the Indignity."[495] What exactly he meant by 'Englishly sensible', Rudyerd did not say, but it may be assumed that he intended to sensitise the MPs about the mistakes committed in past negotiations in order to prevent them in the upcoming conferences abroad. Even though England had been deceived and suffered some setbacks in previous negotiations, in the summer of 1641, shortly before the outbreak of the English Civil War, king and parliament seemed to agree to continue working for a peaceful settlement in Germany in favour of the Elector Palatine. England had promised to help restoring the Palatinate, and her representatives obviously intended to stick to this promise and "to expresse and declare our zeale and heartinesse to the Cause, thereby to give it Countenance and Reputation in the present Dyet at Ratisbone."[496]

The commitment for a peaceful settlement abroad, was in fact another aspect contemporary commentators perceived as an English trait. Even the always critical Thomas Scott could still find something positive, almost noble in the English intentions and in the English way of dealing with the crisis abroad, especially when contrasted with the Spanish. "The meaning and scope of the *Spaniard*" he observed, "is directly opposite to that of the *English*."[497] As the negotiations and treaties concerning the Palatinate and the Spanish match had shown, the Spaniards were selfish, deceitful and untrustworthy and the Spanish king not only "despise[d] Peace as pernicious" but also used "his great power to nourish Warre, especially in *Germanie*".[498] This negative image of the Spanish was then contrasted with a rather positive image of the English monarch. "[T]he intention of the *English*," wrote Scott, *"is honest, viz. to giue peace to *Europe*, and to euery one his owne; neither doth he intend to get benefit to himselfe, & rule over others."*[499] In comparison with the allegedly warmongering behaviour of the Spaniards, the often criticised neutrality or inactiveness of

---

[493] Rudyerd, *The first speech upon the second day*, p. 3.
[494] For the parliamentary debates and the related speech of Charles I see *The Parliamentary Or Constitutional History of England from the Earliest Times to the Restoration of King Charles II,* Vol.8 (London, 1763), pp. 445-451. For the Diet at Regensburg, which was held from September 1640 until October 1641 see for instance Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years War,* 2nd Edition (London, 1997), pp. 149-151, and also Anton Ernstberger, 'Englands Ansichten zur Weltlage 1641/42', *Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte Jahrgang 1961,* Heft 6 (München, 1961), pp. 1-18.
[495] Rudyerd, *The first speech upon the second day*, p. 3. Italics in the original.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Scott, *Certaine reasons,* A3.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.

James I suddenly became a positive feature. Here it was not Germany itself, but Spain, that triggered reflections on the English self. However, it was the context of the Thirty Years War and of the Spanish intervention in the Empire, which made this kind of comparisons possible.

When comparing and contrasting their own country's situation to that of Germany or other European states, many commentators also perceived and suggested some kind of English exceptionalism.[500] As shown above, dealing with the suffering of the German population, the cruelties committed and the devastation caused by the Thirty Years War, seemed to raise people's awareness and appreciation of their nation's happiness. It helped to depict the English as a blessed and chosen people and to emphasise the special position England was believed to have held amongst the (Protestant) countries of Europe, as

> "Never hath any Kingdome or Countrey been blest with so flourishing an estate, and such a blessed condition, the security of whose Peace, and the durance of whose happinesse, hath alwayes preserved them both from the hostility of a forraigne Foe, and the annoyance of an intestine Enemy."[501]

In contrast to the Protestant territories of Germany and the continent, England had been living in relatively peaceful circumstances, at least until the early 1640s, and although the country had seen several attempted attacks from inside as well as outside, English liberties and religion had remained more or less intact. "Now we are free, and live in peace"[502], Philip Vincent noted in *The Lamentations of Germany*, emphasizing to his readers that "We for the present have Halcion daies. Sitting as the people under Salomon, Every man under his owne Vine, and Figge-tree; No complaining in our streetes, no carrying into Captivity. For which all honour and praise be to him, whose mercy it is that we are not consumed."[503] The comparison with Germany showed that England had more than once experienced God's mercy, whilst other nations and people had not been so lucky. Assuming that "if ever any State hath injoyed Peace, security and Liberty, it hath bin that of *England*",[504] contemporary English commentators believed that their country had "had more peace, plenty, and prosperity then any Nation".[505] The English people were "happy" as they could, "under a

---

[500] Donagan, *War in England*, p. 24.
[501] Morton, *Englands warning-piece,* p. 1.
[502] Vincent, *Lamentations,* To the Reader.
[503] Ibid*.,* Preface*.*
[504] Morton, *Englands warning-piece,* p. 1.
[505] *Englands remembrancer: or, A catalogue of all, or most of the severall victories and strong holds obtained (through Gods blessing) by the Parliaments forces, since the armies rising from about Oxford, June 1645. Published of purpose to draw forth our thanks unto the Lord of Hosts at all times, but more especially upon the day of thanksgiving* (London, [1645]), p. 3.

blessed King, enjoy the blessed fruits of peace", and thus lived in a state of which "the people of forraine Nations speake of it with admiration".[506]

The depiction of England as a blessed nation and of the English as a blessed and chosen people, was nothing particularly new, nor was it limited to debates about foreign affairs or to comparisons with other European states. The unsuccessful Spanish Armada, the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, and the more or less peaceful years under James I in general seemed to confirm an English exceptionalism, and at the end of the century, a similar language was used to celebrate and also to defend and justify the Revolution of 1688/89.[507] During the 1630s and early 1640s, it was the experiences of the Thirty Years War, the devastation of Germany, and the suffering of the German people, which further reinforced the image of a blessed English people and nation. The events of the Thirty Years War, England's role in the conflict and on the international stage, the image of English mercenary soldiers fighting abroad for the Palatinate, for Protestantism, and for England's honour, as well as the fate of the people and country of Germany, provided a background against which the character of the English nation and the English self could be defined.

---

[506] *The German history continued. The seventh part* (London, 1634), chapter XI, p. 1.
[507] See for instance Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, and also David Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *JBS*, 29, 1 (1990), pp. 31-52

3
"*The Empire sav'd, and Europe deliver'd*":
Reflections on the Empire in the context of the Nine Years War & the
War of the Spanish Succession, 1689-1713

About 40 years after the states and great powers of Europe had come to terms with each other, finally putting an end to the Thirty Years War, and thus to three decades of fighting and conflict, Europe was again at the brink of war. In 1689, the Nine Years War broke out, and in 1701 only four years after its settlement, disputes about the Spanish succession drove the European states into another thirteen years of fighting. Many of the powers, which had fought with or against each other during the Thirty Years War were under arms again in 1689.[1] Alliances had changed, though, and this time England was no longer an uninvolved spectator in the European theatre of war, but took a leading role in what contemporaries soon described as the fight for the liberty of Europe. In this fight the Holy Roman Empire was both significantly involved and severely threatened. The country's exposure to French invasions and aggression in the 1680's and 1690's, but also its ascribed role in fighting French oppression, soon brought the Empire back into the focus of media and public interest. "I Need not pretend", Edmund Bohun began his translation of Samuel Pufendorf's *De statu imperii Germanici*,

> "to apologize for the publishing this small Piece at a time when the continued Victories of the Emperor of *Germany* over that once so formidable Enemy the *Turk,* and the present War with the *French,* has made that Nation the Subject of all our Conversation and Discourse for so many years: and our present Union with those Princes in a War that is of so great consequence in the event, be it what it will, is like to make this Country more the Subject of our Hopes and Fears now, than ever it was before."[2]

As the Empire was now one of England's major allies against Louis XIV and French universal monarchy in Europe, its strength and freedom had become a matter of some concern to English contemporaries. "[T]he general State of *Germany,*" had, according to Bohun, become "the thing we *Englishmen* are most desirous and concerned to know."[3]

By the end of the seventeenth century, the English public interest in Germany thus reach a new peak. In the decades between the end of the Thirty Years War and the beginning of the Nine Years War, both countries had undergone several changes, politically, religiously

---

[1] Of course, this is not to say that Europe had always been at peace since 1648.
[2] *The Present State of Germany.* To the reader.
[3] Ibid.

as well as economically, which may also have influenced the foreign policy of the two countries as well as their relations with each other. During this period, England had witnessed yet another development, which modern historians have repeatedly termed the 'news revolution'.[4] The increased output and distribution of printed news, pamphlets, and other works, clearly had an impact on the political culture, on public discourse, and thus on the public sphere in England. More than ever before the printing press provided a platform for the public to discuss political questions and governmental decisions. As will be shown below, English commentators expressed their views on their country's foreign policy during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession in a variety of different publications. It is in this context that Germany once again became a focal point in English print discourse, where contemporary Englishmen not only discussed England's political role in Europe, her military involvement in the Empire, and her relations with her continental allies, but also commented on the Empire's (geo-) political importance in the struggle for Christendom and against French hegemony. The role of the Empire and of the Holy Roman Emperor, who many Englishmen had seen as the main aggressor and severe threat to Protestant as well as European liberties during the Thirty Years War, had obviously changed since the first half of the seventeenth century. It is these changes in Anglo-German relations, in the role of the Empire itself and, following these, probably also in contemporary English images and perceptions of the Empire, which justify having a closer look at Germany's role in the English print discourse about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession.

As shown above, the degree of English knowledge of, and interest in, Germany in the earlier seventeenth century has long been underestimated. Given this, the Empire's role in English print discourse of the period between 1689 and 1713 may need some reassessment, too. Even more so as England and the Empire were not only allied against one common enemy during those years, but also because England was, for the first time, militarily engaged within imperial borders and fighting for the rights and claims of the House of Habsburg.

Examining the press debates related to the two great wars against Louis IVX, will help to shed some more light on English views and images of Germany before the Hanoverian Succession in general, and also to analyse how far these had actually changed in the course of the seventeenth century. A comparison between the English debates about Germany in the 1620s-1640s, and those of the period between 1689-1713 may also allow considerations of an issue, which has received much attention and has been subject of much debate amongst historians. At the end of the seventeenth century, it has been argued, English political

---

[4] See for instance Sommerville, *News Revolution*, p. 3.

thinking, and possibly also England's foreign policy considerations, had undergone a secularisation, and religious world views had been replaced by more secular concepts such as the European balance of power. This view, which has most prominently been promoted by Steven Pincus, has repeatedly been challenged, though.[5] As Tony Claydon and others have pointed out, Protestant views and ideas did not disappear from English political discourse of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. For English contemporaries, Protestantism remained an important factor and guideline not only in everyday life but also in debates about domestic as well as foreign policy matters.[6] This was likewise true for the English discourse about the Grand Alliance's wars against France. Protestantism, or more generally, religion, still influenced the way people thought and spoke about the conflicts abroad and about the impact these had on politics and society at home in England. The fact that England was now allied with some of the greatest Catholic powers in Europe, made it somewhat difficult, though, to follow confessional lines, when discussing the English role and responsibility in the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession. However, as will be shown, wherever a Protestant reasoning for and legitimation of the wars against France was not possible, there was nevertheless a possibility to use religious arguments and biblical rhetoric to explain and defend the English foreign policy under William III and his successor Queen Anne. Christianity and Christendom, it will be argued below, became substitutes and alternatives, commentators could refer to whenever Protestantism was not available as a means of explanation or justification.

The continuous usage of religious arguments, however, was not incompatible with the idea of keeping the great powers of Europe in some kind of balance, in order to prevent any of them from becoming all to powerful. Maintaining the balance of power in Europe, or in other terms, safeguarding "the liberty of Europe"[7] certainly became one of the main objectives of the wars against the Sun King. Religion had neither disappeared from political discourses by this time, nor did the balance of power concept first appear during these years. As has been shown above, an early version of the concept had already been used in English contemporary debates about the Thirty Years War. At the turn of the eighteenth century, religious and secular interpretations and arguments thus rather seemed to coexist in English print discourse, and had been doing so for quite some time.

---

[5] Steven Pincus, *1688: The first modern Revolution* (New Haven, London, 2009).
[6] Claydon and McBride, 'The Trials of the Chosen Peoples', pp. 3-30; Claydon, *Godly Revolution*; J.C.D Clark, *English Society 1688-1832. Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985).
[7] Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', pp. 223-254, here p. 156.

3.1
Events and developments in the period of the Wars of the Grand Alliance

3.1.1
William of Orange, the Revolution of 1688-89,
and the changes in England's foreign policy

During the last two decades of the seventeenth century the course of England's foreign policy changed noticeably, a development that was closely linked both to the wars against Louis XIV and to the changes which occurred in England itself.[8] The Revolution of 1688-89 not only altered the English succession and changed and strengthened the role of parliament in English politics, it also broke with the politics of Charles II and especially of James II. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the policy course of the Stuart kings had often been pro-French and pro-Catholic. Whilst Charles II had only converted on his deathbed, his younger brother had become a Catholic in the late 1660s or early 70s. News about the Duke of York's conversion to Catholicism fuelled the already anti-Catholic atmosphere in the English public and triggered intense public debates about the question whether a popish prince could become head of a Protestant country and of the Anglican church.[9] In contrast to England's official foreign policy, public opinion had already begun to shift towards clear and open anti-French sentiments in the early 1670s. English commentators of the Thirty Years War had considered Spain England's greatest foe, and contemporaries of the first and second Anglo-Dutch Wars (1665-67) worried about the rising of the United Provinces. In the early 1670s Louis XIV and French universal monarchy seemed to become more threatening to contemporary Englishmen than any of the other European powers. The close relation between the courts of Whitehall and Versailles certainly helped to increase people's concerns.[10] As far as anti-French sentiments were concerned, the print discourse was several years ahead of the political line of the English government.

Despite several attempts to exclude James from the succession, he finally became king after his bother Charles II had died without a legitimate heir in 1685. In his first speech before the privy counsel and in parliament the new Catholic monarch promised to "make it my Endeavours to preserve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law

---

[8] See Jeremy Black, *Debating foreign policy in eighteenth-century Britain* (Ashgate, 2011), especially chapter five. For debates about Enland's foreign policy in the later Stuart era see also Christoph Kampmann, 'Die englische Krone als "Arbiter of Christendom"? Die Balance of Europe in der politischen Diskussion der späten Stuart-Ära, (1660-1714)', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 166 (1996), pp. 321-366.

[9] For the events prior the Revolution such as the exclusion crisis, see for instance William Arthur Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries. Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1988)

[10] For the shift from an anti-Dutch to an anti-French atmosphere in England and the possible explanation for it see Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes', pp. 333-361.

Establish'd".[11] This promise seemed to temporarily soothe people's fear of a popish sovereign. "It was", as Gilbert Burnet wrote, "magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give. The common phrase was, We have now the *word of a king, and a word never yet broken*."[12] There seemed to be a chance that the new king, despite his Catholicism, would respect the religion and liberties of his Protestant subjects. Things turned out differently, though, and people's hopes were soon disappointed. In 1687, James suspended the penal laws directed against nonconformists, granted freedom of worship to Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, and allowed them to hold state and military offices. With this English Catholics and Dissenters were not only no longer prosecuted for nonconformity, they were effectively given the same rights as members of the Church of England.[13] Disputes between James II and parliament about the repeal of the Test Acts and about the king's interpretation of the dispensing power resulted in the prorogation and finally in the dissolution of parliament in mid-1687.[14]

As far as many contemporary Protestant Englishmen saw it, James II clearly acted against the laws of his country. Although Protestant nonconformists benefited from the Declaration of Indulgence, too, many English contemporaries believed that their king was aiming at the re-Catholisation of the three kingdoms and aspiring to universal monarchy. The court's close relations to Versailles further increased these concerns and stoked fears about popish plots in England. Until summer 1688 it was possible though, to regard the reign of James II as a Catholic intermezzo, which would eventually end with the death of the king and the succession of one of his Protestant daughters to the English throne. In June, however, James' second wife Mary of Modena gave birth to a son. The prince, who was to be raised a Catholic, automatically became heir to the throne, replacing both Mary and Anne. This sudden prospect of a Catholic line of succession, the favouritism towards Catholics as well as James' ruling his kingdom mostly without parliament and by the dispensing power, turned his subjects more and more against him. Worried about the future of English rights and

---

[11] *An Account of what His Majesty said at his First coming to Council* (London, 1684, 1685).

[12] Gilbert Burnet, History of His Own Time Vol. III (1724-34), ed. by Martin Joseph Routh, reprograf. Nd. d. Ausg. Oxford 1833 (Hildesheim, 1969), p. 7. Original italics.

[13] See Robert Beddard, *A Kingdom without a King. The Journal of the provisional Government in the Revolution of 1688*, (Oxford, 1988), p.14. For the background and the content of the Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended those oenal laws see for instance Richard E. Boyer, 'English Declarations of Indulgence of 1687 and 1688', *CHR,* 50, 3 (1964), pp. 332-71. For a printed version of the Declaration see Andrew Browning, ed., *English Historical Documents 1660-1714,* Vol. VI (London, 1966), pp. 386-388.

[14] James II based his right to suspend the penal laws on the dispensing power, a monarchical privilege "to allow exceptions to the law, to permit what otherwise would be illegal, to grant a subject license to act as if the law dispensed did not exist." See Carolyn A. Edie 'Revolution and the Rule of Law: The End of the Dispensing Power, 1689', *ECS*, 10, 4 (1977), pp. 434-50, here p. 435. For an overview of the disputes between James II and his parliament over the penal laws, the standing army in times of peace, and the dispensing power see for instance Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, pp. 56-62.

religion, and "dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government",[15] the political elite began to look for alternatives, or at least for ways to stop their present king from infringing their laws and liberties. In late June 1688, a group of Englishmen finally wrote to James' son-in-law, the Dutch stadholder William of Orange, asking for assistance to curb the arbitrary government of the Catholic king and to counter the growing threat of Catholicism and counter reformation in England.[16] In October, William set off for England, where he landed on 5 November. About a month later, following the successful invasion and the unopposed approach of William's troops to the capital, James II left his kingdom and fled to France where he sought asylum at the court of Louis XIV. To settle the political situation after the king's flight, William summoned an extraordinary parliament, the so called convention, in the course of which the reign of James II was interpreted as forfeited, the throne was declared vacant and the succession altered in favour of William and his wife Mary. In February, the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed king and queen.[17]

With the Revolution of 1688-89 and the succession of William and Mary as joint sovereigns, English foreign policy started to change almost immediately.[18] England not only began to take a much more active role in Europe, English politics and the attitude towards some of the other major European powers shifted, too. Whilst the Stuart monarchs Charles II and James II had both maintained close relations with Louis XIV and the Catholic court in Versailles, William of Orange had already been working on establishing a broad alliance against the French king before he set off for England in October 1688 and continued to do so after his arrival there.[19] In the decades prior the outbreak of the Nine Years War, the Prince of Orange and the Dutch had more than once fought against the Sun King and his (changing) allies. The Dutch Republic had been at war with France during the War of Devolution in

---

[15] 'Letter of invitation to William of Orange', 1688, in Browning, *English Historical Documents,* pp. 110-112, here p. 110. The letter is dated 30. June 1688.

[16] Ibid.

[17] There is a large amount of studies concerned with the Revolution of 1688-9, its origins, prelude and aftermath as well as with the contemporary debates about it. See for instance Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument. An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', *BRH*, 83 (1980), 473-564; Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *By Force or By Default? The Revolution of 1688-1689* (Edinburgh, 1989); Jonathan Irvine Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1991), Robert Beddard, ed., *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991); and Beddard, *A Kingdom without a King.*; Lois G. Schwoerer ed., *The Revolution of 1688. Changing Perspective* (Cambridge, New York 1992); Tony Claydon, *Godly Revolution*; and most recently Pincus, *1688: The first modern Revolution.*

[18] For the English/ British foreign policy under William and Anne see also Tony Claydon, 'The Revolution in foreign policy, 1688-1713' in Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 219-241.

[19] For William's reasons to intervene in England and for his role in the Revolution see Tony Claydon, *William III, Profiles in Power* (Longman, 2002).

1667- 1668 and again in the Franco-Dutch War between 1672 and 1678, when the Dutch and William himself faced a coalition of France, England, Sweden and the German territories of Münster and Cologne.[20] In the 1680s, the threats of French invasions and attacks had still not been eliminated, making a large coalition against Louis XIV all the more important. William's succession to the English throne not only brought England away from her alliance with France, it also provided the stadtholder-king with the opportunity to rally many European princes behind this new Anglo-Dutch coalition, and with the means to effectively confront the French army. The League of Augsburg originally founded in 1686 was extended in 1689 and became known as the Grand Alliance, which united England, the Dutch, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and several other European states and territories in their fight against French expansionism. Hence, England became deeply involved in continental affairs and began to take on a leading role in the Grand Alliance. Under William III, and later under his successor Queen Anne, the country was actively participating in the wars abroad and in European politics. It was this period, which saw the emergence of Britain as a major European power.[21] The country's foreign policy course between 1689 and 1713 was mostly characterised and shaped by the attempt to limit French power and influence in Europe. England had become the head of a European and interconfessional coalition against Louis XIV of France and was fighting alongside those powers that early seventeenth century English commentators had still considered as threats to European liberties and Protestantism.

3.1.2
Party politics and the development of the press

The period of the two great wars against France, which also encompassed the first English military engagement in the Empire ever, partly coincided with two developments which altered the nature of political debates and print discourse in England. The first was the rise of the two political parties, which soon alternatingly dominated the different parliaments in Westminster and thus influenced and shaped English politics and policies, both domestic and

---

[20] For an overview of the conflicts in the age of the Sun King see for instance Cathal J. Nolan, *Wars of the Age of Louis XIV, 1650-1715: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization* (Westport Connecticut, 2008); William Young, *International Politics and Warfare in the Age of Louis XIV and Peter the Great: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (iUniverse, 2004).
[21] See Jeremy Black, *Britain as a military power, 1688-1815* (Routledge, 2002), p. 48.

foreign.[22] Party politics was a new feature that not only had a great impact on England's society in general, but also began to play a vital role in many political debates.[23] Whigs and Tories had emerged during the so-called exclusion crisis in the early 1680s, when a part of the English political elite assembled in Westminster attempted to exclude the converted Catholic James Stuart from the English succession.[24] In order to safeguard Protestantism in England, the Whigs were willing and prepared to change the line of succession and to bar Catholics from ascending the English throne. The Tories, their conservative and royalist counterparts, on the other hand, opposed the exclusion, arguing on the grounds of the divine rights of kings and the hereditary succession in England, which in their view should and could not be tampered with or be altered by the people.[25] Whilst quite rigorous in their anti-Catholicism, the Whigs were much more tolerant and open towards Protestant dissenters and other denominations within the Protestant faith than their Tory counterparts, who believed in the superiority of Anglicanism.[26] Late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Whigs and Tories clearly differed in their understanding and interpretations of monarchical and constitutional rights as well as in questions about religious conformity.[27] Moreover, they also had quite contrasting ideas about the course of England's foreign policy and about what they considered to be their country's national interest. This also influenced their attitudes towards the English engagement abroad and although both parties acknowledged the need to contain French power and influence, they clearly had very different views about how to achieve this containment. While the Whigs believed that in order to safeguard both English and European liberties it was necessary to fight and stop French absolutism on the continent, the Tories

---

[22] The period has been coined 'the First Age of Party' by Geoffrey Holmes and originally referred to the time between 1679 and the early 1720s. See for instance Geoffrey Holmes, *Politics, Religion and Society in England: 1679-1779* (London, Ronceverte, 1986). See also Clyve Jones, ed. *Britain in the first age of party: 1680-1750. Essays presented to Geoffrey Holmes* (London, Ronceverte, 1987).

[23] Geoffrey Holmes, *British politics in the age of Anne*. Revised edition (A&C Black, 1987), pp. 20-21.

[24] For the origins of the terms Whigs and Tories as well as for their meaning and usage in the English language in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century see for instance Robert Willman, 'The Origins of 'Whig' and 'Tory' in English Political Language', *HJ*, 17, 2 (1974), pp. 247-64.

[25] Tony Claydon, 'Toryism and the world in the later Stuart era, 1679-1714' in Jeremy Black, ed., *The Tory world: deep history and the Tory theme in British foreign policy. 1679-2014* (Ashgate, 2015), pp. 21-32, here p. 21. For an overview of the events and developments leading to and surrounding the exclusion crisis see for instance J. P. Kenyon, 'The exclusion crisis, 1678-1681, part I', *History Today*, 14, 4 (1964), pp. 251-259 and J.P.Kenyon, 'The exclusion crisis, 1678-1681, part II', *History Today*, 14, 5 (1964), pp. 344-349. For the parliamentary debates about the exclusion and about securing England from popery and popish succession see *An Exact Collection of the Most Considerable Debates in the Honourable House of Commons: At the Parliament Held at Westminster, the One and Twentieth of October, 1680, which was Prorogued the Tenth, and Dissolved the Eighteenth of January Following* (London, 1681).

[26] Claydon, 'Toryism', p. 21.

[27] For the political and ideological differences between Whigs and Tories see for instance Holmes, *British politics*. A shorter overview of the elements of Whiggism and Toryism in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century can be found in Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, *Whigs Kontra Tories: Studien zum Einfluss der Politik auf die englische Literatur des fruhen 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1974).

doubted that waging a continental war to mainly defend Dutch and imperial interests and territories, would help much to protect the British Isles against French expansionism. Focussing on naval power, they believed, would.[28]

In contrast to the more cosmopolitical and pro-European views of the Whigs, the foreign policy considerations of the Tories have usually been characterized as isolationistic, insular and mainly concerned about England's maritime power and her access to international trade. Consequently, they were often also sceptical about or even disinclined to commitments, interventions and engagements on the continent.[29] These features, often ascribed to eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century Tories alike, can be traced back to the first decade of the eighteenth century and to the events and developments related to the War of the Spanish Succession and to England's commitment abroad.[30]

At the end of the seventeenth century, party affiliation had become an important factor not just in Westminster, but in the English society as a whole. It penetrated and influenced the social, cultural, and religious life in England and determined, for instance, which coffeehouses people frequented, which newspapers, tracts, and books they read, and thereby also shaped their views of domestic and foreign politics and affairs. By the turn of the century party politics had entered the public sphere and started to influence public opinions and print discourses.[31] Whig and Tory principles and views could now be found in many tracts and pamphlets, and especially in the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession, the debates about England's commitment on the continent were led along party lines, too. As will be outlined and discussed in more detail below, the print discourse about the conduct and aims of the War of the Spanish Succession, mainly led between 1709 and 1712, was characterised by two very different ideas about English foreign policy and national interest, and it moreover revealed two different images of, and attitudes towards, England's imperial ally.

The second development to have a huge impact on England's political and print culture, then, was related to the English press itself, as it became a significant vehicle for the parties as well as for the court to promote their political ideas and for shaping public opinion. The revolution of 1689-9 had already produced a large amount of political pamphlets, discourses, printed sermons, and broadsides arguing in favour of, as well as against the events

---

[28] Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (Routledge, 2014), pp. 158-159; Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, pp. 353-354.
[29] Jeremy Black, 'Introduction', in Black, *The Tory world*, pp. 1-20.
[30] Claydon, 'Toryism', p. 23.
[31] For the influence of party affiliation as well as party strife on the society in Britain see Holmes, *British politics,* pp. 24-33.

and changes that occurred prior to and after William of Orange's landing and King James' flight.[32] The press, it has been argued, had an undeniable impact on the course and outcome of the revolution. Especially William used the press in England to his advantage and to advertise his plans and aims before, during, and after the revolution.[33] The new monarch's, and consequently England's fight against Louis XIV then resulted in another flood of printed material, describing, discussing, and vindicating the English engagement on the continent, following the events of 1688-89.

However, although the revolution and its settlement had been accompanied with a variety of (critical) publications, it did not yet create a free press, nor did it result in a general freedom of press. A new and lasting liberty in the printing business was only achieved several years later and was mainly due to the final lapse of the English licensing system in the mid-1690s and not to the revolution and its settlement itself.[34] Licensing laws had been "the chief means of prosecuting the printing press"[35] in the seventeenth century and as parliament did not renew the Licensing Act in 1695, this instrument was no longer available to control the press. Although publishers and authors could still be prosecuted and punished for seditious libel, and in some few cases also by the law of treason, these laws were not as easy to apply to critical publications and were thus also less effective as means of press control and censorship.[36] The lapse of the licensing system and new technologies in the printing industry increased the output of printed news and other publications in the last decade of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the English government as well as the political parties began to increasingly use the press as a tool to propagate their own views and aims, to condemn those of their political (and religious) opponents both at home and abroad, and to shape public opinion. As the literacy rate in England was growing too, more and more people

---

[32] Lois G. Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', *AHR,* 82, 4 (1977), pp. 843-74. For an annotated list of the works published after the Revolution and during the so-called allegiance controversy see Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument.' For the propaganda of William of Orange see Claydon, *Godly Revolution.* For an overview of the development of English periodicals and news in the seventeenth century in general see Sommerville, *News Revolution.* As Sommerville points out for the time before the revolution even James II had begun to use the press to influence and direct public opinion. See p.95.

[33] Sommerville, *News Revolution*, pp. 96-97; Schwoerer, 'Propaganda', p. 848.

[34] Lois G. Schwoerer, 'Liberty of the press and public opinion: 1660–1695' in James Rees Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688* (Stanford, 1992), pp. 199-230, here pp. 199-200. For an overview of the establishment of the act in 1662, its application to, meaning for and effects on the English press and for its abolition see for instance Raymond Astbury, 'The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its Lapse in 1695', *The Library* 5, 4 (1978), pp 296-322. The Licensing Act had already expired without immediate renewal once before in 1679, but was renewed under James II in 1685.

[35] Philip Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press' *Stanford Law Review*, 37, 3 (1985), pp. 661–765, here p. 680.

[36] Schwoerer, 'Liberty of the press', p. 208. For the usage of the laws of seditious libel and treason respectively, as means of press control especially after the lapse of licensing see also Hamburger, pp. 714-723.

gained access to news and print discourse.[37] They could thus be informed about, but also be influenced in their views of continental events and of England's role in Europe, for instance her engagements and commitments during the two wars of the Grand Alliance.

Especially the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession were accompanied by extensive paper wars. Following the success of the Tories in the elections of 1710, and the subsequent political alterations at Westminster, criticism and disapproval of the foreign policy of the late Whig government in the War of the Spanish Succession was now openly expressed in various publications.[38] Many tracts and pamphlets had a clear agenda: They were intended to convince the general English public of the advantages and necessity of a speedy peace. The initiator of this large-scale press campaign was Robert Harley, a former Whig, who, in 1708 turned against the growing influence of Marlborough and England's first minister, the Earl of Godolphin, before he, after the fall of this duumvirate, became first minister in the new Tory government himself in 1710.[39] From now onwards, Harley used his position and influence to promote and push a speedy peace and settlement of the War of the Spanish Succession. In this the printing press, as a means to shape public opinion, became one of his major instruments. On Harley's pay roll were such renowned authors as Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift, who despite their different political and religious backgrounds both wrote in support of the altered foreign policy course of the new government. Their writings and comments related to England's involvement in the European alliance and wars against France were most widely received by English contemporaries and were important contributions to the public discourse about England's foreign policy and the country's role and responsibility in Europe.[40] It has to be kept in mind though, that these Harleyite publications were also part of a large propaganda campaign intended to sway public opinion in a certain direction. Hence, the attitude towards the imperial allies and the images of the Empire expressed and conveyed in these as well as in contrasting writings need to be understood against this background, too.

Print media had not only been discovered as an important and useful propaganda tool for the English government, though, it had also become an important source for news and information about English politics in general. Less controlled and restricted than in the

---

[37] Schwoerer, 'Liberty of the press', p. 199.

[38] Metzdorf, *Politik, Propaganda, Patronage*, pp. 166-167.

[39] For an overview of Harley's political career and influence on English government see W. A. Speck, 'Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724)', *ODNB*, Vol. 25 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 317-326.

[40] Defoe's and Swift's writings have been referred to and cited in most works on English foreign policy under William III and Anne. One of the most substantial studies on the two writers, their role in the contemporary print discourse and their influence on public opinion in England is still Downie, *Robert Harley and the press* published in 1979.

preceding decades, the press provided an important platform for contemporary Englishmen to share and communicate information as well as their own political views and ideas. More than ever before, political issues were now publically reflected on in all sorts of publications. This was also the case when England, in the late 1680s and again in the first decade of the eighteenth century, got involved in the affairs on the continent, sided with the Holy Roman Emperor, and took a leading role in the Grand Alliance against France. The events and developments of the Nine Years War, and particularly of the War of the Spanish Succession, were closely watched, analysed, and assessed by English news writers and pamphleteers. Regular and diverse newspaper, allowed after the lapse of censorship in 1695, now provided the interested English readership with detailed information about the events and the English engagements on the continent.[41] The English public sphere began to discuss its country's international role and reflected on the character and conduct of her continental allies. By doing so, commentators also created and conveyed images of the English and their (imperial) allies, which corresponded to but sometimes also completely diverged from those images of the Thirty Years War period.

3.1.3
From the Nine Years War to the War of the Spanish Succession

In order to better understand contemporary English debates related to the two great wars against Louis XIV, it seems useful to provide an overview of the origins and events of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, before actually looking at the print discourse itself. Both wars were European wars, and this meant that there was more than just one theatre of conflict. Between 1689 and 1697, fighting took place in the German Rhine region, in the Spanish Netherlands, in Ireland, Catalonia, Savoy and Italy. In 1701, when war returned to the European continent after only a few years of peace and ceasefire, the Grand Alliance fought the Bourbon party in the Empire, in the Spanish Netherlands and United Provinces, in Italy and in the Iberian Peninsula.[42] The involvement of the various states and petty states in the conflicts and the different locations of war clearly underline the European character of the two wars. However, since the main intention of this chapter is again to

---

[41] For the role of newspapers after 1695 see for instance Baker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855*, and also Tony Claydon, 'Daily News and the Construction of Time in Late Stuart England, 1695-1714', *JBS,* 52, 1 (2013), pp. 55-78.

[42] For an overview of the conflicts and their origins see for instance John A. Lynn *The wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (Routledge, 2013).

analyse contemporary English views and images of Germany in the context of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, the following summary will mainly be concerned with the English and the German/imperial role and participation in these wars. Geographically, the focus will be on those events, which took place within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire.

Some of the origins of the conflict between France, and the Empire and William of Orange, which eventually led to the outbreak of the Nine Years War in 1689, dated back about twenty years. Between the late 1660s and the 1680s, French troops had repeatedly invaded and besieged cities and towns in the United Provinces, in the Spanish Netherlands, and in the German Rhine region, which could be regarded as a violation of the agreements of the treaties of Nijmegen.[43] Louis XIV's Réunion claims[44] caused some concerns amongst the European powers and in the years preceding the Nine Years War, his attempts to keep and increase his influence within the Empire and to strengthen the French position along the Franco-German border alienated several German princes from the court in Versailles.[45]

One issue of dispute between Louis and the Empire was the succession of the electorate of the Palatinate of the Rhine. Allowing for this, the German historiography often refers to the Nine Years War as the 'War of the Palatine Succession'. Modern English historiography on the other side seems to hardly ever mention this aspect of the Nine Years War.[46] Contemporary Englishmen, however, were certainly aware of this dimension of the conflict. As will be shown below, they still watched, and reported about, the events and developments in the Palatinate, and continuously expressed their concerns about the mainly Protestant population, now living under Catholic rule. The territory of the late Frederick V had been ruled by the Protestant House of Pfalz-Simmern since the middle of the sixteenth century, but after the death of the Palatine electors Charles I Louis and his childless son Charles II in 1680 and 1685, respectively, the electorate passed to the Catholic house of Pfalz-Neuburg. Until then relations between France and the Palatinate had been good. In 1671, Charles Louis had married his daughter Elizabeth Charlotte to the Duke of Orleans, the French king's brother, to underline and maintain the close relationship with the powerful

---

[43] For the contents of the Treaty of Nijmegen see Stephen Whatley, *A general collection of treatys,* Volume 1 (London, 1732), p. 16. For a summary of events in the 1680s and of the French foreign policy see for instance John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army, 1688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 5-16.

[44] Louis XIV raised claims to various territories along the eastern border of France, which he believed belonged to or depended on French sovereignty due to various international treaties of the seventeenth century. For the French policy of Reunion see: Young, *International Politics and Warfare*, pp. 216-218 and also David J. Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (Macmillan, 1998), pp. 140-141.

[45] Young, *International Politics and Warfare*, pp. 216-218.

[46] See the comments and references in the Introduction above.

state at the Palatinate's western border. The new elector, however, did not share the pro-French attitude of his predecessors. In 1686, Philip Wilhelm joined the League of Augsburg, and thus sided with the emperor against France. Facing the loss of influence in the strategically important Palatinate, Louis XIV raised a claim to the electorate for his brother Philippe of Orleans, which he based on the duke's marriage to the late elector's daughter. According to the will of Charles Louis, Elizabeth Charlotte had no right to either the territory or the wealth and property of the elector Palatine, and even the princess herself disapproved of the plans of her brother-in-law. The French king seemed ready to back the claims to the Palatinate with force, though.[47]

The conflict between the Empire and France further increased over the succession to the archbishopric and electorate of Cologne. After the death of Maximilian Henry, archbishop of Cologne, in the summer of 1688, both pope Innocent XI and Leopold I refused to confirm the election and succession of the pro-French Cardinal Fürstenberg. Instead they supported Joseph Clement, brother of the Bavarian elector Maximilian Emanuel, who was confirmed as new elector of Cologne in September 1688. With his brother being one of the closest allies of the Austrian Habsburgs, Joseph Clement was unlikely to side with France in the unfolding conflicts.[48]

With the successions in the Palatinate and in Cologne, France had lost her influence in two of the most important German territories, and Louis XIV's means to exercise control in the Empire and his support amongst the German territorial rulers seemed to decrease. In an attempt to reinforce Fürstenberg's claim to the electorate, and to regain control in the Archbishopric, the French king sent troops into the territory of Cologne. At the same time, Louis urged the Empire to transform the Truce of Ratisbone of 1684 into an official peace treaty. The Truce had confirmed France's sovereignty in those territories seized as parts of the Reunions before August 1681, but it was limited to twenty years. By transforming the truce into a permanent settlement, this limitation would have been removed, allowing France to keep the territories and thus to maintain its influence in the Empire.[49] To push his demands, Louis XIV finally sent an army to invade Germany in late September, and within less than two month, France had taken several fortresses, towns, and cities in the German Rhine region.

---

[47] For the origins and events of the Nine Years War see Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697'as well as 'The Character of the Nine Years War, 1688-97'.

[48] Maximilian Emanuel was not only married to the daughter of the emperor, he was also leading the imperial army against the Turks and had been offered the Spanish Netherlands as appanage and was appointed its governor in late 1691.

[49] Young, *International Politics and Warfare*, p. 254

However, despite this early success of the French, the Empire did not cave in and Louis XIV's threats to it did not have the desired effect. Instead of fulfilling the demands of Versailles, Leopold I and various German territories closed ranks and united against their French neighbour. As Heinz Duchhardt and others have pointed out, French violations of imperial interests and liberties had a unifying effect on the Empire.[50] Shortly after the French taking of Kaiserlautern in early October 1688, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel united in the so-called *Magdeburger Concert*, a league intended to defend the lower and middle Rhine region against French intrusion.[51] The disputes with France created a feeling of unity and mutual solidarity not only amongst the various German territories, but also between the emperor and the territorial rulers. It was during these years that the Empire began to appear and act as one collective body, a development which, as will be shown below, did not go unnoticed in England.

Whilst the conflict at the western border of the Empire had increased, the imperial army, under the leadership of Charles of Lorraine and Max Emanuel of Bavaria managed to secure the borders in the east. Between 1686 and 1688, the imperials finally defeated the Turks and gained control over large parts of Hungary and Transylvania. These victories also had a positive effect on the image of the Holy Roman Emperor and seemed to further unify the German territories against French expansionism.[52] Moreover, the French advance into the Rhine region and the devastation of the Palatinate caused by French troops, mobilised the princes of the Empire, and in October 1688 resistance against Louis XIV began to form both in Germany and at the courts of Europe. The origins of the conflict may thus be seen in Louis' striving for control over the Rhine region. The escalation into nine years of warfare, however, also resulted from the involvement of William of Orange and his ambitions to curtail France's power and influence in Europe.[53]

Under the leadership of William, the Dutch had been searching for partners in their struggle against French expansionism since the early 1680s; a goal that was eventually achieved in 1688.[54] William's coming to England and his involvement in the Revolution of

---

[50] Heinz Duchhardt, *Altes Reich und europäische Staatenwelt: 1648-1806*, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte Band 4 (München, 1990), p. 19; Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', p. 232.

[51] Peter Wilson, *German Armies: War and German Society, 1648-1806* (Routledge, 2002), p.183; Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', p. 232.

[52] Young, *International Politics and Warfare,* pp. 433-435.

[53] Derek McKay and H.M. Scott, *The rise of the great powers 1648-1815* (London, 1983), p. 44.

[54] Young, *International Politics and Warfare,* p. 218.

1688-89 have to be understood against this background, too.[55] The Prince of Orange left little doubt about his plans to stop the French advance in Europe. The rhetoric found in many of the pamphlets and broadsides published to explain and justify his interference in English affairs was often anti-French.[56] The French campaigns in the Rhine region in the late summer of 1688 on the one hand, and William's success in winning England over to the anti-French camp on the other, finally provided the Prince of Orange with the opportunity to establish the broad European coalition against Louis XIV, a coalition in which the Empire became one of the closest allies. In January 1689, two months after William's landing on the English coast, the Empire officially declared war on France, followed by the Dutch in March, and England and Spain in May.[57] What followed were nine years of warfare.

As far as Germany was concerned, most of the actual war took place in the Rhine region, where French troops besieged and destroyed various fortresses and towns. The so called scorched earth policy, i.e. the systematic burning and devastation of large areas, which especially hit the Palatinate, was intended to "create an artificial desert",[58] to make it impossible or at least as hard as possible for the imperials to follow and attack the French forces.[59] In the course of this policy whole areas in the Palatinate were razed to the ground by the troops of Louis XIV. Even a hundred years later, at the end of the eighteenth century, the destruction of many Palatinate cities and towns caused by the French during the Nine Years War was still recognisable to English travellers.[60] After several months of fighting in the Rhine region and along the German western border, the war shifted to the Spanish Netherlands in 1690. Here, the members of the Grand Alliance continued fighting against the troops of Louis XIV for several years.[61] At this point the Anglo-Dutch forces got actively engaged in the war on the continent. Before 1690, several of William's troops had been stationed in Ireland to defend the British Isles against the Jacobean attempts to retake the British throne. With French help and forces, James II had reached Ireland in the spring of 1689 and gained control over most of it, except the Protestant stronghold of Ulster.[62] It took

---

[55] For the role of the Dutch in the events of 1688-89 see for instance Jonathan Irvine Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution' in: *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 105-162

[56] See for instance Claydon, 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom'.

[57] France herself had already declared war on the Dutch and on Spain in November 1688 and April 1689, respectively. For the declarations see for instance Whatley, *General Collection.*

[58] John A. Lynn, 'A Brutal Necessity? The Devastation of the Palatinate, 1688-1689' in Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers, eds., *Civilians in the Path of War, Studies in war, society, and the military* (Lincoln, 2002), pp. 79-110, here p. 92.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Yair Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689-1866.* Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 60-62.

[61] For the Nine Years War in the Spanish Netherlands see for instance Childs, *The Nine Years' War.*

[62] Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', pp. 235-236.

more than a year for William and his commanders to defeat James' army and to regain Ireland. In the early 1690s, England's main focus clearly lay on the campaigns in the Spanish Netherlands, and especially on Flanders, where Anglo-Dutch forces were fighting the French.[63] In the mid 1690s, the English and Dutch then concentrated on fighting the French at sea, whilst the imperials were occupied with regaining control in the Rhine region and with fighting the Turks along the Danube.

The last years of the Nine Years War saw some kind of deadlock between the French and the Grand Alliance. Despite the effort of the imperials, France still managed to hold large parts of the Rhine region, and neither the Anglo-Dutch nor the French fleet had come out victorious in the naval war. Besides, the main fighting parties were now all struggling with financial and economical crises. In September and October 1697, respectively, each member of the Grand Alliance signed a peace treaty with France. The Treaty of Ryswick finally ended nine years of exhausting and expensive warfare, and re-established, apart from some exemptions, the state existing before the war. Louis XIV kept Strasburg, but had to give up most of the territories he had gained through his Réunion policy and in the course of the war. The French thus had to retreat from the German Rhine region, including the Palatinate. What was of special importance, though, was that the fourth article of the treaty between the Leopold and Louis XIV, the so-called Ryswick Clause, not only settled the cession of territory. It also stipulated "that the Roman Catholic Religion shall continue in the State 'tis at present, in the Places to be restor'd",[64] which meant that in those regions where Catholicism had flourished and increased during the French occupation, Catholics continued to be allowed to openly practice their faith. This alteration especially concerned the Palatinate and its large Protestant population, where Catholicism was soon put on equal footing with the reformed religion.[65]

In addition to the territorial settlements on the continent, Louis also had to acknowledge William as King of Great Britain and agreed to refrain from helping or getting engaged in any kind of plots or conspiracies against him and his kingship.[66] Apart from the Ryswick Clause, which was to cause some continuous disputes amongst Protestants and Catholics in the Palatinate, the Treaty of Ryswick seemed to bring peace back to Europe.

---

[63] For the war in Flanders see Childs, *The Nine Years' War*, pp. 32-68.
[64] Article four of the treaty between the Emperor, the Empire and France. Whatley, *General Collection*, p. 363.
[65] For the clause and its effects on an imperial level and on the Palatinate in particular see Henning Murmann, *Die Herrschaft über das Ganze - Die kurpfälzische Konfessionspolitik zwischen 1685 und 1728 als Schauplatz rechtlicher und institutioneller Konflikte* (Heidelberg, 2014), digitalised PhD Thesis. Accessible via http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/17513/
[66] Article four of the treaty between Great Britain and France. Whatley, *General collection*, p. 303.

Although the members of the Grand Alliance had not defeated France entirely, for the time being it seemed as if they had nevertheless managed to stop French expansionism and to contain Louis' influence in Europe.

Four years later tide turned again. In November 1700, Charles II of Spain, the last king of the Spanish Habsburgs, died childless and without a direct heir. The issue of the Spanish succession had been a matter of debates and negotiations amongst the major European powers for several years before the king's death.[67] Emperor Leopold I and Louis XIV were married to sisters of the king and could thus both claim a right to the throne of Spain.[68] In a secret treaty, drawn up in 1686, the two main candidates had agreed on sharing and dividing the various territories of the Spanish Habsburgs between each other. In 1689, however, the treaty of the Grand Alliance determined the succession in favour of the emperor.[69] Then, in 1696, Charles named Joseph Ferdinand, son of the Bavarian elector Max Emanuel and Maria Antonia, daughter of the emperor, heir to the Spanish crown, a choice the princes of Europe seemed to be able to accept and agree with. Unfortunately, Charles II outlived the young Joseph Ferdinand, who died in 1699 at the age of six. After this sudden death, the choice was again between a Bourbon and a Habsburg candidate. Whilst Leopold claimed the Spanish crown for his younger son Charles, Louis wanted his grandson to succeed to the throne. As contemporaries were still quite concerned about the idea of a universal monarchy established in Europe, the powers engaged in the negotiation about the Spanish succession were eager to prevent the two houses from becoming too powerful and influential, and to rule out that eventually the Spanish and the French, or the Spanish and the imperial crowns would be united in one person. Hence it was agreed that whoever of the two candidates would succeed to the Spanish throne, should resign possible claims to the imperial or French crown, respectively.[70]

At first it seemed as if dividing the Spanish territories between the two possible heirs could prevent an escalation of the dispute into open war. Initiated with Anglo-Dutch help, a partition treaty was drawn up and signed by the French, the English, and the States General

---

[67] For the consequences of Charles II's death for Europe and the individual countries see Sir George Clark, 'From the Nine Years War to the War of the Spanish Successions' in Bromley, ed., *New Cambridge Modern History*, Volume 6, pp. 381-409.

[68] For the basis of the claims of Leopold and Louis see Matthias Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg. 1701–1713/14* (München, 2014), pp. 16-19.

[69] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg,* p. 18; Clark, 'From the Nine Years War to the War of the Spanish Succession', pp. 387-388.

[70] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, pp. 22, 24.

in early 1700.[71] It stipulated that Archduke Charles should succeed to the Spanish throne, whilst the Duke of Anjou would gain territories in Italy plus the Duchy of Lorrain. However, matters turned out differently. Shortly before his death, Charles II of Spain changed his will in favour of Philip of Anjou, who was proclaimed King of Spain at Versailles and Madrid a few weeks after his predecessor had passed away on 1 November 1700.[72] With Philip being named the sole heir to the Spanish crown, the Habsburgs were left empty-handed, a decision, they were not willing to accept. The court in Vienna did not seem to have any intention to give up its imperial fiefdom in Italy. Instead it issued a proclamation, ordering the return of the imperial fiefs. The dispute that emerged over the Spanish succession in early 1701 thus mainly centred around the influence in Italy. It was a dispute between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs. At first Philip's succession primarily worsened the relation between the emperor and the French, who both sent troops to Italy in the spring 1701, and seemed to be ready to defend their claims with force. It is questionable, though, if these events alone would have been reason enough to revive the Grand Alliance and start a second European war against France. However, within the next months, several developments provoked resentment and resistance amongst the members of the Grand Alliance. In February Louis XIV and the French parliament confirmed Philip's right of succession to the French throne, an act that clearly contradicted both the agreements made prior to the Spanish succession and the will of the late Spanish king. Only a few days later, French troops entered several Dutch fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, urging the States General to recognise Philip as the new King of Spain.[73] The conflict began to widen, and as negotiations with France failed, the members of the Grand Alliance once again united to contain French ambitions in Europe, and "to obviate do great Evils as might arise from thence; and desiring as much as lies in their Power to apply Remedys thereto".[74] Louis XIV, it seemed, was not willing to stick to the agreements he had made with the other European powers.[75] When the deposed James II died in September 1701, the French king acknowledged his son James Edward Stuart as the rightful King of Great

---

[71] This was already the second partition treaty. The first was signed in 1698 and named Joseph Ferdinand the main heir to the Spanish monarchy, whilst Philip of Anjou and Archduke Charles should receive territories in Italy. The emperor, however, refused to sign the treaty, insisting on Habsburgs' sole claim to the Spanish inheritance. See Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, pp. 21-22. For the contents of the treaties see Whatley, *General collection*, pp. 386-415. For a summary of William III's and English views about settling the dispute about the Spanish crown, and England's involvement in the war see Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire* (Basic Books, 2008), pp. 44-50.

[72] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg,* pp. 26-27.

[73] Ibid., pp. 29-30

[74] 'The Second Grand Alliance, or the Treaty concluded between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the States General, September 7, 1701' in Whatley, *General collection*, p. 415.

[75] The treaty of the second Grand Alliance also lists the various violations of the French king. See Whatley, *General collection,* pp. 415-416.

Britain and thereby violated the Treaty of Ryswick and broke his promise to accept and respect William's kingship and the succession in England.

In the end, all attempts to settle the matter of the Spanish succession peacefully had failed. The conflicting parties started to prepare for war, which was formally declared in May, June, and July 1702, respectively. By that time, William III, the head of the interconfessional coalition against Louis XIV, had already died. On 8 March 1702 he was succeeded by James' II second daughter Anne, under whom England once again fought "for preserving the Liberty and Balance of Europe, and for reducing the exorbitant Power of France".[76]

The protagonists of the second Grand Alliance were again England, the Empire, and the Dutch. Spain under her new French king had of course changed sides, and so had Max Emanuel, the elector of Bavaria and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and his brother the archbishop and elector of Cologne, who had both sided with France and Spain in 1700 and 1701.[77] Following the official declarations of war in 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession, like the Nine Years War before, was fought out in various parts of Europe.[78] Apart form the theatres of war in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Hungary, most fighting took place in Germany and the Netherlands. During the first years, the English, in cooperation with Dutch and German forces and under the leadership of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, tried to drive the French out of the Netherlands and to regain control over those areas occupied by the forces of Louis XIV. As far as the Empire was concerned, the two main theatres of war were again the Rhine region, which the imperials sought to secure against a new French invasion, and southern Germany, where Bavarian and French forces commanded by Max Emanuel and the Marshal Villars experienced some early success in 1702 and 1703. The Franco-Bavarian armies had taken several cities in Würtemberg and Bavaria, they had beaten the imperials at the first Battle of Höchstädt on 20 September 1703, and it seemed likely that their next move would be an attack on Vienna. In order to stop the southern advance of the enemy, the allies decided to move the Anglo-Dutch as well as several imperial troops down

---

[76] 'The Queen of England's Declaration of War against France, May 4, 1702', in Whatley, *General collection,* pp. 421-422.

[77] In addition to Bavaria and Cologne, the dukes of Brunswig-Wolfenbüttel and of Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg also sided with the French and Spanish or at least formed defensive alliances with them. These alliances did not last very long, though. The duke of Brunswig-Wolfenbüttel was deposed by the emperor in 1702 and soon afterwards the duke of Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg, obviously worrying about his title and possessions, changed sides again. See Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg,* pp. 41, 45. For the Franco-Bavarian relation in general see Peter Claus Hartmann, 'Die französisch-bayerischen Beziehungen in der frühen Neuzeit', in Klaus Malettke, Christoph Kampmann, eds., *Französisch-deutsche Beziehungen in der neueren Geschichte. Festschrift für Jean Laurent Meyer zum 80. Geburtstag.* Forschungen zur Geschichte der Neuzeit. Marburger Beiträge Bd. 10 (Berlin 2007), pp. 149-157.

[78] Fighting also took place in the Americas and in the West-Indies, where the English and French fought over the influence and control in the colonies. The conflict was termed Queen Anne's war.

to Bavaria.[79] After a first encounter at Donauwörth in July 1704, which ended in favour of the allies, the two sides faced each other again near Höchstädt. On 13 August, an allied army of about 52,000 men and a Franco-Bavarian army of about 56,000 men fought for more than nine hours. At the end the allied forces, commanded by Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, had gained a clear victory in the battle that was to become one of the best-known battles of the War of the Spanish Succession. The Battle of Blenheim was not only one of the most decisive and famous battles and Marlborough's greatest success in the War of the Spanish Succession, it also forced the Franco-Bavarian army including Max Emanuel to leave and abandon Bavaria.[80] With southern Germany secured and in imperial hands, the war shifted west again and the operations once more concentrated on the Rhine region, where the imperials tried to defend the Empire's western boarder against new French invasions. Whilst the forces of the Empire continued to operate along the upper Rhine, Marlborough and the Anglo-Dutch troops returned to the Netherlands after an indecisive campaign in the Mosel region in late 1705.[81] With this the English engagement on German soil had more or less come to an end. For the remaining years of the war, England focussed on the Dutch front, where Marlborough once again faced Max Emanuel in 1706 at the Battle of Ramillies. The elector, and last remaining German ally of Louis XIV, had been placed under the imperial ban by the new emperor Joseph I, and moved back to Brussels after the disastrous defeat at Blenheim. The Battle of Ramillies only lasted four hours and ended with a clear victory of the allies, who managed to retake large parts of the Spanish Netherlands, including Brussels and several Flemish cities.[82] Campaigns in the Netherlands continued with varying success for the allies and the French, whilst in Germany, the imperials tried to keep Louis' troops out of the country. In May 1707, a French army crossed the Rhine and invaded large parts of the Palatinate, Franconia, and Swabia. In September, however, the French were successfully pushed back by the new commander of the imperial army, George Louis, elector of Hanover and future King of Great Britain. Although both sides kept their forces in position, there were only a few manoeuvers along the upper Rhine in the last years of the war.[83] Despite this inactivity, in the end, the Rhine region was to become the last remaining theatre of war.

---

[79] Thomas Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704. Eine Schlacht als Medienereignis: Kriegsberichterstattung und Gelegenheitsdichtung im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015), pp.53-54; Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, pp. 46-47.

[80] For a description of the course of the battle see Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704*, pp. 56-62. See also A.J. Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe' in Bromley, ed., *New Cambridge Modern History*, Volume 6, pp. 410-445, here p. 422.

[81] Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe', p. 424.

[82] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, pp. 63-64.

[83] Ibid., p. 50, and also Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe,' p. 432.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough's service as commander of the English army was drawing to a close in 1711. His last great battle had been the Battle of Malplaquet in September 1709. It had been won, but victory had come with a high price. Of the 90,000 allied soldiers more than 20,000 had been killed or wounded at Malplaquet. Despite some further success in 1710/1711, Marlborough had lost the favour of his queen and of many of his countrymen. From Malplaquet onwards, criticism of the Duke and of the English engagement abroad in general had grown continuously at home in England.[84] Besides, after the sudden death of emperor Joseph I and the succession of Charles VI to the imperial crown in April 1711, the new Tory parliament in England was eager to come to terms and negotiate a peace settlement with Louis XIV. The new emperor, who had been the Habsburgs', and thus the allies' candidate to the Spanish throne, had become so powerful and influential, that it was now the Habsburgs rather than Bourbons who seemed to pose a threat to the European balance of power.[85] Generally war-weary and worried about a Habsburg dominated Europe, the English withdrew from the War of the Spanish Succession and from the continent.

After the peace of Utrecht, which England and France signed on 11 April 1713, the Upper Rhine region was the only area where manoeuvers continued. Here the conflicting parties, France and the Empire, fought for another year. In 1713 the French made a last move into the Empire and managed to take several cities in the Palatinate, Baden, and Württemberg, before the beginning of peace negotiations between France and the Empire stopped the French campaign. Almost a year after the peace of Utrecht, emperor Charles VI and Louis XIV signed the treaty of Rastatt on 6/7 March 1714, and thus finally ended the War of the Spanish Succession.[86] The Spanish crown remained in the House of Bourbon, the formerly Spanish Netherlands and most of the Spanish possessions in Italy, however, were transferred to the Austrian Habsburgs.

---

[84] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, pp. 65-66.
[85] Veenendaal, 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe', p. 441.
[86] For the peace treaties and their various aspects see for instance Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst, eds., *Utrecht–Rastatt–Baden 1712–1714: Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013) and the essays therein.

3.1.4
The Thirty Years War and the Wars of the Grand Alliance –
Similarities and Differences

Before analysing the role of the Empire in the English contemporary news coverage and print discourse of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, it seems useful to contrast these two wars with the Thirty Years War and to summarise some of the differences and similarities between the three wars as these may also have influenced the way people in England perceived and discussed the events as well as their causes and effects.

From an English perspective, the most important difference between the Thirty Years War and the two great wars against Louis XIV was probably the role of England herself in these conflicts. Like in the 1620s to 1640s, the fighting of the Nine Years War and of the War of the Spanish Succession once again took place on the other side of the Channel, partly on German soil, but also in the Netherlands, in France, and in other parts of Europe. However, although England did not experience any fighting on her own soil,[87] this time she was deeply engaged in the wars, diplomatically, politically, and militarily. With this the English role had changed from a bystander to a belligerent, a fact that also influenced the content and the degree of the public's discourses about the wars.

Not only England's role in Europe, and amongst the European powers, had changed since the Thirty Years War, though. The Empire's role had changed, too: Whilst it had been divided into various different factions during the Thirty Years War, it now acted as one collective body. In contrast to the Thirty Years War, both the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession were imperial wars (*Reichskriege*), which were formally declared by the imperial Diet and fought by the Empire as a whole, under the leadership of the emperor, against a foreign enemy and some German territories.[88] By 1689 the House of Habsburg, and especially its Austrian branch and the Holy Roman Emperor had, moreover, become one of England's strongest allies in the wars against the Sun King. Even Spain, which had seen a drastic decline in power in the second half of the seventeenth century, had entered the coalition. England's greatest enemy now became her ally against a new enemy number one: the France of Louis XIV. Whilst English commentators of the Thirty Years War period

---

[87] There was however some fighting in Ireland, after James II had landed there in March 1690 to reconquer his kingdoms with French help. He suffered a major defeat at the Battle of the Boyne against the forces of William III in July. See McKay and Scott, *The rise of the great powers*, p. 48.

[88] Since the Peace of Westphalia, the emperor could not declare an imperial war on his own or with the help of the electors, but needed the consent of the imperial Diet. The same also applied to peace treaties. See Christoph Kampmann, *Europa und das Reich im Dreissigjährigen Krieg: Geschichte eines europäischen Konflikts* (Kohlhammer, 2008), p. 173.

had worried about Spain's ambitions for universal monarchy and for subduing all Europe, they now suspected Louis XIV to have similar plans.

In terms of their origins and causes, and in terms of the changed roles of some of the protagonists, the two wars against Louis XIV clearly differed from those of the Thirty Years War, too. In contrast to the Thirty Years War, which had started as a local conflict in Bohemia and was at first confined to some territories of the Empire, the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession had a European dimension right from the beginning. When war broke out in 1689 and again in 1701/2, sides were more or less fixed from the start, only Spain, Bavaria, and Cologne left the Grand Alliance in 1701 to support the Bourbon claim in the conflict about the succession of the late Charles II of Spain. There were no new parties entering the conflict in the later years, and the key actors remained the same throughout the period between 1689 and 1713. Being part of a European struggle against French hegemony and expansionism, the motives and aims of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession may be considered as quite similar. Both wars were about or had a least been triggered by disputed successions, and the parties involved fought about influence and control over certain regions, territories or even whole countries in Europe.

Another main difference was the way the three wars were waged. In the course of the seventeenth century the methods and conduct of early modern warfare had undergone several developments. The Thirty Years War had caused immense devastation and suffering in various territories of the Empire. The period of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, which Jeremy Black has called "the new age of war",[89] on the other hand, is considered as the beginning of the age of cabinet wars. In contrast to the Thirty Years War, where troops and mercenaries had ravaged entire villages and where hundreds of thousands people had been killed, the wars against Louis XIV were characterised by sieges, and mainly fought between armies. Fighting was not only much more based on strategy than before, the powers engaged also attempted to keep combat confined to the battlefield and thus to spare the civilian population.[90] The death tolls and the material damage of the two wars against Louis XIV were still high, at the Battles of Malplaquet, for instance, more than 30,000 soldiers had been killed or wounded, but in contrast to in the 1620s to 1640s the number of civilian casualties was much less. The horror of the Thirty Years War did not repeat itself, neither in the Nine Years War nor in the War of the Spanish Succession, and disaster was averted. This does not mean though, that plundering and pillaging had

---

[89] Jeremy Black, *Debating foreign policy in eighteenth-century Britain* (Ashgate, 2011), chapter 5.
[90] Rudolf Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 127.

completely disappeared in these later wars. There were still several cases of plundering troops, especially in the Rhine region. However, the robbing and destruction of villages, towns or even whole regions had now become a method to intimidate the enemy, rather than to get food or other goods.[91]

The news coverage and the way and degree the events were described and discussed in the contemporary printing press, was yet another aspect in which the wars differed from each other. As outlined above, political debates, critical voices, and even domestic news about England's role in the Thirty Years War had been subject to severe censorship between 1618 and 1648. The English government had repeatedly tried to supress public debates and to silence the news and print discourse about the war itself, about England's allegedly inactive role in it, and about her close relations with Spain. The Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession on the other hand were both accompanied by a massive output of printed material in England. This time the government encouraged reports and comments both on the conflict itself, and on England's involvement in the wars, to influence public opinion and to whip up support for the fight against Louis XIV. By the end of the seventeenth century the press had become a welcome tool of propaganda, and the situation of both the English press and its audience was clearly different from that of the beginning of the century.

The emergence of the political parties shortly before the Nine Years War and the growing influence and power of parliament constitutes a further difference to the period of the Thirty Years War. In contrast to James I and Charles I, neither William nor Anne could rule without parliament and its consent, and thus had to come to terms with the Lords and Commons, especially in times of war.[92] Besides, England's foreign policy under both William and Anne, was to a great extend shaped or at least supported by leading Whigs or Tories, respectively. As far as the press was concerned, English commentators could now argue along party lines of either Whigs or Tories when defending or criticising the English role and conduct in the Nine Years War and in the War of the Spanish Succession. Hence, views expressed in print discourses, which contrasted the official English foreign policy, were not necessarily seen as attacks on royal politics any more, but as contributions to the ongoing debates led by the political elite in and outside parliament.

Like in the Thirty Years War, England's major concern in the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession was not the Empire, but the threat of universal monarchy. At the end of the seventeenth century France had become to England what Spain had been to

---

[91] See McKay and Scott, *The rise of the great powers,* pp. 31, 36.
[92] See for instance Henry Horwitz, '1689 (and All That)', *Parliamentary History*, 6, 1 (1987), pp. 23-32, here p. 31.

her at the beginning of the century; a fact that is also reflected in the English press coverage. In the decade before and after the turn of the century, the events in the Empire and its individual territories repeatedly fuelled English concerns about French ambitions and about the general condition of Europe[93]. The alleged French threat often dominated English print discourse. In the previous chapter, English views of Germany during the Thirty Years War could sometimes be understood best against the background of the Spanish threat. The same can be said about the following analysis of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish succession; but this time it was the threat of French expansionism, and the Empire's role in fighting it, which influenced, maybe even determined the English perception of the Empire. In order to examine the English perception of the Empire in the contemporary print discourse, it will at times be necessary to mention and discuss the role, policy and conduct of the French, too in order to better understand English reflections on and concerns for the Empire and individual territories.

Due to the close relation between England and the Dutch, resulting from William's double role as stadtholder and king, the English military engagement during the Nine Years War mainly concentrated on the war in the Spanish Netherlands. This is also reflected in the source material. Admittedly, the movements and campaigns of the Anglo-Dutch forces received considerably more public and medial attention than the engagements of the imperials, and there are, for instance, fewer English accounts or discourses concerned with the German side of the Nine Years War dating from the later years of the conflict. However, despite the fact that there was no English military engagement in the Empire itself during the Nine Years War, and despite the press focus on the Anglo-Dutch fighting and the threats of French universal monarchy, there were nevertheless reports and discourses about the campaigns in Germany and about the effects of French invasions and sieges in the Rhine region. The fate of the Palatinate, for instance, was a recurring topic in the English press. As will be shown below, the territory and its suffering inhabitants were again subject of English news coverage and print discourse, in the period between 1689 and 1713: First, when the territory was repeatedly overrun and occupied by the French during the Nine Years War, and again, when several thousand Palatines migrated to England in 1709, seeking refuge from persecution or hoping for a better life in the colonies overseas.

Moreover, this continuous interest in the Palatinate, England's alliance with the Empire in general, and with the Catholic head of the Austrian Habsburgs in particular, also

---

[93] For anti-French attitudes in the later Stuart period in general see Harris, 'Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England'.

resulted in a steady interest in and dealing with the Empire, and made English observers discuss and comment on the character of the Empire and emperor, and on the part they played or should play in Europe. As the coalition between England and the Empire formed in 1689, continued right into the War of the Spanish Succession, these debates did too. The second war against Louis XIV dominated England's foreign policy under Queen Anne as well as many parliamentary debates, and also much of the English political print discourse of the first decade of the new century. This was partly due to the role of a new English Protestant hero, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, who had fought in the Dutch War as well as in Ireland during the Nine Years War and had taken command of the allied forces in the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702.[94] On the other hand, the revenues needed to finance the war, and the expenses to maintain and operate an army abroad also triggered debates and criticism about England's involvement on the continent. The English print discourse centring around the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession may thus help to shed some more light on the contemporary English perception of the Empire, on the views conveyed to a larger English public, and also on the shaping of an English self image, at a time when England, in contrast to earlier decades, was strongly involved in European affairs. Finally, it may also help to examine if and how far these views, images and perceptions had actually changed and developed since the Thirty Years War.

---

[94] For the most recent studies on the Duke of Marlborough and his role in English and European politics as well as in the War of the Spanish Succession see Hattendorf, Vaenendaal, Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat*.

3.2
The wars and Germany

3.2.1
Just wars for the liberty and balance of Europe and Christendom

English print media had begun to comment on the danger of Louis XIV and his alleged ambitions to establish a universal monarchy in Europe, several years before the actual outbreak of the Nine Years War.[95] Likewise, the threat of an Ottoman invasion into the Holy Roman Empire and thus into the Christian occident, had been discussed in several English publications of the 1680s.[96] When the conflict between France and the Empire, the Dutch and England increased in 1688/89, the tone became more hostile, too. By spring 1689, the English printing press began to prepare the public for the upcoming war. In a series of declarations, the members of the Grand Alliance condemned the behaviour of Louis XIV and laid out their reasons for fighting against the French course of action in Europe. These official writings, which began to circulate in England in late 1688, not only communicated details and outlined the origins and causes of the conflict with France to contemporary Englishmen. They also conveyed specific views and may thus have helped to shape certain images about enemies and allies in the wars of the Grand Alliance; images that were soon picked up in the related English print discourse.

Amongst the first to explain and justify their aims and reasons for a war against France to a broader public were emperor Leopold I and the princes of the Empire. Several of their letters and declarations, addressing their own subjects, were also translated, published, and thus made available to an English readership, whom they informed about the French disregard of territorial borders and imperial rights. The texts persistently repeated the same image: The France of Louis XIV posed an imminent threat to the Empire and to Europe.[97] The French king, it was argued, did neither keep his word, nor abide by the rules, but disrespected his neighbours' borders, violated treaties, and "despis[ed] all Law Divine, Ecclesiastical, and of civilized Nations".[98] He "did treacherously, and without any praevious [sic!] Declaration of War, fall upon Us and the *Empire,* while we did not in the least dream of it" and this at a time "when our Armies, and these of several States of the Empire (relying

---

[95] See for instance Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England,* pp. 152-192 and the sources cited therein.
[96] See below chapter 3.2.3.
[97] See for instance *A declaration of His Electoral Highness the Duke of Brandenburgh, concerning the present war with France* (London, 1689).
[98] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects and those of the empire in Italy dated from Vienna April 9th, 1689* (London, 1689), p. 2.

on publick Compacts and the Sanctimony of the Royal Word) were for God's Glory besieging the Infidels in *Belgrade*".[99] In addition to this disrespect of imperial as well as territorial rights, laws, and liberties, the French also showed no respect for the local population, as "they have also arrested and seized upon the innocent Vassals of the Empire, and they still continue on all hands to proceed against the poor Subjects of the Empire, in a deplorable and unchristian manner".[100] According to a *Resolution of the electors and the princes of the empire,* Louis XIV had been clearly working towards "the total destruction of the Estates which are faithful to the Empire, and to the overthrowing of their Liberties."[101] As far as the emperor, the German Diet and princes were concerned, the behaviour of the French king and his armies in the German Rhine region constituted a clear breach of various agreements and also disregarded the common code of conduct. Louis XIV's ignorance of existing agreements and especially the French misconduct and intrusion in several German territories had to be stopped in order to "assert the safety and liberty of the Empire" and "to defend and vindicate the liberty of our dearest Country from present ruine."[102] The general assumption of these writings was that the Empire's rights, European liberties, and Christian values were on the line here. The imperials were not alone with this view. Their English allies on the other side of the Channel likewise condemned "the many unjust Methods [of] the *French* King".[103] A parliamentary Committee for the French War was called to attend the matter and came to a similar conclusion concerning the French threat. According to the address read out in parliament on 19 April 1689, and published afterwards, the committee had "examined the Mischiefs brought upon Christendom in late Years by the *French* King, who, without any respect to Iustice, has by Fraud and Force endeavoured to subject it to an Arbitrary and universal Monarchy".[104] Given the threat France posed to Europe, the committee assured William of their assistance and support in case of a war against the French.[105] Until then William had been rather careful not to push his new people too hard towards war with Louis XIV, but now the road was finally paved. This time it was not just a German prince, and his

---

[99] Ibid.

[100] *The Resolution of the electors and the princes of the empire, February the 11th, 1689 containing the reasons of their declaring war against France: together with the Emperor's concurrence with them in it, and approving the same* (London, 1689), p.3.

[101] Ibid. For contemporary debates about and accounts of the suffering of the German population in the two wars see below chapter 3.2.4. For references to the cruel behaviour of the French troops in the official declarations see for instance *The Emperor's new declaration against the Most Christian King: or, the further avocatoria and inhibitoria against the crown of France Published by the Diet at Ratisbon* (London, 1689), and *The emperor's letter to his own subjects.*

[102] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects*, pp. 3-4.

[103] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King* (London, 1689).

[104] *An address agreed upon at the committee for the French War, and read in the House of Commons April the 19th, 1689* (London, 1689), p. 1.

[105] Ibid., p. 6.

supporters at home and on the British Isles, who tried to justify a military intervention in a foreign territory. In contrast to the Thirty Years War, where the Elector Palatine and several contemporary Englishmen had tried in vain to convince their king and parliament of the necessity of a military intervention in the conflict abroad, the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession had the backing of both the English government and public.

When outlining their reasons for declaring war on Louis XIV, the allies repeatedly used a just war rhetoric, probably intended to further underline the righteousness of their cause. Fighting against French invasion, and for the defence of the Empire and the whole of Europe, was described as a "just cause"[106], a "just undertaking"[107] in which Leopold as well as William were "relying on the assistance of the Divine Justice"[108] and "on the help of Almighty God",[109] respectively. Similar phrases also appeared in other documents and publications related both to the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1702, for instance, Queen Anne, like her predecessor, called the war against France and Spain "so just and necessary an Undertaking"[110] whilst emperor Leopold, in his new declaration of war, summarised the misconduct of Louis XIV and his grandson to underline "the Justice of our cause".[111]

Of course, the just war rhetoric and the reference to the just cause of political and military proceedings was nothing new or unusual in the seventeenth century. It can be found in a variety of political writings from the period, and was soon also picked up by English observers, engaged in the debates about the reasons and necessities to fight France and her allies on the continent. As has been shown above, those defending the Bohemian rebellion and Frederick V's intervention in the Habsburg territory, had described the events as a just war and underlined its just cause, too. The French, too, seemed to believe in the righteousness of their actions during the Nine Years War as well as in the consent of God,[112] and even in the debates about the Revolution of 1688-89, it was possible for English contemporaries to fall back on the idea of a just war to vindicate the events.[113] The rhetoric of the declarations of the first war against France, particularly the Empire's, may have sounded quite familiar to

---

[106] Ibid., p.5.
[107] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King.*
[108] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects,* p. 4.
[109] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King.*
[110] *Her Majesty's declaration of war against France and Spain* (London, 1702).
[111] 'The Emperor's declaration of war against France and the Duke of Anjou, May 15, 1702', in Whatley, *General collection*, pp. 430-433, here p. 432.
[112] This is suggested in a comment in *The emperors answer to the French king's manifesto translated from the Latin* (London, 1688), p. 18.
[113] See for instance Edmund Bohun, *The History of the Desertion or, An account of all the Publick Affairs in England* (London, 1689). For the contemporary idea of a just war see also Mark Goldie, 'Edmund Bohun and Jus Gentium in the Revolution Debate, 1689-1693', *HJ*, 20, 3 (Sept., 1977), pp. 569-586.

English contemporaries. As may be taken from the contemporary print discourse about the Revolution of 1688-89, its supporters used a similar language to justify the interference of the Dutch stadtholder in English affairs. Here too 'liberty', 'safety', 'defence', and 'just cause' were important keywords to explain and defend the events that had led to the flight and deposition of James II. William himself also placed the coalition's war against France in continuity with the recent deliverance of England. He had, as he pointed out to the Members of parliament, come "to Rescue this Nation from what it Suffered" and was "ready still to do the same, in Order to the Preserving it from all its Enemies".[114] The achievements of the revolution and the welfare of the English people could only be secured "by preventing the Miseries that threaten them from abroad",[115] though. Hence the wars against Louis XIV were necessary to safeguard the English nation, and to defend the achievements of the revolution, against French universal monarchy.[116] This was, however, not the only reason for England's military engagement abroad, provided by the new English monarchs. In William's and Mary's *Declaration against the French King* given on 7 May 1689, which also emphasised the new alliance and the "Amity"[117] between England and the emperor, the French misconduct in the Empire was mentioned as one of the main reasons for England's decision to declare war on France. During this early phase of the conflict, France's threat to Europe especially manifested in the invasion and destruction of German territories and cities. Thus England was, besides defending and securing her own liberties against French hegemonial ambitions, also fighting for the interests of the Empire and emperor. This was even more true for the War of the Spanish Succession. As contemporary Englishmen could take from the Treaty of The Hague, which founded the second Grand Alliance concluded on 7 September 1701, one of the main intentions of the alliance was "procuring an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretension to the Spanish Succession." This was, according to the treaty, the best means to establish "the Peace and general Quiet of all Europe".[118] At the turn of the century, both, the allies and the printing press had begun to defend Habsburgs' claim to the Spanish throne and to argue against a French succession to

---

[114] *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the knights, citizens and burgesses in Parliament assembled* (London, 1689), p. 2.

[115] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King.*

[116] This view was also shared by English commentators. See for instance *A seasonable discourse, shewing that it is the interest of both Papists and Protestants, to serve Their Majesties in the present war against France* (London, 1689).

[117] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King.*

[118] 'The Second Grand Alliance' in Whatley, *General collection*, p. 418. In another and shorter version of the treaty it reads: "procuring Satisfaction to the Emperor in the Spanish Succession" and "for establishing a General Peace". See *Articles of alliance, between the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and States-General, against France and Spain* (Dublin, 1702), p. 1

the same, or as on commentator rhymed in 1704, the confederates had "Sworn not to leave the Usurper on the Throne, But to pull down the Gaul, and mount the German on."[119]

Again, imperial manifestos and several other tracts from the Empire were translated and published in England, outlining and underlining why the right to the crown of Spain lay with the House of Habsburg and not with the House of Bourbon.[120] Additionally, a series of discourses warned about the possible consequences of a French succession, for Europe in general and England in particular.[121] Maybe more than the Nine Years War, the War of the Spanish Succession was thought to decide the distribution of power and influence amongst the European states and territories. In addition to the arguments of a just cause, of defending the liberty of Europe as well as Habsburgs' righteous claim to the Spanish throne, which were brought forward to justify the alliances and wars against France, there was yet another concept that became increasingly referred to by contemporaries to put the proceedings against Louis XIV on legal grounds: the balance of power.

In England the idea of a European balance of power, of a more or less equal distribution of strengths and influence amongst the states of Europe, had started to take shape in the earlier seventeenth century. As argued above, an early form of the idea can already be found in the debates about a possible English involvement in the Thirty Years War. The terminology was still rather vague then, and even at the end of the seventeenth century there were various terms and ways to describe what would finally become known as the concept of balance of power. An English observer of the Nine Years War, for instance, spoke of the importance "to maintain an Equality amongst the Princes of *Europe,* that their Forces being equally distributed, Christendom might be preserv'd in good Peace, and every State in its own Rights and Liberties."[122] A few years later, Daniel Defoe, in one of his early tracts on the Spanish Succession and a possible new war against France, for instance, explained that "By the Ballance of Power I mean … that the only way to preserve the Peace of Europe, is, so to form the several Powers, and Princes, into Partys and Interests that either Conjunctively, or Seperately, no One Party or Power may be able to Suppress another; and so by Addition of

---

[119] Henry Denne, *Marlborough. An heroic poem* (London, 1704), p. 8.

[120] See for instance *The imperial manifesto, in which the rights of the emperor, and the house of Austria, to the succession of Spain are asserted, and clearly made apparent* (London, 1701); *A defence of the right of the House of Austria to the crown of Spain, and the dominions thereunto belonging…Written by a civilian at Vienna, and done into English* (London, 1701); *The rights of the House of Austria to the Spanish succession. Published by order of his Imperial Majesty, and translated from the original printed at Vienna* (London, 1701); *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered: As to Its Legality and Consequences* (London, 1701).

[121] *The duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd, As to the Danger that may arise from it to Europe in General; But more particularly to England, And the several Branches of our Trade* (London, 1701).

[122] *The means to free Europe,* p.10. The discourse was reprinted in 1692 under the title *Europe's chains broke, or, A sure and speedy project to rescue her from the present usurpations of the tyrant of France.*

the Power supprest to his own grow too strong for his Neighbours."[123]

The ongoing conflict on the continent was clearly endangering this balance, as it would eventually be tipped and thus cause an imbalance amongst the powers of Europe. The threat of such an imbalance, most likely to the advantage of the Bourbons, was one of the most recurring themes in the English press about the Nine Years War and about the War of the Spanish Succession. It was repeatedly brought up and discussed by commentators, who considered the events abroad and the French behaviour in the conflict about the Spanish crown as "a breach of the balance of power."[124]

"Seeing the balance of Power now absolutely broke,"[125] or at least "greatly endanger'd"[126] a new military engagement on the continent seemed to become inevitable. When Queen Anne finally declared war on France in 1702, it was done for "preserving the Liberty and Balance of Europe, and for Reducing the Exorbitant Power of France".[127] During Anne's reign, the idea as well as the terminology of a balance of Europe and of the balance of power was now frequently used in writings about England's foreign policy, her engagement on the continent as well as her responsibilities as one of the leading states of Europe.[128] The necessity and wish to maintain it, was depicted as an important motive and driving force in England's foreign policy of the early eighteenth century. "All our Leagues and Treaties," Defoe explained in 1701 shortly before the outbreak of the war, "make mention of this Balance of Power, being the Foundation of the Peace of Europe, and of the last Consequence to be preserved."[129]

One of the main protagonists in this struggle against a European imbalance was the Empire, or to be more precise the Austrian Habsburgs. They were not only the ones directly affected by the ambitions of Louis XIV, but also seemed to be the only European power large enough to function as a possible counterweight to France in the international arena. This made the imperials one of England's most important allies in the wars against the French king and his alleged striving for universal monarchy. Interestingly, the Catholic faith of the

---

[123] [Daniel Defoe], *Reasons Against a War with France, or an Argument Shewing that the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland and Ireland; is No Sufficient Ground of a War* (London, 1701), p. 13.

[124] Ibid., p. 12.

[125] *The present succession of Spain consider'd and a view of its consequences to the rest of Europe, particularly England and Holland* (London, 1701), p. 12.

[126] George Stepney, *An Essay Upon the Present Interest of England: In the Present Circumstances of Affairs, to which are Added the Proceedings of the House of Commons in 1677. Upon the French King's Progress in Flanders* (London, 1701), p. 6.

[127] 'The Queen of England's declaration of War against France, May 4, 1702', in Whatley, *General collection,* p. 421.

[128] Andrew Lossky, 'International relations in Europe', in *New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6*, pp. 154-192, here especially pp. 155-159.

[129] [Defoe], *Reasons Against a War with France,* p. 13.

emperor and of many other German princes did not seem to be an obstacle to this alliance. Recalling the aims of these wars and recollecting the common values and morals, shared by the allies, may have helped in this development. The Grand Alliance, which brought together princes from various political and religious backgrounds not only needed a common enemy, but also a common ground on which the various parties in the Empire and in Europe could unite. "The Succession of Spain", it was argued in a pro-Habsburg tract from Vienna, that circulated in England, was "not a particular Controversy between the Emperor and the Most Christian King, but a Business of the utmost importance to all Europe, and on which her Liberty or Slavery interely depends."[130] Settling the dispute in favour of the Habsburgs was therefore essential, as it was seen as the only "way of restoring the ballance of Christendom, which is necessary for the Common Good".[131]

3.2.2
Defending Christendom, a common cause

An interesting rhetorical development that can be traced in various publications related to the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession is the increased usage of the word 'Christendom' and the, at least temporary, replacement of the term 'Protestantism'. In the seventeenth century, English political discourse was often anti-Catholic and shaped by a Protestant worldview, and in domestic debates, such as the ones about the Revolution of 1688-89 or the English succession, popery was still depicted as one of the major threats to English liberties. However, given the interconfessional character of the Grand Alliance, it was hardly possible to use an all too Protestant (or Catholic) language in declarations, letters, and other official writings. The language used to describe and discuss the wars against Louis XIV, had to include and embrace all members of the anti-French coalition, not just the Protestants. Hence, England's alliance with the Empire required a change in rhetoric, at least as far as publications about foreign policy matters were concerned. So, whilst discourses about domestic issues were often still determined by a Protestant and anti-Catholic vocabulary[132], the English debates about the wars of the Grand Alliance increasingly used a

---

[130] *The fable of the lion's share, Verified in the Pretended partition of the Spanish Monarchy. Done from the Original printed at Vienna. Part I* (London, 1701), p. 3.
[131] Ibid.
[132] For the importance of a Protestant language in the context of the shaping of the English nation and national identity see for instance Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined.*

different, though also religious rhetoric; a rhetoric which may have reached German Catholics and English Protestants alike and united them in their wish to reach "a Peace, by which all Christendom, according to the *Wesphalian* and *Pyrenean* Treaty (since violated by *France*) may be restor'd to its former Quietness and Tranquility."[133]

That declarations and letters of the emperor spoke of 'Christendom' rather than of Protestantism and Catholicism is little surprising, since these addressed all people of the Empire, regardless of their Christian denomination. English writings about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, however, also used words like Christian, Christianity, and Christendom, rather than Protestant and Protestantism, when talking about the French threat and England's responsibilities. William, for instance, called his French antagonist "the Disturber of the Peace, and the Common Enemy of the Christian World".[134] The actions and politics of Louis XIV were dangerous to Protestants and Catholics alike and posed a threat to the whole of Europe, to all Christendom. Therefore, the Nine Years War against Louis XIV, declared by the Grand Alliance in 1689, was, as the English parliament suggested, a necessary means "to Reduce the *French* King to such a Condition, that it may not be in his Power hereafter to Violate the Peace of Christendom".[135]

In a European context, and with England being a leading member in an interconfessional alliance, the 'defence of Christendom' became what 'safeguarding Protestantism' had been in the debates about the Thirty Years War. Christendom provided an entity in which the various states of Europe could be united beyond confessionalism, a "Christian Common-wealth"[136] where Protestants and Catholics shared a common moral code; a code which Louis XIV had repeatedly violated by breaching treaties, leagues and oaths, by confederating with the Turks "to invade Christendom", by "unjustly invading the empire … laying all waste before him with fire and sword" and by quarrelling with and betraying other European nations.[137] France's striving for universal monarchy was a danger that not only threatened European Protestantism or Habsburg hereditary rights and territories, but the whole of Christendom in Europe. Consequently, it also provided a common ground

---

[133] *His Imperial Majesty's letter to the Pope wherein is offered his reasons why he cannot accept of any offers of peace with France / translated from the original* (London, 1691), p. 2.

[134] *Their Majesties declaration against the French King.*

[135] *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the knights, citizens and burgesses in Parliament assembled* (London, 1689).

[136] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects,* p. 5.

[137] *The most Christian Turk: or a view of the life and bloody reign of Lewis XIV* (London, 1690), Titelpage. A similar description can be found in *The Intreigues of the French King at Constantinople to embroil Christendom* (London, 1689) and in *A seasonable discourse, shewing that it is the interest of both Papists and Protestants, to serve Their Majesties in the present war against France* (London, 1689). The importance of Christendom as a moral entity in the English anti-French literature of this period has also been pointed out by Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England,* pp. 185-187.

on which princes and people of different denominations could band together, both on an imperial as well as on a European level. In the light of the dangers of Louis XIV a "strict and sincere Confederacy" had formed "between the greatest part of the Christian Princes to preserve themselves from the Invasions of *France*".[138] As one English contemporary put it: "*France* is deservedly esteem'd the common Enemy to the general Interests both of *Roman Catholicks* and *Protestants;* therefore both *Catholick* and *Protestant* Princes and States are united against her."[139] The actions of the French, Edmund Bohun suggested in 1689, had "united not only all the Protestant, but all the Catholick Princes too … in the Project of delivering us for their own security, that we might be in a condition to unite with them again for the preservation of *Europe.*"[140] And another observer noted that in future it may be easier to secure the Empire and especially the Austrian lands against invasion "because of the Union of the Protestant and Catholick Princes, which will render *Germany* Invincible, and terrible to all it's Neighbours, especially to the *French,* for whose welfare no *German* Prince whether Protestant or Romanist hath overmuch Zeal."[141]

As far as the Nine Years War was concerned, most English commentators seemed to consider the interconfessional alliance against France as positive and as something both Protestants and Catholics could benefit from. As the three previous quotes already indicate, there were more ways to understand and explain this collaboration, than just the common ground of Christendom. Each denomination, one English commentator argued, had its own reasons for supporting the war against Louis XIV, and both, the Protestant and Catholic church would emerge from it stronger as "Neither will these different Religions interfere, or obstruct one another, the Interests of State being abstracted from those of Religion, where divers Nations of several Religions are united in a League against one common Enemy".[142] According to this view, religion was important but could take a back seat in favour of the state's interest. Another rather pragmatic explanation for the alliance between the Catholic emperor, the German princes, and the Protestant King of England, was, for instance, provided by Bohun. In his *History of the Desertion*, he clearly emphasised the fact that the princes of Europe had, notwithstanding their different denominations, united against the King of France. The reasons and aims of this alliance, however, had only little to do with religion

---

[138] *A Brief display of the French counsels representing the wiles and artifices of France, in order to ruine the confederates, and the most probable ways to prevent them* (London, 1694), p. 46.
[139] *A seasonable discourse, shewing that it is the interest of both Papists and Protestants, to serve Their Majesties in the present war against France*, p. 5.
[140] Bohun, *The history of the desertion*, p. 4.
[141] Abercromby, *The present state of the German and Turkish empires,* p. 57.
[142] *A seasonable discourse,* p. 6.

itself. "The Emperor of *Germany*", Bohun wrote, "is as religious and as zealous a Prince for the Roman Catholick Religion as ever sprung out of that Family: But he has no mind, after all, to lose his Life, his Empire, and his Liberty; he had rather there should be some Hereticks in *Germany,* than to suffer the *French* King to send his Apostolick Dragoons to convert them, and drive him into Exile".[143] According to Bohun, the toleration of, and collaboration with, other (Christian) denominations, taking place in the Empire, was first and foremost a means to counter the French threat and preserve the imperial status quo. From this Bohun than concluded that it was "No wonder then that these Princes should all unite with his now Majesty of *England,* against a Prince of their own Religion, when they saw he had embraced a design which would certainly end in his and all their Ruins, and which would raise *France* to such an height of Power, as could never be retrieved."[144]

The interconfessional coalition against France could thus be explained and justified by referring to the common ground of Christendom and Christian morals and values, but also in terms of realpolitik, where safeguarding the own influence, power, and liberties could weigh more than the religious beliefs of the allies, and as in the case of the emperor, of the subjects. In 1704, Daniel Defoe suggested that the wars lately fought on the continent were not about religion at all, but about political power and influence. Religion was, Defoe suggested, nevertheless used by all sides to defend their proceedings. "[T]he Bavarian", he summarised the absurdity of the matter, "joyns with the French to secure Religion; the Duke of Savoy breaks off with the French to secure Religion; the Cardinal Primate brings in the Protestants to secure the Popish Religion, and we all joyn with the Roman Catholick Emperor to secure the Protestant Religion; the Lutherans joyn with the Calvinists, the Calvinist with the Lutheran, and both with the Papists, and all to Establish Religion."[145] For most of the engaged parties, he argued, the real aim of the War of the Spanish Succession was neither religion nor liberty though, but their own interests. In order to safeguard these, the princes and people of Europe were ready to ally with anyone who could prove helpful in achieving this aim.[146]

Although it was possible to interpret the alliance between the different Christian denominations independent of any religious considerations and simply as a means to an end, religion was nevertheless an issue mentioned in almost all publications concerned with the

---

[143] Bohun, *The history of the desertion,* p. 4.
[144] Ibid, p. 5.
[145] Daniel Defoe, *Review of the Affairs of France,* Saturday, July 29, 1704; Issue 42 (London, 1704). For the changes in Defoe's argumentation see John Richetti, *The Life of Daniel Defoe: A Critical Biography* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).
[146] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, July 29, 1704.

Grand Alliance and its war against Louis XIV. The tenor was that both Protestants and Catholics could benefit from, and thus shared an interest in containing French power, and in stopping Louis XIV from acting against political agreements and Christian moral codes.[147] As will be shown below, the juxtaposition of Christian morals and the French conduct of war was, for instance, used to uncover and emphasise the unchristian nature and behaviour of the French soldiers and their king. At the same time, it may also have helped to create and maintain a feeling of unity amongst the members of the Grand Alliance, who all belonged to a Pan-European Christian community, defined by the joint fight against French expansionism and, as many contemporaries perceive it, French barbarism. In this context and against this background it was also possible to embrace the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, and thus the (Austrian) Habsburgs and the Empire as a partner, and maybe even to rethink old images.

3.2.3
Allies against infidels and French universal monarchy –
The changed role of the Habsburgs

As far as William and Anne were concerned, the Austrian Habsburgs proved to be valuable allies in the struggle against the House of Bourbon, although the relationship was probably not always easy.[148] In the declarations of war against France and in other official documents, England's alliance and friendship with the Empire and its head, the emperor, were repeatedly confirmed.[149] As for the English printing press, the formerly rather negative image of the Catholic House of Austria in general and of the Holy Roman Emperor in particular, had begun to improve in the early 1680s, too. The time when contemporary Englishmen, such as Thomas Scott or John Reynolds, described the Austrian Habsburgs as "a capitall enemy to our Religion",[150] and accused the emperor of "treacherous usurpation"[151] had passed. One reason for this change may be found in the emperor's role in defending Europe against the Ottoman Empire. In 1683, after several years of peace, a new Ottoman invasion threatened

---

[147] *A seasonable discourse.*

[148] For the relation between the Houses of Orange and Habsburg under William III and Leopold I, see Wouter Troost, 'Habsburg and Orange in 1700. Natural Allies?' in Christoph Kampmann, ed. *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Köln, Weimar, 2008), pp. 255-266, for the tensions during the period of the Grand Alliance especially pp. 263-264.

[149] 'The Grand Alliance betwixt the Emperor and the States General concluded at Vienna, May 12, 1689. Whereinto his Majesty of Great Britain entered, December 9, 1689', in Whatley, *General Collection*, p. 245; *Their Majesties declaration against the French King,* and also *Articles of alliance, between the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and States-General, against France and Spain* (Dublin, 1702), p. 1.

[150] Scott, *A Second part of Spanish practises*, unpaginatd.

[151] Reynolds, *Votivae Angliae*, title page, original written in capital letters.

the Christian occident, when a large Turkish army managed to cross the imperial border and, for the second time in history, marched towards and lay siege on Vienna, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire. In England, the Great Turkish War, also referred to as the 'War of the Holy League', and the Empire's fight against the Turkish invaders received considerable attention in the press.[152] The siege of Vienna and the campaigns of the Austrian Habsburgs and their imperial and Polish allies, to defend the capital and push back the enemy, were closely watched and dealt with in a variety of publications. When in September 1683, after two months, the siege of the imperial capital was finally raised, it was celebrated in accounts, broadsides, poems, and songs.[153] During the early 1680s Vienna had once again proved as the "*Bulwark* against the *Turks,* the Key of *Germany,* and of the *Christian* World"[154] and had stood as the "Bulwork of *Christendom* against the Incursions of the *Barbarians*".[155]

As far as the emperor's role in the Austro-Turkish war and in the defence of Christendom against the infidels from the east was concerned, the images and views found in the English printing press were somewhat peculiar.[156] Leopold was neither depicted as a great general nor as a war hero, who had proved his valour on the battlefield, and he was not celebrated as a great military leader either.[157] For some, the institution of the Holy Roman Emperor himself embodied the "Bulwark of Christendom against the Turks",[158] but in the accounts of the siege of Vienna and of the related battles between the imperial and Turkish

---

[152] For English views of the War of the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire in general see: Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Springer, 2015).

[153] *A brief relation of the siege of Vienna, and the victory of the Christians against the Turks at Barkan* (London, 1683); *A true account of the actions with the whole defeat of the Turkish Army at Vienna by the imperiallists,* (London, 1683); *A True copy of a letter sent from Vienna, September the 2d, 1683, N.S. by an eminent English officer under the Duke of Lorraine, to his friend in London* (London, 1683); *A true account of a letter sent from Vienna, August the 23rd 1683 declaring the rasing the seige and the total overthrow of all the Turkish army / sent in a letter from an eminent English officer under the Duke of Lorraine, to his father at White-Hall* (London, 1683); *The History of the late war with the Turks, during the siege of Vienna, and the great victory obtain'd against them* (London, 1684); *The bloody siege of Vienna a song. ... Written by an English gentleman volunteer, that was at the garrison during the siege* (London, 1688).

[154] *A particular account of the suddain and unexpected siege of Vienna, the capital city of Austria, and residence of the Emperour of Germany, at present besieged by the Turkish Army* (London, 1693), p. 1. See also *A Description of Vienna in its ancient and present state* (London, 1683); Gédéon Pontier, *A new survey of the present state of Europe containing remarks upon several soveraign and republican states* (London, 1683), p. 221; *The means to free Europe*, p. 4; *A letter from the King of Spain written to the Pope of Rome Licens'd, September 29. 1690* (London, 1690).

[155] Richard Kingston, *Tyranny detected and the late revolution justify'd by the law of God, the law of nature, and the practice of all nations* (London, 1699).

[156] For the image of Leopold I in the context of the Turkish Wars and the defence of Christendom see also Martin Wrede, 'Türkenkrieger, Türkensieger. Leopold I. und Ludwig XIV. als Retter und Ritter der Christenheit' in Kampmann, ed. *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien*, pp. 149-165.

[157] This was for instance also pointed out in an account of Leopold's life written by the native Welsh historian David Jones in *The life of Leopold, late Emperor of Germany, &c. Containing the most remarkable transactions of Europe* (London, 1706), Preface.

[158] *A seasonable discourse, shewing that it is the interest of both Papists and Protestants, to serve Their Majesties in the present war against France* (London, 1689), p. 5.

armies, he was hardly ever mentioned at all. The armies were led by others, such as the King of Poland, the Elector of Bavaria, and Prince Lewis of Baden. One commentator even suggested "that the *Emperour* is cheifly [sic!] beholding for the Victories which he has gain'd over the Grand Enemy of the *Christian Name,* since the Seige of *Vienna,* to Duke *Charles* of *Lorain.*"[159] However, despite the fact that fighting was done by others, the emperor's role in the wars first against the Turks and later against France, ascribed to him by English commentators, should not be underestimated. He seemed to function as a symbolic figure, as the head of an empire, which had formerly often been characterised by faction, disunity, and internal conflicts, but had now temporarily reconciled the many differences and united in a common cause.[160] This cause was the defence of the Empire, of Europe, and of the whole of Christendom against the illegitimate invasion of territories, rights, and liberties. It had started to emerge during the Great Turkish War when the Austrian hereditary lands and the imperial capital were threatened by the advance of the Ottoman armies, and it developed further when France, against the treaties of Nijmegen, once again began to intrude into German territories and imperial affairs.[161] By 1688, France had, as an English minister in Regensburg is said to have noted, "so enraged the Germans … that the several states were never so united and animated to revenge them".[162] The image of the Holy Roman Empire, now unified in the struggle against an external enemy, can be found in several English publications from the periods of the Nine Years War and of the War of the Spanish Succession.[163] This rather new internal unity of the Empire, reflected in joint actions, was noticed by many English contemporary observers, and interestingly, this also seems to have had an impact on terminology. More often than in the previous decades, English commentators now seemed to use the word 'Empire' rather than 'Germany' when dealing with the country and the events abroad. One decisive factor for this terminological development could be seen in the role of the emperor as a driving force in the war against France and as a figurehead for the Empire's involvement in it. Equally important may have been the fact that the wars on France were *Reichskriege*, imperial wars, which had the backing of the imperial Diet and thus of the

---

[159] R.W., *The happy union of England and Holland, or, The advantageous consequences of the alliance of the Crown of Great Britain with the States General of the United Provinces* (London, 1689), p. 52.

[160] See for instance David Abercromby, *The present state of the German and Turkish empires, and remarks thereupon* (London, 1684), pp. 18, 21.

[161] For the siding of German princes and territorial rulers with the Habsburgs, i.e. the emperor during these years see for instance Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683-1797* (Pearson Education, 2003), p. 169.

[162] Quoted in McKay and Scott, *The rise of the great powers,* p. 43. Unfortunately, the authors do neither provide the name of the English minister nor reference the source from which the quote was taken. The statement, however, corresponds with the impression given in several contemporary English publications, that the Empire appeared as one united body in the Nine Years War. See above.

[163] See for instance Bohun, *The history of the desertion*, pp. 3-4.

majority of the Empire's political elite. In the 1680s and 1690s, contemporary Englishmen reported that "the Emperour united all the *German* Princes together, for their common interest"[164], and spoke of "good…harmony", "the good Union … betwixt the Emperor and his Princes"[165] and of a "Sacred Union, in the Empire, for the Common defence".[166] "Germany," another observer wrote, "is united, the Empire grows powerful."[167] The standing together of the Empire rendered it stronger, a development from which also the smaller and weaker territories could benefit. The German petty princes, contemporaries noted, were now protected "by their inseparable adherency to the body of the Empire, which will endure many a shock before it fall."[168] Even though the King of France was a powerful enemy, in case of a French attack "they need not much to fear, the whole body of the *German* Commonwealth being concern'd in their case, as subsisting only by the safety of its Members."[169] Moreover, this confederacy could not only protect its members against foreign aggression, but also against negative external influence. "[T]he Sincere Union of the Princes of the Empire", one English observer assumed, "preserves 'em from being corrupted, and early or late will render 'em Victorious over the Common Enemy".[170] In 1702, this union was somewhat shaken, when Bavaria and Cologne, two major German territories and electorates, sided with the Empire's antagonist instead of joining the imperial and European alliance against France. Max Emanuel was called "Rebellious",[171] his behaviour was regards as an "Insolence"[172] and "seditiously",[173] and the territory's decision to opt out of the Grand Alliance was seen as "betraying and abandoning the Empire."[174] The fact, that it was possible for two member territories of the Empire to ally with a country, the Empire was officially at war with, did not seem to strike commentators too much or affect their perception of the Empire as one unified body, though. It was, however, quoted as a reason for England to re-establish the Grand

---

[164] Abercromby, *The present state of the German and Turkish empires,* p. 41.

[165] *The means to free Europe*, p. 20.

[166] *A Brief display of the French counsels representing the wiles and artifices of France, in order to ruine the confederates, and the most probable ways to prevent them* (London, 1694), p. 53.

[167] R.W., *The happy union of England and Holland, or, The advantageous consequences of the alliance of the Crown of Great Britain with the States General of the United Provinces* (London, 1689), p. 52.

[168] Abercromby, *The present state of the German and Turkish empires* p. 59. The quote can be found in *Impartial and true account of all the most considerable passages and actions relating to the siege of the imperial city Vienna* which is annexed to *The present state of the German and Turkish empires* and has a separate pagination.

[169] Ibid. p. 60.

[170] *A Brief display of the French counsels.*

[171] *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal llustrated in the histories of the alliances between France, and the following princes, and states* (London, 1712), p. 69.

[172] Ibid.

[173] *England's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704* (London, 1704), p. 40.

[174] *The dangers of Europe, from the growing power of France. With some free thoughts on remedies* (London, 1702), p. 65.

Alliance. "England", Francis Hare, Marlborough's chaplain-general, wrote in 1704, was "enraged … and no longer able to hear the Empire torn and ravag'd by one of its own Members" and therefore formed the alliance to stop France "and to bring the Elector of Bavaria to Reason."[175] Whilst Max Emanuel had turned against Leopold and thus also against the Grand Alliance, the emperor himself remained an important partner in this alliance, a fact that also influenced his image in the English press.

In contrast to the contemporary debates about the Thirty Years War, where the Holy Roman Emperor and his mainly Catholic allies were considered an enemy to his own people and a threat to German as well as European Protestants, the discourses about the wars against Louis XIV provided a different image of the Empire in general, and the Habsburgs in particular. There was little doubt that Leopold was a devoted Catholic and that it was his aim to secure both his faith and the reputation, influence, and power of the House of Habsburg. However, as several Englishmen observed, the emperor was also willing to reach out to members of another faith and to form an alliance with them as well as other Catholics against a member of his own church.[176] The conflict with France, and the French behaviour towards her European neighbours, thus also had an impact on contemporary English views of the Empire and of the head of the Austrian Habsburgs. Despite it's patchwork character and the issues stemming from it, still perceived by contemporaries,[177] the Empire was now considered a much more unified body and also an ally, that on the one side secured Europe against invasions from the east, and on the other, was an important partner in the fight against French expansionism.

By the late 1680s, the Ottoman menace had been increasingly replaced by a new enemy, which was considered to pose an even greater threat not just to the Empire but also to the rest of Europe: Louis XIV of France. In Hungary, an imperial-polish army was still fighting to keep the Ottoman invaders beyond the imperial borders and thus out of central Europe, but for several commentators, the barbarians were already there, and they had not come from outside but were actually a part of it. Contemporary observers in England (and Germany) clearly recognised and emphasised the parallels: The intrusion into imperial territory and rights by a European and Christian neighbour, equalled, maybe even outweighed the Ottoman invasion that had taken place at Europe's south-eastern border. Hence, the conduct of the French in the German Rhine region before and during the Nine Years War

---

[175] Francis Hare, *An exact journal of the campaign in Germany, for the year 1704. Under the conduct of his excellency John Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1704).
[176] See again Bohun, *The history of the desertion*, p. 5; *A seasonable discourse*, p. 4.
[177] See for instance *Europe's chains broke*, p. 17.

was not only generally condemned by the imperials and the English alike, it was also compared with the behaviour of those standing outside the Christian faith and tradition, often referred to as the Turks and Tartars. The renewal of the Franco-Turkish league, originally established in the 1500s,[178] thereby helped to link the Ottoman with the French threat, and Leopold himself may have contributed to this development, too. In several of his letters and declarations the emperor complained about his fellow Catholic's conduct, particularly about Louis' collaboration with the Turks, "that most Ignominious League between the most Christian King, and the Sworn Enemy of the Christian name".[179] When addressing the people of the Empire in a letter in April 1689, Leopold did not spare his words on the Franco-Turkish league, nor on the French course of action. France, he argued,

> "hath every where, as far as the beastly inhumanity of its Souldiers could reach, undone all, with Murder, Sword, Fire, Rapine, and other horrid instances of Rage, Cruelty, Avarice and Lust, scarce known among *Barbarians,* and exceeding the very cruelty and malice of *Tartars* and *Turks;* and it continues to undoe, and moreover it persists to stir up the sworn Enemies of the *Holy Cross,* to the utter destruction of the Christian World, and to solicit them to joyn Arms with it by a League."[180]

Similar descriptions and images of the French king and of the French proceedings in the Empire were used in several other imperial letters and declarations from the late 1680s. By then, there was a stock of words the opponents of Louis XIV could draw from to depict their enemy's character and behaviour. This included words like *barbarous*, *inhumane*, *cruel*, and *unchristian*. Additionally, the emperor repeatedly pointed to the alleged fact, that the French conduct clearly exceeded that of any other people and was unknown to Christians and infidels alike.[181] Thereby, Louis XIV, the most Christian king, was more or less excluded from the Christian community of values. Due to his alliance with the Ottoman Empire, the French king, according to Leopold, "not only deserved to be looked upon as the Enemies of the Empire, but also to be…declared the publick Enemies of Christendom".[182]

It is hard to determine how much attention the emperor's letters actually received in England, and how far Leopold's description of the French behaviour in the German

---

[178] Hall Gardner, and Oleg Kobtzeff, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to War: Origins and Prevention* (Routledge, 2016), p. 253.

[179] *His Imperial Majesty's letter to the Pope*, p. 2.

[180] *The emperor's letter to his own subjects and those of the empire in Italy,* p. 3.

[181] *The Emperor's new declaration against the Most Christian King*; *The emperor's letter to his own subjects, The Emperor's letter to James II, late king of England &c., dated the ninth of April, 1689 in answer to a letter he receiv'd from him, dated the 6th of February, 1688/9* (London, 1689).

[182] *The Resolution of the electors and the princes of the empire, February the 11th, 1689 containing the reasons of their declaring war against France: together with the Emperor's concurrence with them in it, and approving the same* (London, 1689), p. 8.

territories, especially the comparison with the Turkish conduct in the Austrian Hereditary Lands, had an impact on the English readership.[183] However, those who read or heard the translated versions may well have been influenced and confirmed in their views of Louis XIV and his troops. The emperor could certainly be considered a credible source. Who would know better than the one who had been and still was fighting the Turks at his own doorstep and who had experienced the very cruelty of the French in his own land. And indeed, English commentators used a similar imagery and identical wordings to describe the actions and character of the French king and his soldiers. As has been shown in the previous chapter, during the Thirty Years War several English observers had expressed their dismay not only over the horrors of war in general, but especially over the fact that the atrocities were committed by Christians against Christians. Now at the end of the seventeenth century, English commentators picked up the same theme in their writings against the French. Similar to their compatriots in the 1620-40s, they reported about and commented on the cruelties committed by soldiers. This time, however, print discourse was less dominated by the shock about what Christians were able to do to their brethren, than by the attempt to emphasise the cruel and unchristian nature of the French itself. Pamphlets mocked Louis XIV as "the most Christian Turk"[184] and portrayed him as anti-Christian. In contrast to the members of the Grand Alliance, who shared and complied with the same Christian moral code, the French monarch not only attacked his neighbours without reason and without declaring war, but also oppressed and ruined his own people.[185] To many contemporary Englishmen Louis XIV literally was the 'anti-Christ',[186] as opposed to the English, Dutch, and German allies, who "considering the Greatness of the common Danger which threatens all Christendom since the last French Invasion" had band together "for restoring as [well as] preserving the publick Peace and Safety".[187] It was not only the French king himself, who was heavily attacked in the English press, though. The behaviour of the French army in Germany was equally condemned and referred to as clearly unchristian. Here, too, commentators looked outside the Christian community for comparison. The acts of the French soldiers committed against

---

[183] References to the emperor's declaration against France were for instance made in *The Intreigues of the French King at Constantinople*, To the Reader.

[184] *The most Christian Turk*; *The Intreigues of the French King at Constantinople*, p. 24. On the negative depiction of Louis in the contemporary print discourse see also Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England,* pp. 164-183; Claydon, 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom', esp. pp. 140-142.

[185] *The Germane spie truly discovering the deplorable condition of the kingdom and subjects of the French king* (London, 1691).

[186] See also Emilie Dosquet, 'Die Verwüstung der Pfalz als (Medien-)Ereignis', here p. 361.

[187] 'The Grand Alliance betwixt the Emperor and the States General concluded at Vienna, May 12, 1689. Whereinto his Majesty of Great Britain entered, December 9, 1689' in Whatley, *General collection*, p. 245.

the German people and country were thereby depicted as equal or even worse than the practices of Turks and infidels.[188]

Whilst commentators referred to examples from other cultural backgrounds and earlier decades, such as the Ottoman attempts to invade the Empire, they did not seem to refer to the cruelties of the Thirty Years War. This absence of comparison is indeed surprising, even more so as it also concerned those people and parts of the Empire, which had already suffered and been ravaged in the 1620s and 1630s and now again in the 1680s and 1690s. The German Rhine region, for instance, had been the seat of war in both conflicts, but a comparison between past and present events was apparently not drawn. One explanation for this absence may be found in the fact that it was a new generation of commentators, who reported about and discussed the events of the Nine Years War. Many of them may had been too young to have witnessed the Thirty Years War, its atrocities and, the political debates and crisis it had caused. Another explanation might have been the changes, which had occurred in the European alliance system in the course of the seventeenth century. The descendants of the imperials, who could have been held responsible for the proceedings in the Palatinate and other parts of Germany during the Thirty Years War had turned from foe to friend and were now amongst England's closest allies. On the one hand, references to and criticism of the misconduct of the imperials in the 1620s to 1640s, and comparing them with the generally condemned proceedings of the French in the 1680s and 1690s, could have insulted the new allies and thus strained or even endangered the alliance. On the other hand, by acknowledging that the emperor's army had been ravaging the Palatinate long before and even to a larger degree than the troops of Louis XIV, commentators would automatically have downplayed the French proceedings in the same territories. However, the reports about the French misconduct and cruelties in Germany were nevertheless a significant propaganda tool against Louis XIV and his troops, more intended to emphasise the barbarous and unchristian character of the French, than to outline the negative effects of the war in general. Hence it was also important to highlight the singularity of the French misconduct and cruelties committed in the Rhenish territories, which was, as one contemporary noted, "not to be parallelled by any Example of pass'd Ages."[189]

Ever since the third Anglo-Dutch War the French king had been watched with suspicion in England, and his influence first on Charles II, and then on James II, was

---

[188] See for instance *A Short account of French cruelties in a letter from Heidelburgh, June 17 1689* (London, 1689), *The means to free Europe*, pp. 59-60.
[189] *A Short account of French cruelties in a letter from Heidelburgh*, p. 1.

considered dangerous for the Protestant English nation and her liberties.[190] In the late 1680s and early 1690s, the image of the king of France and his troops had become even more negative. Louis XIV was now depicted as Europe's public enemy number one, a view that persisted right through to the period of the War of the Spanish Succession. On the one hand, this development was closely related to the Revolution of 1688-89, to the replacement of the pro-French James II with the anti-French William of Orange, and with England's siding with the League of Augsburg. On the other hand, it was also influenced by the Franco-Turkish league against the Empire and by the French invasion and proceedings in west and southwest Germany, which seemed to confirm and increase the worries about the ambitions and the ruthlessness of the Sun King, and which particularly hit the Palatinate. For English observers, the French conduct in the German Rhine region and Louis' ignorance towards treaties and agreements created the necessity to form strong and broad interconfessional alliances with other European powers. This also influenced English views of the Empire and the emperor in general, and of the importance of the House of Habsburgs as a counterweight to the French Bourbons in particular. As several tracts from abroad as well as from England observed, France and the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs, had for a long time been arch enemies. In the past, the Bourbons and Habsburgs had continuously been competing against each other as rivals in the attempt to establish a universal monarchy.[191] Hence, the military conflicts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were seen as closely related to the Bourbon-Habsburg struggle over power and influence in Europe, too. From an anti-French perspective, supporting and strengthening the Habsburgs could thus be considered essential to weaken or at least contain France's power and to counter her ambitions. The House of Habsburg, it was

---

[190] Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes' and for the period before the succession of James II, also Harris, 'Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England'.

[191] The examples given by English commentators were usually Charles V as well the Spanish Habsburgs during the reigns of the three Spanish kings Philip II, III and IV. See for instance *A Brief display of the French counsels representing the wiles and artifices of France, in order to ruine the confederates, and the most probable ways to prevent them* (London, 1694), pp. 53-54

argued in several tracts, "hath always bearded *France.* She has as it were, balanced with her, the Empire of the World".[192]

During the period of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, 'Habsburg' clearly referred to and was identical with the Austrian branch of the house and with the Holy Roman Emperor. The Spanish branch on the other hand had lost most of its power and influence, and although Spain and the dominions attached to its crown were still relevant in terms of geopolitical considerations, the Spanish Habsburgs were no longer suitable to act as a counterbalance to over-mighty France.[193] This role was now ascribed to the Austrian branch of the family, represented by the emperor. With the Empire and the Habsburg hereditary lands behind them, the House of Austria seemed to be the only continental power that was politically and militarily strong, and at the same time geographically large enough to pose a counterweight to the House of Bourbon. In order to prevent a universal monarchy and to safeguard Europe from such a development, it was not just necessary to put a definite halt to French expansionism and ambitions but also to keep the powers of the Bourbons and the Habsburgs in balance. "The future must be thought on," one English commentator wrote during the Nine Years War, "and the means must be taken from *France,* of any more threatning *Europe,* to set it in right Ballance with the House of *Austria*".[194]

However, the House of Habsburg was not only seen as the only continental European counterbalance to France, it was also believed to be one of France's main targets. The French king was thought to be aiming for nothing less than the imperial dignity itself and for "the Ruin of the House of Austria".[195] Given this threat, it was assumed that "The Emperor and the Princes of the Empire have more Reason than all the other Powers of *Europe,* to keep the *French* King in such a condition, that he may no more annoy them, nor aspire to the Imperial Crown. *Lewis* the XIV has a long time endeavour'd to turn the Empire into the *French* Family."[196] Hence, it seemed more than probable that France, if given the chance, would remove both the emperor and the Spanish king "with a great deal of joy, to put her self in

---

[192] *The spirit of France, and the politick maxims of Lewis XIV laid open to the world* (London, 1689), p. 18. The discourse was a translation of a Dutch original, which was published under several titles in England. The same view, in almost the same wording can also be found in a French discourse, translated into English and published as *The politicks of the French King, Lewis the XIV. discovered with respect to Rome. Emperour, and princes of the Empire. Spain. England. United Provinces. Northern princes. Suisse cantons: and of Savoy. With a short account of his religion. Translated from the French* (London, 1689*),* p. 28.

[193] *A Brief display of the French counsels*, p. 54.

[194] *The means to free Europe,* p. 50.

[195] *The Intreigues of the French*, p. 3 and also *The politicks of the French King,* pp. 29-30; *The Detestable designs of France*, p. 3

[196] *The means to free Europe,* p. 56.

221

their place if she could, and joyn by this means the Empire to *France,* and *France* to *Spain,* and the Low Countries*; and ascend easily afterwards to the Universal Monarchy of Europe.*"[197] Such an outcome had to be prevented at all costs, for the sake of the Empire and of all Europe.

Whilst most English commentators acknowledged that the emperor played a vital role in the alliance's struggle against France, many of them also believed that the House of Habsburg was not strong enough to face mighty France on its own, let alone defeat it, and that it needed the assistance of England to defend its rights against the Bourbon's and to assert its claim to the Spanish crown.[198] As the Tory Charles Davenant wrote in 1701, "Affairs are brought to such a Crisis, that if the House of Austria is not in a Condition to oppose France, it cannot exist at all: if his Imperial Majesty is not so assisted, as to be Superior in the War, the German Strength will be so broken, as hardly to rise again in some Years, and if that Bulwark be overthrown, what is there to stand in the way of Universal Empire?"[199] England, Davenant argued, was amongst those to suffer most from an over mighty France and therefore had a clear interest in supporting the Habsburgs.[200]

The threat of a French universal monarchy and of a Europe in political imbalance, were, however, not the only reasons militating in favour of an English alliance with the Empire against the Bourbons. At the turn of the century the fate and future of the English trade became more and more important in the debates about England's foreign policy and role in Europe and the world, too. A possible union of the French and Spanish crowns and subsequently an increasing expansion of French power in Europe, commentators worried, would both alter the political face of Europe, and endanger the economical interests of the other European states. With the help of Spain's naval power, France, it was feared, would be able to increase her strength at sea as well as her influence at the ports and markets of Europe and in the American colonies. Such a development was clearly not in the economic interest of England as it was believed to prove disadvantageous to the English trade.[201] In the Treaty of The Hague, the threat of a Franco-Spanish union "taking away the freedom of commerce"[202] was thus named as a reason for reviving and strengthening the alliance between the Empire, England, and the United Provinces. By the late seventeenth century, the

---

[197] *The spirit of France,* p. 18, *The politicks of the French King,* p. 28.
[198] See for instance Stepney, *An Essay Upon the Present Interest of England*, pp. 3-4.
[199] Charles Davenant, *Essays upon peace at home, and war abroad. In two parts. Part I.* (London, 1704), p. 417.
[200] Ibid., p. 418.
[201] [Daniel Defoe], *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd: From the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (London, 1701), pp. 1-2, *The duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd*, Preface.
[202] 'The Second Grand Alliance' in Whatley, *General collection*, pp. 415-421, here pp. 415-416.

Habsburgs and especially the emperor had turned from foe to friend, and now England and the imperials were bound to each other in mutual needs:

> "We seem to be so much the more oblig'd to such an Alliance and Measure that their Majesty's in their Declaration of War insisted upon it as the first Cause of their so doing, that the French King had invaded the Territories of the Emperor, and of the Empire now in Amity with us. If this was a good Cause of War then, certainly the French King's having robb'd the imperial Family of the whole Succession of Spain, is a much better Cause now: this more immediate concerns us, because it will have a direct and a speedy influence upon our Trade and Safety, whereas his Invasion upon the Upper Rhine touch'd us only be a remote Influence."[203]

3.2.4
The Palatinate and its poor people –
Examples of French aggression and Catholic rule

Four decades after the end of the Thirty Years War, the territory of the late electoral couple Frederick and Elizabeth was once again back on the centre stage of English foreign policy discourse. The struggle and fate of the Palatinate and its mainly Protestant population had not only been one of the central issues in the English public debates about the Thirty Years War, it also figured largely in the print discourse related to the Nine Years War and, in some ways also played a role in the press debates about the War of the Spanish Succession.

In the various declarations of the emperor, which circulated in England before and during the Nine Years War, the French invasion of the Palatinate was repeatedly criticised and clearly depicted as a *casus belli* for declaring war on France in the first place in 1689.[204] As far as the English government was concerned, Louis' proceedings in the Empire were likewise named as amongst the primary reasons for an active English participation in the League of Augsburg's war against the French king. "[T]he Outrages committed upon the Empire by attacking the Fort of Philipsburg" it was argued in an address of the committee for the French War, and "his wasting the *Palatinate* with fire and sword and murdering an infinite number of innocent Persons",[205] were proof and examples of the French king's designs and ambitions, and thus called for an English intervention on the continent. This view, expressed by MPs in 1689, was also shared and repeated by observers outside

---

[203] *The duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd*, p. 53.
[204] *The emperors answer to the French king's manifesto translated from the Latin* (London, 1688).
[205] *An address agreed upon at the committee for the French War, and read in the House of Commons April the 19th, 1689* (London, 1689), pp. 2-4.

parliament. They, too, regarded the siege and taking of Phillipsburg between late September and the end of October 1688, and the repeated French intrusion into the Palatinate as decisive incidents, which contributed to the escalation of the conflict between the Empire and France, and led Europe into war again. The press in England took up the theme, and when the forces of Louis XIV invaded and destroyed large parts of the territory between 1689 and 1691, it reported about the campaigns and commented on the behaviour of the French forces.[206] Some commentators ascribed particular importance to the French attack on Phillipsburg, not only with regards to the escalation of the conflict in Europe in general, but also in terms of its impact on certain developments in England. The siege, several English contemporaries suggested, had not only worsened the relation between the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon to a degree, which made open warfare inevitable, it also triggered a process that had finally "cost King *James* his Crown"[207] and brought about the English revolution of 1688-89. As France was preoccupied with the siege of Philipsburg, the English king was "abandon'd by *Lewis* the XIV. to his Evil Fortune".[208] At the same time, the "Siege gave liberty to the Prince of Orange … to come over into England*.*"[209] The events that then followed, especially the French declarations of war against England, the Empire, Spain, and the United Provinces, were interpreted as a reaction to this mistake of Louis XIV. For some observers there was thus a close link between the events in the Empire and those in England and a recognisable influence of the one upon the other. "There is no question", it was noted, "but that *France* was sensible of her Errour, after the Revolution in *England;* for which reason she discharg'd all her Fury upon poor *Germany,* where the *French* Soldiery exercis'd the utmost Extremities of Cruelty and Barbarism, because that Electorate belong'd to the Emperour's near Relation and Confederate."[210]

'Cruelty' and 'barbarism' became key terms used by English contemporaries to describe the behaviour of the French troops in the Palatinate and its surrounding territories along the Rhine.[211] The French course of action in the Empire once more laid open France's

---

[206] *A true account of the barbarous cruelties committed by the French in the Palatinate, in January and February last* (London, 1689). For an account of the German campaigns against the French in the Rhine region, see for instance *A Short discourse concerning the invasion of France by the German army upon the Rhine* (London, 1693).

[207] *A Brief display of the French counsels*, p. 47.

[208] Ibid. For a similar view see Thomas Comber, *The Protestant mask taken off from the Jesuited Englishman being an answer to a book entituled Great Britain's just complaint* (London, 1692/93), pp. 45-47.

[209] Abel Boyer, *The martial-field of Europe being a geographical and historical description of those parts of Europe, which are most famous in this present war* (London, 1694), p. 93.

[210] *A Brief display of the French counsels*, p. 47

[211] On the English perception of French barbarism see also Jamel Ostwald, 'Popular England perceptions of Louis XIV's way of war' in Tony Claydon and Charles-Edouard Levillain eds, *Louis XIV Outside In: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2015), pp. 93-110, here pp. 94-95.

desire for expansion, and not just that. For several commentators, the proceedings in the Palatinate were further instances and clear evidence, not only for French ambitions in general, but also for the uncivilised and unchristian behaviour of Louis XIV and his army, already outlined above. Although a changed conduct of war and the focus on the battlefield helped to reduce the number of civilian casualties and to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the Thirty Years War, there were still instances of torture and killing conducted by the French troops. Observers spoke of "unheard of Inhumanities, Cruelties and Barbarisms, perpetrated in the States of the Empire by the French Forces".[212] Women of all age, some of them virgins, some pregnant, were molested and raped by French soldiers. In Heidelberg, it was reported, they, after having killed a fishmonger, attended to his pregnant wife, as "they ripped her up, and took the Child out of her Womb."[213] These descriptions, however, were nothing genuinely new. They belonged to a standard narrative of Catholic cruelties, referred to in various situations and periods in Protestant England, and to be found in accounts about the Thirty Years War and about the Irish rebellion.[214] Although repeatedly applied throughout the seventeenth century, these descriptions and depictions were not used for comparing past and present events in order to find similarities, but rather to indicate and underline the singularity of the atrocities committed. During the Nine Years War, commentators, for instance, explicitly negated the existence of similar acts and events and thereby emphasised the singularity of the French misconduct, noting that "at the Retreat of the Infidels, they have not committed any thing near the like Extortions, nor us'd the same violence, that the *French* have done in those places that they have abandon'd in the *Palatinate*".[215] In their brutal conduct, the troops of Louis XIV had once again exceeded the Turks. According to the accounts, the French soldiers did stop at nothing, not even the destruction of sacred items and places. There were reports about plundered, devastated and burned down churches, both Protestant and Catholic, about church bells melted to be turned into cannons, and about destroyed convents and hospitals.[216] It seemed that wherever the

---

[212] *The Detestable designs of France expos'd* (London, 1689), p. 23

[213] *A true account of the barbarous cruelties committed by the French in the Palatinate,* pp. 1-2.

[214] See for instance Sir William Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progresse of the general rebellion raised within the kingdom of Ireland, upon the three and twentieth day of October, in the year, 1641. Together vvith the barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which ensued thereupon* (London, 1646) especially pp. 96-97. For a discussion of the press response to the Irish Rebellion see Ethan Howard Shagan, 'Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', *JBS*, 36, 1 (1997), pp. 4–34.

[215] *The means to free Europe,* p. 60, and without reference to infidels *Angliae decus & tutamen, or, The glory and safety of this nation under our present King and Queen* (London, 1691), p. 2.

[216] *The most Christian Turk*, p. 101; *The Detestable designs of France*, p. 26; *A New declaration of the confederate princes and states against Lewis the Fourteenth*, p.14; *The Emperor's letter to James II*, and also *The apparent danger of an invasion, briefly represented in a letter to a minister of state. By a Kentish gentleman* (London, 1701), p. 7.

French troops appeared, they left a trail of suffering and destruction, "for all the *Palatinate,* and almost all the Countries upon the *Rhine,* with their Towns and Castles, that are levelled with the Ground, burnt and reduced to Ashes".[217] "The fair Cities of *Wormes, Spire,* and *Oppenheim*", wrote another observer, "and all those other Towns that lie upon the *Rhine,* from Philipsburg to Mayence, have undergone the same Fate. That lovely Canton of Germany, the Delight of the Earth, and true Terrestrial Paradise, is now a dreadful Desert; where there is nothing to be seen but smoking Ruins, the Crys of which mount up to Heaven".[218]

To a certain degree, these descriptions clearly resemble those of the Thirty Years War, only this time they were fewer in number. Besides, in contrast to the Thirty Years War, the wars against Louis XIV and the cruelties committed by French soldiers were not so much used as religious warnings or interpreted as examples of God's punishment for sinful behaviour. Instead they served as a reminder of how lucky the English had been - so far - to have escaped what was happening on the continent, and were used to emphasise the necessity and just cause of England's military engagement abroad. Contemporaries were still appalled by the events in the Palatinate, but despite some obvious analogies between the situation of the Palatinate during the Thirty Years War and the Nine Years War, English observers did not seem to either refer to or comment on these parallels. Although it was once again the Palatinate that played an important role in the war, both militarily and as part of the English propaganda against France, there was no connection drawn between the Palatinate of Frederick V, its Spanish occupation in the 1620s, and the Palatinate that was now, about 70 years later, suffering under French occupation and aggression. In 1709, however, one commentator at least mentioned that the territory had "been the Seat of War for almost a hundred Years past, and having undergone all that the House of Austria could make it suffer, the House of Bourbon has finish'd its Ruin."[219] Comments like this were rare, though, and neither the late elector nor his wife Elizabeth, who had died in 1662, less than a year after her final return to England, seemed to play a significant role in any of the publications concerned with the territory and its devastation by the troops of Louis XIV. In fact, the former

---

[217] *Angliae decus & tutamen,* p. 2., see also *A true and impartial history of the wars of Ireland, Flanders, on the Rhine, and in Savoy, &c* (London, 1695), pp. 11, 42.

[218] *The Detestable designs*, pp. 23-24.

[219] *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees, lately arriv'd in England* (London, 1709), p. 22. The text has sometimes been attributed to Daniel Defoe. See below.

electoral couple was hardly mentioned in the press at all.[220] However, due to its large Protestant population, the territory itself was still considered of considerable importance by seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen.[221] Repeatedly overrun and pillaged by the French, and since 1695 ruled by Catholic electors, the Palatinate was used to outline the French conduct of war and thus to defend the alliance's war against Louis XIV, and it did not take long until the invasion, occupation, and devastation of the Palatinate made English commentators wonder if something similar could happen to England or Britain, too.

Hence, in the late seventeenth century events in the Empire once again sparked English reflections and worries about the dangers England was facing from abroad. Sooner or later, it was feared, the ambitions of Louis XIV and the growing power of France "must very much affect *England*" and it seemed "certain, or at least very probable, that the same Justice by which he … has seiz'd the *Palatinate;* the same power by which he defies all the Electoral Princes, and all the Forces of the Emperor, will one time warrant him to claim *Holland* … and then perhaps it may be too late for *England* to look about for her self".[222]

In addition to their concerns about the French proceedings and the growth of French power, commentators were also alarmed by the close relation between their deposed king and Louis XIV. After his flight in December 1688, James II had been given asylum in France, and the French king had also provided him with ships, troops and weapons to retake his kingdoms. The experiences of the French proceedings in the Empire obviously caused some concern about the alliance between Louis and James and about the possible effects this could have on England herself. The French king, it was argued "loves to be King of Countries without People--and that made him Depopulate the *Palatinate,* and the rest of his Conquests in *Germany*--Nay you see how he Dispeoples his own *France* it self--By the way, he learnt that piece of Policy of the Turk--And so if he could but get footing in *England,* you should soon see what a *Hunting field* K. *J.* and He would make of it."[223] Thus the example of the Palatinate could give an impression of what England had to expect from a successful French-aided return of the deposed Stuart king.

---

[220] An EEBO keyword as well as title search for the period of the Nine Years War does not produce any results comparing Frederick V and the French occupation of the Palatinate. Commentators mentioned the electoral couple when summarising the history of the Palatinate and its previous rulers. Here they sometimes also made some references to Bohemia, but did not go into much detail. There was hardly more importance ascribed to Frederick and Elizabeth than to their predecessors and successors. See for instance *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees,* pp. 21-22.

[221] *An Appeal to all Protestant kings, princes, and states, concerning the apparent danger of the Protestant religion, and the great decay of its interest in Europe* (London, 1700).

[222] *The Common interest of king & kingdom in this confus'd conjuncture, truly stated, and to consist in the speedy calling of a free Parliament* (London, 1688), p. 7.

[223] *The royal flight, or, The conquest of Ireland a new farce* (London, 1690), p. 22.

On a domestic level, it was also possible to use the situation in the Palatinate as a negative example for a Catholic rule over Protestant people. Here, the Christian rhetoric found in many English publications from the Nine Years War period, was abandoned and replaced by an anti-Catholic language, to describe and criticise the situation of the Protestant Palatines under a popish prince. In 1699/1700, for instance, *An Account of the present condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate* was published in London. It consisted of two letters, which according to the imprint had been send from Heidelberg to an English Gentleman.[224] The letters described the situation in the Palatinate and of its Protestant inhabitants under the Catholic Elector Johann Wilhelm. The author, who was probably a Palatine himself, outlined and complained about the changes brought about by the so-called *Simultaneum*, a declaration for Liberty of Conscience, which was introduced by Johann Wilhelm in 1698. The *Simultaneum* resulted from the Ryswick Clause, and was intended to realise and guarantee the equalisation of Protestants and Catholics in the Palatinate.[225] It opened Protestant churches, schools and cemeteries to Catholics, who were now allowed to use these for their purposes. Members of the reformed religion, however, were refused the same rights and were still denied access to Catholic churches and chapels in their territory. Interestingly, in this context the practice of church-sharing, positively emphasised by English travellers and in English travel accounts,[226] was not interpreted as an instance of religious toleration, but depicted and criticised as an attempt of re-Catholisation.[227]

As far as the author of the letters was concerned, the *Simultaneum* was nothing less than "a most manifest Infraction of the Treaties of *Westphalia,* and calculated for the extirpation of the Protestant Religion".[228] Its introduction, it was argued, had hampered the reconstruction and development of the territory, which for many years had suffered under French invasion and occupation. In addition to highlighting and evaluating the, in his view, negative effects, the *Simultaneum* had already had on the Palatinate, the author also compared the circumstances and proceedings in his country with those in England under James II. The former Stuart king, he argued, had, by his Declaration of Indulgence, "aim'd at the destruction

---

[224] *An Account of the present condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate in two letters to an English gentleman* (London, 1699).

[225] For the introduction and the effects of the *Simultaneum* in the Palatinate see Murmann, pp. 161-174.

[226] For the English description of church sharing and practiced toleration in Germany see again Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England,* pp. 25-28.

[227] For comments on the negative effects of the *Ryswick Clause* for the Protestants in the Empire and on the destruction of Protestant churches see for instance *The Duke of Anjou's Succession consider'd, As to Its Legality and Consequences* (London, 1701), p. 36 and by the same author *The Duke of Anjou's Succession further consider'd, As to the Danger that May Arise from it to Europe in General, But More Particularly to England, and the Several Branches of Our Trade, Part II* (London, 1701), p. 39.

[228] *An Account of the present condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate*, pp. 16-17.

both of your Liberty and Religion."[229] As Johann Wilhelm was a similar "Bigot to *Rome*" as James II, it seemed most probable that the Elector Palatinate was attempting the same in his territory.[230] In general, the authors could find several analogies between the English case of the mid-1680s and the developments that were now taking place in the Palatinate:

> "All the Churches, Schools, Church Lands, Tythes, and other Ecclesiastical Revenues were in the hands of Protestants, but by this Declaration the Churches are to serve equally for the use of Papists and Protestants; so that this is as much a violation of our Rights, as it would have been of yours, if the late King *James* had caus'd Mass to be sung in *Westminster* Abbey; for the Papists have no better title to our Churches than they have to yours. Had his Electoral Highness been contented to give the Papists leave to exercise openly their Religion, and even to build Churches for themselves, we might be silent, tho this would be against our Privileges; but to presume to give 'em our Churches and our Ecclesiastical Incomes, under pretence of Liberty of Conscience, is such an injustice, that I must return again to your late King, to find any parallel to match it."[231]

With this the author summarised the key aspects of the *Simultaneum* and its practical impact on the (religious) life of the Palatine people. The letters provided the recipient, and due to its publication maybe also a broader English readership, with "a true Idea of our sad case, which may serve as a warning to all Protestants never to trust a Popish Prince".[232] At the same time, the German author reminded his English reader of James' religious politics and his attempts to re-establish and equalise Catholicism in England. Additionally, he also emphasised how lucky and "happy *England* [could feel] to be free from such Biggotted Princes; and that you may be sensible of, and long enjoy your present felicity".[233]

Although the letters were not written by an Englishman, for the English readers they may well have been a reminder and confirmation of the wrong politics and practices of popish princes, they had themselves experienced during the reign of James II. In England, the advance of Catholicism had been stopped, but in the Empire (and not only there) it was on the rise again, as the situation in the Palatinate seemed to prove. This view was shared and confirmed by English commentators, too, for instance by Daniel Defoe, who was one of the most renowned English advocates of the Palatine refugees, and may actually have been the first to introduce the description 'poor Palatines' - which became a fixed term at the beginning of the eighteenth century - into English print discourse. In a pamphlet, probably

---

[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid., pp. 17-18.
[232] Ibid., p. 25.
[233] Ibid., p. 26.

published in the last decade of the seventeenth century, Defoe noted that "[a]gainst the poor *Palatines* the Persecution is now carrying on with its usual barbarity".[234] Another observer pointed to the fact that with the transferal of the electorate unto the Catholic branch of the family, the German Protestants had also lost a vote in the electoral college. The author was sure though, that this alteration was not the only negative development to be expected from the Catholic rule in the Palatinate. "[T]he Practices of this present Elector", he warned, "makes the World apprehend much greater Mischiefs to the Protestant Interest from him."[235]

Why exactly English observer seemed more concerned about the Palatinate than about any other German territory is difficult to say. Maybe contemporary Englishmen were more familiar with the Palatinate than with other German territories, as it had been mentioned and described in various publications throughout the seventeenth century. Maybe it was the common ground of Protestantism, England and the Palatinate had shared in the past, and were still sharing, despite the new Catholic rule in the territory, which resulted in the above-average attention. Or it may even have been a coincidence that it was not any other German territory, but again the Palatinate, which moved into the focus of French expansionism and aggression and thus also into the focus of the English news at the end of the seventeenth century. Whatever the reasons for the English particular interest in the Palatinate may have been, throughout the period the territory and its population continued to appear in English political debates and print discourse. In the late 1680s and early 1690s, the destruction and suffering of the Palatinate was a useful example to attack and condemn the politics and proceedings of Louis XIV, before the focus shifted to Flanders. Then, at the beginning of the early eighteenth century, the Palatinate once more became a focal point of English political print discourse. The debates about the 'poor Palatines', led in England during the reign of Queen Anne, can be seen as an immediate result of the repeated invasion of the territory during the Nine Years War and of the rule of the Catholic elector Johann Wilhelm.

Complaints about the situation of the Palatine Protestants, and pleas for help, had reached England, and the English court in 1702. Over the next years, the campaigns of the War of the Spanish Succession, food shortage, and severe weather conditions during the winter of 1708/09 made the situation even worse. Given the circumstances abroad, the Whigs successfully passed a bill in the two houses in 1708/09, allowing Protestants from other countries to become naturalised in Great Britain for the price of one shilling. The weeks and

---

[234] Daniel Defoe, *The present case of England, and the Protestant interest* (London, 1690-1701), p. 2.
[235] *An Appeal to all Protestant kings, princes, and states, concerning the apparent danger of the Protestant religion, and the great decay of its interest in Europe with a most awakening account of the unjust and cruel methods for the destruction thereof, that are practiced in several countries* (London, 1700), p. 16.

months following the passing of the *Foreign Protestants Naturalisation Act* saw thousands of Protestants (and apparently also several Catholics) making their way from the Palatinate, (and some bordering territories) across the Channel. Between 1708 and 1709, an estimated number of about 15,000 Germans arrived in England. Not all of them came to stay, though, and in the following months and years several thousands were transported to Ireland as well as to the colonies overseas or were sent back home.[236] The great number, and also the condition of the impecunious foreigners coming into Britain, caused quite some scepticism and fear amongst English contemporaries. The Tory writer Delariviere Manley, for instance, seemed to be concerned about nothing less than the loss of Britishness and British identity, drawing an analogy between the immigration of the poor Palatines and the Anglo-Saxon past, when stating that "Of the Natives there will be scarce a Remnant preserved; and thus the British Name may be endanger'd once more to be lost in the German."[237]

The question, how to deal with the refugees from abroad, became a much discussed issue and a source of division, not only in parliament but also in the English print discourse. The debates about the poor Palatines were led by MPs in Westminster as well as by many observers outside parliament and as it seems, also outside London. In the months following the passing of the *Naturalisation Act* and the first wave of Palatine immigration, several English commentators tried to counter the concerns of their countrymen and to step in for the refugees from abroad. Defoe, for instance, defended the invitation and hosting of the Palatines in several of his writings, including his periodical *A Review of the State of the British Nation*, which received much attention and was read both in and outside London.[238] In *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees, lately arriv'd in England*, which has sometimes been attributed to Defoe, too,[239] the author also intended to answer and thus eliminate his countrymen's concerns about the immigration of the Palatines into Great Britain. The worries, these men replied to, were neither specifically English, nor related to the Palatines themselves, but much more of a general sort. They centred on issues often seen as related to immigration, such as unemployment, dropping wages, increased taxation, or shortage of food, housing, and the like. Those Englishmen, criticising the decision to host

---

[236] H. T. Dickinson, 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties', *EHR*, 82, 324 (1967), pp. 464-485; Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in colonial times* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1901), pp. 61-66; Panikos Panayi, ed. *Germans in Britain since 1500* (A&C Black, 1996), pp. 29-31.

[237] Delarivier Manley, *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon,* p. 15.

[238] Richetti*, The Life of Daniel Defoe*, pp. 88-89. Before 1707 the *Review* was published under the title *A review of the affairs of France.*

[239] The authorship is still debated amongst scholars. According to Furbank and Owens *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees* was in all likelihood not written by Defoe. Moore and Novak on the other hand consider it as Defoe's work. See Philip Nicholas Furbank and William Robert Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions: Critique of JR Moore's Checklist* (A&C Black, 1994), pp. 34-35.

and naturalise the German refugees, worried that the great number of poor immigrants would sooner or later also worsen the situation of the native English people.[240] In contrast to the critics of the Palatine immigration, Daniel Defoe and others argued for receiving the distressed brethren from Germany, which could, in their view, only be of advantage for Britain's wealth and economy.[241] To prove their point, they repeatedly referred to the terrible condition of the Protestants in the German Rhine region, both in past and present, underlining the necessity to help and relieve them. Thereby English readers were also provided with some general and historical background information about the Palatinate. *The State of the Palatines*, for instance, briefly summarised the history and relevance of the territory since the early seventeenth century, before outlining and discussing the effects of repeated French invasions and occupations. Whilst commentators of the Nine Years War period had often omitted and remained silent about the Palatinate's role and suffering during the Thirty Years War, Englishmen engaged in the 'poor Palatines debate' usually commented on or at least mentioned the occupation and devastation of the territory in the 1620s-1640s.[242] The image of the Palatinate thereby created was that of a (Protestant) territory repeatedly shaken by intrusion, war, and Catholic rule, and of a people who had no choice but to leave their homes in order to escape misery and to live in peace. "[T]he great and flourishing country of the Palatinate", Defoe explained in June 1709, "groans under the Oppression of Popish Persecution, and we see the poor Inhabitants flying hither for the Liberty of Religion, desiring to be transported to our American Wilderness, or any where, to have Room to serve GOD in peace".[243] The Palatine migration was, as a fictional dialogue stated, "a melancholly story".[244]

Given their history of destruction, suffering, and persecution, helping and hosting the distressed Protestant Palatines was considered an obligation by several commentators, even more so as the English people had just recently been spared a similar fate. As the author of the *Brief history,* for instance, reminded his compatriots, without the events of 1688-89, "the late happy Revolution, the Condition of the Palatines might have been our own."[245] Besides,

---

[240] See for instance *A view of the queen and kingdoms enemies in the case of the poor palatines ... In a letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in the country* (London, 1711?), esp. pp. 6-7, 9, and also the fictional dialogue *The Palatines catechism, or, a true description of their camps at Black-Heath and Camberwell. In a pleasant dialogue between an English tradesman and a High-Dutchman* (London, 1709)

[241] See for instance Daniel Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, June 23, 1709; Issue 35, as well as Thursday, June 30, 1709; Issue 38 (London, 1709), see also *The reception of the Palatines vindicated: in a fifth letter to a Tory member* (London, 1711), probably written by Francis Hare but sometimes also attributed to Defoe.

[242] Defoe, *Review,* Tuesday, September 20, 1709*;* Issue *72* (London, 1709); *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees, lately arriv'd in England,* pp. 25-26.

[243] Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, June 30, 1709; Issue 38 (London, 1709).

[244] *The Palatines catechism,* p. 2.

[245] *A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees,* p. 9.

he noted, that during the reign of Queen Mary persecuted Englishmen and -women had fled to several parts of Germany, including the Palatinate, where they were granted asylum.[246] It was now time for the English to be equally charitable and to help out their Protestant brethren from the Palatinate. Hosting the poor Palatines was thus considered an act of charity and an "Instance of this happy Nation's affording a safe Retreat and Protection to distress'd Protestants of other Nations".[247] This was an image not only conveyed by contemporary Englishmen themselves, but also by those who had come from abroad. In a sermon preached in 1710, the native German Lutheran pastor John Tribbeko, assigned to take care of the Palatines in London, repeatedly reminded the Palatines of "the great Bounty and Charity"[248] they had received in England. The English were thereby depicted as a helpful, selfless people, "who because they are merciful to the Poor, are blessed by God in this World more than other Nations."[249] In an open address, the Palatines themselves had likewise turned to the English tradesmen to represent their case. The text, which was reprinted in several English publications concerned with the issue,[250] celebrated England as the "Land of Canaan",[251] a place that not only provided everything humans needed, but was also inhabited by "a Religious People, who … freely give to the Distressed for Christ's sake".[252] England was a "Blessed Land and Happy People! Govern'd by the Nursing Mother of Europe and the Best of Queens",[253] who zealously worked for her continental allies and against their French enemy. Both the poor Palatines and native Englishmen thus drew and conveyed an image of England as a selfless and charitable nation, and as a place where the persecuted and suppressed could find shelter and relief.

Although there were quite a few English contemporaries who supported the case of the Palatines, by 1710, the mood seemed to have turned against them. After the Tories had won the general elections of 1710 and thus held a majority in parliament, they soon brought

---

[246] Ibid. A reference to the reign of Queen Mary can for instance also be found in *The state of the Palatines for fifty years past to this present time* (London, 1710).

[247] Ibid., p. 19.

[248] John Tribbeko, *The Christian traveller: A farewel-sermon preach'd in the Church of St. Catharine near the Tower, on the 20th of January, 1710. To the Palatines, before their going out of England… chaplain to His Late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark. Translated into English* (London, 1710), p. 21.

[249] Ibid., p. 24.

[250] *The State of the Poor Palatines, as humbly Represented by themselves upon their first Arrival in this Kingdom, about June, 1709*, reprinted in *The Piety and bounty of the Queen of Great Britain: With the charitable benevolence of her loving subjects, toward the support and settlement of the distressed Protestant palatines* (London, 1709), p. 2. The following quotes are taken from this publication. The text was also printed in Abel Boyer, *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the eighth,* (London, 1710), Appendix, p. 34, and in a slightly different version in *The state of the Palatines for fifty years past*, pp. 6-7.

[251] *The State of the Poor Palatines*, p. 2.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid.

in a bill for repealing the *Foreign Protestants Naturalisation Act* of 1708. In the parliamentary debates about the act and its consequences, the invitation and hosting of "the poor Palatines of all Religions, at the publick expense," were now regarded as "an extravagant and unreasonable Charge to the Kingdom, and a scandalous Misapplication of publick Money, tending to the Increase of the Poor of this Kingdom, and the dangerous Consequence to the Constitution in Church and State."[254] The Palatines now became called "Vagabonds" and those who had advocated their coming into Britain had proved themselves "an Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom."[255] The altered attitude towards the refugees from the Palatinate also seemed to affect the usage as well as the meaning and understanding of the term 'poor Palatines' itself. Initially, the adjective 'poor' placed before 'Palatines' could be understood as referring to the pitiful condition of the persecuted and supressed German Protestants in the Rhine region, rather than to their economic situation. In this sense it was used by Defoe and other supporters of the Palatine immigration. Later, however, 'poor Palatines', as, for instance, used in the parliamentary debates, could clearly be understood in a more negative way. They no longer were distressed brethren from abroad, but "poor useless Palatines"[256] who placed a socio-economic burden on England. In a way, this change in attitude towards fellow Europeans in need also corresponds to the shift in English politics in general, now focussing on English, or British needs at home and in the colonies rather than on continental European issues. In the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession, economical considerations became more important than ever before, and the poor Palatines seemed to be an additional drain to the British economy. Hence, to a certain degree, the poor Palatine debate was also part of the debates about England's foreign policy course and her role in Europe and the world, conducted between Whigs and Tories at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[257]

As can be taken from the above said, the Palatinate, which had been so important to many English observers of the Thirty Years War, played an important part in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century print discourse in England, too. The contemporary debates about this German territory and the fate of its Protestant inhabitants, led in English print media between 1689 and 1711, thus serve as a good example for the existence of an English

---

[254] William Pittis, *The history of the present Parliament. And Convocation. With the debates at large relating to the conduct of the war abroad, the mismanagements of the ministry at home* (London, 1711), p. 171. Also *A Succinct and methodical history of the proceedings in the first sessions of this present Parliament, Which begun at Westminster the 25th of November 1710, and ended the 12th of June 1711* (London, 1712), p. 88.
[255] Pittis, *The history of the present Parliament*, p. 171.
[256] *Some remarks by way of answer to a late pamphlet, entituled, A letter to Sir J. B* (London, 1711), p. 34.
[257] See below chapter 3.3.1.

perception of Germany and German affairs prior to the Protestant Succession and the personal union between Great Britain and Hanover established in 1714. As far as foreign policy considerations and issues were concerned, the Palatinate was clearly the part of Germany, which received the most attention in the English press during the Nine Years War. The territory thereby fulfilled a decisive role in the English propaganda against Louis XIV. And not only this: Especially in the early eighteenth century it triggered an inner English debate about the obligations of the English people and nation towards distressed and persecuted co-religionists from abroad. As such, it will be shown later in this chapter, the Palatinate and the poor Palatines also contributed to self-reflections and to the shaping of an English self-image.

3.2.5
Marlborough, the 1704 campaign, and the deliverance of the Empire

In the 1680s and 1690s the struggle of the Palatinate and its Protestant inhabitants, and the Empire's fight against an Ottoman invasion repeatedly drew the press' and people's attention to the events and developments in the Empire. As far as Germany was concerned, these were the issues contemporary Englishmen seemed to be most interested in during the first of the two wars of the Grand Alliance. Then, in the War of the Spanish Succession, a new aspect was added to the English print discourse: England herself now had an army on German soil. As has been shown in the context of the Thirty Years War, English contemporaries were quite interested in the military engagements and encounters on the continent. This also was the case during the Nine Years War, and even more so during the War of the Spanish Succession, when British troops were, for the first time ever officially stationed as well as fighting on German and imperial soil. The printing press tried to serve this interest by publishing war reports, eye witnessed accounts of battles, and other news related to the wars, and thereby gave their readership the opportunity to follow the movements and campaigns of the armies abroad. During the Nine Years War, the English war news had more or less focussed on the campaigns in Flanders, where the English armies were mostly engaged.[258]

---

[258] See for instance reports like *A Full account of a terrible and bloody fight between the Dutch and English forces in Flanders against the French* (London, 1689); *An Exact list of the royal confederate army in Flanders, commanded by the K. of Great Britain* (London, 1691); *Great news from His Majesty's camp near Louvain in Flanders* (London, 1693); *The late bloody fight in Flanders with an account of the numbers slain on both sides* (London, 1688-1695).

During the War of the Spanish Succession, however, several ten thousand British soldiers were sent into Germany to fight against the French and Bavarian enemies, and to defend Habsburgs claim to the Spanish crown. Right from the beginning the English campaigns in the southern and western parts of the Empire, which started in 1702/03 and were led by John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, were closely watched and reported about in England.[259] Like in the Thirty Years War, it was again a foreign general who, in the eyes of many contemporaries had saved Germany from the worst, maybe even rescued it from total ruin. However, whilst the English press and public had hailed a Swede for helping the German and European Protestants during the Thirty Years War, it was now an English general, one of their countrymen, English observers were placing their hopes in and whose victories they were celebrating. Marlborough had been trained and served abroad and had been fighting under French and Dutch commanders during the Dutch War and the Williamite War in Ireland, respectively. The experience he had gained during his years of service outside England and under foreign commanders furnished him for the tasks he was facing at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[260] The War of the Spanish Succession then was Marlborough's breakthrough as a military leader and brought him into English news and discourse. His manoeuvres, battles, and victories were celebrated throughout England and the great victories he obtained in Germany were outlined and emphasised in a variety of publications. His role in the allies' battles against the Franco-Bavarian forces and his successful campaigns in Germany made him an English hero and "[t]he Pride and Glory of the Grand Allies",[261] an image that, at least for some time, earned him the favour of the English queen and people. His name appeared on various title pages, and printed in italics or bold, it was sometimes even more prominently than that of the queen.[262] In contrast to other writings about Germany, publications concerned with the War of the Spanish Succession campaigns in the Empire very much centred on the duke and his successful endeavours "in the Bowles of Germany",[263] rather than on the country itself. News, accounts, and commemorative publications about the campaigns in Germany mostly described the

---

[259] For the life and military career of Marlborough see Richard Holmes, *Marlborough. Britain's greatest general* (London, 2008). For Marlborough's depiction in English print in general see Claydon, 'A European general in the English press'.

[260] Onnekink, 'Britain in Europe during the Age of Marlborough', p. 17. For a summary of Malborough's in general see also John B. Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*, Vol. 11 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 607-633.

[261] 'Victory upon Victory: A Poem on the Success of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough over the French Forces near Tirlemont, 1705' in *Poems on affairs of state, from 1620. to this present year 1707,* Vol. IV (London, 1707), pp. 11-12.

[262] Claydon, 'A Europen general', pp. 303-305.

[263] E*ngland's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704,* p. 40.

routes Marlborough's troops had taken, named the towns they had passed, and focussed on the manoeuvers and battles, rather than on the country where they had taken place. However, in a way, the public interest in Marlborough and his endeavours abroad moved the German Empire into the spotlight of English news, too, not so much in terms of Germany as a country, but much more in terms of its role in the European struggle against French hegemonial ambitions. The media celebration of Marlborough's and thus of England's successful commitment in the Empire, may not provide much new information about English general images of the Empire, however, it clearly gives a further insight into the contemporary English perception of the Empire as a political and military power in the heart of continental Europe. The story of the campaigns in the Empire was mainly, but not only, the story of Marlborough's "Glorious Victory over the French and Bavarians,"[264] and it was also the story of the deliverance of the Empire through an English hero.

The war's major campaigns in Germany that brought about Marlborough's success and the Empire's temporary deliverance, took place in 1704. During this year the English war press often focused on the movements, manoeuvres and affairs of the allied and enemy forces on German soil.[265] Still regarded as England's and Europe's enemy number one, France continued to remain an important aspect in the English war press and propaganda. New was, however, the role and image of Bavaria as France's main ally and thus as the Grand Alliance's foe.[266] Whilst the electorate had been one of Habsburgs' closest auxiliary and an important member of the coalition against the Turks as well as of the League of Augsburg in the 1680's and 1690's, it had turned against its former partners to side with Louis XIV instead in 1702. The Bavarian elector, Max Emanuel was pursuing his own interests, trying to gain as much power, influence, and territory for himself as possible. This

---

[264] This phrase was part of several titles of published sermons commemorating the victory at Blenheim. For instance: Andrew Archer, *A sermon preached in the chappel at Tunbridge-Wells, September 7. 1704. Being the day of publick thanksgiving for the glorious victory obtained by Her Majesty's forces under the Duke of Marlborough, over the French and Bavarians, at Bleinheim near Hochstet in German* (London, 1704); John Evans, *The being and benefits of divine providence, vindicated and asserted, in a sermon preached on Septemb. 7. being the day of publick thanksgiving: for the glorious victory over the French and Bavarians, obtain'd at Bleinheim in Germany* (London, 1704); Edward Fowler, *sermon preach'd in the chappel at Guild-Hall, upon Thursday the 7th of September 1704. Being the day of publick thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the late glorious victory, obtained over the French and Bavarians, at Bleinheim, near Hochstet* (London, 1704); Samuel Bromesgrove, *A sermon preached at the Tabernacle in Spittle-Fields, on September the 7th, 1704. being the day of thanksgiving, for the glorious victory obtained over the French and Bavarians at Bleinheim, near Hochstet* (London, 1704). The description of the battle at Blenheim as a "glorious victory" was probably first used by Marlborough himself, in his famous and often quoted letter to his wife Sarah, written right after the battle. The letter is quoted in R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, p. 297.

[265] For the 1704 campaign in Germany see R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, pp. 249-297.

[266] For a summary of the Bavarian role and aims in the War of the Spanish Succession see Justus Kraner, *Bayern und Savoyen im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg: Überlegungen zu einem neuen Konzept frühneuzeitlicher Diplomatiegeschichte in Europa* (Meine Verlag, 2008).

ambition drove him into the arms of the French king, making him Louis XIV's most important confederate in the early years of the War of the Spanish Succession, even more so as Bavaria possessed and commanded the strongest army of all German territories.[267] Although Bavaria and its elector could hardly be considered as powerful or threatening as France, they were still seen as a threat to the allies and especially to Austria's aims and success in the war against French expansionism.[268] For a few years, Bavaria and Max Emanuel thus came to dubious fame, being mentioned in one breath with their mighty French ally by English commentators and the English press.[269]

For those Englishmen who wanted to know more about Bavaria, or were not yet familiar with the territory England had been fighting against, John Stevens published, obviously with some delay, his *History of Bavaria* in 1706, which also appeared as *The lives and actions of all the sovereigns of Bavaria* in the same year. By the time the texts were published, Bavaria was, as Stevens himself admitted, "now entirely Reduc'd [and had] almost ceas'd to be mention'd in the present War."[270] This decline of Bavaria during the War of the Spanish Succession, was to a large extend also to Marlborough's credit, whose victories were not just victories over France, but also victories over Bavaria. In the end, the defeat at the Battle of Blenheim proved fatal to Max Emanuel, who had to abandon his territory, fled to Brussels, and was finally placed under the imperial ban in 1706. Over eighty years later, the Bavarian elector thus suffered the same fate as the Elector Palatine Frederick V in 1621. He, too, lost his dignity and territories, including the upper Palatinate, which his grandfather had once taken from the banned Frederick. "He knows", one commentator noted about the Elector of Bavaria as early as 1701, "how his Ancestor got the *Upper Palatinate* from the *Paltsgrave Frederick*, the same Power that depossest the one, can do so by the other."[271] At this point, the possibility of being banned, still gave reason to assume that Max Emanuel was going to remain on the emperor's side, instead of allying with Louis XIV. It did not take long though, until it became clear that this was a false conclusion. Apart from this example, the press did not explicitly draw or point to the parallel between Frederick V

---

[267] For Max Emanuel's ambitions see ibid., pp. 56-59; Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough'; Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, p. 45-46. For a contemporary description/evaluation of the Bavarian goals see *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal*, pp. 66-68.

[268] Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough'.

[269] In addition to the sources mentioned in the text see also *The dangers of Europe, from the growing power of France. With some free thoughts on remedies* (London, 1702), pp. 11-13.

[270] John Stevens, *The history of Bavaria, from the first ages, to this present year, 1706. Collected from the best ancient historians, and the faithfullest modern accounts* (London, 1706), A2.

[271] *The succession of Spain discuss'd. With a project of reconciling all the present pretensions to that crown, for the Advantage of Europe* (London, 1701), p. 11.

and Max Emanuel, but some passing remarks in accounts and discourses may still have indicated it to the attentive English reader.[272]

Although many publications related to the War of the Spanish Succession dealt with the Bavarian elector, the views expressed in the texts were not necessarily homogeneous. Whilst John Spencer, for instance, gave a rather neutral description of Max Emanuel, the anonymously published discourse *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal*, had no pity with the elector, who, regardless of his obligations towards the Grand Alliance, had turned against it and had "so ungratefully [drawn his sword] against [his] Benefactors, to subject them to the Tyranny of France."[273] In an issue of the *Observator* from September 1702, he was called a "publick enemy" and "a true Allye of Lewis XIV," who "thinks nothing dishonourable or unjust, that tends to his advantage, and can Sacrifice his Honour and Reputation to his interest."[274] Although different in tone, most accounts depicted Bavaria as France's sidekick, bowing to the power of the French king, rather than as a mighty state able to stand on its own against the members of the Grand Alliance.[275]

In addition to Bavaria, Cologne was the second German territory to ally with France in the struggle over the Spanish crown. Given Cologne's role in the conflict over the Palatine succession, which contributed to the outbreak of the Nine Years War, this change of sides seemed even more surprising to the author of *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal* than Bavaria's leaving the anti-French coalition. "As to the Elector of Cologne," he wrote, "every body knows it was almost wholly on his Account that the First Grand Alliance was form'd, to settle him in that Electorate, which the French King would have ravish'd from him for the Cardinal Furstemberg".[276] As an ally of France, Cologne was mentioned by many English commentators, however, militarily less powerful, it generally only played a minor role in the English war accounts and discourses.[277] Here the Franco-Bavarian coalition clearly was at the centre-stage, especially in the year 1704, when it was repeatedly fought and finally shattered by the allied forces under the leadership of Marlborough. In 1703, the general and his Anglo-Dutch forces had invaded the territory of Cologne, where they laid siege to and captured Bonn within 20 days. They thus took away France's most important strategic

---

[272] Michel Le Vassor, *An account of the present state and government of the Empire of Germany. In a letter to Thomas Foley of Whitley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1711), pp. 34-35; Daniel Defoe, *The succession of Spain consider'd: or, a view of the several interests of the princes and powers of Europe* (London, 1711), pp. 27-28.

[273] *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal,* pp. 56-57.

[274] *Observator*, September 16, 1702 - September 19, 1702; Issue 43 (London, 1702).

[275] *A modest vindication of the French King, in which, all the arguments against arbitrary power and that monarch, are fully consider'd, and answer'd* (London, 1703), p. 4.

[276] *The friendship of King Lewis always fatal*, p. 57.

[277] For comments on Cologne as an ally of the French see for instance *The dangers of Europe*, pp. 11-12.

positions in the Rhineland and also forced elector Joseph Clement to abandon his territory and move into exile.[278] News of the siege and the successful taking of Bonn soon circulated in England, where it was described and discussed in the papers.[279] With Bonn, the allied forces had, as one commentator noted, "taken a Key which unlocks many Doors, and leave the Enemies Country open to their Troops."[280] It was Marlborough's first large successful manoeuvre in Germany and was celebrated as one of "many signal Instances of the special Favour of Almighty God to our Sovereign, and her Kingdoms."[281] After this short manoeuvre, the Anglo-Dutch forces retreated again into the Low Countries.[282] In May 1704, Marlborough and his troops once again crossed the Rhine and began to make their way deeper into Germany, marching towards Bavaria with the aim to either win over Max Emanuel to the Grand Alliance or to defeat him and thus end his ambitions to invade Austria.[283] A first encounter with the Franco-Bavarian army took place at the Schellenberg near Donauwörth in Swabia, an important strategic height near the Bavarian border.[284] The victory obtained there by the allied forces on 2 July made the "Confederates … Masters of the Keys into Bavaria"[285] and cleared the path into the territory of Max Emanuel. The capture of Bonn and the victory at Donauwörth were important steps towards securing the Dutch Republic from French invasion and towards weakening the Bavarians. The future, however, still held greater victories for the English general. After this "first blow… at Schellenberg", one commentator noted, the people back home "had all reason to expect somewhat much greater would follow; but never durst have carried our Hopes so far as to think of so glorious and compleat a Victory as you have, with the Armies of the Allies, gained over the Enemy."[286] This victory was obtained in a battle fought near the small village of Blindheim, near Höchstädt in Swabia. The battle of Blenheim, as it was soon known in England,[287] ended with a clear victory for the multi-national allied army led and commanded by Marlborough

---

[278] Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession*, p.106. For a contemporary description of the campaign see for instance Abel Boyer, *The history of the reign of Queen Anne,* Vol. 2 (London, 1703), pp. 116-118.

[279] See for instance *Daily Courant* Saturday, May 1, 1703; Issue 324, Tuesday, May 11, 1703; Issue 332, (London, 1703), *Post Man and the Historical Account*, May 8, 1703 - May 11, 1703; Issue 1126, May 11, 1703 - May 13, 1703; Issue 1127 (London, 1703).

[280] *Observator,* April 28, 1703 - May 1, 1703; Issue 7, (London,1703).

[281] *Daily Courant*, Thursday, May 20, 1703; Issue 340, (London, 1703).

[282] For the 1703 campaigns in the Low Country see R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, pp. 242-248.

[283] Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession*, p. 111.

[284] For the battle at Schellenberg see R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, pp. 269-276. A short account of the battle was for instance given in *Daily Courant*, Tuesday, July 4, 1704; Issue 692 (London, 1704).

[285] *Flying Post or The Post Master*, July 15, 1704 - July 18, 1704; Issue 1436 (London, 1704).

[286] *England's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704*, p. 64.

[287] In the German contemporary literature and in the historiography it is usually referred to as the second battle of Höchstädt.

and Eugene of Savoy.[288] The success in Germany, particularly at Blenheim, was to have a lasting effect.

Blenheim was certainly amongst the most famous, and in some regards also one of the most decisive of all, battles in the War of the Spanish Succession.[289] The battle did not end the war, and whether it has ultimately altered its outcome is hard to tell. However, the victory obtained by the allied forces strengthened the Grand Alliance both militarily and strategically. For Bavaria and its elector on the other side, the outcome of the battle was most disastrous. The final defeat at Blenheim ended the Franco-Bavarian presence and threat in Germany, severely weakened France's main ally and forced Max Emanuel to withdraw from the Empire and to abandon his territorial and political ambitions. "The Imperial Rebel [was] tumbling down."[290] The allies now had the possibility to attack the French from various positions, and Blenheim showed that France, which had so far often been regarded as invincible, could actually be defeated.[291] As one English commentator suggested "the Fate of the Empire, and perhaps that of all Europe seemed to depend upon the Success of this one glorious Battle, the Event of which proving fatal to the French and Bavarians, has quite altered the Scene of Affairs".[292]

In addition to its political and strategic impact, the victory at Blenheim also attracted an extensive medial and public interest (not only) in England.[293] The months following the battle probably saw the highest output of printed sermons, poems and accounts related to the English engagement in the Empire of the entire War of the Spanish Succession period. The victory over the Franco-Bavarian forces obtained on 13 August 1704, was celebrated in a variety of publications and in several sermons, preached at the official day of thanksgiving, ordered by the queen to be held on 7 September 1704. The content and statements of these publications were not really new, but in many ways resembled those commemorative

---

[288] Weißbrich, *Höchstädt* 1704, pp. 56-62. Amongst those fighting for the allies were soldiers/troops from England, Austria, the United Provinces, Denmark and from the German territories of Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, Celle-Hanover, Prussia, and Sachsen-Gotha.

[289] The decisive character of Blenheim is still discussed amongst scholars. Whilst some, such as James Falkner, have emphasised the importance of the battle and even argued that with the victory at Blenheim, England had turned into a world power, others have negated the decisive character of the battle. James Falkner, *Blenheim 1704. Marlborough's greatest victory* (Barnsley, 2004), p. 6, and in contrast to this view Tim Blanning, 'Victory spoils', *Times Literary Supplement* (London, 22 Oct. 2004), pp. 6-7, and Matthias Pohlig, *Marlboroughs Geheimnis: Strukturen und Funktionen der Informationsgewinnung im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Köln, Weimar, 2016), p. 50.

[290] Denne, *Marlborough,* p. 24.

[291] Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg*, p. 47; Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession*, p. 111; Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704,* p. 62

[292] *England's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704*, p. 56.

[293] For a substantial study of the battel in the contemporary press see Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704.*

writing about other political and military events in earlier decades.[294] The texts praised the Duke of Marlborough, repeated the negative image of the French, and celebrated the crushing defeat over the Franco-Bavarian army.[295] Many of the sermons and poems printed after Blenheim, have already been discussed extensively as means of war propaganda and for their depiction of Marlborough.[296] They are, however, also a valuable source for studying English views and perception of Germany, as they not only hailed the defence of the liberty of Europe in general but also of the Empire in particular, and thereby conveyed certain images of the Empire's role and condition.

"[I]nsulted EUROPE", the poet Charles Johnson noted, was "By Bold BRITANNIA Rescu'd from her Chains"[297] whilst another author rhymed about "The Terror of thy conq'ring Armes, which freed the Empire from Alarms".[298] With the victory at Blenheim, Marlborough became an English hero,[299] who had done "so much Honour to his Country, so much for the Safety, Ease and Tranquility of the Roman Empire and of all Europe".[300] This was a reoccurring theme in many of the poems, sermons and accounts related to the successful campaign in 1704. The image presented to the English readership here, was that of a vulnerable, and almost lost country, of a "trembling Empire"[301] on the brink of ruin and French slavery. "Amaz'd and anxious for her sovereign's fates, Germania trembled through a hundred states" wrote Joseph Addison in his famous poem *The Campaign*. Before Blenheim, the Empire's and the emperor's situation seemed more than hopeless:

> "Great Leopold himself was seiz'd with fear;
> He gaz'd around, but saw no succour near;
> He gaz'd, and half abandon'd to despair
> His hopes on heav'n, and confidence in pray'r."[302]

---

[294] See for instance the printed sermons and other writings commemorating England's delivery from the gunpowder plot in 1605 and the revolution of 1688, respectively.

[295] *A congratulatory poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, on his glorious success and victories over the French and Bavarians* (London, 1704), p. 2; Denne, *Marlborough*, p.p 19, 20

[296] Weißbrich, *Höchstädt 1704*; Claydon, 'A European general in the English press'.

[297] Charles Johnson, *A congratulatory verse, to Her Grace, the Dutchess of Marlborough: on the late glorious victory, near Hochstet in Germany. August the 2d 1704* (London, 1704), pp. 1-2.

[298] 'An Ode to the D. of Marlborough, 1706' in *Poems on affairs of state,* Vol. IV, (London, 1707), p. 26.

[299] Marlborough was called a hero in many publications. See for instance: *A congratulatory poem*; Denne, *Marlborough*; Charles Johnson, *A congratulatory verse, to Her Grace, the Dutchess of Marlborough: on the late glorious victory* (London, 1704).

[300] *A sermon upon the thanksgiving for the victory obtain'd by Her Majesty's forces, and those of her allies, over the French and Bavarians* (London, 1704), pp. 18-19.

[301] Denne, *Marlborough,* p. 2.

[302] Joseph Addison, *The campaign, a poem, to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1705), p. 2. Direct references to the Empire's hopeless situation can for instance also be found in John Dennis, *Britannia triumphans: or the Empire sav'd, and Europe deliver'd. By the success of her Majesty's forces under the wise and heroick conduct of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. A poem* (London, 1704), p. 9.

It was only after Marlborough's victory at Blenheim that the tables turned for the Empire, for the emperor, and for Habsburgs' claim to the Spanish throne, when

> "once again the Roman Eagle Rouze,
> To take her flight as free, as unconfin'd,
> As Eagles make their War upon the Wind;
> Over Italy and Spain to spread Her Wings,
> And as of Old Rule Senators and Kings.
> The Mighty Blow You gave has set Her free,
> Replum'd her Wings and giv'n her Scope to flee."[303]

After the defeat of the Franco-Bavarian forces in August 1704, "rescued GERMANY now feels again, Her Liberty; and hath shook off her Chains."[304] In this deliverance, the Duke of Marlborough had played a vital role, as he, in alliance with the Dutch and several German territorial forces, had defended the liberty of the Empire and relieved it from the immediate dangers posed not only by the French, but also by the Bavarians. The campaign of 1704, England's first official military endeavour in the Holy Roman Empire, was thus a full success, or as one English commentator quoted from a letter of the emperor, it was to "be an eternal Trophy to your most Serene Queen in the Upper Germany, where the Victorious Arms of the English Nation were never seen in the memory of Man."[305]

The allies' victory in Bavaria provided an opportunity not only to celebrate the English general himself, but also to emphasise and celebrate "English Valour"[306] and the glory and honour of the whole English Nation.[307] Germany, in this context, simply appeared as one amongst other theatres of war that coincidentally happened to be the setting of Marlborough's greatest battle and victory. However, although the accounts, sermons, and commemorative poems told little about Germany itself, they still provided an image of England's German and imperial allies and of the Empire's apparent vulnerability to the French threat. Thereby they also conveyed an image of the English nation itself. Blenheim was, as one commentator wrote a "glorious Victory," which had to be written down and recorded for "future Ages, to shew them the Courage and Bravery of the English Nation in particular and of the Confederates in General, by saving the tottering Empire by this fortunate Blow."[308] The vulnerable, almost poor condition of the Empire, before and at the time of the 1704 campaign, allowed commentators to portray England in quite the opposite

---

[303] *A congratulatory poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1704).
[304] Johnson, *A congratulatory verse*, p. 2.
[305] *England's triumph*, p. 40.
[306] Johnson, *A congratulatory verse*, p. 2.
[307] So for instance Dennis, *Britannia triumphans.*
[308] *England's triumph*, p. 55.

way. Whilst the one appeared weak, the other was brave and courageous, rescuing the first from French slavery and ruin. The War of the Spanish Succession, the victory at Blenheim, and the fact that England had played a vital role in both, clearly had an impact on the English self-portrayal in the printing press and thereby also helped to further shape a specific English self-image.

Hence the victory at Blenheim was important in various ways. It had an impact on the course of the war, as it severely weakened the Bavarians, drove them out of Germany, frustrated Max Emanuel's ambitions, and also ended the Franco-Bavarian military engagement in the (German parts) of the Empire. It also had an impact on the reputation of the Duke of Marlborough, who was not only celebrated by the English press and public, but also rewarded both by Queen Anne and by Emperor Leopold I for his service. In England, the general was given a manor in Oxfordshire and provided with the financial means to build a palace there, which Marlborough himself named after the battle of Blenheim.[309] From the emperor he received his own, though small principality, in Germany, a town called Mindelheim situated in Bavaria, as a fief, through which he also became a prince of the Empire with the right to sit and vote in the imperial Diet.[310] And not just this: The 1704 campaign in Germany in general and Blenheim in particular also influenced the English attitude towards the War of the Spanish Succession and towards England's commitment in it in general, and it also had an impact on the political parties and on party politics in England. The success of Marlborough and his continental allies seemed to prove that the strategy to focus on the continent, advocated by the Whigs, was actually working out.[311] For a short period of time critical voices in England fell silent, before the exorbitant costs of the continental campaigns and of building Marlborough's Blenheim palace[312] once and for all turned the English Tories against the duke and against England's involvement on the continent.

---

[309] R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, pp. 299-300.

[310] Peter Barber, 'Marlborough as imperial Prince, 1704-1717', *The British Library Journal*, 8, 1 (1982), pp. 46–79. For a contemporary comment see *England's triumph*, p. 38.

[311] Onnekink, 'Britain in Europe during the Age of Marlborough', p. 24.

[312] See for instance Jonathan Swift's comments on the costs of Blenheim and about what Marlborough received for his service in relation to Roman victors. *Examiner or Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences, November 16, 1710 - November 23, 1710; Issue 17* (London, 1710). The costs for the palace amounted to about £300,000. R. Holmes, *Marlborough*, p. 301.

3.3
The wars and England

As has been shown so far, the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, their origins, their events as well as their impact on the Empire and on the rest of continental Europe, were much discussed topics in the printing press of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England. Contemporary Englishmen were concerned about the developments on the continent and about the possible consequences of a political imbalance in Europe. To most of them it was also clear that England was not a bystander in this European conflict, but was, like her continental neighbours, likely to be affected by a decline of the Habsburgs and a further growth of the Bourbons.[313]

The longer the conflict between the major European powers lasted, the more writers began to comment on the wars' political and economic impact on England, on the advantages as well as disadvantages of their country's engagement on the continent, and on her relation with the imperial allies. In addition to the general news coverage about the two wars, to the debates about the European balance of power, and to contemporary considerations of the Bourbon-Habsburg rivalry, there was thus yet another dimension to the English discourse about the alliance's wars against France, which was mainly concerned with England herself. Commentators now increasingly discussed their country's role in the international arena, and by doing so also defined what they considered to be the English national interest. Especially during the War of the Spanish Succession, England's commitment on the continent, and her aiding the cause of the Habsburgs in the conflict, stimulated reflections about England's national and international interests, aims and ambitions. At the same time, party politics and party principles began to play a decisive role in the debates about English interests and foreign policy. Additionally, the political and military involvement on the continent, the relations with the other European powers, and the continuous preoccupation with the imperial ally also provided a perfect ground for considerations about the English self and thus for the shaping of an English national identity. In all this, the printing press was a key platform to express, discuss, and reflect on these matters as well as an important means to communicate these reflections to the broader English public.

---

[313] See for instance *The Common interest of king & kingdom,* p. 7.

**England's national interest – Reflections on the Anglo-imperial alliance and
the English role in the War of the Spanish Succession**

In 1701, the year before the Grand Alliance once more declared war on France, English
contemporaries got engaged in a new public debate about European politics and about
England's foreign policy, triggered by the contested Spanish succession. In various tracts
commentators discussed the rights of the Houses of Bourbon and Habsburg to the Spanish
crown, and the consequences its settlement would have for the individual European states as
well as for Europe as a whole. They once again outlined the dangers of universal monarchy
and the French threat to the European balance of power. As war had not yet been declared at
this point, many commentators also considered the pros and cons of a new war and of another
English military engagement on the continent.[314] Given the immense costs of the Nine Years
War, which had only just been ended with an indecisive peace, and fearing the heavy
financial burden of new continental campaigns, not all favoured a new war. Charles
Davenant, a Tory MP between 1685-1688 and 1698-1701, for instance, was one of the most
active writers against a new military engagement abroad.[315] His mainly socio-economic
criticism was directed against the administration under William III and particularly against
the Whig Junto. To Davenant, they were not only the ones responsible for the heavy taxation
during and after the Nine Years War, but also the ones who had mostly benefitted from it,
whilst large parts of the English society, especially the landed interest, were now debt-
ridden.[316] Unless things were handled differently than during the last war, a new English
engagement on the continent, Davenant feared, would only worsen the situation. "If then to
preserve Europe, and to maintain our Post of holding the Balance, must engage us in fresh

---

[314] *The present succession of Spain consider'd and a view of its consequences to the rest of Europe, particularly
England and Holland* (London, 1701); *An Account of the debate in town about peace and war. In letters to
a gentleman in the country* [London, 1701]; *An argument against war: in opposition to some late pamphlets,
particularly; the first and second part of The Duke of Anjou's succession consider'd* (London, [1701]); *An
argument for war, in answer to The argument for peace: being a vindication of two books, entituled, The
Duke of Anjou's succession consider'd* (London, 1701); *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered: As to
Its Legality and Consequences* (London, 1701); *The duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd, As to the
Danger that may arise from it to Europe in General; But more particularly to England, And the several
Branches of our Trade* (London, 1701); *Reasons prov'd to be unreasonable: or, an answer to the Reasons
against a war with France* (London, 1702): *Reasons for a war with France and Spain, Wherein some late
Arguments against it are consider'd* (London, 1702).

[315] For Davenant's life and career as Tory MP and pamphleteer see D. Waddell, 'Charles Davenant (1656-
1714)-A Biographical Sketch', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 11, 2 (1958), pp. 279-88 and
also Julian Hoppit, 'Davenant, Charles (1656–1714)', *ODNB,* Vol. 15 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 250-252.

[316] For instance: [Charles Davenant], *Essays upon I. The ballance of power. II. The right of making war, Peace,
and Alliances. III. Universal monarchy* (London, 1701); [Charles Davenant], *The True Picture of a Modern
Whig* (London, 1701); [Charles Davenant], *Tom Double Return'd Out of the Country* (London, 1702).

Action", he wrote in 1701, "it will give the People of England new Vigour, Spirit and Life, to undertake the Work, if they see the Administration of their Affairs put into the hands of a frugal and grave Ministry, who will not make such very great hast to grow Rich as their late Predecessors have done."[317]

In the course of the next year things did indeed change. In September 1701, James II died and Louis XIV, against former agreements, recognised James Francis Edward as James' successor and King of England, making a new Jacobite revolt more likely again. Then, in March 1702, Anne ascended to the English throne, and with her succession the old Whig junto, which Davenant had so much detested, fell out of favour. These changes also had an impact on the political climate in England and especially on the Tories' attitudes towards the upcoming war. In his *Essays upon peace at home and war broad*, published in 1704, Davenant now argued in favour of the new war and of a new English engagement in it, being now "fully convinc'd how much this Kingdom is concern'd in the Question [i.e. the Succession of the Spanish monarchy], and how fatal it will be to us to suffer the House of Bourbon to fix it self in Spain."[318] With his essays, Davenant tried to overcome the party political split in the English society and to "unite the nation behind the queen's administration."[319] Like Davenant, most Tories had at first been reluctant to re-enter into a second war against Louis XIV, but their loyalty towards Queen Anne, the French support for the Jacobite cause, and the still existing threat of a French universal monarchy eventually made them recognise the need to side with the imperials to contain France's power on the continent.[320] "It would seem to be our Interest", one commentator wrote in 1701, "to enter into a League with the Emperor and the Empire, for Maintaining the Common Liberty of Europe against the Formidable Growth of France, and Asserting the Arch-duke's Title to the Crown of Spain."[321] The alliance, the author believed, would encourage the emperor to defend his family's claim and rights against the House of Bourbon by force of arms, which, in turn, would engage the French in imperial and Habsburg territories and thus distract them from attacking England.[322] Whilst the affront against the arch-duke could be seen as the emperor's problem to deal with, another Englishman argued, the possible union of the French

---

[317] [Davenant], *Essays upon I. The ballance of power*, p. 87.
[318] Charles Davenant, *Essays upon peace at home, and war abroad*, p. 8. Another reason for this change of mind may be found in Davenant's appointment as inspector-general of the exports and imports in 1703. See Waddell, 'A Biographical Sketch', p. 285.
[319] Downie, *Harley and the Press,* p. 64.
[320] Claydon, 'Toryism', p. 23.
[321] *The Duke of Anjou's succession consider'd*, p. 35.
[322] Ibid.

and Spanish crowns, had to be opposed "with all our Vigour"[323] in order to guarantee England's safety. Despite some scepticism, English contemporaries from both political camps thus acknowledged the necessity of England's new engagement on the continent, her fighting against the French, and her aiding the emperor in defending not only the imperial territories, but also Habsburgs' claims to the Spanish crown, or as one of those against a new war noted "the common Cry tends towards another War."[324] In the following years, this support for the war continued, until in 1709 the tide slowly began to turn.

After several allied victories, resulting in a subsequent reduction of French power, the Tories now increasingly began to argue for England's withdrawal from both the war and the continent. In contrast to the Whigs, who had dominated parliament under William III and in the early years of Anne's reign, and who wanted to continue the commitment until France was entirely defeated,[325] the new Tory parliament, elected in 1710, was much more sceptical and critical towards the English engagement in Europe and rather reluctant to continue the foreign policy of their predecessors. Hence, by 1710, one of the main foreign policy questions, discussed in and outside parliament, was whether England's political and economical interests could be better served by withdrawing from or by continuing the participation in the conflict on the continent. The Tory line of argument at the beginning of the eighteenth century suggested that England's interests could best be protected by maritime dominance and by defending the British Isles and the colonies in the new world, and not by commitments on the continent.[326] Accordingly, the Tories also argued against a continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession and for an English withdrawing from the conflicts of the continent. This change in foreign policy concepts also affected peoples' views of the English engagement in the conflict abroad as well as their attitude towards their continental allies.

One of the key figures in the debates about the English commitment abroad was the ex-Whig Robert Harley, chancellor of the exchequer and 'prime' minister in the newly elected Tory administration. Although Harley was not really participating in the print discourse about the War of the Spanish Succession as a writer himself, he in many ways pulled the strings in it and his role and agenda in the new ministry were complex.[327] He was

---

[323] *The present succession of Spain consider'd*, pp. 20-21.

[324] *An argument against war*, Preface.

[325] Claydon, 'Toryism', p. 25.

[326] Steven Pincus, 'Absolutism, ideology and English foreign policy: the ideological context of Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark', in David Onnekink, and Gijs Rommelse, eds. *Ideology and foreign policy in early modern Europe (1650-1750)* (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 29-54, here pp. 31-32.

[327] Harley has written a tract called *Plain English to all who are honest, or would be so if they knew how* which only appeared and circulated in manuscript and he is said to have participated in [Simon Clement], *Faults*

some kind of a sheep in wolf's clothing, a leading minister in a Tory administration, pushing Tory policies, but never really abandoning the principles of the old (country-)Whigs. Although he had started to turn against his former party in the early years of the eighteenth century, it was not so much the Whigs in general, but the Whig-Junto, the duumvirate of Marlborough and Godolphin, he had wanted to see out of power.[328] After the dismissal of the duumvirate and the Tory victory in the 1710 elections, Harley continued to work with leading Whigs, attempting to involve them in the new administration, and thus to moderate possible excesses of Toryism. As one of Harley's compatriots noted, "his Actions have shown him much more a Patriot and a true Whig than his Adversaries."[329] He worked against, not for division, desiring to establish "a coalition of the honest Men of both sides … to manage the Affairs of the Government in such ways as may conduce to the ease and satisfaction of her Majesty, and to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation."[330] The dream of a nation standing united, serving and working for the public good, and the balancing act between Tory policies and Whig principles, at a time of extensive party strife, were also reflected in the large scale press campaign about a quick settlement of the war, and in the fact that Harley employed both Whig and Tory pamphleteers in it. The writers Harley recruited for his peace campaign were addressing different issues and offered different perspectives on the English participation in the War of the Spanish Succession, but they all pursued the same goal: to defend and propagate the new course of foreign policy and to win over public opinion, regardless of people's party affiliation.

Daniel Defoe, for instance, who had been participating and contributing in the print discourse about England's foreign policy at least since the beginning of the eighteenth century, was hired by Harley in 1710 and soon began to write in support of the new government's peace campaign. In various pamphlets and especially in *The Review*, a "journal of opinion",[331] published several times a weeks since early 1704, Defoe attempted to convince disaffected and moderate Whigs of the new foreign policy course and of the

---

on both sides: or, an essay upon the original cause, progress, and mischievous consequences of the factions in this nation (London, 1710). He may well have contributed to and influenced the content of various other publications but he never appeared as an author himself. See Paul B. Patterson. 'Harley, Defoe, Trapp and the 'Faults on Both Sides' Controversy', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 11, 2 (1979), pp. 128–142, here p. 131, footnote 16.

[328] Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p. 118.

[329] [Clement], *Faults on both sides*, p. 33.

[330] [Clement], *Faults on both sides,* p. 36. See also Downie, *Harley and the Press*, p. 120.

[331] Arthur Wellesley Secord, ed., *Defoe's review Reproduced from the Original Editions, with an Introduction and Bibliographical Notes,* Facsimile Book 1 (New York, 1938), p. xv. For a short summary of Defoe's life and work and for the importance clof the Review for English public debates see Paula R. Backscheider, 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731)', *ODNB*, Vol. 15 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 681-692.

necessity of a speedy peace.[332] Defoe's counterpart was to become Jonathan Swift. Also on Harley's payroll, Swift, who actually had a Whig background, too, took over as editor of the *Examiner,* the Tory equivalent to *The Review*, in late 1710. What Swift and Defoe wrote about England's continental engagement and about the character and conduct of her imperial allies was to be read and perceived by many English contemporaries. Swift's *The Conduct of the Allies* first published in late November 1711, for instance, had already gone through six editions and a total of 11,000 sold copies by January 1712.[333]

Swift and Defoe were the most prominent, but of course not the only contemporaries engaged in the debates about the conduct and continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession. Charles Davenant, now also employed by Robert Harley, continued to comment on the proceedings abroad, too, and several other Tory writers and politicians, such as Henry St. John and Delarivier Manley contributed to the public print discourse as well.

On the side of the Whigs, Francis Hare and Arthur Maynwaring were two of the most prolific writers engaged in the print discourse. In various publications and sermons, Hare, chaplain to and loyal supporter of Marlborough, replied to the views and criticism of the Tories and their propagandists and defended the duke as well as the Whigs' political course in the War of the Spanish Succession, for which he was in return attacked by pro-Tory writers.[334] Maynwaring, a Whig politician, MP, and secretary to the Duchess of Marlborough, was the author of several texts related to the War, the Grand Alliance and the peace negotiations, which were taken up in 1710/11. Maynwaring also issued and wrote for *The Medley*, a Whig newspaper, published as a direct response to *The Examiner* between 1710 and 1711.

By 1710/11, the English print discourse about the War of the Spanish Succession centred on a variety of issues. Not all of these were related to the Anglo-imperial relations, though, and a summary of all the facets of the debates would go beyond the scope of this chapter. There were, however, at least four aspects and questions, which combined reflections about the national interest of England with the perception of, and attitude towards, the Empire and the Habsburgs, and which may serve as examples for the turning mood in the

---

[332] For a more detailed account of Defoe's employment, its purposes as well as the various tasks assigned to Defoe see Downie, *Harley and the Press*, pp.124-125, 129, 131-148.

[333] Clive Probyn, 'Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)', *ODNB*, Vol. 53 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 465-479, esp. p. 470. *The Conduct of the Allies* not only received broad attention in the English public, but also in Parliament, where it was repeatedly referred to in foreign policy debates. See Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat*, pp. 58-59.

[334] See for instance Hare's sermon *The charge of God to Joshua: in a sermon preach'd before His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Avenes le Sec, September 9. 1711, Being The Day of Thanksgiving for passing the Lines, and taking Bouchain* (London, 1711) and Delarivier Manley's response to it in *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to Peace* (London, 1711).

English press and public. The first aspect was the manner and extend of the English engagement in the war. The second aspect was closely connected to the first and addressed the question about England's actual benefits drawn from the war. A third aspect, equally important and much reflected on in the English press was the role and conduct of the imperials in the war and their behaviour towards their English ally. These three issues were all linked to a fourth, overall question: Should England continue her engagement in the war, or should she withdraw from it?

For many supporters of the new Tory government, England's interest as an island, clearly lay in the navy and in naval campaigns and not in land wars on the continent.[335] Allowing for this, the English should have been more employed at sea, an option, which, according to Swift, had not been sufficiently taken into consideration by the imperial allies.[336] Swift's criticism was not so much directed against the decision to aid the imperials in general, but rather against the degree of the English engagement.[337] For him, one of England's main mistakes had been that she got "engaged in this War as Principals, when we ought to have acted only as Auxiliaries."[338] He was not alone with this view. "We engag'd as Confederates," Henry St. John wrote in 1710, "but we have been made to proceed as Principals: Principals in expence of Blood and of Treasure, whilst hardly a Second Place in Respect and Dignity is allow'd to us."[339]

In view of the leading role England had taken in the War of the Spanish Succession, English pamphleteers began to wonder what England, in comparison to her continental allies, had actually gained from her extensive engagement abroad. The Dutch and the Habsburg dynasty were seen as the greatest benefactors of English foreign policy and of the War of the Spanish Succession in general. The English, on the other hand, seemed to be carrying the main financial burden, whilst their interest in, and the advantage gained from, the war appeared to be comparably low.[340] England, Tory commentators argued, had invested more

---

[335] Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat*, p.61. See for instance Charles Davenant, *New dialogues upon the present posture of affairs, the species of mony, national debts, publick revenues, Bank and East-India Company, and the Trade now carried on between France and Holland,* (London, 1710), pp. 88-89; [Clement], *Faults on both sides*, pp. 17-18.

[336] Jonathan Swift, *The conduct of the allies, and of the late ministry, in beginning and carrying on the present war* (London, 1711), pp. 30-31 and also Daniel Defoe, *Reasons why this nation ought to put a speedy end to this expensive war* (London, 1711), p. 5.

[337] Swift's main target in the Conduct of the Allies were actually the Dutch, not the imperials. See Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat*, pp. 59-60. For the role of the States General in the Grand Alliance see Bernhard R. Kroener, ''The only thing that could save the Empire'. Marlborough, the States General, and the Imperial States: Diplomacy and Military Strategy in the War of the Spanish Succession and the Great Northern War, 1700-1711' in Hattendorf, Vaenendaal, Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, *Marlborough,* pp. 216-247.

[338] Swift, *Conduct*, p. 20.

[339] [Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke], *A Letter to the Examiner*, ([London], 1710), pp. 6-7.

[340] Swift, *Conduct*. This view is expressed throughout the text.

in the war than she was actually gaining from it, and whilst the emperor as well as the Dutch had, with English help, won and regained territories through the war, there seemed to have been no real benefits for England.[341] Even a compensation for the English expenses, for instance a share in the Spanish West-Indies, Defoe noted, had been denied by the emperor, which could be seen as a clear breach of the sixth article of the Grand Alliance.[342]

This alleged imbalance between costs and benefits, and the growing discontent with England's role and degree of engagement in the war on the continent, also contributed to an increasingly critical attitude towards England's allies. Tory propagandists now openly expressed their discontent not only about the English foreign policy course but also about the behaviour of the imperial allies, whose rights and claims the English had been fighting for, for the last decade. The emperor and the Habsburgs were now heavily attacked by Tory propagandists, who depicted them as untrustworthy, dishonest, and selfish. Swift, for instance, suggested that the head of the Habsburgs had either misjudged the Spanish support and affection for his dynasty, or deceived the English by making them believe that the Spaniards would immediately turn against Philipp, when Charles and his allied troops arrived in Spain in 1704.[343] According to this, the Habsburg candidate to the Spanish crown was either incompetent, or, which seemed more likely, a deceiver, who betrayed and used his English ally for his own interests. This image was reinforced through several other remarks made by Swift. In the course of the war, he suggested, the imperials had not kept their side of the agreements and especially in terms of the stipulated number of troops they had not fulfilled their commitment. "They computed easily," wrote Swift, "that it would cost them less*, to make large presents to one *single person,* than to pay an army*, and turn to as good Account."[344] According to this criticism, the imperials had rather celebrated and rewarded the Duke of Marlborough and relied on their English allies, than to put together and carry the cost for a greater army to fight for their own and their allies' course. "They thought," Swift continued*, "they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their Battles."[345] Similarly, Daniel Defoe noted that "the true German Principle is, to hold what they have, and make us fight for the rest."[346]

Defoe was clearly one of the sharpest critics of the emperor and the Austrian Habsburgs, who, he believed, had proved ungrateful to their English allies in general and to

---

[341] Manley, *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon*, p. 5.
[342] Defoe, *Imperial Gratitude*, pp. 37-38.
[343] Swift, *Conduct*, p. 29.
[344] Ibid., p. 48.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Defoe, *Review*, Tuesday December 18, 1711; Issue 115 (London, 1711), p. 463.

Queen Anne in particular. The queen and Britain, he noted, had repeatedly helped and supported Emperor Joseph as well as Charles, who succeeded his brother to the imperial throne in 1712, in their cause, providing them with troops as well as loans. Arch-Duke Charles, argued Defoe, "owed his Access to the Spanish Monarchy, to the Good-will, and particular Assistance of Her Britannick Majesty,"[347] whose "constant Care and Concern" it had been, "to promote the Interest of the Emperor, not as Emperor only, but even the Family Interest of the Emperor, as Head of the House of Austria."[348] Despite the continuous support, the emperor received from the queen and her people, he did nothing to repay them, neither with money nor with words of appreciation.[349] As he seemed to gain more from the war than it cost him, the emperor moreover refused to meet or at least send plenipotentiaries to treat and discuss terms for a possible peace, a behaviour, Defoe assumed, that showed disregard and disrespect towards the queen.[350]

Swift, too, suggested that England's engagement in the war and her aiding the cause of the Habsburgs were not sufficiently appreciated by the imperials, who showed little interest in anything but their own cause, as "it appeared by several instances how little the Emperor regarded his Allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the Empire itself was secure."[351] This *Imperial Gratitude* towards the English, as Defoe called it, reflected poorly on the head of the Habsburgs, even more so as many thousand Englishmen had lost their lives for his course. "'Tis an Unhappy Reflection for this poor Nation", Defoe emphasised, "to think that of above Sixty-five Thousand Englishmen in particular send to Spain for the assisting this Grateful Prince, not many above the odd Five Thousand are remaining alive at this Time, and how few of them may be likely to see their own Nation again Time may shew us."[352] The image Defoe painted of Charles was that of an ungrateful, disrespectful prince, who, without hesitation took all he could get but was not willing to give anything in return, not even a compensation for his allies' costs and losses caused by the war.

In contrast to the Tories, who began to argue for a clear break and an altered foreign policy after 1710, Whig pamphleteers more or less continued to stick to the overseas strategies and to the pro-war arguments of the old Whig ministry, in order to counter the criticism of the Tories and to vindicate the way and extend of the English engagement and

---

[347] Defoe, *Imperial Ingratitude*, p. 11.
[348] Ibid., p. 3.
[349] Ibid., pp. 39-40.
[350] Ibid., pp. 66, 71.
[351] Swift, *Conduct*, p. 48. Defoe's and Swift's accusation of ingratitude was countered in *Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains. Shewing the deplorable state of Germany from the invasion of the French* (London, 1713), p. 23.
[352] Defoe, *Imperial Ingratitude*, p. 39.

the conduct of the imperials. They thereby once again emphasised the dangers an over mighty France posed to Europe and thus outlined the justice and necessity of the war and of the way it was waged. As France's aggression had mainly focussed on European mainland in the past, and as the French fleet had been little victorious since the early years of the Nine Years War, a land war, commentators suggested, seemed much more appropriate and effective than naval campaigns.[353] Unlike their Tory counterparts, Whig propagandists clearly believed in the importance of an English involvement in the affairs of the continent. "The Power of France," wrote Francis Hare, "was so exorbitant, that if England won't engage in the War, the Liberty of Europe must be lost, let the other two Powers do what they will."[354] Hare, in *The Allies and the late Ministry defended*, directly responded to Swift's criticism in *The conduct of the Allies*. England, he argued, had as much interest in containing French power, in maintaining the balance of Europe, and in preventing a union of the French and Spanish crowns, than the other members of the Grand Alliance, as her liberty, trade and religion was equally threatened by the exorbitant power of France.[355] Hence, the leading role England had taken on in the Grand Alliance to contain this power was seen as "highly reasonable and absolutely necessary"[356] and in the interest and to the benefit of the continental allies as well as to England herself. This interest, Hare reminded his readers, had continuously been repeated and recognised over the past decade, by the queen, in parliament, and by pamphleteers from both parties alike.[357] The sudden change in tone, found in Tory tracts and pamphlets, Hare suspected, resulted from the fact that the Tories were so eager to withdraw from the war, that "they now openly declare 'twas wrong to go into it."[358]

As far as the Whig propagandists were concerned, the greatest benefit gained from the war, and hence also England's as well as the Alliance's interest in it, were the containment of French power and the safeguarding of European and English liberties. These were the main objectives of the Grand Alliance, and they were, according to Hare and others worth fighting for.

---

[353] Francis Hare, *The Allies and the late ministry defended, The allies and the late ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France. In answer to a pamphlet, intituled, The conduct of the allies* (London, 1711), p. 7. Martin Blade, another commentator, also noted that the French fleet had not been strong enough to face the English and Dutch navy ever since the capture of Gibraltar in August 1704. Martin Bladen, *An impartial enquiry into the management of the war in Spain* (London, 1711), p. 13.

[354] Hare, *The Allies and the late ministry defended*, p. 31.

[355] Ibid., p. 27.

[356] Ibid., p. 33.

[357] This view was for instance also expressed in another tract attributed to Francis Hare. See *A caveat to the treaters; or, the Modern Schemes of partition examin'd, With relation to the Safety of Europe in general, and of Great-Britain and Ireland in particular* (London, 1711), pp. 5-6.

[358] Hare, *The Allies and the late ministry defended*, p. 12.

The Whigs' different perception of England's role and interest, both in the war itself and in continental European politics, also entailed a different view of, and attitude towards, England's imperial allies. What Swift and Defoe regarded as imperial selfishness, Francis Hare, for instance, depicted as the emperor's wise judgment. "The Justice and Necessity of his Case, which would draw the Fate of all Europe after it" he argued, "made him wisely judge, that England and Holland would not be idle Spectators, while France was grasping at Universal Monarchy."[359] To stop the French advance, the emperor was ready and willing to take great risks and costs. The campaign in Italy, which started the war in the summer of 1701, Hare explained, "put the Emperor to a vast Expense, which his Condition could very ill bear, and ruined a Body of the bravest Troops and best Officers then in Europe; but he thought all was at stake, and therefore was resolved to venture all."[360] The campaign, although in the end unsuccessful and expensive, had been necessary and good, even "wonderful."[361] By this, Hare argued, the emperor had set off an important development, "and to that glorious Enterprize of his we owe it, that there was room for beginning a new War, without which the Liberty of Europe had been long since lost without Retrieve."[362] England, it was emphasised, had a clear obligation towards the Empire and the emperor, who without the help of the allies would soon be lost, and with them the liberty of Europe and England.[363] Although, Hare admitted, it may have been the case that "the house of Austria have not done so much as we expected," this was certainly not reason enough to denounce or even abandon the imperials, for "perhaps they did all they could".[364]

Tory pamphleteers, however, seemed to be little convinced by the arguments brought forward by their Whig counterparts. They went on to ask why England should continue an engagement in a war she was obviously not benefiting from at all, or as Daniel Defoe noted, "it remains to ask, whether it is reasonable that we should carry on the War to oblige and in dependence upon, the Promises of SUCH and Ally?"[365]

With this we come to the fourth, probably most important, and certainly most debated issue, about England's involvement on the continent. Here, the three aspects outlined above converged. The discontent with England's role in the Grand Alliance and the perceived misconduct of the imperials, resulted in the Tories' call for a speedy peace, which stood in

---

[359] Ibid., p.17.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid
[362] Ibid.
[363] [Arthur Maynwaring], *A vindication of the present M--y, from the clamours rais'd against them upon occasion of the new preliminaries* (London, 1711), p. 10.
[364] Hare, *The Allies and the late ministry defended*, p. 33.
[365] Defoe, *Imperial Ingratitude*, p. 76.

diametrical opposition to the Whigs' claim for 'no peace without Spain'. Since spring 1709, the allies and France had made several attempts to settle the conflict. Negotiations had been started and preliminaries been drafted but did not result in any lasting agreements. In mid-1711, however, England started secret negotiations with France, which led to the signing of new preliminaries in October.[366] It did not take long until the Anglo-French negotiations and the preliminaries became public. Re-printed in the *Daily Courant* and the *Post-Boy*[367] only days after their signing, they received much attention amongst English contemporaries and further fuelled the debate about the possibilities and principles for a peace agreement, which dominated many discourses after 1710.

The debate about a good, honourable or ill peace, focused on the question whether or not the war should be ended, even if the declared aim of returning Spain to the House of Habsburg, as stipulated in the eighth article of the Treaty of The Hague, was not reached. Those arguing against a peace criticised the sudden convergence between England and France. France, they believed, could not be trusted, despite the French promises and agreements made in the preliminaries.[368] Besides, the negotiations undertaken by England and France had not included the other members of the Grand Alliance, a fact that was seen as contrary to the eighth article of the Treaty of The Hague.[369] Through the treaty, the 'no peace without Spain' faction argued, England also had an obligation to support her allies and to press for the restitution of Spain. Past decisions and votes in parliament, which repeated and acknowledged the main objectives of the war, one commentator underlined, could not be ignored and had to be respected until further discussed and declared invalid by parliament.[370] The insistence of the implementation of the declared aims of the Grand Alliance was one of the main arguments brought forward by those arguing for a continuation of the war. They believed that "ending so successful a War on such Terms, [was] in contradiction to the declared Sense of our Nation",[371] "against the Consent of their Allies, and the Sense of Justice and Honour"[372] and that it was actually in the interest of England to continue the

---

[366] H.G. Pitt, 'The pacification of Utrech' in Bromley, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History, Volume 6,* pp. 446-479, here esp. pp. 457-461. The seven articles of the Preliminaries are for instance reprinted in [Arthur Maynwaring], *Remarks on the preliminary articles offer'd by the French King, in order to procure a general peace. As publish'd in the daily courant, and postscript to the post-boy, of Octob. the 13th, 1711* (London, 1711).

[367] See the title of Maynwaring's *Remarks on the preliminary articles*, which referred to the publication in the two newspapers.

[368] [Maynwaring], *Remarks on the preliminary articles,* pp. 5-6.

[369] See article VIII of the Second Grand Alliance in Whatley, *General collection*, p. 419

[370] *An Account of the occasion and end of the war, with remarks on the present treaty of peace begun between Britain and France,* (London, 1711), p. 7.

[371] [Maynwaring], *vindication,* p. 39.

[372] Hare, *The Allies and the late ministry defended*, p. 31.

Grand Alliance and the support for the emperor until Spain was settled in the House of Habsburg. "The Restitution of [Spain]," wrote Francis Hare, "we have our selves the greatest interest [in]"[373] and Maynwaring suggested that "the present Proposals of Peace, or any future Proposals of what kind soever, THAT SHALL LEAVE SPAIN AND THE INDIES TO THE HOUSE OF BOURBON, ought by every true Englishman to be rejected with Scorn and Indignation."[374]

The advocates of the war never tired in emphasising how important a continuation of the war was, not only for the safety of Europe, but also for the safety of England herself. England, they argued, could only be safe, when her allies and neighbours in Europe were too, and English liberties, religion, and trade would suffer and be endangered, if England abandoned her allies.[375] Therefore, the conflict had to be settled in a manner that provided both the Empire and the Dutch with a barrier good enough to guarantee their safety and to prevent any further advancement of the French. Article IV and V of the preliminaries, signed by France and England, dealt with these barriers. They, however, did not go into much detail and seemed to leave those against a speedy peace unsatisfied.[376] "What now," Maynwaring asked his readership, "can be more unjust in it self, more cruel to a brave but miserable People, more prejudicial to the House of Austria, more fatal to the Empire, or more surely destructive of the Liberty of Europe, than to leave the Empire without a tolerable Barrier?"[377] Peace, it was unanimously agreed, should only be made when the objectives stipulated in the treaty of the second Grand Alliance were fulfilled. This meant that all major war parties had to be included in the negotiation process, that Spain had to be returned to the House of Habsburg, and that English, imperial, and Dutch liberties and interests had to be secured against French ambitions. Only in this way, a lasting settlement could be guaranteed and a resurgence of the conflict prevented. This was what pamphleteers like Hare and Maynwaring considered a *good peace*.[378]

Whilst Whig authors rejected the idea of what they called an *ill peace*, the Harleyite propagandists argued for a speedy settlement of the war and for an English withdrawal from

---

[373] Ibid., p. 33.
[374] [Arthur Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations of peace begun between Britain and France* (London, 1711), p. 32.
[375] [Maynwaring], *Vindication*, pp. 22-26. Hare, The *Allies and the late ministry defended*, pp. 26-27, 31-32.
[376] Article IV read "the Dutch shall be put into Possession of the fortified Places which shall be mention'd in the Netherlands, to serve hereafter for a Barrier, which may secure the Quiet of the Republick of Holland against any Enterprize from the Part of France." Article V was even more vague: "a secure and convenient barrier should be form'd for the Empire, and for the House of Austria."
[377] [Maynwaring], *Vindication*, p. 11.
[378] [Hare], *A caveat to the treaters* p. 3; [Francis Hare], *The management of the war; in four letters to a Tory-Member* (London, 1711), p. 4; [Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations,* and Maynwaring, *Vindication.*

the conflict abroad. "Except some who are visible Gainers by the War, and a few Bitter Whigs, whome we know to be their Tools," one pamphleteer assumed, "there is no Country-Man I believe in England who is not Weary of the War and does not Heartily long for Peace."[379] Amongst the main reasons given for this war weariness and for ending the English engagement on the continent, were the conduct and alleged ingratitude of the (imperial) allies, the financial burden and the low benefits for England already mentioned above.[380]

In contrast to Whig commentators, Tory pamphleteers did not accept the former government's repeated resolution about the restitution of Spain as an argument for continuing the war. Decisions of former parliaments, Swift argued in *the Examiner*, not always had to be respected and sometimes even needed to be reversed as they were not always right and "equally Venerable".[381] If they were, he emphasized his point, "the Parliament that began the Rebellion against King Charles the First, voted his Trial, and appointed his Murderers, ought to be remembered with Respect."[382] Accordingly, it was feasible, and necessary, to end the war, despite former parliamentary resolutions, and even though Spain was not returned to the Habsburgs. Moreover, the argument that a peace without the entire restitution of Spain was against the Treaty of The Hague was countered by the suggestion that the treaty did actually not contain any such resolution, but only spoke of "the procuring an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction be given to his Imperial Majesty, for his Pretension to the Spanish Succession."[383] Hence, the view that peace could and should be made without giving Spain to the House of Habsburg was based on a different interpretation of the second article of the Treaty of The Hague; and not only that. As far as Daniel Defoe was concerned, it was also influenced by a very different view of England's imperial ally, who, by late 1711, could be considered as great a threat to the European balance of power as France.[384] Defoe did not want to see either of the two powers in full control of the Spanish monarchy, but instead called for "such a Treaty as in which the Balance of Europe may be secured, and such Powers erected as may reciprocally prevent either the House of Bourbon, or Austria overrunning Europe".[385] This was what Daniel Defoe considered a *good peace.* Here, he actually departed

---

[379] *A fair view of our present case: or, just and natural reflections on the arguments for making peace, or continuing the war* (Edinburgh, 1712), p. 2.

[380] See for instance Daniel Defoe*, Reasons for a peace, or The war at an end* (London, 1711), Daniel Defoe, *Reasons why this nation ought to put a speedy end to this expensive war* (London, 1711).

[381] 'The Examiner, No. 39, 26 April 1711' in Frank H. Ellis, *Swift Vs. Mainwaring: The Examiner and the Medley* (Oxford, 1985), p. 390.

[382] Ibid., p. 391.

[383] Article II of the Second Grand Alliance in Whatley, *General collection,* p. 418. Comments on this can be found in Daniel Defoe, *An essay at a plain exposition of that difficult phrase a good peace* (London, 1711), pp. 34-35.

[384] See the next chapter for a detailed discussion of this.

[385] Defoe, *An essay at a plain exposition*, p. 36.

only little from the Whig idea of a good peace, but one big difference remained. Whilst the Whigs, still concerned about French ambitions, insisted on the restitution of entire Spain to the Habsburgs, Harleyite writers did not, and often even rejected this demand. In this context, Swift raised a rather legitimate question, asking what England should do "in Case we find it impossible to recover Spain?"[386] In the end, however, there was no need to find and answer to this. In April 1713 England (in accordance with the Dutch, but without the Empire) signed a Peace treaty with France. The Tories had won the pamphlet war about England's engagement on the continent and to some extend, the conduct and the changed role of the imperials House of Habsburg, who continued fighting the French on their own until March and September 1714, respectively, had contributed to this development.

As can be taken from the English reflections on the War of the Spanish Succession, it was not only the attitude towards the conflict and England's engagement in it that had started to change in the last years of the war. The image of, and attitude towards, the emperor and the House of Habsburg had begun to change, too. Peoples' attitude towards the war and the imperials thereby also depended on the question how far the conduct and ambitions of the allies, as well as their benefits drawn from the war, could serve or harm the English national interest. On the one hand, this development may be explained by Harley's massive press campaign for peace, which did not always cast a positive light on the imperial ally and its conduct. On the other hand, it may have also been influenced by another event, through which "the face of the Affairs in Christendom … hath been very much changed",[387] suddenly putting the English support for the Austrian cause into question, as England, by continuing her alliance with the emperor against France, could now endanger her declared war aim of "preserving the … Balance of Europe".[388]

---

[386] 'The Examiner, No. 39, 26 April 1711' in Ellis, *Swift Vs. Mainwaring,* p. 390. A similar question was asked in *A fair view of our present case,* p. 3.

[387] Swift, *Conduct*, p. 74.

[388] 'The Queen of England's declaration of War against France, May 4, 1702', in Whatley, *General collection*, p. 421.

3.3.2
"Austrian Cruelty, German Exorbitance" – A new-old threat to
the Protestant interest and to Europe's balance of power

On 17 April 1711 something rather unexpected happened at the court in Vienna. After only six years on the imperial throne, Emperor Joseph I died at the age of 32. As he did not leave a male heir, he was succeeded by his brother Charles, the Habsburg candidate for the Spanish crown. In terms of the worries about the Spanish succession this changed everything. Suddenly, the balance of Europe, about which English commentators had been concerned for quite a while, seemed to be in danger once more and the threat of a universal monarchy in Europe was thought to be growing again. This time it was not the power and influence of France, contemporary Englishmen were worried about, though, but the possibility of a union of the imperial and Spanish crowns. Before the death of Joseph I, "[t]o have a Prince of the Austrian Family on the Throne of Spain," was as Jonathan Swift noted, "undoubtedly more desirable than one of the House of Bourbon."[389] Now, however, the candidate for the Spanish monarchy was no longer just a Habsburg prince, but the Holy Roman Emperor, himself. This was an entirely different beast. The prospect of having "the Empire and Spanish Monarchy united in the same Person," was according to Swift "a dreadful Consideration."[390]

The emperor's death and its consequences clearly influenced contemporary Englishmen's attitude towards their country's engagement abroad and towards the possible options for settling the conflict about the Spanish succession. Now, the war, the English were fighting alongside their Habsburg allies against French hegemony, could no longer prevent an imbalance amongst the European powers. Although a final victory of the Grand Alliance over France, and to the advantage of the Habsburgs, was likely to put a halt to French ambitions, it would also help to unite the imperial and Spanish crowns and thus tip the scale towards a new Habsburg empire. Such a union, commentators worried, would without doubt, increase the emperor's power and influence, a development that could, according to Swift, neither be prevented by "the indolent character of the Austrian Princes [and] the wretched Oeconomy of that Governement,"[391] nor by the empire's lack of a great fleet, or the large distances between the various Habsburg territories.[392]

In addition to the impact on the attitude towards England's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, the succession of Charles VI to the imperial throne also influenced

---

[389] Swift, *Conduct*, p.75.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Ibid.

the view and image of the imperial ally itself, even more so as the prospect of a new large Habsburg empire reminded English contemporaries of the negative effects of Habsburg rule in earlier centuries. The Austrian Habsburgs were now repeatedly depicted as a threat to Europe's liberty and balance, comparable to, if not greater than France. "The Death of the Emperor," one commentator noted,

> "has given a great Pall to our Eagerness for Uniting the Spanish Monarchy to the Empire; and well it may, when we have been told terrible Stories of Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand, what Cannibals and Tyrants they were, and how aspiring to Universal Monarchy; and from what they have been (tho' the Imperial Nation was ten times more potent and absolute at that time than at present) we must rationally conclude they may be the same Danger from another of the same Line."[393]

Although contemporary Englishmen were aware of Habsburgs' decline in power since the mid-seventeenth century, at least to some the resurrection of a Habsburg Empire seemed quite possible. Daniel Defoe, for instance, had started to express his concerns about the growth of Austrian power several years before the death of Joseph I.[394] In 1707 he had already "run a Parallel … between these two Great and Ambitious Families, the Houses of Austria and of Bourbon, who have alternately fill'd the Christian World with all sorts of Violence, Civil and Ecclesiastical."[395] It was now absolutely necessary, Defoe argued in 1709, to prevent an Austrian "over-ballancing Greatness"[396], just as it was necessary to reduce the power of France. Otherwise, he warned, the English would be "spending as much Blood and Money to reduce *German* Tyranny, as it has cost us to reduce *French* Tyranny."[397] In the following years Defoe's writings and especially *The Review*, became increasingly anti-Austrian in their tone, and by fall 1711 almost every issue of *The Review* contained comments on the alleged Habsburg threat, painting a gloomy future for Europe, for the balance of power and for the Protestant interest.[398]

Defoe's concerns, his "Fears for the Protestant Interest and [his] Fears for the Liberty of Europe",[399] were not only based on the then current developments abroad, but were also nourished by events and experiences of the past. History had revealed how dangerous a too

---

[393] *The present negotiations of peace vindicated from the imputation of trifling* (London, 1712), pp. 22-23.
[394] See Lawrence Poston, 'Defoe and the Peace Campaign, 1710-1713: A Reconsideration', *HLQ*, 27, 1 (1963), pp. 1-20. In his 1701 tract *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd*, pp. 7-8, Defoe had already expressed his concerns for the Protestants living within Habsburg and Catholic territories of the Empire.
[395] Defoe, *Review*, Thursday, August 7, 1707; Issue 76 (London, 1707).
[396] Defoe, *Review*, Thursday, March 24, 1709; Issue 155 (London, 1709).
[397] Ibid. Italics in the original.
[398] See also Claydon, 'Revolution in Foreign Policy', p. 229.
[399] Defoe, *Review*, Thursday, November 22, 1711; Issue 104 (London, 1711).

mighty House of Habsburg could be for Europe.[400] "Charles V. when Emperor of Germany", Defoe observed, "was a Terror to Europe, and left such a power in one House, as was fatal to the peace of Christendom for near 40 Years."[401] A century later, Europe was then experiencing a "second period in History, wherein the formidable Power of the Emperor was visible."[402] Although the House of Habsburgs was now divided, the Austrian branch under Ferdinand II had gained possession of Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Austria and some other minor territories and had thereby increased its strength and influence. How disastrous the power and ambitions of an emperor could be to the whole of Europe, the period of the Thirty Years War had shown. Defoe, who openly criticised England's passive role in the conflict,[403] reminded his readership of "the Cruelty and Fury of the Emperor Ferdinand II." and of "the Calamities Germany … suffer'd for 30 Years by the same Thing",[404] drawing on an English first hand account of the Thirty Years War: Philip Vincent's *The Lamentations of Germany*, published in 1638. More than sixty years after its settlement, the Thirty Years War was once again used as a warning about the "Bloody, Wretched, Tyrannical House of Austria" and as an example for "Austrian Cruelty [and] German Exorbitance."[405] In view of a possible union of the imperial and Spanish crowns and against the background of the experiences of the Thirty Years War period, Defoe warned that it had "cost Europe 40 Years of War and an infinite Expense of Blood and Treasure once before, to pull down the Austrian Greatness and Power."[406]

With Archduke Charles' election as Holy Roman Emperor and his possible succession to the Spanish throne, Europe was now facing the (re-) union of the two mighty branches of the Houses of Habsburg under one head, and hence a new period "of an Emperor over-ballancing Europe."[407] "Giving the Spanish monarchy to the Emperor of Germany" was

---

[400] See also *The ballance of Europe: or, an enquiry into the respective dangers of giving the Spanish monarchy to the Emperour as well as to King Philip* (London, 1711), p. 5. The text has sometimes been attributed to Daniel Defoe too.

[401] Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, October 25, 1711; Issue 92 (London, 1711).

[402] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, November 3, 1711; Issue 96 (London, 1711).

[403] About James I's support for Frederick Defoe wrote: "King James I. contributed nothing to the Conquest of the Emperor over the King of Bohemia, other than Negatively, as he did not Contribute the Assistance he might have done, and by which his [loud?] Promises was expected and by that Unfortunate Prince depended upon." Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, November 15, 1711; Issue 101 (London, 1711). Like many English contemporaries of the Thirty Years War, Defoe celebrated the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus as a Protestant hero and deliverer of the Empire. See Defoe, *Review,* Tuesday, November 3, 1711. Frederick of the Palatinate on the other hand is depicted as a tragic figure, who had been abandoned by his allies, including England.

[404] Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, November 22, 1711; Issue 104.

[405] Defoe, *Review,* Tuesday, November 13, 1711; Issue 100; *Review,* Thursday, November 22, 1711; Issue 104.

[406] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, October 13, 1711; Issue 87 (London, 1711).

[407] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, November 3, 1711; *Review,* Thursday, October 18, 1711; Issue 89 (London, 1711).

according to Defoe, "a Thought so Destructive to the Peace of Europe at this Time."[408] A union of the two crowns, he worried, could "set up the same Monster in Germany again, which worried Europe so long before."[409] This had to be prevented, not only for the sake of the European balance of power, but also for the security of European Protestantism and the Protestant brethren in the Empire, which England had already failed to defend once before. "Another Time when we abandon'd the Protestant Interest," Defoe reminded his readers, "was in King James Ist's Time, in the Case of the King of Bohemia; whom, if King James had supported, as he solemnly swore to Count Mansfeld, he would do, the Protestants of Germany had never been over-run by Ferdinand II."[410]

Even if Charles himself was not striving for universal power or the suppression of Protestants in his dominions, there was no guarantee, not even by the Treaty of Westphalia, Defoe argued, that his successors, elected by a majority of Catholic electors, would not do.[411] Besides, there was always the possibility of a future alliance between the two great Catholic Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon against the Protestants of Europe. Hence, by giving Spain to the emperor, the Empire could fall back into a time of religious persecution and Europe could be dragged into a new religious war.[412] To counter "Popish Exorbitance in Europe, whether German or French",[413] Defoe advocated a partition of the Spanish monarchy. By dividing the Spanish dominions, he believed, the Protestant powers, now had the chance to weaken and divide the Houses of Habsburgs and Bourbons and thus to prevent the establishment of a universal monarchy as well as any future union of the Catholic powers, which could endanger the Protestant religion in Europe.[414]

Whilst Defoe had fully turned against the Habsburg cause, other contemporaries continued to defend England's "good Ally the Emperor."[415] Arthur Maynwaring, for instance, seemed less concerned about a powerful House of Habsburg and less convinced about its strength and ability to rebuild an empire on which the sun never set. He did not share Defoe's worries about a rising Habsburg Empire or even a Habsburg universal monarchy, but suspected that the death of Joseph I, the succession of his brother Charles, and the sudden prospect of a union of the imperial and Spanish crowns, were only used as another welcome excuse for leaving the war, by those Englishmen, who had already wanted to

---

[408] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, November 3, 1711.
[409] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, October 13, 1711.
[410] Defoe, *Review,* Saturday, December 8, 1711; Issue 11 (London, 1711).
[411] Defoe, *Review,* Tuesday, November 13, 1711; *Review,* Thursday, November 22, 1711.
[412] Defoe, *Review* Tuesday, November 13, 1711.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.
[415] [Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations*, p. 20.

withdraw from it for quite some time.[416] In contrast to Defoe, who repeatedly referred to past ambitions of the Habsburgs as well as to their former strength and their proceedings against German Protestants, Maynwaring suggested to rather look at "their present Condition"[417] to evaluate the actual power of the emperor. He reminded his readership of the weakness of the late emperor and his dependence on the English allies in the current war, pointing out that if "the Duke of Marlborough [had not] made the March to Germany, and won the Battle of Blenheim, the Emperor could not possibly have surviv'd, no not a few months, the Storm that then threaten'd him."[418]

Although he admitted that a mighty House of Habsburg could be disturbing for its continental neighbours, England herself, Maynwaring supposed, had only little to fear from the Habsburgs. Unlike Swift, he believed that the lack of a naval force prevented them from becoming a threat to English commerce and trade.[419] For the Whig author, France and not the Habsburgs, still posed the greatest threat to England. "If the House of Austria," he argued, "could really be as formidable as the Patrons of an ill Peace would have it, even then the Danger to us would by no means be equal to what we may suffer from the exorbitant Power of France."[420] In light of the alleged French menace and in contrast to those commentators who worried about a too powerful Habsburg empire, Maynwaring could even find something positive for England in the prospect of a stronger House of Habsburg. Then, he hoped, "our Allies would be a Match for France, without our engaging in their Quarrels; and that is the greatest Happiness for this Nation that any true Englishman can hope for: for if the Allies were a tolerable Balance against France without us, then it would always be in our power to turn the Scales, and we would be Arbitrators of Europe in earnest."[421] Hence, for Maynwaring, a union of the imperial and Spanish crowns was not a threat, but a safeguard to the European balance of power. In this system, he believed, England could take up a leading diplomatic, mediating, and in times of conflict, a decisive role. By investing the emperor with the Spanish crown, the House of Habsburg would become a strong counterbalance to the Bourbons, but not a universal monarchy. On the European level, Maynwaring suggested, Habsburgs' power could be checked and if necessary countered by England and the Dutch, whilst within the Empire, the prerogatives of the electors as well as the strong protestant

---

[416] [Maynwaring], *Vindication*, p. 38.
[417] [Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations*, p. 18.
[418] [Maynwaring], *Vindication*, p. 10.
[419] Ibid., p. 34.
[420] Ibid. A similar view was for instance expressed in a pamphlet published shortly after the signing of the peace treaty between England and France in 1713. Here too, France was seen as the greatest threat to the other European powers. See *Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains*.
[421] [Maynwaring], *Vindication*, pp. 33-34.

interest, represented by Prussia and Hanover, would prevent the emperor from becoming absolute.[422]

Maynwaring's assessment of the emperor and the Habsburgs fundamentally differed from that of Defoe, for whom they were no longer a valuable ally in the fight for Christendom and against infidels and French aggression. Instead, the head of the Holy Roman Empire and House of Habsburg was now himself considered an aspirant to universal monarchy, who could easily become a threat to European Protestantism and liberty again. The images of the emperor presented Defoe's writings resembled those found in many English publications from the 1620s-40s, rather than those from the 1680s and 1690s, where the head of the Empire, despite his Catholicism, was depicted as a good ally and defender of all Christendom. It was a return to old imagery. This new-old imagery was clearly influenced by the knowledge of past events and experiences. In addition to Charles V, whose mighty empire could be seen as an archetype of European universal monarchy, it was the rule of Ferdinand II and his role in the Thirty Years War that determined the negative image of Habsburgs' exorbitant power, which in 1711, as some Englishmen believed, seemed to be on the rise again.

3.3.3
The English self defined, 1689-1713

England's extensive involvement in the Nine Years War and in the War of the Spanish Succession triggered all kinds of debates in which English commentators repeatedly commented on the Empire, the emperor, English alliances with the same, and on their nation's interest and role as a European power. That was not all, though. As has been outlined above, the events of, and England's role in, the Thirty Years War had once already provided a background against which Englishmen could not only discuss their country's foreign policy but also reflect on and define the character of their nation. The same was true for the two wars of the Grand Alliance. Here, too, the debates about England's involvement on the continent, her role in Europe, and her responsibility towards allies, neighbours and brethren seemed to have a self-reflecting and self-defining effect.

From the beginning of the Nine Years War until the last years of the War of the

---

[422] [Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations*, pp. 21-23.

Spanish Succession, English commentators used the context of these two major European conflicts to formulate, to convey, and as most of them were not entirely new, to reinforce certain images of their own country and people. England's role in these conflicts, most of them seemed to agree, was decisive, her participation in the wars absolutely necessary. "She shall" one poet wrote during the War of the Spanish Succession, "Domestick Foes unite, Monarchs beneath her Flags shall fight, Whole Armies drag her Chain; She shall lost Italy restore, Shall make th' Imperial Eagle soar, And give a King to Spain."[423] In the course of the seventeenth century, England had turned from a bystander into a leading European power. She had brought together the various states and factions of and in Europe, united them in the fight against their common enemy, and had thereby defended the rights of her continental neighbours and helped to restore the liberties of individual states as well as of Europe as a whole.[424]

In contrast to English contemporaries of the Thirty Years War, who had hoped and waited, in vain, for a glorious and honourable intervention abroad, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen witnessed England's first ever military campaigns in Germany, and thus got the opportunity to acclaim their country's victorious engagements in the fight for the liberty of the Empire and Europe. Here "the wonderful things God has done in barring his Arm for the defence of oppressed Nations, rescuing them from the Tyranny of the Oppressor"[425] revealed. English poets and pamphleteers soon praised the courage of the English military and celebrated the Duke of Marlborough, who had rescued the "shaken Empire … by [his] Valour"[426] and "by his Conduct of the Army, retriev'd the ancient Honour and Glory of the English Nation."[427] England's honour and glory, already much reflected on during the English passivity in the Thirty Years War, were also important themes in the minds of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen,[428] and commentators hoped that now, since England had finally taken a leading role in the international arena, Marlborough could "Revive the English Name."[429] Whilst the duke was celebrated for his success abroad, Queen Anne was lauded for her care, conduct and political acumen. It was "To Britain's

---

[423] 'Horace, lib. III. ode III. imitated' in *Poems on affairs of state,* Vol. IV (London, 1707), p. 14.

[424] Apart from the examples provided in the following this view may for instance be found in Bohun*, The history of the desertion,* p. 4; 'An Ode to the D. of Marlborough, 1706', p. 26; *Joshua: a poem in imitation of Milton: humbly inscrib'd to the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1706).

[425] *England's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704*, p. 1.

[426] *A congratulatory poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough,* p. 2.

[427] Francis Hare, *The life and glorious history of John D. and E. of Marlborough* (London, 1705), p. 73**.**

[428] See for instance R. Clare, *The English hero: or, the Duke of Marlborough. A Poem* (London, 1704), pp. 1-2, Daniel Defoe, *A Hymn to Victory* (London, 1704).

[429] *A congratulatory poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough,* p. 2. A similar view was expressed in Defoe, *A Hymn to Victory*, unpaginated dedicatory to the Queen.

queen the nations turn their eyes, On her resolves the western world relies."[430] She was the one who "th' invaded sinking Empire frees",[431] and who was to "Give Freedom to the world, and lasting Peace."[432] The role ascribed to Anne was almost mother-like, and under her reign and with the experience and courage of Marlborough and his men, "Thrice happy Britain" finally became "the guardian of the continent!"[433]

This image of England as the deliverer of the Empire and the defender of Europe was emphasised further by contrasting the strong English self with a weaker other. Although the Empire was considered an important ally in the wars against Louis XIV, it was also seen as too weak to defend itself effectively. Some commentators, and apparently William III himself,[434] regarded the vastness of the Empire as an obstacle and as a reason for its weakness in the conflict with France.[435] As one observer remarked about past attempts to defend the Spanish Netherlands against the French, "the Empire, which has many Heads … cannot assist them without its Allyes … the King of *England,* and the States of the United Provinces".[436] Due to its geographical and political structure, the Empire appeared to be unable to take the lead in the struggle against France. This role was reserved for England. To a certain degree, England's role as a leading power in Europe, and her responsibilities as such thus resulted from the shortcomings of the other European states, particularly the Empire. "[T]he Pope with all *Italy,* the Emperor with the whole Empire, and *Spain* with all the Riches of the *Indies,*" one pamphleteer wrote, "had not been of power to hinder him from making himself Master of all *Europe.* There is but *England* alone then that is Capable to make the most Christian King alter his Designs".[437]

The depiction of the Empire as a rather weak and defenceless member in the alliance did certainly help to emphasise the value and importance of England's commitment on the continent and in the wars against Louis XIV. Two pamphlet titles from the period of the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, respectively, may serve as a further example of the contemporary understanding of England's role and responsibility as a

---

[430] Joseph Addison, *The campaign, a poem, to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough,* (London, 1705), p. 2.

[431] 'An Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer, 1706' in *Poems on affairs of state,* Vol. IV (London, 1707), p. 34.

[432] Dennis, *Britannia triumphans*, p. 13.

[433] Joseph Addison, *The campaign, a poem, to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1705), p. 2.

[434] William had opposed a full membership of German petty princes in the Grand Alliance in order not to complicate possible settlements and peace-making later. See Lossky, 'International relations in Europe', p. 165.

[435] *The means to free Europe*, p. 18.

[436] *Europe's chains broke*, p. 17.

[437] *The means to free Europe*, pp. 43-44.

European nation. *Europe a slave, unless England break her chain*[438] suggested a pamphlet from the early 1680s, and another one, published shortly after the victory at Blenheim, titled: *Britannia triumphans: or the Empire sav'd, and Europe deliver'd*.[439] The fate of both, the Empire and Europe as a whole, it seemed, was inseparably linked to England's, and later Britain's (successful) commitment on the continent.

England, John Dennis knew, not only had a responsibility towards her continental neighbours, she also had a common history with Germany, whose "rugged Saxons" had once "left their horrid Clime, For Britain's gentle Shore."[440] Now, as "Germania"[441] seemed to be at the brink of destruction, "Th' unconquer'd English from the Northern Main"[442] had set off and marched to "See to their ancient wretched Mother's Aid".[443] On the one side, Germania, was thus depicted as England's original mother. On the other side, the two countries also shared a history of dispute and conflict, in which England had not been allied with the House of Habsburg, but opposed it. However, in spite of this adversarial past, Dennis noted, the "brave People" of England had not deserted the former enemy in time of need, but had proved its "noblest Friends" and come to "rescue both thy bright Imperial Crowns" and to "Deliver Germany, recover Spain."[444]

In addition to the reflections on England's political and military role in the Grand Alliance, the context of the two wars against France was also used to highlight her exceptional position amongst the European powers once more.[445] As an island, separated from European mainland, England had suffered less under the developments and wars on the continent and she also appeared less likely to be affected by a possible growth of continental Catholicism than other Protestant states in Europe. "[I]f ever a Union should happen between the French, Spaniards and Germans," Defoe assumed, "all the Protestants of Europe, except us, are lost and undone, unless some wonderful Revolution … should happen."[446] England was "happy Albion",[447] who, in contrast to many other kingdoms, had neither lost her laws nor her freedom, and was "now the only Nation in Europe, that hath any remains of

---

[438] *Europe a slave, unless England break her chains discovering the grand designs of the French-Popish party in England for several years past* (London, 1681)
[439] Dennis, *Britannia triumphans*.
[440] Ibid, p. 13.
[441] Dennis repeatedly used this ancient name in his poem to refer to Germany/the Empire.
[442] Dennis, *Britannia triumphans*, p. 12.
[443] Ibid, p. 13.
[444] Ibid, p. 18.
[445] For earlier examples from the Thirty Years War Period see above chapter 2.3.5.
[446] [Defoe], *Danger of the Protestant religion,* p.18.
[447] 'An Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer, 1706', p. 32.

substantial Liberties."[448] She was an "auspicious Isle" strong enough to destroy her enemies and to help and rescue her allies, "[w]hile Streams of Blood the Continent o'erflow, Red'ning the Maese, the Danube and the Po".[449]

With this special position and England's new leading role as a major European power, it seemed, came great responsibilities, too. Although England's insular character was repeatedly emphasised, many commentators considered their country an inherent part of Europe.[450] As such England not only had to fight on the battlefields of Europe, she now also had to aid and support those continental Europeans, who had become victims of political and religious persecution. In 1701 George Stepney reminded his countrymen that in the late revolution "the hand of God" had rescued them from losing their liberty and religion and that they were now given the opportunity "not only of securing, to themselves for ever those inestimable Blessings, but likewise of propagating his holy Gospel, by procuring ease to the many Persecuted Protestants both of France and Germany."[451] The terrible condition of the Palatines, another commentator believed, could only be resolved with English help. "I am sorry to hear," he noted, "we have no better Allies on that side, who can neither Fight their Foes, nor feed their poor without us".[452] Similarly, Defoe argued in the summer of 1709, that it was the responsibility of the people of England to take care of the Palatines and to help them integrate into England. "Must it be true", he asked, "that because these poor people may not be useful every where, they must be therefore useful no where?" Instead of condemning the poor Palatines, and sending them away, the English should take an advantage from the situation and "plant these people, as to make them a publick Good to us."[453]

As a leading European nation, England not only had a responsibility towards distressed neighbours and brethren from abroad, she also had the same interests as her continental neighbours. "Next to the Dutch," one pamphleteer noted in 1713, "the Emperor's and our interest were most inseparable, and that, as a constant Maxim of English Politicks, was depended upon by all our Neighbours."[454] A key element here was again the European balance of power, the maintaining of which was regarded the common interest of Europe's leading nations and dynasties, except France. In order to keep this balance, England's

---

[448] *The Apparent Danger of an Invasion, Briefly Represented in a Letter to a Minister of State. By a Kentish Gentleman*, (London, 1701), pp.7-8. The text has sometimes been attributed to Daniel Defoe.
[449] 'An Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer', p. 32.
[450] See for instance Defoe, *Danger of the Protestant Religion*; *Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains*.
[451] George Stepney, *An essay upon the present interest of England* (London, 1701), p. 63.
[452] *The Palatines catechism, or, A true description of their camps at Black-Heath and Camberwell. In a pleasant dialogue between an English tradesman and a High-Dutchman* (London, 1709), p. 3.
[453] Defoe, *Review,* Tuesday, July 12, 1709.
[454] *Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains*, pp. 13-14.

involvement on the continent was seen as essential, whilst an English withdrawal, on the other side, was believed to have serious consequences not only for the Empire and the Dutch, but also for England herself. Taking a dig at *The Examiner* and other Tory writers who had argued for withdrawing from the war abroad, the pamphleteer suggested that England, when isolating herself from the rest of Europe, would lose much of her power and influence. "[T]hey shut us up within our Island, where they imagine we may defy all the World," he wrote, "tho when the Ballance is on one side on the Continent, we shall soon see of what little weight we are by ourselves."[455]

As has been outlined earlier, not all commentators shared this view and not all agreed with the leading role England had taken on in Europe, or with the responsibilities this role brought with it. Jonathan Swift, for instance, feared that England, through the involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession and her supporting the Habsburgs' cause against her own interests, had "become the Dupes and Bubbles of Europe."[456] Others were not only concerned about England's international reputation, but also about a possible loss of the British identity. By taking in thousands of refugees from the Palatinate, they worried, "the British Name may be endanger'd once more to be lost in the German."[457] Most critics were concerned about the negative financial, economic and social effects, the involvement in European affairs and especially in the War of the Spanish Succession, had and could have for their nation.[458] For some, the question about leaving or continuing the Grand Alliance and the engagement on the continent therefore also became a question of true Britishness. "Who is there to be found," one contemporary asked, "that calling himself a Protestant and a Britain, yet can be so little concern'd for the Good and Prosperity of his Country as not to wish for a happy Conclusion of this heavy War."[459]

Whether content with the development or not, most Englishmen participating in the print discourses about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession seemed to perceive that England's role in Europe had changed with her intervention and engagement

---

[455] *Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains*, p. 23.
[456] Swift, *Conduct*, p. 58.
[457] See again Manley, *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon,* p. 15
[458] See above.
[459] *Armageddon: or, the necessity of carrying on the war, if such a peace cannot be obtained as may render Europe safe, and trade secure* (London, 1711), p. 3. For other examples from both sides see [Maynwaring], *Remarks upon the present negotiations*, p. 35; *An excellent new song, call'd The trusty and true English-Man*, (London, 1712); *Reflections upon the Examiner's scandalous peace* (London, 1711), p. 22

on the continent. How much it had actually changed was summarised in a text, published during the reign of William III:

> "When was it that ever England's Monarch was Generalissimo of Europe, and not only Arbitrator of her Differences, but in a manner her Lawgiver? We us'd to value our selves mightily that we could turn the ballance, and is it nothing now that we are the Champions of *Christendom,* and our King the Head of the Greatest League that ever was made in the Western World? Was *England*'s Banner ever so much reverenc'd abroad, and not only her Terrour, but her Armies spread beyond the *Alpes?* Was it ever known till now, that the Emperour, King of *Spain,* and Electors of the Empire, would submit to the Arms and Conduct of an English King, and command their Generals to obey his Orders?"[460]

England, this paragraph suggested, was now, for the first time in history, one of Europe's leading and most respected powers. Reflections from the Thirty Years War period, however, show that this English self image was actually not that new. It was a role already hoped for and ascribed to England by earlier generations, but it was only with her entering into the Grand Alliance and thus into an active participation in European politics, that she could finally fulfil this role.

---

[460] *An Answer to the pretended speech, said to be spoken off-hand in the House of Commons by one of the members for B-----l, and afterwards burnt by the common hangman, according to the order of the house* (London, 1694), p. 4

Conclusion

In a letter to General von der Schulenburg, written in May 1714, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, German polymath and confidant to Sophia of Hanover, heiress to the British throne, discussed the situation and affairs of Europe, stating, "l'interest de la Nation Germanique… paroissoit aussi étre celuy de la Britannique."[1]

With the Act of Settlement and the Protestant succession, the interests and affairs of the courts in Westminster and Hanover certainly became more intertwined. As prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire, the new English sovereign automatically had an interest in and was entangled in imperial affairs. However, the century before the Hanoverian Succession had seen some overlaps of English and German interests, too. In 1618, a member of the English royal family intervened in the conflict between the Catholic emperor and his mainly Protestant subjects in Bohemia and thereby contributed to the outbreak of a war "that set a high bloody benchmark for all subsequent conflicts."[2] Although England was not actively participating in the Thirty Years War, there had been various diplomatic attempts to settle the conflict in the Empire and to restore Frederick to his territory and electorate. Between 1689 and 1713, England was then fighting two major wars alongside German-imperial forces, defending the Empire against French invasion, and Habsburgs' claim to the Spanish crown, respectively. In the course of the long seventeenth century England and the English court thus became increasingly involved in continental affairs.

Taking this as a starting point, it has been suggested in the introduction to this thesis that the English public, too, became deeply interested in, and much concerned with, the events and affairs of Germany and the Empire during this period. The emerging and growing printing press played a major role in this process, as it provided news and information about the wars, served as a major platform for war-related debates, and thus also conveyed views and images of Germany and the Empire to the general public.

As English interests in Germany, as well as perceptions and reflections on the country, in English print discourse have largely been neglected in the historiography - and sometimes even been believed to be non-existent - the fist objective of this thesis has been to

---

[1] 'Leibniz an Matthias Johann von der Schulenburg, Vienna, 5 May 1714', in *Transkription für die Leibniz-Akademieausgabe der LeibnizForschungsstelle. Leibniz: Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Transkriptionen des Briefwechsels 1714*, (2017), pp. 56-60, here p. 59. Web. 17 October 2018 https://www.gwlb.de/Leibniz/Leibnizarchiv/Veroeffentlichungen/Transkriptionen1714bearb.pdf. I would like to thank Monika Barget for drawing my attention to this quote.

[2] Paul Kennedy, 'The war to begin all wars; A remarkable account of the European slaughter that set a high bloody benchmark for all subsequent conflicts' *The Sunday Times*, July 19, 2009 (London, 2009).

test the assumption that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century no recognisable English interest in Germany existed, and to shed more light on what English contemporaries knew and wrote about their imperial neighbours. The analysis of seventeenth and early eighteenth century dictionaries, geographical descriptions, travel account, and histories conducted in chapter one has clearly shown that Germany and the Empire were the subject of, and dealt with in, a variety of publications.

In terms of its geographical, political, constitutional, and religious structure, contemporary English authors of descriptions, histories, and travel accounts clearly perceived the complex nature of the Empire. Whilst some commented on the peaceful coexistence of the different Christian denominations, others pointed to the disadvantages, the existence of numerous and manifold authorities and laws had not only for foreigner but also for the Empire itself. Its peculiar political and constitutional structure was seen as hampering the Empire's ability to act quickly and effectively, and as limiting the actual power of the emperor. On the imperial level, however, the limitations of the emperor's rights could also be regarded as a good means to prevent arbitrary or absolute rule, whilst the Empire's constitution could serve as an example against the view that monarchical power had to be based on hereditary rights or the divine rights of kings.

General English descriptions and images of Germany were still very much influenced by Tacitus and, as has been shown, there is good reason to assume that the rediscovery and reissuing of *The Germania* even had an impact on the terminology used to name and describe the country. Especially, the depiction of the German people did not often go beyond stereotypes but borrowed from the Tacitan description of the ancient Germans. However, whilst many dictionaries and geographical works continued to draw on Tacitus when describing Germany and its people, those who had travelled the Empire often revised their image of Germany, admitting that it no longer resembled the rough country described by the Roman historian but had become a civilised, cultivated place, which had seen some major advancements in architecture, education, and art.

Although seventeenth and early eighteenth century authors were sometimes superficial and not always right in their descriptions of Germany and the Empire, the analysis of dictionaries, geographical works, and travel literature has clearly shown that their knowledge and understanding of the Holy Roman Empire was much deeper than has hitherto be assumed. Moreover, it also indicates that English views and images of Germany and the Empire were not static but could and did change, and were adjusted according to personal

experience or then-current events and developments, a fact that was to become even more obvious in the subsequent chapters.

Having examined works of reference, histories, and travel literature for general English views, images, and knowledge of Germany and the Empire, the second objective announced at the beginning of this thesis was then to shed some more light on the perception and reflections on Germany and the Empire in seventeenth and early eighteenth century political print discourse. A case study approach centring on the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession seemed useful, as it allowed to look at three particular instances where a deeper English interest, due to royal relations, a continuously perceived Catholic threat to European Protestantism, and major English military and political engagements on the continent, seemed most likely. By addressing and answering questions about English perceptions and reflections on the origins, course, and effects of the three wars largely fought on imperial soil, this thesis has also aimed to contribute to some recent scholarly debates in order to further examine and understand some of the developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth century discussed in the historiography.

Overall, the analysis of the print discourse related to the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession has provided further evidence to rebut the notion that a recognisable English interest in Germany and the Empire only developed in the course of the eighteenth century. The lively print discussion about the three wars clearly proves that seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen not only showed an interest in but were often also deeply concerned about the affairs and events in the Empire.

It could be illustrated that Englishmen, despite a slow and often limited news flow, closely followed the events of the Thirty Years War and that the public's disagreement with, and disappointment about, their country's alleged inactiveness sparked debates and criticism about English foreign policy. Thus the English public concern with the Thirty Years War and the great demand for news and information about the events in the Empire may be seen as an indication for the existence of an early public sphere, which used the press for debates about the war in general and the Palatine cause in particular, and began to put some pressure on the Stuart governments, inducing both James I and Charles I to take measures to restrict and supress news and print discourse.

In addition to being a subject in contemporary debates about England's foreign policy, the Thirty Years War and its effect on Germany also served as a negative example and were used as a warning about the fatal consequences of civil war and state breakdown,

when the English society itself became increasingly divided over constitutional and religious matters in the late 1630s. The conflict in the Empire was not seen as a mere German issue but as part of a broader European crisis. Interpreted as God's punishment for people's immorality and sinful behaviour, this crisis, people believed, had been prefigured by a comet in 1618. Its pointing towards the British Isles before disappearing in 1619 was seen as an unmistakable sign that the crisis on the continent would eventually reach England, too, and that the English would then suffer the same fate as their German neighbours. In a way, English contemporaries of the 1630s and 1640s thus already perceived, what scholars in the twentieth century began to call the 'general crisis of the seventeenth century'.

Hence, even before England got actively engaged in continental affairs, commentators were clearly aware that the events and developments in the Empire, and in continental Europe in general, could affect their own country. This awareness also persisted in the later seventeenth century. The French invasion and occupation of the Palatinate, for instance, sparked concerns about the effects of a possible French invasion of England and made English commentators wonder if something similar to the devastation of the Palatinate could happen in England or Britain, too.

Besides, contemporaries' reflections on the three wars repeatedly induced reflections on the English nation and self-image. The Thirty Years War certainly helped to underline and reinforce the English self-image of a Protestant nation and as part of a Pan-European Protestant international. However, although the negative depiction of the Catholic Habsburgs allowed commentators to stress the positive attributes of their own Protestant nation, English self-perception, based on comparison with, and reflections on, the multi-confessional Empire during the earlier seventeenth century, was more complex than just defining the English self against a Catholic other. The wish for an active support and the willingness to pay and fight for the Palatine and Protestant cause on the continent turned into a question of national identity and patriotic duty, and were regarded as a proof of an Englishman's loyalty and love to king and country, and as a sign of true Englishness. Intervening in the Thirty Years War thereby also became a means to resume England's (ancient) honour, to restore her reputation in Europe, and to rise to former greatness, an argument that was equally prominent in the debates about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, for instance when the victorious campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough were taken as an opportunity to emphasise and celebrate the glory and honour of the English Nation. The involvement in the two wars of the Grand Alliance clearly helped to stress England's important role in European affairs and to portray her as a nation, capable and made for taking a lead in Europe. Reflection

275

on the Empire's apparent vulnerability, and on the emperor's perceived disability to withstand French invasion and to defend Habsburgs claim to the Spanish crown, clearly added to this view. Contrasting the strong English self with a weak imperial other, allowed Englishmen engaged in print discourse, to depict England as the deliverer of the Empire and the defender of Europe. Besides, the alleged weakness of the Empire and its head helped to further emphasise the importance of England's engagement in European affairs and thus to justify her taking the lead in the war against France and for Habsburgs' claim to the Spanish throne.

In addition to underlining England's important political role in European affairs, commentators also used the three wars to reflect on, and to emphasise, English exceptionalism in Europe. The horrors of the Thirty Years War and the fate of the poor Palatines at the turn of the eighteenth century, helped to stress the image of England as a blessed and happy nation, which in contrast to her continental neighbours, had seen long periods of internal peace, had been spared foreign invasion, and whose religion and liberty had been secured by divine providence in the revolution of 1688-89.[3] This perceived exceptionalism not only created a sense of gratitude but also a sense of responsibility towards those who had suffered under Catholic rule and French invasion. Despite a decline in the use of Protestant rhetoric in the print discourse about the two wars of the Grand Alliance, religion continued to be a key element of English self-perception at the turn of the eighteenth century. England, commentators argued, had not only experienced several instances of divine providence, as "the Champions of *Christendom*"[4] it was also her duty to relieve the Protestant brethren in the Palatinate and to aid other co-members of an alleged Christian commonwealth.

England was not only a member of this international Christian commonwealth, though. As far as seventeenth and early eighteenth century English commentators were concerned, there was also little doubt that England was an inherent part of Europe, not just in terms of geography. When an anonymous author wrote about *The means to free Europe* in 1689, he did not just refer to 'the Deliverance of Europe' but spoke of "the Deliverance of *our* Europe [and] the Dangers it has been in these last years".[5] The seventeenth and early eighteenth century English self-image was not only that of a Protestant but also that of a European nation. Protestantism, it has become clear, was an important attribute of

---

[3] For the idea of divine providence in the revolution of 1688-89 see Claydon, *Godly Revolution.*
[4] *An Answer to the pretended speech, said to be spoken off-hand in the House of Commons by one of the members for B-----l,* p. 4.
[5] *The means to free Europe*, p. 5.

seventeenth and early eighteenth century English identity and self-image but it was definitely not the only one. Studying English interaction with and debates about countries, other than France and the Netherlands, could thus help to gain a more complete idea about English self-perception and national identity in the early modern period.

If there was some kind of English insularity, it was at the end of the period considered here. When the negative impact of about twenty years of warfare began to reveal, commentators became concerned with domestic issues, seen as related to or even caused by England's engagement in continental European affairs. During the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession, English print discourse increasingly questioned the character and degree of England's support for Habsburgs' cause in the struggle for the Spanish crown and discussed the perceived negative effects of taking responsibility in Europe and for distressed continental brethren. As for the latter, at the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, the great number of Palatine refugees was increasingly regarded as a burden to the English economy and society. Whilst several English commentators tried to counter the concerns of their countrymen and argued that it was England's duty to help the distressed refugees from the Palatinate, for others the English duty and responsibility towards foreigners from abroad clearly had its limits.

At about the same time attitudes towards England's imperial ally began to change, too. In the course of the seventeenth century the emperor had turned from foe to friend. By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, however, English attitudes towards the head of the House of Habsburg became much more reserved again. The conduct of the imperial ally in the war, and the view that England seemed to have carried most of the burden but only gained little from the war, made politicians and pamphleteers call for a withdrawal from the conflict as well as from the affairs of European mainland. That said, it should be kept in mind, though, that in the early eighteenth century the English press became increasingly politicised and was extensively exploited as a means of propaganda by the two political parties. As the Tories had started to argue and work for an English withdrawal from the War of the Spanish Succession, many commentators, some of them hired by the government itself, began to argue for such a turn in foreign policy, too. At least in part, the critical attitude towards England's involvement in continental affairs, expressed in publications from the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession War, has to be understood as a reflection and propagation of the official foreign policy course of the new Tory administration, and not as a general negative attitude towards Europe or as a generic insularity.

Another important question addressed in the introduction to this thesis, was the alleged shift form religious thinking to balance of power considerations in contemporary thinking about foreign policy and relations. As Andrew Thompson has noted "the balance of power could mean different things to different people at different times."[6] In the English print discourse about the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession it especially meant preventing the Catholic powers of Europe, that is the Bourbons as well as the Habsburgs, from becoming too strong, in order to safeguard Protestantism both on the continent and in England. As examples from English reflections on the Thirty Years War show, the idea of keeping Europe in some kind of balance had already begun to take shape in the first half of the seventeenth century, when commentators discussed the necessity and means to contain the power of the Catholic Habsburgs, both in the Empire and in Europe, and thereby also considered an alliance with France. In order to keep the major Catholic powers of Europe in check, English monarchs repeatedly allied with one of them against another. At first sight, this seems to underline that in the course of the seventeenth century geo-political considerations replaced confessionalism as the main driver in foreign policy. However, the alliance with one Catholic power against another also needs to be understood as a means to safeguard the Protestant interest both on the continent and in England. This line had been followed by James I, for instance in his marriage policy, and also by William III, who had sailed to England to safeguard not only English interests and liberties, but also those of the Dutch. To achieve this, he had entered into a league with the Catholic Habsburgs against Louis XIV of France.

As their new monarch had set the new course of English foreign policy[7] and brought England into alliance with other continental states equally threatened by the growing power of France, commentators searched for and also found ways to justify England's allying with one of Europe's major Catholic powers. Here, Christendom provided a basis. During the Thirty Years War thoughts about a possible alliance with Catholic France against the Spanish Habsburgs could be justified by depicting the King of Spain as a false Catholic, and the French King, with reference to his official title, as most Christian. During the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession this rhetorical trick became even more popular. The emperor, still a stout Catholic but also one of England's closest allies, not only proved to be the defender of Christendom against Ottoman invasion but was also a member of the Christian commonwealth, and as such, commentators suggested, he and his Protestant

---

[6] Thompson, *Protestant Interest*, p. 229.
[7] Claydon, *William III*, especially chapters 1 and 2.

English allies shared the same code of morals and values. In the eyes of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century commentators, religion thus continued to be an important element (not only) in foreign policy, otherwise depicting the emperor as a true and good Christian would certainly have been unnecessary. Whilst this positive image of the emperor may serve as one example for the persistence of religious considerations as a significant factor in early eighteenth century foreign policy debates, the negative depiction of the emperor in publications from the final phase of the War of the Spanish Succession may serve as another. In 1710/11, the prospect of a union of the imperial and Spanish crowns brought back old memories and sparked new English fears of an all too powerful House of Habsburg. This shows that early eighteenth century Englishmen could be as worried about a Catholic Habsburg empire as their countrymen in the earlier seventeenth century, and for very similar looking reasons. Daniel Defoe's reference to "the Cruelty and Fury of the Emperor Ferdinand II"[8] in order to emphasise the dangers of a union of the imperial and Spanish crowns most clearly illustrates this. The author of *The Review* was certainly concerned about the balance of power in Europe but he also feared for "the Safety of the Protestant Interest."[9] Maintaining the first was thus perceived as a means to safeguard the second.

The English attitudes to a mixed and complex country like Germany, encountered in seventeenth and early eighteenth century print discourse, question any simple shift from confessionalism and religious considerations to balance of power considerations in the contemporary thinking about foreign policy and relations. Moreover, although both of these concepts and views figured largely in contemporary thought, the analysis of the contemporary debates about the (non-) engagement in the Thirty Years War, the Nine Years War, and the War of the Spanish Succession has revealed that these were not the only perceived reasons to intervene in continental and foreign affairs. Dynastic links, England's honour and international reputation, her responsibility towards allies, for instance the defence of their constitutional or hereditary rights and dynastic claims, could be similarly decisive factors in English foreign relations and provide a ground for intervening in conflicts abroad. Given this, future studies should try to further examine what possible other reasons early modern England had to get involved in European or foreign affairs.

---

[8] Defoe, *Review,* Thursday, November 22, 1711; Issue 104.
[9] Ibid.

* * * * *

This thesis could of course not address all issues related to English perceptions and reflections on Germany and the Empire in the long seventeenth century and it certainly raised new ones, which seem worth studying. Especially in terms of English print discourse about domestic issues, the impact of views and images of Germany and the Empire is still a blank spot in historical research. Although good work has been done on the Protestant Succession, it is, for instance, not clear how far English views of Germany and the Empire influenced the press debates about the Hanoverian Succession or the image of the future sovereign of Britain. Studying these debates could shed some more light on contemporary reactions and views of the Act of Settlement and to the fact that the future monarch of Britain would be a German. As it only became clear in the summer of 1714, that not Sophia but her son George would ascend to the British throne, it could be examined how far the press commented on the fact that the future queen was the daughter of Frederick V and Elizabeth, the royal couple which the early Stuart courts had failed to support in their cause for Bohemia and the Palatinate. Moreover, it could be asked if the succession of a Lutheran from Germany to the English throne was seen as endangering English national identity and if a German Lutheran king, and a close relation to the Electorate of Hanover, were considered an advantage or disadvantage for the Protestant as well as national interest of England, or Britain as a whole

Likewise, seventeenth and early eighteenth century print discourse about religious issues could be examined for contemporary English images of German Protestantism as well as for reflections on the religious situation in the Empire. As William Penn's description of German Lutheranism encountered above suggests, seventeenth and early eighteenth century Englishmen considered Lutheranism as somewhat peculiar. On the other side William Carr's comment, that he "could heartily wish that Papists and Protestants could live as lovingly together in England, as they doe in Holland, Germany and other Countries"[10] indicates that the Empire, with its unique religious structure and settlement could serve as a positive example or even role model when Englishmen were debating religious persecution and toleration at home. Looking at English religious debates would allow analysing if the English Reformation was regarded as merely national or as part of an international movement and to examine how far comparisons with the German Reformation may have led to calls for further church reforms in England.

---

[10] Carr, *Remarks of the government,* pp. 145-146.

Furthermore, seventeenth and early eighteenth century debates about the English constitution could be studied for their image and understanding of the ancient constitution and gothic liberties. As William Ball observed in 1649, "it's very probable that the Saxons coming out of Germany into Britaine brought the common law with them".[11] Studying constitutional debates for their reflections and reference to ancient Germany could - on the one hand - contribute to the existing research on the myth of ancient constitutionalism.[12] On the other hand, it may also help to get further insight to English perceptions of England, as a nation whose society and identity was influenced and shaped by external influences and events.

The historiographic neglect of English perceptions and reflections on Germany and the Empire in print discourse from the long seventeenth century thus offers a variety of issues and questions to be addressed in future studies. This thesis has aimed at taking one step towards a deeper understanding of seventeenth and early eighteenth century English perceptions, images, and reflections of the "State of *Germany*, which is the thing…*Englishmen* are most desirous and concerned to know."[13]

---

[11] William Ball, *The power of kings discussed* (London, 1649), p. 1.

[12] See particularly John Greville Agard Pocock, *The ancient constitution and the feudal law: a study of English historical thought in the seventeenth century. A Reissue with a Retrospect* (Cambridge, London, New York 1987).

[13] *The Present State of Germany.* To the reader.

Bibliography

Later publications of manuscript material

Browning, Andrew, ed., *English Historical Documents 1660-1714, Vol. VI* (London, 1966)

'Chamberlain to Charlton, Oct. 2, 1619' in Everett Green, Mary Anne, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23, Volume 110: October 1619* (London, 1858), p. 83

Everett Green, Mary Anne, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23, Volume 110: October 1619* (London, 1858)

- ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23,* Volume 118: December 1620 (London, 1858)

- ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1619-23,* Volume 119, January 1621 (London, 1858)

Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, *Letters and other Documents illustrating the relation between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years War: From the outbreak of the revolution in Bohemia to the election of the emperor Ferdinand II*. No. 90 (Camden Society, 1865)

Halliwell, James O., ed., *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., During the Reigns of James I and Charles 1*, Volume 1 (London, 1845)

Langham, Robert, *A Letter*, (1575), with an introduction, notes and commentary by R.J.P. Kuin (Leiden, 1983)

'Leibniz an Matthias Johann von der Schulenburg, Vienna, 5 May 1714', in *Transkription für die Leibniz-Akademieausgabe der LeibnizForschungsstelle. Leibniz: Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Transkriptionen des Briefwechsels 1714*, (2017), pp. 56-60. Web. 17 October 2018. https://www.gwlb.de/Leibniz/Leibnizarchiv/Veroeffentlichungen/ Transkriptionen1714bearb.pdf

Lyle, J.V., ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, Volume 37, 1619-1621 (London, 1930)

Phelips, Sir Robert, 'Journal of the House of Commons,' PA, HC/CL/JO/1/12, [CJ 674; f. 14], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01

Phelips, Sir Robert, 'Journal of the House of Commons,' PA, HC/CL/JO/1/13, [CJ 722; f. 17], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed.

Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01

Phelips, Sir Robert, 'Diary of John Holles,' BL, HARL. MS 6,383, [f. 86v], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01

Rudyard, Benjamin, 'Diary of John Holles,' BL, HARL. MS 6,383, [f. 86v], '1st March 1624.' *Proceedings in Parliament 1624: The House of Commons*. Ed. Philip Baker. British History Online, 2015-18. *British History Online*. Web. 5 October 2018. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/proceedings-1624-parl/mar-01

Rushworth, John, *Historical collections of private passages of state Weighty matters in law. Remarkable proceedings in five Parliaments. Beginning the sixteenth year of King James, anno 1618. And ending the fifth year of King Charls, anno 1629* (London, 1659)

'Thomas Carlyle to Alexander Gilchrist', 1 July 1856; DOI: 10.1215/lt-18560701-TC-AGI-01; in *Carlyle Letters* Volume *3*1, pp. 112-113

Printed primary sources

Modern and edited reprints of contemporary material

Burnet, Gilbert, *History of His Own Time* Vol. III (1724-34), edited by Martin Joseph Routh, reprograf. Nd. d. Ausg. Oxford 1833 (Hildesheim, 1969)

Ellis, Frank H., *Swift Vs. Mainwaring: The Examiner and the Medley* (Oxford, 1985)

Pufendorf, Samuel, *The Present State of Germany,* trans. Edmund Bohun, edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler (Indianapolis, 2007)

Sir Thomas More's Utopia, edited with Introduction and notes by John Churton Collins (Oxford, 1904)

Tacitus, Cornelius P., *Germania*, Übersetzung, Erläuterungen und Nachwort von Manfred Fuhrmann (Stuttgart, 2006)

Proclamations, declarations, treaties (in chronological order)

A declaration of the causes, for the which, wee Frederick, by the grace of God King of Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector of the sacred empire, &c. haue accepted of the crowne of Bohemia, and of the countryes thereunto annexed (Middleburg [i.e. London], 1620)

A proclamation made by the high and mighty Fredericke by the grace of God King of Bohemia, &c. Commanding all those his subiects which are now in the seruice of his majesties enemies, to repaire home within the space of 14. dayes, vpon paine of his highnes displeasure, and confiscation of goods and lands. Translated out of the Dutch coppie. Printed at Prague (i.e. London, 1620)

By the King. A proclamation against excesse of Lauish and Licentious Speech of matters of State (London, 1620)

By the King. A proclamation against the disorderly printing, vttering, and dispersing of bookes, pamphlets, &c (London, 1623)

By the King a proclamation against seditious, popish, and puritanicall bookes and pamphlets (London, 1624)

By the King a proclamation for the calling home of all such His Maiesties subiects as are now imployed either by sea or land, in the seruices of the emperour, the king of Spaine, or the archduches (Oxford, 1625)

Their Majesties declaration against the French King (London, 1689)

A declaration of His Electoral Highness the Duke of Brandenburgh, concerning the present war with France (London, 1689)

'The Grand Alliance betwixt the Emperor and the States General concluded at Vienna, May 12, 1689. Whereinto his Majesty of Great Britain entered, December 9, 1689' in Whatley, *General collection,* p. 245

His Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the twelfth day of June, 1701 (London, 1701).

'The Second Grand Alliance, or the Treaty concluded between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the States General, September 7, 1701', in Whatley, *General collection,* pp. 415-421

Her Majesty's declaration of war against France and Spain (London, 1702)

The Queen of England's Declaration of War against France, May 4, 1702', in Whatley, *General collection,* pp. 421-422.

284

'The Emperor's declaration of war against France and the Duke of Anjou, May 15, 1702',
in Whatley, *General Collection*, pp. 430-433

Whatley, Stephen, *A general collection of treatys, declarations of war, manifestos, and other publick papers relating to peace and war: in four volumes,* Volume 1 (London, 1732)

Corantos, newsbooks, newspaper

The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes, Thursday, April 21, 1625; Issue 18, (London, 1625)

The continuation of ovr weekely avisoes, since the 30. of the last moneth to this present, July 6. Numb. 32 (London, 1632)

Corant Newes out of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Poland &c., Amsterdam 9. July, 1621.

Corant or vveekly nevves, from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia, Bohemia, France, and the Low-Countries (London, 1621)

A coranto Relating diuers particulars concerning the newes out of Italy, Spaine, Turkey, Persia, Bohemia, Sweden, Poland, Austria, the Pallatinates, the Grisons, and diuers places of the higher and Lower Germanie (London, 1622)

Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1620. The 23. Of December

Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 21 of Januari

Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 9 of April

Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1621. The 9 of July

The continvation of our weekely Avisoes, since the 16. of May to the 4. of Iune, contayning amongst many other matters, These Particulars following. The late Deplorable losse of the famous City of Magdenburgh, taken by the Imperialists, with the vtter Devastation thereof, by Killing, Fie|ring, and taking Prisoner of most of the Inhabitants, wherein were Butchered and Burned aboue 20000. Soules, the like miserable, bloudy and inhumaine Cruelty neuer committed (since the Seidge of Ierusalem) in so short a space (London, 1631)

The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes, Thursday, May 5, 1625; Issue 20 (London, 1625)

- August 24. Numb. 26 (London, 1626)

The continuation of the German history (London, 1633)

Daily Courant Saturday, May 1, 1703; Issue 324 (London, 1703),

- Tuesday, May 11, 1703; Issue 332 (London, 1703),

- Thursday, May 20, 1703; Issue 340 (London, 1703)

- Tuesday, July 4, 1704; Issue 692 (London, 1704)

Defoe, Daniel, *Review of the Affairs of France*, Saturday, July 29, 1704; Issue 42 (London, 1704)

- *Review,* Thursday, August 7, 1707; Issue 76 (London, 1707)

- *Review,* Thursday, March 24, 1709; Issue 155 (London, 1709)

- *Review,* Thursday, June 23, 1709; Issue 35 (London, 1709)

- *Review,* Thursday, June 30, 1709; Issue 38 (London, 1709)

- *Review,* Tuesday, September 20, 1709; Issue 72, (London, 1709)

- *Review,* Saturday, October 13, 1711; Issue 87 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Thursday, October 18, 1711; Issue 89 (London, 1711).

- *Review,* Thursday, October 25, 1711; Issue 92 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Saturday, November 3, 1711; Issue 96 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Tuesday, November 13, 1711; Issue 100 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Thursday, November 22, 1711; Issue 104 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Saturday, December 8, 1711; Issue 111 (London, 1711)

- *Review,* Tuesday, December 18, 1711; Issue 115 (London, 1711)

Examiner or Remarks upon Papers and Occurrences, November 16, 1710 - November 23, 1710; Issue 17 (London, 1710)

Flying Post or The Post Master, July 15, 1704 - July 18, 1704; Issue 1436 (London, 1704)

The German history continued (London, 1635)

The history of the present warres of Germany (London, 1634)

The modern history of the world. Or, An historicall relation of the most memorable passages in Germany, and else-where (London, 1635)

The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com. Imprinted at Amsterdam by George Veseler, Ao.1620. the 2. Of December.

Observator (1702), April 28, 1703 - May 1, 1703; Issue 7 (London, 1703)

- September 16, 1702 - September 19, 1702; Issue 43 (London, 1702)

October 2. Number 50, Our last nevves containing, a relation of the last proceedings betwixt the Emperour, Bethlem Gabor and other princes. As also, the King of Denmarks, the landgraue of Hessens, and the lower Saxonies preparations for the defensiue (London, 1623)

Post Man and the Historical Account, May 8, 1703 - May 11, 1703; Issue 1126 (London, 1703)

- May 11, 1703 - May 13, 1703; Issue 1127 (London, 1703)

Watts, William, *The Swedish intelligencer. Wherein, out of the truest and choysest informations, are the famous actions of that warlike prince historically led along: from his Majesties first entring into the Empire, vntill his great victory over the Generall Tilly, at the Battell of Leipsich* (London, 1632)

- *The Swedish Intelligencer, the second part* (London, 1632)
- *The Swedish Intelligencer. The third part* (London, 1633)

Books, pamphlets, broadsides

The 19. of August. The entertainement of Count Mansfield, and the Duke of Brunsvvick, into the seruice of the Duke of Bulloygne, being both dismissed by the King of Bohemia (London, 1622).

[Abbot, John], *The Sad condition of a distracted kingdome, expressed, in a fable of Philo the Jew* (London, 1645)

Abercromby, David, *The present state of the German and Turkish empires, and remarks thereupon* (London, 1684)

An Account of the debate in town about peace and war. In letters to a gentleman in the countrey [London, 1701]

An Account of the present condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate in two letters to an English gentleman (London, 1699)

An Account of what His Majesty said at his First coming to Council (London, 1685)

Addison, Joseph, *The campaign, a poem, to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1705)

An address agreed upon at the committee for the French War, and read in the House of Commons April the 19th, 1689 (London, 1689)

The annales of Cornelius Tacitus. The description of Germanie (London, 1598)

The annals and history of Cornelius Tacitus his account of the antient Germans, and the life of Agricola / made English by several hands (London, 1698)

Andrewes, R., *A perfect declaration of the barbarous and cruell practises committed by Prince Robert, the Cavalliers, and others in His Majesties army* (London, 1642)

Angliae decus & tutamen, or, The glory and safety of this nation under our present King and Queen (London, 1691)

Allix, Pierre, *Reflections upon the opinions of some modern divines conerning the nature of government in general, and that of England in particular* (London, 1689)

'An Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer, 1706' in *Poems on affairs of state,* Vol. IV (London, 1707)

Allyne, Robert, *Teares of ioy shed at the happy departure from Great Britaine, of the two paragons of the Christian world. Fredericke and Elizabeth, Prince, and Princesse Palatines of Rhine Duke and Dutches of Bauaria, &c* (London, 1613)

An Answer to the pretended speech, said to be spoken off-hand in the House of Commons by one of the members for B-----l, and afterwards burnt by the common hangman, according to the order of the house (London, 1694)

An Answer to the Question: Whether the Emperor that now is can bee Judge In the Bohemian Controuersie or not? Together with the extract taken out of the acts of the Dyet at Auspurghe, in the yeare 1584 [sic!]*: concerning the kingdome of Bohemia* ([London], 1620).

Antwort Auff die Frage: Ob der jetzige Kayser in der strittigen Böhemischen Sachen Richter seyn könne oder nicht? Sampt angehengtem Extract ex Actis deß zu Augspurg gehaltenem Reichstag/ im Jahr 1548. das Königreich Böheim betreffend (1620)

Apologia oder Entschuldigungs Schrifft, aus was für unvermeindlichen Ursachen alle drey Stände des Kön. Böheimb sub utraque ein defension werk anstellen müssen (1618)

The Apparent Danger of an Invasion, Briefly Represented in a Letter to a Minister of State. By a Kentish Gentleman (London, 1701)

An Appeal to all Protestant kings, princes, and states, concerning the apparent danger of the Protestant religion, and the great decay of its interest in Europe (London, 1700)

An appeale to the world in these times of extreame danger (London, 1642)

The appollogie of the illustrious Prince Ernestus, Earle of Mansfield, &c. Wherein from his first entertainment, are layd open the occasions of his warres in Bohemia, Austria, and the Palatinate, with his faithfull seruice to the King of Bohemia. Translated out of the originall French coppie (Printed at Heidelbergh [i.e. London], 1622)

Ar. A., *The practise of princes* ([Amsterdam], 1630)

Archer, Andrew, *A sermon preached in the chappel at Tunbridge-Wells, September 7. 1704. Being the day of publick thanksgiving for the glorious victory obtained by Her Majesty's forces under the Duke of Marlborough, over the French and Bavarians, at Bleinheim near Hochstet in German* (London, 1704)

Armageddon: or, the necessity of carrying on the war, if such a peace cannot be obtained as may render Europe safe, and trade secure, (London, 1711)

[Arnway, John], *No peace 'till the king prosper* (Oxford, 1645)

An argument against war: in opposition to some late pamphlets, particularly; the first and second part of The Duke of Anjou's succession consider'd: Wherein is plainly prov'd that it is directly contrary to the Interest of England and Holland to side with the Emperor against France and Spain, from the present posture of Affairs (London, [1701])

An argument for war, in answer to The argument for peace: being a vindication of two books, entituled, The Duke of Anjou's succession consider'd. Wherein is plainly proved, that a Just War is more eligible than a Slavish Peace, and that it is directly contrary to the Interest of England and Holland to side with France and Spain against the Emperor, from the present Posture of Affairs, and the Measures the French are daily taking (London, 1701)

Articles of alliance, between the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and States-General, against France and Spain (Dublin, 1702)

Bacon, Francis, *Considerations touching a vvarre with Spaine* (London, [1629])

- *The essayes or counsels, ciuill and morall* (London, 1625)

Ball, William, *The power of kings discussed* (London, 1649),

The ballance of Europe: or, an enquiry into the respective dangers of giving the Spanish monarchy to the Emperour as well as to King Philip (London, 1711),

Beard, Thomas, *The theatre of Gods iudgements reuised, and augmented: wherein is represented the admirable justice of God against all notorious sinners ...* 3rd edition (London, 1631)

Bladen, Martin, *An impartial enquiry into the management of the war in Spain* (London, 1711)

Blome, Richard, *A geographical description of the four parts of the world* (London, 1670)

The bloody siege of Vienna a song. … Written by an English gentleman volunteer, that was at the garrison during the siege (London, 1688)

Bloudy [sic!] *news from Germany or the peoples misery by famine* ([London], [between 1670-1696])

Bohemica iura defensa. = The Bohemian lawes or rights defended, against the informer or an answer to an information, falsly so called, secretly printed and divulged against the writings published by the states of Bohemia. Translated out of Latin by I.H. ([London], 1620)

Bohemiae regnum electiuum. That is, A plaine and true relation of the proceeding of the states of Bohemia, from the first foundation of that prouince, by free election of princes and kings vnto Ferdinand the eighteenth King of the house of Austria ([London], 1620)

Bohun, Edmund, *A geographical dictionary* (London, 1688)

- *The history of the desertion or, An account of all the Publick Affairs in England* (London, 1689)

- *The doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience, no way concerned in the controversies now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites* (London, 1689)

[Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount], *A Letter to the Examiner* ([London], 1710)

Bolton, Samuel, *A tossed ship making to safe harbor, or, A word in season to a sinking kingdome wherein Englands case and cure, her burthens and comforts, her pressures and duties are opened and applyed: in diverse sermons preached upon the publick dayes of humiliation* (London, 1644)

Boyer, Abel, *The martial-field of Europe being a geographical and historical description of those parts of Europe, which are most famous in this present war* (London, 1694)

- *A geographical and historical description of those parts of Europe which are the seat of war* (London, 1696)

- *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, Vol. 2* (London, 1703)

- *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the eighth* (London, 1710)

Bridges, Walter, *Division divided, or, Ruines fore-runner discovered and decyphered in a sermon before the right honourable and right worshipfull the Lord Major and Aldermen of the city of London, preached on the Lords-day, September 20, 1646, in Pauls Church* (London, 1646)

Bridge, William, *Two sermons viz. I. The diseases that make a stoppage to Englands mercies discovered and attended with their remedies* (London, 1642)

A Brief display of the French counsels representing the wiles and artifices of France, in order to ruine the confederates, and the most probable ways to prevent them (London, 1694)

A briefe description of the reasons that make the declaration of the ban made against the King of Bohemia, as being Elector Palatine, dated the 22. of Ianuarie last past, of no value nor worth, and therefore not to be respected ([London], 1621)

*A Brief history of the poor palatine refugees, lately arriv'd in England. (*London, 1709)

A briefe information of the affaires of the Palatinate The which consist in foure principall heads (London?, 1624)

A brief relation of the siege of Vienna, and the victory of the Christians against the Turks at Barkan (London, 1683)

[A Brief] vindication of the Parliamentary proceedings against the late King James II proving that the right of succession to government (by nearness of blood) is not by the law of God or nature, but by politick institution: with several instances of deposing evil princes, shewing, that no prince hath any title originally but by the consent of the people (London, 1689)

Brinckmair, L., *The vvarnings of Germany By wonderfull signes, and strange prodigies seene in divers parts of that countrey of Germany, betweene the yeare 1618. and 1638. Together with a briefe relation of the miserable events which ensued. All faithfully collected out of credible High Dutch chronicles, and other histories* (London, 1638)

Bromley, William, *Several years travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces. Performed by a gentleman* (London, 1702)

Brown, Edward, *An account of several travels through a great part of Germany* (London, 1677)

Burnet, Gilbert, *Some letters, containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy &c.* (Rotterdam, 1686)

- *Dr. Burnet's travels, or Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, France, and Germany* (London, 1687)

- *An enquiry into the present state of affairs, and in particular, whether we owe allegiance to the King in these circumstances? and whether we are bound to treat with him, and to call him back again, or not?* (London, 1689)

- *James's before His Highness the Prince of Orange, the 23d of December, 1688* (London, 1689)

- *A sermon preached before the House of Commons, on the 31st of January, 1688 being the thanksgiving-day for the deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, by His Highness the Prince of Orange's means…* (London, 1689)

- *Two sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury: the first, on the Fifth of November, Gun-powder-Treason Day; the second, on the seventh of November, Being the Thanksgiving-Day: In the 1710* (London, 1710).

Calamy, Edmund, *Englands looking-glasse presented in a sermon preached before the Honorable House of Commons at their late solemne fast, December 22, 1641* (London, 1642)

- *Gods free mercy to England presented as a pretious and powerfull motive to humiliation: in a sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons at their late solemne fast, Feb. 23, 1641* (London, 1642)

Calvert, George, *The answer to Tom-Tell-Troth the practise of princes and the lamentations of the kirke* (London, 1642)

[Carr, William], *An accurate description of the United Netherlands, and of the most considerable parts of Germany, Sweden, & Denmark containing a succinct account of what is most remarkable in these countries, and necessary instructions for travellers* (London, 1691)

- *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Hansiactique townes...* (Amsterdam, 1688*)*

- *Travels through Flanders, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark Containing an account of what is most remarkable in those countries* (London, 1693)

- *The travellours guide and historians faithful companion giving an account of the most remarkable things and matters relating to the religion, government, custom, manners, laws, pollicies, companies, trade, &c. in all the principal kingdoms, being the 16 years travels of William Carr* (London, 1695)

A Certaine And Perfect Relation Of The Encovnter And Bloody Slavghter which is newly happened betweene the Marquesse Spinolas forces, and the forces within the Towne of Breda (London, 1625)

Certaine miscellany works of the right honovrable Francis Lo verulam, Viscount S. Alban, published by William Rawley (London, 1629).

Chancel, Alexander Doriack, *A new Journey over Europe* (London, 1714)

Clare, R., *The english hero: or, the Duke of Marlborough. A Poem* (London, 1704)

Clarke, Samuel, *A briefe and yet exact and accurate description of the present state of the great & mighty empire of Germany* (London, 1665)

- *A new description of the World* (London, 1689)

Coke, Roger, *A detection of the court and state of England during the four last reigns, and the inter-regnum consisting of private memoirs, &c., with observations and reflections: also an appendix discovering the present state of the nation: in two volumes* (London, 1694)

Comber, Thomas, *The Protestant mask taken off from the Jesuited Englishman being an answer to a book entituled Great Britain's just complaint* (London, 1692/93)

The Common interest of king & kingdom in this confus'd conjuncture, truly stated, and to consist in the speedy calling of a free Parliament (London, 1688)

A congratulatory poem to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, on his glorious success and victories over the French and Bavarians (London, 1704)

A congratulatory verse, to Her Grace, the Dutchess of Marlborough: on the late glorious victory (London, 1704)

Cotton, Sir Robert, *The Danger wherein the Kingdom now standeth & the Remedie* ([London], 1628),

Crynes, N., *The copy of a letter sent from an English gentleman, lately become a Catholike beyond the seas, to his Protestant friend in England in answere to some points, wherin his opinion was required, concerning the present busines of the Palatinate, & marriage with Spayne...* ([St. Omer], 1622)

Crowne, William, *A trve relation of all the remarkable places and passages observed in the travels of the right honourable Thomas Lord Howard* (London, 1637)

The dangers of Europe, from the growing power of France. With some free thoughts on remedies (London, 1702)

[Davenant, Charles], *Essays upon I. The ballance of power. II. The right of making war, Peace, and Alliances. III. Universal monarchy. To which is added, an appendix containing the records referr'd to in the second essay* (London, 1701)

- *Essays upon peace at home, and war abroad. In two parts. Part I.* (London, 1704)

- *New dialogues upon the present posture of affairs, the species of mony, national debts, publick revenues, Bank and East-India Company, and the Trade now carried on between France and Holland* (London, 1710)

- *The True Picture of a Modern Whig, set forth in a dialogue between Mr. Whiglove & Mr. Double, two under-spur-leathers to the late ministry* (London, 1701)

- *Tom Double Return'd Out of the Country: or, the true picture of a modern Whig, &c. Whiglove and Double* (London, 1702)

A defence of the right of the House of Austria to the crown of Spain, and the dominions thereunto belonging...Written by a civilian at Vienna, and done into English (London, 1701)

[Defoe, Daniel], *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd: From the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (London, 1701)

- *Reasons Against a War with France, or an Argument Shewing that the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland and Ireland; is No Sufficient Ground of a War* (London, 1701),

- *A Hymn to Victory* (London, 1704)

- *The present case of England, and the Protestant interest* (London, 1690-1701)

- *The succession of Spain consider'd: or, a view of the several interests of the princes and powers of Europe* (London, 1711)

- *Reasons for a peace, or The war at an end* (London, 1711)

- *Reasons why this nation ought to put a speedy end to this expensive war* (London, 1711)

Denne, Henry, *Marlborough. An heroic poem* (London, 1704)

Dennis, John, *Britannia triumphans: or the Empire sav'd, and Europe deliver'd. By the success of her Majesty's forces under the wise and heroick conduct of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. A poem* (London, 1704)

A Description of Vienna in its ancient and present state (London, 1683)

The Detestable designs of France expos'd (London, 1689)

Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. 16 Vols., Vol. 2. (Leipzig, 1854-1960)

D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, *A speech delivered in the House of Commons, July 7th: 1641. being resolved into a committee (so neer as it could be collected together) in the Palatine cause* ([London], 1641).

Diggs, Dudley, *The vnlavvfulnesse of subjects taking up armes against their soveraigne in what case soevertogether with an answer to all objections scattered in their severall books* (Oxford, 1643)

Dorrington, Theophilus, *Observations concerning the presnt state of religion in the Romish church...made in a journey through some provinces of Germany* (London, 1699)

The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered: As to Its Legality and Consequences (London, 1701)

The duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd, As to the Danger that may arise from it to Europe in General; But more particularly to England, And the several Branches of our Trade (London, 1701)

Dyke, Jeremiah, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast To the Commons house of Parliament. April. 5th. 1628* (London, 1628)

The emperors answer to the French king's manifesto translated from the Latin (London, 1688)

The Emperor's letter to James II, late king of England &c., dated the ninth of April, 1689 in answer to a letter he receiv'd from him, dated the 6th of February, 1688/9 (London, 1689)

The emperor's letter to his own subjects and those of the empire in Italy dated from Vienna April 9th, 1689 (London, 1689)

The Emperor's new declaration against the Most Christian King: or, the further avocatoria and inhibitoria against the crown of France Published by the Diet at Ratisbon (London, 1689)

Englands ioy, for suppressing the papists, and banishing the priests and Iesuites (London, 1624)

Englands present distractions. Paralleld with those of Spaine, and other forraigne countries, with some other modest conjectures, at the causes of the said distempers, and their likeliest cure (London, 1642)

Englands remembrancer: or, A catalogue of all, or most of the severall victories and strong holds obtained (through Gods blessing) by the Parliaments forces, since the armies rising from about Oxford, June 1645. Published of purpose to draw forth our thanks unto the Lord of Hosts at all times, but more especially upon the day of thanksgiving (London, [1645])

England's triumph; or the glorious campaign in the year 1704 (London, 1704)

Englands vvolfe with eagles clavves or the cruell impieties of bloud-thirsty royalists, and blasphemous anti-parliamentarians, under the command of that imhumane Prince Rupert, Digby, and the rest. VVherein the barbarous crueltie of our civill uncivill warres is briefly discovered (London, 1646)

Europae modernae speculum (London, 1665)

Europe a slave, unless England break her chains discovering the grand designs of the French-Popish party in England for several years past (London, 1681)

Europe a slave, when the empire is in chains. Shewing the deplorable state of Germany from the invasion of the French (London, 1713)

Europe's chains broke, or, A sure and speedy project to rescue her from the present usurpations of the tyrant of France (London, 1692)

Everad, John, *The arriereban a sermon preached to the company of the military yarde, at St. Andrewes Church in Holborne at St. Iames his day last* (London, 1618)

Evans, John, *The being and benefits of divine providence, vindicated and asserted, in a sermon preached on Septemb. 7. being the day of publick thanksgiving: for the glorious victory over the French and Bavarians, obtain'd at Bleinheim in Germany* (London, 1704)

An Exact Collection of the Most Considerable Debates in the Honourable House of Commons: At the Parliament Held at Westminster, the One and Twentieth of October, 1680, which was Prorogued the Tenth, and Dissolved the Eighteenth of January Following (London, 1681)

An Exact list of the royal confederate army in Flanders, commanded by the K. of Great Britain (London, 1691)

An exact relation of the bloody and barbarous massacre at Bolton in the moors in Lancashire, May 28 by Prince Rupert being penned by an eye-vvitnesse (London, 1644)

An excellent new song, call'd The trusty and true English-Man (London, 1712)

An Experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises, or, The Counsell of a well-wishing souldier, for the good of his prince and state wherein is manifested from known experience, both the cruelty, and policy of the Spaniard, to effect his own ends (London, 1623)

The fable of the lion's share, Verified in the Pretended partition of the Spanish Monarchy. Done from the Original printed at Vienna. Part I (London, 1701)

Franchis, Joannes Maria de, *Of the most auspicatious marriage: betwixt, the high and mightie Prince, Frederick; Count Palatine of Rheine, chiefe sewer to the sacred Roman Empire, Prince Elector, and Duke of Bauaria, &. and the most illustrious Princesse, the Ladie Elizabeth her Grace… composed in Latine … And translated into English* (London, 1613)

French Gent, *A letter written by a French Gent: of the King of Bohemia his army: concerning the Emperour Ferdinand his embassage into France. Translated out of the French coppie* ([London], 1620)

A French Gent., *A plaine demonstration of the vnlawful succession of the now emperour Ferdinand the Second, because of the incestuous marriage of his parents, Translated out of the Latine printed copie* (London, 1620)

The friendship of King Lewis always fatal llustrated in the histories of the alliances between France, and the following princes, and states (London, 1712)

Fowler, Edward, *sermon preach'd in the chappel at Guild-Hall, upon Thursday the 7th of September 1704. Being the day of publick thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the late glorious victory, obtained over the French and Bavarians, at Bleinheim, near Hochstet* (London, 1704)

A Full account of a terrible and bloody fight between the Dutch and English forces in Flanders against the French (London, 1689)

The Germane spie truly discovering the deplorable condition of the kingdom and subjects of the French king (London, 1691)

The German history continued. The seventh part (London, 1634)

Grafton, Richard, *A chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of Englande and kinges of the same deduced from the Creation of the vvorlde, vnto the first habitation of thys islande* (London, 1569)

Great news from His Majesty's camp near Louvain in Flanders (London, 1693)

The great and famous battel of Lutzen fought betweene the renowned King of Sweden, and Walstein; vvherein were left dead vpon the place between 5 and 6000. of the Swedish party, and between 10 and 12000. of the Imperialists, where the King himselfe was vnfortunatly slain ... Here is also inserted an abridgment of the Kings life, and a relation of the King of Bohemia's death. Faithfully translated out of the French coppie ([London], 1633)

Grey, Enoch, *Vox coeli, containing maxims of pious policy* (London, 1649)

Good Newes for the King of Bohemia? Or, A Certaine Relation of the last and great Overthrow... (London, 1622)

Gordon, Patrick, *Geography anatomized: or, a compleat geographical grammar* (London, 1693)

- *Geography anatomiz'd, or, The compleat geographical grammar* (London, 1699)

- *Geography anatomiz'd: or, the geographical grammar, Fourth edition corrected and some what enlarg'd* (London, 1704)

Hampton, William, *A proclamation of vvarre from the Lord of Hosts. Or Englands warning by Israels ruine shewing the miseries like to ensue vpon vs by reason of sinne and securitie. Deliuered in a sermon at Pauls Crosse Iuly the 23. 1626* (London, 1627)

Hare, Francis, *The life and glorious history of John D. and E. of Marlborough* (London, 1705)

- *An exact journal of the campaign in Germany, for the year 1704. Under the conduct of his excellency John Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1704)

- *The charge of God to Joshua: in a sermon preach'd before His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, at Avenes le Sec, September 9. 1711, Being The Day of Thanksgiving for passing the Lines, and taking Bouchain* (London, 1711)

- *A caveat to the treaters; or, the Modern Schemes of partition examin'd, With relation to the Safety of Europe in general, and of Great-Britain and Ireland in particular* (London, 1711)

- *The allies and the late ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France. In answer to a pamphlet, intituled, The conduct of the allies* (London, 1711)

- *The management of the war; in four letters to a Tory-Member* (London, 1711)

Harrison, John, *A short relation of The departure of the high and mighty Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia* (Dort, 1619)

Harrison, Thomas, *Political aphorisms, or, The true maxims of government displayed* (London, 1690)

Hartlib, Samuel, *A faithfvll and seasonable advice, or, The necessity of a correspondencie for the advancement of the Protestant cause humbly suggested to the great councell of England assembled in Parliament* ([London?], 1643)

Heylyn, Peter, *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole vvorld, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (London, 1652)

- *Examen historicum, or, A discovery and examination of the mistakes, falsities and defects in some modern histories occasioned by the partiality and inadvertencies of their severall authours* (London, 1659)

Heywood, Thomas*, A Mariage Triumph, solemnized in an Epithalamium* (London, 1613)

His Imperial Majesty's letter to the Pope wherein is offered his reasons why he cannot accept of any offers of peace with France / translated from the original (London, 1691)

The History of the late war with the Turks, during the siege of Vienna, and the great victory obtain'd against them (London, 1684)

Holles, Denzil, *Mr. Denzell Hollis His speech to the Lords concerning the setling of the Queen of Bohemia and her electorall family in their right and inheritance with restitution for their sufferings July 9, 1641* (London, 1641)

'Horace, lib. III. ode III. imitated' in *Poems on affairs of state, Vol. IV* (London, 1707)

Howell, James, *The trve informer who in the following discovrse or colloqvie discovereth unto the vvorld the chiefe causes of the sa[]d distempers in Great Britanny and Ireland* ([London], 1643)

- *A discours of the empire, and of the election of a king of the Romans, the greatest businesse of Christendom now in agitation. As also of the Colledge of Electors, their particular interests, and who is most likely to be the next emperor* (London, 1658)

- *A discourse of the empire of Germany and of the election and crowning the emperours and kings of the Romans, as also of the Colledge of Electors, their particular interests and concernments* (London, 1659)

The imperial manifesto, in which the rights of the emperor, and the house of Austria, to the succession of Spain are asserted, and clearly made apparent (London, 1701)

The Intreigues of the French King at Constantinople to embroil Christendom (London, 1689)

The invasions of Germanie with all the civill, and bloody warres therin, since the first beginning of them in anno 1618 and continued to this present yeare 1638...faithfully collected out of good and credible originalls by a Gentleman well deserving that hath suffered much in those warres (London, 1638)

I.R., *The Spy. Discovering the Dangers of Arminian Heresie and Spanish Trecherie* (Strasburgh [i.e. Amsterdam], 1628)

An item to his Majestie concerning Prince Rupert and his cavaliers. Or, A looking-glasse, wherein His Majesty may see his nephews love; vvho secretly under pretence of assisting him, to gain an absolute prerogative or arbitrary power, will disthrone him to set up himselfe (London, 1643)

I.W. *The bloody prince, or A declaration of the most cruell practices of Prince Rupert, and the rest of the cavaliers, in fighting against God, and the true members of His Church* (London, 1643)

Jesuites plots and counsels plainly discovered to the most unlearned: which hath satisfied many about these present distractions. VVherein is laid open the Jesuites endeavours to bring all states to monarchies, and all the commons in monarchies to slavery, and how they have been put on foot here in England. Also how their counsels brought Germany into these long and bloudy wars, and endeavoured to bring Poland into slavery (London, 1642)

Johnson, Charles, *A congratulatory verse, to Her Grace, the Dutchess of Marlborough: on the late glorious victory, near Hochstet in Germany. August the 2d 1704* (London, 1704)

Jones, David, *The life of Leopold, late Emperor of Germany, &c. Containing the most remarkable transactions of Europe* (London, 1706)

Joyfull newes from Lichfield, being the true copie of a letter sent from a captain in Lichfield to his wife in London, dated Aprill 17 (London, 1643)

The Kings Maiesties speach to the Lords and Commons of this present Parliament at Whitehall, on Wednesday the xxj. of March. Anno Dom. 1609 (London, 1609)

Kingston, Richard, *Tyranny detected and the late revolution justify'd by the law of God, the law of nature, and the practice of all nations* (London, 1699)

Lacrymae Germaniae: or The Teares of Germany vnfolding her woefull distresse by Jerusalems calamity : in a sermon preached at a generall assembly in the maiden-towne of Norenberg in Germany, before the Lords the States, and many others of quality there met together, to humble themselves before the Lord / translated out of the High Dutch coppy (London, 1638)

A lamentable list of certaine hidious, frightfull, and prodigious signes, which have bin seene in the aire, earth, and waters, at severall times for these 18. yeares last past, to this present: that is to say, anno. 1618. untill this instant. anno. 1638. in Germany, and other kingdomes and provinces adjacent; which ought to be so many severall warnings to our kingdome, as to the said empire. To the tune of aime not to high (London, [1638])

The late bloody fight in Flanders with an account of the numbers slain on both sides (London, 1688-1695)

Leighton, Alexander, *Speculum belli sacri: Or The looking-glasse of the holy war wherein is discovered: the evill of war. The good of warr. The guide of war* (London, 1624)

Lesdiguiéres, François de Bonne duc de*, A letter which Monsieur Desdiguieres constable of France, hath sent to the king his master to perswade him by pregnant reasons to make peace with the Rochellers, and the other Protestants who liue in his dominions ...* (London, 1626)

Leslie, John, *A defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Quene of Scotlande and dowager of France* (London [i.e. Rheims], 1569)

A letter from the King of Spain written to the Pope of Rome Licens'd, September 29. 1690 (London, 1690)

Manley, Delarivier, *A learned comment upon Dr. Hare's excellent sermon preach'd before the D. of Marlborough, On the Surrender of Bouchain. By an Enemy to Peace* (London, 1711)

Marcelline, George / Rich, Barneby*, Vox militis foreshewing what perils are procured where the people of this, or any other kingdome liue without regard of marshall discipline, ... Dedicated to Count Mansfield, and the honourable Councell of Warre* (London, 1625)

Marcelline, George, *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum or, Great-Britaines, Frances, and the most parts of Europes vnspeakable ioy, for the most happy vnion, and blessed contract of the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Lady Henrette Maria* (London, 1625)

The means to free Europe from the French usurpation and the advantages which the union of the Christian princes has produced, to preserve it from the power of an anti-Christian prince (London, 1689)

[Maynwaring, Arthur], *Remarks upon the present negotiations of peace begun between Britain and France* (London, 1711)

- *A vindication of the present M--y, from the clamours rais'd against them upon occasion of the new preliminaries* (London, 1711)

- *Remarks on the preliminary articles offer'd by the French King, in order to procure a general peace. As publish'd in the daily courant, and postscript to the post-boy, of Octob. the 13th, 1711* (London, 1711)

Meriton, John, *A geographical description of the world* (London, 1671)

Misson, Maximillian, *A new voyage to Italy* (London, 1695)

A modest vindication of the French King; in which, all the arguments against arbitrary power and that monarch, are fully consider'd, and answer'd (London, 1703)

More nevves from the Palatinate; and more comfort to euery true Christian, that either fauoureth the cause of religion, or wisheth well to the King of Bohemia's proceedings. / According to faithfull and honest letters, sent ouer since the beginning of March, and now published for the satisfaction of euery true English heart ([London], 1622

Morton, Thomas, *Englands warning-piece: shewing the nature, danger, and ill effects of civill-warre, and of those nations which have bin infested with it, described. Very necessary for these times wherein we are in so great feare and imminent danger of civill dissention. With a true relation of the miseries and distractions of Germany, France, Ireland, and Spaine* (London, 1642)

The most Christian Turk: or a view of the life and bloody reign of Lewis XIV (London, 1690)

The necessarie league (London?, 1625)

[Nedham, Marchamont], *Ruperts sumpter, and private cabinet rifled. And a discovery of a pack of his jewels by way of dialogue between, Mercurius Britannicus and Mercurius Aulicus* (London, 1644)

Newes from Bohemia. An apologie made by the states of the Kingdome of Bohemia, shewing the reasons why those of the reformed religion were moued to take armes, for the defence of the king and themselues, especially against the dangerous sect of Iesuites … Translated out of Dutch into Latine, and thence into English by Will. Philip (London, 1619)

Newes from Bohemia. A true relation of the now present warres in Bohemia, their manner of proceeding in the same, fortifying and besieging of certaine townes, with such supplies and aide as they haue already receiued, and further expect from other countries. With the troubles and disagreements, betweene them, the Emperor and Empresse. / Translated out of the Dutch copie printed at Newinberg. the 4. of May 1619 (London, 1619)

The newes of Europe, containing these particulars. the iealousie of Italy concerning Bethelem Gabor, and the Emperour. The distresse of the Emperours army. The proceedings of Bethelem Gabor. The seuerall townes he hath surprised. The diuers ouerthrowes, to which the Imperiall Army hath beene subiect. The affrightings of Prague and Vienna. The calling of Tilly out of Hessen. The preparations of Mansfield and Brunswicke to rise (London, 1623)

Nixon, Anthony, *Great Brittaines generall Ioyes, Londons glorious Triumphes* (London, 1613)

[Norton, John], *The miseries of war. By a Lover of truth and peace: and by him dedicated to all that are such* (London, 1643)

'An Ode to the D. of Marlborough, 1706' in *Poems on affairs of state, Vol. IV* (London, 1707)

Opitz, Martin, *An oration to the most illustrious and mightie prince Frederick King of Bohemia...Translated out of Latin* (London, 1620)

The Palatines catechism, or, A true description of their camps at Black-Heath and Camberwell. In a pleasant dialogue between an English tradesman and a High-Dutchman (London, 1709)

Parker, Henry, *The manifold miseries of civill vvarre and discord in a kingdome: by the examples of Germany, France, Ireland, and other places. VVith some memorable examples of Gods justice, in punishing the authors and causers of rebellion and treason* (London, 1642)

- *The maunding souldier: or, The fruits of warre is beggery To the tune of, Permit me friends* (London, [1629?])

- *A briefe dissection of Germaines affliction with warre, pestilence, and famine; and other deducable miseries, lachrimable to speak of; more lamentable to partake of. Sent as a (friendly) monitor to England, warning her to beware of (generally) ingratitude, and security; as also (particularly) other greevous sinnes, the weight whereof Germany hath a long time felt, and at this present doth (and England may feare to) feele. Written from approv'd intelligence* (London, 1638)

The Parliamentary Or Constitutional History of England from the Earliest Times to the Restoration of King Charles II, Vol.8 (London, 1763)

A particular account of the suddain and unexpected siege of Vienna, the capital city of Austria, and residence of the Emperour of Germany, at present besieged by the Turkish Army (London, 1693)

Peacham, Henry, *Prince Henrie revived Or A poeme vpon the birth, and in honor of the hopefull yong Prince Henrie Frederick* (London, 1615)

Penn, William, *A declaration or test to distinguish Protestant-dissenters from papists and popish recusants as it was given to the Parliament in the year 1680. by the people called Quakers, and now re-printed* (London, 1689)

- *An address to Protestants of all perswasions more especially the magistracy and clergy, for the promotion of virtue and charity: in two parts* (London,1692),

- *A brief account of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers* (London, 1694)

- *A call to Christendom in an earnest expostulation with her to prepare for the great and notable day of the Lord that is at the door* (London, 1696).

- *An account of W. Penn's travails in Holland and Germany, anno MDCLXXVII* (London, 1694)

Pittis, William, *The history of the present Parliament. And Convocation. With the debates at large relating to the conduct of the war abroad, the mismanagements of the ministry at home* (London, 1711)

Poems on affairs of state, Vol. IV (London, 1707)

The politicks of the French King, Lewis the XIV. discovered with respect to Rome. Emperour, and princes of the Empire. Spain. England. United Provinces. Northern princes. Suisse cantons: and of Savoy. With a short account of his religion. Translated from the French (London, 1689)

Pontier, Gédéon, *A new survey of the present state of Europe containing remarks upon several soveraign and republican states* (London, 1683)

Porter, Thomas, *A compendious view or cosmographical and geographical describtions of the whole world* (London, 1659)

The present negotiations of peace vindicated from the imputation of trifling (London, 1712)

The present succession of Spain consider'd and a view of its consequences to the rest of Europe, particularly England and Holland (London, 1701)

Prince Robert his plot discovered: wherein is declared, how he caused a souldier to be disguised like himselfe, who in that habit was set upon and slaine by the souldiers of the Parliaments forces. Published to prevent the false and lying discoveries concerning Prince Robert. Also the happinesse of peace; and the misery whereinto a land is ingaged by the cruelty of civill and domestick war* (London, 1642)

Prince Rvperts burning love to England discovered in Birminghams flames, or, A more exact and true narration of Birmingham's clamities under the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of P. Ruperts forces (London, 1643)

Proffet, Nicolas, *Englands impenitencie under smiting, causing anger to continue, and the destroying hand of God to be stretched forth still. Set out in a sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at a publike fast, Sept. 25. 1644* (London, 1645)

Pufendorf, Samuel, *The Present State of Germany*, By a Person of Quality (London, 1690)

- *The present state of Germany. Written in Latin by the learned Samuel Puffendorff, under the name of Severinus de Monzabano Veronensis. Made English and continued by Edmund Bohun, Esq* (London, 1696)

Pym, John, *A Decleration Presented to the Honourable House of Commons. With A Speech delivered at conference with the Lords, Ianuary 25. 1641* (London, 1641)

Ray, John, *Observations topographical, moral, & physiological made in a journey through part of the low-countries, Germany, Italy, and France* (London, 1673)

Reasons for a war with France and Spain, Wherein some late Arguments against it are consider'd. (London, 1702)

Reasons prov'd to be unreasonable: or, an answer to the Reasons against a war with France. Fully demonstrating, that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales for King of England, Scotland, and Ireland is directly contrary to the Treaty of Reswick, and a sufficient Ground for a War (London, 1702)

The Reasons which compelled the states of Bohemia to reject the Archduke Ferdinand &c. and inforced them to elect a new king together with the proposition which was made vppon the first motion of the choyce of th'Elector Palatine to bee King of Bohemia by the states of that kingdome in their publique assembly on the sixteenth of August, being the birth day of the same Elector Palatine / translated out of the French copies (Dort, 1619)

Reflections upon the Examiner's scandalous peace (London, 1711)

A Relation of a new league made by the Emperour of Germany, with other Princes, Potentates and States Catholicke, against the Enemies of the Roman Catholick-Religion (London, 1626)

The Resolution of the electors and the princes of the empire, February the 11th, 1689 containing the reasons of their declaring war against France: together with the Emperor's concurrence with them in it, and approving the same (London, 1689)

Reynolds, John, *Votive Anglie: or, The Desires and Wishes of England Contained in a patheticall discourse, presented to the King on New-yeares Day last. Wherein are vnfolded and represented, many strong reasons, and true and solide motiues, to perswade his Majestie to drawe his royall sword, for the restoring of the Pallatynat, and Electorat, to his sonne in law Prince Fredericke, to his onely daughter the Lady Elizabeth, and their princely issue. Against the treacherous vsurpation, and formidable ambition and power of the Emperour, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Bavaria, who unjustlie possesse and detaine the same* (London, 1624)

- *Vox coeli, or, Newes from heaven, of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen. 8., King Edw. 6., Prince Henry, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most kingdomes and free estates of Europe, are vnmask'd and truly represented, but more particularly towards* (London, 1624)

The Resolution of the electors and the princes of the empire, February the 11th, 1689 containing the reasons of their declaring war against France: together with the Emperor's concurrence with them in it, and approving the same (London, 1689)

The rights of the House of Austria to the Spanish succession. Published by order of his Imperial Majesty, and translated from the original printed at Vienna (London, 1701)

The royal flight, or, The conquest of Ireland a new farce (London, 1690)

Rudyard, Benjamin, *The first speech upon the first day, concerning the Palatinate, in Two Speeches by Sir Beniamin Rudyard, concerning the Palatinate* (London, 1641)

- *The first speech upon the second day, concerning the Palatinate* (London, 1641)

Russell, John, *The tvvo famous pitcht battels of Lypsich, and Lutzen wherein the ever-renowned Prince Gustavus the Great lived and died a conquerour: with an elegie upon his untimely death, composed in heroick verse* (Cambridge, 1633)

R.W., *The happy union of England and Holland, or, The advantageous consequences of the alliance of the Crown of Great Britain with the States General of the United Provinces* (London, 1689)

Sanson, Nicolas, *Cosmography and* Geography *in two parts* (London, 1682)

Savage, John, *The ancient and present state of the Empire of Germany* (London, 1702)

- *A compleat history of Germany, comprehending the lives and reigns of all the Emperors, from its origin to this time* (London, 1702)

S.B. *An excellent and materiall discourse proouing by many and forceable reasons what great danger will hang ouer our heads of England and France* (London, 1626)

[Schmid von Schmiedebach, Augustin], *Informatio fundamentalis super discursu quodam circa modernum regni Bohemiae statum facto* (Francofurti [1620]),

- *De Statu Bohemico Das ist: Der Röm. Kayser. Auch zu Hungarn und Böhaim Königlichen Majestät Ferdinandi Secundi, Fundamental Deduction und gründliche Außführung der Erb-Gerechtigkeit und Erblichen Succession* (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1621)

[Scott, Thomas], *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie; which may serve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences* ([London], 1620)

- *A speech made in the lovver house of Parliament, anno. 1621. By Sir Edward Cicill, Colonell* ([London], 1621)

- *The interpreter wherin three principall termes of state much mistaken by the vulgar are clearly unfolded* (London, 1622)

- *Nevves from Pernassus The politicall touchstone, taken from Mount Pernassus: whereon the governments of the greatest monarchies of the world are touched.* (London, 1622)

- *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie, why the King of England should hereafter giue over all further treatie, and enter into warre with the Spaniard* (London, 1624)

- *The second part of the Vox populi* ([Gorinchem, i.e. London], 1624)

- *A Second part of Spanish practises, or, A Relation of more particular wicked plots, and cruell, in humane, perfidious, and vnnaturall practises of the Spaniards with, more excellent reasons of greater consequence, deliuered to the Kings Maiesty to dissolue the two treaties both of the match and the Pallatinate, and enter into warre with the Spaniards...* (London, 1624)

- *Symmachia: or, A true-loues knot Tyed, betvvixt Great Britaine and the Vnited Prouinces, by the wisedome of King Iames, and the States Generall; the kings of France, Denmarke, and Sweden, the Duke of Sauoy, with the states of Venice being witnesses and assistants. For the weale and peace of Christendome.* (Holland, 1624)
- *The Belgick souldier warre was a blessing* (London, 1624)
- *The Spaniards perpetuall designes to an vniuersall monarchie. Translated according to the French* ([London], 1624)

Scudder, Henry, *Gods warning to England by the voyce of his rod. Delivered in a sermon, preached at Margarets Westminster, before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn fast, Octob. 30. 1644* (London, 1645)

A seasonable discourse, shewing that it is the interest of both Papists and Protestants, to serve Their Majesties in the present war against France (London, 1689).

'The Second Grand Alliance' in *A general collection of treatys, declarations of war, manifestos, and other publick papers, relating to peace and war* (London, 1710)

Seller, John, *A new system of geography* (London, 1685)

The sence of the Oxford-Iunto, concerning the late treaty wherein the severall reasons are delivered, why they could not conclude a peace with the Parliament: and published for the satisfaction of the whole kingdome (London, 1645)

A sermon upon the thanksgiving for the victory obtain'd by Her Majesty's forces, and those of her allies, over the French and Bavarians (London, 1704)

Several years travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces. Performed by a gentleman (London, 1702)

A Short account of French cruelties in a letter from Heidelburgh, June 17 1689 (London, 1689)

A Short discourse concerning the invasion of France by the German army upon the Rhine (London, 1693)

Shute, Josias, *Sarah and Hagar, or, Genesis the sixteenth chapter opened in XIX sermons being the first legitimate essay of ... Josias Shute published according to his own original manuscripts, circumspectly examined, and faithfully transcribed by Edward Sparke* (London, 1649)

The sixth volume of letters writ by a Turkish spy who lived five and forty years undiscover'd at Paris…translated into Italian, and from thence into English by the translator of the first volume (London, 1694)

Smith, George, *Great Britains misery; with the causes and cure* (London, 1643)

Some remarks by way of answer to a late pamphlet, entituled, A letter to Sir J. B. (London, 1711)

Speed, John, *A prospect of the most famous parts of the world* (London, 1631)

The spirit of France, and the politick maxims of Lewis XIV laid open to the world (London, 1689)

Stafford, Robert, *A geographicall and anthologicall description of all empires and kingdoms* (London, 1618)

Stepney, George, *An essay upon the present interest of England* (London, 1701)

The State of the Poor Palatines, as humbly Represented by themselves upon their first Arrival in this Kingdom, about June, 1709, reprinted in *The Piety and bounty of the Queen of Great Britain: With the charitable benevolence of her loving subjects, toward the support and settlement of the distressed Protestant palatines* (London, 1709)

The state of the Palatines for fifty years past to this present time (London, 1710).

Stevens, John, *The history of Bavaria, from the first ages, to this present year, 1706. Collected from the best ancient historians, and the faithfullest modern accounts* (London, 1706)

- *The Lives and Actions Of all the Sovereigns of Bavaria, Kings, Dukes, and Electors*: From the First Erecting that Country into an ABSOLUTE STATE, To This present Year, 1706 (London, 1707)

The succession of Spain discuss'd. With a project of reconciling all the present pretensions to that crown, for the Advantage of Europe (London, 1701)

A Succinct and methodical history of the proceedings in the first sessions of this present Parliament, Which begun at Westminster the 25th of November 1710, and ended the 12th of June 1711 (London, 1712)

Sutcliffe, Matthew, *The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes described out of the doings of most valiant and expert captaines, and confirmed both by ancient, and moderne examples, and præcedents* (London, 1593)

Swadlin, Thomas, *The soveraignes desire peace: the subjectes dutie obedience* (London, 1643)

Swift, Jonathan, *The conduct of the allies, and of the late ministry, in beginning and carrying on the present war* (London, 1711)

Taylor, John, *An Englishmans loue to Bohemia* (Dort, 1620)

- *Taylor his trauels: from the citty of London in England, to the citty of Prague in Bohemia The manner of his abode there three weekes, his obseruations there, and his returne from thence: how he past 600 miles downe the riuer of Elue, through Bohemia, Saxony, Anhalt, the bishoprick of Madeberge, Brandenberge, Hamburgh, and so to England. With many relations worthy of note* (London, 1620)

- 'A funeral Elegie Upon King James', in *All the vvorkes of Iohn Taylor the water-poet Beeing sixty and three in number. Collected into one volume by the author: vvith sundry new additions corrected, reuised, and newly imprinted* (London, 1630), p. 323

- *A dog's elegy, or, Rvpert's tears, for the late defeat given him at Marstonmoore* (London, 1644)

T.B.*, Observations vpon Prince Rupert's vvhite dog, called Boy* (London, 1643)

Temple, Sir William, *The Irish rebellion: or, An history of the beginnings and first progresse of the general rebellion raised within the kingdom of Ireland, upon the three and twentieth day of October, in the year, 1641. Together vvith the barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which ensued thereupon* (London, 1646)

Tom Tell Troth, or a free discourse touching the murmurs of the times, directed to His Majesty, by way of humble advertisement ([London], 1642)

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the knights, citizens and burgesses in Parliament assembled (London, 1689)

To the right honorable assembly of knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons The humble petition of the inhabitants of the Citie and libertie of Westminster (London, 1642)

Tribbeko, John, *The Christian traveller: A farewel-sermon preach'd in the Church of St. Catharine near the Tower, on the 20th of January, 1710. To the Palatines, before their going out of England… chaplain to His Late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark. Translated into English* (London, 1710)

Troubles in Bohemia, and diuers other Kingdomes Procured by the Diuellish practises of state-medling Iesuites. With a true discouery of them, in their most secret consultations. Written by a Father of their owne facultie, in the Iesuites Colledge at Prage in Bohemia: truely translated out of French, according to the originall copy (London, 1619)

A true account of the actions with the whole defeat of the Turkish Army at Vienna by the imperiallists (London, 1683)

A true account of the barbarous cruelties committed by the French in the Palatinate, in January and February last (London, 1689)

A true account of a letter sent from Vienna, August the 23rd 1683 declaring the rasing the seige and the total overthrow of all the Turkish army / sent in a letter from an eminent English officer under the Duke of Lorraine, to his father at White-Hall (London, 1683)

A true and impartial history of the wars of Ireland, Flanders, on the Rhine, and in Savoy, &c (London, 1695)

A True copy of a letter sent from Vienna, September the 2d, 1683, N.S. by an eminent English officer under the Duke of Lorraine, to his friend in London (London, 1683)

A true relation of the bloudy execution, lately performed by the commaundment of the Emperours Maiestie, vpon the persons of some chiefe states-men, and others; in Prague the chiefe citie of the kingdome of Bohemia. the 11. of Iune 1621 VVith the manner and proceedings therein obserued. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch copye (London, 1621)

'Upon the King of Bohemia' in William Watts, *The Swedish Intelligencer. The third part* (London, 1633)

Vassor, Michel Le, *An account of the present state and government of the Empire of Germany. In a letter to Thomas Foley of Whitley in the County of Worcester* (London, 1711)

Vicars, John, *Prodigies & apparitions, or, Englands warning piece being a seasonable description by lively figures & apt illustration of many remarkable & prodigious fore-runners & apparent predictions of Gods wrath against England, if not timely prevented by true repentance* (London, 1643)

- *Gods arke overtopping the worlds waves* (London, 1645)

'Victory upon Victory: A Poem on the Success of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough over the French Forces near Tirlemont, 1705' in *Poems on affairs of state, from 1620. to this present year 1707, Vol. IV* (London, 1707), pp.11-12.

A vindication of the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, with an answer to several objections made against them, &c, The second Edition, corrected and enlarged ([London], 1647)

Vincent, Philip, *The lamentations of Germany. Wherein, as in a glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, and reade the woefull effects of sinne. Composed by an eye-witnesse thereof: and illustrated by pictures, the more to affect the reader* (London, 1638)

Warren, Elizabeth, *Spiritual thrift. Or, Meditations wherein humble Christians (as in a mirrour) may view the verity of their saving graces* (London, 1647)

Wells, Edward, *A treatise of antient and present geography, together with A sett of maps, design'd for the use of young students in the universities* (Oxford, 1701)

- *A new sett of maps both of antient and present geography, wherein Not only the Latitude and Longitude of many Places are Corrected, according to the latest Observations; but also the most remarkable Differences of Antient and Present Geography* (London, 1714)

Wither, George, *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall poems vpon the most blessed and happie mariage betweene the high and mightie Prince Frederick the fifth, Count Palatine of the Rhein, Duke of Bauier, &c. and the most vertuous, gracious and thrice excellent Princesse, Elizabeth, sole daughter to our dread Soueraigne* (London, 1612, i.e. 1613)

Wood, William, *Considerations vpon the treaty of marriage between England and Spain* ([The Netherlands?], [1623])

Woodward, Ezekias, *The churches thank-offering to God her King, and the Parliament, for rich and ancient mercies* (London, 1642)

Wortley, Francis, *The dutie of Sir; deliniated, in his pious pitty, and Christian commiseration of the sorrowes and sufferings of the most vertuous, yet unfortunate Lady Elisabeth Queene of Bohemia* (London, 1641)

Secondary sources

Adams, S.L., 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624' in Sharpe, Kevin, ed., *Faction and Parliament, Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 139-171

Asbach, Olaf, and Schröder, Peter, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War* (Routledge, 2016)

Asch, Ronald G., *The Thirty Years War. The Holy Roman Empire and Europe 1618-1648* (Basingstoke, 1997)

- 'Die englische Republik und die Friedensordnung von Münster und Osnabrück' in Duchhardt, Heinz, ed., *Der Westphälische Friede: Diplomatie - politische Zäsur - kulturelles Umfeld –Rezeptionsgeschichte, HZ Beiheft 26* (München, 1998), pp. 421-443

Astbury, Raymond, 'The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its Lapse in 1695', *The Library* 5.4 (1978), pp. 296-322.

Aston, Trevor, ed., *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660: Essays from Past and Present* (1965)

Backscheider, Paula R., 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?-1731)', *ODNB*, Vol. 15 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 681-692

Barber, Peter, 'Marlborough as imperial prince, 1704-1717.' *The British Library Journal*, 8, 1 (1982), pp. 46-79.

Barker, Hannah, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Harlow, England, New York, 2000)

Barnes, Thomas G., 'Phelips, Sir Robert (1586?-1638)', *ODNB*, Vol. 43 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 995-996

Baston, K. Grudzien, 'Reynolds, John (b. c.1588, d. after 1655)', *ODNB*, Vol. 46 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 542-543

Beddard, Robert, *A Kingdom without a King. The Journal of the provisional Government in the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1988)

- *The Revolutions of 1688* (Oxford, 1991)

Beller, Elmers A., *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodeian Library: And from the British Museum.* (H. Milford, 1928)

- 'Contemporary English Printed Sources for the Thirty Years War', *AHJ*, 32, 2 (Jan., 1927), pp. 276-282

Benario, Herbert W., 'Tacitus' *Germania* and modern Germany', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 15 (1990), pp. 163-75

Benecke, Gerhard, 'The Thirty Years War and its Place in the General Crisis of the XVIIth Century', *JEEH*, 9, 2 (1980), pp. 491-499

Bergin, Joseph, *The politics of religion in early modern France*, (Yale University Press, 2014)

Berning, Benita, *"Nach alltem löblichen Gebrauch": die böhmischen Königskrönungen der Frühen Neuzeit (1526-1743)* (Köln, Weimar, 2008)

Bilhöfer, Peter, '*Außer* Zweifel ein hoch verständiger Herr und tapferer Kavalier. Friedrich V. von der Pfalz- eine biographische Skizze', in Wolf, Peter, ed., *Der Winterkönig. Friedrich von der Pfalz. Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 19-32

- *'Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen'. Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz- der Winterkönig von Böhmen* (Heidelberg, 2004)

Birke, Adolf M., and Kluxen, Kurt, eds., *England und Hannover* (München, 1986)

Birley, Anthony, R., 'Introduction' in Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany*, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by A.R. Birley (Oxford, 1999)

Bittinger, Lucy Forney, *The Germans in colonial times* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1901)

Black, Jeremy, *A system of ambition? British Foreign Policy 1660-1793* (London, New York, 1991)

- *Britain as a military power, 1688-1815* (Routledge, 2002)

- *The British abroad, The Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud, 1992, 2003)

- 'Hanover and British Foreign Policy, 1714-60', *EHR*, 120, 486 (2005), pp. 303-39

- *Debating foreign policy in eighteenth-century Britain (*Ashgate, 2011)

- ed., *The Tory world: deep history and the Tory theme in British foreign policy. 1679-2014* (Ashgate, 2015)

Blaicher, Günther, *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1992)

- 'Konstanten der englischen Wahrnehmung Deutschlands' in Süssmuth, Hans, ed., *Deutschlandbilder in Dänemark und England, in Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (Baden-Baden, 1996), pp. 251-266

Blanning, Timothy Charles William, *The Culture of power and the power of culture: old regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002)

- 'Victory spoils', in *Times Literary Supplement* (London, 22 Oct. 2004), p. 7

Boys, Jayne E.E., *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge, 2011)

Breslow, Marvin A., *A mirror of England: English Puritan views of foreign nations, 1618-1640* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961)

Brightwell, Peter, 'The Spanish Origins of the Thirty Years' War', *EHQ*, 9 (1979), pp. 409-431

- 'Spain, Bohemia and Europe, 1619-21', *EHQ*, 12 (1982), pp. 371-399.

Brightwell, Peter and Parker, Geoffrey, 'Spain and Bohemia: The Decision to Intervene, 1619', *EHQ*, 12 (1982), pp. 117-141

Bromley, John Selwyn, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970)

Boyer, Richard E., 'English Declarations of Indulgence of 1687 and 1688', *CHR*, 50, 3 (1964), pp. 332-71.

Burkhardt, Johannes, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992)

Bußmann, Klaus, and Schilling, Heinz, eds., *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa.* Katalog zur 26. Europaratsausstellung, Bd.1 (Münster, 1998)

Calcagno, Rebecca, 'A Matter of Precedence: Britain, Germany, and the Palatine Match' in Smart, Wade, eds. *The Palatine Wedding*, pp. 243-266

Carlyle, Thomas, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia called Frederick the Great,* eight volumes, Vol 1 (New York, 1897)

Chaline, Olivier, 'Die Schlacht am Weißen Berg (8. November 1620)' in Bußmann, Klaus, and Schilling, Heinz, eds., *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa.* Katalog zur 26. Europaratsausstellung, Bd.1 (Münster, 1998), pp. 95-101

Childs, John, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army, 1688-1697: The Operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991)

Clark, Sir George, 'The Character of the Nine Years War', 1688-97, *CRH*, 11, 2 (1954), pp. 168–182

- 'The Nine Years War, 1689-1697', in Bromley, John Selwy, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 223-254

- 'From the Nine Years War to the War of the Spanish Successions' in Bromley, John Selwy, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 381-409

Clark, J.C.D., *English Society 1688-1832. Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985)

- 'Protestantism, nationalism and national identity, 1660-1831' *HJ*, 43, 1 (2000), pp. 249-276

Claydon, Tony, *William III and the godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996)

Claydon, Tony, and McBride, Ian, eds., *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998)

Claydon, Tony, and Ian McBride, 'The Trials of the Chosen Peoples: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland.' in Claydon, Tony and McBride, Ian, eds. *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 3-30

Claydon, Tony, 'Holland, Hanover and the fluidity of facts' in Canning, Joseph and Wellenreuther, Hermann, eds., *Britain and Germany compared: nationality, society and nobility in the eighteenth century* (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 86-97

- *William III, Profiles in Power* (Longman, 2002)

- *Europe and the Making of England 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007)

- 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689–1697' in Mijers, Esther and Onnekink, David eds., *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 125-142

- 'A European general in the English press: The print image of Marlborough in the Stuart realms' in Hattendorf, John B., Vaenendaal, August J. and Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, Rolof, eds., *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Karwansaray Publishers, 2012), pp. 301-319

- 'The Revolution in foreign policy, 1688-1713' in Harris, Tim and Taylor, Stephen, eds. *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 219-241

- 'Daily News and the Construction of Time in Late Stuart England, 1695–1714', *JBS*, 52.1 (2013), pp. 55-78

Claydon, Tony and Levillain, Charles-Edouard eds, *Louis XIV Outside In: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Routledge, 2016)

- 'Toryism and the world in the later Stuart era, 1679-1714' in Black, Jeremy, ed., *The Tory world: deep history and the Tory theme in British foreign policy. 1679-2014* (Ashgate, 2015), pp. 21-32

Clegg, Cyndia Susan, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

- *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Coffey, John, *Persecution and toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000)

Cogswell, Thomas, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989)

- 'England and the Spanish Match' in Cust, Richard and Hughes, Ann, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-42* (London, 1989), pp. 107-133

- 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *JBS*, 29, 3, (1990), pp. 187–215

Colley, Linda, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992)

- 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *JBS*, 31, 4 (1992), pp. 309-329

Coster, Will, 'Massacre and Codes of Conduct in the English Civil War' in Levene, Mark and Penny Roberts, eds., *The Massacre in History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 89-105

Cressy, David, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *JBS*, 29, 1 (1990), pp. 31-52

Cruickshanks, Eveline, ed., *By Force or By Default? The Revolution of 1688-1689* (Edinburgh, 1989)

Cust, Richard, and Anne Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-42* (London, 1989)

Cust, Richard, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 112, 1 (1986), pp. 60-90

Dahl, Folke, 'Amsterdam – Cradle of English Newpapers', *The Library* 5th Series, IV (1949), pp. 166-178

- *A bibliography of English corantos and periodical newsbooks, 1620-1642* (Bibliographical Society, 1952)

Darcy, Eamon, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms* (Suffolk, Rochester, NY, 2013)

Dickinson, H. T., 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties' *EHR*, 82, 324 (1967), pp. 464-485

Diner, Dan, ed., *Deutschlandbilder*, Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte 26 (Gerlingen, 1997)

Donagan, Barbara, 'Codes and Conduct in the English Civil War', *Past and Present*, 118, 1 (1988), pp. 65-95

- *War in England 1642-1649* (Oxford, 2010)

Dosquet, Emilie, 'Die Verwüstung der Pfalz als (Medien-)Ereignis. Von der rheinländischen Kriegshandlung zum europäischen Skandal' in Rutz, Andreas ed., *Krieg und Kriegserfahrung im Westen des Reiches 1568-1714* (Göttingen, 2015), pp. 333-370

Downie, James Alan, *Robert Harley and the press: propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge, 1979)

'Dreißigjähriger Krieg', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 30-31/2018 (Bonn, 2018)

Duchhardt, Heinz, and Schmitt, Eberhard, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 1987)

Duchhhardt, Heinz, *Altes Reich und europäische Staatenwelt: 1648-1806*, Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte Band 4 (München, 1990)

- ed., *Der Westphälische Friede: Diplomatie - politische Zäsur – kulturelles Umfeld – Rezeptionsgeschichte*, Historische Zeitschrift Beiheft 26 (München, 1998)

Duchhardt, Heinz, and Espenhorst, Martin, eds., *Utrecht–Rastatt–Baden 1712–1714: Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013)

Edie, Carolyn A., 'Revolution and the Rule of Law: The End of the Dispensing Power, 1689', *ECS*, 10, 4 (1977), pp. 434-50

Emmerson, John, 'Prince Rupert's White Dog: an episode in publishing history' in *Bulletin (Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand)*, 18, 2-3 (1994), pp. 86-92

Ernst, Albrecht and Schindling, Anton, eds., *Union und Liga 1608/09. Konfessionelle Bündnisse im Reich – Weichenstellung zum Religionskrieg?* (Stuttgart, 2010)

Ernstberger, Anton, 'Englands Ansichten zur Weltlage 1641/42' in *Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte Jahrgang* 1961, Heft 6 (München, 1961)

Falkner, James, *Blenheim 1704. Marlborough's greatest victory* (Barnsley, 2004)

Ferrell, Lori Anne, and McCullough, Peter eds., *The English sermon revised. Religion, literature and history 1600-1750* (Mancherster, New York, 2000)

Frank, Joseph, *The beginnings of the English newspaper; 1620-1660* (Cambridge, Harvard, 1961)

Fraser, Antonia, *The gunpowder plot: Terror and faith in 1605* (Hachette UK, 2010)

Fuhrmann, Manfred, 'Nachwort' in P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 59-77

Fulda, Daniel, 'Gewalt gegen Gott und die Natur. Ästhetik und Metaphorizität von Anthropophagieberichten aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg' in Neumann, Markus and Niefanger, Dirk, eds., *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst: Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 240-269

Furbank, Philip Nicholas, and Owens, William Robert, *Defoe De-Attributions: Critique of JR Moore's Checklist* (A&C Black, 1994)

- *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (Pickering and Chatto, 1998)

- *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe* (Yale University Press, 1988)

Gardner, Hall, and Kobtzeff, Oleg, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to War: Origins and Prevention* (Routledge, 2016)

Geyken, Frauke, *Gentlemen auf Reisen. Das britische Deutschlandbild im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main, 2002)

- ''The German language is spoken in Saxony with the greatest purity' or English images and perception of Germany in the eighteenth century', in Joseph Canning and Hermann Wellenreuther, eds., *Britain and Germany compared: nationality, society and nobility in the eighteenth century* (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 37-70

Gindely, Antonin, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, Erste Abteilung Geschichte des böhmischen Aufstandes von 1618* (Prag, 1869)

Gömöri, George, 'A Memorable Wedding': The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the

Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz', *JES*, 34, (2004), pp. 215-224

Goldie, Mark, 'Edmund Bohun and Jus Gentium in the Revolution Debate, 1689-1693', *HJ*, 20, 3 (Sept., 1977), pp. 569-586

- 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument. An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', *BRH*, 83 (1980), pp. 473-564

Greenberg, Stephen J., 'Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641-1644' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 20, 3 (1988), pp. 387–401.

Grimsley, Mark, and Rogers, Clifford J., eds., *Civilians in the Path of War, Studies in war, society, and the military* (Lincoln, 2002)

Habermas, Jürger, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.* (5. Auflage, Neuwied/Berlin, 1971 [1962])

- *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, 1989)

Haig, Edward, *The History of the Earliest English Newspaper, 1620-1641* (2006)

Hamburger, Philip, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review*, 37, 3 (1985), pp. 661–765

Harding, Nick, *Hanover and the British Empire, 1700-1837* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Harris, Bob, *Politics and the rise of the press: Britain and France 1620-1800* (London, New York, 1996)

Harris, Tim, and Taylor, Stephen, eds., *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Boydell Press, 2013)

Harris, Tim, *Rebellion. Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567-1642* (Oxford, 2014)

- *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (Routledge, 2014)

- 'Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England' in Claydon, Tony and Levillain, Charles-Edouard, eds., *Louis XIV Outside In: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Routledge, 2016) pp. 51-70

Hartmann, Peter Claus, 'Die französisch-bayerischen Beziehungen in der frühen Neuzeit', in Malettke, Klaus, and Kampmann, Christoph, eds., *Französisch-deutsche Beziehungen in der neueren Geschichte. Festschrift für Jean Laurent Meyer zum 80. Geburtstag. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Neuzeit. Marburger Beiträge Bd. 10* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 149-157

Hattendorf, John B., 'English Grand Strategy and the Blenheim Campaign of 1704' *The International History Review*, 5, 1 (1983), pp. 3–19

- *England in the War of the Spanish Succession: A study of the English view and conduct of grand strategy, 1702-1712* (New York, London, 1987)

- 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*, Vol. 11 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 607-633

Hattendorf, John B., Vaenendaal, August J., and Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, Rolof, eds., *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Karwansaray Publishers, 2012)

Hirsch, Jakob and Helbing, Hugo, *Sammlung Kommerzienrat Otto Bally Säckingen: Münzen und Medaillen von Baden und den angrenzenden Gebieten; Versteigerung: 25. Mai 1910 (Katalog Nr. 27)* (München, 1910)

Hobsbawm, Eric J., 'The Crisis of the 17th Century - II', *Past and Present*, 6 (1954), pp. 44-65

Hochedlinger, Michael, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683-1797* (Pearson Education, 2003)

Höpfl, Harro, *Jesuit political thought: the Society of Jesus and the state, c. 1540-1630* (Cambridge, 2004)

Holmes, Geoffrey, *Politics, Religion and Society in England: 1679-1779* (London, Ronceverte, 1986)

- *British politics in the age of Anne*. Revised edition (A&C Black, 1987)

Holmes, Richard, *Marlborough. Britain's greatest general* (London, 2008)

Hoppit, Julian, 'Davenant, Charles (1656–1714)', *ODNB,* Vol. 15 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 250-252

Horwitz, Henry, '1689 (and All That)', *Parliamentary History*, 6, 1 (1987), pp. 23-32.

Ihalainen, Pasi, *Protestant nations redefined: changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden, 2005)

Ingram, Anders, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Springer, 2015)

Israel, Jonathan Irvine, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1991)

- 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution' in Israel, Jonathan Irvine *The Anglo-Dutch Moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge, 1994)

Jones, Clyve, ed., *Britain in the first age of party: 1680-1750. Essays presented to Geoffrey Holmes* (London, Ronceverte, 1987)

Jones, James Rees, ed., *Liberty secured?: Britain before and after 1688* (Stanford, 1992)

- *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1996)

Kampmann, Christoph, 'Die englische Krone als "Arbiter of Christendom"? Die Balance of Europe in der politischen Diskussion der späten Stuart-Ära (1660-1714)', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 166 (1996), pp. 321-366

- ed., *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Köln, Weimar, 2008)

- *Europa und das Reich im Dreissigjährigen Krieg: Geschichte eines europäischen Konflikts* (Kohlhammer, 2008)

- 'Ein großes Bündnis der katholischen Dynastien 1688? Neue Perspektiven auf die Entstehung des Neunjährigen Krieges und der Glorious Revolution' *HZ* 294, 1 (2012), pp. 31-58

Kennedy, Paul, 'The war to begin all wars; A remarkable account of the European slaughter that set a high bloody benchmark for all subsequent conflicts', *The Sunday Times*, July 19, 2009 (London, 2009)

Kenyon, J.P., 'The exclusion crisis, 1678-1681, part I', *History Today* 14, 4 (1964), pp. 252-259

- 'The exclusion crisis, 1678-1681, part II', *History Today* 14, 5 (1964), pp. 344-349

Kidd, Colin, *British identities before Nationalism. Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999)

Kraner, Justus, *Bayern und Savoyen im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg: Überlegungen zu einem neuen Konzept frühneuzeitlicher Diplomatiegeschichte in Europa* (Meine Verlag, 2008)

Kretzer, Hartmut, *Calvinismus und französische Monarchie im 17. Jahrhundert. Die politische Lehre der Akademien in Sedan und Saumur, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Pierre Du Moulin, Moyse Amyraut und Pierre Jurieu* (Berlin, 1975)

Kroener, Bernhard R., ''The only thing that could save the Empire.' Marlborough, the States General, and the Imperial States: Diplomacy and Military Strategy in the War of the Spanish Succession and the Great Northern War, 1700-1711' in Hattendorf, John B., Vaenendaal, August J. and Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, Rolof, eds., *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Karwansaray Publishers, 2012), pp. 216-247.

Krugler, John D. 'Calvert, George, first Baron Baltimore (1579/80–1632)', *ODNB*, Vol. 9 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 584-587

Kuhn, Ortwin, ed., *Grossbritannien und Deutschland: Europäische Aspekte der politisch-kulturellen Beziehungen beider Länder in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für J.P. Bourke* (München, 1974)

Kumar, Krishan, *The making of English national identity* (Cambridge, 2003)

Lake, Peter. G., 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *HJ*, 25, 4 (1982), pp. 805-825.

Lake, Peter, and Pincus, Steven, eds., *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (Manchester, New York, 2007)

Langford, Paul, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2000)

Levene, Mark, and Roberts, Penny, eds., *The Massacre in History* (Oxford, 1999)

Levy, Fritz, 'The Decorum of News' in Joad Raymond, ed., *News, Newspaper, and Society in early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), pp.12-38

Lossky, Andrew, 'International relations in Europe', in John Selwyn Bromley, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970)**,** pp. 154-192

Love, Harold, *Scribal Publications in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993)

Lynn, John A., 'A Brutal Necessity? The Devastation of the Palatinate, 1688-1689' in Grimsley, Mark and Rogers, Clifford J., eds., *Civilians in the Path of War, Studies in war, society, and the military* (Lincoln, 2002), pp. 79-110

Lynn, John A., *The wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (Routledge, 2013)

Magen, Ferdinand, 'England und das Reich im frühen 17. Jahrhundert: Bemerkungen zur Literatur', in Kuhn, Ortwin, ed., *Grossbritannien und Deutschland: Europäische Aspekte der politisch-kulturellen Beziehungen beider Länder in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für J.P. Bourke* (München, 1974), pp.183-194

Maltzahn, Nicholas von, *Milton's History of Britain: republican historiography in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1991)

Matar, Nabil, 'Harrison, John (*d.* 1641x52)', *ODNB*, Vol. 25 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 508-509

May, Thomas Erskine, *The History of the Parliament of England: Which Began November the Third MDCXI with a Short and Necesary View of Some Precedent Years* (London, 1812)

McCabe, Edward, 'England's Foreign Policy in 1619. Lord Donaster's Embassy to the Princes of Germany', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,* 58 (1950), pp. 457-477

McDermott, James, *England and the Spanish Armada: the necessary quarrel* (Yale University Press, 2005)

McJimsey, Robert D., 'A Country Divided? English Politics and the Nine Years' War' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 23, 1 (1991), pp. 61–74.

McKay, Derek, and Scott, H.M., *The rise of the great powers 1648-1815* (London, 1983)

Mendle, Michael, 'Parker, Henry (1604–1652)', *ODNB*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 678-680

Metzdorf, Jens, *Politik-Propaganda-Patronage. Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Mainz, 2000)

Miller, Jaroslav, 'Between Nationalism and European Pan-Protestantism: Palatine Propaganda in Jacobean England and the Holy Roman Empire', in Smart, Sara, and Wade, Mara R., eds*., The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival,* Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung Band 29 (Wiesbaden, 2013) pp. 61-81.

Milton, Anthony, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995)

- 'Heylyn, Peter (1599–1662)', *ODNB*, Vol. 26 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 954-958

Mittag, Martina, *Nationale Identitätsbestrebungen und antispanische Polemik im englischen Pamphlet, 1558-1630* (P. Lang, 1993)

Mintzker, Yair, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689-1866.* Publications of the German Historical Institute (Cambridge, 2012)

Müllenbrock, Heinz-Joachim, *Whigs Kontra Tories: Studien zum Einfluss der Politik auf die englische Literatur des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1974)

Murdoch, Steve, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001)

- 'Introduction', in Murdoch, Steve, ed., *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), pp. 1-22

Murmann, Henning, *Die Herrschaft über das Ganze - Die kurpfälzische Konfessionspolitik zwischen 1685 und 1728 als Schauplatz rechtlicher und institutioneller Konflikte* (Heidelberg, 2014), digitalised PhD Thesis. Accessible via http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/17513/

Neuhaus, Helmut, *Das Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, Bd. 42 (München, 1997)

Neumann, Markus, and Niefanger, Dirk, eds., *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst: Wahrnehmung*

und Darstellung von Gewalt im siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1997)

Nolan, Cathal J., *Wars of the Age of Louis XIV, 1650-1715: An Encyclopedia of Global Warfare and Civilization* (Westport Connecticut, 2008)

Norbrook, David, ''The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the early Stuart Period' *The Seventeenth Century*, 1 (1986), pp. 81-110.

Ogilvie, Sheilagh C., 'Germany and the seventeenth-century crisis', *HJ*, 35. 2 (1992), pp. 417-441.

Onnekink, David, ed., *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Ashgate, 2009)

- 'Introduction: The 'Dark Alliance' between Religion and War' in Onnekink, David, ed., *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713* (Ashgate 2009), pp. 1-16

Onnekink, David, and Rommelse, Gijs, eds., *Ideology and foreign policy in early modern Europe (1650-1750*) (Ashgate, 2011)

- 'Britain in Europe during the Age of Marlborough', in Hattendorf, John B., August J. Vaenendaal and Rolof Van Hovell Tot Westerflier, *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Karwansaray Publishers, 2012), pp. 14-37

Ostwald, Jamel, 'Popular England perceptions of Louis XIV's way of war' in Claydon, Tony, and Levillain, Charles-Edouard, eds. *Louis XIV Outside In: images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Routledge, 2016), pp. 93-110

Oz-Salzberger, Fania, 'Exploring the Germanick Body - Eighteenth-Century Images of Germany' in Diner, Dan, ed., *Deutschlandbilder*, Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte 26 (Gerlingen, 1997), pp. 7-23.

Panayi, Panikos, ed., *Germans in Britain since 1500* (A&C Black, 1996)

Parker, Geoffrey, and Smith, Lesley M., eds., *The general crisis of the seventeenth century*. (Psychology Press, 1997)

'Introduction' in Geoffrey Parker, and Smith, Lesley M., eds., *The general crisis of the seventeenth century* (Psychology Press, 1997), pp. 1-31

Parker, Geoffrey, *The Thirty Years War,* 2nd Edition (London, 1997)

- 'Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered', *AHR*, 113, 4, 1 (October 2008), pp. 1053–1079

Patterson, Paul B., 'Harley, Defoe, Trapp and the 'Faults on Both Sides' Controversy' in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 11, 2 (1979), pp. 128–142.

Patterson, William Brown, *King James VI and I and the reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997)

- 'King James I and the protestant cause in the crisis of 1618–22' in *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982), pp. 319-334.

Peltonen, Markku, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)', *ODNB*, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 123-145

Pincus, Steven, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s', *HJ*, 38, 2 (June, 1995), pp. 333-361

- 'Coffee Politicians Does Create: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *JMH,* 67, 4 (1995), pp. 807-834

- *Protestantism and Patriotism. Ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996)

- 'The English Debate over Universal Monarchy' in Robertson, John, ed., *A union for Empire: Political thought and the British union of 1707* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 37-62

- 'The state and civil society in early modern England: capitalism, causation and Habermas's bourgeois public sphere', in Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, eds., *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (Manchester, New York, 2007), pp. 213-231

- 'Absolutism, ideology and English foreign policy: the ideological context of Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark', in Onnekink, David and Rommelse, Gijs, eds. *Ideology and foreign policy in early modern Europe (1650-1750)* (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 29-54

- *1688: The first modern Revolution* (New Haven, London, 2009)

Pitt, H.G., 'Chapter XIV - The pacification of Utrech' in Bromley, John Selwyn, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 446-479

Pocock, John Greville Agard, *The ancient constitution and the feudal law: a study of English historical thought in the 17th century. A Reissue with a Retrospect* (Cambridge, London, New York, 1987)

Pohlig, Matthias, *Marlboroughs Geheimnis: Strukturen und Funktionen der Informations-gewinnung im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg* (Köln, Weimar, 2016),

Pohlig, Matthias, and Schaich, Michael, eds., *The War of the Spanish Succession: New Perspectives* (Oxford University Press; German Historical Institute, 2018)

Polišenský, Josef V., *The Thirty Years War, translated by Robert Evans* (London, 1971)

Poston, Lawrence, 'Defoe and the Peace Campaign, 1710-1713: A Reconsideration', *HLQ*, 27, 1 (1963), pp. 1-20.

Probyn, Clive, 'Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)', *ODNB*, Vol. 53 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 465-479

Pursell, Brennan C., *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot, 2003)

Raumer, Kurt von, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1689 im Zusammenhang der französischen Rheinpolitik* (Pfaehler Dietrich, 1930)

Ravelhofer, Barbara, 'Censorship and Poetry at the Court of Charles I: The Case of Georg Rodolf Weckherlin' *English Literary Renaissance,* 43, 2 (2013), pp. 268-307.

Raymond, Joad, *Making the News. An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* (Gloucestershire, 1993)

- ed., *News, Newspaper, and Society in early Modern Britain* (London, 1999)

- *The invention of the Newspaper, English Newsbooks 1641-1649* (Oxford, 1996)

- 'Parker, Martin (*fl.* 1624–1647)', *ODNB*, Vol. 42 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 704-706

Richetti, John, *The Life of Daniel Defoe: A Critical Biography* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

Riotte, Torsten, 'Großbritannien und das Ende des Alten Reiches', in Roll, Christine, and Schnettger, Matthias, eds., *Epochenjahr 1806?: Das Ende des Alten Reichs in zeitgenössischen Perspektiven und Deutungen* (Göttingen, 2009), pp. 99-121

Robbins, Keith, *Present and past: British images of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century and their historical legacy* (Göttingen, 1999)

Robertson, John, ed., *A union for Empire: Political thought and the British union of 1707* (Cambridge, 2006)

Robertson, Randy, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division* (Penn State Press, 2009)

Roll, Christine, and Schnettger, Matthias, eds., *Epochenjahr 1806?: Das Ende des Alten Reichs in zeitgenössischen Perspektiven und Deutungen* (Göttingen, 2009)

Rollins, Hyder E., 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger' in *Modern Philology* 16.9 (1919), pp. 449-474

Roy, Ian, 'England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context', *TRHS*, Fifth Series, 28 (1978), pp. 127-144

Russel, Conrad, 'The foreign policy debate in the House of Commons in1621', *HJ*, 20. 2 (1977), pp. 289-309

- *The fall of the British monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford, 1991)

Rutz, Andreas, ed., *Krieg und Kriegserfahrung im Westen des Reiches 1568-1714* (Göttingen, 2015)

Schindling, Anton, 'Gab es eine kurpfälzer Kriegsschuld? Die Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein und die Union 1608 bis 1622' in Ernst, Albrecht, and Schindling, Anton, eds., *Union und Liga*

1608/09. Konfessionelle Bündnisse im Reich – Weichenstellung zum Religionskrieg? (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 301-341.

Schleck, Julia, ''Fair and Balanced' News from the Continent, English Newbook readers and the thirty years war', *Prose Studies* 29, 3 (2007), pp. 323-335

Schmidt, Burghart, 'Mappae Germaniae. Das alte Reich in der kartographischen Überlieferung der Frühen Neuzeit' in Schnettger ed., *Imperium Romanum – irregular corpus – Teutscher-Reichs-Staat. Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiography* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 3-24,

Schmidt, Georg, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (6th edn, München, 1995)

Smith, David L., 'Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin (1572–1658)', *ODNB*, Vol. 48 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 90-93

Schnettger, Matthias, ed., *Imperium Romanum – irregular corpus – Teutscher-Reichs-Staat. Das Alte Reich im Verständnis der Zeitgenossen und der Historiography* (Mainz, 2002)

Schnettger, Matthias, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg. 1701–1713/14 (*München, 2014)

Schwoerer, Lois G., ed., *The Revolution of 1688-1689. Changing perspectives* (Cambridge, New York, 1992)

- 'Liberty of the press and public opinion: 1660–1695' in Jones, James Ress, ed., *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After* 1688 (Stanford, 1992), pp. 199-230.

Schwoerer, Lois G., 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', *AHJ*, 82, 4 (1977), pp. 843-74

Scott, Jonathan, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000)

Seccombe, Thomas, 'Martin Parker', *DNB*, Volume 48, pp. 252-254.

Secord, Arthur Wellesley, ed., *Defoe's review Reproduced from the Original Editions, with an Introduction and Bibliographical Notes,* Facsimile Book 1 (New York, 1938)

Shagan, Ethan Howard, 'Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641,' *JBS*, 36, 1, (1997), pp. 4–34

Sharpe, Kevin, ed., *Faction and Parliament, Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford, 1979)

- *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631* (Oxford, 1979)

- *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (London, 1992)

- *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press, 2000)

Simms, Brendan, and Riotte, Torsten, eds., *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714-1837* (Cambrige, 2007)

- *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire* (Basic Books, 2008)

- *Britain's Europe. A Thousand Years of Conflict and Cooperation* (Penguin UK 2016)

Smart, Sara, and Wade, Mara R. eds., *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival,* Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung Band 29 (Wiesbaden, 2013)

Smuts, R. Malcolm, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585–1646),' in *ODNB*, Vol. 28 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 439-447

- ed., *The Stuart court and Europe. Essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge, 1996)

Sommerville, Charles John, *The news revolution in England: Cultural dynamics of daily information* (Oxford, 1996)

Speck, Arthur, *Reluctant Revolutionaries. Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1988)

- 'Harley, Robert, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724)', *ODNB*, Vol. 25 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 317-326

Spiers, Edward M., Crang, Jeremy A., and Strickland, Matthew, eds., *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012)

Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, *Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation: Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806* (München, 2006)

Stone, Lawrence, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', *Past and Present*, 42 (1969), pp. 69-139

Sturdy, David J., 'Images of France and Germany: The Accounts of English Travellers in the Seventeenth Century' in Heinz Duchhardt, Eberhard Schmitt, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Frühe Neuzeit* (München, 1987), pp. 293-330

- *Louis XIV* (Macmillan,1998)

Süssmuth, Hans, ed., *Deutschlandbilder in Dänemark und England, in Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (Baden-Baden, 1996)

Thompson, Anthony B., 'Licensing the Press: The Career of G. R. Weckherlin during the Personal Rule of Charles I', *HJ*, 41 (1998), pp. 653–78.

Thompson, Andrew C., *Britain, Hannover and the Protestant interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge, 2006)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century'*, Past and Present,* 16, 1, (1959)*, pp. 31-64,*

- 'Prince Rupert, 1619-82' *History Today*, 32, 3 (1982), pp. 8-11,

Troost, Wouter, 'Habsburg and Orange in 1700. Natural Allies?' in Christoph Kampmann, ed., *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Köln Weimar, 2008), pp. 255-266

Veenendaal, A.J., 'The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe' in Bromley, John Selwyn ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, *Volume 6, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia 1688-1715/25* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 410-445

Venning, Timothy, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (London, 1995)

Veylit, Alain, 'Some Statistics on the Number of Surviving Printed Titles for Great Britain and Dependencies from the Beginnings of Print in England to the year 1800' http://estc.ucr.edu /ESTCStatistics.html

Vierhaus, Rudolf, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988)

Waddell, D., 'Charles Davenant (1656-1714) - A Biographical Sketch' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 11, 2 (1958), pp. 279-88

Wedgewood, C.V., *The Thirty Tears War* (London, 1938, RP 1968)

Weiss, Elmar, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V von der Pfalz durch Jakob I. und Karl I. von England im Dreissigjährigen Krieg 1618-32* (Stuttgart, 1966)

Weißbrich, Thomas, *Höchstädt 1704. Eine Schlacht als Medienereignis: Kriegsberichterstattung und Gelegenheitsdichtung im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg.* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015)

Wendt, Bernd-Jürgen, ed., *Das britische Deutschlandbild im Wandel des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bochum, 1984)

Werner, Hans, ''The Hector of Germanie, or The Palsgrave, Prime Elector' and Anglo-German relations of early Stuart England: the view form the popular stage', in Smuts, R. Malcolm, ed., *The Stuart court and Europe. Essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 113-132

White, Jason, *Militant Protestantism and British Identity, 1603-1642* (London, 2012)

Wiener, Carol Z., 'The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism' in *Past & Present*, 51 (May, 1971), pp. 27-62.

Willman, Robert, 'The Origins of 'Whig' and 'Tory' in English Political Language', *HJ*, 17.2 (1974), pp. 247-64

Wilson, Peter Hamish, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495-1806* (Basingstoke, 1999)

- *German Armies: War and German Society, 1648-1806* (Routledge, 2002)

- *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009)

Winkler, Karl Tilman, *Wörterkrieg: politische Debattenkultur in England, 1689-1750* (Stuttgart, 1998)

Wrede, Martin, 'Türkenkrieger, Türkensieger. Leopold I. und Ludwig XIV. als Retter und Ritter der Christenheit' in Christoph Kampmann, ed., *Bourbon, Habsburg, Oranien: konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Köln, Weimar, 2008), pp. 149-165

Wright, Louis B., 'Propaganda against James I's Appeasement of Spain', *HLQ*, 6, 2 (1943), pp. 149-172

Wolf, Peter ed., *Der Winterkönig. Friedrich von der Pfalz. Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart, 2003)

Young, William*, International Politics and Warfare in the Age of Louis XIV and Peter the Great: A Guide to the Historical Literature* (iUniverse, 2004)