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**Unlocking *Cabala, Mysteries of State and Government*: the  
Politics of Publishing.**

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The work presented in this thesis is all my own

Signed:

Samantha Smith

## Abstract

This thesis is a study of the volume of state letters *Cabala, Mysteries of State and Government*. It primarily focuses on the two volumes published in 1653/4, examining the political contexts of the individuals who write or receive the letters, in particular Anne Boleyn, Robert Devereux and George Villiers. The thesis situates the *Cabala* volumes within a number of their more significant contexts: modern scholarship; contemporary publications; provenance studies; and examines the role of the individuals in enhancing our current understanding of how seventeenth century readers were questioning and debating the political climate. Responding to work in the field of early modern letter writing and culture, the thesis demonstrates how two particular volumes of letters influenced contemporary historians and have become a foundational source of mainstream scholarship on the Tudors and Stuarts.

Comprising five chapters, the thesis examines the different ways we can interpret the *Cabala* as a political document. The thesis takes two approaches: it is primarily a study of the *Cabala* volumes published in the 1650s which situate these volumes within Protectorate studies. Secondly it considers the reception of the books and in doing this the thesis covers all six *Cabala* volumes. The first three chapters focus on the seventeenth century. They examine individual letter writers, print publication and the political context prevailing when the *Cabala* was first published. The last two chapters broaden the timeframe to encompass the period from publication to the present day. Chapter four researches the ownership, accessibility and distribution of the *Cabala* and demonstrates the book's role in our understanding of book history and how the *Cabala* still endures within the modern library. The final chapter focuses on how the *Cabala* is used in contemporary and modern scholarship in particular its role in the reception and acceptance of the iconic Tilbury speech of Elizabeth I.

## **Acknowledgements**

Firstly I would like to thank Dr Susan Wiseman for her support, advice and most of all for her patience throughout the thesis.

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Finally I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Jacqueline Mildren, and my sister, Kathryn Stonier, and in memory of my two fathers, Michael Mildren and Peter Smith. Without my family none of this would be possible.

## Contents

Abbreviations	6
Notes	7
Introduction	8
Chapter One: ‘The Duke of Buckingham’s private cabinet unlocked’: The 1653 <i>Cabala</i> , the evil favourite and the coming of the Protectorate.	37
Chapter Two: ‘Creating Lives’: The Rehabilitation of Anne Boleyn and the Letter from the Tower.	86
Chapter Three: ‘Cannot Princes erre? Cannot subjects receive wrong?’: The Monarchical Right of Kings, the Malcontent and the Inheritance of Rebellion.	126
Chapter Four: Ownership, distribution and accessibility: tracking the <i>Cabala</i> .	170
Chapter Five: ‘A Rhapsody of Letters’: reconsidering the <i>Cabala</i> ’s contribution to Tudor and Jacobean scholarship.	202
Conclusion	247
Bibliography	254
Appendix One: Letter Recipients from the <i>Cabala</i> (first edition)	274
Appendix Two: Letter Writers from the <i>Cabala</i> (first edition)	275
Appendix Three: Letters with dates from the <i>Cabala</i> (first edition)	277
Appendix Four: Letter Writers to the Duke of Buckingham from the <i>Cabala</i> (first edition)	282
Appendix Five: <i>Cabala</i> Copies by Location and Type	284
Appendix Six: <i>Cabala</i> copies by Region and Type and Category	290
Appendix Seven: <i>Cabala</i> Copies by Library	292
Appendix Eight: <i>Cabala</i> Owners	297

## Abbreviations

BL British Library

HCJ House of Commons Journal

HLJ House of Lords Journal

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

To differentiate between the different *Cabala* volumes these abbreviations have been used throughout the thesis:

<i>Cabala</i>	<i>Cabala, Mysteries of State in Letters of the Great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles (1654)</i>
<i>Scrinia Sacra</i>	<i>Scrinia Sacra: Secrets of Empire in Letters of Illustrious Persons: A Supplement of the Cabala (1654)</i>
<i>Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra</i>	<i>Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government (1654)</i>
1663 <i>Cabala</i>	<i>Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government (1663)</i>
1691 <i>Cabala</i>	<i>Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government (1691)</i>
<i>Scrinia Ceciliania</i>	<i>Scrinia Ceciliania: Mysteries of State and Government in Letters of the late Famous Lord Burghley (1663)</i>

## Notes

For primary sources: place of publication London unless otherwise shown; no publishers for books published before 1900.



## Introduction

And now I think on it, I cannot a little wonder that whilst there are extant so many volumes of letters, and familiar epistles in the politer modern languages, Italian, Spanish and French, we should have so few tolerable ones of our own country now extant, who have adorned the part of elegancy, so proper and so becoming persons of nobility, quality and men of business, and education too, as well as lovers and courtiers of the fair sex. Sir Francis Bacon, Dr Donne and I hardly remember any else who have published any thing considerable, and they but gleanings; or cabal men, who have put things in a heap, without much choice or fruits, especially to the culture of the style or language, the genius of the nation being almost another thing than it was at that time.<sup>1</sup>

John Evelyn, writing to Lord Spencer in 1688, dismissed the popular genre of letter volumes as “things in a heap” which could tell the reader little about the history or culture of the nation. In particular he was referring to the volume of letters published by G. Bedell and T. Collins in 1653 entitled: *Cabala, Mysteries of State in Letters of the great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles*. A second volume was published six months later with subsequent editions in 1663 and 1691.<sup>2</sup>

Challenging Evelyn’s statement, this thesis examines not just the popularity of these volumes but also their crucial contributions to how the Tudor and Stuart courts were represented in seventeenth century England and in canonical scholarship from John Hackett, in the mid seventeenth century, onwards. The thesis will demonstrate how this particular group of letter volumes influenced contemporary historians and

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<sup>1</sup> John Evelyn to Lord Spencer, 1688, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (London: Routledge and Son, 1906), p. 677.

<sup>2</sup> *Cabala, Mysteries of State in Letters of the Great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles* (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1653); *Scrinia Sacra: Secrets of Empire in Letters of Illustrious Persons. A Supplement to the Cabala* (London: Bedell and Collins, 1654) *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (London: Bedell and Collins, 1654); *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (London: Bedell and Collins, 1663); *Scrinia Ceciliania, Mysteries of State and Government* (London: Bedell and Collins, 1663); *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (London: Thomas Sawbridge and Matthew Gillyflower, 1691). This will be referred to as *Cabala* throughout the thesis when written about in general terms. When differentiating the 1654 volumes I will refer to the first edition as *Cabala* and the second edition as *Scrinia Sacra*. If I reference the combined volume of *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* which was also published in 1654 this will be referred to as *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra*. When referencing the two later editions, these will be referred to as 1663 *Cabala* and 1691 *Cabala*. Gabriel Bedell has different variations on his surname i.e. Bedel and Beadle but I have used Bedell throughout for consistency. I have also shown the printers’ names here because the 1691 edition changes printers.

became a foundational source of mainstream scholarship on the Tudors and Stuarts. The thesis will take as its primary focus the first two *Cabala* volumes published in the 1650s. The first three chapters will situate the *Cabala* of the 1650s within a particular timeframe, that of the Protectorate, and the chapters examine the meaning of the letters at this particular time. The 1663 and 1691 volumes are printed during different times which move the letters into a different field of study: the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution. The approach of this thesis is to contribute to a focused study in the field of Civil War and Protectorate studies combined with a more encompassing analysis of reception in the last two chapters. Thus these chapters cover all the *Cabala* volumes as we move into the reception and acceptance of the letter volumes.

The importance of the *Cabala* lies not just in the fact it was the first volume of state letters to be printed, but also in the political context of publication during Cromwell's Protectorate and in the themes presented by the letters themselves. The thesis asks what the letters can tell us about the time they were published and whether they give an insight into the topics which the seventeenth century readers may have been discussing themselves. What is the importance of these letters within seventeenth century society?

Examining the history of a particular letter volume can provide an insight into the way readers read letters and why they would want to read them. What makes a reader want to read other people's letters? There are different factors to consider when reading a letter created for public consumption, as opposed to private correspondence. For example letters written intentionally for a wider audience are consciously written with this in mind and may also be read with this knowledge. Sometimes, though, a "public" letter is deliberately or otherwise published as a so-called private letter leading the reader to believe that he or she is reading something confidential. At the same time, the significance of a letter is changed by publication. Thus, a private letter written to a specific recipient that is then published changes from private to public and the audience changes with it. This is also the same for forged letters. The *Cabala* apparently publishes at least two forgeries: a letter from the archbishop of York to James I; and a letter from Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII. Both letters are published without any disclaimers from Bedell and Collins and therefore would appear to the reader as genuine. The thesis will examine who

challenges their authenticity and what this means to how the letters are read. In one particular case, we also question the words of one letter writer in his role as the deliverer of the famous Tilbury speech and why this content is used by the writer for his own aims. Thus the thesis examines not only who those intended readers were and what the letters are attempting to convey but also how the public audience of the *Cabala* may interpret the letters' messages differently.

This study of the *Cabala* takes as its main focus individuals such as the Duke of Buckingham, Anne Boleyn and the Earl of Essex who either write or receive the letters published within the book and how such letters allow these individuals to be perceived in the 1650s. It will address a number of questions: why were these individuals still important to the seventeenth century reader? Why was the memory of these individuals still prevalent and what were these memories contributing to political thought at the time of publication?

The thesis situates the *Cabala* within a number of its more significant contexts: modern scholarship; contemporary publications; the reception history of the letters, and the role of the individuals in enhancing our current understanding of how seventeenth century readers were questioning and debating the political climate.

### **Publishing the *Cabala* Volumes 1653-1691**

The publishing history of the *Cabala* spans from 1653 to 1691. In its first three chapters, this thesis places the *Cabala* within the context of the 1650s and then the final two chapters encompass all the *Cabala* volumes. Therefore it is worth examining the publication history and the contents of the volumes to situate the thesis within this context.

*Cabala, Mysteries of State in the Letters of the great ministers of K. James and K. Charles* was the first volume to be published in 1653 by Gabriel Bedell and Thomas Collins.<sup>3</sup> It contains 185 letters of which 118 are written to the Duke of Buckingham. There are 124 letters which are dated and these range from 1616 to 1625. Of those which are undated we can confidently date them from the same

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<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2 of this introduction for the full publishing details and how the volumes will be referred to throughout the thesis.

period because of the letter writers and the content of the letters.<sup>4</sup> There is a table of contents at the start of the volume arranged alphabetically by letter writer and then by date. At the end of this table the reader is directed to ‘read the letters according to the order of this table’.<sup>5</sup> There is a further table at the end of the volume entitled ‘The Table of things most remarkable’ and it is an index. Within the volume the letters are arranged in a different format to the table of contents and would appear to be in chronological order by date. It starts with the Earl of Somerset’s letter to James I, which is undated but as it is obviously written during the Thomas Overbury affair we can date this to 1618, and ending with a letter dated 20 August 1625 from Sir Dudley Carleton to Buckingham. The majority of the letters relate to the Spanish Match of the 1620s which is explored in detail in Chapter One. The book itself is printed in the format of a news book and the copy I have measures 21 and a half centimetres by 16 centimetres.

The second volume *Scrinia Sacra* was published six months later by Bedell and Collins. It contains 134 letters of which only 43 are dated. This volume spans a much longer time period with the earliest letter dated 1533 and the final letter dated 1636. Unlike the first volume with its emphasis on the Spanish Match, there is no obvious coherence to this volume. Letters range from Henry VIII’s reign to that of Charles I. The table of letters in this instance would appear to be in date order and the letters are printed in the same order. In comparison with the *Cabala* it also has an alphabetical table at the end. It is also printed in “news book” format. Bedell and Collins also print a combined volume of the *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* titled *Cabala: sive Scrinia Sacra* which allows the reader to purchase both editions in one news book volume if they haven’t already purchased the *Cabala*.

In 1663 Bedell and Collins published a volume called *Cabala: sive Scrinia Sacra* which retains the same title and content as the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* but it has 147 additional letters which are marked by an asterisk in the table of contents and beside the printed letters within the volume. Of the 147 letters, 59 are from Francis Bacon of which only 14 are dated. However we are told that one letter is written just before Elizabeth I’s death so this would date it from late 1602 or early 1603 and the latest dated letter is 1624. There are 8 Bacon letters from 1616 which deal with

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<sup>4</sup> See appendices 1 to 3. Chapter One discusses the letters found in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> No page number.

Somerset's trial. There are 80 letters from William Cecil to Henry Norris all of which are dated from 1566-70 when Norris was the Ambassador to France. The remaining 8 letters are from different individuals of the Elizabethan and Stuart courts. The 1663 edition is printed in sections alphabetically by writer thus the reader loses all continuity as the volume starts with an Anne Boleyn letter which is followed by Sir Walter Aston's letters and so forth. The table of contents is arranged in the same way. Therefore topics such as the Spanish Match are scattered throughout the volume making it hard to follow. The size of the book also changes. It is now just slightly bigger than A4 size paper. It becomes less of a useful news book and more of a collectable which can be used as a reference rather than as a whole coherent dialogue. At the same time *Scrinia Ceciliania* is published and this contains just the additional letters allowing anyone already owning the *Cabala* to purchase this edition. Interestingly the editions of this I have seen have still been a news book size and I would suggest so that it would aesthetically fit well with the 1650s editions.

Finally, in 1691, *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* is published by Thomas Sawbridge and Matthew Gillyflower. The preface is very similar to the 1663 edition. The table of contents and the order of the letters are the same. The volume differs from the 1663 edition with its rather splendid engraving before the title page of Elizabeth I flanked by William Cecil and Francis Walsingham and with the addition of the second part "consisting of a Choice Collection of Original letters and Negotiations, never before published".<sup>6</sup> This refers to the section added after the *Cabala* entitled *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra – The Second Part*. The 81 letters deal primarily with the war in the Netherlands with Spain during the 1580s. Dated from 1585 to 1587 they are printed in date order. But it has a few random letters at the end: 11 are dated from 1642; 1 from 1660; 1 from 1494; 2 from Henry VIII in 1525; and the final letter is from Francis Bacon to James I and is undated. In comparison with the 1663 edition it is a large book. I would argue that to study the *Cabala* one would need to use the 1650s editions for coherence especially in consideration of the Spanish Match.

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<sup>6</sup> 1691 *Cabala*, Title Page.

The book's name *Cabala* is also significant. The word 'Cabal' relates to a group of political intriguers and the word 'Cabala' means a mystery or secret.<sup>7</sup> This implies, along with the book's subtitle *Mysteries of State*, that there are secrets found within the letter volumes. The first volume was entered into the Register as *Cabala, or misteries of state, or the Duke of Buckingham's private cabinet unlocked*.<sup>8</sup> Diana Barnes highlights how many of these letter collections include the word 'cabinet' within the title and she describes a cabinet as 'both a box in which letters are stored and a small room, either the office in which a secretary composes his letters, or a private space in which illicit sexual acts may be performed'.<sup>9</sup> This is fascinating in regard to the alleged relationship between the Duke of Buckingham and James I and intriguing as to why the original name was dropped. If there was such an implication in the use of the word cabinet it could surely apply to the King and his favourite and lend a new meaning to the letter volume. However the book is published as the *Cabala, Mysteries of State* and thus it moves the focus away from the Duke to a more general letter volume, although we will see in Chapter One that the first volume is, I will argue, dominated by Buckingham and his powerbase. The second volume is titled *Scrinia Sacra* and this also implies a cabinet. The word *Scrinia* appears to be a derivation of the Latin word 'scrinium' meaning a costly cabinet and the word *Sacra* translates as sacred. Subsequent volumes are titled *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* and this creates an idea of the letters as political mysteries and secrets and would tempt the reader into buying a book that gives them access to the Tudor and Stuart courts not available before.

### **Writing Letters: the study of letters and manuscripts**

One of the contexts for this study of the *Cabala* is recent scholarship in the study of letters and letter-writing and this underpins many aspects of this thesis. A wide array of letters has been examined to demonstrate how letters worked in different contexts of society. Manuscript circulation of texts, of which letters form a part, have been a particular focus of Harold Love, Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D.

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<sup>7</sup> Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), p. 4A.

<sup>8</sup> *A Transcription of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708. Vol.1* (London: Privately Printed, 1913), p.426.

<sup>9</sup> Diana Barnes, *Epistolary Community in Print 1580-1664*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.12.

Bristol.<sup>10</sup> In his 1993 work, Harold Love argued that distributing manuscript texts made public that which had been previously hidden or deemed private. Letters such as those found within the *Cabala* may well have been originally distributed in manuscript form and the publication of these letters in book form did indeed transform the letters from private documents to public ones. Marotti and Bristol believed that manuscript circulation creates ‘an intimate and interactive bond between letter and reader’.<sup>11</sup> In particular, private letters were circulated within a culture that ‘valued personal intimacy, sociality and participation’.<sup>12</sup> They refer to the letters of Essex and Raleigh all circulating in manuscript form and this type of circulation allowed an otherwise censored text to become public.<sup>13</sup> Such circulation not only allowed freedom from government control but it was cheap and made works readily available to a select audience.<sup>14</sup> State letters such as those by Essex were only available in manuscript form before the publication of the *Cabala* which highlights how important such a publication was. Manuscript circulation of letters may well have been cheap but were they limited to a chosen circle of receivers? Were they actually as accessible as a book?

These early works focused on the role of the manuscript in a variety of genres not just letters and we now turn to studies which have focused on the letter form. In particular, James Daybell has produced two distinct studies: *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (2006) and *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (2012).<sup>15</sup> In his earlier work, Daybell concentrates on female letter writers to demonstrate how their letters can be viewed as ‘immediate records of family, social and gender relations’ (5). He examined over 3000 manuscript letters from 650 individual women between 1540 and 1603 accessing family collections, archives and state papers (5). Letters, he writes, are ‘immensely complex documents, and should not be treated as simply repositories of historical fact or transparent carriers of

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<sup>10</sup> Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol, eds., *Print, Manuscript, Performance* (Ohio State University, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> Marotti and Bristol, p.5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.15

<sup>15</sup> James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford University Press, 2006); *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing 1512-1635* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Subsequent references in text.

feeling and emotions’, they record a single moment in a particular time which means the letter remains static and unchanging (263).

Daybell’s 2012 work focuses on the years 1512-1631, and offers a much wider context of both letter writers and their community. It is a sociocultural study of manuscript letters and letter-writing practices in early modern England. It examines the delivery and production of letters and how they were read and preserved. Discussing the circulation of letters, Daybell argues that the ‘letters which achieved widest currency were those associated with monarchs (especially Elizabeth, James I and Charles I), well known-politicians, public figures or bodies and institutions, such as parliament, the Privy Council etc.’ and this thesis will build on this statement by demonstrating how the *Cabala* with its letters from such figures capitalises on their popularity (191). For example, Daybell states that the individuals whose letters were most widely circulated were Walter Raleigh, Robert Devereux, Francis Bacon and Philip Sidney, all of whom, with the exception of Sidney, feature within the *Cabala* (191). Daybell refers to the *Cabala* when he writes that letters of state ‘achieved considerable currency in manuscript, before being printed in the *Cabala* in the second half of the seventeenth century’ (191). He notes that the letters regarded as state secrets ‘were produced for consumption by a popular audience eager to read or own historical documents’ (202). Therefore the *Cabala* publication appears to be taking advantage of this popularity and the thesis, by concentrating on this particular letter volume, will enhance and compliment the work of Daybell in the area of state letters and their public transmission using the distinct evidence based in print.

James Daybell has more recently edited *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* with Andrew Gordon (2016).<sup>16</sup> This collection seeks to ‘open up the study of correspondence to multiple avenues of inquiry, showing how reading the letter against different contexts and expectations of letter writing can force us to re think the work undertaken and achieved by this most overdetermined of forms’.<sup>17</sup> This thesis also demonstrates how studying the *Cabala* volumes can also open up different ways of examining the letter but in a different way to the essays printed in

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<sup>16</sup> James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, eds. *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2016). Referred subsequently as *Cultures*.

<sup>17</sup> Daybell and Gordon, p. 5.



*Cultures*. These essays focus on such topics as material practices behind early modern letter writing; the examination of the styles of letter writing; and the survival of such letters. The thesis is not concerned with the actual methods of letter writing but in how the letters themselves could be read in the context of the 1650s but it does demonstrate how there are different methods in which we could study the early modern letter. However the last chapter in *Cultures* does resonate with this study of the *Cabala* to an extent. Alan Stewart's essay 'Familiar Letters and State Papers' asks where have the letters been since they were written? Where do they go and what does their survival in new locations tell us about them? In Chapter Four of the thesis, the provenance of the *Cabala* volumes is tracked within various locations and a similar question is asked: what does the provenance and survival of the *Cabala* volumes tell us about the relevance of the book itself? It tracks the changes of how the *Cabala* was collected; where the volumes are kept and how they survived in different types of institutions.

The work by Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity* (2005), takes as its focus letter and letter writing between 1500-1700. Schneider examined the sociocultural function and meaning of epistolary writing whereby letters were intended to be circulated or perceived to be circulated in early modern England.<sup>18</sup> The *Cabala*, which is mentioned by Schneider as the first state letter collection published, can be situated within this genre. The *Cabala* letters may not all have been intended for public view but the publication of the *Cabala* volumes changes the dynamic of the letters because private becomes public. Schneider believes the *Cabala* is unique because it was the first multiple author state letter volume to be printed.<sup>19</sup> However the themes it presents to the reader are not unique. The Earl of Somerset, the Duke of Buckingham and Francis Bacon, key figures in the *Cabala*, are represented in print before the *Cabala*'s publication. Letters also have a circulating print history so the genre is not unknown. There is an audience, as Daybell argues, not just for letters but for subjects that focus on the Tudor and Stuart courts. The *Cabala* publishers, it would appear, recognised the desire for such letters and capitalised on this need.

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<sup>18</sup> Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Diana Barnes in her book *Epistolary Community in Print 1580-1664* studies how letters were published in manual, prose and poetic form which were used to imagine a community and she does this by taking six case studies.<sup>20</sup> She examines the types of communities imagined and the importance of gender to these communities. Barnes also places these ideas within the political significance of the historical context.<sup>21</sup> Barnes argues that ‘letters in print also have a public, political dimension’ and this, it will be argued, is true of the *Cabala* volumes whereby private letters become public and take on a political significance within its publishing context.<sup>22</sup> Barnes herself mentions the *Cabala* and how it and other letter volumes went ‘through a notable vogue during the Civil War and Restoration periods’.<sup>23</sup> In particular she sees the 1663 *Cabala* highlighting how the letters of Burleigh are a ‘synecdoche for the lost ideal of the golden age’.<sup>24</sup> She also discusses how the letters of Charles and Henrietta Maria appear to associate ‘Kingship with secrecy, subterfuge and dishonesty’ and, we could also argue, that the *Cabala* printers appear to take this association to promote their own letter volumes when they allude to secrets and mystery in the title of the books and where they advise the reader in their prefaces that they will find truth.<sup>25</sup>

The thesis, however, although situating itself with the field of early modern letter studies, is a focused study of the publication of a series of letter volumes. The thesis moves away from the studies of types of letters; how they were written; and how they worked within different contexts of society. The thesis discusses how the letter volumes could impact on 1650s political thought and ideas with their secrets from the Tudor and Stuart courts.

### **Contemporary Print Publications**

This thesis takes as its focus the first two *Cabala* volumes published in the 1650s. Daybell, as we have seen, argues that certain individuals such as monarchs and courtiers were popular in print but how do we know this? What types of publications precede the *Cabala* which gives the book a known genre within which it

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<sup>20</sup> Diana Barnes, *Epistolary Community in Print 1580-1664* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Barnes, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

is situated in the 1650s? To answer this we need to investigate what other letter volumes had been printed in the preceding years and what else was being published in 1653.

By examining the *A Transcription of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708* from 1640 until the publication of the *Cabala* in 1653 we can build a picture of the types of letter volumes and histories which were being published, although it should be noted this is not a full picture as for example there was manuscript circulation of texts and letters which would not be recorded here.<sup>26</sup> This enables us to understand the relevance of the *Cabala* within the print history of the time. In 1640, for example, Walter Raleigh's history of the kings and queens of England was entered on the 7 January.<sup>27</sup> In 1644 *Ho Eliane Epistole* was entered under the authorship of James Howell described as letters foreign and domestic. This was a collection of letters written by Howell himself and intended for circulation so they are very different to private letters.<sup>28</sup> Various single letters by military commanders such as Robert, third Earl of Essex and Thomas Fairfax appear throughout the register. The fact that there are so many letters being printed demonstrates that letters, concerning the wars at least, had begun to gain an audience and a circulation or that print was now expressing what had earlier been available only in manuscript circulation. The first major and most famous letter collection was entered on 9 July 1645 as *The King's Cabinet Opened*. This was the letter collection of Charles I taken at Naseby by Fairfax and published by the special order of Parliament.<sup>29</sup> The popularity of this collection of letters could be said to demonstrate to the printers of the *Cabala* that there was an audience for their state letters. This is further suggested by the publication of a collection of Francis Bacon's letters which enter the register on 7 April 1646 because Bacon's letters also appear within the *Cabala*.<sup>30</sup> *Sir Francis Bacon's Letters etc.* is entered under the printer Charles Duncan and they also appear on 30 December 1647 as *Bacon's Remaines* under the

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<sup>26</sup> *A Transcription of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708* (London: Privately Printed, 1913), vol. 1. All entries referred to are from volume one of the *Registers*.

<sup>27</sup> 'The Lives of the Kings of England & Queenes from William the Conqueror to King James by Sir Walter Rawleigh' *Registers*, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> 'Ho Eliane Epistole, familiar letters foreigne & domestick; written by James Howell Esq, the first pte' 10 December 1644, *Registers*, p. 140.

<sup>29</sup> 'The King's Cabinet opened or certaine Packetts of Secrett Letters & Papers written by the Kings owne hand, taken in his Cabinet at Naseby field & c.', *Registers*, p. 181.

<sup>30</sup> 'Sir Francis Bacon's Letters & c.' 17 April 1646, *Registers*, p. 225.

printers Bernard Alsop and Lawrence Chapman.<sup>31</sup> Another Bacon work, *The Felicity of Queen Elizabeth*, is published in 1651 with *The Apology of Francis Bacon concerning the Earl of Essex*.<sup>32</sup> There would appear to be public interest in Bacon at least in this period.

The Duke of Buckingham also starts to gain a print history in the 1640s with various publications, and we will see that he is an important figure within the *Cabala*. This again demonstrates a public interest in such figures. Henry Wotton's work *Reliquiae Wottonianae* is entered into the register on 25 January 1650 under the printers Richard Marriott, Gabriel Bedell and Timothy Garthwaite.<sup>33</sup> This is a major work that features both Buckingham and the second Earl of Essex and of course Gabriel Bedell is the printer of the *Cabala*. Therefore Bedell as a printer may have realised that certain individuals did indeed sell.

Buckingham is also a focus of another work entered into the register on the 25 April 1651 by Michael Sparke and is printed as *A Discourse and Narration of the first XIII years of King James Reign*.<sup>34</sup> It was published in four volumes. This deals with the Earl of Somerset and the Overbury affair, a chain of events which led to the rise of Buckingham.<sup>35</sup> Somerset and Buckingham both feature in the *Cabala* so this is another timely precedent helping to situate the *Cabala* within a known genre.

Examining the four volumes published by Sparke, in particular volumes one and two, we can discover similar issues which the *Cabala* also touches upon. For example in volume one Somerset's affair and subsequent marriage with the third Earl of Essex's wife is the main topic. This was a major scandal and led to the Overbury affair. Thomas Overbury was a friend and adviser of Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset who was the favourite of James I. He, therefore, appeared to be a man of great influence. Robert Carr, however, had started an affair sometime in 1611 with

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<sup>31</sup> 'Bacon's Remaynes & c.' *Registers*, p. 283.

<sup>32</sup> *The felicity of Queen Elizabeth and her times with other things. The Apology of Sir Francis Bacon etc.* (1651). This does not seem to appear in the register under the printer T. Newcomb.

<sup>33</sup> *Reliquiae Wottonianae* or, a collection of lives, letters, & poems of sundry personages & c. by Sir Henry Wotton' *Registers*, p. 359. In chapter one I will discuss further the publications which deal specifically with the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>34</sup> 'A Discourse of divers accidents & matters happening during the first XIII yeares of the late raigne of King James with the passages between the Earles of Essex, Northton, & Somerset, & c. & about the poysoning of Sir Tho. Overbury. Also the rising of the Duke of Buckingham into favour, & the fall of Somerset' *Registers*, p. 365.

<sup>35</sup> *A Discourse and Narration of the first XIII years of King James Reign* (London: M. Sparke, 1651).

Frances Howard, the wife of the third Earl of Essex. It would appear from letters to Carr from him that Overbury was not pleased with the relationship. In April 1613 Overbury was offered an embassy overseas, probably a clumsy attempt by Carr to get rid of his old ally. Overbury refused and was imprisoned in the Tower. By the September of 1613 he was dead.<sup>36</sup> Carr and Frances Howard were to be accused of his murder in September 1615 (72).

The *Cabala* publishes a letter from Somerset after his downfall as a result of this episode which will be discussed within the thesis. A young George Villiers is mentioned in volume one when he catches the eye of the King who bestowed great favour upon him and within the *Cabala* we can see the extent of this favour.<sup>37</sup> In volume two of Sparke's publication the reader is presented with the details of the divorce between Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex. The main charge was the impotence of the Earl which he admitted was the case with his wife. The divorce was granted on the grounds of non-consummation. The rest of this volume deals with more of the Overbury case and includes Bacon's speech on Somerset's arraignment. The Earl of Essex discussed here was of course the third earl and son of Robert Devereux, the second earl, who features in the second volume of the *Cabala*. Therefore we can see that, with these first two volumes, figures such as Somerset, Buckingham, Bacon, and Essex are still within the public consciousness, allowing the *Cabala* to be a natural continuation of their print history.

Continuing our search of the *Register* we find in 1652 *Reliquie Sacre Caroline or the Works of that Great Monarch and Glorious Martyr King Charles I* containing the King's speeches plus the letters already printed in 1645. The *Cabala* was entered on 5 August 1653 and the proclamation of the Protectorate appears on 12 December.<sup>38</sup> So we can see that the *Cabala* is timely in its publication because these state letters demonstrate a monarchy now defunct but a new regime is emerging in the form of Cromwell as these letters are published. The second edition of the

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<sup>36</sup> Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 50-55. Subsequent references in text.

<sup>37</sup> *Discourse*, p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> 'Cabala, or misteries of state, or the Duke of Buckingham's private Cabinet unlocked' *Registers*, p. 426; 'A Proclamation by the Councill proclaiming Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the three nations' *Registers*, p. 437.

*Cabala* appears almost a year later on 8 May 1654.<sup>39</sup> A combined copy is further entered on 4 August 1654.<sup>40</sup> It could be argued that the decision to print a second volume enforces the impact of the first volume's publication during the proclamation of the Protectorate. Most of the entries in the *Register* between 1652 and 1653 deal with religious and political matters with few histories and dramas being entered. A book entitled *Tamerlane the Great* is entered in 27 January 1652 and perhaps this was to be seen as a comparison with Cromwell?<sup>41</sup> Tamberlaine was after all a famous historical general and king whose military prowess had enabled him to rise from the role of shepherd to the leader of many countries in literature and life. The *Cabala*, I will argue, prompts a debate on the rise of the favourite in comparison with the rise of Cromwell.

By examining the *Register* we can see that figures such as Raleigh, Bacon, Essex and Charles I were getting published, as Daybell suggests, because there must have been a demand for them. In fact in 1650, Cromwell writes to his son, Richard, and advises him to:

Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's History: it's a body of History, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of a story. Intend to understand the estate I have settled; it's your concernment to know it all, and how it stands. I have heretofore suffered much by too much trusting others.<sup>42</sup>

History, such as Raleigh's, Cromwell seems to believe, teaches the reader to understand the present. What is worth questioning here is why Buckingham is also a focus of these works. It could be argued that Raleigh, Essex and Bacon are aligned with the Tudor court and to nostalgia for the Elizabethan period. Buckingham however was not seen as 'popular' and was in fact widely disliked in his lifetime and, it would appear, after his death as well. Buckingham, with his closeness to James I and Charles I, would however fall under the category of state secrets which would intrigue a contemporary audience whom Daybell describes as 'eager' to read or own

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<sup>39</sup> 'Scrinia Sacra, secrets of Empire in letters of illustrious person. A Supplement of the Cabala' *Registers*, p. 447.

<sup>40</sup> 'Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra. Misteries of State and Government in letters of illustrious persons & great agents, in the reignes of Hen.8<sup>th</sup>, Qu Elizabeth; King James & the late King Charles. In two parts. In which the secrets of Empire and publique manage of affaires are contained: with many remarkable passages no where else published' *Registers*, p. 453.

<sup>41</sup> 'Life of Tamerlane the great' *Registers* p. 407.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. S.C. Lomas (Methuen, 1904), pp. 53-54.

such works.<sup>43</sup> Therefore the *Cabala* would appear to have all the popular figures and themes of previous publications. It contains ‘mysteries of state’ and it allows the reader a privileged view into the workings of court. If ‘letters are a single bibliographic unit’ then we can construct a seventeenth century view of these individuals.<sup>44</sup> The key feature that characterise these publications are these individuals. It is Bacon, Raleigh, Essex and Buckingham who sell and it would appear it is their lives and letters that the seventeenth century reader is interested in. This study attempts to ascertain why this is the case and what can be learnt from these lives.

### **The Noble Hand: The Provenance of the Letters**

When we study a particular set of letters we also need to think about the provenance of the letters because it can help us understand who could gain from their publication at a particular point in time. We have seen that letters from individuals were popular and would sell but who would find such letters and why would they allow them to be published?

The majority of the letters in the first volume of the *Cabala* are to Buckingham and therefore it would be fair to assume that the source of these letters must be either the Buckinghams themselves, which is unlikely given that few of them were in the country at that time, or that they were discovered within one of the Buckingham residences. This is a possible line of enquiry because Buckingham’s several residences included offices in Whitehall where he conducted government business and government officials could have found the letters there. However his official residence was York House which had also been the home of Francis Bacon and one-time prison to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.<sup>45</sup> This connection may be suggestive as the second volume *Scrinia Sacra* in particular publishes from the correspondence of Bacon and Essex. Therefore it is worth pursuing York House as a possible source of the *Cabala* letters.

York House was originally the residence of the archbishops of York, hence its name, but from 1558 it was leased to the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper. Nicholas

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<sup>43</sup> Daybell, *Material Letters*, p. 202.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>45</sup> ‘York House’, *Survey of London*, ed. by G.H. Gator and E.P. Wheeler (London County Council, 1937) v. 18, pp. 51-60; <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

Bacon lived there when he was chancellor and his son, Francis, was born there.<sup>46</sup> In 1599 when Sir Thomas Egerton was Keeper, the Earl of Essex was briefly imprisoned at York House until 1600 when he was moved to his own residence, Essex House.<sup>47</sup> Egerton's and Essex's letters both feature in *Scrinia Sacra* and are discussed in chapter three. Francis Bacon lived at York House from 1617, and he himself awaited trial there in 1621.<sup>48</sup> He was eventually sent to the Tower and when he was released he was exiled to the country. In 1622 Bacon finally agreed to let Buckingham have the house and the favourite took possession of it in 1624.<sup>49</sup> Buckingham used it to entertain foreign princes and ambassadors, to house his growing art collection and as a symbol of his own fame.<sup>50</sup> The majority of the letters in the two *Cabala* volumes printed in 1653/4 are from the 1620s (both the Bacon and Buckingham correspondence) which reinforces the possibility that the letters come from York House. In the case of the Bacon correspondence, found within the *Cabala*, some date back to 1617 when Bacon took up residence in the house.

On Buckingham's death York House was passed to his son as part of his inheritance but it was Katherine Buckingham and her second husband, the Earl of Antrim, who lived at York House from 1635-1638 whilst her children lived in the royal household.<sup>51</sup> Brian Fairfax mentions various family members staying there in 1638 in particular Buckingham's niece, the Marchioness of Hamilton, and, at a different date, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, husband to Buckingham's daughter.<sup>52</sup> This means that the house was in the possession of the Buckingham family for a significant period of time and that the Duke's letters may have stayed in situ until the house's seizure by Parliament in 1640s.

Looking at the records in *The House of Commons Journal* we can trace a history of York House in the 1640s by which time it would appear the Buckingham family had left. In 1644 on 16 January Thomas Fairfax's Committee was ordered to

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<sup>46</sup> Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon 1561-1626* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1998), p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex: An Elizabethan Icarus* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), pp. 245-249.

<sup>48</sup> Jardine and Stewart, p. 416, p. 466.

<sup>49</sup> Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), p. 119.

<sup>50</sup> Lockyer, p. 408.

<sup>51</sup> Lockyer, p. 461.

<sup>52</sup> Brian Fairfax, *A Catalogue of the Curious Collections of Pictures of George Villiers* (1758), p. 5.



consider raising £4000 out of the sale of pictures and other valuable objects in York House and to inform the Commons of what remained there.<sup>53</sup> Therefore it would appear that York House had been in the possession of Parliament from at least 1644 and possibly earlier given that the King and his supporters had left the capital in 1642. Jerry Brotton states that Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was living there at the time of the seizure of the art collection and he had kept some of the portraits himself in lieu of debt that he had incurred in the service of Parliament. However Northumberland, Brotton informs us, also helped Buckingham's son smuggle out a vast amount of the collection.<sup>54</sup> In June 1645 Robert Harley was making an inventory of the pictures and in August of that year Parliament ordered the sale of non-superstitious pictures situated within the House.<sup>55</sup>

By July 7 1648, the *House of Commons Journal* declared that the young Buckingham, the earl of Holland and the earl of Peterborough were all traitors and their estates were to be sequestered and by 13 July, the Journal informs us, the estates of Buckingham and his brother, Francis, were to go towards the maintenance of General Lambert.<sup>56</sup> The sequestration remained in place and in 1649 York House was granted to Lord Fairfax on 24 August.<sup>57</sup> The *Cabala* was published in 1653 during which time York House was in the possession of Fairfax. He had already played a part in the publication of *The King's Cabinet Opened*, which has a similar title to that of the *Cabala* when it was registered on 5 August 1653 as *The Duke of Buckingham's private cabinet unlocked*.<sup>58</sup> The preface tells us that the letters come from a 'noble hand', therefore is Fairfax the 'noble hand' behind the *Cabala*? He was a man of intellect who enjoyed books. In fact when Parliament took Oxford in 1646 he placed a guard round the famous library to stop it being looted or destroyed.<sup>59</sup> He was opposed to the King's execution and against the Protectorate,

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<sup>53</sup> *House of Commons Journal*, 16 January 1644, Vol. 3, p.369, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>>. *HCB* in further references.

<sup>54</sup> Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 206-207.

<sup>55</sup> *HCB*, 20 June 1645, Vol.4, p. 180; *HCB*, 20 August 1645, Vol. 4, p. 248.

<sup>56</sup> *HCB*, 7 July 1648, Vol. 5, p. 626.

<sup>57</sup> *HCB*, 24 August 1649, Vol. 6, p. 285.

<sup>58</sup> *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645).

<sup>59</sup> Andrew Hopper, *Black Tom: Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 219.

believing in monarchy but one that worked with Parliament.<sup>60</sup> The *Cabala* of 1653 could be said to be a message about the power of one man, Buckingham, who enjoyed immense power which could be interpreted as dangerous to the country and perhaps this too could be applied to Cromwell who in the same year became Protector.

There is circumstantial evidence which suggests Thomas Fairfax's candidacy as the *Cabala's* 'noble hand'. We know Fairfax was in London in 1653 because Gardiner records Fairfax and Lambert calling on Cromwell in March of that year; in April he also refused to be part of Cromwell's Council of State, and on 24 June, we are told, he declined a place in government and left London.<sup>61</sup> That same month there was a rumour that the Duke of Buckingham had been sent for to marry Fairfax's daughter.<sup>62</sup> Buckingham did not marry Mary Fairfax until 1657 but it appears that as early as 1653 the match was being negotiated.<sup>63</sup> This could give a further clue to the provenance of the *Cabala* as it could be argued that the letters concerning the Spanish Match are assumed to absolve Buckingham's father from any ill doing against James in the matter of his death which will be discussed in chapter one. After all would a father want his heir's prospective bridegroom to be the son of an alleged murderer? Fairfax could gain from publishing the Buckingham letters because it could, in some way, exonerate the bridegroom's father. This thesis examines the Buckingham letters in detail and attempts to establish whether the letter publication has a message for its readership.

Alison Weir in her biography of Elizabeth I states that Buckingham's son had the Tilbury speech published in 1654. The Tilbury speech is contained in a letter to the Duke printed within the *Cabala* and is the first known publication of it (this publication is discussed in chapter five).<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately she does not provide citations for her work so we do not know her source for this.<sup>65</sup> Her argument may be true but as we have seen York House was sequestered in 1650 and the younger

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<sup>60</sup> Ian J. Gentles, 'Fairfax, Thomas, third Lord Fairfax of Cameron, (1612-1671)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 25 April 2007].

<sup>61</sup> Gardiner, p. 246, p. 274, p. 282.

<sup>62</sup> Intercepted Letter. 20 June 1653, *A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe Vol. 1* ed. by Thomas Birch, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>> [accessed 7 September 2007].

<sup>63</sup> Hopper, p. 117.

<sup>64</sup> *Cabala*, pp. 257-262.

<sup>65</sup> Alison Weir, *Elizabeth the Queen* (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 394.

Buckingham was in exile in France during the 1650s not returning to London until 1657 when he married Mary Fairfax.<sup>66</sup> If we accept the house as the depository of the letters, it would be difficult to argue for the young Buckingham's involvement in their publication. He had very little history of staying in the house as he spent his formative years in the royal household.<sup>67</sup> It would be hard to imagine him having in his possession letters to his father during his time fighting or in exile. However in the *Survey of London* under the chapter on York House it is stated that when the Commonwealth finally claimed the house in 1649 'a large proportion [of goods] had been sent secretly by a faithful servant to the young Duke of Buckingham in Antwerp' and this is referenced to a MSS document held at the Bodleian Library.<sup>68</sup> However when examining the document referenced it would appear to refer to Buckingham's pictures only. It is a state warrant allowing the passage of the pictures without payment of any land duties to Amsterdam not Antwerp.<sup>69</sup>

There is of course another source for the letters. As we have seen in the work of Harold Love, Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol, letters were circulated in manuscript form and some of the Essex letters found in *Scrinia Sacra* have a history of such a circulation.<sup>70</sup> Essex and his friends used manuscripts to enhance his reputation and to circumvent the censorship of printed works. It allowed Essex to get his own view across and also to deny any responsibility for any contentious circulation if it was needed.<sup>71</sup> Therefore it would have been easy for Bedell and Collins to acquire Essex manuscripts. There is no reference or evidence that I can find of the manuscript circulation of letters to Buckingham such as those found in *Cabala* but the letters regarding the Spanish Match in particular must have had such a circulation as this was a contentious subject in the 1620s. The Earl of Bristol, who as we will see in Chapter One played a controversial role in the Match, would surely have used manuscripts to ensure his views had a public platform when he was

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<sup>66</sup> Bruce Yardley, 'Villiers, George, second duke of Buckingham (1628-1687)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 25 April 2007] p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Yardley, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> 'York House', *Survey of London*, ed. by G.H. Gator and E.P. Wheeler (London County Council, 1937) v. 18, pp. 51-60; <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>> [accessed 28 February 2017].

<sup>69</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Clarendon 30, no.2732, pp. 303-304.

<sup>70</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 147, p.222, p.339.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

probably being denied it elsewhere. If Essex was manipulating his position with manuscript letters then Bristol and indeed Buckingham must also have been.

We cannot know for certain who is behind the *Cabala* volumes of 1653 or indeed if it was through manuscripts that the booksellers came by the letters. There is, however, a case for York House as the location and their place of discovery especially in the case of the Buckingham letters. Even those not directly written to Buckingham could have been copies given to the favourite and those written by Bacon may well have been Bacon's own personal copies for keeping such copies was common practice amongst statesmen.<sup>72</sup> Or these could be manuscripts already circulating which the printers had gathered to print in one volume. However there also maybe a clue from the entry in the register which points us to the Buckingham household. The *Cabala* was, as we have seen, registered as *The Duke of Buckingham's private cabinet unlocked* and this title is similar to *The King's Cabinet Opened*. We know that the King's letters were taken from Naseby by Fairfax and the cabinet in question was the King's. We could also argue that in the *Cabala's* case the cabinet was Buckingham's and it was later decided to rename the letter volume with a more generic name. Was this because marketing it as Buckingham would not sell as well as a book entitled 'Mysteries of State'? As we have seen, although individuals could sell, state secrets in the Civil War period were attractive. The Buckingham cabinet provides the letters for the first volume and I would argue that these at least came from York House which could be described as a political hub where Bacon, Essex and Buckingham all played a part. York House becomes a status symbol of fame and power and a provider of the mysteries of government and state.

### **Symbols of Corruption: The Favourite and the Malcontent**

One of the major themes of the *Cabala*, and therefore one that is explored throughout the thesis, is the role of the favourite and how this can be perceived in the seventeenth century by the *Cabala* readership. Malcolm Smuts believes that from the 1590s to 1620s 'the atmosphere of intrigue and uncertainty was further magnified by the spectacular rise and fall of a series of royal favourites, whose meteoric careers

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<sup>72</sup> Daybell, *Material Letter*, pp. 196-197.

added a constant element of instability to court politics'.<sup>73</sup> The thesis demonstrates the way that the *Cabala* highlights this instability through its letters, in particular showing the reader not only the monopoly of Buckingham but also how courtiers such as Essex could destabilise a country and how Somerset could attempt to destabilise the monarchy. Therefore it is worth examining what exactly a favourite was understood to be and how the role differed from that of the malcontent and indeed from the Spanish 'privado'.

Smuts distinguishes between the favourite and the malcontent in his work *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685*.<sup>74</sup> He argues that the 'malcontent was an overmighty subject of overweening pride and ambition, unwilling to submit to any authority, even God's' (67). Contemporaries of the period conceived that the malcontent fell into two categories: either he was corrupt, malicious and cruel; or he was a good man led astray by the influence of corrupt dependents (67). Essex, Smuts argues, was depicted in both ways after his execution. Smuts then informs us that 'whereas the malcontent built a popular and military following to overpower the state from without, the evil favourite sought to infiltrate from within' and the favourite employed 'artifice' and 'dissimulation' to 'enthral' the prince and 'pervert' his authority (69). In these terms it is clear that whereas Essex could be described as a malcontent, Buckingham could be described as a 'favourite who distorted the political system by pandering to the king's vices and excluding virtuous counsellors' and it was these charges that we will see within the thesis being levelled at not just Buckingham but at those who 'manufactured' Essex's downfall as well (70).

The Spanish used the word 'privado' or 'valido' to describe the favourite of the king. The Spanish system saw the king reign and the privado rule. J.H. Elliott states that where 'the sixteenth century had produced innumerable 'mirrors' for princes, the seventeenth century devoted its attentions to 'mirrors' for favourites, on the assumption that, since they could not be abolished, they might at least be improved'.<sup>75</sup> Elliott was writing about the role of the favourite in Spain whereas in England, as we will see, the abolition of the role of the favourite was very much

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<sup>73</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 78.

<sup>74</sup> R. Malcom Smut, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (London: Macmillan, 1999). Subsequent references in text.

<sup>75</sup> J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (Middlesex: Pelican, 1963), pp. 301-302.

desired. Buckingham went to Spain in 1623 and the Spanish Match is one of the *Cabala* themes. He met Olivares who was the Spanish privado and first minister for twenty-two years. Did Buckingham therefore perceive himself more as a privado than a favourite? It will be seen that he certainly had power and Essex, we could argue, had previously attempted at such a powerbase. Whatever the answer the 'favourite' is a persistent theme at work within the *Cabala* letters but is not a present term of use. The title of favourite or malcontent was attributed to figures such as Essex and Buckingham by contemporaries. The meanings, as described by Smuts, may well be stereotypical of public perception. The word 'favourite' which described any courtiers who were particularly close to the monarch could encompass many different forms of power. Essex and Buckingham were very different types of favourites, if we apply such a term to both, as Buckingham had considerable more power than Essex and could this perception of the type of favourite also be different if the monarch is a king or queen? For example would the contemporary audience have different perceptions of a male favourite of a queen, seen contemporarily as the 'weaker sex' than that of a king seen as the 'stronger sex' who possibly shouldn't have to rely on such male favourites? The role of the favourite also invites questions about the role of the monarch. By having favourites is the monarch seen as weak and influenced by bad counsel? How far the favourite advances could also be seen as a demonstration of the power of the monarch and this too may be explained in the *Cabala* and its letters.

### **Structure of the Thesis**

The first part of the thesis focuses on the letters of three well known public figures in order to demonstrate the political and social context of the 1650s, during which the letters were published, and also the role of the letter writers, the themes of which they write and the public perception of these letters. The second part examines who owned the *Cabala*, whether this enhances our own perception of how the letter volumes were received and if so how they were interpreted. The thesis will finish with a study of how the *Cabala* is used by historians and scholars from 1650s onwards in an attempt to show the influence these volumes have on our own studies of Tudor and Stuart history.

The thesis takes as its starting point the letters of three major figures in Tudor and Stuart history: Anne Boleyn, Robert Devereux and George Villiers. By studying the evidence representing these three figures, I will argue that they remain as important to the political anxieties of the 1650s as they did to the times in which they lived, although for slightly different reasons. In broad terms, all three of them share enough of the characteristics of ‘favourites’ to be described as such (although the word ‘favourite’ is inevitably not a qualified description of Anne Boleyn). As we have seen, Smuts describes a favourite as someone who enjoyed a close relationship with the monarch and who in most cases uses this closeness to gain power and influence. It could be argued that Anne’s relationship with Henry starts out with similar characteristics to that of the favourite. It is an accepted view by historians and indeed Tudor contemporaries that she wanted more than the role of mistress. Anne was not in fact married to the king for the majority of their relationship – their courtship lasted six years and their marriage for only three.<sup>76</sup> She therefore enjoyed a similar influence on Henry VIII as Essex and Buckingham did, to varying degrees of success, with their respective monarchs. However, as the *Cabala* letters show, this power is dependent on the monarch and how much influence each monarch was willing to give to their ‘favourites’. Anne, through her marriage, of course moved away from the perceived role of ‘favourite’ to become a queen but ultimately she was still dependent on the king. Contemporaries would have seen Essex and Buckingham as favourites, but Anne would probably have not been so described hence to the contemporary she was the ‘concubine’ or the King’s mistress. The term ‘concubine’ was applied to her by her enemies in the same way the term malcontent could be applied to Essex by his enemies.<sup>77</sup> We could also argue that the word favourite is derogatory whereas the Spanish use of *privado* implies a more official title.

The power and influence the Tudor and Stuart favourites are seen to have had in the 1650s can be illustrated through the letters found within the *Cabala* volumes. It would appear through these letters that their reputations extend into the 1650s, some considerable years after their deaths, and as will be evidenced within the first three chapters, this print history evolves before the *Cabala* publication. This ‘history’

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<sup>76</sup> Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, p.56. Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador during Anne’s reign, continuously described her as “the concubine” in his correspondence to the Spanish court.

allows memories, representations and ideas of Anne Boleyn, Robert Devereux and George Villiers to have an impact on post war society. By examining their letters, it will be argued that their stories reveal the deep-seated flaws within the English court and thus give us insight into the perceived origins of civil war even (up to) a century earlier. It will also examine the idea that Cromwell himself was not that far removed from the power of the Duke of Buckingham whereby both men could be argued to be king in all but name.

Using the first volume of the *Cabala*, chapter one takes as its focus the power of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in his role as favourite to both James I and Charles I. The chapter examines Buckingham's afterlife in print, particularly during 1640s, and the role of the Buckingham family after his death. The chapter then discusses selected letters within the *Cabala* which demonstrate Buckingham's role within the Jacobean Court and his influence on the monarchy. In the first *Cabala* volume the reader is able to see the dominance of Buckingham by statistics alone: out of 185 letters published within this volume, 118 were written to the Duke. These letters demonstrate the power of Buckingham as the favourite to two kings and his role within the Stuart court as courtiers attempt to secure his patronage. It was also unusual for Buckingham to remain as favourite to Charles after James' death and the letters demonstrate the continuation of this. A favourite rarely survived the death of the monarch. The case of Walter Raleigh, for example, is evidenced within the *Cabala*. He was one of the favourites of Elizabeth I but he was executed as a traitor by her successor, James I. However, unlike Raleigh, Buckingham was unpopular with the public and both James and Charles were seen as weak, foolish, men influenced by the favourite.

Buckingham's letters form a substantial part of the *Cabala*. It would be impossible and unproductive to examine all 185 letters in this one chapter, the study investigates clusters of letters selected in order to help us understand what the *Cabala* is presenting to its reader and which gives us a general representation of how the *Cabala* is portraying the Stuart Court. It primarily focuses on such topics as the Spanish Match, the role of Buckingham and how he operated within the Court, on matters of treason and reputation, and on religious affairs. These topics will demonstrate not just the pre-Civil War tensions but also the issues faced by Protectorate Britain in 1654. How can a monarch and his court be perceived in the



hindsight of Civil War and the Protectorate? For example Thomas Cogswell sees the 1620s and in particular the Spanish Match as a precursor to actual revolution.<sup>78</sup> Some of these letters will offer evidence which shows whether Cogswell is correct in this theory. The chapter highlights the political message of the problematic role of the favourite against the idea of the Protector who also presumes to rule without a crown.

Using the second volume of the *Cabala*, known within the thesis as *Scrinia Sacra*, chapter two will concentrate on a single letter. As *Scrinia Sacra* presents it, this is a letter written in the Tower of London by Anne Boleyn second wife of Henry VIII. As will be discussed in the chapter, the letter is generally accepted by modern scholars to be a forgery. The chapter uses this single letter to discuss why such a letter would be forged and why it was reportedly first published in 1649. In discussing this, the chapter also explores the posthumous print history of Anne Boleyn and the preconceived ideas of contemporaries regarding the mother of Elizabeth I.

Continuing and building on some of the themes of the first two chapters, the third chapter examines the idea of the monarchical power of kings by discussing Henry VIII's letter to the clergy of York in which he sets out his new role as head of the Church. This leads to a discussion on the idea of the monarch as the law. Letters from prisoners such as Thomas Howard are compared with the letter from Anne Boleyn, discussed in chapter two, as they both write of a desire for justice. This is also compared with the letter from Somerset published in the first *Cabala* volume and he too appears to set the law firmly with the king. Clemency is also requested for courtiers such as William Davison and by courtiers such as the Earl of Desmond and Francis Bacon. The *Cabala* volumes provide a witness to debates about kingship, monarchical right and the power of a single ruler.

The main focus of the chapter however will be the letters of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth I, who raised an army to lead an uprising against her. Seventeenth century readers encountering the second Earl of Essex would have known the important published role of his son in the Civil War. Essex's son, the third Earl, picks up his father's cause and also marches on his monarch. This

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<sup>78</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

is evidenced within the chapter and set against the print history of both earls. The Stuart concept of divine right becomes outdated but how does this reflect on Cromwell and his new role as Protector? To answer this, I will examine Cromwell's own assumption of power and how this compares with Essex and Buckingham.

*Scrinia Sacra* contains letters from both the Tudor and Stuart courts and chapter three argues that the shift to Tudor correspondence allows a new interpretation of the role of the favourite. Both Essex and Boleyn may be seen as powerful and influential but they never had the type of power that Buckingham gained. In fact, it could be said that Essex at least aimed for the dominance enjoyed later by the Duke. However both Boleyn and Essex were reminded that in the Tudor court the power remained with the monarch. They lost their lives in the power struggle between favourite and monarch.

If this thesis aims to reconstruct a reading of the *Cabala* volumes, by using the evidence from the letters and letter writers it published, it also aims to identify who owned the work during the seventeenth century and to attempt to ascertain why they were reading it. Researching the *Cabala* in this regard not only situates it within the field of letter studies but within the history of the book trade. In particular, chapter four, compliments a study done by David Pearson on tracking multiple copies of books.<sup>79</sup> Pearson asked the question:

If we took a more ordinary book, one that is not a household name to bibliographers or scholars more generally, and carried out this kind of exercise [of tracking books] what might we learn? Could we gain new insights in the circulation and impact of the chosen book through discovering the range of people who first owned it, and what the ownership trajectories of multiple copies then turned out to be? (18).

Pearson took as his example the English translations of Julius Caesar's works focusing on three editions published approximately fifty years apart: Arthur Golding's translation in 1590; and the translations by Clement Edmondson in 1655 and 1695. Pearson's results will be discussed in the chapter.

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<sup>79</sup> David Pearson, 'What Can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books' in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade* eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 17-38. Subsequent references in text.

Chapter four therefore looks primarily at the provenance of the *Cabala* volumes and to discover who owned them. My first task was to use ESTC which lists various holdings of the books.<sup>80</sup> COPAC also gave additional holdings including information on those held by the National Trust.<sup>81</sup> From the information gained from these sources it was necessary to access as many libraries and book catalogues as possible; to ascertain what editions were listed; and then to contact each library which held a copy to discover any known provenance. In this case libraries mean University libraries; Cathedral libraries; private libraries such as those found at Longleat and Hatfield; other public and institutional libraries such as the Wellcome Library; and national libraries in the UK and abroad. The search extended to Europe, America, Canada and Australasia.

Book catalogues of known collectors such as Thomas Hearne and John Locke were also searched. I also discovered two references within the diary of Samuel Pepys where Pepys firstly described buying the 1663 edition of the *Cabala* and then later debates the letters with one of his friends. I contacted over seventy libraries and discovered over 377 editions. The details that were received on provenance stretched from the seventeenth century to the present century and even included a US president, Thomas Jefferson.

Chapter four broadens the timeframe to encompass the period from publication to the current day and therefore it examines all the printed editions of the *Cabala* from 1654 to 1691. The chapter is divided into four main sections: it begins with ownership which concentrates on how the *Cabala* appears to be read in the seventeenth century; it then examines the rise of the country house/private library in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; it then moves onto the accessibility of the volumes within the public and national libraries; and finally how the *Cabala* is distributed today and how this allows access to a greater audience. This chapter will argue that the *Cabala* was a popular publication and allows us to see that it was read by a variety of people including notable public figures. The chapter demonstrates an endurance and availability to scholars then and now.

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<sup>80</sup> <<http://www.estc.bl.uk>>

<sup>81</sup> <<http://www.copac.jisc.ac.uk>>

The final chapter will investigate the continuing use of the *Cabala* as a source for contemporary and modern historians. It will examine the use of the book by John Hacket in the seventeenth century who used the *Cabala* extensively in his work. Hacket was a contemporary of the letter writers from the Stuart Court. This makes his use of the book as a source document different to that of the more modern scholar because he can interact with the letter content and challenge it in a way modern scholars cannot. However this also means he had a bias towards his friends and associates which needs to be considered when reading his work. To what extent is Hacket's method of using the *Cabala* repeated or changed in the work of later historians? The thesis takes several examples from a broad range of users in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The *Cabala* has been used in many modern biographies such as Roger Lockyer's biography of Buckingham; by Alan Stewart and Lisa Jardine in their book on Francis Bacon; and in Essex studies by authors such as Robert Lacey and Paul Hammer. The chapter will finally discuss the Tilbury speech by Elizabeth I, which was first published in the first volume of the *Cabala* in 1653. This has been quoted ever since by historians such as J.E. Neale, Alison Plowden, Maria Perry and David Starkey, but its authenticity has been questioned by Susan Frye. However, the *Cabala* is rarely referenced as the source of the speech by scholars and popular biographers of Elizabeth. I will discuss when the *Cabala* first gets 'ignored' as a Tilbury source and why I believe this invisibility continues in modern studies.

The *Cabala* is continually mined and referenced. However, this thesis is the first in-depth study of it. As we have seen, James Daybell, Gary Schneider and Diana Barnes reference and, to some extent, discuss the publication of the *Cabala* but neither provide evidence from within the *Cabala* itself. The letters themselves are not discussed in any depth. This thesis demonstrates that the *Cabala* was actually a political publication that highlights the errors and fears of the Tudor and Stuart courts through the letters of Boleyn, Devereux and Buckingham and highlights the fallibility of power being held by one person. However it also poses the question of why do scholars use it for referencing but do not attempt to discover the book's politics of publishing in the 1650s? Is it still to be dismissed as Evelyn's 'things in a heap'? I will argue that the *Cabala* underpins modern studies of Tudor history, in particular in the use of the Tilbury speech, and Stuart history and biography

especially that of Buckingham. The thesis demonstrates that the *Cabala* is not just an important reference document but can be studied in its own right as an important source of information, which highlights the political context of the 1650s in particular in its representation of the Tudor and Stuart courts and how a country found its way to civil war.

**Chapter One: ‘The Duke of Buckingham’s private cabinet unlocked’: The 1653 Cabala, the evil favourite and the coming of the Protectorate.**

On 5 August 1653 the following title was entered in the Register: *Cabala, or misteries of state, or the Duke of Buckingham’s private cabinet unlocked*.<sup>1</sup> The *Cabala* is published during an anticipated build-up to the coming of the Protectorate or, in some minds, the return of the monarchy albeit a Cromwellian one.<sup>2</sup> How significant is this moment to our interpretation of the message of the *Cabala*? This chapter explores the idea that the *Cabala* was in fact a political publication, not just concerned with publishing letters of state, but demonstrating through these letters the impact the power of an individual and his power and actions could have. The letter volume is dominated by the Duke of Buckingham, hence the original title of the book, and in the Introduction we discussed how these letters may indeed have been discovered within one of his residences.

Buckingham by 1653 had been dead 25 years. How does the ‘evil favourite’ of the 1620s remain politically significant and indeed relevant to the politics of the nation? Do the *Cabala* letters help us understand the political situation of 1653 and does it imply that the *Cabala* should be seen as a political message to Cromwell regarding the power of one man? This chapter begins by taking as its focus the posthumous representations of the Duke of Buckingham in which the 1653 *Cabala* letters play a major part. It demonstrates how Buckingham could have remained in the political memory of the *Cabala* readership. The first section will examine the Duke’s public image in print after his death in 1628 and in particular during the 1640s. We will look at what topics of the Duke’s life remain of enough importance to be written about some years after his murder. What allows these memories to resurface and be debated and does the *Cabala* take up and continue any of these themes? The second section turns to the role of the Buckingham family after his death in 1628 until the *Cabala* publication of 1653. The public role of the family continues to allow Buckingham’s own memory to flourish as the family took an important part within Stuart politics and within the Court. The print representations

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<sup>1</sup> *A Transcription of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708. Vol.1* (London: Privately Printed, 1913), p.426.

<sup>2</sup> *Cabala, Mysteries of State, in Letters of the Great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles* (1654). Subsequent references in text.

of Buckingham are continued by the role of his family allowing us and the reader to situate the *Cabala* within a collective framework of representation and memory of the former favourite. The final section takes a selection of letters from the *Cabala* to demonstrate the continuation of certain themes such as the Spanish Match and Buckingham's prominent role within the Stuart Court. The letters to Buckingham within the *Cabala* are another representation of the Duke's life. Can these various representations in print, in family history and finally in the *Cabala* letters tell the 1650s reader anything about the political climate within which they lived? These representations could be seen as a continuing concern by the reading public of the dangers of one man holding too much power. It could also be argued that the *Cabala* printers were merely capitalizing on the success of previous letter publications or that this was a timely publication of the former's favourite's letters by the 'noble hand' who may themselves have a motive.

The Duke of Buckingham was a central figure in the courts of both James I and Charles I but very few biographies have been written about him. Roger Lockyer has written the only modern biography in 1984 and recently in 2012 Christiane Hille wrote *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* which positioned Buckingham in his role as a great art collector and patron.<sup>3</sup> A recent book by Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell highlights the print publications concerning the alleged murder of James I, of which Buckingham was accused, and their particular popularity in the 1640s.<sup>4</sup> This chapter builds on the importance of the Duke's afterlife in print and letter in Civil War studies. This chapter therefore relies on Lockyer's work for biographical detail on the Duke but will examine the importance of the Duke's memory after his death.<sup>5</sup> There are also very few studies on the Duke's family suggesting that the Duke's family have also been overlooked as major figures within the Stuart Court. This lack of secondary sources means that, where primary sources are not readily available, I have had to rely on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

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<sup>3</sup> Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London: Longman Group, 1981); Christiane Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> There is an eighteenth century biography *Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham* (1740).

## **Buckingham's Public Image: The Pamphlets and Print Presence of Buckingham**

The Duke of Buckingham died in 1628 but as a particularly divisive figure, blamed posthumously for much of what was wrong with Charles I's kingship, he remained a focus in print culture. This section examines the Duke's representations in the popular genre of pamphlet literature in the 1640s prior to the *Cabala* publication in 1653. It will discuss the themes of Buckingham as 'evil favourite', the real fear of Catholic plots and the mystery of James I's death. This will help situate the *Cabala* within a known print representation and allows the *Cabala* printers to capitalise on what would appear to be a popular genre.

In 1642 four pamphlets were published. *The Humble Advice of Thomas Aldred to the Marquess of Buckingham* had been previously printed by George Thomlinson on 2 September 1642 as *A Coppie of a Letter written to the Duke of Buckingham*.<sup>6</sup> On 5 November I.A. printed *Articles drawn up by the now John Earle of Bristol and presented to the Parliament against George late Duke of Buckingham, in the year 1626*.<sup>7</sup> Another undated pamphlet appeared in 1642 called *Strange Apparitions or the Ghost of King James*.<sup>8</sup> This section discusses the four pamphlets. The *Humble Advice* and the *Articles* both deal with the Spanish Match of 1623 which is one of the main themes of the *Cabala* of 1653. The final tract printed in 1642 however deals with a more sinister subject claiming that Buckingham murdered not only James I but the Marquess of Hamilton and James' doctor, George Eglisshams, as well. However this tract also has links with the Spanish Match as it is this affair which, the tract claims, apparently turned James away from Buckingham.

The *Humble Advice* is subtitled 'Discovering what Dangers would happen to this State by the King's marrying with a Contrary Religion shewed by divers Precedents' whereas the second print of this subtitled it 'Concerning the Marriage of

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<sup>6</sup> *The Humble Advice of Thomas Aldred to the Marquess of Buckingham* (1642). *A Coppie of a Letter written to the Duke of Buckingham* (1642). These two pamphlets will be referred to as *Humble Advice* and discussed as one.

<sup>7</sup> *Articles drawn up by the now John Earle of Bristol and presented to the Parliament against George late Duke of Buckingham, in the year 1626* (1642). This will be referred to as *Articles*.

<sup>8</sup> *Strange Apparitions or the Ghost of King James* (1642). To be referred to as *Strange Apparitions*.



our Sovereign Lord King Charles'.<sup>9</sup> Charles, of course, did marry a Catholic, albeit a French one, so in the 1640s this remained a topical subject. Thomas Aldred's letter to the Duke advised against such a marriage and he used historical precedents to prove his point including the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip II of Spain which instigated Wyatt's rebellion and lost England Calais.<sup>10</sup> He also described how the French murdered two 'Henries of France' because they were suspected of favouring Protestants and this would be particularly suggestive for the 1640s regarding the French marriage of Charles I.<sup>11</sup> It is an anti-Catholic letter detailing massacres and murders that Catholics have committed. Aldred wrote to Buckingham because he was the King's favourite and he wanted him to use his influence with the King to stop the marriage. This situates the pamphlet within the context of the Spanish Match and shows not only the concerns of the public, such as Aldred, but how he believed that Buckingham had influence and power in such matters as state affairs. This also highlights previous fears over Charles' marriage to a French Catholic which in the 1640s could be said to be justified.

The *Articles* also deal with Catholicism with Bristol accusing Buckingham of wanting to convert Charles to Catholicism because he himself was Catholic.<sup>12</sup> He lured Charles to Spain as a part of a plot with that country and he secretly corresponded with the Pope against James' orders.<sup>13</sup> When Buckingham realised the Spanish did not like him he decided the match was not to his advantage and pretended the Spanish were against it.<sup>14</sup> There is, however, a flaw in this argument. Why would the Spanish dislike a Catholic Duke who was the favourite of the King and of whom Bristol accuses of trying to convert the Prince?

*Strange Apparitions* publishes the accusation that the favourite murdered James and presents the dead King confronting Buckingham in death. James' dead doctor is also present and in the pamphlet he declares he will prove Buckingham murdered the King because:

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<sup>9</sup> *Humble Advice*, title page.

<sup>10</sup> *Humble Advice*, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Humble Advice*, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Articles*, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Articles*, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Articles*, p. 6.

for Buckingham being advertised that your Majesty had by Letters intelligence of his badd behaviour in Spayne, and that your affection towards him was thereby growne somewhat colder: Buckingham after his coming from Spayne said, that the King being growne old it was fitt hee should reigne all Government and let the Prince bee Crowned.<sup>15</sup>

When James falls ill, the pamphlet states that Buckingham supposedly takes his chance and, with the help of his mother, poisoned the King.<sup>16</sup> In response to James' question on why Buckingham would kill him, the Duke responds that he needed to keep his power and that he did not act alone.<sup>17</sup> James remarks that one should never trust a favourite.<sup>18</sup> The pamphlet writer concludes that Buckingham also killed James' doctor to protect his secret. Bellany and Cogswell highlight the importance of the print representation concerning James's death in 1625 and the accusation of murder levelled against the Duke of Buckingham. They point to the 1640s as a period during which pamphlet publishing on the Duke and his role in the 'murder' seemed exceptionally high. They argue that these rumours, which also appear to implicate Charles, were used to discredit Charles as a monarch. He allowed himself to be led by evil counsellors such as Buckingham.<sup>19</sup>

The Spanish Match was definitely a controversial moment in Stuart history and one which although occurring in 1623 still had repercussions in the 1640s and 1650s. It stayed in the public consciousness as an event that resurrected old fears concerning Catholics and the persecution of Protestants. The letter from Thomas Aldred highlighted these very fears by reminding the Duke of historical precedents. The publication of this letter would appear to be a timely reminder to the public of the Spanish Match because if they had also read *Strange Apparitions* they would have seen that this pamphlet argues that it was the consequences of the Match that ultimately led to James's death. The *Cabala* of 1653 publishes letters dealing with the Match and this not only helps us situate the *Cabala* within a known debate but demonstrates that even thirty years after the events of 1623 the Match was seen as topical and thought-provoking.

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<sup>15</sup> *Strange Apparitions*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Strange Apparitions*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Strange Apparitions*, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Strange Apparitions*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> Bellany and Cogswell, p. 391.

By 1642, it would appear that Buckingham was cast in the role of evil favourite suspected of killing James and influencing Charles so it is no surprise to discover a pamphlet printed in 1643 entitled *A Speech delivered in Parliament by Sir D.D. Knight*.<sup>20</sup> As representative of the House of Commons, Sir Dudley Digges speaks to the Lords in 1626. He declares that ‘the decay of the Trade, honour and reputation of this Kingdom, which all as in one Center, met in one great man, the cause of all, whom I am here to name, *The Duke of Buckingham*’.<sup>21</sup> Digges charges the Duke with buying and selling the offices of the Kingdom which has led to neglect in trade and of loaning English ships to France to use against Protestants. Titles and honours which used to reward subjects are now purchased.<sup>22</sup> The Duke’s family have been raised to great honours and place a further burden on Crown and Treasury.<sup>23</sup> Ominously the final charge is ‘An injurie offered to the person of late King of blessed memory’ but Digges tantalisingly says more information on this will follow later.<sup>24</sup> Digges also believes that Charles only ‘nourishes’ the Duke out of piety to his father, conveniently excusing Charles.<sup>25</sup> These were all charges that the *Cabala* reader would be aware of and the reader would definitely be aware of the way the family of the Duke did indeed benefit from his position and power. This advancement will be demonstrated in the next section.

Demonstrating the continuing posthumous influence of Buckingham there is another pamphlet *Hell’s Hurlie Burlie or a Fierce Contention betwixt the Pope and the Devil* published in 1644.<sup>26</sup> Although the Duke does not appear, the themes are similar to the previous publications and it would appear that his influence and memory remains. The pamphlet is very much pro-Parliament representing the Cavaliers as Catholics who are in league with the devil aiming at their country’s ruin.<sup>27</sup> Buckingham is seen as very powerful and the *Cabala* will demonstrate this influence and show how his memory continues not just through the Civil War years

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<sup>20</sup> *A Speech delivered in Parliament by Sir D.D. Knight Concerning the Evil Consequences, that doe attend this State, by Committing Places of Trust into the hands of Court Favourites whereby it doth plainly appear to be Originall of all the publick grievances and combustions of this Kingdom* (1643).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. Italics in text.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> *Hell’s Hurlie Burlie or a Fierce Contention betwixt the Pope and the Devil* (1644). To be referred to as *Hell’s Hurlie Burlie*.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p 4.

but even during the Protectorate. *Hell's Hurlie Burlie* talks of Buckingham as a man who would be King and this was an accusation later levelled at Cromwell and the *Cabala's* message could be seen as pointing towards the problems generated by allowing one man to have all the power.<sup>28</sup>

The final pamphlet, in this cluster, is *A Declaration to the Kingdome of England concerning the poisoning of King James of happy memory, King of Great Britain written by George Eglisam, Doctor to King James for 10 years* (1648). This echoes the sentiments of the *Strange Apparitions* pamphlet of 1642 accusing Buckingham of murdering James.<sup>29</sup> It also argues that Buckingham had behaved badly in Spain and that James had been told by Hamilton not to let Charles go to Spain with such a young fool as Buckingham.<sup>30</sup> Buckingham had written and received letters on behalf of the King, an accusation also made in the *Articles*.<sup>31</sup> According to this tract James was turning against his favourite in favour of Bristol but the Duke was plotting to crown Charles and retire James to the country.<sup>32</sup> When James falls ill, Buckingham persuades him to take white powder which makes the King worse and he cries out 'would to God I had never taken it, it will cost me my life'.<sup>33</sup> The Duke's mother is again implicated in the plot and when James dies Buckingham asks the doctors to sign a document saying the powder was medicine but they refused.<sup>34</sup> The pamphlet concludes that James was definitely poisoned and so was Hamilton.<sup>35</sup> Therefore it would appear that in 1648 as well as 1642 there was a continuing debate concerning the death of James and Buckingham's role in it with the Spanish Match again seen as a factor.

The accusation that Buckingham was involved in James' death first appeared in 1626 when the House of Commons impeached the favourite.<sup>36</sup> The *House of Lords Journal* on 15 May sets out these articles and Article 13 deals with the

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> *A Declaration to the Kingdome of England concerning the poisoning of King James of happy memory, King of Great Britain written by George Eglisam, Doctor to King James for 10 years* (1648).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> *House of Commons Journal* 8 May 1626, Vol.1. pp.856-857, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk>>, [accessed 7 September 2007]. To be referenced as *HCI*. All entries accessed on 7 September 2007 from this website.

ministering of physic to the King by Buckingham without warrant or permission of the doctors attending James.<sup>37</sup> This is seen as an ‘act of transcendent presumption and dangerous consequence’.<sup>38</sup> Bristol is impeached in turn on 19 May 1626 for his behaviour in Spain and on 8 June Buckingham answers the charges against him declaring he only had the King’s best interests at heart.<sup>39</sup> He also deals with Bristol’s charges against him in Spain concerning the conversion of Charles to Catholicism – a charge denied by the favourite and in fact he accused Bristol of the same thing. What is interesting for the *Cabala* of 1653 and its audience is that this subject resurfaces in the *House of Commons Journal* of 1648 with an entry on 13 March:

*Ordered, That the whole Business informed of Mr. Francis Smalleye’s Knowledge, touching the Proceedings and Depositions, and the Examinations, taken in the Suit commenced in the Court of the Star Chamber, by the Earl of Bristoll, against the Duke of Bucks, touching the Death of King James, and other Matters, be referred to the Consideration and Examination of the Committee that prepared the late Declaration, touching the King: With Power to the said Committee to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers, Records.*<sup>40</sup>

It appears that earlier that year in February a list of offences were drawn up against the King which included the accusation that Charles himself had hastened the death of his father by poison or that Buckingham had done it with his consent.<sup>41</sup> If the pamphlet was printed in the December of 1647 rather than 1648 it pre-empted Parliament’s accusation. However it had also been hinted at in previous pamphlets and Buckingham had already been accused in 1626. The career of the Duke appears to continue to cause controversy and this of course gives the *Cabala* an audience because the Duke’s print history not only sells but is in fact salacious as it writes of murder, regicide, Catholicism, power and favourites.

As early as 1641, Henry Wotton’s *A Parallel between Robert, late Earle of Essex and George, late Duke of Buckingham* had been posthumously printed and Bellamy and Cogswell argue that this was printed as a response to the accusation of

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<sup>37</sup> *House of Lords Journal* 15 May 1626, Vol.3. p.624, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>, [accessed 7 September 2007]. To be referenced as *HLJ*. All entries accessed on 7 September 2007 from this website.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 624.

<sup>39</sup> *HLJ*, 19 May 1626, Vol.3, pp.634-645 and *HLJ*, 8 June 1626, Vol 3, p. 662.

<sup>40</sup> *HCJ*, 13 March 1648, Vol.5, p .494.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), p. 349.

the murder of James I by the Duke.<sup>42</sup> It gets printed again in 1651 as part of a collection of writings by Wotton and this edition was printed by T. Maxley, R. Marriott, G. Bedell and T. Garthwait.<sup>43</sup> Bedell was also the printer of the 1653 *Cabala* and it would therefore suggest that, as he published earlier material, Bedell could estimate how well Buckingham print publications would sell. The Wotton collection also contains *The Difference and Disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex*.<sup>44</sup> This is entirely separate from the *Parallel*. Wotton wrote that:

Their ingagements, incumbrances and disadvantages being so different, that it was just wonder (and yet continues) of the world that the Earl could ever fall (his whole fate being in the discretion of his own soul) and the Duke (who all his life of favour stood the mark, shot at by the most petulant and malicious spirits this climate ever nourished) could stand so long.<sup>45</sup>

Wotton found it hard to believe that such a kind and charitable man such as Buckingham could be seen as ‘an Enemy to the Publick of his Country’.<sup>46</sup> He tried to reconcile his enemies and Parliament. Buckingham never acted against the monarch unlike Essex who led a rebellion. The Duke and the Earl, writes Wotton, were not the same and death should not reconcile them. Therefore Wotton believed that the public perception of the two was not correct. Both of Wotton’s works are in complete contrast to the previous publications on Buckingham. By 1654 when *Reliquiae Wottonianae* was again printed by Thomas Maxley, the *Cabala* had been published. The King was also dead; Essex’s son was dead; Buckingham’s son was exiled to the continent, and the Protectorate was in place under Oliver Cromwell. However, even as events change, Buckingham and Essex were a continued focus in the printing world of the 1640s and the 1650s.

In its extensive recirculation of Buckingham material the evidence suggests that the *Cabala* was in keeping with an established publishing history of the Duke. It would appear that this history establishes the legend of the evil favourite and of one man having immense power. Buckingham may have died in 1628 but he has a role in

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<sup>42</sup> Henry Wotton, *A Parallel between Robert, late Earle of Essex and George, late Duke of Buckingham* (1641). Bellamy and Cogswell, p. 392.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651).

<sup>44</sup> Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*. To be referred to as *Disparity* to distinguish from the *Parallel*.

<sup>45</sup> *Disparity*, p. 30.

<sup>46</sup> *Disparity*, p. 69.

the Civil War because his relationship with Charles and James was remembered as controversial. It was believed that Buckingham was to blame for what was now happening to the country. It is interesting to also note that the majority of the pamphlets were published before Charles' death in 1649 especially those dealing with James' death and the Spanish Match which appear to implicate Charles and in fact it could be argued that the material published after 1649 was far more favourable to Buckingham than that which was published before it. Wotton's work for example is favourable to the Duke and he was a man who knew him well. It could also be argued that after Charles' trial and execution the blame had been shifted from the King's favourites or the King's ministers to the King himself. Once people such as Buckingham, Stafford and Laud were dead and the King was stripped of 'bad counsel' only the King himself could be blamed.

### **Buckingham's Public Image: The Buckingham Family and their pursuit of advancement**

One of the many accusations Buckingham faced when he was alive was that he advanced his own family and that they put the crown finances under strain. This section investigates whether and how that particular accusation continued after his death. As we will see in this section, after the Duke's death, Charles continued to look after the favourite's family and he was mostly repaid for his loyalty to the family. The Buckingham family did not therefore go into obscurity at their benefactor's demise and their public roles kept the Buckingham name firmly in the public and political sphere of the seventeenth century which is important to the afterlife of the Duke and to the relevance of his letters within the *Cabala* in 1653. This section will look at two family groups and their actions and roles within either the Stuart Court or the Parliamentary army up until 1653 when the *Cabala* is published. This is relevant to the *Cabala* readership because obviously the reader would only know the family's history up until the publication date.

The first family group we will consider is that of Buckingham's own wife and children including the Duchess' own re-marriage to the Earl of Antrim who played an important role in the Civil Wars. The second group focuses on the family of Buckingham's sister Susan who married William Feilding, the Earl of Denbigh. The Denbighs played roles in both the King's army and the Parliamentary army

and Susan Denbigh had her own important role within the Queen's exiled Court. We will also examine the roles of minor family members including Lady Frances Purbeck who will appear in the *Cabala* as a petitioner to her brother-in-law the Duke. By examining the continuing public roles of the Duke's family the evidence will demonstrate that the Buckingham name was still very much in the forefront of the public consciousness and would have immediate relevance.

When the Duke of Buckingham was murdered in 1628, he left a widow, Katherine (1603?-1649), and three surviving children: Mary (1622-1685); George (1628-1687); and Francis, the son who was born after his father's death (1629-1648).<sup>47</sup> Katherine inherited his enormous fortune which included the London properties of Wallingford House, Walsingham House and York House. She also converted to Catholicism and was to remain Catholic for the rest of her life. Next to the Queen, she was one of the most influential women at Court and these women included her own daughter Mary and her sister-in-law, Susan Denbigh.<sup>48</sup> Therefore it would appear that the Buckingham influence did not diminish at his death. However she fell out of favour in 1635 by marrying, without royal consent, Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce, (1609-1683). He was an Irish Catholic (29-31). Her children were placed in the royal household while she and her husband continued to live at York House (62). Due to debt they moved to Dunluce's Irish estates in 1638 but returned to England in 1641 remaining there until 1647 (73). Kate returned to Ireland, dying there in 1648, and her estate and properties passed to her eldest son, George (232). Therefore by 1653 Buckingham's widow was no longer alive but up until her death she had still played a focal role within Stuart politics with her second marriage and at Court.

Catherine's second husband had succeeded as Earl of Antrim in 1636 (32). He lived a transient life living at various points in London and Ireland. He declared for the King during the First Bishops War (78). Antrim's main aim for the next twenty years was to regain his Irish estates which had been occupied by a Scottish army in 1641 and this led to him aligning himself with whichever side appeared likely to support this aim (112). For example he was captured by the Scottish in

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<sup>47</sup> Lockyer, p. 458.

<sup>48</sup> Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Kingdoms: The Career of Randal MacDonal, Marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 49. Subsequent references in text.



1642 on his return to Dunluce but escaped and in 1643 he began plotting, with the Queen, to invade Scotland. Again he was captured and again he escaped to rally support for the invasion (121-22). As a reward, the King made him a marquis in 1645 (152). However from 1647 he aligned himself with the Irish Catholic cause (201). When his wife died in 1648, Antrim turned to Cromwell and made contact with Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, helping their cause in Ireland (232). He was rewarded with a pension and they paid off a large number of his debts (252). Therefore Antrim played a huge part in the Civil War, albeit with mixed fortunes, in the years up until 1653 when the *Cabala* was published. The Court and the reading public would have been aware of his marriage to Buckingham's widow and of his role as both Royalist and then Parliamentarian. Public perception of the couple is demonstrated in a pamphlet *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary* which describes the Earl as a:

...rebel not worth naming, nor that precious piece of iron-work, his duchess: yet I must needs say, she was a lady rarely marked out for two eminent husbands, the beds of Buckingham and Antrim; this latter more pernicious than a bed of scorpions.<sup>49</sup>

The couple's reputation therefore contributed towards the public memory of the Buckinghams.

When Katherine Buckingham married Antrim in 1635, the children of her marriage to Buckingham were moved to the royal household by the request of the King.<sup>50</sup> Therefore it was always likely that they would become Royalists but not a given, as we will see in chapter three, with the son of the Earl of Essex who played an important role in the Parliamentarian army. However Buckingham's children would continue to play a part in the Stuart household and Court up until the *Cabala* publication of 1653 and the readership would have been aware of these roles. Mary, his first child, had been a particular favourite of James I who called her by her nickname, Mall.<sup>51</sup> She was betrothed to Charles Herbert, nephew of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in 1626 as part of a reconciliation between Pembroke and her father.<sup>52</sup> At her father's death and her mother's subsequent conversion to

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<sup>49</sup> *The Harleian Miscellany, or a Collection of Scarce, Curious and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts*, 12 Volumes, (1808-11), v.5, p.345 (as cited in Ohlmeyer, p.122).

<sup>50</sup> Lockyer, p. 461.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

Catholicism, she was entrusted to the Herbert family but spent much of her time at Court. She married Lord Herbert in 1635 but he died of smallpox in Florence in 1636. A year later Mary was married by Archbishop Laud to the King's cousin, James Stuart, fourth Duke of Lennox, son of Esme Stuart, a former favourite of James. At the outbreak of war she joined the Queen in Holland until 1643 when she returned to England. There was a rumour of a romance with Prince Rupert.<sup>53</sup> Therefore Mary would have been known within Court circles at least and possibly in the public consciousness through the rumours with Prince Rupert.

Mary's husband, Lennox, was a committed Royalist like his wife and he acted as one of the King's commissioners in peace talks with Parliament. He acted as a go-between in 1644 during the treaty of Uxbridge (where Basil Feilding, Mary's cousin was also present) and tried to get agreement with the Parliamentarian army at Woodstock in 1646. This led to his imprisonment in Warwick Castle and he was released a year later. Lennox attended the King during his trial and execution and was one of the Royalist peers present at Charles' funeral at Windsor. On the morning of the King's execution his last bequest was in fact for Mary; a watch of his father's which he remembered Mary used to play with as a child. Lennox and Mary retired to Kent after the King's death and he was to die there in 1655.<sup>54</sup> Therefore as the *Cabala* is published both Mary and Lennox had effectively retired from public life but had both played significant roles in Charles' last moments. They were prominent courtiers who helped to keep the Buckingham name relevant in the 1650s.

George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, was the favourite's eldest surviving son, born in January 1628 just months before his father's death. The second Duke of Buckingham started the war on the side of the King alongside his younger brother Francis, both fighting at the siege of Lichfield Close in 1643 despite their extreme youth. This led to Parliament's first sequestration of the Buckingham estates. This was lifted on 4 October 1647 after intervention from Northumberland, a Parliamentarian Earl in charge of the boys.<sup>55</sup> However one of the Commons Committees had already plundered York House. The Villiers boys then took up

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<sup>53</sup> See Freda Hast, 'Villiers, Mary, duchess of Lennox and Richmond, (1622-1685)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 16 May 2007], p.1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *H CJ*, 4 October 1647. Vol.5, p. 325.

Royalist arms joining the earls of Holland and Peterborough in action at Surrey.<sup>56</sup> On July 7 1648 Francis Villiers was killed in a skirmish near Kingston and Buckingham, Holland and Peterborough were declared traitors by Parliament and their lands once again sequestered.<sup>57</sup> By July 13 these estates were under General Lambert but Buckingham was already applying to Parliament to have the order lifted.<sup>58</sup>

Young Buckingham escaped to the Continent after the death of his brother but although he was abroad he continued to be noted in the House of Commons Journal. He had, for example, left a Dr Bennett, Mt Hakewill and Dr Aylett to petition Parliament on his behalf declaring he was not a traitor and would appear before the House to reiterate this.<sup>59</sup> During 1648 the order remained in place with the profits from Buckingham's estates going towards the pay and entertainment of the Horse Guards.<sup>60</sup> In April 1649 Buckingham again approached Parliament through Northumberland, Pembroke and his cousin, Basil Feilding (now Denbigh), but to no avail.<sup>61</sup> He then joined the exiled court of Charles II. Therefore we can presume he was known to the *Cabala* readership through his records within the Journal and he continued to play a part in the exiled court. He was made Knight of the Garter in 1649 and was later sworn to the Privy Council. He accompanied Charles to Scotland and in 1651 was commissioned to lead the English Royalists. Apparently it was at this point that relations between the young Duke and his King soured as Buckingham was unhappy that he had been outranked by the Scot David Leslie and, although he escaped Worcester with Charles, he was disillusioned with the Royalist cause and his own lack of preferment.<sup>62</sup> The younger Buckingham may well have been hoping to have obtained some of the success of his father and it would appear that in attempting such a position he remained visible to Parliament and the Court.

At the time of the *Cabala* publication in 1653, the younger Buckingham was looking to switch allegiance to Parliament. How much of this would have been known to the *Cabala* readership is difficult to know as it would hardly have been

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<sup>56</sup> Holland and Peterborough were friends of the boys' father.

<sup>57</sup> *HCJ*, 7 July 1648. Vol.5, p. 626

<sup>58</sup> *HCJ*, 13 July 1648. Vol.5, p. 635.

<sup>59</sup> *HCJ*, 7 July 1648, Vol 5, pp. 626-627.

<sup>60</sup> *HCJ*, 16 August 1648, Vol.5, pp. 672-673.

<sup>61</sup> Bruce Yardley, 'Villiers, George, second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 25 April 2007], p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

common knowledge. The *Cabala* readers would definitely have been aware of Buckingham's role within the Stuart Court and as a committed Royalist like his father through the House of Commons Journal and news publications. As we have seen, the immediate family of the Duke had shown, at least by 1653, that they had remained loyal to their King and had been rewarded by their loyalty through advancement. Their fortunes as a result had been determined by the King's own fate and execution in 1649 with most of the family retired or in exile. As we have seen in the Introduction, the young Buckingham could also have played a part in the publication of the *Cabala* as his family had definitely lived in York House after his father's death. The suggestion being that young Buckingham had handed over the letters for publication. The other theory suggested was that Fairfax had them published and, even as early as 1653, there were rumours of a match between Fairfax's daughter and the young Duke. This suggests that either Buckingham or Fairfax or indeed both together had a reason for the publication of the first Duke's letters. Therefore the older Buckingham's immediate family were clearly still within the public eye in 1653 and other members of his family also played prominent roles with the Civil War with mixed results. We now turn to Buckingham's sister Susan and the Denbigh family who certainly were recognised figures on both the Royalist and Parliamentary sides.

The first Duke of Buckingham's sister, Susan, (d. c. 1655), had a very public role along with her husband William Feilding, and her children, Basil and Mary. Susan Villiers was a Catholic, like her mother, and was to become a close friend to Henrietta Maria. She married William Feilding, (c.1587-1643), in 1606 and he was to enjoy great favours from his brother-in-law.<sup>63</sup> He was made gentleman of the bedchamber and Earl of Denbigh in 1622.<sup>64</sup> In the same year Buckingham arranged the marriage of Denbigh's daughter, Mary, (1612? - 1638) to James Hamilton, (1609-1649), Earl of Arran. In 1623 Hamilton and Denbigh travelled to Spain following the Duke and the Prince.<sup>65</sup> Denbigh was also promoted within the Royal Navy and was part of the doomed Cadiz expedition. In 1626, after his return from Cadiz, he discovered that Hamilton had refused to consummate the marriage with his

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<sup>63</sup> Cecilia Mary Clifford Feilding, *Royalist Father and Roundhead Son: Being the Memories of the First Earl and the Second Earls of Denbigh, 1600-1675* (London: Methuen, 1915), p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

daughter and had in fact returned to Scotland without her. This may be due to the fact that Buckingham was accused of murdering Hamilton's father, as we have seen in the pamphlet *Strange Apparitions*, and could also explain why Hamilton only returned at Buckingham's death whereby he was reconciled with his wife.<sup>66</sup> In 1643 Denbigh was a cavalryman in Prince Rupert's troop which stormed Birmingham. He received severe injuries of which he died five days later.<sup>67</sup> Susan Denbigh remained in the Queen's service until her own death in Cologne in 1655.<sup>68</sup> Therefore she, herself, remained part of the Stuart Court and a very prominent presence even after her husband's death.

William Denbigh was estranged from his son, Basil, (1608-1675), at his death because his eldest son was on the side Parliament. He had been created a knight at Ré in 1626 by his uncle, Buckingham, who had shown his nephew much favour. However after Buckingham's death he did not get the advancement promised to him so he left England to serve with Lord Wimbledon in the Low Countries where he remained during the early 1630s. In 1630 Basil Feilding married Anne Weston, (d.1635), daughter of the Lord Treasurer, Richard Weston, Earl of Portland and a onetime rival of Buckingham.<sup>69</sup> This once again attached him to one of the most important men in government and his mother was now first Lady of the Bedchamber to Henrietta Maria. However by 1635 both his wife and father-in-law were dead and he returned to Court in 1639. Over the next three years he abandoned the Court and became a Parliamentarian.

Basil Feilding's role in the Parliamentarian party means that the family remained at the forefront of the news. If we examine his role through contemporary print publications from 1642 to 1650 we can see how important he was in the Civil War. His portrait is included in a news-sheet *A Perfect Table of Three hundred fourty and three Victories obtained since the Kings attempt to enter into Hell at the beginning of the Wars July 26.1642.to Septemb.14.1646.by their Excellancies the Earl of Essex and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captains General of the Parliaments*

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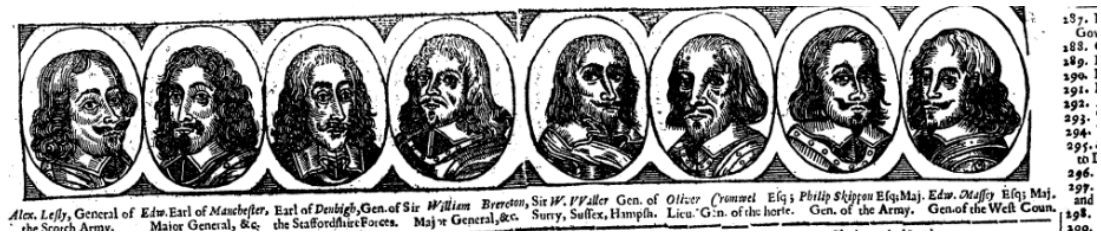
<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

Forces.<sup>70</sup>



Denbigh is therefore grouped with the highest level of Parliamentary command. This is demonstrated further in a 1647 pamphlet by Josiah Ricraft which is a survey of these commanders and Denbigh is portrayed as a successful general.<sup>71</sup> He is compared with the third Earl of Essex as one of those who stepped down for the remodelling of the army. He was, Ricraft tells us, the chief of commissioners sent to the King in the Isle of Wight therefore demonstrating that he was still an important figure in the Parliamentary party.<sup>72</sup> This role is further evidenced in a printed letter to Fairfax in which Denbigh writes that he is awaiting the King's answer.<sup>73</sup> In 1648 Denbigh is named as one of the commissioners to try the King in the pamphlet *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament concerning the Tryall of the King* but he is not listed as one of the judges who sentenced Charles to death in a further news-sheet which lists the names of the 'pretended judges'.<sup>74</sup> Denbigh is actively portrayed in print prior to the 1653 *Cabala* therefore the *Cabala* reader would have been aware of his role in the Parliamentary army and in their cause after his resignation. However the fact that his name does not appear as one of Charles' judges shows that he was not prepared to be a regicide.

James Hamilton, Feilding's brother-in-law, had remained a royalist after his own advancement under the King due to his wife and mother-in-law's influence. However, Hamilton's wife, Mary, died in 1638 and he was accused of treason against the King in 1643. He was kept a prisoner from 1644 finally being released by

<sup>70</sup> *A Perfect Table of Three hundred forty and three Victories obtained since the Kings attempt to enter into Hell at the beginning of the Wars July 26. 1642. to Septemb. 14. 1646. by their Excellencies the Earl of Essex and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captains General of the Parliaments Force* (1646).

<sup>71</sup> Josiah Ricraft, *A Survey of Englands Champions and Truths faithfull Patriots* (1647), pp. 37-39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>73</sup> *A Letter of the presenting the 4 Bills to his Majesty at the Isle of Wight by the Parliaments Commisioners* (1647)

<sup>74</sup> *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament concerning the Tryall of the King* (London: 1648); *A List of the Names of those pretended Judges who Sat and Sentenced to Death, our Sovereign King Charles the first, in the Place which they called the High Court of Justice, January 27. 1648* (1648).

Fairfax forces in 1646. He was to return to the King's side but was captured by Cromwell's men in 1649 and charged with treason. He was condemned to death in March and it was his brother-in-law Basil Feilding who incidentally broke the news that he would not be reprieved.<sup>75</sup> A 1649 pamphlet laments his death alongside that of the Earl of Holland and Lord Capel whom the writer describes as 'Tyrannically Murthered'.<sup>76</sup> Both Denbigh and Hamilton were major forces in the Civil War and being related to the Buckingham family by birth and by marriage kept the family within the public sphere. Therefore the *Cabala* readership would be familiar with the Buckingham name and family because of these exploits.

By 1653 the Buckingham family would appear to have been heavily involved in the Civil War and Court politics. The Buckingham women in particular remained loyal and committed to their Queen. The men had varying degrees of success but remained involved in different ways. As it stood in 1653, only one member of the Buckingham family featured as a letter writer within the *Cabala*, when Lady Frances Purbeck, petitions the Duke herself. Lady Purbeck was married to Buckingham's brother, John Villiers, himself a knight and groom of the bedchamber. Frances Purbeck, whom he married in 1617, was the daughter of Sir Edward Coke and Lady Elizabeth Hatton. Coke wanted a marriage alliance with the Buckinghams who had considerable power at Court and John Villiers needed the money a rich heiress could bring.<sup>77</sup> Villiers became Viscount Purbeck in 1619 but by 1620 the marriage was proving a disaster with the Viscount already showing signs of mental illness. Lady Purbeck was now living apart from her husband supported by her brother-in-law, none other than Buckingham.<sup>78</sup> The *Cabala* letter was probably written during this period as she writes for support from the Duke and writes of her miserable marriage:

For if you please but to consider not only the lamentable estate I am in, deprived of all Comforts of a husband, and having no means to live of; besides falling from the hopes my fortune then did promise me, for you know very well I came no beggar to you, though I am like to be turned off.  
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<sup>75</sup> *H CJ*, 7 March 1649, Vol. 6, p. 158.

<sup>76</sup> *A Mournfull Elegy upon the three Renowned Worthies, Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, and the ever to be honoured Lord Capel, who were Tyrannically Murthered by a usurped Illegal Power of the wicked Court of Justice, and pretended Parliament, upon Friday, the 9. of March, 1649. In the Palace-yard at Westminster Hall Gate* (1649).

<sup>77</sup> Lockyer, pp. 42-43.

<sup>78</sup> Lockyer, pp. 116-117.

However, when she gave birth to a son, Robert, in 1624, it was rumoured to be the son of Sir Robert Howard, younger son of the Earl of Suffolk.<sup>79</sup> By 1627 she was found guilty of adultery and she escaped to Savoy to live with her father.<sup>80</sup> In 1634 Coke died and Frances returned to England only to later flee to France with Howard. Lady Purbeck finally returned in the 1640s and she is mentioned in the House of Commons Journal as having been at the house of Sir Robert Coke during the summer of 1646.<sup>81</sup> However it is hard to ascertain what the *Cabala* reader would know of this scandal. Members of the House and those who found her guilty would be aware of this and one would imagine gossip about the Buckingham family would be rife in the Stuart court.

Frances Purbeck's son, Robert (1624-1674) was to play a part in the Wars. He was raised a Catholic in France under the surname Howard. He arrived in England in 1641 and was recognised by Viscount Purbeck as his son. He took the Villiers name and fought for the Royalist forces at Edgehill. However by 1645 he professed his support for Parliament but was unable to find a position within the Parliamentary army because he was a Catholic. He too is mentioned in the House of Commons Journal in 1646 when a paper containing his case was read but not acted upon.<sup>82</sup> On 7 July he paid a fine for his delinquency and was granted a pension.<sup>83</sup> In 1648 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Danvers. Danvers was to be one of the regicides. Robert again fell out with Parliament on account of not only his religion but because of his role at Edgehill. Colonel Touchett testified that Danvers was fighting against Parliament as he himself was in Prince Rupert's troop with him. Danvers was expelled from the House but not imprisoned.<sup>84</sup> Again we can see Buckingham's family embroiled in key moments of the Civil War and it is this 'notoriety' which ensures Buckingham was still key to Stuart politics and reputation.

Henry Wotton in his work on the Duke of Buckingham believed that the advancement of the Duke's family was not unusual because anyone in the Duke's position would have used his favour in a similar fashion. The *Cabala* reader would have been aware that any advancement in Court would have been through favour and

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<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>81</sup> *HCJ*, 9 March 1646, Vol.4, p. 469.

<sup>82</sup> *HCJ*, 2 March 1646, Vol 4, p. 460.

<sup>83</sup> *HCJ*, 7 July 1646, Vol 4, p. 605.

<sup>84</sup> *HCJ*, 28 March 1648, Vol 6, p. 518.



patronage. G.E. Alymer argues that 'it is hard to imagine how anyone got appointed in the first instance without knowing an existing officer or courtier or some other influential person, or as a last resort without knowing someone who knew such a person'.<sup>85</sup> Therefore the influence of Buckingham's family on office holding came from connections built up by Buckingham in the years 1616-1628 and Alymer's work suggests that what Buckingham did was not unique. Buckingham's system of patronage was a known form of advancement.<sup>86</sup> However the extent of this advancement, as it continued after the Duke's death, was so remarkable that it can be considered unique in the Tudor and early Stuart period. As we have seen the family continue to receive new offices and keep their status in the Court and this effectively allows Buckingham's memory and influence to continue after death. By 1653 the Duke had been dead twenty-six years but print publications and the actions of his family have allowed this memory to grow. The *Cabala* publication only enhances this memory. The *Cabala* continues an established print history of the Duke and the patronage of his family is further highlighted by how powerful his influence was, and continued to be, through the number of letters within the *Cabala* which petition the Duke for his favour. As Alymer argues to gain a foot in Court one needed to know someone influential and from 1616 onward there was no one, bar the King, who was more powerful than the Duke of Buckingham. The family's power was based on the Duke's own powerbase and this allowed the family to continue to exert his influence thus retaining a posthumous fame for the Duke. This continuing honouring of the family also demonstrates Charles' fondness for the Duke because if he had in fact feared him and, only kept him in favour because of the Duke's role within James' court, he surely would have distanced himself from Buckingham's family after his death.

In the period up until the publication of the 1654 *Cabala* the Buckingham name had never been out of the public domain whether in print, with the dead Duke used as a propaganda tool, or in person with nearly all branches of the Villiers family playing a prominent public role as Royalists, Parliamentarians or simply just those trying to keep in favour whatever regime was in power. When Buckingham's letters

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<sup>85</sup> G.E. Alymer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642* (London: Routledge and Kegan Pal, 1961), p. 77.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

were published in the *Cabala* the reading public would be reading it as a topical, political document. The Buckingham had never been away.

### **The Cabala and 1653: the Favourite and the Protector.**

In 1653 the *Cabala* was published, it could be argued, as a calculated act or at the very least as an opportunistic moment by the printers Bedell and Collins and the 'noble hand'. They could be seen to be capitalising not just on the new genre of letter publishing with the success of the King's own letters demonstrating letters could and would sell but on the affairs in Parliament with Cromwell about to assume power. The *Cabala*, like the King's letters, was unique because it contained state letters which had never been published before therefore allowing the reading public to see how the Stuart Court had been run in the early seventeenth century. The printers also used Buckingham's posthumous reputation and fame as a selling point by telling the reader that 'here the height of the mighty Favourite the Duke of Buckingham may be taken' (A3). Buckingham was a key figure before the Civil War and to some of the people he was seen as one of the main reasons for the troubles between King and Parliament. Buckingham was topical even in 1653 and as we have seen this memory was enhanced and driven by pamphlet literature and his own family. Therefore what can the *Cabala* letters give the reading public and what relevance do the letters of the Duke have in 1653 even given his known public memory? Lockyer argues that Buckingham was almost a 'surrogate monarch – not exactly a king, since he had not been born to the throne; but not exactly a subject either, so long as he had the halo of regal authority around him'.<sup>87</sup> In 1653 the Duke could be held up as a mirror to Oliver Cromwell who also assumed the mantle of surrogate monarch and it is this idea of the dangers and concerns of such power which will be seen to be relevant to Cromwell in the context of Buckingham.

There are 185 letters in the first volume of the 1653 *Cabala* and 118 were written to Buckingham. Of the rest, 23 were written to James, 6 to Charles, 9 to Sir Edward Conway and the remainder to a few other members of the Stuart and Spanish Courts.<sup>88</sup> If we accept York House as the repository of the letters this would suggest Buckingham either had copies of those letters not written to him or that the letters

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<sup>87</sup> Lockyer, p. 464.

<sup>88</sup> See appendix one and appendix two.

meant for James and Charles may in fact have gone to him. Both options suggest great power and intimacy as he is receiving letters intended for the king. It could also suggest a spy network whereby the Duke is receiving letters intended for others. There are a great variety of authors who range from members of the Courts, the Clergy, the Spanish ambassadors, to the Buckingham family themselves.<sup>89</sup> The sheer number of letters to the favourite and the range of author demonstrate the power and influence Buckingham had in the 1620s. It should also be noted that the majority of the letters are written in the 1620s.<sup>90</sup> Also the majority of the people involved all have roles that connect them to the Spanish Match which features heavily in the *Cabala*. I have selected groups of letters which demonstrate the role and influence of the favourite; to a lesser extent the relationship between King and favourite; what power the King had within this relationship and with his own Court; and the Spanish Match and its implications not just in the 1620s but its role in the coming of war and how its repercussions were felt even as late as 1649. All these themes will prove the relevance of the first volume of the *Cabala* politically and historically in 1653.

Before turning to the letters that have been selected, we need to look at the preface and what it tells us about the *Cabala*. Does it offer the reader a way to read the letters? It is fairly brief being only three pages in total. It states that the book will show the reader how the great ministers of state who are presented ‘naked’ managed the business of the previous reigns. Without these letters, history would be ‘imperfect’ for they come from the cabinets of Princes and illustrious persons. In this book the reader will find:

Much of the History of the last years of King James, and the beginnings of King Charles may be read here. Here the height of the mighty Favourite the Duke of Buckingham may be taken; The Arts and Subtleties of Spain, of the Conde Gondomar, and the English-Spanish Party are discovered; the Journey into Spain, breach of the Spanish..... (A3)

The readers will see for themselves how things were and can also judge the truth behind the Stuart Court (A4). From the preface we are aware of what we should find

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<sup>89</sup> For example see: The Lord Keeper to the Duke in a series of letters, pp. 58-106; The Bishop of St David’s to the Duke, p.113; Conde de Gondomar to the Duke, p.237; Pope Gregory to the Duke, p. 212; Lady Purbeck to the Duke, p. 313.

<sup>90</sup> See appendix three. Appendix four demonstrates the letter writers to the Duke of Buckingham.

within the *Cabala*. But do we indeed find the truth? What can it really tell us about the Stuart Court and what message does it hold for the Protectorate?

We now turn to the letters. All the letters referred to in this section are published within the *Cabala* unless otherwise stated. The first letter of the *Cabala* is from the Earl of Somerset to James I (1). The letter is undated. Somerset was born Robert Carr and became a favourite of the King from 1607.<sup>91</sup> Somerset's fall began in 1611 with his love affair with Frances Howard who was married to Robert Devereux, third earl of Essex.<sup>92</sup> As we have seen in the Introduction, his friend, Thomas Overbury, who had a strong influence over the royal favourite, had aided him in this affair. Overbury then tried to put an end to the affair thus antagonising Somerset and his mistress. At the same time James decided to send Overbury abroad to separate him from his favourite but Overbury refused the commission.<sup>93</sup> James had no choice but to imprison Overbury in the Tower and not long after Frances Howard sued her husband for divorce on the grounds of his sexual impotence.<sup>94</sup> The marriage ended on 2 September 1613, just ten days after the death of Overbury in the Tower.<sup>95</sup> In 1616 Somerset and his then wife, Frances Howard, stood trial for his murder.<sup>96</sup>

Prior to the trial Somerset seemed to have reached the height of power with his new earldom, his new wife and his posts as privy councillor in Scotland and England.<sup>97</sup> However in 1614 George Villiers had been presented to James and had made a favourable impression.<sup>98</sup> Somerset's enemies were closing in on him and in June 1615 Ralph Winwood had acquired evidence concerning Overbury's death. By September a murder investigation was underway and, in October, Somerset and his wife were arrested.<sup>99</sup> They were indicted for murder in January 1616 and they stood trial in the May of that year. Frances Howard confessed to the murder before her trial and pleaded guilty in court but her husband protested his innocence. He was

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<sup>91</sup> Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.28

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

nonetheless found guilty and sentenced to death. Many thought the pair would hang, but by July the countess was granted a pardon that she remained imprisoned.<sup>100</sup> They were both finally freed from the Tower in 1622 and Somerset was fully pardoned in 1624, upon release he would never come to Court or parliament again. The countess died in 1632 and Somerset in 1645.<sup>101</sup> He is not known to have supported Charles against Parliament in his last years.

Knowing Somerset's biography allows us to now examine the letter and to place it within the context of the favourite's life. We can discover what the letter tells the reader about the Stuart court and what relevance it may have had in 1653. This letter does not appear to have been published prior to the *Cabala* as it is not contained in Sparke's work and it is also intriguing to think that Buckingham may have had a copy of the letter from his predecessor begging for James' forgiveness at a time that Buckingham himself was taking Somerset's position and power. The letter opens with the words 'By this Gentleman, your Majesties Lieutenant' which probably means the Lieutenant of the Tower. Somerset continues 'but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery as that I need to make myself a passage to you by such way of intercession'. He asks the King 'to find favour for me' and to ignore those who 'minister unto their own passions'. He appeals to the King's 'own clear excellency' and for 'protection'. This is not the letter of a man who has nothing to fear, a favourite sure of his position. Somerset is appealing to a man who is both his King and also someone to whom he was once close. His words, he hopes will, flatter and appeal to his King's 'heart' (1). Whatever power the favourite has it is the King who is still the ultimate power in the kingdom:

For though that I must acknowledge, that both life and estate are forfeit to you by Law, yet so forfeited, as the same Law gives you the same power to preserve, as it doth to punish, whereby your Majesties higher prerogative doth not wrestle with it, nor do you infringe those grounds by which you have ever governed; so as the resistance is not great that your Majestie hath, for to give life, and which is lesse, in the gift of estate, for that the Law cast wholly upon your self, and yields it as fit matter for the exercise of your goodnesse (2).

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 242-245

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 246.

This letter appears to present to us Somerset's view of the King's application of the law. The letter allows the reader to see immediately what the printers had meant in the preface when they said the true picture of Court and State would be shown if the reader accepts Somerset's view. The letter is an insight into James' kingship.

Somerset states that he is a subject and a favourite dependant on the King for his life and his estate but, where the King can punish and destroy, he can also give life and favour. The law rests 'wholly' upon the King and it is to his 'goodnesse' that Somerset appeals. Somerset continues his letter by saying that he was judged of a crime which could have been 'none, if your Majesties hand had not once touched upon it, by which all accesse unto your favour was quite taken from me'(2).

Somerset asks what 'malice' has withdrawn James' 'favour' which leaves him 'subject to the utmost power of Law'. Somerset's use of the word 'malice' is directed at those who poison the King's mind against him and he pleads that he has done nothing disloyal to his king. Why, asks the earl, can the King pardon traitors and 'strangers' and even those concerned in 'this business' who would prove 'Copper' but would not pardon him (3). He does not however 'envy your favours to any person' but 'applaud[s] your Majesties goodnesse'. He cannot understand how his loyalty to his king and the power he had from him 'is in danger to be broken or dismembred' (3). It is as the King's man that he is questioned not as Robert Carr. He again mentions Kingship and Law: 'Kings themselves are protected from the breach of Law by being Favourites and Gods anointed'. Somerset also seems to be implying that he is in fact innocent of the crime of which he is accused.

The *Cabala* letter is significant as it shows how the idea of kingship and the law are used or misused in specific situations. This will also be demonstrated in the next two chapters. By 1653 the idea of the King as the giver of law is particularly pertinent as the King has been judged himself and executed. The reader would of course know this and may ask if the King's law was just or if Somerset's letter shows flaws within a system which gives power to one man. Should James be allowed to save his favourite or should he be tried by other less biased means? Somerset's letter implies that he believes that the King can save him: 'the Law can permit you to give'; and that he should save him because it was the King who made him through 'favour'. He asks James to remember, 'that I am the Workmanship of your hands and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all characters of favour' (4).

Somerset's words give James a godlike power: he made Somerset the man he is; he can give power but he can also take it away; and as King he is above the law which he can dispense as he sees fit. It is a fitting letter to begin the collection that promises its reader 'secrets of state' and an insight into the Stuart court. However Somerset was a favourite of the King so the King's law in this case may well be biased and this closeness to the King allows Somerset to write such a letter which another courtier may not be able to. This of course may also go against him if the King had felt that Somerset had overstepped his mark and such a letter may be ignored. The letter is obviously written during or after the Overbury affair as we can see the favourite struggling to regain his position and reminding the King that he can save him, the man whom he raised to great favour. He appeals to his all-powerful king because although the favourite has power it is the king who will, it seems, always have the ultimate power. Somerset believed that the favourite could fall but the king could not. By 1653 the reader knew that the king could fall as well as the favourite. Somerset's letter demonstrates the power dynamic of the Stuart Court between favourite and king and with the bulk of the *Cabala* letters featuring another Stuart favourite, Buckingham, we can already see that the *Cabala* is showing the reader the favourite as one of the major players of the Court. Somerset's letter may demonstrate the fall of a favourite but Buckingham's role in the *Cabala* will show just how powerful a favourite can be. It could also be argued that it also demonstrates how powerful a man, who wasn't born a king, could become, as Cromwell was to prove in the same year that the *Cabala* was printed.

The archbishop of York's letter, also published within the *Cabala*, contrasts with that of Somerset's as the archbishop questions the idea that the King is the law whereas Somerset as we have seen asks for help from the King. Like Somerset's the archbishop's letter is undated (13). However, the content suggest that it may have been written during the Spanish Match when greater toleration for Catholics was being considered because of the Prince's intended marriage to the Catholic Infanta of Spain. The letter's strenuous condemnation of Catholicism would also strike a chord in the 1650s when Cromwell was considering war with Spain and both issues make it a pertinent letter to discuss here.

Written by one of the senior archbishops in the kingdom to the King himself, the letter writer asks leave to deliver themselves freely. What has prompted the letter is the King's desire for a 'Toleration of Religion' by which James desires 'to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of Babylon'. The archbishop describes this as 'hateful' to God and to James' subjects who are 'the true possessours of the Gospel'. The archbishop is astonished that James who has written against Catholicism should now be a 'Patron' of those things that are 'superstitious, idolatrous and detestable'. The next sentence provides us with the evidence that this letter was written in 1623: 'Also what you have done in sending the Prince without Consent of your Councel and the privatie and approbation of your People' (13). This refers to Prince Charles going to Spain in secret to woo the Infanta and when it was discovered there was a public outcry. The archbishop reprimands James for doing this because although James has an interest in his own son 'yet have your People a greater as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majestie) are their eyes fixed, and their Welfare depends' (13). James has put the kingdom and succession at peril. Charles may be James' son but he is also the heir to the throne and therefore 'belongs' to his country.

The archbishop argues that by proposing a law of religious toleration, James is dismissing the laws of his kingdom and if James does so who knows 'what dreadful Consequence these things may draw after'. The archbishop foresees problems for a kingdom when its king believes he can go against the law and set themselves up as absolute ruler. Therefore the *Cabala* letter appears to show that in 1623 the archbishop of York inadvertently predicts what lies ahead. The archbishop believes that by doing these things 'your Majestie doth draw upon the Kingdom in general and yourself in particular, God's wrath and indignation' (14). These are exactly the beliefs of the Puritans years later in Charles' own reign: that it is God's wrath that came down upon Charles.

In sharp contrast with that of Somerset's letter which portrays James as the lawgiver and lawmaker, an absolute king who can make or break a man, in the archbishop's letter the King is counselled to stand by the laws of the kingdom, to refer to his Parliament and people lest he incur not just his subjects' wrath but God's too. If the Spanish Match is a precursor to a 'blessed revolution' this letter appears to predict the outcome of ignoring the people and the law. Reading this in the 1650s a



reader could identify with the archbishop's words. To those on the side of Parliament it would read as a form of justification and for the Royalists a reminder of what went wrong. The message of the letter is the message of the Civil War: to ignore one's laws and people incurs the wrath of the Kingdom. However John Hacket citing the letter in his work on John Williams, the Lord Keeper, written in the 1650s, believed the letter was a forgery. Hacket argues that 'such Frauds are committed daily, to get Credit to spurious writings under a Borrowed Name'.<sup>102</sup> Hacket states that:

So wise a Man would not shame himself with Inconstancy; Act one thing to his sovereign Lord, and pluck it down to morrow. Secondly, the Letter crept out of Darknes Thirty Years after the Prince came out of Spain, and Twenty Years after the supposed Authors Death. A large time to hatch a Fable. Thirdly the Lord Keeper, (vide supra) certified the Prince, that before the Lords came together to consult about the case of the Oaths, two speeches were in many Hands rife in London, the one for the Negative, under the Archbishop's Name; the other for the Affirmative, under the Lord Keeper's Name, when no Colloquy had been begun about it. Was it not as easie for the same Author or such another to forge a Letter as well as a Speech?<sup>103</sup>

Hacket points out that the archbishop had just signed the ratification which the letter writer then seems to disagree with and this is why Hacket believed it to be a forgery. Hacket does not explain why someone would commit such a forgery and what its purpose would be except to say that the forger would get credit under a borrowed name. It could be argued that it was done to discredit the archbishop or to in some way justify the war by using the archbishop's voice. If letters now have a currency as public reading matter does this mean that letter forgery became more common in this period as a form of making a political statement? The forger uses a known historical and possibly political figure to make a point. Would the *Cabala* printers have known that this letter was indeed a forgery and would it in fact bother them if they did? After all letters sell whether they are forged or not. And would the reader also question the authenticity of the letters? However as we will see in chapter three the contrived correspondence of the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon is flagged up by the printers as such and this may well be because this correspondence had a known publishing history. The archbishop's letter, however, appears to be published in the *Cabala* for the first time and therefore, until it is challenged by Hacket, it could be

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<sup>102</sup> John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata; A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams .D.D* (1692), p. 143.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

seen as genuine by both printer and reader. We will see in later chapters that such forgeries or contrived letters often had a political motivation behind them.

We can now turn to the *Cabala* letters that relate to the Spanish Match and explore how the book might have influenced the public opinion of both Buckingham and Charles. As the first section of this chapter showed, in the print publications, the Spanish Match was an important event in 1620s and it was to prove a turning point in Stuart politics not least because it strengthened the bond between Buckingham and Prince Charles but also because the resulting English policies could be argued to have disastrous consequences for Charles when he became King. It was also suggested in the pamphlet *Strange Apparitions* that as a result of the Match Buckingham was responsible for James' death. The ramifications of the Match lasted long after it actually collapsed.

The first letters on the Match set the scene for the history of the Match for the reader. The reader is given an 'editor's' note to introduce the first letter pertaining to the Spanish Match:

Next of all in order, follow the letters that passed between the King and his agents, about the Spanish Transactions. The first letter written, per anonymum, brings Newes of the Princes arrival (14).

The first letter is written by an anonymous writer so we are not aware of whether they were an eyewitness to the events they describe and if they played any part in the proceedings. The note suggests the writers are all agents of the King and the letters are definitely an English view of the Match which would carry some bias towards the English dealings. This letter concerning the Match is written after the Prince has returned home so the author believes James may already know what happened in Spain but the author owes a 'constant obligation' to the King to 'write something and point at some passages, where other perhaps may not so punctually inform you' (14). The author describes the impact of the Prince's arrival in Spain where he was greeted with 'acclamations of joy' by the 'common sort' (14). The people believed he had won the right to marry the Infanta by 'so brave an adventure'. The King of Spain and his council ensured the Prince was accorded much honour allowing him the 'precedence of the King' at all meetings and that he should arrive in state at the Palace as the Kings of Spain did on the first day of their coronation (14). The Prince

was given the chief quarters of the King's house for his lodgings with one hundred sword to attend him. All the council were to obey him. Prisoners were released, a proclamation against the excess of apparel was revoked and joy abounded all around (14). However the author tells the King that the 'wonder lasteth not but nine daies' (15). The letter writer declares that it appeared that this joy was based not just on Charles marrying the Infanta but on his conversion to Catholicism. The Pope had also sent letters and an 'inquisitor general' to persuade the Prince to convert (15). Spain put on many shows to try to 'stirre' him but they soon saw how impossible this was and how amongst his servants he had no Catholics, these servants actually had very little respect for the churches and religion in Madrid 'some committing irreverent and scandalous actions in the King's own Chappel' (15). The English were beginning to be held in 'ill respect' and their cause was not helped by the Irish in Spain who told of English persecution in their own country and of the abuse they suffered in London (15). As we have seen by examining the pamphlet literature, the Prince's conversion and the behaviour of his followers were to have repercussions later.

The King is informed that two months after Charles' arrival in Madrid the papal dispensation arrived, which was expected to be absolute, but it came instead 'infringed with cautions and limitations' (15). The Infanta could not be married until all was ready in England and if James could not give sufficient security Philip had to do so. Philip's own religious men then had to decide if Philip could do this in good conscience (15). After much delay the match was finally publicly declared and the Prince was then allowed to see the Infanta in the King's presence (15). However the Pope then died and the new Pope became ill so the ratification of the match could not be made (15). Therefore, the writer tells us, no contract was made and the Prince himself lost desire for it. As the Prince made ready to depart, the King and his Council swore to all the capitulations (15). Philip brought Charles to El Escorial where he took to Prince for a coach ride with Bristol in another coach so that he could interpret when required (16). When they parted it was with 'many tender demonstrations of love' with a marble column erected where they parted. The Prince gave many expensive presents to the royal family and the King's house and guard: 'Never Prince parted with such an universal love of all' (16). The author is keen to stress how the Prince impressed all who met him and how he was seen as a 'truly Noble, discreet and well deserving Prince' (16). Therefore the letter writer appears to

be saying that the Prince's behaviour was not to blame for any subsequent issues arising from the affairs in Spain.

However the Duke of Buckingham was at first 'much esteemed' but 'it lasted little' (16). The writer tells James 'his French garb, with his stout hastinesse in negotiating, and over-familiarity with the Prince, was not liked' (16). He then writes that the Council of Spain did not appreciate 'that a green head, should come with such superintendent power to treat of an affair of such consequence' and that this had not helped Lord Bristol who had done so much to build this match (16). Buckingham then fell out with Olivares and if there hadn't been 'good heads to peece them together again, all might have fallen quite off the hinges' (16). We are told that Buckingham did not take leave of the Countess of Olivares and that the leave he took from Olivares was 'harsh' with the Duke saying he would do his utmost to strengthen the relationship between England and Spain but Olivares had so 'disobliged' him 'that he could make no profession of friendship to him at all' (16). Olivares said he accepted this and so they parted. Since the departure of the Prince and Buckingham, Bristol continues to negotiate as he is at the palace daily and he speaks through the Countess of Olivares (16). The writer is hopeful that by next spring the Infanta will be in England (16). This suggests that the writer is attempting to blame Buckingham for the failure of the Match and suggests a bias toward the Earl of Bristol.

The anonymous letter which opens the *Cabala's* section on the Spanish Match gives the reader a good overview of the Match and it was true that Buckingham was disliked in Spain for his influence with the young Prince.<sup>104</sup> The writer also appears not to like Buckingham and praises Bristol. We could argue that the writer is in fact Bristol or at least one of his staff. However the Match did fall through and Charles went on to marry the French Princess, Henrietta Maria. But as we have seen the Match episode had far reaching consequences. There was the ongoing feud between Buckingham and Digby from 1623 until the favourite's death in 1628 with the accusation from Digby that he was about to reveal all concerning Buckingham's behaviour in Spain to the King when the King was murdered by the

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<sup>104</sup> Lockyer, pp. 148-151.

favourite.<sup>105</sup> This re-surfaced in the 1640s in the pamphlets discussed earlier accumulating in Charles, himself, being accused with at least the knowledge of the murder. Was Charles complicit in the murder of his own father? The Match gave Buckingham and Charles a taste of political power and they both desired war with Spain afterwards which James was very reluctant to commit to. Was this enough to make heir and favourite plot for the crown's power for themselves? Historians do not believe that Buckingham and Charles killed James.<sup>106</sup> But there was an argument at the time that Buckingham had murdered his King and one of these accusations came from John Digby, Earl of Bristol. Both Bristol and Buckingham were to accuse each other of trying to convert the young Prince to Catholicism whilst he was in Madrid. Bristol left Spain in 1624 returning too late to speak to James personally about what happened in Madrid. He was placed under house arrest and at Charles' succession in 1625 he was removed from the Privy Council with Charles himself accusing the Earl of trying to convert him to Catholicism when they were in Spain.<sup>107</sup> A year after Charles' succession, Bristol accused Buckingham of the same thing as part of the impeachment brought against the favourite and, as we have seen, article 13 accused Buckingham of the murder of James to prevent his own downfall.<sup>108</sup>

What happened in Spain is key to the accusations made against the Duke, and, ultimately, Charles. The anonymous letter from Spain states quite clearly that even though Charles was being pressurised into converting the Spanish soon saw that this was not going to happen (14-16). The accusation was therefore concerning Buckingham and his behaviour in Spain. The counter accusation was against Bristol and his own actions. The following letters are written after the succession of Charles as the repercussions were still being felt after James' death. In a *Cabala* letter from Charles written to Bristol, we can see who Charles blames for the problems regarding the Match (17). Firstly Charles writes that he had received a letter addressed to him via Buckingham which straightaway shows Bristol and the reader that Charles is working firmly with the favourite and this would surely be an ominous sign to Bristol from the outset. Charles then accuses Bristol of telling him in Spain to change his religion as it was 'convenient for us to be a *Roman Catholique*'

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<sup>105</sup> Lockyer, p. 234.

<sup>106</sup> See in particular Lockyer, Cust, Bellany and Cogswell.

<sup>107</sup> Lockyer, p. 143.

<sup>108</sup> Lockyer, p. 321.

and Charles counters this by arguing what a disservice Bristol did to the Treaty especially in the interests of Charles's sister and her family. Charles firmly places all blame with Bristol even accusing him of delaying his return home and writing that 'the vile price you set this Kingdome' was against all the conditions that James and Charles had wanted. Therefore the letter is clear – according to Charles it was Bristol's duplicity with Spain that is the issue. Charles was of course in Spain and his accusation that Bristol tried to convert him would surely be damning to say the least.

We can show further evidence of the King's displeasure through the correspondence within the *Cabala* between Bristol and Sir Edward Conway who was Secretary of State having succeeded to this post through Buckingham's patronage.<sup>109</sup> The first letter is dated by the *Cabala* as 21 March 1625, oddly it precedes a letter to Conway from Bristol dated 4 March which Conway refers to in this letter. Conway's letter is written by the instruction of the King who is unsatisfied with Bristol's own letter. The King believes he was 'plain and clear' in his question to Bristol in his earlier letter to him (18). Conway asks if Bristol chose to 'sit still without being questioned for any errors past in your negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon granted in Parliament' or if he wanted to waive this pardon and 'put yourself into a legal way of examination for the tryal thereof?' The King does not want to prevent Bristol turning to the favours of law but he 'conceiveth it stands not with that publique and resolute profession of your integrity, to decline your trial' (18). He leaves the choice to Bristol but expects a straight answer with no bargaining for future favours. If Bristol decides to use his pardon this casts aspersions on the King because, by insisting he is innocent, Bristol declares Charles and Buckingham liars.

Bristol then writes to Conway, on 4 March 1625, replying to a letter dated 25 February. Bristol refers to the pardon which the King granted him. He has been asked to choose between using James' pardon, granted to him before James' death, or being put on trial. Bristol writes that he is unable to give a clear answer until 'there be a clear understanding of the thing propounded'. He does not understand what the security he has been given actually means 'whether it be by the present

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<sup>109</sup> Lockyer, p. 113.

estate I am now in or not' (19). By this pardon he is restrained because he has been advised by Conway not to make use of the liberty which James gave him to allow him to come to London. He is also prohibited from Court and the Royal presence. He is denied his seat in Parliament and 'my writ has been detained, as though my honour were forfeited' (20). He believes he should be at liberty as a 'free subject' and as a 'Peer of the Kingdom'. As a subject of the King he cannot avoid being questioned and if Charles wants him to stand trial he will most willingly submit himself to it where he will prove his innocence. He writes that he wants his writ returned and to be allowed to come to London. When Bristol then refers to the pardon given by James and whether he should renounce it, he declares that:

I know that the justest and most cautious man living, may through ignorance or omission offend the laws, so that as a subject I shall not disclaim any benefit which cometh in the general as it doth usually to all other subjects in the Kingdom (20).

He does however insist that he is innocent and he hopes that Conway can help him regain favour with the King and the Duke so that this business can pass over without further misfortune. He argues that he is a 'man of honour and honestie' who will 'suffer whatsoever it shall please God to send' (20). Bristol, it would appear, is willing to test and trust the King's law, because, as Somerset believes, the law comes from the King.

We need to consider what the *Cabala* letters tell the reader and why are they placed here between the report of the Prince's arrival in Spain and then Bristol's own correspondence concerning the match. The subject, in comparison to the previous letters of Somerset and York, is law and the use of it. Charles is displeased with Digby and reiterates this within his letter and via the letter from Conway. Conway's letter appears to place the King as the law which can ignore or at least attempt to ignore the pardon. Bristol believes as a peer of Parliament he is entitled to a law which will prove him innocent. It could be argued that the reader is given these letters before the Bristol correspondence, during the time of the Match, so that the reader is presented with the argument that follows the Match, with Charles' disapproval of the Earl's behaviour quite evident, and then is given Bristol's letters to be able to decide whether or not he is innocent. If the reader then believes his

innocence where does this leave Charles and his desire for a trial? Charles has also accused Bristol of trying to get him to convert to Catholicism but the reader may well doubt this as Charles' wife, Henrietta Maria, was a Catholic and there were doubts over Charles' own religion during his reign. Does Charles protest too much regarding the conversion and who would the reader believe?

As we have seen, the reader has been given a summary of the Match, then a view from Charles himself, and this is followed by Bristol and Conway's correspondence discussing whether Bristol will go on trial over his handling of the Match. Further letters will now demonstrate Bristol desperately trying to get back into favour as he has challenged the favourite which was to prove a dangerous course of action. We are taken back to August 1623 with the words: 'Here next follows the letters of my Lord Bristol concerning the buisnesse of the Match'. The first letter dated 20 August is between Bristol and the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, who was John Williams, Lord Keeper, who was himself against the Spanish Match.<sup>110</sup> Bristol explained that he is out of favour with Buckingham who despised him and there was no hope of a reconciliation. The Spaniards, he declares, pitied him regarding his treatment by the favourite. Bristol had continued to give Buckingham all due respect and service especially in public and he himself had no idea why the Duke disliked him so much. He then wrote of the news from Spain: Charles was due to leave soon with the Infanta following in the spring and Bristol was to stay there to facilitate this. The Spanish Court, however, did not like the Duke and 'they will rather put the Infanta headlong into a Well, then into his hands' (22). Bristol clearly blames Buckingham for any failure over the Match.

The *Cabala* publishes a further letter from Bristol to Williams on 24 September and he spoke of the love the King of Spain, Philip IV, had for the Prince who had now departed. Bristol believed that the Prince deserved praise as he had behaved so well and was much respected for his affability, patience and constancy. The only criticism, Bristol believes, is that it was considered by the Spanish, that the Prince was guided too much by the Duke (22). The Spanish believed the Duke would stop the marriage going ahead but Bristol stated that the Duke could not cross the King in such a matter of importance (23). A *Cabala* reader may speculate as to

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<sup>110</sup> Brian Quintrell, 'Williams, John (1582-1650)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 19 April 2005].



whether this was why Bristol so firmly believed in foul play concerning James. The marriage was called off. But is Bristol saying that it was against James' wishes and therefore James had to be got rid of to enable Buckingham and Charles to continue with their own plans? Bristol writes that he firmly believed the Match 'hath been so long desired by his Majestie, and that for it he hath been pleased to do so much' which is why Bristol continued to work for it (23). He believed this despite the rumours to the contrary and in the letter he states that after all that has happened, such as the Prince himself coming to Spain, he cannot see that the Match was not meant to be (23). He hoped that Williams would support him and the Match, in which he so fervently believed. He ended the letter by saying that Francis Cottingham would soon arrive back in England to tell his side of the story (23). This is interesting as Cottingham was secretary to the Prince having been supported by Buckingham in his advancement. He would surely be on the favourite's side?

Bristol's role in the Match is demonstrated by two letters written by him to the Prince. The first is undated. It contains details of the instructions that the Prince gave to Bristol before he left Madrid (24-28). Bristol believed the Spanish intended the Match but he would delay the delivery of the proxy as Charles had instructed. However he could see problems with delaying this as the Infanta would be upset and insulted and the Spanish King would begin to distrust the English (25). He wrote that he knew that James and Charles had both desired this match for a long time and Charles had undertaken a hazardous journey to help conclude the marriage (25). He believed everything was now resolved for a successful conclusion and there was no reason for it not to go ahead except 'God forbid that either any personal distastes of ministers, or any indiscreet or passionate carriage of businesses should hazard that, which his Majestie and your Highnesse have done so much to obtain' (25). This would appear to be directed at the Duke of Buckingham and his influence over the King and the Prince of Wales. Therefore Bristol writes to ask Charles to authorise the deliverance of the proxy so that the Match could be finalised (26). Bristol, it appears, was very desirous of the Match going ahead and we could argue seems to be bias towards the Spanish rather than his own King.

Bristol in a further letter appears to be attempting to explain himself to both Prince and favourite as if he was already aware of the power shift away from the King himself. Bristol writes to the Prince concerning the problems with the marriage

portion which Spain felt was too high but had been settled with the previous Spanish King, Philip III, the Infanta's father. Olivares now believed that it looked as if Spain needed a high sum to purchase the friendship of England (27). Bristol presented them with the previous papers which detailed the portion and the Spanish could not dispute the late King's promise. However he writes to the Prince that the Match now stalled upon this issue (27). There is a further letter where Bristol writes to Buckingham on 6 December stating that the current state of affairs 'requireth the concurrence of all his [Majesty's] Servants and the co-operation of all his Ministers' and therefore Bristol wrote that he was desirous to make known his service to Buckingham asking for his forgiveness for any misunderstandings or errors that Bristol may have made (27). If there was anything in particular he had done he would willingly give the Duke an apology so as to gain his friendship. If, he writes, this was not to be 'I shall not be found disarmed with patience against anything that can happen to me' (28). Bristol, it would appear, is already worried about how his role in the Match is being perceived. He was aware of the Duke's influence on James and possibly feared he had overstepped the mark in his previous correspondence.

The reader can see Bristol's real fear over his own position as he writes in the next letter to Cottingham, Charles' secretary, dated 15 April. Bristol is quite adamant that he had been zealous in the Prince's service concerning the Match and now it was at an end the world should know how much he supported it.<sup>111</sup> But now he would support a war if that was what James and Charles wanted and he only desired to know what more he could do to end the Prince's displeasure with him (28). On 27 July 1624, Bristol wrote to James declaring his loyalty even though he was not allowed to see the King. He had faithfully and honestly served his King to the best of his understanding. He believed James would protect so faithful a servant as him and 'according to your Justice, will let nothing that may be said of me redound to my prejudice in your gracious opinion' (30). Bristol, like Somerset, saw James as the justice and law of England. This letter ends Bristol's correspondence in the *Cabala*. The detail evidenced here shows how Bristol perceived his role in the proceedings of the Match and how he believed he was working for the King but the undercurrent of his letters suggest an animosity to Buckingham highlighting problems ahead.

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<sup>111</sup> This letter is dated 1623 but it must be 1624.

The *Cabala* now gives us Sir Walter Aston's letters to Buckingham so we get to see another side of the Match which is important if we are to understand Buckingham's role in the Match, the subsequent accusations and why this remained in the public consciousness. Sir Walter Aston was the King's resident ambassador in Madrid. He writes that he supported Bristol's claim that he was diligently working for the Match as was Aston himself but he was concerned that Buckingham no longer desired the marriage so he asked, as his grace's servant, what the Duke desired (30). Aston argues that he only wanted to serve his Majesty and of course the Duke. He does state that all remained the same in Spain with friendship desired. He touches upon the difficulties between Buckingham and Olivares calling them 'differences' but with both wanting the same thing. Aston saw a 'sea of confusions' if the Match was to break down but would bow to his lordship's greater wisdom (30). He also mentioned the idea of war which he believed would only bring unhappiness (30). Aston wrote again to Buckingham on 15 November 1623 concerning Bristol and the proxy which the Spanish were pressing him for. It is short letter continuing Aston's declarations of friendship and service to the Duke who was obviously a man to be feared (34).

The *Cabala* contains only two letters from Buckingham himself within the *Cabala* (34-36). What do they tell us, if anything, about the Duke himself? They are both to Aston and are both undated. The first refers to a letter from Aston dated 5 December where he had requested the Duke's opinion.<sup>112</sup> The Duke, in his letter, reassures Aston that he did not put a foot wrong during the Match and he had always given the Duke and Charles great satisfaction (34). Aston, the Duke writes, was always kept informed of their intentions in particular regarding the Palatine and of their communications with Bristol (34). However Buckingham writes that he was unhappy over Aston and Bristol's handling of the proxy which was not to have been delivered without the resolution of the Palatine's issues and they were both aware of this (34). Buckingham, however, had now managed to convince people that Aston was a good man and that in time he would return to favour especially as Aston had admitted his error (34). This shows an underlying current of power demonstrating Buckingham's power and influence.

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<sup>112</sup> This letter is not printed in the *Cabala*

Buckingham's second letter states that the reason why James was so upset over Bristol and Aston's continuing pressure to be allowed to hand over the proxy was because: 'he would be sorry to welcome home one daughter with a smiling cheer and leave his own only daughter at the same time weeping and disconsolate' (36). Buckingham argues that they should not have continued with the negotiations without permission and he states that the King himself had dictated this letter to the Duke (36). Therefore it would appear to Aston that it was the King himself who was unhappy with both Aston and Bristol and that Buckingham was acting on the King's behalf. This would of course be important to Aston and change the meaning of the letter because James is the monarch and Buckingham the King's servant. But Aston would also be aware that the message comes from the Duke rather than the King underlining the power of the favourite. Buckingham, in his letters, is careful to mention the King and indicate his own closeness to him. Thus the King and favourite are working together and there would appear to be no breach between the two.

In the *Cabala* there is a letter from Aston to Conway where Aston reports of a meeting between Bristol and Olivares as Bristol took his leave to return home. This demonstrates how close an alliance had been formed between Bristol and the Spanish (40-44). Olivares stated that he had heard rumours that Bristol had enemies who would work against him, and so, Olivares offers to give him a blank piece of paper signed by Philip IV where Bristol could write his own conditions and demands (42). Aston writes that Olivares believed Bristol had only worked for the success of the Match and had not attempted to corrupt any servant of the King (42). Bristol thanked Olivares, but said he 'trusted upon the innocency of his cause and the Justice of the King' (42). This would seem to imply that Olivares and the King of Spain believed that Bristol had enemies who would work against him, and probably the implication is aimed at Buckingham. But it also demonstrates a significant relationship between Bristol and Olivares which may well have not worked in Bristol's favour; after all he was supposed to be the servant of James I. The reader could not only ask whose side Bristol was on but also was he wise in his actions. Returning home, he would be at the mercy of the King's law and, as we have seen, this could be flawed.

The letters demonstrate obvious tensions between Buckingham, Bristol and to some extent Aston. The *Cabala* reader would see confusion by both Bristol and

Aston over the Match and their own fears of the impact on their careers. They believed they had been working for a marriage that was desired by both King and Prince. The letters appear to show that after the breakdown of the Match there was a desire to blame someone for its failure. By reading the letters Bristol appears to be blaming Buckingham, a dangerous accusation to make, and Buckingham appears to be blaming Bristol and Aston for their own roles in the handling of the marriage proxy. However the Match did fail and when the Prince returned to England unmarried the English public were overjoyed and this was one of the few times Buckingham enjoyed public favour. Cogswell writes that the Match had deeply divided the kingdom and several foreign diplomats saw a nation on the edge of rebellion.<sup>113</sup> Thomas Aldred's letter which he had written to the Duke, and which was discussed earlier, had pointed to the marriage of Philip and Mary which had sparked Wyatt's Rebellion.<sup>114</sup> Cogswell believes that reactions to the Match reveals a domestic crisis which casts light on events later in that century which 'until recently, the willingness of seventeenth century Englishmen to believe tales of Catholic plots had not generally struck a sympathetic chord among modern historians'.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, Cogswell argues, anti-Catholicism becomes a more plausible cause of the civil war.<sup>116</sup> It could be further argued that the archbishop's letter to James at the outset of this section certainly supports Cogswell's view (13). The fact that this letter is most likely a forgery would seem to suggest this was indeed the objective.

The *Cabala* letters demonstrate that Bristol was in favour of the Match and in fact it could be argued that he shows a political naivety in his dealings with Spain. He believed and trusted in Olivares even though there was little doubt the Spanish really saw the Match as unachievable. The 1650s reader may see the Spanish as untrustworthy with the evidence produced in the letters regarding the conditions of the Match and in fact the preface of the *Cabala* describes the 'Arts and Subtleties of Spain'. It also appears that Bristol made the mistake of pushing for the delivery of the proxy without the issue of the Palatine being resolved.<sup>117</sup> James believed in peace and he had hoped to achieve such a peace for the Palatine through this marriage. He

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<sup>113</sup> Cogswell, p.50

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 51

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>117</sup> Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 37.

would not sacrifice his daughter's happiness for the Match.<sup>118</sup> Therefore the Match failed because the Spanish did not intend to support James and his daughter over the Palatine and in fact they probably could not have done so if they wanted as the Palatine was in the hands of an emperor who was far more powerful than Spain.<sup>119</sup>

Charles was also not prepared to become a Catholic and risk the wrath of his people, at least not in 1623.<sup>120</sup> James, it seems from the letters, did give Bristol a pardon but refused to see him. The King did not turn on his favourite because he supported him hence when Buckingham wrote to Aston it reportedly was in the name of the King (34-36). Also James' desire to see his daughter's predicament resolved, as evidenced by Buckingham in his letter, surely meant that the Match would fail. Therefore why would Buckingham kill the King? The *Cabala* does not depict James or Charles as against the favourite and Buckingham's own letters demonstrate a confidence in his own position. It could be argued that the *Cabala* supports Buckingham in the matter of the Match because a 1650s public would distrust Spain and would not see the Spanish dislike of Buckingham as a negative. They would in fact embrace it. What the reader would see was the power of the favourite. We can also see from the letter from Charles to Bristol that the King supports the favourite and there is no suggestion of him turning against Buckingham. All the letters to the Duke ask for his help or his forgiveness; they write to him of their service to him and their respect of him. There is, at times, a feeling of genuine fear of the Duke in some of the letters. When Bristol, for example in his, talks of the King it is to talk of his justice and though this echoes Somerset, there is also a feeling that if anyone can get Buckingham's support the King will help them (20). The favourite could be seen here in his role of 'evil' favourite which is the role Bristol wanted to cast him in 1626 when he impeached him.<sup>121</sup> Bristol hints at this in his letter asking the Prince not to listen to ministers who would turn him against the marriage. It echoes the pamphlet literature of the 1640s where the ministers or the favourite are seen as the root of all evil not the King. But by 1653 the King was dead but one man was about to take power.

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<sup>118</sup> Cogswell, p. 108.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., pp. 109-14.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>121</sup> *HLJ*, 15 May 1626, Vol.3. p. 624.

The publication of the *Cabala* letters in the 1650s demonstrate Buckingham's role in both the Spanish Match and in domestic affairs. As we have seen in the letters concerning the Match there is a genuine fear of upsetting the Duke and as we are about to see that these anxieties are not unique to the participants of the Match. We will now demonstrate how the Court used the Duke for patronage in securing his help to gain lucrative positions; how he was a path to the King in terms of getting justice when things went wrong for the courtier; and how the Duke controlled a large network of diplomats abroad. This section will prove that though Buckingham could not be described as a 'privado' i.e. a virtual ruler, he had great influence with both King and heir. Buckingham's role as favourite during James' reign was controlled by the King but later policy, both home and abroad, under Charles was very much within the control of the Duke.

Printed in the *Cabala* just after Somerset's letter are a suite of letters from Francis Bacon. In one of the earliest dated letters in the *Cabala*, 31 July 1617, Bacon protests to James that in a previous letter to the King he was not maligning Buckingham, whose 'true friend' he remains. He writes that what he was actually saying was that Buckingham should beware the 'unfaithfulness of friends' now that he is favourite. Bacon asks that the King forgive him for any misunderstanding his letter may have caused (8). As early as 1617 Buckingham was a force to be reckoned with and Bacon, as Lord Keeper, was concerned not to lose his own favour with James. In a later letter, dated 25 March 1620, Bacon writes to Buckingham that he, the Duke, is his 'anchor in these flouds' and encloses a letter he has written to the King. He asks the favourite to read it and then decide whether 'to deliver it or not to deliver it, as you think Good' (10). Bacon allows Buckingham to make this decision rather than sending the letter straight to James. Bacon is aware of Buckingham's influence and puts all his trust in him.

Another example of the Duke's influence is in the various letters from John Williams, who appears in the *Cabala* as both the Bishop of Lincoln and the Lord Keeper. Williams writes a total of 29 letters to the Duke and most of them are asking for his help and favour. In one letter, when Williams is putting himself forward for the vacant post of Bishop of London, he asks 'if his Majestie by *your Honours*

*mediation*, shall resolve to call me' to take the post (54).<sup>122</sup> The key words here are in italics: Williams hopes to gain the post through Buckingham. In a further letter, dated 9 September 1622, Williams writes to the Duke in some distress concerning accusations of fraud made by the Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, against the Lord Keeper and his staff. Williams protests his innocence and asks for Buckingham's help. He ends his letter 'having now poured out my soul and sorrow unto your Lordships breast, I find my heart much eased' (71). Therefore we have two different types of request from Williams to the Duke, one asking for promotion and the other asking for help. By 21 September, Williams thanks the favourite for his most loving letter, confesses his error and believes 'his Majesties Justice and your Lordships love are anchors strong enough, for a mind more tossed then mine, to ride out' (73). We can see echoes of previous letters from Somerset and Bristol whereby they also put their trust in the King's justice but Williams places himself in the hands of the favourite. To get the King's justice it would seem that one had to have the favourite on one's side. Bristol did not do this so he lost his position at Court, Williams did do so and in this instance he kept his place.<sup>123</sup>

Dr Field, Bishop of Landasse, writing to the Duke in an undated letter, provides another example of the power of the favourite when he writes:

I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deanes, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councillors. None that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go empty away (118).

The favourite's influence extends throughout the Court and Clergy and it was important to get Buckingham on one's side to hope for favour, position and forgiveness. Another man who learnt this was Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He was made a privy councillor by James on 19 April 1619 but he made an enemy of Buckingham and there was almost a fistfight between the two in the House of Lords. On 3 of May 1621, he supported the proposal to degrade Sir Francis Bacon and also called for his banishment. Buckingham was a supporter and friend of Bacon at that time and so, unsurprisingly, Southampton was arrested and on 16 June charged with mischievous intrigues with members of the House of Commons. He was confined to the house of John Williams and was released a month

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<sup>122</sup> My italics.

<sup>123</sup> Williams' letters will also be discussed in chapter five concerning the use of the *Cabala* as a source document.



later when he was ordered to repair to his country seat of Titchfield in the custody of Sir William Parkhurst.<sup>124</sup>

Three letters in the *Cabala* deal with Southampton's arrest and exile in 1621. The first is from Southampton to the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams (57). It is undated but he writes that the next day he will be leaving for Titchfield with Parkhurst so this would date it as the middle of July 1621. Southampton asks Williams for advice in his case. He himself has received a letter from Court in which he has been asked to restrain his friends from making the same errors as him. He has also been given advice from Buckingham whereby the favourite has told him not to speak of his case and not to meddle further. He also writes that Parkhurst does not want the role of jailor so he asks if Williams can remember Parkhurst to Buckingham (57). The second letter is the reply from Williams to Southampton dated 2 August 1621 in which the Lord Keeper writes 'And doubt nothing of my Lord Admiral remembering of you upon the first opportunity'. The Lord Admiral was Buckingham. Southampton must, however, be patient for such things take time and if he wanted the King's pardon he needed to remain quiet for a while. Williams advises Southampton to 'make good your professions to this Noble Lord'. On the same day Williams writes to Buckingham concerning the Earl and he writes of an enclosure which will allow the Duke to see what has been decided by the King concerning Southampton but he puts in brackets 'your hand guiding the Pencil' (59). Therefore Williams, it would appear, sees Buckingham as the real grantor of mercy, the real power behind any pardon Southampton may receive. Williams believes Buckingham should grant the Earl mercy, as this will show the favourite as a better person than his enemies. Williams flatters the favourite by writing 'But why do I turn a Preacher of goodnesse unto him, who (in my own particular) hath shewed himself to be composed of nothing else?' (59). In these letters we can see that both Southampton and Williams realise that the way to get James to grant Southampton a pardon is through the services of the favourite.

The letters from Williams and Southampton show how Buckingham is believed to be a considerable force and a giver of favour, honour and forgiveness. Other letters to the Duke show his public role as Admiral of the Fleet and as Privy

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<sup>124</sup> See Park Honan, 'Wriothesley, Henry, third earl of Southampton (1573-1624)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 10 May 2005].

Councillor.<sup>125</sup> Letters from John Pennington discuss the situation over the loan of ships to the French to help in the attack against Spain and the fitting out of these ships (150-51); Edward Cecil's letters are written from the Hague as Commander of the Army (128-34); Wotton's letters are written in his role as Ambassador to Venice (192-97); Kensington in his role as negotiator for the French Match (which won him much favour as he became Earl of Holland in 1624) (273-96); and Dudley Carleton as ambassador to the Hague and he later became a privy councillor through Buckingham's favour and joined Holland in France (317-46).<sup>126</sup> In fact a Carleton letter to the Duke ends the first volume of the *Cabala* (346).<sup>127</sup> These letter writers and their roles shows that the Duke had an impressive network of correspondents in France, The Hague, Italy and of course as we have seen in Spain where Cottingham and Aston kept him informed. The writers all seek his patronage, his advice and his gratitude. They may mention the King in terms of service and justice but the real command would appear to be with Buckingham. He would decide what to tell the King, particularly when Charles was that King. He would also decide what he felt was the correct course of action and we can see this in the letters when they either thank Buckingham for his support or beg the Duke for his forgiveness.

The reader would see the power and control that Buckingham had. They would be in no doubt of the role of this favourite compared to the limited power of Somerset who is begging the King to save him at the start of the *Cabala*. The King appears briefly within the *Cabala*, in some cases to support Buckingham and in others as a receiver of information about such things as the Spanish Match. There is much mention of the King's justice but there remains the feeling that this justice comes through the Duke. Therefore in the 1620s we have a man who, if we read the *Cabala*, appears to hold all the power, who has a vast network of foreign diplomats and courtiers willing to serve him. He is not the King, he has no birth right to this power and he holds a title bestowed upon him by the monarch. He would not be seen as 'chosen by God' as the King would be but as 'chosen by man'. This brings us to 1653 when the book is published and Cromwell's question to Bulstrode Whitelocke

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<sup>125</sup> See appendix four for a complete list of letter writers to the Duke.

<sup>126</sup> Kensington also writes under the title the Earl of Holland in the *Cabala*.

<sup>127</sup> Dated 20 August 1625.

in November 1652: ‘what if a man should take it upon himself to be King?’<sup>128</sup> If Buckingham could rule in all but name in the 1620s why shouldn’t Cromwell? Buckingham provides an example of a man who did rule and the *Cabala* demonstrates this through its letters. Cromwell can be compared to Buckingham if we consider the pamphlet writer’s words in *Hell’s Hurlie Burlie* ‘He shall be King here, sit in the King’s Throne’ when describing the Duke in 1644 and this could easily apply to Cromwell in 1653.<sup>129</sup>

### **Conclusion: 1653 and the Protectorate**

If we read the first volume of the *Cabala* in isolation we could describe it, as Evelyn does, as a ‘heap’ of letters.<sup>130</sup> To understand the book we have to place the Stuart Court in some form of context and it is Buckingham who provides this in the first volume. By studying his print history we can see the perceived ideas of Buckingham as the ‘evil favourite’, the man with too much power and to some the murderer of the King. The family history demonstrates how the Buckingham name remains at the forefront of English politics in the 1640s and 1650s keeping the Buckingham legend alive. If we also believe that Fairfax could be the source of the letters, as discussed in the Introduction, we can begin to understand the *Cabala*’s message and why the reading public might connect with the letters. Fairfax did not believe in Cromwell as Head of State and it could be argued that he published Buckingham’s letters to convince the reading public that allowing one man so much power was dangerous. The reading public in the seventeenth century would be a man with a high income who could afford such a book and who in some cases would have had a role in government and at court. Therefore they would be expected to understand the extent of Buckingham’s power and influence. Like John Hacket they might also know the letter writers or even the Buckingham family. They may well have believed that Buckingham set a precedence which should be avoided and if Buckingham was to blame for the problems of the Stuarts why should another man be allowed to take the same power? Even if we don’t accept Fairfax as the source of the letters we can still see this message by studying the actual letters within the

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<sup>128</sup> *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke* ed. Ruth Spalding (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 281-282.

<sup>129</sup> *Hell’s Hurlie Burlie*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>130</sup> John Evelyn to Lord Spencer, 1688, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (London: Routledge and Son, 1906), p. 677.

context of Buckingham's publishing history where he is portrayed as Smut's 'evil favourite'. The Spanish Match may give Buckingham some favour with the readers of the *Cabala* with its anti-Spanish emphasis but the sheer amount of power which Buckingham has is obvious with the letters from the various members of the Stuart Court.

The *Cabala* is a letter volume that differs from a pamphlet in key ways. A pamphlet is in many respects fact and fiction because it has an author who wishes to convey his own message and is usually a complete story but the author is not necessarily writing about an event that he has witnessed. A letter is written by an individual who also wants to convey a message. It is an immediate piece of work, written at a moment in time, but it is also one-sided. Can we accept letters as 'truth'? It is difficult to say because the writers are telling their side of the story so there may well be 'glosse' upon any letter. The book's preface directs us to accept these letters as truth:

The secrets of the Court and State; without any false glosse to writhe or streighten, to deprave or extenuate, with more truth and sincerity, then all the Annals can show (A4).

It leaves the reader to judge the letters on 'their own worth'. To the writer of the preface, letters are truth and history is imperfect without them and to some extent the writer is correct. The letters are reportedly written by historical figures at the time in which they were living and we can see what topics and issues were being discussed but in terms of Buckingham do we find the truth? We can certainly see his influence and his power but we cannot know what the letter writers really thought about the favourite. The writers want to have part of his favour, his influence and to reflect in his glory; they are also afraid of him. Therefore we can see letters professing love, gratitude and servitude and the words forgiveness and respect. We do not find the real Buckingham we only see the perceived man: the man, who to them, held the keys to power. We cannot see how much favour James or Charles really allowed the favourite and how much he influenced them and apart from two letters we do not even hear his own thoughts and opinions. Letters can only give us so much.

What the *Cabala* does give us is an indication of the power of the favourite and how this one man was the focus of the Stuart courtiers. His role in the Spanish Match may be seen in a less favourable light but the fact that Bristol has to write to

protest his innocence shows he had real concerns about the favourite's influence. We can also see that after the Match, Buckingham became heavily involved in foreign policy with various letters from France, The Hague, Italy and continuing correspondence from Spain. He was involved in the Palatine issue, the campaign against Spain, the relief of Ré and the French Match. For a brief time in the 1620s the Stuart court revolved around Buckingham and as we have seen the memory of this continued in the 1640s and 1650s as a message warning against 'evil' ministers and favourites. The *Cabala* is a continuation of these themes and its most important message is a demonstration of the power one man can have even without a crown and without the consent of Parliament or the people. A man can take control of the country and reign as King in all but name and in August 1653 England was only months away from the declaration of the Protectorate and if we believe that some of the *Cabala* letters foresaw the coming of war we can also see issues and themes which would warn against the coming of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. In the 1650s, it seems, this perception of Buckingham would resonate with that of Cromwell and the reader would be expected to make that connection giving the *Cabala* a political message.

Oliver Cromwell's power could be seen as more dangerous than that of the Duke of Buckingham's because Buckingham's power could be checked by the King who after all was a divinely appointed monarch. Cromwell as Protector could be seen to hold and wield even more power than the Duke or indeed the King. Buckingham may have in some way allowed Cromwell to take this power as he set a precedent of a 'common' man having such power but Cromwell will enhance this idea of a surrogate monarchy by replacing the monarch entirely. Therefore were the Stuart kings themselves to blame for the Protectorate by allowing this precedent? By giving Buckingham such control it demonstrated that the King was no longer the law and that any man could become a pseudo ruler. The next two chapters focus on the Tudor concept of monarchy and how Tudor monarchs controlled their own favourites. They explore how the focus of second volume of the *Cabala* moves away from the Stuart Court and its foibles and directs its focus towards the Tudor Court in particular the fate of Anne Boleyn and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The chapters will question how the power distribution within the two Courts differs and what

message this gave the seventeenth century readership of the *Cabala* and to Cromwell himself.

## **Chapter Two: ‘Creating Lives’: The Rehabilitation of Anne Boleyn and the Letter from the Tower.**

The second volume of the *Cabala, Scrinia Sacra*, was published less than a year after the first edition but contains a mixture of Tudor and Stuart letters, in marked contrast to the first edition which contains letters entirely from the Stuart Court.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will focus on one single letter printed in *Scrinia Sacra* and it will ask what was the context and relevance of this letter within the 1650s. The letter is from Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII, dated 6 May 1536, written after her arrest for adultery and during her imprisonment in the Tower of London. Most contemporary and modern biographers, including Eric Ives, G.W. Bernard and Joanna Denny, regard the letter as a forgery because of the seventeenth century handwriting, the style and the signature.<sup>2</sup> Edward Herbert who publishes it in 1649 also doubts its provenance.<sup>3</sup> *Scrinia Sacra* publishes the letter without any such disclaimer and appears to present it as genuine or at least could be seen to be directing its readership to accept its authenticity. This chapter will discuss why such a letter would be forged, what would be gained from such a forgery, and when it first appeared in print. It will also examine the letter’s place within *Scrinia Sacra* own publishing context. Gary Schneider believes that the second volume begins to ‘idealize the letters’ and move towards a type of propaganda whereby statesmen are held up as examples of nobility and honour.<sup>4</sup> But is this actually the case and how does the publication of Anne Boleyn’s letter contribute to this ideal or to other ends?

The chapter will address the question of why the letter may have been forged in two ways: first, by examining the print history of Anne Boleyn after her death to determine the preconceived ideas of Anne by 1654 when *Scrinia Sacra* was published; and secondly by exploring the print history of the actual letter which may help identify whether the letter was forged and also when the forgery took place. It

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<sup>1</sup> *Scrinia Sacra: Secrets of Empire in Letters of Illustrious Persons. A Supplement to the Cabala* (1654). In the *Register* the first edition is registered on 5 August 1653 and the second edition on 8 May 1654. The second volume of the *Cabala* will be known as *Scrinia Sacra* to differentiate from the two volumes. Subsequent references in text.

<sup>2</sup> G.W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 173; Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn* (London: Piatkus, 2005), p. 282; Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth* (1649).

<sup>4</sup> Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity* (University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 80.

first appears in print in 1649 in Edward Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth*.<sup>5</sup> Herbert had originally written this text in the 1630s and it was published after his death in 1648. We will explore what place the letter had in both the 1630s when Herbert was writing and in 1649 when his work was published. The letter itself will then be discussed in comparison with Anne's own print history to establish any recurring themes which may explain the forgery. Finally, the political climate during the time of the letter's original publication in 1649 and its publication within *Scrinia Sacra* in 1654 will be examined to try to ascertain how the letter was intended to be received by its readers.

### **The Print History of Anne Boleyn: Protestant Icon or King's Whore?**

To understand the publishing context of the letter, we need to first examine Anne Boleyn's afterlife in print to gain an idea of the preconceptions of Anne's character prior to the publication of the letter in both 1649 and 1654. This allows us to situate the letter within a context of Anne's print transmission up until its publication. We will explore what this print history tells us about the representations of Anne, allowing us to determine whether she was seen as an evil queen or a victim of a despotic monarch. Was she a Protestant icon or a King's whore? This section draws on the excellent source data provided by Eric Ives and by Maria Dowling in her preface to William Latymer's *Cronickelle of Anne Bulleyne*.<sup>6</sup> Where possible I have referenced the originals, but where Ives and Dowling are used, in particular for translation, their work is cited

Anne Boleyn was executed on 19 May 1536, convicted of adultery. Even before her death Henry VIII was arranging for the eradication of his second wife's image from public life. At Hampton Court all signs of Anne's queenship were removed including her emblems, her mottoes and the numerous entwined initials of H and A. Henry reportedly had all her portraits and letters destroyed.<sup>7</sup> After her death there would appear to have been very little written about her and this would be hardly surprising while Henry remained on the throne. Modern historians have access to the letters and accounts written by contemporary foreign ambassadors such

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<sup>5</sup> Herbert, *Reign of Henry VIII*.

<sup>6</sup> 'William Latymer's Chronickille of Anne Bulleyne', ed. Maria Dowling, *Camden Miscellany XXX, Camden Fourth Series*, 39 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> Susan Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn* (London: Oneworld, 2014), p. x.



as Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador, but even these have to be treated with care as in the case of Chapuys there is a definite bias. Katherine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry who Anne replaced, was a Spanish princess and a Catholic. Anne as Catherine's replacement, seen by Chapuys as the catalyst for the English break from Rome, would be described unfavourably by the Spanish ambassador. It is very doubtful that readers from 1536 to 1654 would have seen or had access to these accounts and therefore we can only examine what we believe to have been readily available to the seventeenth century reader during this period.<sup>8</sup> We can also split these contemporary accounts into two distinct types: anti-Anne texts with a predominantly Catholic authorship and pro-Anne publications which are of course from Protestant supporters. Also there would be an obvious shift in the way Anne was represented when her daughter, Elizabeth, came to the throne in 1558.

The earliest known biography of Anne, after her death, was in fact written by a foreigner, Lancelot de Carles, bishop of Riez.<sup>9</sup> The poem *Epistre contenant le Proces criminal faict a Lencontre de la Royne Anne Bovllant D'Angleterre* was finished on 2 June 1536, thirteen days after the execution, but it was not published until 1545 in Lyons.<sup>10</sup> Maria Dowling suggests that the author's view of Anne was that she was a victim of hubris; ambition had turned her head, but she was essentially a good person.<sup>11</sup> This biography was not published in England although it may have been brought into the country by overseas travellers and had some sort of circulation. According to Ives manuscript versions existed in London, which lends some credence to this idea.<sup>12</sup> De Carles describes in detail Anne's trial complete with her speech and her final words on the scaffold, portraying Anne as a strong intelligent woman who insisted on her innocence. Ives argues that de Carles could not have reported on events not accessible to the public and that in fact his work is based on what was known by the French embassy. However, Ives points out that, because of the immediacy of the writing, de Carles' account has 'been assumed to have original authority'.<sup>13</sup> It could therefore be argued that the contemporary audience of the

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<sup>8</sup> Chapter four will examine in detail the owners of the *Cabala* volumes.

<sup>9</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> Lancelot de Carles, *Epistre contenant le Proces criminal faict a Lencontre de la Royne Anne Bovllant D'Angleterre* (Lyon, 1545); Ives, p. 60. As the poem is in French I have relied on Ives and Dowling's assessment of the work.

<sup>11</sup> *Latymer*, p. 37, (cited in Dowling)

<sup>12</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

1540s, when this was published, may well have taken this account as fact. It may also have been the first time that the details of the trial were in the public domain. The fact that de Carles situated himself in London at the time of the trial may have given him authority with a public who might have seen little else on the matter.

The earliest known official publication on Anne was Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of York and Lancaster*, published in 1547. This describes Anne and her marriage to Henry which the author saw as ill judged.<sup>14</sup> Ives argues this was in keeping in a chronicle which positioned Henry as its centrepiece and as the epitome of the union of the two great houses.<sup>15</sup> The book provides very little insight into Anne herself and given that it is a Tudor publication this is unsurprising. Anne, as mother to one of Henry's children, cannot be completely eradicated from the records but she can be limited.

William Thomas began *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth* in 1547 and it was published in Italy in 1552.<sup>16</sup> Written during Edward VI's reign, it is seen as an attempt to gain favour within Henry's son's government.<sup>17</sup> In the tract, Thomas describes Anne Boleyn's 'liberal' life as 'too shameful to rehearse', he believes that she was once a wise woman who succumbed to carnal lust, and that her adultery led her to desire the King's death.<sup>18</sup> Thomas needed to discredit Anne to ensure that the position of Jane Seymour, the replacement queen and Edward VI's mother, was justified. However, the original tract was not published in England until the eighteenth century, though, like de Carles' work, it could have entered the country in its original Italian version.<sup>19</sup> However, it is hard to prove that either de Carles' or Thomas' work was widely read or contributed to Anne Boleyn's print history prior to 1649 or 1654.

During Mary Tudor's reign there were works published in England which represent Anne Boleyn as clearly guilty of adultery and as an enemy of the true Church of Rome. Mary Tudor was the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, the Queen Anne replaced: Anne was traditionally represented by Mary's supporters as the

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> Dakota L. Hamilton, 'Thomas, William (d.1554)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 8 April 2015] p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> William Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. by J.A. Froude (1861), p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas, *Pilgrim*, p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Hamilton, 'William Thomas', p. 2.

woman who not only displaced England's rightful queen but caused the break from the Catholic Church. There is an agenda present with both the work published during Edward's reign and that published during Mary's reign. Both the children of Jane and Katherine had their own dynastic repositioning to establish and both, for different reasons, have to discredit Anne Boleyn. Mary's mother had been replaced by Anne Boleyn and Mary had been removed as heir to the throne. Edward's mother had replaced Anne. However Edward, as a son, had an assured position as Henry's heir. There was less threat to his position as monarch than there was to Mary and Edward was himself a Protestant King.

Nicholas Harpsfield's *A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon* was published in manuscript form in England in 1556 and remained in circulation until 1878 when it was finally printed, demonstrating that it had an enduring popularity.<sup>20</sup> This work gave Mary legitimacy because according to Harpsfield the divorce was not legitimate and Catherine remained England's true queen. It therefore has to discredit Anne for this to be true. Harpsfield also wrote a biography of Thomas More in 1557 that portrays Anne as instrumental in More's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower.<sup>21</sup> Both works were written to defame Anne Boleyn and rehabilitate Mary's mother Catherine as the true queen of England. A year earlier, Thomas More's son-in-law, William Roper, wrote his account of More's life and he also portrayed Anne as the instigator of More's downfall and arrest.<sup>22</sup> Roper's work was published in 1626. These two works enforce the view of Anne as an enemy of the Catholic Church and in particular of Thomas More.

George Cavendish, like Roper, could be argued to have had a personal vendetta against Anne Boleyn, having worked for Cardinal Wolsey whose downfall

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<sup>20</sup> Nicholas Harpsfield, *A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon*, ed. N. Pocock (Camden 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 21, 1878); Thomas S. Freeman 'Harpsfield, Nicolas (1519-1575)' *ODNB Online* [accessed 12 February 2011]; Dowling, *Latimer*, p. 40; Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower* (London: Vintage, 2010), p. 433.

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Harpsfield, *Life of Sir Thomas More* (London: Early English Text Society, Open University Press, 1932), p. 169.

<sup>22</sup> William Roper, *Life of Sir Thomas More* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970), p. 121. This edition prints the 1626 issue.

was attributed to Anne's rise.<sup>23</sup> Cavendish wrote *The Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey* in 1557 published in 1641.<sup>24</sup> Cavendish warns in his address to the reader that:

Who pleaseth to reade this History advisedly may well perceive the immutability of honour, the tottering state of earthly Dignity, the deceit of flattering friends, and the instability of Princes favours.<sup>25</sup>

These are all things which, we will see, could be said to compare with the Boleyn letter in particular regarding 'the instability of Prince's favours'. Cavendish believes Anne blamed Wolsey for the breakdown of her engagement to Lord Percy and she threatened to ruin the cardinal whenever she had the power to.<sup>26</sup> Later, Cavendish argues, when Anne gained the favour of Henry she removed Wolsey as his friend and confidant and put in process his downfall.<sup>27</sup> Given Cavendish's role in Wolsey's household this view of Anne is hardly surprising and makes Anne the villain rather than Henry in the fall of Wolsey.

*A Confutation of that popishe and antichrist doctrine*, which was published in 1555 under the pseudonym 'Gracyouse Menewe', aimed to address this balance by placing Anne as a Protestant heretic. The tract mentioned Anne as one of those Protestants who came to a disgraceful end:

Did not besides all thys all the chiefe autors of your religion come to an ill ende? Recken Anne Boleyne, Cromwel, the duke of Somerset, ye duke of Northumberland, and the duke of Suffolke, that I shoulde in the meane ceason passes them ouer, that have been burnt as most shamefull heretykes.<sup>28</sup>

Mary herself had a reputation for the persecution of Protestants and the tract published during Mary's reign is highlighting what it sees as famous examples of heretics before and during her rule. The tract was published in Zurich, a known Protestant city, which could explain the Protestant bias but this would also mean that it possibly had a limited print circulation in England, at least during Mary's reign. With the accession of Anne's own daughter, Elizabeth, it would be expected that the portrayals of Anne Boleyn would change from those of Mary's reign. In 1559, for example, John Alymer published *An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe subjects* in

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<sup>23</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> George Cavendish, *Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey* (1641).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> Gracyouse Menewe, *A Confutation of that Popishe and Antichrist Doctrine* (Zurich, 1555), Sig F.

defence of women rulers. He argued that ‘was not quene Anne, the mother of this blessed woman [Elizabeth], the Chief, first and only cause of banyshing the breast of Rome, with all his beggarly baggage’.<sup>29</sup> Maria Dowling states that John Bridges in his *Supremacie of Christian Princes* published in 1573, claimed that Henry made Anne ‘a sweet sacrifice to God and a most holy martyr’ and that Henry was ‘beguiled by such false papists’.<sup>30</sup> Anne is therefore clearly being shown as a Protestant martyr. Dowling warns that such accounts should be ‘treated with some reserve’, as Bridges’ work, for example, was dedicated to Elizabeth and Alymer’s was written as a defence of Elizabeth’s accession to and tenure of the throne.<sup>31</sup>

Dowling argues that Alymer’s work is significant as he chose to describe Anne as:

one who had favoured Protestantism when, given the circumstances of her death, it might have been more politic to pass her over in silence. After all Elizabeth, unlike Mary with Catherine of Aragon, made no attempt to reinstate and rehabilitate Anne, and indeed, seldom spoke of her at all.<sup>32</sup>

Alymer situates Anne within a Protestant framework and use her to enforce their own message to Elizabeth regarding religion. Anne, shown as a Protestant reformer in these works, is held up as an example to her daughter. Therefore it can be assumed Elizabeth was allowing such print publications which do in fact rehabilitate Anne. Joanna Denny argues that at Elizabeth’s coronation pageant she did honour her mother in the pageantry and that she adopted her mother’s badge and motto, ‘Semper eadem’ (Always the same).<sup>33</sup> We should also note that although we have no public record of Elizabeth speaking of her mother, we cannot know her private words or thoughts and so should not so easily dismiss Elizabeth’s rehabilitation of Anne which may have been done privately.

There is a dilemma in all attempts to rehabilitate Anne Boleyn during the sixteenth century. If Anne is a Protestant icon what effect does this have on Henry’s role within his own Reformation? What is clear in the tracts written during both Mary and Elizabeth’s lifetimes is that Anne Boleyn appears to be firmly and constantly placed within the Protestant sphere. Anne is depicted as anti-Catholic and

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<sup>29</sup> Dowling, *Latymer*, p. 42. (I have yet to find this tract so rely on Dowling).

<sup>30</sup> John Bridges, *Supremacie of Christian Princes* (1573); Dowling, *Latymer*, p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> *Latymer*, p. 43, (cited in Dowling).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> Denny, *Boleyn*, p. 325.

a founder of the break with Rome. This may give Anne a greater role in the Reformation than she in fact had and portrays her as a Protestant icon, which could become relevant in 1649 and 1654.

In 1585 Nicolas Sanders published *Origins and Progress of the English Schism* which portrayed Anne as an adulterer and as anti-Catholic.<sup>34</sup> This particular work introduces us to many of the myths created around Anne Boleyn. Sanders accuses Anne of being the bastard daughter of Henry VIII himself, but says that when Henry was confronted with this the king just laughed.<sup>35</sup> He also provides a description of Anne which also creates part of the myth – he describes her as having six fingers on her right hand and he also gives her a projecting tooth and a ‘large wen under her chin’. He writes that she was ‘handsome to look at with a pretty mouth, amusing in her ways’ but ‘she was full of pride, ambition, envy and impurity’.<sup>36</sup> He goes on to call her the ‘mother’ of the Protestant church.<sup>37</sup> Her downfall was due to Henry’s affections for another woman and Anne’s own acts of incest and adultery against the King. Sanders also gives us the story of the ‘shapeless mass of flesh’ Anne gave birth to just before her imprisonment.<sup>38</sup> *La Vie de Anne Bouleyn ou de Bouloigne, mere de Elizabeth Royne Dangleterre* is also attributed to Sanders by Dowling and Ives which described in great detail Anne’s depravity.<sup>39</sup>

George Wyatt attempted to counter Sanders’ work with his own biography of Anne: *Extracts from the life of the Virtuous, Christian and Renowned Queene Anne Boleigne*.<sup>40</sup> Wyatt paints a picture of a Protestant reformer whose downfall was due to her religious beliefs and he mentions in his introduction how she had been portrayed badly in prior print publications. David Loades believes that Wyatt was referring to Sanders, Harpsfield, Roper and Cavendish whose works he argues were all circulated in manuscript form.<sup>41</sup> These authors clearly portray Anne as manipulative and evil. Wyatt, however, was the son of the Thomas Wyatt who led the 1554 rebellion against Mary and the grandson of the Thomas Wyatt the poet who

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<sup>34</sup> Nicolas Sanders, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (1877).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>39</sup> *Latimer*, p. 40, (cited Dowling); Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 50; Weir, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 437.

<sup>41</sup> *The Papers of George Wyatt* ed. D.M. Loades (University College London, 1968), p. 23.

had been imprisoned in 1536 as one of those suspected of adultery with Anne. Wyatt's work was begun during Elizabeth's reign and reportedly finished in the reign of James I, but was not published.<sup>42</sup> It may however have been privately distributed in manuscript form which would have given it a print circulation prior to the letter's publication.

William Latymer's *Cronickelle of Anne Bulleyne* was a much more significant work because he was one of Anne Boleyn's chaplains and therefore a close associate of Anne. He was abroad, buying books for her, when she was arrested. He survived Anne's downfall and Mary's reign, but lost all his college livings and preferments. Elizabeth restored his position and he became her chaplain in 1560, another example of Elizabeth rehabilitating Anne's close servants as well as her Boleyn family.<sup>43</sup> Latymer's work was obviously intended for Elizabeth: it exhorted her to carry on the reformation which he believed Anne had initiated, and it is believed he may have presented a copy to her in 1564 when he was made Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge by the Queen.<sup>44</sup> It survives in manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and although it has no known publishing history it probably circulated in this form.<sup>45</sup> Dowling describes the work's aim as the rehabilitation of Anne as a religious reformer and as an attempt to influence Elizabeth towards a Protestant policy.<sup>46</sup> We will examine later in the chapter how this emphasis on Anne Boleyn as a Protestant queen and reformer maybe one of the key reasons why the letter of 1654 may have been forged and published.

Anne Boleyn continued to be portrayed as a Protestant reformer in the reigns of James I and Charles I. William Camden published his *Annales of England* in 1615 which depicted Anne as innocent.<sup>47</sup> In 1630, Francis Godwin published his own *Annales of England containing the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary* which was dedicated to Charles I. Godwin described the death of Anne as the work of papist enemies who 'desired nothing more than the downfall of this virtuous

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<sup>42</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 50; Weir, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 438.

<sup>43</sup> *Latymer*, pp. 27-29, (cited in Dowling).

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Hope, 'Latymer, William (1498/9 -1583)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 8 April 2015] p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Latymer*, p. 27, (cited in Dowling).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27-29.

<sup>47</sup> Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551-1623)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 2 June 2015] p. 13.

Lady which after happening they triumphed in the overthrow of Innocence'.<sup>48</sup> The timing of the publication of this work may also be of significance because 1630 was during the personal rule of Charles I and the discontent of parliament against some of the religious reforms of this time, which many believed had Catholic overtones.<sup>49</sup> In the context of Godwin's work, Anne may be seen as an example of a good Protestant queen who was overthrown by Catholic enemies.

By 1630 Anne Boleyn is clearly represented in print as anti-Catholic and she is set up as either a founder of the Protestant Reformation or as the instigator of the destruction of the Catholic Church. This is a theme throughout the works which mention Anne and her life. The early modern reader would have little doubt of the religious views or religious placement of Anne whether it was true or not. This theme dominates Anne's print history and even her adultery is linked to her spurning of the true church – she is either a Protestant icon or Protestant whore. The 'true' Anne is impossible to decipher because each author appears to have his own agenda and she is used either as a weapon against the Church of Rome or as its destroyer. We are also not sure exactly what print publications regarding Anne Boleyn were available to the seventeenth century reader before 1649 when Edward Herbert's book printed the letter for the first time.

### **1649: Herbert's Life of Henry VIII**

Anne Boleyn's print history has one important omission: none of the publications publish Anne's last letter from the Tower which protests her innocence. From 1536 to 1649 there is no mention of the letter that survives. The letter's first publication is in 1649 when it is printed within Edward Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII*. This section establishes Herbert as the first historian to publish the letter and tries to pinpoint his source. We examine why Herbert was writing a history of Henry VIII in the 1630s and why this was only published in 1649 after Herbert's death. We will explore the letter's own manuscript history and ask if it in fact existed before the 1630s. Finally we will determine if the letter was a forgery and if the readers in the seventeenth century would have known this. Although modern historians discuss why they think the letter is a forgery, none of them examine its first print publication

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<sup>48</sup> Francis Godwin, *Annales of England Containing the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary* (1630), p. 137.

<sup>49</sup> Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005), pp. 133-147.



in Herbert's history and how and why the letter might have been forged. The source of the letter is neglected in Boleyn studies as it is dismissed as a forgery rather than examined for its political message. The letter, once published, should perhaps be seen within multiple forms of truth and falsehood. Therefore this section addresses this issue for the first time and researches Herbert's role within the history of the letter's publication.

Edward Herbert was asked by Charles I to write a history of Henry VIII, and began his work in 1634. In fact in Herbert's own preface dedicated to the King, he describes Charles request as 'unexpected' and appears to suggest that Charles himself reviewed the work. Herbert writes that 'parts thereof, as fast as I could finish them, were lustrated by Your gracious eye and consummated by your judicious Animadversions'.<sup>50</sup> He used, as one of his sources, the Cotton Library, which had been closed to the public since 1629.<sup>51</sup> The Cotton Library was the collection of Sir Robert Cotton who had been collecting volumes of manuscripts since, at least, the 1590s.<sup>52</sup> In Cotton Otho C.X. Anne Boleyn's letter from the Tower appears as folio 228. Colin G.C. Tite's book *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library* reproduces the lending history of the library. It records that Edward Herbert borrowed Otho C.X. in 1636 although it does not specify folio 228.<sup>53</sup> This suggests that Herbert's source for the letter is probably the Cotton Library and that the letter was also in existence by 1636. Where Cotton acquired the letter is unknown but as Cotton himself had died in 1631, the letter was either in existence before his death or it was added to the library by his son Sir Thomas Cotton.<sup>54</sup> Therefore it is possible that the letter existed as early as 1631. Robert Cotton also appears to have a reputation for tampering with letters. Kevin Sharpe advises that Cotton was charged with forging dates on some letters of the Earl of Somerset to Northampton and of dating undated correspondence in an attempt to give the impression that Somerset was innocent of the murder of Thomas Overbury. Much of the correspondence was concerned with the white powder sent to Overbury in the Tower and it was this

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<sup>50</sup> Herbert, *Life of Henry*, sig. A2.

<sup>51</sup> David A. Palin, 'Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury and first Baron Herbert of Castle Island (1582?-1648)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 12 February 2011] p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Stuart Handley, 'Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce (1571-1631)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 8 April 2015] p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Colin G.C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: British Library, 2003), p. 154.

<sup>54</sup> Handley, 'Robert Cotton', p. 7.

powder that killed him.<sup>55</sup> It is also possible that Cotton himself forged the Boleyn letter and inserted it into his own collection, but why he would do this is not clear. He did however write a tract in 1627 called *A Short View of the Long Life and Reign of King Henry III* which Sharpe writes ‘offered a view of a king dominated by a corrupt favourite who eventually came to rule through his council in a wise manner, thereby offering an obvious parallel with Charles I and Buckingham’.<sup>56</sup> He had also written another tract in 1628 *The Danger Wherein the Kingdom Now Standeth and the Remedy* which dealt with the dangers from both Spain and France.<sup>57</sup> He could perhaps have been planning to use the Boleyn letter himself in another propagandist tract or publication. The library, as mentioned, was closed in 1629 by the King to stop it being used for ‘the production of arguments and precedents deemed detrimental to royal interests’ although Handley suggests that the official reason was due to the discovery of a tract within the library which advocated rule by an absolutist monarch.<sup>58</sup> As we have seen the collection and the collector therefore had a reputation for controversy.

Edward Herbert was the first person to reproduce the Boleyn letter and did so in his book which was finished in 1639. Herbert’s role in the publishing of the letter has not been examined by historians but he should be seen as important because he points us towards the letter’s possible source i.e. the Cotton library. Herbert is not only the first to print the letter but also the first to doubt its authenticity and this, it could be argued, is why later historians also doubt the letter. We can also confidently say that Herbert was not the forger of the letter because if he was he would not have questioned the letter’s provenance and he would have published it as a genuine letter. Herbert died in 1648 and the book was published posthumously in 1649 after the death of Charles I. It was, however, entered into the Stationers Register on 11 September 1648.<sup>59</sup> It was published by E.G. for Thomas Whittaker. It is printed without any preface from Whittaker and with Herbert’s original dedicatory to Charles I. The letter is produced in Herbert’s work, ‘without other credit yet then that it is said to be found among the papers of Cromwell then secretary, and for the rest

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<sup>55</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 134.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>57</sup> Handley, p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1640-1708 Vol. I* (London: 1913), p. 301.

seems antient and consonant to the matter in question' and he finishes 'But whether this letter were elegantly written by her, or else heretofore, I know as little, as what answer might be made, thereunto'.<sup>60</sup> So the letter's authenticity was already questioned on its first publication. What is also interesting is why Charles commissioned a book on Henry VIII in 1634 and why it was finally published in 1649. Herbert, as we have seen, was surprised by Charles' request. 1634 was during the period of personal rule which had begun in 1629 and ended in 1639 just as Herbert finished his book. This then raises the question of how the persona of Henry VIII would have been perceived by Charles I in the 1630s. Would Henry have been held up as a 'good king' or a 'bad king'? Another question this raises is why the book was finally published in 1649 just as the current King had been executed. The perception of Henry as king obviously resonated with both King and Parliament in the 1630s and 1640s respectively. Charles may have viewed Henry as an example of the absolutist monarch that he was so keen not to be associated with when he closed the Cotton Library. Alternatively Henry may have been viewed as a Parliamentary reformer whose parliaments reformed the religious landscape of the country in the 1530s and 1540s?<sup>61</sup> It would appear that there are many ways Henry could have been perceived by the seventeenth century readership and this was also true of Anne who could be icon or whore dependent on the audience and in most cases the reader's religious persuasion.

The *Scrinia Sacra* edition of the letter was published five years after the letter's first appearance in print. The preface of the *Scrinia Sacra* presents the letters published as 'truth' and states that the publishers are 'ever aiming at honest ends' (A4). There is also no disclaimer in *Scrinia Sacra* before Anne's letter to suggest it is a forgery. As we will see in chapter three letters between the Earl of Essex and Anthony are described as a 'framed' correspondence by the publishers but this is the only instance of Bedell and Collins informing the readers of such instances.<sup>62</sup> Unlike the provenance given in the Herbert publication, here the reader is not even told that the letter was found in Cromwell's papers. Therefore the readership would probably perceive it as a genuine letter as it appears to be presented as truth. As we have seen

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<sup>60</sup> Herbert, *Life of Henry*, p. 384.

<sup>61</sup> Michael A.R. Graves, *Henry VIII: Profiles in Power* (London: Pearson Longman, 2003), pp. 119-122.

<sup>62</sup> *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 32.

in the previous chapter, the first volume of the *Cabala* publishes a letter from the archbishop of York which John Hacket discredits it in his own biography of John Williams. As a contemporary of the letter writer, Hacket had the authority to do this.<sup>63</sup> Over one hundred years after the Boleyn letter is said to have been written there were no longer any contemporaries left to challenge its authenticity. Would the seventeenth century reader even have known it was possibly a fake unless they had read Herbert's history?

If we compare the *Scrinia Sacra* version with the Herbert version we can see there are small differences. In particular, in Herbert's letter 'Anne' writes 'I no sooner received this message by him' whereas the *Scrinia Sacra* does not replicate the 'by him'. The Herbert version uses the name 'Bolen' in contrast to 'Bullen' found in the *Scrinia Sacra*. Some of the tenses have been changed in the *Cabala* version and the Herbert version uses brackets in two places that the *Scrinia Sacra* does not. These, of course, could be changes made by either Herbert or by the *Scrinia Sacra* publishers but it could also mean that there were two different versions in circulation by 1654.

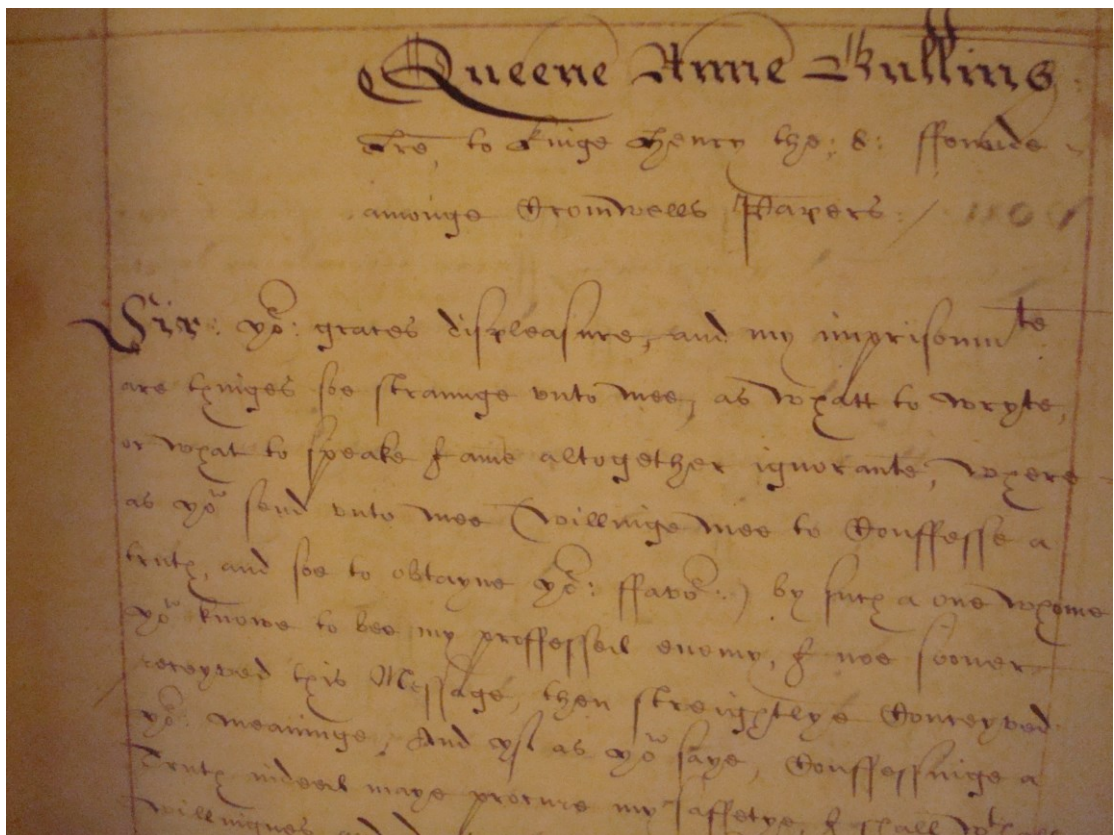
This section will now examine the six manuscript versions in the British Library: the Cotton version; Hargrave 225 folio 40b; Stowe 151 folio 1; Harleian MS 1323 folio 35; Harleian MS 4031 folio 15b; and BL Add MS 22587 folio 22. This will help us ascertain whether there is an original manuscript; whether these manuscripts are all copies from one source and whether this helps us prove the letter was a forgery. Modern historians, when dismissing the letter as a forgery, also fail to mention the existence of the six manuscripts or discuss what these could tell us about the letter's forgery. We know for certain that the letter exists in 1649 as it is in print; we also know it must have been in existence in 1639 when Herbert finished his work and its source was likely to be the Cotton Library in Otho C.X. which Herbert borrowed in 1636, but prior to that there is no known version of the letter in print publications. All the manuscript versions are copies and they all state that they are. They are all in different hands. However we can distinguish a small difference between the Herbert version and the *Scrinia Sacra* version which may allow us to

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<sup>63</sup> John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams D.D.* (London: 1692), p. 143. Chapter One pp. 55-57.

pinpoint who copies whom. The difference lies with ‘by him’ as described earlier. When we examine Otho C.X. f.228 it includes the ‘by him’ but we are unable to do a complete comparison with the Herbert version as the manuscript was badly damaged by a fire in 1731.<sup>64</sup> This also means we cannot see how the manuscript spelt Anne’s name i.e. either Bullen or Bolen. However, I would suggest that Herbert replicates the Otho because of the ‘by him’.

The Stowe manuscript of the letter omits the ‘by him’ and replicates ‘Anne Bullen’:



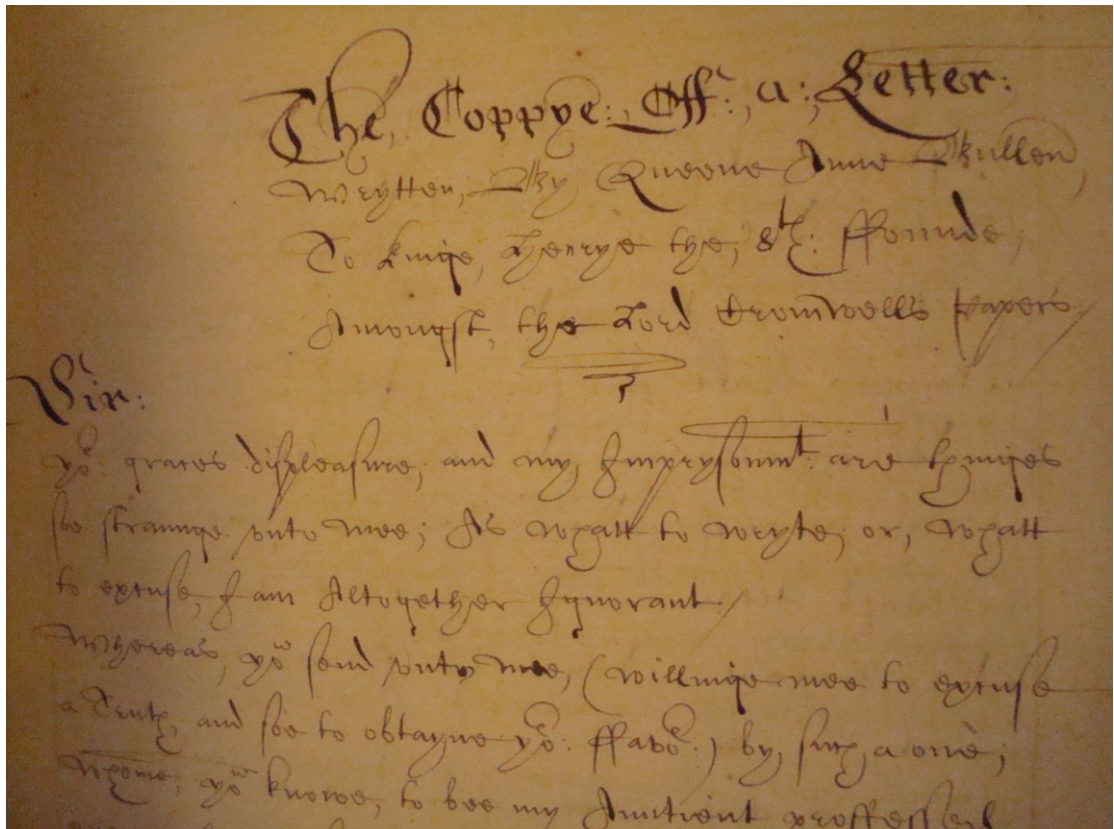
Stowe 151 f. 1

The handwriting is the same throughout the manuscript folios which suggests it was made by a copyist. No source has yet been identified for the Stowe manuscript. The British Library website states that the manuscript was part of a collection from

<sup>64</sup> < <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/cottonmss/cottonmss.html> > [accessed 29 March 2016]

Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839).<sup>65</sup>

The Harley manuscript of Anne Boleyn's letter, MS 1323 folio 35, also omits the 'by him' and uses the Bullen signature:



Harleian MS 1323 f. 35

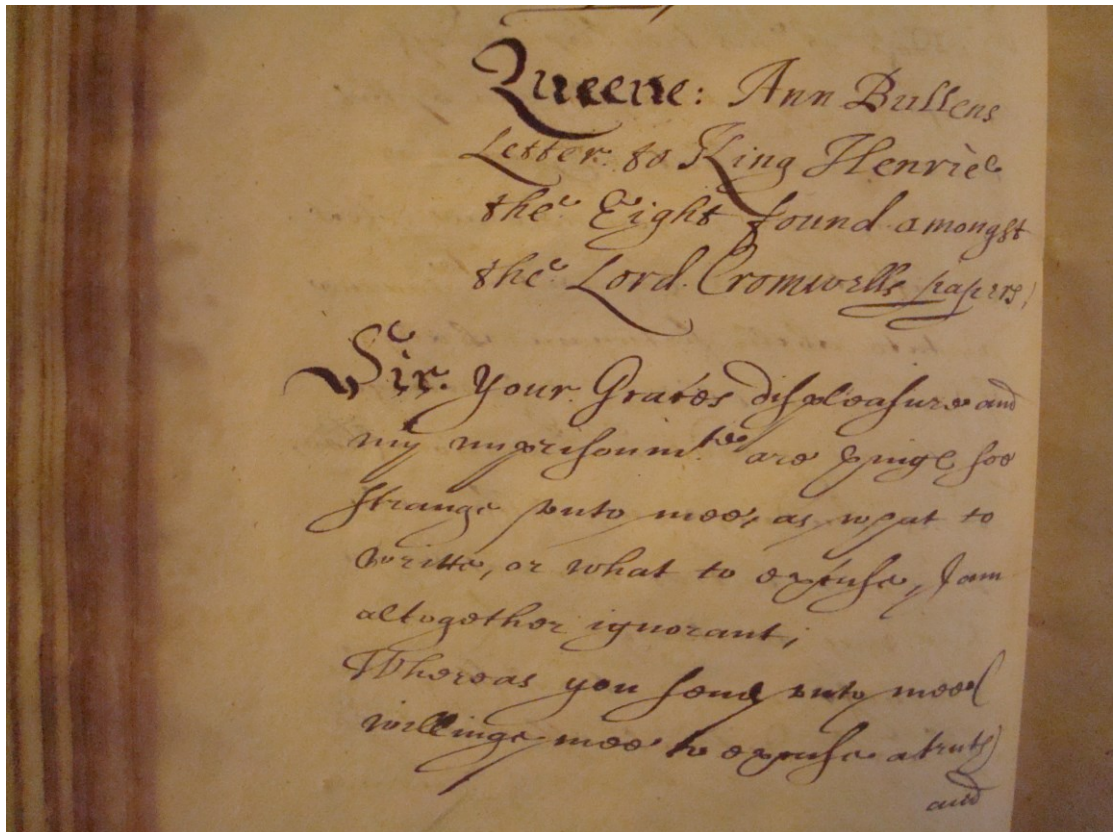
The handwriting is different to the other manuscript versions. Its source is frustratingly listed as Brampton Bryan which was the county seat of the Harleys.<sup>66</sup> However the castle was badly damaged in the Civil War in 1643 so it must be presumed that it came into the collection before then and moved at some point? In the Harley catalogue the letter is described as where Anne 'vindicateth her innocency

<sup>65</sup> <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/closedcollections/stowe>> [accessed 29 March 2016]

<sup>66</sup> Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Haeleiani: A Study of the Harleian Collection* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1972), p. 394.

and desireth an open Tyrall'.<sup>67</sup> The Harley collection is now held in the British Library.

The Hargrave manuscript of the Anne Boleyn letter omits the 'by him' and uses the Bullen name. It also appears to be part of a copy set with several letters within the manuscript in the same hand. These letters also include letters from the Earl of Essex some of which are also included in *Scrinia Sacra*. The Hargrave manuscripts were collected by Francis Hargrave (1741-1821), a legal writer who assembled a large law library of which these manuscripts form a part but there is yet again no source so far for this folio.<sup>68</sup>



Hargrave 225 f. 40b

Included in the Hargrave manuscript 225 is a tract which looks similar in style and writing to the Harleian version. The Harleian is produced first and then the Hargrave.

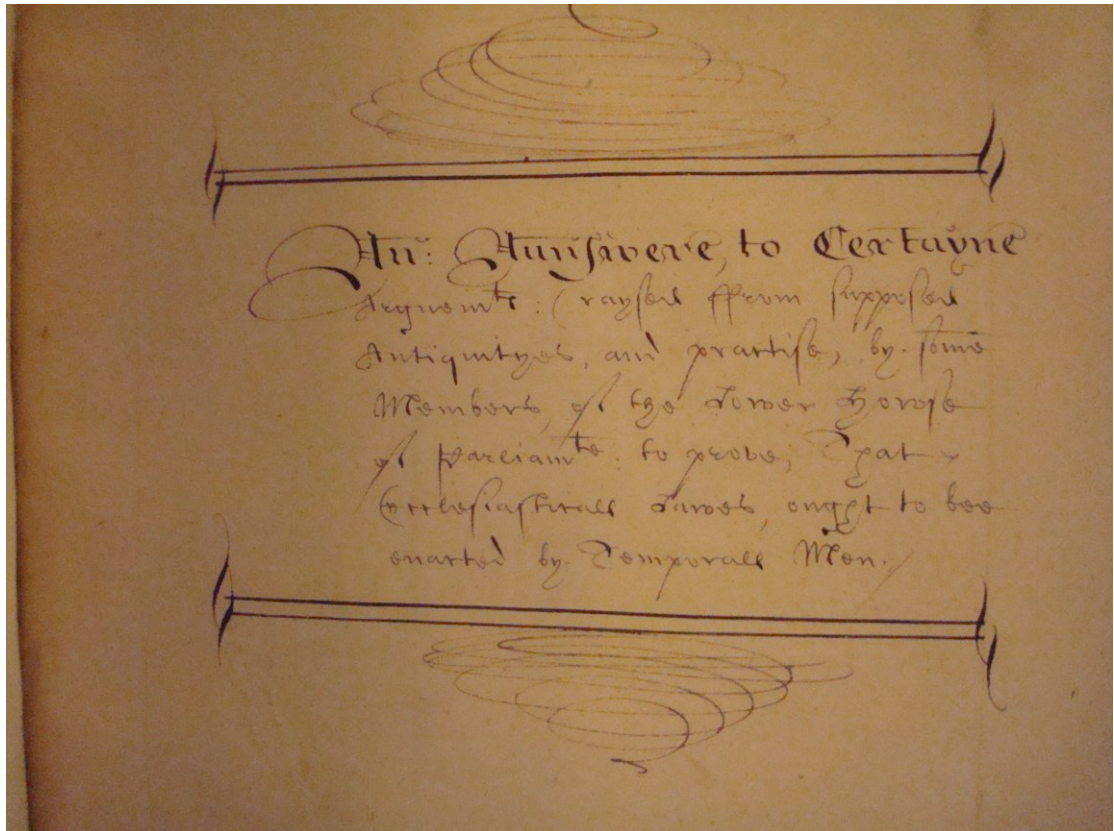
<sup>67</sup> *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts Vol II* (1808), p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/closedcollections/Hargrave>> [accessed 29 March 2016]

The Coppye of a Decree written by, Queenes d  
Children, To Linge Hon: fgs, & J. fford amongst  
and Cromwells papers; ffol a  
A Decree Amongst some Jesuites, lately  
taken at Blackwell, London, inserted, to the  
Honor, Honor, All Cromwells, ffol a

Harleian MS 1323 f. 35





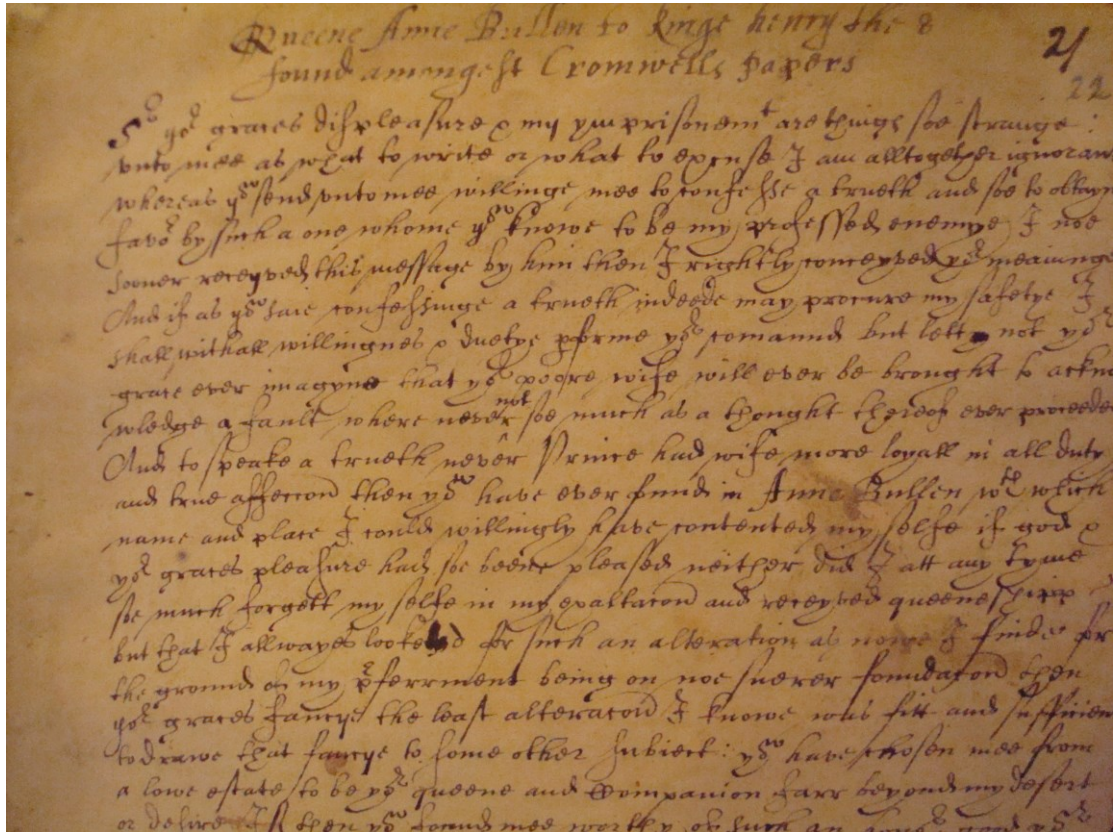
Hargrave MS 225 f. 241

The handwriting suggests that these were both the work of the same copyist but ended up in different collections. This allows us to believe that there were copyists at work producing different letters and tracts as desired for scholars and collectors. Possibly collectors such as Harley may well have had their own copyists or there were copyists employed on an ad hoc basis.

In summary there were three manuscript editions of Anne's letters. These were copies and they all state that they are copies. They do not claim to be originals. All three also state that the letter was found in Cromwell's papers. All have the 'by him' omitted. I would therefore suggest that these copies bear a strong resemblance to the *Scrinia Sacra* version. The *Scrinia Sacra* is published in 1654 and these three all come from eighteenth century collections and therefore the three manuscripts could have been copied from the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* letter.

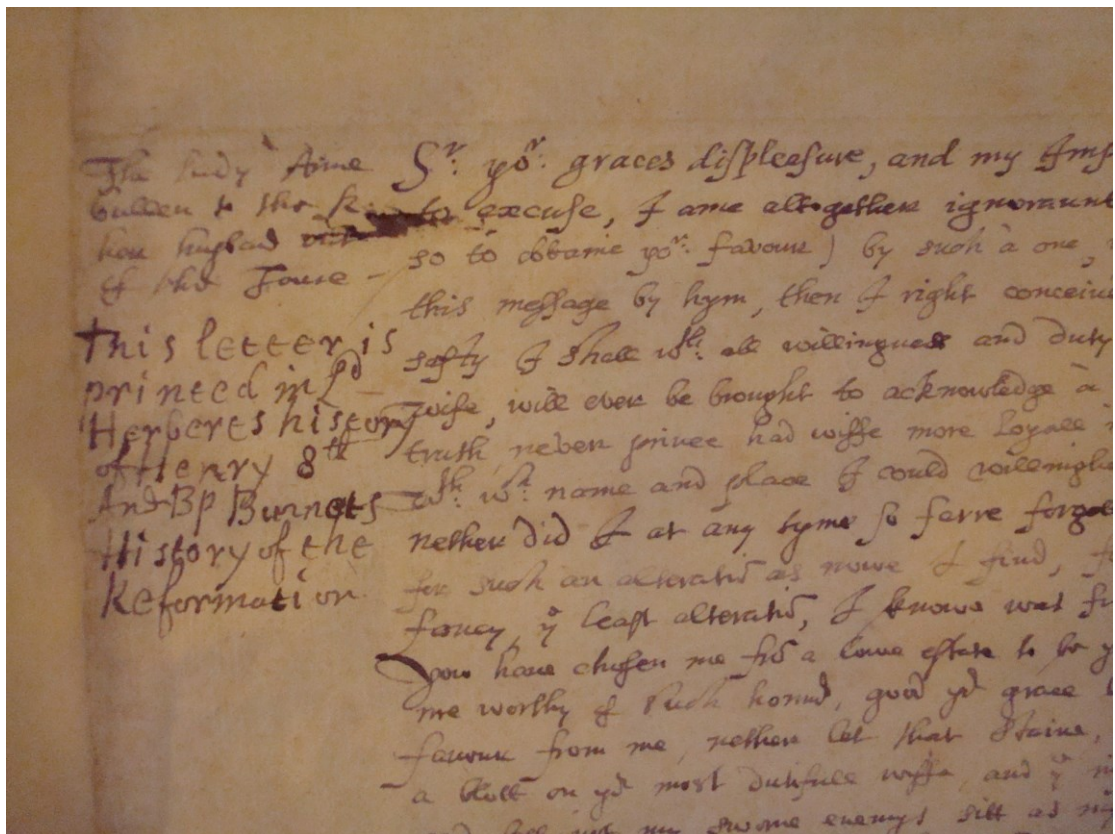
The Cotton manuscript, used by Herbert, appears to be copied, I would suggest, by two different copyists. The first is Add. MS 22587 folio 22 and this does

have the 'by him' included although the name convention is Bullen. The handwriting is the same throughout the manuscript suggesting this is one copyist's work.



Add MS 22587 f. 22

The second is found in the Harley collection: BL Harleian MS 4031 folio 15b. The letter is strangely positioned amongst heraldic drawings and noble family trees none of which refer to the Boleyn family. In its margin is has written in the same hand 'This letter is printed in Herbert's History of Henry VIII and Bp Burnetts History of the Reformation'. It has the 'by him' and I would suggest it is a copy of Herbert except again it uses the Bullen signature and it is this which leads me to believe the Bolen signature is likely to have been Herbert's own editorial amendment because all the manuscript copies are signed Bullen. Only Herbert uses the Bolen version of Anne's family name as the signature whereas the six manuscripts and the *Scrinia Sacra* use Bullen.



Harleian MS 4031 f. 15b

We can see that by the eighteenth century we have six extant manuscripts, the printed version of Herbert's work, and the version found within *Scrinia Sacra*, but no original. We do have two different versions although the difference is very slight. We could argue that the Cotton manuscript is the oldest version and that the *Scrinia Sacra* in copying the manuscript omits the 'by him'. It could also suggest there were at least two different manuscript versions circulating by 1654 and the *Scrinia Sacra* was using a different source to the Cotton. However by examining all the manuscript versions we are unfortunately no closer to ascertaining if the letter was a forgery and I have found nothing so far that points towards its authenticity. We are also no closer to establishing the source of the letter but there was obviously some reason why the six manuscript copies were in circulation. Herbert, by describing the letter as possibly a forgery in its very first publication, sets the tone for the acceptance of the letter as such. Herbert's authorial voice appears to dismiss it as an original and this is accepted by future historians and biographers. Unfortunately after examining the manuscripts it is hard to argue against Herbert. All

we have learned is that collectors wanted copies in manuscript form as it exists in six different collections and if there was an original we do not know what happened to it and who copied who. However we can say there was a known manuscript circulation of the letter in the seventeenth century and this implies that it was seen as genuine and therefore a letter of interest.

We also know, however, that other scholars used the Cotton Library: William Camden was a known user of the Cotton library and a friend of Cotton but he did not produce Anne Boleyn's letter in any of his works including his biography of Elizabeth published in 1615.<sup>69</sup> If the copy was forged then it could have been created at some point after 1615 but prior to the 1630s. Tite, the Cotton Library expert, cannot pinpoint when Otho C.X. was introduced into the library or whether it was by Sir Robert or his son, Thomas. There are also no ownership records for this volume.<sup>70</sup> The letter's history can only be traced as far as the Herbert publication and the Cotton collection and this dates it to the 1630s. The forgery of the letter is perplexing as we cannot say for certain who did it and more importantly why they did it because it would appear that the original intention of the forger has been lost i.e. the forger never used it in a print publication if we discount Herbert, the first publisher of the letter.

We could also consider that the letter was from an original version written by Anne Boleyn but where had it come from and where had it been before its appearance in the Cotton Library? All the copies state that the letter was found in Cromwell's papers but what happened to them and where was the original letter kept? Tracy Borman in her recent biography of Cromwell states that the letter was found in Cromwell's papers which were seized by the King's men after his arrest. Surprisingly, Borman assumes the letter as genuine, which is unusual for modern biographers, and she writes 'whether he ever showed it to his royal master is not known'.<sup>71</sup> If it is from an original the letter is only intended for one person, Henry VIII, and it becomes a poignant piece of Anne's own biography but if it is a forgery the letter's audience shifts away from Henry to a wider population and its message also changes. The timing of the appearance of the letter copy also becomes more

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<sup>69</sup> Herendeen, 'William Camden', pp. 13-16.

<sup>70</sup> Tite, *Cotton Library*, p. 154.

<sup>71</sup> Tracy Borman, *Thomas Cromwell: The Untold Story of Henry VIII's Most Faithful Servant* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2014), p. 245.

important, if it is a forgery, as it appears one hundred years after Anne Boleyn's death. From Anne's print history we have a picture of how Anne would have been perceived by an early modern audience. Her main 'image' is constructed through Protestant rhetoric and she can be 'read' in two ways: as a Protestant reformer or as an enemy of the Catholic Church. As we have seen, Anne can be used against or for a particular religion and against or for the monarchy. For example, during Mary's time she was portrayed as the woman who usurped the throne from England's true queen, Catherine, also Mary's mother, and as the main antagonist in not only the royal divorce but in the English Reformation.

With Elizabeth's accession, Anne became an example of a true Protestant reformer, according to the print publications of Latymer and Wyatt, who would, it was hoped, set an example to her daughter. This allows Elizabeth to inherit the throne as her mother's daughter. Anne's death as a convicted criminal now becomes a martyrdom for the Protestant cause. The charges of adultery are seen as a means of getting rid of Anne rather than a fact. Elizabeth is reconstituted as a true child of Henry rather than a bastard, which she remains if Anne is guilty. Henry is also exonerated because he is misled by Anne's enemies who aim to lead him away from Protestant reform. Anne's letter therefore is part of this print representation and is published in the 1640s and 1650s during periods of monarchical crisis and the Protectorate. We can understand why the likes of Latymer and Wyatt published what they did and when they did. They were motivated by the desire to rehabilitate Elizabeth's mother but it is harder to pinpoint why the Boleyn letter is published in the 1640s and 1650s and who indeed the letter writer was. Examining the history of the letter's publication and the versions now available brings us no closer to why this letter appears to be relevant to the seventeenth century audience. If we now turn to the letter's contents do they provide us with the evidence required to make such a judgement?

### **The King, the Law and Anne's Letter.**

Turning to the letter as presented in *Scrinia Sacra* in 1654, we need to examine the themes within it to ascertain whether it compares with Anne's previous print history; what it tells the reader about kingship and the law in particular; and the way in which it presents the role and fall of the queen. We will examine whether it

also demonstrates the role of evil counsellors who can engineer the fall of queens and favourites and will ask whose justice is at work here – the divinely appointed monarch's or God's? This would appear to be a recurrent theme within the *Cabala* volumes and will help situate the letter within the wider context of the volumes. We will ask if the letter rehabilitates Anne. Finally we will discuss why historians and scholars believe it is a forgery and whether there was an intended audience particularly in 1654 when *Scrinia Sacra* was published.

Anne Boleyn's letter is reportedly written on 6 May 1536, four days after she arrived at the Tower.<sup>72</sup> She writes:

Your Graces displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, then I rightly conceived your menning [sic]: And if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command: but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a fault, where not no such as a thought ever proceeded: And to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyal in all duty and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bullen*: with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget my self in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation then your Graces fancie, the least alteration whereof I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancie to some other subject (9).

In the letter, Anne mentions an 'ancient professed enemy' who delivered to her a message from the King asking Anne to confess the truth.<sup>73</sup> The letter argues that Anne could not admit to something that she had not done. She had always been a wife 'more loyal in all duty and in all true affection' and she had never forgotten who had raised her to the Queenship (9). Thus Anne is asserting her innocence from the very start of the letter.

In Anne's letter it would appear that Henry's favour was not so secure: she states that 'the ground of my preferment being no surer foundation then your Graces fancie, the least alteration whereof I knew was fit sufficient to draw that fancie to some other subject'. Anne, therefore, suggests that she was an innocent and loyal

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<sup>72</sup> Denny, *Boleyn*, p. 274.

<sup>73</sup> This has been presumed by scholars to refer to Thomas Cromwell.

wife whilst Henry was a fickle husband whose fancy was now drawn to a new subject and presumably she is referring to Jane Seymour. Anne's previous print history does not appear to represent Henry as a fickle monarch who replaced one queen with another. We also need to consider the propaganda at the time of Anne's death, as we have seen Anne's downfall was represented as being caused by Catholic enemies and this allows Henry to remain untainted by her death as he is seen as being deceived by evil papists.

The letter continues:

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you find me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancie or bad council of my Enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the Infant-Princess your daughter (9).

Anne asks Henry that he should not be swayed by 'bad council' which might seek to draw favour away from her. If Henry was to do so he would cast not just a 'blot' on a 'most dutiful wife' but on his daughter also. Thus the letter depicts a humble woman who sees Henry's favour as something that she did not herself desire but who now fears that he will withdraw this honour because of Jane Seymour (the 'light fancie') or because of her enemies (presumably Cromwell). However she is not just concerned about her own reputation but that of her daughter and this is one of the first times Anne is represented as a mother rather than as a fallen queen or Protestant reformer. The Anne of the letter thinks of her daughter at a time when she is facing death and appears concerned for her future. If this is a forgery it is a clever touch as it humanises Anne and makes the letter appear personal. It also reminds the reader that Anne is the mother of Elizabeth.

Anne asks in the letter for a lawful trial rather than one in which she will be tried by her enemies:

Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and Judges: yea let me receive an open Trial, for my truths shall fear no open shames: then shall you see either my innocencie cleered, your suspition and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before

God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some while since have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspition therein (9-10).

The author is very aware that there was very little likelihood of a fair trial because she is again fearful of her ‘enemies’ and this fear continues throughout the letter. Anne appears threatened by the power of these unnamed courtiers who can so easily cause one’s downfall. The power of such courtiers appears to be a dominant theme not just in this letter but throughout the *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* letters as we have seen in chapter one and will examine further in the next chapter. Anne also reiterates Henry’s own weakness for new ‘fancies’ and she would have been all too aware of this as she replaced a queen herself. She writes that she is here i.e. in the Tower because of ‘that party’ on whom Henry’s affections have now settled. She also hints at her own suspicion of Jane’s place in his affection before her imprisonment. The Anne of the letter is in no doubt of the reasons for her downfall; her enemies and Henry’s new woman. She continues:

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of a desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict accompt for your unprincipely and cruel usage of me at his general Judgment-seat, where both you and my self must both shortly appear, and in whose just judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocencie shall be openly known and sufficiently cleered (10).

Anne the letter writer appears to realise that her fate is pre-determined and she must be disposed of so that Henry can have his ‘desired happiness’ but she warns that he will have to answer to God because she has been cruelly used and the fact of her innocence makes Henry guilty of her death. In terms of its analysis of potential power then the letter is reiterating the idea that the King is answerable to God alone. This is one of the few references in the letter that links Anne to the Protestant reformer image of her previous print history. It is also one of the passages which convinces some scholars that the letter is in fact a forgery because the Anne writing here is defiant and challenging Henry’s own place as God’s appointed.<sup>74</sup> She is accusing a divinely appointed monarch of using the law for his own desires and she

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<sup>74</sup> Weir, *The Lady in the Tower*, p. 220; Bernard, *Fatal Attractions*, p. 173.



warns that he will account for this at his death. She challenges the law and the monarch and if she is pleading for her life would she have used such words?

Anne's final request is that she alone should bear the brunt of Henry's displeasure:

My last and onely request shall be, That my self may bear the burthen of your Graces displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen who as I understand are in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of *Anne Bullen* have been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions (10).

Therefore she continues to protest her innocence but asks that if she must be disposed of at least let the men who have been accused with her go free. The letter writer knows that the charges are designed to get rid of her but she would wish to be the only one thus punished. Again she subtly threatens Henry with God's displeasure in her last sentence: let her obtain this last request and God will protect him. She will also pray that God will direct him in his actions: is this a subtle hint that he needs the direction of God rather than the direction of 'bad counsel'?

Anne is portrayed in the letter as both a political pawn and a discarded wife. She uses the threat of God's final judgement upon both Henry and his counsellors. The enemy the letter writer refers to is probably Thomas Cromwell who was Henry's chief minister, and the letter is often understood as being 'found among Cromwell's papers'.<sup>75</sup> This description is obviously intended to add credence to the authenticity of the letter and also lends it a poignancy because it would mean that Anne Boleyn's 'final' letter, if found in Cromwell's papers, would never have reached Henry. Therefore Anne's last plea for clemency was delivered to her enemy, Cromwell, who would have ensured the letter would not reach the King and the letter loses its intended audience. The private letter of Anne to Henry is intercepted by Cromwell and hidden supposedly within his papers.

The audience of the *Scrinia Sacra* and also of Herbert's history of Henry would read in this letter a defiant and bitter Anne who was not afraid of accusing Henry and Cromwell of using 'slanders' to create her downfall and thus this allowed

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<sup>75</sup> Herbert, *Life of Henry*, p. 448.

Henry to pursue his new 'favourite'. As mentioned earlier, this defiance is one of the reasons given by biographers as to why the letter is a forgery: they ask whether Anne, in fear of her life, would be so plain speaking. Alison Weir argues that Anne's 'injured, pious and reproving tone would surely have outraged Henry' and that her remarks about Henry's 'changeable fancy' were 'tantamount to accusing him of fickleness'. Weir, however, also argues that Anne was always outspoken and may have felt that she had nothing to lose. Weir is one of the few historians who raises the question of the authorship of the letter and her theory is that it must have been a person close to her 'with some detailed knowledge of her imprisonment, someone who had an interest in showing her to be innocent'.<sup>76</sup> The letter does emphasise Anne's innocence but there is nothing in it which would have required a closeness to Anne in the Tower. It could have easily been written by anyone with a knowledge of Anne's history at the time of her death or even one hundred years later. The only detail required would be where Anne accused her enemy of delivering a message to her from Henry but this could easily be as false as the letter is supposed to be.

Eric Ives in his biography of Anne Boleyn believes that the 'elegance' of the letter always inspired suspicion and that Anne would not have been allowed to send letters from the Tower - especially to Henry. As we have seen, and will see in the next chapter, prisoners in the Tower did appear to be able to send letters. In chapter one Somerset writes to James I from the Tower and in chapter three we will see that the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Elizabeth I during his imprisonment.<sup>77</sup> Ives is suggesting that Anne would appear to have been banned from doing so by Henry but the *Cabala* letters could be suggesting that Elizabeth and James were more lenient. Ives also states that Anne would not have dared to have warned the King he was in imminent danger of the judgement of God.<sup>78</sup> G.W. Bernard, in one of the most recent biographies of Anne, also argues that the defiant tone would not have helped her cause and that the letter does not totally clear Anne.<sup>79</sup> But could Anne writing from the Tower actually clear herself when what she writes is challenging the King?

Agnes Strickland in her *Lives of the Queens of England* believed the letter was smuggled out of the Tower by Thomas Wyatt's sister Margaret, someone who

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<sup>76</sup> Weir, *The Lady in the Tower*, p. 220.

<sup>77</sup> *Cabala*, p. 1; *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 58.

<sup>79</sup> Bernard, *Fatal Attractions*, p. 173.

certainly had cause to want to show Anne's innocence as Thomas Wyatt was amongst those accused of being one of Anne's lovers.<sup>80</sup> Strickland saw it as a contemporary document because it was allegedly found in Cromwell's papers four years after Anne's death, presumably when Cromwell himself fell from favour. From a romantic viewpoint, Strickland wrote that Anne signed her name 'Ann Bullen' because 'that once beloved signature' would 'touch a tender chord in his [Henry's] heart' (268). Strickland further stated that it was 'written in the tone of a woman who has been falsely accused, and imagining herself strong in the consciousness of her integrity, unveils the guilty motives of her accuser, with a reckless disregard to consequences, perfectly consistent with the character of Anne Boleyn' (268). Strickland gives no evidence for her theory on Margaret Wyatt and is the only biographer who puts forward this idea. There is very little scholarship on Margaret Wyatt to allow us to investigate the claim either.<sup>81</sup> Strickland however is probably one of the earliest historians to discuss this letter after Herbert. Her work on the queens was compiled during the years 1830-1840 and her research has been described as 'both pioneering and intensive': she accessed not only historical manuscripts in the British Museum, where we could argue she accessed the Boleyn letter in its manuscript form, but she also gained access to the state paper and the rolls offices.<sup>82</sup> This suggests Strickland had a source for the Wyatt connection but this still needs to be discovered.

Susan Bordo rejects the argument of modern biographers that the style is not like Anne's by arguing that as so few of Anne's letters survive we can hardly determine her style.<sup>83</sup> Bordo, however, believes that the letter is very similar to the account of the speech at her trial where Anne also stands her ground.<sup>84</sup> For example the speech records Anne declaring her innocence:

I am willing to believe that you have sufficient reasons for what you have done; but then they must be other than those which have been produced in

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<sup>80</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* (1851). Subsequent references in text.

<sup>81</sup> Sue Simpson mentions Margaret in her work on Margaret's son Henry Lee and relates the family legend that Margaret supposedly accompanied Anne to the block. Sue Simpson, *Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611) Elizabethan Courtier* (London: Ashgate, 2014), p. 3. This does seem to contradict the idea that Anne's own ladies-in-waiting were dismissed while she was in the Tower and did not attend her final moments; Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 24.

<sup>82</sup> Rosemary Mitchell, 'Agnes Strickland (1796-1874)' *ODNB Online* [accessed 27 May 2017].

<sup>83</sup> Bordo, *Creation*, p. 111.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

court, for I am clear of all the offences which you then laid to my charge. I have ever been a faithful wife to the King, though I do not say I have always shown him that humility which his goodness to me, and the honours to which he raised me, merited (108).

In the letter, Anne also claimed she was a wife ‘more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection’ and with regards to the trial she writes in the letter of a pre-determined verdict which compares with her charge to the jury that there are reasons for the guilty verdict which have not been heard in court. She was not guilty of adultery but of the loss of Henry’s affection. The speech and the letter do have similarities of clarity and confidence as Bordo argues but this speech is given to us by Lancelot de Carles who as we have seen was not an eyewitness.<sup>85</sup> Bordo also contends that, where Ives believes it was ‘wholly improbable’ that Anne would warn the king in her letter ‘that he was in imminent danger from the judgement of God’, Anne was no ordinary prisoner. As Henry’s queen she would have been far more intimate with him than any other courtier and given that she had challenged him on previous occasions, Bordo argues that the letter and its contents, although possibly inappropriate for a prisoner, were in keeping with Anne’s character.<sup>86</sup>

The Boleyn letter from the Tower as we have seen continues to divide scholars and historians. No contemporary version exists and certainly none in Anne’s handwriting. The style is not easily attributable to Anne but there is little with which to compare it. There are also concerns about the content of the letter because it appears to be defiant and aggressive toward the king. The letter’s appearance after one hundred years also gives cause for doubt and makes it hard for scholars to accept it as authentic. We also do not know where Cotton got the letter. However if we compare this letter’s history to that of the Tilbury speech, which will be discussed at length in chapter five, it is a significant point that in comparison Anne’s letter is believed to be a forgery by most scholars. Historians are quick to claim authenticity for the Tilbury speech, which we will see has a similar history to the letter, but are dismissive of Anne’s letter when both are equally powerful and compelling as part of the biography of Anne and Elizabeth.

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<sup>85</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 341.

<sup>86</sup> Bordo, *Creation*, pp. 111-112.

There is no firm evidence for the letter being a true letter from Anne Boleyn. It was certainly well hidden for a hundred years, only to appear in the Cotton Library and find publication in 1649 and then five years later in *Scrinia Sacra*. Examining the letter, it is difficult to see exactly who gains from the forgery and we also cannot know if in fact the contemporary readership of *Scrinia Sacra* even thought it was a forgery. Indeed we could ask if it actually mattered to the reader because this is a woman who had been dead over one hundred years but there must be a reason why it is published in this period and we will now attempt to discover this very reason.

### **Two Queens: Anne Boleyn and Henrietta Maria.**

The Anne Boleyn letter published in 1649 and then in the *Scrinia Sacra* of 1654 appears, as evidenced, to have no apparent reason for its forgery and no obvious place in the Protestant rhetoric of previous Anne publications. However in 1645 *The Kings Cabinet Opened* had been published containing correspondence between Charles I and his wife Henrietta Maria. We can ask whether the Anne Boleyn letter could be seen as a direct or indirect comparison with the role of Henrietta Maria.<sup>87</sup> If Anne Boleyn has been positioned as a Protestant reformer in her print history perhaps we can also understand her as an example of an English Protestant queen held up in contrast to a French Catholic queen who by 1649 and 1654 was perceived as being partly responsible for the problems with the Stuart monarchy and Royalist cause? The Introduction to the thesis suggests that the *Cabala* letters may have been acquired by Thomas Fairfax as he had access to York House where the letters may have come from and it may be suggested that Fairfax was also responsible for the publication of *The Kings Cabinet Opened*. *The Kings Cabinet Opened* has the description on its title page ‘wherein many mysteries of State’ and this is also the subtitle of the *Cabala*. Thus the *Cabala* and *The Kings Cabinet Opened* could be part of the same strategy with Fairfax being responsible for both. This could also indicate a similar motive for publishing the letters. *The Kings Cabinet Opened* was published to demonstrate the ‘justification for the cause’ and highlighted the relationship between the King and his wife. The *Cabala* volumes are published under the context of allowing the reader to see the workings of the Stuart and the Tudor courts. Therefore both sets of letters lay bare the ‘mysteries of State’ and ignite debate.

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<sup>87</sup> *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645).

Charles I is described in the Annotations in *The Kings Cabinet Opened* as being governed by Henrietta Maria who ‘though she be of the weaker sexe, borne an Alien, bred up in a contrary Religion, yet nothing great or small is transacted without her privity and consent’ and she is described as being ‘implacable to our Religion, Nation and Government’.<sup>88</sup> Thus she is being attacked in terms of her sex, her nationality and religion. Henrietta Maria as a French Catholic woman seems to be abhorrent to the annotator for these very reasons. That Charles allows her power is also seen as significant because of these traits. In the *Scrinia Sacra* preface the writer argues that if we cast our eyes upon the French we will see ‘nothing but inhumane cruelty and violence upon the conscience too’ and this could be aimed at Henrietta Maria as a French Catholic (A5). Henrietta Maria, like Buckingham before her, was accused of evil counsel and in 1643 a declaration from Parliament states that Charles may not take advice from the Queen ‘in matters of Religion, or concerning the Government of any of your Majesties Dominions’.<sup>89</sup> In these two sources we can see that the queen was obviously seen as a significant influence on Charles and that one of the main factors that Parliament in particular was concerned with was her religion. If we compare Henrietta Maria with Anne, we have in Anne Boleyn a crowned queen who was from one of England’s premier families and who, as we have seen, was shown in her print publications as ardently Protestant. Anne, like Henrietta Maria, was also not popular with the public during her lifetime but this is conveniently forgotten in her print history, albeit the pro-Anne versions.<sup>90</sup> In 1630, Anne Boleyn is portrayed by Francis Godwin as the enemy of Rome who was destroyed by papists. Godwin was in fact chaplain to Charles I, to whom he dedicated his work.<sup>91</sup> Godwin described Anne’s downfall as the ‘overthrow of Innocence’ and his pro-Anne text could be seen as a veiled accusation against Henrietta Maria who was after all a Catholic. Therefore could the Boleyn letter be a part of this accusatory rhetoric aimed at Henrietta? The print history of Anne before 1630 was contained within Mary and Elizabeth’s reigns and it is transparent what the texts were being used for during these times. As we have seen, texts in Mary’s reign were disparaging towards the woman who usurped Mary’s mother. With the

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<sup>88</sup> *The King’s Cabinet*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>89</sup> *The Declaration of Both Houses of Parliament to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie Concerning the Queene, with the evill Councell about them both; and the Vindication of the fidelity of both Houses to King and State* (1643), sig. A5.

<sup>90</sup> Ives, *Boleyn*, p. 359.

<sup>91</sup> Godwin, *Annales of England*, p. 137, sig. A2.

accession of Elizabeth, texts that support Anne help give credence to her daughter's reign. In 1630, however, Godwin could be seen to have demonstrated a new appropriation of Anne in his work: consciously or not he had set Anne up as an example against a Catholic queen. If the letter is forged around this time it appears to follow this appropriation.

By the 1640s and 1650s, Henrietta Maria, it could be argued, was being proposed as the perceived opposite of Anne Boleyn because Anne was also a queen and firmly entrenched within the Protestant Reformation. Anne's print history had given her this reputation thereby allowing this contrast and it could also be suggested that Anne, as an English Protestant queen, was seen as an example of a good queen. She was also the mother of Elizabeth I who was also represented as such. The letter, of course, protested her innocence thereby allowing her to be a good queen innocent of adultery and its emphasis on the role of her enemies, as we have seen, also allowed Henry to keep part of his reputation intact. Godwin, in keeping with this, believed that Henry would have remained a good king if he had kept good counsellors.<sup>92</sup> It is the 'bad counsel' that destroyed Anne and misled Henry. In 1643, as we have seen, Charles was believed to have been swayed by the 'bad counsel' of Henrietta Maria and *The Kings Cabinet Opened* supports this view in 1649 when the annotator believes that nothing was transacted without her consent.

In 1654 anti-Catholicism had a long tradition dating back to at least Mary Tudor and in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* there were gruesome details of how Mary had executed some three hundred men and woman in the name of religion.<sup>93</sup> Richard Cust suggests that memories of the Spanish Armada of 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 were 'all connected in the minds of the ordinary Englishmen with the menace of Rome'.<sup>94</sup> As we have seen in chapter one, the reaction to the 1623 Spanish Match also demonstrated that fears of the Catholic enemy were still relevant and real to the English during the Stuart reign. Michelle Anne White believes that, by 1637, Henrietta Maria's influence had grown as regard to religious policy, court patronage and government affairs. Significantly, White argues, she had obtained clemency for Catholic recusants and had condoned the religious conversions of

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., sig. A8.

<sup>93</sup> John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Later and Perilious Days Touching Matters of the Church* (1563).

<sup>94</sup> Cust, *Charles I*, p. 145.

several of her courtiers. She had also gained large contributions from English Catholics for the war effort.<sup>95</sup> Henrietta Maria therefore became the focus of the King's enemies. She was a foreign Catholic with political influence who could be easily styled as 'the wicked advisor to a duped King'.<sup>96</sup> In terms of the *Cabala* it could be argued that she had taken over the role of Buckingham, Charles' favourite from the early part of his reign, and, with her religious fervour as well, she had become an easy target. Whereas the Anne Boleyn of the letter was, it seems, destroyed by evil counsel, Henrietta Maria became the perceived evil counsellor who was not destroyed by a King but was instrumental in destroying one instead.

By 1649, when the Boleyn letter was first published in Herbert's work, Charles I was dead and Henrietta Maria had achieved a prolific and notorious print history of her own. Indeed her own letters played a huge role within the history of the Civil War and demonstrate how letters are powerful propaganda tools within their own right. In *The Kings Cabinet Open'd* the belief was that the queen ruled her husband with her counsels 'as powerfull as commands' and that the very fact she was a woman seems to emasculate the king. In contrast, Anne in her letter, it could be argued, is portrayed as completely subservient to Henry; she stressed her loyalty and devotion to him and was willing to be tried by his law but she was still able to protest her innocence because Henry was led by evil counsellors. Anne is seen as a dutiful wife who has been used by others but maintains her position as answerable to the king. She owed her place to him and would lose it by him. Henry may have tried an innocent woman but he was still in charge of her destiny, albeit governed by evil counsellors. Henrietta Maria however is portrayed as in charge of king and country. This made her more powerful than the king himself.

The popularity of *The Kings Cabinet Open'd* paved the way for the *Cabala* and subsequently *Scrinia Sacra* to be published. Letters had become powerful propaganda tools by 1654 and could be read in whatever context the reader chose. For example to a reader of *The Kings Cabinet Opened*, Henrietta Maria could be seen as a scheming woman who wanted to bring back Catholicism or as a loyal wife trying to help her husband. However, the fact that Royalists made no attempt to

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<sup>95</sup> Michelle Anne White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 57.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.



discuss the revelations of the letters demonstrated their damaging nature.<sup>97</sup> By 1654 the king was dead and Henrietta Maria was in exile in France. The reader could have already seen the letters between the King and his wife and interpreted them as the publisher intended or otherwise. The reader may well have seen a weak king ruled by a dominant Catholic woman. The print history of Anne had appropriated her as a Protestant hero or villain but consistently she is seen as one of the founders of the English Reformation. Anne was therefore ideal to set against a Catholic queen who was also a foreigner. Godwin set up this appropriation in 1630 and the letter may then have been forged between this time and 1636 when Herbert used it as a source within the Cotton Library, a library already with a reputation as being used against Charles. If, however, it is an original, Herbert had discovered a new source on Anne's life that could still be used against the example of Henrietta Maria. In 1654, *Scrinia Sacra* printed the same letter, possibly taken from the Cotton Library with a few amendments to the Herbert publication or from another manuscript copy in circulation. By briefly examining *The Kings Cabinet Opened* and *Henrietta Maria* we can see how the reading public of the seventeenth century were already engaging with state letters before the *Cabala* volumes were published and this allows the letters of one queen to be compared to that of another. *Scrinia Sacra* does not appear to set the Boleyn letter up as a contrast to those of Henrietta Maria in *The Kings Cabinet Opened* but the letter may well have suggested such a comparison to the seventeenth century reader who may well have read both volumes. The fact that the letter volumes may have come from the same source, Thomas Fairfax, also suggests comparisons with the motivation behind such publications.

#### **1649 & 1654: The Fall of the Monarchy and the Rise of the Protectorate.**

The year 1649 saw the execution of a monarch after trial by Parliament. If we compare Anne Boleyn's letter to that from the Earl of Somerset to James I, discussed in chapter one, we could now argue that Anne and Somerset were tried by a similar court in that it was made up of men responsible for the laws of the country but both appear to suggest in their letters that the power to pardon, or not, lay with the King. In 1649 the King himself loses his role as the law and is found guilty by a different law. One of the things that allowed this to happen was the act of 1640 which took

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<sup>97</sup> White, p. 173.

away the Court commonly known as the Star Chamber. This effectively took away the King's right, and his privy council's, to have any jurisdiction over a man's estate and also took away the right to imprison anyone unless it was by lawful judgement.<sup>98</sup> This is key to the *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* letters which appear to demonstrate in both 1654 volumes how men and women were imprisoned at the mercy of the monarch and, it would also appear, by the mercy of favourites. Effectively the dissolution of the Star Chamber demonstrated that this power was corrupt and the monarch's power unchecked. Anne's letter published in 1649 clearly highlights the corruption of the monarch as law-giver. She protests her innocence but has no faith in a law presided over by a monarch who has his own agenda.

The 1640s saw a change in print censorship and an increase in publications. For example, in *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*, James Raven records an increase of printing houses from 15 in 1547 to approximately 40 by 1649 and states that between 1641 and 1659 some 350 news pamphlets alone were printed.<sup>99</sup> Prior to 1641 the monarch and the Star Chamber controlled the printers: for example John Stubbe and his bookseller, William Page, lost their right hands for publishing a printed attack on the Queen Elizabeth's proposed marriage to the Duke of Anjou (68). In 1637 the Star Chamber conferred the rights for the Stationers' Company to search and seize for unauthorised books (71). With the abolition of the Star Chamber not only did the right to imprison change but the powers of the Company appeared to be abolished as well. However in 1643 an ordinance restored their authority and in 1649 a regulating act tried to recreate the 1637 act (72). Print censorship appears to have remained under tight control under the Protectorate of 1654 but it would appear that more publications were being printed. Raven gives us the example of a printer named Grafton being imprisoned for printing ballads relating to Thomas Cromwell's death in 1541 so we can presume the same would have happened to anyone printing such works on Anne (64). Mary Tudor prevented printers printing Protestant publications and in a similar vein the Protectorate controlled religious printing albeit ensuring publications were

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<sup>98</sup> *An Act for the Regulating the Privie Councill and for taking away the Court commonly called the Star Chamber*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm>>, vol. 5, pp. 110-112 [accessed 27 May 2015].

<sup>99</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (Yale University Press, 2007), p. 47, p. 81. Subsequent references in text.

of a Puritan nature rather than a Catholic one.<sup>100</sup> Therefore the 1640s permits the publication of Herbert's work on Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn's letter because it allows the reading public to make a judgement on monarchy and this in turn allows the publication of the *Cabala* volumes which claim to unravel the secrets of state. Both publications can be read as examples of the discussions inherent with monarchical power but they can also be read as a warning about the power of one person who sets himself up as law.

The *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* were published during the Protectorate of 1654 and were located within a Protestant regime. The Catholic remained the enemy and the Protestant cause just and true. Anne Boleyn's place as Protestant icon sits well within *Scrinia Sacra* which questions the right of the King as law. If we accept Anne was innocent we have to accept that Henry's law was corrupt after all. Somerset's letter, in the *Cabala*, had already set out this theme of the monarch's law being the 'higher' prerogative. What happens when this law becomes corrupted by evil counsel? The *Cabala*, as we have seen, appeared to focus on the role of the Duke of Buckingham, known widely as the 'evil favourite'. Anne's letter continues this theme, with her downfall attributed to her enemies who gave Henry evil counsel. However, by 1653, in the case of Charles the evil counsel could be described as his wife, a foreign Catholic queen. The early modern reader, familiar with contemporary print culture, would have preconceived ideas about both Anne Boleyn and Henrietta Maria, and depending on their own views, could see Anne Boleyn as a good queen with Henrietta as the evil queen or indeed vice versa. The publication of Anne's letter in both 1649 and 1654 lends itself towards a Protestant reading; as an example of how law can be corrupted by a monarch. It re-enforces the rehabilitated image of Anne as a good Protestant English queen who died by Catholic hands. But if we return to the original question which asked if we believed the letter was a forgery and whether we can ascertain why it would be forged, there would appear to be no obvious reason for the forgery because it would seem that no one stood to gain from it. It is published without acclaim in a book about Henry VIII and then later in the letter volume of *Scrinia Sacra*. Unlike the Tilbury speech which appears in the letter of a man, Leonell Sharpe, attempting to establish himself as a well-respected statesman, the letter of Anne Boleyn appears to have no agenda for its publishers.

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<sup>100</sup> Raven, p. 65, p. 80.

We can read it in the context of the 1630s, the 1640s and the 1650s because it does not appear to be readily available as either manuscript or in print form prior to this, but its appearance in multiple versions takes us no closer to establishing that it is a forgery. Also, crucially, modern historians make no attempt to examine where the letter may have come from or examine the letter's print history in Herbert and manuscript circulation. However it is important because the letter is a representation of Anne in the early part of the seventeenth century and contributes to how figures such as Anne were being perceived and portrayed in this period.

The Boleyn letter does touch on the relevant themes of Anne's own print history and on the discussion points of the periods in which it was published. But there is no overarching message. There are personal touches such as Anne's concern for her daughter which are not seen in previous publications. The arguments used against the letter's authenticity are, as we have seen, similar to those used for the Tilbury speech. As we have noted, Susan Bordo makes the valid point that we have very few of Anne's letters to compare it to but the one speech she does compare it to comes from an unreliable witness. Perhaps as significantly, James Daybell informs us that letters from certain individuals sold well and this may apply to the Boleyn letter.<sup>101</sup> We know that one other letter in the *Cabala* has been dismissed as a forgery by a contemporary reader (the letter from the archbishop of York) but it is difficult to explain why the Boleyn letter was forged and why it is usually dismissed by scholars when the Tilbury speech is not. We also do not know whether the seventeenth century readers of *Scrinia Sacra* believed it was forged. They could after all have believed the printers, Bedell and Collins, when they presented the letters as 'truth'. We also have no argument for its provenance at York House as we do with the letters of Buckingham and Devereux. Which owner of York House would have had such a letter?

What we can say is that the Boleyn letter can be 'read' in the context of the 1630s, 1640s and the 1650s and at each moment it is damaging to the monarchy. Read in the 1650s if Anne was truly innocent then the monarchy was corrupt and therefore the monarchy deserved to have been destroyed in 1649. The letter's publication was relevant within its publishing history because it resonates with the

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<sup>101</sup> Daybell, *Material Letters*, p.191.

politics of that period. Anne's letter lends itself to a debate about the monarch and the law and how the innocent suffer when no one can contain monarchical power. Parliament's arguments in 1630s and 1640s regarding bad counsel are clearly demonstrated by the Anne Boleyn letter and it could be argued that the acceptance of bad counsel by the king added some justification to the downfall of the monarchy in 1649.

*Scrinia Sacra* does not answer the questions that we have posed about why the letter was forged and what would appear to be gained from the forgery but we can see why the letter was relevant to the readership of the book and how it also fits within the context of the other letters. The letter's contents suggest a debate around the role of the monarch which invites comparison with the Buckingham letters and, as we will see, it also sets stage for the next set of letters within *Scrinia Sacra* as part of what we can argue is the recurring theme of the letter volumes. These letters were to give the readers an opportunity to read the 'truth' behind the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts. This chapter has used the Boleyn letter to demonstrate an example of how a single letter, forged or not, can demonstrate the political context of the *Cabala* volumes.

Anne Boleyn is repeatedly relevant to the reading public in the mid-seventeenth century during a monarchical crisis. She herself, it could be argued, was effectively removed from print and even palaces by Henry the King. The preface of *Scrinia Sacra* suggests the reader sees the Tudors as great statesmen and Gary Schneider believes there is a shift from the criticism of the Stuarts in the *Cabala* preface to an idealisation of the letter writers as 'noble monuments'.<sup>102</sup> Anne's letter would be at odds with this theory as the letter accusations would appear harmful to Henry's own reputation. If we now turn to another Tudor, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, we will see that in fact Essex appears to go a step further than Anne Boleyn at attempting to destabilise the monarchy by leading a rebellion against his queen. The next chapter builds on the archbishop of York's letter, discussed in chapter one, which appears to foresee trouble ahead, and reminds the seventeenth century reader that even before 1649 a monarch could be challenged by one's subjects. We move away from the *Cabala*'s message concerning the power of a courtier or favourite to

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<sup>102</sup> *Scrinia Sacra*, sig. A4; Schneider, *Epistolarity*, p. 280.

the message of *Scrinia Sacra* where the monarch would appear to be in complete control. We see what can happen when Essex's own son continues his father's challenge to his monarch but in doing so takes the country full circle from the power of one man, Buckingham, to the power of another, Oliver Cromwell.

### **Chapter Three: ‘Cannot Princes erre? Cannot subjects receive wrong?’: The Monarchical Right of Kings, the Malcontent and the Inheritance of Rebellion.**

In chapter one, we saw an obvious theme regarding the role of the favourite emerging within the print publications of the seventeenth century alongside a debate forming on whether one man could take power but not be an anointed monarch. The chapter also looked at James I and how his role as law-maker could be perceived from the *Cabala* letters, in particular the letter from the Earl of Somerset to the King. The Somerset letter firmly placed James as being himself the law, answerable to no-one but God. In chapter two, Anne Boleyn’s letter also examined this idea of the monarch and the possible corruption of the law. This chapter focuses on both the Stuart and the Tudor concepts of monarchy by comparing the two but also by demonstrating how the letters of the *Cabala*, and the second volume *Scrinia Sacra: Secrets of Empire in Letters of Illustrious Persons*, could also be responding to a known political debate in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> This debate revolved around the role of monarchy and the role of the law. Its existence is demonstrated by the number of print publications on these topics issued throughout the early seventeenth century and these range from tracts by Robert Filmer, who argued for the divine right of kings, to Parliamentary views by Henry Parker, Robert Austin and John Pym.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will not focus on these much studied tracts or speeches but will instead examine how the letters found within *Scrinia Sacra* could be perceived by the seventeenth century reader within the terms of this debate. Do the letter volumes situate themselves within this political framework? In considering this the chapter will examine the shift from the *Cabala* volume of 1653, where Buckingham appeared to dominate the Stuart court, to an Elizabethan court supposedly run, as the

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<sup>1</sup> *Scrinia Sacra: Secrets of Empire in Letters of Illustrious Persons. A Supplement to the Cabala* (1654). For the rest of the chapter this edition will be again referred to as *Scrinia Sacra* with the first volume being referred to as *Cabala*. If I refer to both editions these will be referenced as the *Cabala* volumes. Subsequent references in text.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Parker, *Jus Populi or, A discourse wherein clear satisfaction is given as well concerning the right of subjects as the right of princes shewing how both are consistent and where they border one upon the other: as also, what there is divine and what there is humane in both and whether is of more value and extent* (1644); Robert Filmer, *The anarchy of a limited or mixed monarchy. Or, A succinct examination of the fundamentals of monarchy, both in this and other kingdoms, as well about the right of power in kings, as of the originall or natural liberty of the people. A question never yet disputed, though necessary in these times* (1648); Andrew Sharpe, *Political Ideas of the English Civil Wars 1641-1649* (London: Longman Group, 1983), extracts from Robert Austin, *Allegiance not impeached* (1644) pp. 43- 45; *The speech or declaration of John Pym* (1641) pp.34-35.

preface informs us, by ‘honest’ men (A4). In terms of publishing and contents the sequence of the *Cabala* volumes is backwards on the terms of the events presented. The *Cabala* of 1653 and its Stuart content precede *Scrinia Sacra* of 1654 which has Tudor content. We can ask does *Scrinia Sacra* change the issues put before the reader or add further perspectives to the themes already discussed?

The first section evidences the Tudor idea of the monarchical power of kings and explores how this compares with the Stuarts’ own ideas and letters. In particular, by exploring letters from the Duke of Norfolk; the Earl of Desmond and Sir Walter Raleigh, it will examine the monarch’s right to imprison without having to show cause and how this situates the monarch as law. This allows us to understand the debates over the power of the monarch which may have started to be questioned during the reign of Elizabeth but were definitely challenged during the Civil War. The focus of the chapter will then turn to a small batch of letters which will show us the role of the Earl of Essex as the malcontent Tudor who appears to become a Protestant hero. Essex’s letters show a man trying to influence the queen and then turning against her when he fails. Essex appears to question his monarch’s monarchical right, and foreshadows the Civil War by marching against Elizabeth in a failed attempt to gain power in 1601. Further it will also demonstrate how Essex’s print history, in a similar way to that of the Duke of Buckingham, made the Earl’s memory endure and grow and it will investigate why this should be so. This is key to understanding why the Earl remained popular and relevant during the Civil War and in 1650s. Why would the reader of 1654 find the Earl’s letters of relevance and interest when he had been dead since 1601? How can a man who was executed as a traitor become a ‘hero’?

The third part of the chapter will discuss how Essex’s own son in some ways inherits his father’s role as ‘God’s Instrument’ in a period when the Stuart concept of divine right was being increasingly challenged. Essex’s son helps to maintain the memory of his father during the Civil War through his own reputation and he helps successfully to bring down the monarchy. The emphasis here will be how the nobility played an important part in the monarchy’s downfall and, because of this, the chapter will draw on John Adamson’s *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* and on Richard Cust’s more recent study *Charles I and the Aristocracy*



1625 - 1642.<sup>3</sup> A common theme in the *Scrinia Sacra* letters (and throughout the *Cabala* volumes) is the implied criticism regarding the influence that ‘favourites’ and ‘evil counsellors’ have over a monarch. This was to become what Adamson describes as a ‘catch-all explanation for the nation’s woes’ in the 1640s meaning in the 1650s the *Cabala* volumes were a timely reminder of the mistakes of the past.<sup>4</sup>

Finally this chapter will examine how the challenge to monarchical right, one of the themes of the *Scrinia Sacra*, fits in with the context of Oliver Cromwell and his role as Protector in 1654. In many ways Cromwell is comparable with the Tudor Essex as a malcontent who gains the ultimate prize as he becomes head of state. Cromwell saw himself, like Essex, as ‘God’s Instrument’ – prompting the question whether the country really moves away from a divinely appointed monarch?

### **The Power of the Monarch and the Divine Right of Kings**

How does *Scrinia Sacra* compare the Tudor concept of monarchical power with the Stuart idea of the divine right of kings? We can explore this by examining a letter from Henry VIII and a small selection of letters written by courtiers from Elizabeth’s reign. In particular, we ask how Elizabeth managed her court differently to how James I managed his. Using a series of letters from the *Scrinia Sacra* the focus will be on the role of Elizabeth as monarch and how she appears to manage her court.<sup>5</sup> The letters will demonstrate Elizabeth’s role as ‘law’ and the differences and similarities in the way Elizabeth and James are perceived by their subjects. Before turning to these letters it is worth examining what kingship meant to the Tudors and, more importantly, to the Stuarts. We can demonstrate the Tudor idea of kingship from a letter printed within *Scrinia Sacra* and compare it with a letter, already discussed in chapter one, printed in the *Cabala*.

The first letter of *Scrinia Sacra* was written by Henry VIII to the clergy of York regarding his title as Supreme Head of the Church of England. Written in 1533, after Henry had renounced Rome, it clearly sets out his view of his role as monarch. Henry argues in the letter that he could not be head of temporal matters if he was not

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<sup>3</sup> John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicholson, 2007); Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Adamson, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> All the Tudor letters appear at the start of the letter volume probably an attempt by the printers to have some form of chronological order rather than any emphasis on the Tudors themselves.

also head of spiritual things. God gave him the title of head of the realm which allowed him to choose members of the clergy – surely he argues this makes him head of the church as well? The clergy submit to the king as Head of State:

Is any Bishop made but he submitteth himself to us, and acknowledgeth himself as Bishop to be our subject? Do we not give our Licence and assent to the election of Abbots? And this is concerning the Persons and Law spirituall (6).

Henry also states that as he is ‘in this Realm Caput’ there is no man who can be called ‘supremum Caput’ but him, as there is no man above him. This letter demonstrates Henry’s own view on kingship.

Henry, it seems from the letter, believed in supreme power as head of church and state. Elizabeth, in her first speech as monarch in 1558, spoke of being ‘God’s creature, ordained to obey His appointment’ and made reference to the doctrine of the ‘King’s two bodies’ when she said ‘I am but one body naturally considered, though by His permission a body politic to govern’.<sup>6</sup> This idea of ‘two bodies’ meant that a monarch had a ‘body natural,’ which would die, and a ‘body politic’ which was immortal as it was given by God.<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth believed her power came from God but she added that the nobility also had a ‘natural care’ in helping her maintain the governance of the country.<sup>8</sup> Near the end of her reign, in response to criticism of her having granted monopolies, Elizabeth made her famous Golden Speech to Parliament in 1601, declaring ‘though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown: that I have reigned with your loves’. She rejoices not just in the fact that God made her queen but that she was queen over such a people. She will be ‘His instrument to preserve you from envy, peril, dishonour, shame, tyranny and oppression’.<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth believed the love of the people was important because it meant that she had done what God had chosen her to do - protect them. Because she will be judged by God, she will ‘rule as I shall be judged’. She will have to ‘yield an account of our actions before the great Judge’.<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth sees herself as chosen by

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<sup>6</sup> Queen Elizabeth’s first speech, Hatfield, November 20, 1558, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago University Press, 2000), p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theory* (Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth’s Golden Speech, November 20, 1601, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 337.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

God, like Henry, and answerable to God but she sees herself as his instrument sent to protect the people rather than as being above the people.

James I wrote a tract called *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* which set out his views on kingship when he was King of Scotland.<sup>11</sup> This was published in England in 1616. In the tract, James states that kings were called to minister justice and judgement to the people; to advance good and punish evil; and to establish good law and procure obedience.<sup>12</sup> However, although James believed only God could elect a king, the people could of course depose the king. James saw this as unlawful because an evil king was sent to punish the sins of the people and only by prayer to God could this curse be lifted. The same, James believed, could be said if the king breaks the law; only God can be a monarch's judge.<sup>13</sup> This view is similar to those of Henry and Elizabeth but Elizabeth's emphasis is on the love of the people rather than the sins of the people. She speaks of love and being judged by God by her actions towards her people whereas James speaks of judgement of the people who had to obey their king.

In a speech to Parliament in 1609, James claimed that 'the state of the Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth; for Kings are not only God's Lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne but even by God himself they are called Gods'. Most importantly, James argues, kings have the power to make and unmake their subjects; they can raise them up and cast them down. They can sit in judgement over their subjects' lives and deaths but, according to James, kings themselves are accountable to no one but God.<sup>14</sup> In chapter one, we saw how Somerset, writing to James, in the *Cabala*, details how the King had indeed raised him up and could now, within the King's own law, save him or cast him down:

It is he that was your Creature, it is *Sommerset*, with all your honours, and envious greatnesse, that is now in question. Kings themselves are protected from the breach of Law by being Favourites and Gods anointed, which gives your Majestie the like priviledge over yours (3).

Therefore James and Somerset both believe that the power sits with the King and it is only the King who can make judgement.

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<sup>11</sup> *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince James* (1616).

<sup>12</sup> *James I: Workes*, p. 194.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529.

This debate appears to continue in further letters in *Scrinia Sacra* written during Elizabeth's reign where we can examine her own role as monarch and how she was perceived by her own courtiers and how the reader could perceive this role. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, imprisoned in the Tower for treason, writes a letter to Elizabeth which appears in *Scrinia Sacra*. This letter contrasts with Anne Boleyn's letter, discussed in the previous chapter, because Norfolk does not protest his innocence as he writes he is 'imprisoned for my most just desert' but he does ask for his sovereign's clemency for his family's sake (12). He does not seek to excuse himself but to 'wholly submit my self to what shall please your mercifull heart like a most gracious Queen to a man that hath been astray, who finding mercy hath afterwards with bad service oftentimes redoubled his former folly' (11-12). He accepts that it is in the Queen's power to do what she wishes with him. He is her subject and has 'heaped upon my self these intolerable troubles' (12). Anne Boleyn's letter, as we have seen, protests her innocence, but Norfolk writes in his letter of his crimes and has contrition. However, as readers may have known, his ending proved the same as Anne's: he was executed in June 1572. This demonstrates to the reader the power of the monarch and Norfolk, like Somerset, accepts that the law comes from the monarch.

Two further *Scrinia Sacra* letters from Elizabeth's reign highlight the desire to win the Queen's approval and again emphasize her role as lawgiver. Reading the Earl of Desmond's letter to the Earl of Ormond, dated 5 June 1583, we do not require any background to realise that Desmond is out of favour with Elizabeth. The first line states

Great is my grief when I think how heavily her Majesty is bent to disfavour me; and howbeit I carry the name of an undutifull subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most lowly inclined to serve my most loving Prince, so it please her Highness to remove her heavy displeasure from me (18).

Although Desmond accepts his faults, he also blames his problems on 'folly, bad counsels, sleights, or any other thing hath made me forget my duty' (18) and he is now hoping Ormond will allow him to present his side of the story which can then be relayed to the queen. Desmond may not write directly to the Queen but the letter is directed towards her. He writes only of serving her and to gain her forgiveness for

rebelling against her and the only way he can access her is through his enemy, Ormond, who was the Queen's governor in Munster.<sup>15</sup>

Sir Henry Wallop, under-treasurer of Ireland, writes directly to Elizabeth in the same year. In the letter produced in the *Scrinia Sacra* Wallop is indeed a worried man who believes that 'your Majesty conceived some hard opinion of me, from which your Highness is not yet removed' and he feels that someone is working against him. He wishes to reiterate his 'loyalty in your service' and his desire to work for his queen. If he has done her some disservice he wishes to know what it is so he can apologise for it or deny it (19). This letter is comparable to another in the first volume of the *Cabala*: Bacon writes to James asking him if he has caused any displeasure because Bacon senses a problem and would wish to apologise for any offence caused. In this case, however, Bacon is worried about having upset Buckingham rather than the King and he wants to assure the King that he has only ever supported Buckingham the King's favourite. Bacon knew that to upset the favourite was tantamount to losing one's position in the Stuart Court (8). *Scrinia Sacra* contrasts with the *Cabala* where the majority of the letters asking for clemency and forgiveness are addressed to the favourite, Buckingham, rather than the monarch, highlighting the difference between the Tudors and the Stuarts. This will be further explored when the focus turns to Essex but it is worth noting here that the emphasis in these Tudor letters is clearly on the monarch's power rather than that of anyone else at court.

There are similarities in the way the Stuart and the Tudor letter writers wrote to their monarchs. We can see this in particular, in *Scrinia Sacra*, when Sir Walter Raleigh writes to King James before his trial. Raleigh protests his innocence and blames 'presumptions gathered against me' which have convinced James that Raleigh is disloyal. Raleigh believes it is those seeking revenge who have worked against him (85). However Raleigh, rather than stating that he trusts his monarch and the law to do the right thing, writes that he knows he shall fall without the King's compassion because according to Raleigh the law is cruel and will 'compound treason out of presumptions and circumstances'. He writes that he has served James for twenty years without reward and he may now be destroyed by a corrupt law (85).

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<sup>15</sup> J.J.N. McGurk, 'Fitzgerald, Gerald fitz James, fourteenth earl of Desmond (c.1533-1583)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 6 April 2005].

If the law and James are synonymous, as we have seen the King has stated himself in his tract of 1616, then Raleigh is not only doubting his monarch but accusing this type of law of being unjust. This compares with Anne's letter where she knows that Henry will destroy her for his own desires rather than because she is guilty. Therefore these two letters show that both the Tudor and Stuart monarch can be seen as unjust.

There is a second letter in *Scrinia Sacra* from Raleigh to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who was the favourite of James at the time of Raleigh's trial. This letter tells us something more about the power of the Stuart monarchs in contrast to Elizabeth. In this letter, Raleigh accuses Carr of dealing him a fatal blow by obtaining from James Raleigh's inheritance i.e. his lands. Raleigh sees this as 'building upon the ruins of the innocent' (86). The implication of this letter is that Carr, who profits from Raleigh's downfall, must have had some hand in the accusation of treason made against Raleigh and that it is Carr's influence on James which leads to Raleigh's own ruin. It seems that the 'presumptions' of the previous letter may have come from Carr. Thus James has been heavily influenced by Carr and used his monarchical power to please his favourite. It could be argued that this was a misuse of James' own concept of the divine right given to kings because the King should act on God's behalf, not the favourite's demands.

The Earl of Desmond, as we have seen, may appeal to Ormond for Elizabeth's clemency but it is apparent from the *Scrinia Sacra* letters that the power remains with Elizabeth even though the writers may question the influence of others. The writers may know that ultimately the decisions were made by the Queen whereas the evidence from the *Cabala* letters written by the Stuart courtiers suggest that they consider that James was all too easily influenced by favourites such as Carr and Buckingham. The issue of the monarch as lawgiver continued to be important when Charles comes to the throne and this is registered in *Scrinia Sacra*. It is demonstrated in a letter, written to Charles from Lord Falkland, in regard to Falkland's son. It also concerns the right of the monarch to imprison. Falkland writes that he had a son 'until I lost him in your Highnesse displeasure'. This son would appear to be imprisoned but Falkland does not seem to be sure where he is though he has heard 'men say, there is a wilde young man now prisoner in the Fleete' who upset the King. Falkland can only see his son being released through the 'Royal Clemency' and this

forgiveness is ‘an especial priviledg peculiar and due to Sovereigne Princes’ (242). Therefore the letter writer, Falkland, emphasises the king as the giver of law and justice.

The king’s privilege to which Falkland refers to was indeed important to Charles as is shown by another *Scrinia Sacra* letter from Charles to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal written just before the Personal Rule began. In the letter Charles writes of advancing the good peace and prosperity of the people and for this he has allowed the debating of the Royal Prerogative, which he states would not have been allowed in previous reigns. One of the points debated, Charles writes, was the power of the monarch and his counsel to commit any man to prison, without showing the cause (230). Charles believes that if this right was taken away it would ‘soon dissolve the very frame and foundation of our Monarchy’ and this he would not allow (231). The royal power is lent to him by God and it is his right to serve the people as the law to ensure their safety. However he writes that he will concede not to imprison those who will not lend him money, but if his conscience believes the safety of the people is at stake he will continue to imprison according to the Royal Prerogative (230). This highlights again the monarch’s view that the king’s power came from God: however by the time the *Cabala* volumes were published in the 1650s this monarchical power has been challenged, debated and overthrown which of course the reader would know.

Charles I’s letter was written in 1628 at the time of the Forced Loan hence the reference to not imprisoning those who refused to lend him money. Richard Cust believes that Charles saw his right of imprisonment as essential to the Royal Prerogative because, like his father, he considered himself to be the law and accountable to God alone.<sup>16</sup> It is the issue of monarchical rights which the *Cabala* volumes demonstrate clearly, not only in the letters from Stuart courtiers such as Somerset and Falkland but also those from Tudor courtiers such as Norfolk and Ormond and it is this which situates the volumes within the political debates of the seventeenth century.

Richard Cust argues, that *Basilikon Doron*, written by James in 1598, tells us a lot about the type of king Charles aspired to be. Cust points out that James outlined

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<sup>16</sup> Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), p. 72.

the religious obligations of a king, of which the most important was to obey one's conscience and Charles would later write to his son that his conscience was dearer to him than a thousand kingdoms.<sup>17</sup> The *Scrinia Sacra* letters demonstrate this view, in particular when Charles writes of his right to imprison his enemies without recourse to Parliament, because imprisonment was a large part of Tudor and Stuart monarchical power. In both *Cabala* volumes, with the letters from Somerset, Boleyn and Norfolk for example, we can see there was also a steady communication from the Tower in a bid for clemency. Those in prison knew their lives depended on the monarch's clemency and during the Stuart period there was the added fear that 'evil counsellors' could also influence the fate of prisoners as demonstrated by Raleigh's letter to Somerset. Peter Gaunt also points out in his book on Oliver Cromwell that the Protector was to use this right of imprisonment without cause himself, showing how crucial this was to monarchical and protectoral power.<sup>18</sup> The letters in *Scrinia Sacra* indicate that the figurehead may change but this particular power, and the fear it invoked, remained.

The evidence leads us as readers to see that the 'Elizabeth' we encounter in the *Scrinia Sacra* letters, discussed here, appeared to keep her own counsel, and used her own power without recourse to others. James, however, it could be argued, was influenced by favourites. In the letters published within *Scrinia Sacra* Charles would appear to attempt to move away from such influence after Buckingham's death but he did uphold the belief that the king should rule alone without guidance from Parliament. In terms of challenges *Scrinia Sacra* shows us that the stance of Elizabeth was challenged by Essex who himself would appear to seek the power and influence that Buckingham would later enjoy under James. But Essex would also complain that such influence by others such as Cecil and Raleigh would destroy him, just as Raleigh, as we have seen, accuses Carr of trying to destroy him.<sup>19</sup> The *Scrinia Sacra* demonstrates the paradox of both Tudor and Stuart courtiers who desire power but then are concerned that this same type of power will be used by others to destroy them.

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<sup>17</sup> Cust, *A Political Life*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 204.

<sup>19</sup> *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 35, p. 86.



The *Scrinia Sacra* letters discussed here demonstrate the monarch as law with the examples of Henry's supreme headship, Elizabeth's godly power as 'God's Instrument' and James' theory of kings as gods on earth. This idea of monarchs being set on earthly thrones by God was an established view in society.<sup>20</sup> However these ideas were debated in the early seventeenth century with conflicting views regarding absolute monarchy, limited monarchy (i.e. a king governing with Parliament) and, by 1650s, no monarchy at all. Although the letters so far demonstrate what would appear to be a compliance with Elizabeth and James' own perception of kingship this was not to say it was not challenged. The reader would be bound to consider where these challenges led and the next section will show that the seeds of rebellion could be seen as early as Elizabeth's own reign accumulating in the act of revolution in Charles' reign.

### **The second Earl of Essex: The Malcontent**

There was one very famous challenger to the Elizabethan regime, Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex, who led an armed rebellion against the Queen in 1601 which ultimately cost him his life. Essex's afterlife in print and familial representation became important immediately after his death and his mythology intensified during the civil wars because of the actions of his son, the third earl, also named Robert. When a seventeenth century *Scrinia Sacra* reader encountered the second earl's letters, they would still have memories of him as the former favourite. In comparison with Buckingham and his family, Essex's story would also endure well into the 1650s. But what made Essex so popular? This section will examine the Essex letters published in *Scrinia Sacra* to try and establish why Essex the man, represented as a malcontent by his Tudor contemporaries, develops into a Protestant figurehead and becomes almost iconic in status during the Civil War. Essex's letters will be discussed to show how he challenges the Queen and her monarchical power. We will examine his afterlife in print not just after his death but in the Civil War period which gives Essex his status as a Protestant figurehead and finally how his own son could be seen to be entwined with his father as challengers of the monarchy.

The Essex letters of the *Scrinia Sacra* demonstrate how the Elizabethan favourite, Robert Devereux, tried to influence his monarch and how he subsequently

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<sup>20</sup> R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (London, Macmillan, 1999), p. 55.

rebelled against such monarchical power. Paul Hammer sees the later part of Elizabeth's reign as an 'increasingly intolerant demanding regime with absolutist pretensions' and it could be argued that it was this that Essex rebelled against.<sup>21</sup> However, the letters also show that Essex believed he was always working for the Queen as an instrument of God; this idea was then carried on by his son and also by Cromwell who both see themselves as 'God's Instrument' working for the good of the people and the commonwealth.

This section explores a small number of letters published in *Scrinia Sacra* written to and from the Earl of Essex in the 1590s. It is a group of letters much smaller in number than those written to the Duke of Buckingham in the *Cabala* but as we will see their impact in the 1650s will be just as important. The section will contrast the sheer power of Buckingham against the floundering attempts of Essex to establish a similar powerbase. Using these letters we can see how Essex tries to influence Elizabeth in the case of William Davison, a man in disgrace, and how these attempts appear to fail which highlights how the Tudor favourite had less influence than the Stuart favourite. Then the next section will concentrate on how Essex himself falls from favour and how, in a series of letters with Egerton and the Bacon family, he attempts to regain his position. I will also examine the print history of the Earl and his enduring reputation in the years following his death. This will illuminate not only why Essex remained popular but how the *Scrinia Sacra* letters situate Essex in the 1650s as a malcontent turned into a Parliamentarian hero who, it could be argued, reminded the contemporary reader of Oliver Cromwell.

The works of Robert Lacey and Paul Hammer will predominantly be used when discussing the biography and political career of the Earl of Essex.<sup>22</sup> These two studies have been the cornerstone of Essex studies until recently when work on the Earl of Essex has gained pace with in particular: the study of his correspondence with Francis Bacon by Andrew Gordon; Janet Dickinson's book *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex*; Alexandra Gadsby's *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture*; and more recently the essays in *Essex: The Cultural Impact of an*

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<sup>21</sup> Paul Hammer, 'The Smiling Crocodile: the earl of Essex and late Elizabethan "popularity"', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere*, ed. by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Life of Robert Devereux, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Essex 1585-1597* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex, An Elizabethan Icarus* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001).

*Elizabethan Courtier* edited by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins published in 2013.<sup>23</sup> These studies deal with diverse frameworks such as the 1601 rebellion; his circle; and the factions, real or imaginary, with Cecil. But what about his afterlife during 1640s and 1650s? John Adamson demonstrates how Essex is adopted as a Parliamentary icon, which will be discussed in this section, but not how his popularity never really diminishes from his death onwards. Connolly and Hopkins' anthology does examine his afterlife but with its main focus on the perspective of the modern era. They do not discuss his afterlife in 1640s or 1650s. Therefore we could argue that Essex's afterlife in this period is neglected by scholars, including Lacey and Hammer, and that this afterlife is important to how the Essex myth develops. It is also worth noting that the seventeenth century reader would not have available all the source documents a modern scholar has and therefore the focus in this section relies on the perception of Essex from the letters and the possible limited knowledge of the reader. Therefore in the 1650s the letters found within the *Scrinia Sacra* may have helped to shape the readers views on the Earl of Essex.

The first set of Essex letters in *Scrinia Sacra* come from the correspondence between the Earl and the Queen's secretary, William Davison. Davison had been one of those instrumental in persuading Elizabeth to sign Mary's death warrant in 1587, which he then dispatched without checking with the Queen first.<sup>24</sup> These letters show that Davison is obviously out of favour and Essex is trying to use his position as a favourite to influence the Queen. If Essex can have Davison restored it demonstrates Essex's own power within the Court. As we have seen in chapter one this, of course, contrasts with the *Cabala* letters to Buckingham when a Stuart courtier was confident that if they could secure the help of the Duke they would be favoured by the king. Through the *Scrinia Sacra* letters between Essex and Davison, we see Essex, during Elizabeth's reign, attempting to acquire such power.

In this first group of Essex letters, he pledges love to Davison and assures him that he will do all he can for him. In one such letter Essex even states that God has

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<sup>23</sup> Andrew Gordon, '“A fortune of Paper walls”: The Letters of Francis Bacon and Earl of Essex', *English Literary Renaissance* 37 (3) (2007), 319-336; Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012); Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2012); Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, eds. *Essex: The Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier* (Manchester University Press, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham as the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), p. 229.

given him the job of saving Davison: 'if you doubt of the successe or event thereof, I say, that the same God who hath given me a mind to undertake, may according to his good pleasure make me in it or it with me to prosper or die' (21). In a further letter dated 11 July 1589 Essex again professes his love for Davison and states he 'will do more then I now promise' and in his next letter he has indeed done this by meeting with the Queen to discuss the matter. Essex writes 'I made her Majesty see, what in your health, in your fortune, and in your reputation with the world you had suffered since the time that it was her pleasure to commit you' and he has told the Queen how much support Davison has had from the rest of the Court. These people, Essex writes, desired Elizabeth to restore Davison since Davison had such loyalty and service for her. Through Essex's words, the Queen, he believes, began to see that 'her judgment opened by the story of her own actions, shewed a very feeling compassion of you, she gave you many praises' (22). This letter suggests that Essex believes she will now relent and he will continue to employ himself to ensure this. Note how Essex gives himself the lead role in this with the words 'I *made* her Majesty see' which places the emphasis on Essex's influence (21). Essex therefore appears to believe it will be his power that will restore Davison.

However in the next letter to Davison, Essex writes that he has had less luck with the Queen and she will still not allow Davison access to her or the Court however much Essex urges it. The Queen now appears not to want to discuss the matter of Davison. However Essex again presses the queen to forgive Davison but she responds that Davison's 'presumption had been intolerable, and that she could not let it slip out of her mind'. She denies Davison access and Essex has to concede defeat and wait to see 'whether she will open her heart more to me' (24). So Essex's earlier optimism is displaced and his power appears to be not as great as he supposed. It would appear to the reader that the Queen would only act when she wanted to and this is clearly shown here.

In between these two *Scrinia Sacra* letters to Elizabeth, there is one addressed to James from Essex dated 18 April 1587 when James was King of Scotland. This letter is much earlier than the other Davison letters - in fact it is written only two months after Mary's execution - but the subject is still Davison. Essex writes to James to appeal for help in regards to Elizabeth's former secretary whom he writes is 'somewhat known to your Majesty' (23). Davison had been employed as an embassy

to Scotland in the years 1582-1584 and had met James.<sup>25</sup> Essex must have been very sure of James' support because Davison had, after all, been party to persuading Elizabeth to sign James' mother's death warrant. It would appear strange for anyone to be appealing to a son to help the man who supposedly engineered his mother's death. Does Essex write to James to see if he can influence James as well as Elizabeth and therefore is Essex testing his power with James? *Scrinia Sacra* readers would be aware that James did inherit the English crown and, in a life of Essex, written by Richard Williams at some point after James came to the throne, it is stated that James helped Essex's friends and his son was made a companion to Prince Henry.<sup>26</sup> Therefore even if the reader was unaware of any other correspondence they could infer from this patronage of Essex's circle and support of his son that there must have been some relationship in place between the two men prior to Essex's death. The *Scrinia Sacra* letter would support this view as the reader could see that such a letter between James and Essex did exist and suggests a wider correspondence. It would have been strange for Essex only to have written just this letter to James for the support of Davison.

Essex writes to James in *Scrinia Sacra* that if it be known that the King supports such a good man as Davison, James can be guaranteed 'great honour, and great love' from all Essex's and Davison's followers and friends (23). Essex appears to be manipulating James' need to establish good relations in England and we can speculate that Essex may well have seen himself as the power base which could help the Scottish king. In the letter, Essex attempts to portray himself as a man of influence both in England and Scotland. A man with a foot in England's present with Elizabeth and in England's future with James, he appears to be setting himself up as the favourite of two monarchs using his role as the saviour of Davison which, if he succeeds, will demonstrate to the Court he has power and influence.

Two letters written by Essex to the Queen are published in *Scrinia Sacra*. These letters come after the letter to James and contrast with the letter written to James where he appears to be a man confident of position. In these letters to Elizabeth, it would appear Essex was in disgrace. In the first longer letter, which is

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<sup>25</sup> Simon Adams, 'Davison, William (d.1608)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 6 April 2005], p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Williams, 'The Life and Death of Essex' (from manuscript Arundel MS 418, folio 14), reproduced in *Ballads from Manuscripts* ed. by F.J. Furnivall (1868).

undated, Essex states his 'faithful service' before mentioning the Queen's withdrawal of favour:

That of late (by what secret and venemous blow I know not) my faith hath received some wounds, your Majesties wonted grace withdrawn assures me: But truth and my patience in this case were one with me, and time in your Princely thoughts did wear it out from me. Let time be Judge; I will leave you with as great lothness as I were to lose what I love best. But your favour failing, in which I have placed all my hopes, and my self less graced after seven years then when I had served but seven daye, may be reason to excuse, if there were no other reason (26).

The letter ends passionately with Essex declaring 'with all humble and reverent thought that may be, rest ever to be commanded to die at your Majesties feet' (26). As we can see in this letter, Essex had placed all hopes on such favour and now it was lost he would withdraw from public life. Essex, although his tone is different to that of his letter to James, is also manipulating Elizabeth by writing that he will withdraw from public service because he believes he is being treated unfairly by her. I would argue that the tone is not apologetic but complaining and designed to show himself as a victim.

Essex, in his letter, underlines his honour in his dealings with the Queen. Therefore the reader would see that honour was indeed an important theme for Essex: he believed in the knightly honour code which Paul Hammer believes 'posited a conception of moral legitimacy which was actually independent of the idea of the divinely appointed monarchy'.<sup>27</sup> Essex will therefore swear allegiance to his monarch unless it threatens his honour code and in the letter he writes 'the report of mine Honour challengeth chief interest; which that I may preserve in my wonted state, reason draws me to stay my self slipping from falling' (26). This will have implications not just for Essex in 1601 but for his son in the 1640s when the nobility believed Charles had threatened their honour by not allowing them to have a role in the running of the country.<sup>28</sup> Readers of the 1650s would see the idea of honour as important to Essex and may well have associated this with the arguments of the nobility in the 1640s.

The shorter letter to the Queen is undated in the *Scrinia Sacra* but has been identified as coming from Ardracken on 30 August 1599, when Essex was on his

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 328.

<sup>28</sup> Adamson, p. 26.

disastrous Irish campaign.<sup>29</sup> It epitomises the problem Essex had in being away from Court because he writes ‘what service can your Majesty expect, since your service past deserves no more than banishment or prescription in the cursed’st of all other Countries?’ (27). Essex believes he may well die ‘since the course of my life could never please you’ and he signs himself ‘Your Majesties exiled servant’. Essex’s letter to Elizabeth shows the unravelling of the favourite and how desperate he was becoming: his words are passionate rather than the words of a considered statesman. This is demonstrated in the opening lines ‘From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torne in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man that hateth himself and all things that keepeth him alive’ (26-27). The *Scrinia Sacra* letters of Essex to the queen do not show us a confident man but rather an impetuous one whose relationship with the queen was dependent on her favour rather than on his counsel. This contrasts of course with the *Cabala* letters of Buckingham who confidently writes of James’ support in his own position in the Stuart Court (34).

In the 1590s Essex had the support of Thomas Egerton, the Lord Chancellor, and the friendship and service of Francis and Anthony Bacon. The *Scrinia Sacra* contains Essex correspondence with both Egerton and the Bacons and it is in these letters that we witness another side of Essex. He would appear to be disillusioned with the Court and in the *Scrinia Sacra* letters he seems to be a man who believed he was not only right but also an instrument of God destined to show his monarch that she could indeed err and be wrong.

On the 15 October, 1598, Egerton wrote to the Earl warning him that his absence had left him exposed at Court. He questioned whether Essex was sure he was acting in the right way. This letter appears in the *Scrinia Sacra* together with the Earl’s reply. Egerton begins by writing that as a bystander he can see more clearly than the person involved and, as Essex has helped many men in the past, now it is time for Egerton to help him out of love and respect. Egerton urges Essex not to let this matter continue for too long because

the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves;

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<sup>29</sup> Walter Bouchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, 1540-1646* (1853), Vol II, p. 68.

Your friends you leave to scorn and contempt, you forsake yourself and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation: you give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies, as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing news then to hear that her Majesty and the Realm are maimed of so worthy a Member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your Country, when it hath most need of your Council and aid; And lastly you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign, a duty imposed upon you not by nature and policie only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you (27-28).

As we can see, Egerton highlights the ways in which Essex's actions harm not only himself but those who support him. They endanger the powerbase he is trying to build and allow his enemies at home and abroad to gain an advantage over him and England.

Egerton uses this letter to point out Essex's duty to Queen and country, which should come before any perceived slight to his honour. He appeals to this honour code and to Essex's own imagined role as Protestant champion. This Protestantism, Hammer believes, had roots in his familial ties with Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney, whom Essex admired so much that he married his widow as an act of honour to his fallen comrade. Essex, Hammer argues, remained loyal to this heritage and also believed that martial greatness against the Protestant foe enhanced his godly reputation.<sup>30</sup> At Walsingham's death, Hammer writes, Essex was seen as the formal voice of English Protestantism and many of Essex's followers saw him as a 'man of destiny'.<sup>31</sup>

Essex's reply appears to be indignant, and he denies he has forsaken his friends and country because, he argues, he had no choice about acting the way he did. He argues that he cannot serve Queen or country if he is treated so badly and when he believes he is not in the wrong. Essex then writes

Why? cannot Princes erre? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomons fool laugh when he stricken; let those that mean to make profit of Princes, shew to have no sense of Princes injuries: let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it: (30-31).

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<sup>30</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, p. 79, p. 80.

<sup>31</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, p. 139.



Essex is seen to be challenging the very basis of monarchical power which Egerton has argued is part of the Earl's obligation to his monarch and country. Essex throws this back at Egerton and questions the monarchical authority which therefore, in an Elizabethan's eyes, questions God Himself. Essex asks why a monarch cannot be accountable on earth and he suggests only those who wish to gain favour with the monarch would not challenge this idea. This letter was to be used in Essex's trial at York House in 1600 and it has a publication history which means that some readers may have been familiar with it.<sup>32</sup>

Paul Hammer points out that as early as 1595 Sir Henry Wotton, Essex's secretary, had written a paper, which contained support for the idea of a limited monarchy.<sup>33</sup> This paper was a review of *Fragments of History* by Antonio Perez, a friend of Essex and a fugitive of the Spanish Court which was published later in 1598. It stated that if the monarch breaks the law they are indeed accountable to the people:

For although a King be called God's Minister and his judgment seen to proceed from God's own mouth, yet when he doth wrong and breaks God's commandments, he is not then God's ministers, but the diuel's, and then he is no Judge, no King, because he leaveth God and fulfillleth not that charge which the Almighty hath laid upon him.<sup>34</sup>

Therefore, Wotton writes, the nobility could be within their rights to discipline an errant monarch on behalf of the people:

But who shall admonish him? His best subjects and other princes, and if after such admonition he shall still remain incorrigible, then may his actions, his cruelties, his tyrannies be made known to the world.<sup>35</sup>

Such a sentiment made this an extremely dangerous document in the 1590s and it was not to be officially published until 1657 after *Scrinia Sacra* itself. Hammer, however, believes this text proves that such ideas were being discussed as early as 1595 within Essex's own circle. The letter to Egerton supports Hammer's view and suggests that Essex knew exactly what he was doing when he wrote his own letter. The seventeenth century reader may not have seen the Wotton paper but they would

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<sup>32</sup> Lacey, *Essex*, p. 255.

<sup>33</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, p. 315. As we have seen in the Introduction to the thesis, Henry Wotton also wrote the *Parallel* between Essex and Buckingham which was published in 1641.

<sup>34</sup> G. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile, Vol II* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), p. 295.

<sup>35</sup> Ungerer, p. 313.

have been aware of the debates circulating prior to the *Scrinia Sacra* publication where such ideas were also being discussed. The Essex letter was certainly topical to the reader.

The Essex and Egerton letters of *Scrinia Sacra* also survive in several manuscript collections. This suggests that Essex had them widely circulated as a semi-public statement of his position and they would probably have been known to some of the *Scrinia Sacra* readers.<sup>36</sup> Hammer tells us that copies of these letters were also bound with an account of Essex's trial of 1601.<sup>37</sup> Essex wrote the letter as a public document as much as a private response to Egerton. James Daybell confirms that there was a 'well-orchestrated policy of Essex and his secretariat of circulating letters for propagandist purposes' and these included Essex's exchange of correspondence with Egerton, and his *Apologie* to Anthony Bacon which will be discussed later.<sup>38</sup> Andrew Gordon argues that 'denied justice, denied a voice and alienated from court, Essex constructed the letter as a rhetorical arena in which he can both answer and defy his opponents'.<sup>39</sup> Therefore the publication of this letter in *Scrinia Sacra* continues this circulation history and plays a further important part in Essex's own imagining of his life and allows a 1650s audience to continue to engage in this rhetoric in a way Essex himself would not have foreseen. For the 1650s reader the letter would certainly have resonance, becoming, it could be argued, a premonition of the 1640s when Charles I was called to account for his own mistakes. Essex challenges his monarch in a way that the nobility of the 1640s have also done as we will see later in the chapter and it is this that allows Essex's rebellion to endure in public memory and resonate into the 1650s.

At the York House trial of 1600 Francis Bacon revealed that the letter written by Essex to Egerton was published by Essex's friends to boost his cause.<sup>40</sup> Gordon argues that 'its prominence within those manuscript collections whose focus is specifically on Essex's rebellion strongly suggests that it was read as an important document of his discontent and causes' and that it was central to the image of Essex

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<sup>36</sup> For example: British Library: MS Hargrave 225 folios 2 and 3; MS Sloane 1775 folios 54 and 55; MS Add 38139 folio 27.

<sup>37</sup> Hammer, *Polarisation*, p. 339.

<sup>38</sup> James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscripts, Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter Writing* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 193.

<sup>39</sup> Gordon, p. 326.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

‘as a focus of resistance’, and that it is this that Bacon sought to highlight.<sup>41</sup> Gordon states that Bacon will use the words ‘Cannot Princes erre?’ against Essex, arguing that it invokes the idea of tyranny and a loss of judgement by the Queen. Certainly, as Gordon argues, Bacon presents Essex ‘as radically refashioning his duty to the monarch and highlighting the uses to which the apparently private medium of correspondence might be out’.<sup>42</sup> Therefore the letter changes from a private letter to evidence which is used against Essex in his trial. The letter’s meaning becomes emotively charged. What could be argued to be a private moment of discontent to a friend i.e. Egerton becomes a threat against the monarch and therefore a threat to the country.

Returning to the 1650s and the publication of the *Scrinia Sacra*, where letters are indeed being used as a public medium, we can ask what would these letters mean to a reader at this particular time? How would they interpret these letters and, in this case, Essex’s views on monarchy? Essex appears to the reader prophetic in the aftermath of the Civil War: he has been proved correct in his view that a monarch could err and could be brought to account by the people.

The Tudor letters of *Scrinia Sacra* present the reader with two different perspectives: letters from the Tower asking for clemency which demonstrate the monarch’s power, and the role of the Tudor favourite which compares significantly with the role of the Stuart favourite. The power appears to be situated entirely with Elizabeth not with the favourite but it is the favourite who challenges the monarch’s position. Do the letters suggest the readers take a view on the role of monarch and favourite? Or is the reader left to decide for themselves? The letters are published within a time where such issues are being debated therefore the letters are topical and can be read with these ideas in mind. The letters challenge the reader to consider the debate about the monarch and the law. If Essex is cast as a traitor in 1601 how does he become a Protestant icon after his death and in particular in the 1640s and 1650s? The clues to this is his rallying cry of ‘cannot Princes err’ so we need to examine what the reader would have known of the Earl and how he becomes a Parliamentarian ‘poster-boy’.

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 327.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 328.

If we examine what happens to the Earl in his posthumous print history we can see how Essex becomes reconstructed as a hero or martyr rather than as a rebel. This will enable us to suggest how his son, the third Earl, was able to build on his father's reputation and take on his own role within the Parliamentary army. From the moment Essex's head left his body the printing presses were producing popular ballads about the dead earl. For example, *A Lamentable New Ballad upon the Earl of Essex's Death*, conjures an image of Essex as a knight of chivalry and focuses on his role as a soldier.<sup>43</sup> It mentions his role in the wars against France and Spain, and his campaign in Ireland - conveniently forgetting how disastrous it was. It calls Essex 'our Jewell'. Another ballad has the Earl declaring he never wronged the Queen in all his life and he hoped justice would prevail against his enemies:

Yes my Lord did he say  
Welladay, welladay,  
Forgive me I you pray  
For this your death  
I heare doe thee forgive  
And may true justice live,  
No foule crime to forgive  
Within their place.<sup>44</sup>

The opinion represented in the ballads, which may be a popular one, seems to be that evil courtiers around Elizabeth worked against Essex, and he had no choice but to rebel. The 'Good-night' ballad includes the view that Essex should not have gone to Ireland 'Would God he had ne're Ireland known'.<sup>45</sup> There is good reason for this: while Essex was away from court, rival factions could be seen to work against him.<sup>46</sup> Therefore it could be argued that the ballads partly reflected the truth and that the influence of evil counsel led to the downfall of Essex who allowed his enemies the opportunity to work against him. By conveniently glossing over the rebellion led by Essex against the Queen the ballads portray a man wronged by courtiers. Readers of

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<sup>43</sup> *A Lamentable new Ballad upon the Earle of Essex death*. To the tune of the Kings last Good-night. (1601).

<sup>44</sup> *A Dity upon the death of Robert Devereux, late Earle of Essex, who was beheaded in the Tower of London, on Ashwednesday in the Morning*. (1601).

<sup>45</sup> "Good-Night" ballad.

<sup>46</sup> Lacey, *Essex*, pp. 244-245.

1654 would be aware that evil counsel to the monarch was to become a common theme during the reign of Charles I with Parliament claiming such counsel diluted the role they had to play in the running of the country.<sup>47</sup>

Returning to *Scrinia Sacra*, we can see that Essex was given counsel by Francis Bacon. Bacon features in both *Cabala* volumes as an advisor to both Essex and Buckingham. However, Bacon was accused of being one of those who engineered Essex's downfall because he played a role in both of Essex's trials: the York House trial after Essex's unauthorised return from Ireland and the 1601 trial after his rebellion.<sup>48</sup> Bacon was the Queen's servant and he later claimed this service to her had to come before his service to his friend. He, it could be argued, acted on the Queen's orders.<sup>49</sup> However Bacon's role in the trial and in the authorship of *A Declaration of the Practice and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late Earl of Essex and his Complices*, a detailed account of this trial, have been held against him ever since.<sup>50</sup> His role in the downfall of Essex therefore becomes part of the myth that Essex was maligned by courtiers such as Bacon. Williams' biography of Essex calls on such men to be brought to justice by James when he succeeds to the crown and it could be argued that Bacon's own fall during James' reign was some kind of recompense for the death of Essex.<sup>51</sup>

The myth is perpetrated by two letters published in *Scrinia Sacra*. These letters were used in the Essex trials and therefore printed within the trial publications. These are a 'framed' correspondence between Essex and Anthony Bacon. Both letters were actually written by Francis Bacon in 1600, designed for the Queen's eyes in an attempt to enhance the Earl's standing. Bacon maintained that they were in fact commissioned by Essex who was also instrumental in circulating them. Essex at his trial claimed they had actually been written to discredit him because the letters make the Queen look too malleable.<sup>52</sup> However, these letters do set up the idea of the 'evil courtiers' working against Essex. The 'Anthony Bacon' letter to 'Essex' cites

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<sup>47</sup> See Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005) and *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>48</sup> Lacey, *Essex*. p. 229, p. 240.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>51</sup> Williams, p. 33.

<sup>52</sup> Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon 1561-1626* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1998) p. 235.

the fear that some of Essex's 'friends' already 'ring out peals, as if your fortune were dead and buried' as they believed there was no way back for Essex (31). He states that the Queen never intended to give Essex a public trial and it is not she who opposes Essex but factions at court who work against him (33). However he writes that his brother, Francis, does work for Essex and is so established in the Queen's favour that he will surely help him (34).

'Essex' thanks 'Anthony' for his support when he responds in the next letter produced in *Scrinia Sacra*. He also believes the Queen is supportive of him but she is indeed being influenced by others who 'make her Majesty believe I counterfeit with her' and stop him from seeing her (34-35). The print history of Essex appears to direct this audience towards the idea of factions bringing the earl down and becomes part of the Essex myth. For example Robert Codrington writing in 1646 argues that Essex's 'life was made a sacrifice to satisfie the Ambition of some great personages, high in favour at the Court'.<sup>53</sup> *Scrinia Sacra* readers are told by the publishers that the letters are 'framed, one as from Mr Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, the other as the Earls answer' so they are aware that these letters are not what they could appear to be (31). Would this change how the readers perceived Essex? Does it demonstrate the lengths Essex had to go to in his quest for justice? These letters were originally circulated during Essex's lifetime and were produced at his trial by the Earl himself. Essex, Gordon argues, was attempting to use the letters as evidence that Bacon knew he had serious enemies at court.<sup>54</sup> Essex then denied authorising the letters and argued that Francis Bacon devised the plan himself and subscribed Essex's name to it. Thus, Gordon points out, it allows Bacon to be seen as 'duplicitous' and a manipulator of Essex's own identity.

The downfall of Essex was to have disastrous consequences for Francis Bacon's future career, because two years after Essex's death, James I succeeded to the throne of England. James had been an ally of Essex.<sup>55</sup> Bacon had to write the *Apology of Sir Francis Bacon in certain Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex* at the start of James' reign to try to gain favour with the King.<sup>56</sup> This was

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<sup>53</sup> Robert Codrington, *The Life and Death of the Illustrious Robert Earle of Essex* (1646).

<sup>54</sup> Gordon, pp. 334-335.

<sup>55</sup> Jardine and Stewart, p. 265.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

republished in 1651 demonstrating that Essex was still popular print material.<sup>57</sup> Bacon argued in the *Apology* that he acted on the Queen's behalf as his duty was to Queen and Country. He saw Essex's last act as 'fatal impatience' (51). Bacon had originally aligned himself with Essex because he believed his Lord 'to be the fitter instrument to do good to the state' (52). However Essex believed that the Queen could be brought to his will by authority which Bacon saw as folly and not a workable strategy (59). Bacon believed that in going to Ireland the Earl had left the way open for 'evil counsellors' to influence the Queen against him, but Bacon himself was not one of those who sought his downfall (63). As this was republished in 1651 it could be presumed that some of the *Scrinia Sacra* readers would also be aware of this work and Bacon's own defence of his role in Essex's downfall. Bacon also features in the first *Cabala* volume when he is himself petitioning Buckingham for help and by the 1650s Buckingham was himself hated and remembered as an evil favourite. Thus Bacon in the first volume could be seen as a victim of Buckingham, the favourite, but in the second volume Bacon's own role in the downfall of a favourite is brought into question. The *Scrinia Sacra* therefore raises questions regarding Bacon and how he should be perceived when we examine the reputations of both Buckingham and Essex.

On his accession in 1603, James restored Essex's lands and titles to his son, also Robert, and brought him to court to attend Prince Henry, just as Charles would bring Buckingham's son into his household years later. The rehabilitation of the Essex family then allows the Essex myth to gather pace in the 1620s. A tract entitled *Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost*, published in 1624, re-enforced the idea of the dead Essex as a Protestant icon.<sup>58</sup> It presented the usual characterisations of Essex: the loyal servant; the Protestant soldier who fought against the Catholic foe; and the successful Irish campaigner.<sup>59</sup> It even goes as far as to give Essex victory over Tyrone in Ireland before Essex had to abruptly return to England.<sup>60</sup> There is no mention of his returning to England without royal permission and the tract states that it is his enemies who abuse his monarch's ears and bring him down. The tract makes

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<sup>57</sup> Francis Bacon, *The Apology of Sir Bacon in certain Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex* (1651). Further references in text.

<sup>58</sup> *Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost* (1624).

<sup>59</sup> Another tract published in the same year *Honour in His Perfection* (London, 1624) also states that Essex was so successful in Ireland that he actually defeated Tyrone before being compelled to return to England. It also gives envy by others as the reason for his downfall.

<sup>60</sup> *Ghost*, p. 8.

no mention of his armed rebellion, but says that Elizabeth was forced to sign his death warrant.<sup>61</sup> This of course not only allows Essex to be a martyr but also allows Elizabeth to be blameless as well. This pamphlet was one of a number of ‘Ghost’ pamphlets ‘written’ by well-known dead Protestants in response to the Spanish Match of 1623. It places Essex with such figures as Henry VIII, Elizabeth and Henry, Prince of Wales and paints Essex as a Protestant icon who fought against Spain as God’s servant. It builds on Essex’s history of fighting for the Protestant cause and as a man convinced that what he did was for the good of the state.

As we have seen in chapter one, Essex’s print history was also entwined with Buckingham before the *Cabala* volumes. Henry Wotton’s *A Parallel between Robert, late Earle of Essex and George, late Duke of Buckingham* was published in 1641 and 1651.<sup>62</sup> Essex is shown as taking a ‘charter of the people’s hearts which was never cancell’d’ hinting at an enduring affection by the people for the Earl.<sup>63</sup> Wotton argues that Essex was betrayed by factions who sought his downfall. Thus Wotton builds on the Essex myth as a man of the people ‘the darling of their hearts’ who was betrayed by a rival.<sup>64</sup>

Alzada Tipton argues that ‘Essex was, for much of his career, largely the creation of others: queen, colleagues, enemies, and friends’ and it was representations of him by others that were ‘the most lasting and successful in the political arena’.<sup>65</sup> The *Scrinia Sacra* is another such representation through letters to and from the Earl. Do we find a man like the martial hero of the ballads and pamphlets where he is held up as a man of honour and courage? Do we find a Protestant hero fighting the Catholic foe? I would argue that what we find within the *Scrinia Sacra* letters is a man desperate for influence and power. The power Buckingham enjoyed under James was the kind of power Essex most probably desired. His attempts to help Davison appear to fail in the letters and his role as the Queen’s trusted favourite also appear fruitless. His role in Ireland is not the glorious triumph of the Essex myth. However in the letters he challenges monarchical power

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>62</sup> Henry Wotton, *A Parallel between Robert, late Earle of Essex and George, late Duke of Buckingham* (1641) and *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651).

<sup>63</sup> Wotton, *Parallel*, p. 40.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>65</sup> Alzada Tipton, ‘The Transformation of the Earl of Essex: Post-Execution Ballads and “The Phoenix and the Turtle”’, *Studies in Philology* Vol. 99, 1 (2002), pp. 57-80.



and he questions the right of the monarch as law. Why, he argues, cannot princes be wrong? And to challenge this Essex has gone to the heart of the principle of kingship – monarchs are God’s appointed leaders on earth and therefore how can they do wrong? These are all questions that *Scrinia Sacra* readers may well have asked during the reign of Charles I and at least have been aware of the debates around kingship and the role of Parliament and the nobility versus the role of the evil counsellors. Buckingham was one such evil counsellor but Essex, the soldier and Protestant icon, was destroyed by such men. However, the *Scrinia Sacra* letters of Essex, Bacon and Raleigh to name but a few, bring into question the role of the favourite and the desire by all to be the ‘mighty favourite’ to the detriment of the rest. This is something the seventeenth century reader would identify within the letters in part because they would have known the debates surrounding the role of evil counsellors and favourites. If Essex asks if one person i.e. the monarch should hold all the power does this not also apply to the favourite who could be seen to also hold more power than necessary for such a position and how indeed does the role of Protector fit within this debate?

### **The third Earl of Essex: The Inheritance of Rebellion?**

By 1654, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, had been dead for fifty-three years and although his print history demonstrates an afterlife in the early seventeenth century it does not fully explain how Essex would have still remained pertinent by the time *Scrinia Sacra* was published. As we have seen Essex challenged his monarch in 1601 and questioned Elizabeth’s authority and this itself may have been enough for the reader to remember Essex. However this section will examine how Essex’s son appears to have inherited his father’s mantle of rebellion.<sup>66</sup> Like his father, Essex the son would challenge the very authority of the monarchy and the myth of his father will entwine with the life of his son as Protestant icons working for their God. I will attempt to demonstrate how the son’s role in the Civil War allows the *Scrinia Sacra* letters of Essex the father to seem immediate and relevant and how the *Scrinia Sacra* readership would be able identify in both father and son their quest for what they perceive to be justice. The honour code of the second earl will be amplified as the nobility of 1630s and 1640s strive to regain their own role in

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<sup>66</sup> To differentiate between the two earls I will refer to the second Earl as Essex the father and the third Earl as Essex the son.

the leadership of the country because of their own perception of their right for such a role. Essex the son personifies this idea of honour which he inherits from his father and it was his father who gave him an illusion of 'glamour'. The popularity of his father gives the son and Parliament an important focal point which allows the son to play such a prominent role in the early years of the Civil War. In life and death both father and son are inextricably linked, as we will see in the third earl's funeral lamentations, and this allows the *Scrinia Sacra* letters to remain pertinent to its readerships. As James Daybell argues:

Letters were published in different periods from their initial composition, as with those of the second earl of Essex to the Earl of Southampton 'in the time of his troubles' which were published in 1642 and 1643, reigniting the memory of Essex's martial values and nostalgic image as the defender of Protestantism at a time when Essex's son became a leader of parliamentary forces.<sup>67</sup>

This can also be said for the *Scrinia Sacra* letters in particular where the second earl of Essex is seen to challenge the monarchy. Daybell states that 'letters of this nature thus acquired different meanings within different contexts' and this is true in the case of the *Scrinia Sacra* letters.<sup>68</sup> When Essex wrote his letter in 1600 challenging the monarchy, his actions were seen as dangerous and foolhardy but when read in the 1650s the letter could be seen as prophetic and all too true.

The third Earl of Essex's role in the Civil War is often overlooked by modern historians who tend to concentrate on the more famous and indeed successful generals such as Thomas Fairfax and Olivier Cromwell both of whom overshadow the initial role and achievements of the earl in the early phase of the war. To this extent only one modern biography exists on the earl: Vernon Snow's *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex 1591-1646* written in the 1970s.<sup>69</sup> Since then it would appear that only John Adamson's book, and to some extent Richard Cust's work, re-situates the earl in his rightful place within Civil War studies.<sup>70</sup> The earl was to have a huge impact in the 1640s as the first commander of the Parliamentary forces and his father's reputation as the original rebel lent a

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<sup>67</sup> Daybell, *Material Letters*, p. 202.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Vernon F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex 1591-1646* (University of Nebraska Press, 1970).

<sup>70</sup> John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicholson, 2007); Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

certain credibility to the third earl's role within the Civil War. In fact Charles himself, Snow tells us, confused the initial conflict of the Civil War with the Essex conspiracy of 1601, believing it to be a rebellion rather than a civil war, with Essex the son singled out as the 'rebel in chief'.<sup>71</sup> Essex the son gave the Parliamentarian army a figurehead that was known, as we will see, and his impact within this army has largely been ignored as has his father's own representation within this period. The Essex name would appear to have been influential in the early years of the Civil War and this has often been neglected within Civil War studies.

Readers of both *Cabala* volumes would have been aware of much of the third earl's biography. For example they would have known of his marriage and subsequent divorce from Frances Howard which has been discussed in the Introduction and chapter one. As we have seen, 1651 saw the publication of a work on James I which discussed the Overbury affair. This consequently impacted on the third earl's own relationship with the royal family because Frances Howard married the Earl of Somerset after the divorce, and Somerset was the favourite of James I. The reader may also have read Robert Codrington's contemporary biography published in 1646. As we have seen this was a biographical account of the third earl and it also detailed Essex the son's military campaigns under the Stuarts and his later role in the Civil War. He describes how Essex embarked on a military career which saw him serve in Protestant armies in the Rhineland between 1620 and 1624.<sup>72</sup> This, Codrington believed, enhanced his reputation as a Protestant leader like his father and it was indeed the Essex name which enabled him to recruit volunteers for his army who saw him as the 'lively image of his father'.<sup>73</sup> Essex's time in the Rhineland was not a complete success but it was experience which, Cust believes, would stand him in good stead in the future.<sup>74</sup> It also won him the respect of the men who served under him. Cust writes that men such as Essex 'were depicted as inspiring leaders, exposing themselves to immense risk, motivating their men by personal example and selflessly serving their country and the protestant cause'.<sup>75</sup> Codrington described the Netherlands as 'the schoole of honour for the nobility of

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<sup>71</sup> Snow, p. 323.

<sup>72</sup> Codrington, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> Cust, *Aristocracy*, p. 175

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

England in their exercise of arms'.<sup>76</sup> All this recalls Essex's father who writes of wanting to serve his country for honour rather than personal gain. In his letter, published in the *Scrinia Sacra*, which he writes to Egerton, Essex answers the accusation of deserting his country which he refutes by saying 'I am tied to my Country by two bonds; one publick, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carkasse, which hath been nourished in it' (30). Therefore both father and son depict themselves as servants of their country for honour rather than personal glory and wealth.

The third earl's experience was not to be rewarded by the new king, Charles I, as it turned out. The attack on Cadiz in 1625 was designed to be a repeat of the great triumph won by Essex's father at Cadiz in 1596 but was instead, Codrington tell us, an unmitigated disaster.<sup>77</sup> Essex was made Vice-Admiral under Sir Edward Cecil who mismanaged the entire operation.<sup>78</sup> Essex was not actually blamed for the disaster but it was telling that he had to stand by and watch the men who were guilty, the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Edward Cecil, exonerated – and in Cecil's case even rewarded with a peerage. Cecil became Viscount Wimbledon, one of the letter writers of the first *Cabala* and a friend of Buckingham's son. Essex would appear to have been made a scapegoat for Buckingham and his allies and we can assume Essex would have probably harboured some resentment towards both Charles and Buckingham.

In 1639, Essex was approached by Charles to be second-in-command of the English campaign against the Scots but the Queen, Henrietta Maria, asked the King to give this post to her favourite, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, yet another *Cabala* letter writer from the first volume. Essex was demoted to lieutenant general in command of the horse.<sup>79</sup> Snow argues that he was piqued because Charles neglected to reward him for his services and turned to others for military advice.<sup>80</sup> John Adamson saw this humiliation of Essex as a huge mistake because Essex

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<sup>76</sup> Codrington, sig. B8.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>79</sup> Snow, p. 214.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

was a dangerous man for the King to have alienated, for, as the heir of the ‘rebel earl’ of 1601 (who had posthumously acquired almost martyr status), and having spent most of his adult life campaigning against the Habsburgs on the Continent, Essex was one of the most popular men in the country – a man, in the words of one contemporary ‘generally loved’.<sup>81</sup>

For a number of years Essex had been aligned with a group of dissident earls who were critical of the King. The group was led by the Earl of Warwick, his cousin, and nephew of the dead Essex. The King’s final insult saw Essex clearly place himself with this group. It was to be a major coup for them given his vast military experience and the legend of the Essex name.<sup>82</sup>

As we have seen, the Essex myth had gathered momentum since the second earl’s execution in 1601 and not only did the dissident earls have his son but other members of the Essex family as well. Adamson states that the Earl of Warwick, Essex the father’s nephew, had assumed the mantle of Protestant leader amongst the nobility. Warwick’s circle, Adamson argues, stressed his uncle’s own concept of noble virtue and a public duty to act for the good of the nation as a whole. Essex’s rebellion of 1601 had been, Adamson further argues, ‘a failed attempt to topple the “basely born evil counsellors”’ who had monopolised power to the exclusion of the noble lineage’.<sup>83</sup> This issue reappeared in the 1640s where, after the death of the Earl of Stafford, Warwick and Essex the son were prepared to force Charles to hand over control of the appointment of counsellors to Parliament.<sup>84</sup>

Oliver St John, another supporter of Warwick, and a kinsman of Oliver Cromwell, described in the Bill of Attainder against Strafford in 1641, how Parliament should work and what happened when it did not:

The Parliament is the representation of the whole kingdome, wherein, the King as Head, your Lordships as the more noble, and the Commons the other members are knit together as one Body Politick: This dissolves the arteries and ligaments that hold the Body together, the Lawes: He that takes away the Lawes, takes not away the allegiance of one subject alone but of the whole Kingdome.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Adamson, p. 14.

<sup>82</sup> Snow, p. 224; Adamson, p. 14.

<sup>83</sup> Adamson, p. 26.

<sup>84</sup> Adamson, p. 26; Cust, *Aristocracy*, p. 238.

<sup>85</sup> Oliver St John, *An Argument of Law concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treason of Thomas, Earle of Strafford* (1641), p. 70.

St John saw such men as Somerset, Buckingham – and now Strafford and Archbishop Laud – as upstarts who took away the noble's right to govern and serve on council. As we have seen, Somerset in particular had blighted the third Earl of Essex's early career and life. Adamson writes that Warwick's circle of dissident earls believed

in a society in which the 'ancient nobility' had a tradition of considering itself as the *consilarii nati* – the king's 'counsellors born' – the withholding of such preferments tended to be regarded as not simply as ill fortune, but as a denial of what by inheritance and the proper customs of the realm was their rightful due.<sup>86</sup>

Cust, in his book *Charles I and the Aristocracy*, contends that historians have indeed emphasised the hostility of the nobility towards the policy of the crown and that the attacks on Buckingham, who they saw as a threat to 'ancient nobility', led eventually to the 'Noble Revolt' of 1640-42.<sup>87</sup> Cust argues that, after the death of Buckingham, Charles did attempt to take control himself and not rely on favourites and that during Personal Rule 'he went out of his way to protect the welfare and nurture the interests of the established nobility'.<sup>88</sup> However the stigma of the 'evil counsellors' appears to have remained and this is shown with the executions of Strafford and Laud in the 1640s. The readers of the *Cabala* volumes would be aware of the role of Buckingham as was demonstrated in chapter one. We can also argue that the reader would be aware of the roles of the Buckingham and Devereux families in the Civil War – these familial representations allow both men's reputations and lives to remain within the public consciousness and would be pertinent to the readers of the *Cabala* volumes.

Warwick would himself have learnt from his uncle's revolt of 1601, which Adamson describes as 'an instance of chivalric grandstanding' which never posed a serious threat to the Crown.<sup>89</sup> Warwick would have known he would need huge military support to achieve the overthrow of the King and the only way to gain the means to achieve this was through Parliament.<sup>90</sup> Warwick, Adamson points out, did in fact closely align himself with his uncle by having his portrait painted by Van

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<sup>86</sup> Adamson, pp. 30-31.

<sup>87</sup> Cust, *Aristocracy*, p. 45.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>89</sup> Adamson, p. 32.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Dyck wearing the famous ‘orange tawny’ livery colour of the Devereux and this colour was to be adopted as the Parliamentarian colour during the Civil Wars.<sup>91</sup> This demonstrates that the Devereux family themselves believed they carried on the rebel Earl’s work in striving for a better country. The sentiments that the second Earl of Essex expresses in the letter to Egerton are indeed pertinent for the nobles’ revolt of the 1640s because the nobles also believed that princes could err. As we have seen the Tudor letters of the *Scrinia Sacra* all point toward an outmoded time when the monarch’s absolute power concerning the rise and fall of the nobility was right to be challenged. We could argue that the reader of *Scrinia Sacra* would make this connection. They would read the letters of Essex the father and they would know of the actions of his son and nephew. As the readers would have seen Buckingham’s family continuing to be rewarded by the Stuarts, as we have demonstrated in chapter one, they would also see the Devereux family taking on the second earl’s own rebellion to a much larger stage. Where Essex the father failed, his family would not.

By examining the roles of Warwick and Essex the son in the 1640s, we can see how the *Scrinia Sacra* letter of Essex the father, where he challenges the monarch and accuses people of trying to destroy him, can be pertinent to the reader of 1654. The reader may have known that in 1640 the dissident peers including Warwick and Essex invited the Scottish army to invade England hoping to use this as leverage for their own aims.<sup>92</sup> The Scots’ aim was to achieve a free parliament, gain religious rights and to also get rid of ‘evil counsellors’ which I have demonstrated is one of the themes of the *Scrinia Sacra*. Adamson writes that the dissident earls could not themselves join the invasion force as it was a treasonable offence to bring in a foreign force and the earls wanted to avoid giving Charles an excuse to accuse them of such. This invasion, Adamson believes, placed England under threat and in London there was also a threat of insurrection which led to memories of the Essex rebellion of 1601.<sup>93</sup> It also enabled the Petition of the Twelve to be submitted to the King because the King was already weakened. The Petition outlined problems with religion, the abuse of Ship Money, of monopolies in commercial activities and the infrequency of Parliaments which they demanded should have a proper time frame.

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<sup>91</sup> Adamson, note to the portrait reproduced between pp. 266-267.

<sup>92</sup> Snow, pp. 230-232.

<sup>93</sup> Adamson, pp. 45-47.

Snow writes that they believed a new Parliament would address the kingdom's ills and punish those who had given the King evil counsel.<sup>94</sup>

Adamson argues that at the same time Warwick was laying plans for an English army and this was to be an army for the 'commonwealth' which would rescue the King from his 'evil counsellors'. This 'commonwealth' was, Adamson describes 'a political interest and a potential source of legitimacy that was wholly distinct from the person of the King'.<sup>95</sup> This idea of an army worried Charles' Privy Council who saw Essex the son as the major cause for concern.<sup>96</sup> As we have seen he was an experienced and capable commander who like his father was seen as a Protestant figurehead and rallying point due to his campaigning in the Rhineland. Adamson writes that Essex was arguably the most popular military figure of 1640 and therefore, from Charles I's point of view, the most dangerous of the dissident peers.<sup>97</sup> That popularity owed much to the enduring reputation of his father shown by contemporary writers such as Codrington who emphasised the second earl's merits and courage.<sup>98</sup> It is this popularity and 'fame' which gives the Essex letters within the *Scrinia Sacra* an emphasis they would have otherwise lacked. This prompts the reader to look from the father to the son. The reader may well ask was Essex the father in fact right to challenge the power and authority of the monarch and that it is in fact the son who got justice for his father.

Essex's son could be seen as 'God's Instrument' sent to lead the country back to God and away from the follies of the King and his 'evil counsellors'. His banner was an orange field, the Devereux colours, with a white border and the motto 'God is with us' on it.<sup>99</sup> He was to be captain-general of the English Parliament's forces for thirty months from 1642-1645.<sup>100</sup> He was however at the command of Parliament which denied him freedom of movement and circumscribed his authority.<sup>101</sup> Snow argues that caution made him too slow to make any impact but Graham Seel, in a magazine article, sees this caution in some cases as justifiable, especially in the case

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<sup>94</sup> Snow, p. 232.

<sup>95</sup> Adamson, pp. 58-59.

<sup>96</sup> Snow, pp. 232-233.

<sup>97</sup> Adamson, p. 93.

<sup>98</sup> Codrington, *Life of Essex*.

<sup>99</sup> Graham Seel, 'Cromwell's Trailblazer? Reinterpreting the Earl of Essex', *History Today*, 45 (1995), 22-28 (p. 24).

<sup>100</sup> Snow, p. 307.

<sup>101</sup> Snow, p. 498



of engaging Charles at Shropshire in 1642 when Essex and his army were far from their own base and without supply links.<sup>102</sup> To engage Charles would have been disastrous and Essex's presence was enough to deflect the King's descent on London.<sup>103</sup> Later when Charles did threaten London, Essex threw a bridge of boats across the river from Fulham to Putney to enable his troops to operate on both sides of the river. He was on this occasion cautious but practical because to engage his troops in the depths of winter would have been foolhardy.<sup>104</sup> In 1643 Essex came to the relief of the siege of Gloucester and his skilful deployment of his troops around the suburbs of Newark enhanced his name further.<sup>105</sup> To the reader of *Scrinia Sacra*, Essex's son would be well known as a successful challenger to Charles I.

Campaigns after this point were not to go so well and Essex felt overlooked when other men such as the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell seemed to hold more power; we could also argue this is true of modern scholarship today as Essex's exploits are overshadowed by Cromwell's.<sup>106</sup> Essex's career was ended by Cromwell and his Self-Denying Ordinance in 1645 which stated that all men had to give up their military commands. Essex fought the Ordinance for as long as he could but finally resigned knowing Cromwell himself would not.<sup>107</sup> In semi-retirement he regularly attended the Lords and remained a figurehead for those who supported a peace strategy and did all he could to impede Cromwell's military career. Essex died in 1646 of a stroke. Snow writes that he had the most grandiose funeral since James I.<sup>108</sup> He was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey and given a spectacular tomb which was vandalised a month later by a former royalist soldier who also beheaded his effigy.<sup>109</sup> The erection of the tomb and the soldier's action demonstrate Essex's reputation provoked different reactions from Parliamentarians and Royalists.

Just as with the second Earl of Essex's death in 1601, there was also a large outpouring of grief in print at the third earl's death. The Essex eulogies nearly all mention his father and describe the two men as heroes who fought against the

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<sup>102</sup> Seel, p. 26.

<sup>103</sup> Snow, p. 498; Seel, p. 26.

<sup>104</sup> Seel, p. 26.

<sup>105</sup> Snow, p. 498.

<sup>106</sup> Snow, p. 480.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 494-495.

Protestant enemies and against the evils of Court. In one such pamphlet entitled *The Life and Death of the Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Essex, the Noble Branch of his thrice Noble Father* the author again blames ‘ireful Lords’ for the second Earl’s downfall. However the dead Earl left ‘his valiant Son to tread his Father’s Steps’ and this son led the army that served the country against England’s Prince who forsook his Godly charge.<sup>110</sup> A further pamphlet describes the third Earl as England’s Champion who kept the country safe from tyranny. It also provides an epitaph for his tomb which reads:

that Essex is  
The Man, an Earle renown’d by his  
Most noble birth; whose father Queen  
*Eliza* had in great esteeme.  
And he himself, by *Parliament*  
To be England’s *Generall* had consent  
And fought our Battells.<sup>111</sup>

Other pamphlets emphasise Essex the son’s service to the Commonwealth and how great a loss his death is. He is also described as dealing fairly with both King and State and as being victorious and valiant in battle.<sup>112</sup> These eulogies, I would argue, promote both father and son, demonstrating the son’s inheritance of the father’s cause and also allows us to see that the connection was being made between the two earls which surely would have been remarked by the readers of *Scrinia Sacra* as the eulogies were public documents.

Kevin Lindberg argues that ‘throughout his life, the third Earl of Essex found himself compared to an image he could not hope to match’ and that literature and history ‘joined in exalting the father and diminishing the son’.<sup>113</sup> Vernon Snow also argues that ‘his reputation in military matters was undoubtedly inflated or at least

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<sup>110</sup> *The Life and Death of the Right Honourable, Robert, Earle of Essex, the Noble Branch of his thrice Noble Father* (1646).

<sup>111</sup> William Rowland, *A Mournfull Cloud* (1646).

<sup>112</sup> Henry Mill, *Funerall Elegy* (1646); *A Funerall Monument* (1646); *An Elligie upon the death of the Right Honourable Robert Devereux, Lord Generall of the Parliaments Forces* (1646); Josiah Ricraft, *A Funerall Elegy* (1646).

<sup>113</sup> Kevin Lindberg, “‘Your Father’s Perfection Shall be Your Blemish’: The 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Essex and the Development of a Legend”, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 32 (2007), 117-132, p. 128.

distorted by the Essex legend'.<sup>114</sup> However it could be argued that Essex the son achieved far more than his father by successfully rebelling against the monarch and being instrumental in bringing down the very thing his own father had tried to control. Like his father, Essex the son had wanted his monarch to take his counsel and when he believed it wasn't valued or that others were not worthy of their positions as counsellors he too rebelled and became a 'malcontent'. The son's success and popularity in the early 1640s, demonstrated by his ability to raise men for the Parliamentary cause and by the print outpouring of grief at his death, was of course in some way due to his father's memory but it was the son's actions which allow this memory of the second Earl to continue to flourish. Without the son's exploits we can speculate on whether the Essex name would still have been as famous, and whether the *Scrinia Sacra* letters have had as much resonance. Essex the son responds to his father's question 'Cannot a Prince erre?' by speaking out against Charles as one of the Twelve Peers in 1640 and by leading an army against the King. Like his father he wanted to prove that monarchs could be wrong and that subjects have a right to proper and just law. The reader of *Scrinia Sacra* would have appreciated the role of Essex the son much more than current Civil War historians appear to today. As suggested before, this role has been diminished and overshadowed by Fairfax and Cromwell, but as Snow writes in his summing up of Essex the son's reputation, he was in the early 1640s 'the man of the hour, the uncrowned "king"' who laboured to 'limit the power of the English sovereign'.<sup>115</sup> Clarendon, in his famous *History of the Great Rebellion*, written between the years 1646-1648, even mentions a rumour that Essex the son's friends believed he was poisoned and Clarendon argues that Cromwell and his party 'were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem of his person'.<sup>116</sup> He may have been overlooked, to a large extent, by modern historians (with Adamson as an exception), and Snow suggests he has been all but forgotten, but the contemporary reader would have been very much aware of the third earl's reputation and role within the Civil War.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Snow, p. 498.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 497.

<sup>116</sup> Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Great Rebellion*, ed. Roger Lockyer (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 321.

<sup>117</sup> Snow, p. 499.

The print history of both Essexes, father and son, suggests that ‘evil counsellors’ had denied them their rights. Therefore the monarch has abused the monarchical right of kingship by allowing the ‘evil counsellors’ to make the laws which have in fact been entrusted by God to the monarch and not to base-born men. By listening to such men, the monarch was also denying the nobility their rights and this in turn allowed them to challenge the monarch. Would the readers of the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* have agreed with either man? The world had indeed changed from 1601 – a king not a subject had been executed. The reader may well have been questioning who God’s instrument was: king or subject? Monarchical right had been challenged and justice questioned. Blair Worden argues that

The English had long been used to discussion of the nature of monarchy. Was it absolute or limited, ‘pure’ or ‘mixed’? Was it answerable to its subjects, or only to God? Could it be legitimately resisted if it degenerated into tyranny?<sup>118</sup>

The tracts of Wotton and Peyton confirm the thesis’ argument that *Scrinia Sacra* was part of a discussion around kingship and this debate would only intensify as Cromwell appeared to take on the Essex mantle of God’s Instrument after effectively deposing the third earl. The print history of Essex and his son formulate a view of the two men as military men who both challenged their monarch. This same print history appears to blame ‘evil counsellors’ for the downfall of Essex, the second earl, in 1601, and for the discontent of his son in the 1630s and 1640s. By the 1650s when the *Scrinia Sacra* was published it would seem that this view was a popular one within the print history of both men and it becomes entrenched in the myth of Essex, the second earl, in particular. Therefore the afterlife of Essex the father in the Civil War period and the Protectorate, to which *Scrinia Sacra* contributes, is important because it augments the picture of faction within the Elizabethan court whether real or imaginary. *Scrinia Sacra* enforces this with its letters from Egerton and Bacon both warning Essex of negative influences. Later biographies and works on Essex the father have used such notions of faction to build on the modern more romantic view of the earl besieged by fellow courtiers when all he desired was to serve his country against a Spanish, Catholic foe and to work for his Queen rather than against her. Essex’s rebellion is re-imagined as simply a desire by Essex to rid Elizabeth of such factions in much the same way Parliament in 1630s tried to do the same thing

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<sup>118</sup> Blair Worden, *God’s Instrument: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 260. Subsequent references in text.

with Charles I. The Essex of 1601 becomes in the 1630s and 1640s an ideal rather than a malcontent and allows the coming of the Protector who assumes the mantle of challenger to a monarchy corrupted by their own view of divine right. The same man, who it could be argued, deposed Essex's own son as leader of the Parliamentary army and replaces him in Civil War history as well.

### **Cromwell: Malcontent, Protector and Absolute Head of State**

The message from both volumes of the *Cabala* would appear to be that it was dangerous for one person to have too much power, whether favourite or monarch. To prevent this was one of the key reasons behind the Civil Wars of the 1640s and a *Cabala* reader would surely recognise these issues. But what of the 1650s and the naming of Oliver Cromwell as Protector? Had anything actually changed in the dynamic of how the country was run? Is Cromwell, himself, not a malcontent who ends up with the ultimate prize? He became head of state in 1653 assuming semi-monarchical power and came close to being king himself. This section will examine that rise to power and compare Cromwell with the 'evil counsellors' and favourites of the Jacobean and Tudor courts. Surely Cromwell would have been the figure upmost in the mind of the reader of the *Cabala* volumes as they read the letters and saw the struggle for power.

Cromwell, it could be argued, aimed for high office from the 1640s, fighting against the King, taking control of the army away from the moderates like Essex the son, and then pushing for the execution of the King only to take the monarch's power for himself. Blair Worden argues that MPs would have been appalled at the idea of Cromwell being enthroned and that they already resented his military power suspecting him 'of pursuing personal ambition' (292). Cromwell rose within Parliament only to turn against it by ejecting the Rump in April 1653 and then taking the Protectorate role in the December of the same year.<sup>119</sup> Gaunt states that he was also seen to turn against 'a long list of radical figures who were political colleagues or friends' using his military backing as head of the army and that one of the accusations made against him was that he betrayed Parliament's cause to gain power for himself.<sup>120</sup> Worden argues that:

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<sup>119</sup> Gaunt, pp. 18-19.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

The underlying parliamentary objection to the Protectorate would have stood whether he had taken the title of king or not. Just as Charles I had been arraigned as a tyrant rather than a king, it was on Cromwell's "tyranny", together with military usurpation, that was alleged to make him if anything a worse tyrant than Charles, that manifestoes hostile to his rule dwelled (295)

These were all accusations made during his lifetime and were probably being thought of when *Scrinia Sacra* was published a few months after the Protectorate was established. The view of Cromwell as self-serving would also have begun during the 1640s with the Self-Denying Ordinance, when Essex had to resign his post, as it stated all men had to give up their military commands but Cromwell, who was exempt from it.<sup>121</sup> It increased his power and removed his enemies from their posts. Pride's Purge of 1653 was also executed by his closest military and civilian friends and these allies were rewarded when Cromwell became Protector with posts in high office.<sup>122</sup>

Like Essex in 1601, Cromwell saw his army as 'God's Instrument' working for the good of the state. Gaunt argues that Cromwell believed that the Civil Wars were God's will and that 'divine instruction shaped subsequent events'.<sup>123</sup> He believed, Gaunt states, that his victories in the Civil Wars were sanctioned by God, who appointed him as agent to bring an errant monarch to justice.<sup>124</sup> In 1648, Gaunt uses Cromwell's own words to show that Cromwell, writing to the Speaker of the Commons, believed that 'God will reprove even kings and His work must be done to protect God's chosen people'.<sup>125</sup> When the Rump failed to do God's work Cromwell used this 'Instrument' to destroy it as Worden states that Cromwell wanted power for himself so he could implement a 'programme the Rump had refused to accept' (295). As Lord General of the Army he was the power behind such an 'instrument' therefore no one could be higher than him and this of course reminds us of the letter from Henry VIII at the start of *Scrinia Sacra* which states that no man can be above him as he is the 'Supremum Caput' (6). Cromwell saw this as part of God's plan but others, Worden tells us, saw it as a long-standing ambition to take the highest position in the country (33). In a speech in 1654 after assuming the Protectorate, Cromwell argues:

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 60-61.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

If my calling be from God and my testimony from the people – God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the people of these nations, if I should.<sup>126</sup>

Edward Peyton writing in 1652 (just before the Protectorate) also argues that it was ‘God’s avenging hand’ that ‘justified’ the proceedings of Parliament and ‘proved that the heavie weight of sin hath given a downfall justly imposed by providence from above’.<sup>127</sup> Peyton was a Parliamentarian so his views were partisan but his work allows us to see contemporary opinion concerning the idea of ‘God’s Justice’ and how this appears to justify the actions of both the second and third earls of Essex and Cromwell in contemporary thought. Peyton argues that if Parliament had not opposed the King then God would have been avenged on them and Cromwell, writing to Richard Major in 1650 asks ‘If God be for us, who can be against us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who can resist his will?’<sup>128</sup>

In many ways, Cromwell did act like a monarch, the ‘Supremum Caput’: living in palaces; surrounded by a court; opening and closing Parliament; appointing officials and even putting his profile on coinage. He signed letters Oliver P copying a style used by monarchs and was even addressed as ‘His Highness’.<sup>129</sup> Many assumed he was the government and had unlimited power. He was appointed for life and like a King could only be removed by death. No force could be used to depose him and no resignation could be accepted. All honours derived from him and he had extensive powers of pardon. He also had the final say on the choice of counsellors and could decide when Parliament could be summoned.<sup>130</sup> John Streater, a Republican writing in 1659, went so far as to describe Cromwell as having ‘absolute power’ and this would appear to be more powerful than the power enjoyed by the King before him.<sup>131</sup> Therefore the reader of the *Cabala* volumes could compare Cromwell with the power of Buckingham, Essex and the Stuart monarchs and ask who indeed had more power, and were right.

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<sup>126</sup> *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 3 vols ed. S.C. Lomas (London: Methuen, 1904), II, p. 367.

<sup>127</sup> Peyton, p. 310.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409; *Letters and Speeches*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>129</sup> Austin Woolrych, *England without a King 1649-1660* (London and New York: Methuen, 1983), pp. 38-41.

<sup>130</sup> Gaunt, pp. 155-158; Woolrych, pp. 38-41.

<sup>131</sup> John Streater, *The Continuation of this Present Session of Parliament Justified* (1659), p. 13.

The Essex letters of *Scrinia Sacra* raise ideas of the nature of monarchical power and how this power can be distributed to favourites or ‘evil counsellors’. Cromwell as Protector may have made the reader of the letters question whether much had in fact changed since the fall of the monarchy. Cromwell saw himself as divinely appointed and he could do all the things Charles was criticised for, including appointing his own counsellors. Therefore he was susceptible to the same abuses of power that Charles had been accused of. Worden argues that the ‘evils of Charles I’s reign could be blamed on one man or one family. Now that they were replicated by Cromwell, it seemed that they might be inherent in the occupancy of single power’ (301). Cromwell, however, can also be seen as one of those men of ‘equity and justice’, fighting for God’s cause against a corrupt monarch and taking the role for the public good. Like Essex the father before him, Cromwell can be seen as both malcontent and hero who, unlike Essex, deposes a king and effectively replaces him. Therefore Cromwell of course gains far more power than a favourite. His role which could be described as a malcontent, if we go back to Smuts’ description of a man who builds a popular and military following to overpower the state, allows him to obtain the very thing he rebels against.

### **Conclusion: ‘God’s Instrument’**

This chapter has focused on a handful of letters from the second volume of the *Scrinia Sacra*. It does so in order to demonstrate what would appear to be one of the main themes present in the letters of the 1654 volume: the power of the monarch and the right to challenge it. It has also attempted to place the volume within the context of 1654 and used pertinent letters to highlight this context. The emphasis has been on the power of the monarch as supreme head and on how this power could become corrupted by ‘evil counsellors’. The letters discussed in this chapter demonstrates that there was a debate concerning the different concepts of power which allows either a monarch or a subject to take control. James I, for example, argued that a monarch are placed upon earth by God and are thus accountable only to God but subjects such as Essex and Cromwell, would counter that their challenge to this monarch is also God-given. Elizabeth describes herself as God’s ‘instrument’ in her Golden Speech and both Essex, his son and Cromwell are also given this title by



contemporaries and historians.<sup>132</sup> All believed they acted on God's will and in His service.

It is clear that the letters of *Scrinia Sacra* are firmly situated within the debates arising in the seventeenth century concerning the role of the monarch and who does in fact have the right to set the law. One such tract was written by Henry Parker, one of the most significant political tract authors. Henry Parker worked for the third Earl as his secretary.<sup>133</sup> Michael Mendle argues that Parker's *The Contra-Replicant* promoted Essex as a temporary dictator.<sup>134</sup> In Parker's own elegy to the third Earl he paid tribute to his master but does not mention Essex's father, one of the only instances it would appear that father and son are not entwined.<sup>135</sup> Parker's relationship with Essex and Parker's own role as a political commentator demonstrates a link between the political debates of the seventeenth century and with *Scrinia Sacra* albeit through the second Earl. Andrew Sharpe's work highlights the huge quantity of political tracts published in England between 1641-1649 which demonstrates the transformation of the political arena from the collapse of the Stuart regime to the abolition of kingship itself.<sup>136</sup> Sharpe highlights that whereas before the Civil War political conflicts had been previously played out in private they were now being made public as print censorship was effectively lifted.<sup>137</sup> This, Sharpe argues, is reflected in the large number of tracts and publications collected by George Thomason during this period which represents about four-fifths of what was printed at the time.<sup>138</sup> In this chapter we can see how print publications not only allow such debates to be public but they also allow political memory. Without the print representations of the second Earl of Essex throughout the early seventeenth century, including those entwined with his son, would he have still been relevant in the 1650s?

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<sup>132</sup> Elizabeth's Golden Speech, 30 November, 1601, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, p. 337.

<sup>133</sup> Michael Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 22.

<sup>134</sup> Mendle, p. 22.

<sup>135</sup> Henry Parker, *An Elegie upon the Death of my most Noble Lord & Most Honourable Master, Robert Earle of Essex* (1645). This is a manuscript found within the Thomason collection and written in Parker's hand. BL.E.358 (1),

<sup>136</sup> Sharpe, *Political Ideas*, p. 4

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

This chapter has sought only to demonstrate the idea of kingship suggested by the letters. By examining the Duke of Buckingham, Anne Boleyn and the Earl of Essex's afterlife reputations primarily within the *Cabala* letter volumes but also in other print publications and familial representations, we can attempt to imagine what the seventeenth century reader may have been discussing and debating in the 1650s. In particular, I have argued, the reader may well have been comparing Buckingham and Essex and the role of favourites with the power of Oliver Cromwell – not himself a favourite but one who, in a similar way to a malcontent, strove and obtained power in place of a monarch. The focus on groups of letters rather than a complete survey of the *Cabala* volumes thus facilitates our focus on the issues these letters may have highlighted for the 1650s reader. We can presume who this reader is through evidences of readership within the period such as class, education and wealth and also through the themes we believe the *Cabala* volumes raises with its letters. In the next chapter we will investigate exactly who the reader was and whether this enhances our ideas of what the *Cabala* volumes were doing in the 1650s in terms of debate, discussion and popularity.

## **Chapter Four: Ownership, distribution and accessibility: tracking the *Cabala*.**

There is no kind of Writing, that men do generally with more greediness look into, then Letters; especially, if they be Letters of State, from Great and Wise Persons, and in a Wise Time, as these are.<sup>1</sup>

The previous three chapters have examined how a contemporary audience may have responded to the letters, the letter writers and the themes that are suggested within the *Cabala* letters. Through provenance research this chapter will investigate the book's contemporary audience of the seventeenth century. By tracking copies of the book, it will further explore how the *Cabala* volumes can illuminate the history of book collecting and the rise of the private and public library. By examining the evidence of the *Cabala* volumes' whereabouts today we can see patterns of ownership regarding a particular edition and can see how the *Cabala* volumes are distributed by sector and by location. Does understanding the *Cabala*'s provenance allow us to make judgements concerning who was reading the volumes and why? Investigation of the book's provenance and distribution opens up many topics and to examine these it is necessary to concentrate on three distinct areas of research: the individuals or book collectors of the seventeenth century; the rise of library collections in private house and public institutions; and finally where we find the different editions today. In particular we will see that where private libraries are disbanded and the book is either sold or donated, this changes the book's status from a desired object accessed by the privileged few, i.e. those who had money, to a more accessible resource in the public libraries. This research will build on the critical insight that 'the actual audience, the nature and practices of that audience,' become 'integral to understanding the performativity of texts, the way texts worked and why they were made the way they were'.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the previous chapters, which concentrated solely on the 1650s volumes, the provenance research extends to the 1663 and 1691 editions. It also includes the 1663 additional volume titled *Scrinia Cecilianiana* which was produced for those who already had the 1650s volumes and only included new letters which were also integrated in the 1663 reprint of the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Compleat Ambassador* (1655), sig. A1.

<sup>2</sup> *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy and the Low Countries 1500-1820*, eds. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, Joroen Salman (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013), p. 2.

*Cabala*. The 1691 edition also had yet further additional letters added and was printed by new publishers.<sup>3</sup>

The digital age makes it easier than before to track the *Cabala* owners and where the various editions can now be found. Library catalogues are now available online and the researcher also has databases such as COPAC and ESTC which allows us to find the locations of each volume.<sup>4</sup> Some library records even list known provenance and the National Trust also details this. I have taken advantage of these tools but where there were no provenance records provided online I have contacted as many libraries as possible and been rewarded with a wealth of information. I have also contacted curators of private collections such as those found at Longleat and Hatfield. The British Library also holds catalogues of the sale of book collections such as those of Thomas Hearne and John Locke, but whilst in some cases we have the sale prices of the volumes, we do not have a record of who bought them. The *Cabala* is held in a variety of different types of libraries: ecclesiastical; legal; national; private; public; and university. The volumes are also found in various locations. Appendix five is a comprehensive list of the 377 exemplars I have managed to track down. The appendix is broken down by location: British Isles; Europe; North America; and Australasia. It is then further broken down by the type of library. The appendix records the number of copies, by Wing number, found in each collection. Appendix six summarises it by region; by region and type; and then by category. Appendix seven is an alphabetical list by library and appendix eight is a list of the owners of the *Cabala* identified by the provenance gathered and attempts to demonstrate the type of reader. The first part of this chapter will primarily focus on the seventeenth century owners/readers, but later in the chapter we will discover how the *Cabala* readership has evolved and developed over time. Statistics such as those found in appendices five and six allow us to see ownership patterns and these will also be discussed. Appendices seven and eight allows us to

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<sup>3</sup> *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (1663); *Scrinia Cecilianiana, Mysteries of State and Government* (1663); *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (1691). When discussing the different editions in this chapter I use the following abbreviations: *Cabala* when discussing the books as a collective work; 1654 *Cabala* refers to the original edition (Wing C183); *Scrinia Sacra* refers to the second edition published in 1654 (Wing C184); *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* the combined editions of the first two 1654 editions, also published in 1654 (Wing S2110); 1663 *Cabala* refers to the 1663 edition (Wing C185); *Scrinia Cecilianiana* also published in 1663 (Wing S2109); and 1691 *Cabala* refers to the final edition of 1691 (Wing C186).

<sup>4</sup> < <http://www.copac.jisc.ac.uk> > ; < <http://www.estc.bl.uk> >

see a complete list of the libraries and owners that this provenance research has identified and gives us an insight into the availability of the *Cabala* and the type of reader that read it.

The chapter will start by focusing on the seventeenth century readers of the *Cabala* volumes. It examines the perceived audience and attempts to discover the *Cabala*'s appeal. The audience can only be perceived as even though we have the names of the owners we cannot presume the owner actually read or even wanted the book. It could have been a gift, for example. Assumptions can only be made by looking at the type of reader and speculating why that person may have owned the book. Then we will discuss the rise of the library within the country houses and private and public libraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and how the *Cabala* could be seen to be part of a group of books that are integral to large collections and collectors. Finally we will discover where the volumes are found now, how they got there (i.e. purchased or donated) and whether the *Cabala* is still a 'must have' book for the modern library. Is the *Cabala* more accessible to the modern reader and is the modern reader still the same type of reader of those from the seventeenth century?

### **Ownership: Reading the Cabala in the Seventeenth Century**

The readers and collectors of the *Cabala* volumes in the seventeenth century were in some cases those who might have been contemporaries of the letter writers. Who buys the 1650s *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra* when they are first published in the 1650s and can we ascertain why they buy them? As the *Cabala* is reprinted in the 1660s and 1690s, do the readers use it and interact with it in the same way as the earlier readership and is it still as relevant as it was in the 1650s? We will focus on a few of the identified seventeenth century readers in order to demonstrate how the *Cabala* volumes were used and read.<sup>5</sup>

John Hacket, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, is arguably the most important owner of the 1654 *Cabala* because he is also the first known scholar to refer to the book in his own work *Scrinia Reserata: a memorial offer'd to the great*

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<sup>5</sup> Appendix eight details all identified readers.

*deservings of John Williams* published in 1693, twenty-three years after his death.<sup>6</sup> His use of the *Cabala* is discussed in the next chapter but his ownership of the book demonstrates how such a contemporary used it. His 1654 edition is held today in Cambridge University Library.<sup>7</sup> Hacket was appointed as household chaplain to John Williams in 1621.<sup>8</sup> Williams was Lord Keeper; the *Cabala* contains thirty letters written by him most of which is to the Duke of Buckingham. These letters, as we have seen in chapter one, were predominantly concerned with the Spanish Match and Hacket was part of Williams' household during this time. Hacket progressed in the court circles of James I and Charles I and in fact he became chaplain to James in 1623 and continued in this role after Charles' succession (2). In 1660 at the Restoration he became bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, preaching before Charles II and an admiring Samuel Pepys on Whit Sunday in 1662 who called it a 'most excellent sermon'.<sup>9</sup> He left his books to his old university, Cambridge, where they still remain, with a gift of £100 to Trinity, his college, for its library (7). Hacket would appear to have been a royalist and he was certainly in the favour of the Stuart kings. He was a contemporary of the letter writers and, as we will see in the next chapter, used the *Cabala* within his own work. He is important as a reader because of this and he highlights the immediacy of the *Cabala* in the seventeenth century for the contemporary reader. He can interact with the book and he can also demonstrate the book's own importance. After all the *Cabala* was the first publication of state letters published during an interesting period of history which Hacket was living and participating in.

John Hacket may have purchased the *Cabala* just for the purposes of research for his own book and he is one of the few readers/owners we can confidently say had and used the *Cabala*. His contemporary Michael Honywood owned both the 1654 *Cabala* and *Scrinia Sacra*. The two volumes form part of his now famous Wren Library in Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>10</sup> Honywood's collection, detailed in the catalogue,

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<sup>6</sup> John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams D.D.*, (1692). How Hacket used the *Cabala* will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>7</sup> Email correspondence with Nicholas Smith, Cambridge University, Aug 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Brian Quintrell 'Hackett, John (1592-1670)' *ODNB Online* [accessed 10 Aug 2005]. Subsequent references in text.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1662/05/18> [accessed 17 January 2017].

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogue of Wren Library of Lincoln Cathedral – Books printed before 1801*, compiled by Clive Hurst, (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 94. Books part of Honywood bequest confirmed by email from Dr Nicholas Bennett, Vice-Chancellor and Librarian, Lincoln Cathedral Library, 27 July 2006.

also contains Camden's *Britannia*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Dugdale's *Antiquaries*, Speed's *History of Britain*, Spelman's *English Works*, Stillingfleet's *Origines*, Rushworth's *Collections* and Hacket's biography of Williams. The latter was published in 1693, so it was obviously added after Honywood's death in 1681.<sup>11</sup> Therefore the *Cabala* starts to be included in library collections and as we will see the books listed in the Wren Library catalogue appear to form the nucleus of a number of collections/libraries of the period, whether assembled as in Honywood's case, for example, for status, or for actual use is difficult to ascertain. Naomi Linnell says it is difficult to know if Honywood read his books or if he was a man lucky enough to indulge a love for his books by filling his bookshelves. She argues he had a similar collection to Pepys who was a contemporary of Honywood and whom he met on several occasions.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Honywood was trying to emulate Pepys as a collector.

George Thomason was one of the most significant book collectors of the seventeenth century. His collection was begun in 1640 and ended in 1661.<sup>13</sup> This collection now forms the British Library's Thomason Tracts known as one of the most important sources relating to the English Civil War. This is a vast collection of printed pamphlets, books and newspapers printed mainly in London. The collection consists of approximately 22,000 printed items bound in 2000 volumes.<sup>14</sup> Many survive only in Thomason's collection. That he added dates of publication and acquisition on many of the title pages has proved invaluable in establishing the chronology of events during the War.<sup>15</sup> Within this incredible collection we can find both the first edition of the 1654 *Cabala* and the second edition known as *Scrinia Sacra* also published in that year. The first edition has the year of publication changed by hand to 1653 probably by Thomason to reflect the legal year date. The collection is described as a collection of political and religious tracts; therefore the two *Cabala* volumes must have had political significance to Thomason. Thomason himself was a Presbyterian, a friend of John Milton, and he had sympathised with

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<sup>11</sup> *Catalogue*, p. 99.

<sup>12</sup> Naomi Linnell, 'Michael Honywood and Lincoln Cathedral Library', *The Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series, 5, (1983), 126-139 (pp. 131-132).

<sup>13</sup> Lois Spencer, 'The Politics of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, 14, (March 1959), 11-27 (pp. 24-25).

<sup>14</sup> <<http://www.bl.uk/thomasontracts>>

<sup>15</sup> Lois Spencer, 'The Professional and Literary Connexions of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5<sup>th</sup> Series, 13, (June 1958), 102-118 (p. 102).

Parliament during the wars.<sup>16</sup> Thomason, however, became increasingly royalist from 1647 onwards and was imprisoned in 1651 for his part in a plot to restore Charles II.<sup>17</sup> He played no further part in politics until the Restoration when he pledged his allegiance to the restored king and he ended his collection soon after in the hope possibly that an era had come to an end.<sup>18</sup> Thomason appreciated the significance of his collection which was moved several times during the 1650s for safekeeping. The collection was acquired from his descendants by the bookbinder Samuel Mearne for Charles II in about 1678 (some twelve years after Thomason's death). Mearne rebound them but was never paid so the collection remained within his family. For eighty years the collection was offered to various libraries and private collectors including both the Oxford and Cambridge libraries and Prince Frederick.<sup>19</sup> All attempts failed and for almost a century this vast collection remained inaccessible to historians until 1762 when it was finally sold to the Earl of Bute, acting on behalf of King George III who presented it to the British Museum.<sup>20</sup> Therefore the Thomason collection becomes part of a public collection but with limited accessibility. The Thomason Tracts used to be available on open access in the British Library as photocopies bound in red files and were an accessible, invaluable, source to the student. However in recent years the photocopies have been removed from open access and now have to be ordered. Even this is restricted as only certain scholars have rights to access them. Therefore the collection is as restricted as the seventeenth century collections were in the past – accessible to only the few. Fortunately with the digital age the collection is also available on Early British Books Online (EBBO) which ensures that the audience is wider but this too is restricted to those with a university library affiliation.<sup>21</sup>

At the time that Thomason was building his collection, John Evelyn was writing his diary. This continues beyond Thomason's period of the 1660s and extends into the early eighteenth century. As Thomason stopped so Samuel Pepys

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 109.

<sup>17</sup> Spencer, 'Politics', p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Sharon Achinstein, 'Texts in Conflict: The Press and the Civil War' in *Writing of The English Revolution*, ed.by N.H. Keeble, (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> David Stoker, 'Disposing of George Thomason's Intractable Legacy 1664-1762', *The Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series, 14, (December 1992), 337-355, (p. 337).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> Accessed via Birkbeck Library.



began his diary.<sup>22</sup> Thomason's collection, though not a personal diary such as Evelyn's or Pepys', is a diary of a kind. It charts the print diary of the Civil War and the Protectorate and by studying the Thomason Tracts we can understand not just what was being printed but what the political and religious climate was at the time. The Tracts give us a political landscape of printing that goes beyond a personal diary, or indeed a private book collection, because the books are not personal choices by Thomason but a complete history of Civil War printing of which the 1654 *Cabala* editions are a part. We may not have a personal insight but we have a very public one. By studying them we do not know one man's views but several men's and from this we can assess the ideas and thoughts that were being debated in print during this turbulent period.

Through Evelyn and Pepys we get an individual view and with regard to the *Cabala* we get a rare insight into. Evelyn, as we have seen in the Introduction to the thesis, described the *Cabala* letters as 'things put in a heap' without any value to history. Pepys, however, had a different view. He refers to the *Cabala* in his diary on 10 December 1663. He describes in his diary:

Thence to St. Paul's Church Yard, to my bookseller's, and having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or 3*l.*, I did here sit two or three hours calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great losse where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to laying out money in this trade. I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stows London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthys, *the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State*, and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure.<sup>23</sup>

The *Cabala* is therefore selected over such well-known authors as Chaucer and Shakespeare and described as 'of good use or serious pleasure'. It is our only evidence of a reader actually buying the book and why they bought it. What is also evident from this extract is the joy Pepys had when buying books. This is a man who spent two to three hours choosing what he wanted for enjoyment or serious use, not a collector who acquired books for the sake of collecting. He chose to sit in his favourite bookshop selecting from twenty books and describes how hard it was to

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<sup>22</sup> < <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary> > [accessed 14 January 2017].

<sup>23</sup> < <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1663/12/10> >. My italics.

make his decision. We therefore know why Pepys chose the *Cabala* and where he bought it.

In a later entry dated 1 July 1667 Pepys discusses the *Cabala* with John Creed and he writes:

Creed did also repeat to me some of the substance of letters of old Burleigh in Queen Elizabeth's time, which he hath of late read in the printed Cabbala, which is a very fine style at this day and fit to be imitated. With this, and talking and laughing at the folly of our masters in the management of things at this day, we got home by noon.<sup>24</sup>

Pepys views the *Cabala* letters as examples of how state letters should be written and also how state matters themselves should be managed in comparison to how statesmen manage things in Pepys' time. Pepys therefore values the letters and the lessons they could provide. Kate Loveman writes that Pepys was particularly impressed by the models offered by such works as the *Cabala* and she points out that the 1663 collection contained letters by Cecil as Secretary of State to Sir William Norris, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to the French court. Loveman argues that to

Creed and Pepys this series of letters was of interest because the situations described were not remote from their own sphere and ambitions. Like Pepys and Creed, Cecil and Norris were government officials operating under demanding monarchs; in their letters they sought to relay news and encapsulate public opinion, while avoiding expressions or sentiments that could be charged against them.<sup>25</sup>

Loveman is particularly insightful on the attractions of such works as the *Cabala* to Pepys and others. She argues that the reader had 'to work to draw layers of meanings from the collection' and that prior knowledge was assumed. Pepys, she says, used the collections in connection with his own job or as 'containing material worthy of imitation'.<sup>26</sup> The *Cabala* and its like indeed offered 'direct access to the past, for they entrusted the majority of the interpretative work to their readers'.<sup>27</sup> As we have seen in the previous chapters, this is certainly true of the *Cabala* whereby the publishers leave it to the reader to interpret the letters. In fact as Evelyn argues the letters at first appear to be without order, structure or meaning and a reader has to

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<sup>24</sup> <<http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/07>> [accessed 14 January 2017].

<sup>25</sup> Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and his Books: Reading, Newsgathering and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 119.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

unpack the letters themselves and apply their own meaning to them. Is this then the main attraction of the *Cabala* volumes to the contemporary reader? Without an apparent direction or agenda the reader can make what he wants of the letters whether they are royalist or parliamentarian. A reader who has immediacy to the events that the letters portray would not need much guidance as they would have this prior knowledge. For example Hacket lived through the events of the 1620s detailed in the letters of the *Cabala* and therefore the letters are accessible to him in a way that they could not be to a modern reader. As we will see in the next chapter, Hacket could challenge and compare the letters to his own experience. He could do this with an authority a modern reader would lack but then he does this with his own agenda and bias. Pepys, although not a direct contemporary of the letter writers (he was born in 1633), would have had an understanding of the immediate past for the Stuart court in which he worked.

The 1663 *Cabala* remained in Pepys' collection as we can still find it in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College.<sup>28</sup> It is the 1663 edition entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 April 1663 and bought by Pepys in the same year on 10 December. Examining Pepys' copy we find a picture of Pepys inserted after the title page and in the back plate an anchor and his initials. The Pepys deputy librarian, Catherine Sutherland, advises that these were probably put into the book after his retirement when he was organising his library. Inserted inside the book after the preface is a copy of a letter from Elizabeth I to Henry Earl of Pembroke touching upon his son Lord Williams dated 2 July 1599. It is apparently copied by a clerk of Pepys from a part of a collection of state letters found within the library which was damaged at a later date. The letter itself is not printed within the *Cabala* but it may have been put there because of its similarity to the other letters. Inside the book there are various numbers which represent the cataloguing of the library (by size) as Pepys obtained more books therefore the catalogue number would keep changing. The *Cabala*'s original catalogue number was 470 and it is now 2261.<sup>29</sup> That Pepys obtained and kept the 1663 *Cabala* allows us to argue that he at least saw it as an important historical document and source. He could interact with the letters and the present

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<sup>28</sup> *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College*, ed. Robert Latham. Vol.1, (Cambridge: D.S.Brewer, 1978), p. 31. Subsequent references in text.

<sup>29</sup> Visit to Pepys Library 24 February 2016. Additional information provided by Catherine Sutherland, Deputy Librarian (Pepys Library and Special Collections), Magdalene College, Cambridge.

political climate and understand how the letters could add value to the past and present.

The catalogue of the Pepys library shows that he owned all of Camden's works published in the 1670s (32): Stowe's *Annales* 1631 (170); Bacon's *Histories* (9); Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata* 1693 (82); Cosin's *Private Devotions* 1676 (43); and Sir Peter Leycester's *Historical Antiquaries* 1673 (108) to name but a few. This highlights Pepys interest in historical collections. These books including the *Cabala* are also common amongst the book catalogues of John Bridges; Anthony Collins; Peter le Neve and Thomas Hearne.<sup>30</sup> These men were all contemporaries of Pepys and book collectors. They were also members of the Royal Society and/or the Society for Antiquaries moving in similar circles. Neve's collection numbered over 2,000 books and 1,252 manuscripts at its sale. He owned *Scrinia Sacra and Scrinia Ceciliana*.

Thomas Hearne was a major collector and, like Pepys, a diarist. He was educated at Oxford and started his career there as a Bodleian library assistant in 1701 becoming second librarian in 1712.<sup>31</sup> His diary known as 'Remarks and Collections' (1705-35) covers the affairs of post-revolution England just as Pepys covered post-Restoration England. It covers 11 volumes filled with information on books, intellectual history and on Hearne's contemporaries such as John Bridges.<sup>32</sup> Hearne was a great collector of historical sources and we can see in the catalogue that his books included Spelman's *English Works* 1723 (Item 275), Speed's *History of Britain* 1611 (item 274), all Stow's works (items 292-294), Burnet's *History of the Reformation* 1681 (item 300), Rushworth's *Collections* 1682 (item 392), Camden's *Britannia* 1637 (item 420), Hacket's book on John Williams (item 422) and under item 431 of the catalogue we find the 1663 *Cabala*.<sup>33</sup> Frans Horsten writes of Hearne that 'one should be aware of seeing a person's library too easily as evidence

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<sup>30</sup> *Catalogue of the Entire Library of John Bridges* (172?) A.E. Brown; *Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins*, (1737); *Catalogue of the Valuable Library collected by Peter Le Neve antiquary* To be sold at auction on Monday 22 February 1720/1 at the Bedford Coffee House in the Great Piazza Covent Garden beginning every evening at 5o'clock by John Wilcox Bookseller in Little Britain; *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the Great Antiquarian Mr Thomas Hearne of Oxford – sold at T. Osborne's shop in Grays Inn on Monday the 16 Day of February 1735-6*.

<sup>31</sup> Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne 1678-1735* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 109.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>33</sup> *Catalogue* as before.

of his tastes and convictions but in Hearne's case this is fully justified'.<sup>34</sup> This is similar to the view of Pepys and his collection: that the books were obtained for their contents rather than as a status symbol. In at least two instances we can say that the *Cabala* has been collected for its content which was useful and interesting to the reader.

There are plenty of other interesting *Cabala* owners from the seventeenth century. John Moore, the bishop of Ely, had an extensive collection and his library was described as 'universally and most justly reputed the best furnished of any (within the Queen's Dominions) that this Age has seen in the Hands of any private Clergyman'.<sup>35</sup> He collected most of his books when he was Bishop of Norwich from 1691 and this collection contains the combined 1654 *Cabala* plus the 1663 and 1691 edition.<sup>36</sup> He is the only known seventeenth century collector to have had all the editions. This collection was consulted 'by prominent scholars in England such as Richard Bentley, Gilbert Burnet, John Strype, George Hickes and Thomas Hearne'. His works were largely of a classical nature and there is no evidence to support that he used the *Cabala* although he could have read it.<sup>37</sup> His collection however was accessible to scholars who could have used it.

Moore had wanted the famous politician and book collector, Robert Harley, to buy his library in 1714 for £8,000 but under the stipulation that Harley would only acquire the collection when Moore died whereas Moore would have the money immediately and the use of his library during this lifetime.<sup>38</sup> Harley had sent Humfrey Wanley, his librarian, to inspect the library but Wanley had said it was in disorder and not worth acquiring. Following Harley's refusal, Moore left his collection to the King. The library was given to Cambridge in 1715 as a reward for its loyalty to the House of Hanover in the year of the Jacobite rising and it was styled as the 'Royal Library'. Before Moore's collection had been gifted to the Library, Cambridge had no early editions of Milton or collected editions of Shakespeare. Moore's collection also contained forty Caxtons. By 1720 the collection was housed

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<sup>34</sup> Frans Horsten, 'Thomas Hearne: The Man and his Library' (49-62) in. *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History*, ed. by R.C. Alston, (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1997), p.55.

<sup>35</sup> W. Nicholson, *The English Historical Library* (1696).

<sup>36</sup> Email correspondence with Nicholas Smith, Cambridge University Library, Aug 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Peter Meadows, 'Moore, John (bap.1643, d.1717)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 10 Aug 2005].

<sup>38</sup> William Younger Fletcher, *English Book Collectors* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber, 1902), p. 127.

within the Dome Room but not under his name and the collection lost its identity.<sup>39</sup> Other notable *Cabala* owners are Thomas Tanner, Moore's own chaplain and Peter Gunning, master of St John's College, Cambridge.<sup>40</sup> This demonstrates that the clergy and scholars were both owners of the *Cabala*. We can see ownership patterns begin to form. In the seventeenth century ownership appears to be restricted to the clergy and scholars. We can also see that there are no seventeenth century women collectors/owners identified so far in this research. This does not suggest that women did not read or own the *Cabala* but we have no instances of it suggesting perhaps that letters of state were primarily a male dominated interest?

Examining this sample of readers/owners we can see that, although Hackett definitely used his *Cabala* as a resource for his own work, collectors such as Pepys also saw it as relevant and important for the study of the past and the present. However we can also see a pattern emerge as the *Cabala* appears to become a staple of book collections along with Stow, Rushworth, Camden and Speed. Scholars such as Moore allow their libraries to become resources for other scholars and we can see the *Cabala* also forms part of bequests to university libraries which of course gives it further accessibility to such scholars. Therefore while earlier collectors such as Thomason acquire it as a contemporary source that documents a time that he and Hackett have lived through; later collectors such as Pepys and Hearne see it as a way of interpreting the present through the letters of the past. We could argue that all these contemporary collectors see it as an important work that is relevant and topical but presumably the relevance loses its appeal as we move away from the seventeenth century to the modern day. In the latter context perhaps the letters could appear to be Evelyn's 'heap', because the immediacy with the events the letters describe is lost and the prior knowledge of these events requires more work on the modern day reader's part. Therefore for the modern reader the letters may appear a 'heap' but for the contemporary reader these letters should have had an relevance otherwise the volumes would not have been popular with the people we know had them in their collections.

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<sup>39</sup> Jayne Ringrose, 'The Royal Library: John Moore and his books' in *Cambridge University Library: The Great Collections*, ed. by Peter Fox (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Tanner's ownership of the 1663 *Scrinia Cecilia* confirmed by email with Charles Parry, head of Rare Books, National Library of Wales, 12 September 2005.

Peter Gunning's ownership of the 1663 *Cabala* confirmed by email with Jonathan Harrison, St John's College Library, 1 November 2005.

## **Ownership: the Rise of the Country House/Private Library**

We can see from the collections, of which the *Cabala* is a part, that a group of books appear to form a nucleus of the private library. As we move into the later part of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries we see the *Cabala* volumes appear in types of collections which will demonstrate the growth of the private and public library. By examining these new types of collectors/collections can we ascertain if the use of the *Cabala* volumes changes? Do they become more of a status symbol and if so can we identify when and how this happens?

Before looking in detail at some of these collectors and their libraries it is worth considering the statistics provided in appendix five. The National Trust properties, which I would argue form part of the private libraries being constructed within this period, predominantly hold copies of the 1663 and 1691 editions. Belton Park, Blickling Hall, Felbrigg Hall, Ham House, Kingston Lacey and Wimpole Hall are all constructed in the seventeenth century. The other properties were all built in the eighteenth century with the exception of Chirk Castle, built in 1295, and Hughenden Manor, a Victorian manor house once owned by Disraeli.<sup>41</sup> The editions found in Hatfield, Castle Howard and Longleat are also the 1663 and 1691 editions. We can also see that the book catalogue of Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland, holds a 1691 edition sold from his library at Blenheim Palace.<sup>42</sup> This demonstrates that the 1663/1691 editions were very much part of the libraries of the country houses being built during this period. Researching the *Cabala* provenance not only gives us an insight into the owners of the books but how the libraries themselves were evolving from the ecclesiastical, such as Honeywood's, to the private collections of house owners such as Sunderland. Pepys and his contemporaries found the *Cabala* useful as an historical document but what of these collectors? Are they just collecting for the sake of status?

The earl of Sunderland's great collection housed at Blenheim did not go on sale at his death but was finally sold by Puttick and Simpson in 1881. The sale catalogue, however, gives us some insight into what was being collected in the eighteenth century. Amongst the sale catalogue we find item 2173 sold on the eighth

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<sup>41</sup> <<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk>>

<sup>42</sup> *Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana: Sale Catalogue of the Sunderland or Blenheim Library* (1881).

day's sale on Friday 9 December a 1691 *Cabala* described as 'old calf, cover broken'. It sold for £1 and 1 shilling but to an unknown buyer.<sup>43</sup> On the fourteenth day item 3907 Camden's *Annales* sold for £2 2s to Toovey; Camden's *Elizabeth* sold for 16s to the book dealer Quaritch; Burnet's *Reformation* for £1 to Morlock; Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglican* sold for £21 and 10s to unlisted buyers; Stow's *Annales* sold for 19s to Squire and his *Survey of London* for £2 12s to Quaritch. It is interesting to see that the *Cabala* sold for more than Camden's *Elizabeth*, Burnet's book and Stow's *Annales*. This also allows us an idea of the value of books such as the *Cabala*. We can also see that the earl was collecting similar books to the seventeenth century collectors. Sunderland was a known book collector who shared an intense rivalry politically and in book collecting with Robert Harley who was described as 'the greatest collector of his time'.<sup>44</sup> Harley is not recorded as having owned a *Cabala* but as we have seen Wimpole Hall owns a 1691 edition and the Hall was owned by the Harley family until 1740.<sup>45</sup> Therefore perhaps this edition came to Wimpole from Robert Harley's own collection.

The Devereux Collection in Longleat's library holds a 1691 *Cabala* which has the bookplate of Thomas Thynne. The curator believes that the book has probably been at Longleat since it was first published, Thynne succeeding to Longleat in 1682. The Old Library (an interior created by Thynne) also includes a 1654 edition which does not bear his bookplate: however, its binding matches others in the collection so it is likely that the book has been at Longleat since the seventeenth century.<sup>46</sup> The Hatfield House edition, however, is not an acquisition for the house's library. Their 1691 edition of the *Cabala* is signed by a B. Halpenny in seventeenth century handwriting. This edition was most likely brought to Hatfield by Lady Mary Sackville-West on her marriage to the Second Marquess of Salisbury in 1847.<sup>47</sup> This is one of the few instances of the *Cabala* being owned by a woman. There is also an armorial bookplate of John Lord De La Warr within the book, possibly the De la Warr who succeeded to the Earldom in 1761 and he was an

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<sup>43</sup> *Sunderland Catalogue*, p. 175 and p. xxii.

<sup>44</sup> Fletcher, p. 150.

<sup>45</sup> David Stoker, 'Harley, Edward, second earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689-1741)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 15 Nov 2005].

<sup>46</sup> Email correspondence with Dr Kate Harris, Curator of Longleat Historic Collections, 10 July 2006.

<sup>47</sup> Email correspondence with Robin Harcourt Williams, Librarian and Archivist, Hatfield House.



ancestor of Mary Sackville-West.<sup>48</sup> Therefore we can see the Longleat copy as being part of an established library within the house but the Hatfield exemplar has a consistently transient history. Rather than being an acquired edition to form part of a library collection it comes to the house much later via the ownership of B. Halpenny and John De La Warr. This demonstrates how books can either be acquired specifically for a collection by a collector or can go through multiple ownership ending up in a library by default rather than as a desired collectible.

Castle Howard definitely held the 1663 edition in 1715 as it is listed in the catalogue of books held in the third Earl of Carlisle's library. The book contains the pressmark of the third Earl, and the *Scrinia Cecilianiana*, also held in the collection, has the signature of William Fenwicke but the editor does not explain who Fenwicke is. The Editor of the catalogue comments that this would mean the books were at that time held in Castle Howard library.<sup>49</sup> The Earl also appeared to collect histories and essays with a similar taste to Pepys. We find listed Burnet, Camden, Rushworth, Speed and Stow to name but a few. All these were books collected by Pepys and his seventeenth century contemporaries suggesting that along with the *Cabala* these books were still a 'must-have' of the collector's library in the early eighteenth century. What the collectors see as collectable appears to remain the same in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The Earl of Carlisle was married to Anne de Vere Capel, the daughter of Arthur Capel, first Earl of Essex. The Bancroft library, University of California, holds a 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* with the bookplate of the Right Honourable Algernon Capel, Earl of Essex, Viscount Malden and Baron Capell of Hadham dated 1701.<sup>50</sup> Algernon and Anne's father, the first earl of Essex, was a friend of John Evelyn who visited him in 1680 and wrote 'The Library is large and very nobly furnish'd and all the books richly bound and gilded' and described Essex as 'well Versed in Our English Histories and Affaires'.<sup>51</sup> Essex's library was focused on affairs of state including the state trials of Buckingham and Surrey in Henry VIII's reign, Arundel

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *A Catalogue of the Right Honourable Charles Earle of Carlisle's Books in His Lordships Library at Castle Howard, taken in February 1715/1716*, ed. David Griffiths. (Yorkshire Country Houses Partnership Libraries Project, University of York Library and Archives, October 2004), p.2. *Cabala* 1663 listed on p. 4 and *Scrinia Cecilianiana* on p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Email correspondence with David Kessler, Bancroft Library Staff, 7 November 2005.

<sup>51</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 233.

and Norfolk in Elizabeth's reign and Raleigh and Cobham in James' reign.<sup>52</sup> There is little information on his son, the Algernon of the bookplate. He was born in 1670 becoming the second Earl at the age of 13 and dying in 1709 or 1710. He may well have inherited the book from his father. It would also appear that the Essex family library was dispersed at some stage hence its *Cabala* ending up at Bancroft University. The Bancroft Library also holds the 1663 edition of the *Scrinia Ceciliania* with the bookplate of Sir Charles Mordaunt, Baronet, Walton, Warwickshire. This demonstrates another example of the nobility holding copies of the *Cabala* perhaps as a collector or because he was interested in it. Whereas the previous section illustrated how the clergy and scholars purchased/owned the book, this section begins to show how the nobility start to collect the later editions as we move from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth. The statistics suggest that the *Cabala* is an established staple of the library by the eighteenth century.

We now begin to see in our provenance search that editions that started as part of a country house collection were dispersed as estates were broken up or libraries sold. For example the Wellcome Library holds a 1663 *Cabala* which has the bookplate of 'Ditton Park' within it and the signature 'Cardigan' opposite the title page. The book formed part of a sale from the 'famous library at Ditton Park, sold by order of Brigadier-General Lord Montagu of Beaulieu'. The Montagus were descended by marriage from the Brudenells of Deene who held the title of Cardigan from the Restoration. The first Earl was Sir Thomas Brudenell (1578-1663). He died in the September of 1663 and the 1663 *Cabala* was published in the March of that year, so he could be the original owner or it could have been his son Robert Brudenell (1607-1703).<sup>53</sup> The Brudenells have quite an interesting history being one of the leading Catholic families of Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas was an avid book collector who added Spanish books to his library during the time of the Spanish Match when the frequent visits to Spain by the King's diplomats and messengers meant the acquisition of such books was relatively easy.<sup>54</sup> In 1663 we have reports that his handwriting was shaky and that he usually signed his name at the foot of the

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<sup>52</sup> Richard L. Greaves, 'Capel, Arthur, first earl of Essex (bap.1632 d. 1683)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 24 January 2006], p.13.

<sup>53</sup> Email correspondence with Julianne Simpson, Rare Books Librarian, Wellcome Library, 20 September 2005.

<sup>54</sup> Joan Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (London: Cassell, 1953), p. 103.

page.<sup>55</sup> However, the signature on the *Cabala* appears firm and is at the top of the page which could indicate Robert as the owner rather than Sir Thomas although unlike his father we have no reports of Robert being much of a collector. The Brudenells became the Montagus through marriage and although the Brudenell family seat was Deene, Ditton Park was the home of the Montagus. The book must have passed from Deene to Ditton at some point as the Sotheby's catalogue shows that the library at Ditton included books from many branches of the family dating back to the sixteenth century. It was Henry Montagu who commissioned the bookplate which we find within the book.<sup>56</sup> So the *Cabala* stays within the family until the library is sold in the nineteenth century to the Wellcome library. The Brigadier-General sold Ditton Park to the Admiralty in 1917 and it would appear with the sale of the house the library contents went too. The private house libraries were therefore dispersed as circumstances changed.<sup>57</sup>

Unfortunately, although we can say with certainty that the *Cabala* was still being collected in the eighteenth century, we cannot say why with the same authority as we can with Pepys and Hacket. There are no recorded memoirs, diaries or uses of the book in any of the owners' works. We could speculate on why they might find the book interesting by examining their own biographies but we would still not have a definite answer. What we can say is that the *Cabala* still forms part of a nucleus of books within this new type of library. We could also argue that perhaps this type of book is becoming more of a status symbol than evidence of the owner's tastes or interests. The libraries at this time were certainly large and housed in magnificent rooms designed to show off the owners' collections, as we have seen with the library of Thomas Thynne, and function in some ways as a show of wealth, as books were still not cheap. Thus books become a symbol of wealth and assumed culture. The fact that some of these libraries are sold points to their being a source of wealth or cultural capital for the heirs or their creditors. These libraries were also private and accessible to only the family and their acquaintances. The private library is limited with its audience and readership and its books become objects of wealth rather than objects of learning. Thus the books remain on the shelves as part of the history of a

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>56</sup> Email correspondence with Julianne Simpson, Rare Books Librarian, Wellcome Library, 20 September 2005.

<sup>57</sup> Richard A. Storey 'Montagu, John Walter Edward Douglas-Scott, second Baron Montagu of Beaulieu (1866-1929), *ODNB online*, [accessed 16 June 2017].

country house or the books get dispersed to other institutions as their value as a possession decreases but their monetary value is a means to an end.

### **Accessibility: the Public and National Libraries.**

For a book to achieve maximum availability it has to be made available to a wider audience and it was the rise of the public and national libraries that allow this for the *Cabala*. Appendix six reveals that the national libraries hold 42 copies of the *Cabala* volumes and the public libraries hold 34 in contrast to the 29 copies held in the private collections (including those found in National Trust properties). However, were these purchased for the libraries or were they donated? Do the libraries see the *Cabala* as a ‘must have’ like the collectors?

Chetham’s Library in Manchester is one such example of a new form of public library founded by bequest by Humphrey Chetham at his death in 1653. It is a chained library of reference to remain a public library forever. It was incorporated in a charter by Charles II in 1665 and remained in the hands of trustees. In 1661 they decided to invest the residue of the estate in land to provide an income for the purchase of books. It had a full-time librarian from the beginning of 1656. It started as mainly a theological collection. However it was for the use of scholars so books other than theology were purchased and by 1684 it had 3,000 volumes including history. In 1745 the practice of chaining was abandoned in favour of locked gates at the entrance to each alcove – a unique feature of the library.<sup>58</sup> Chetham’s catalogue records two editions of the *Cabala* of 1663 and 1691. The 1691 edition has a chain staple mark on its lower board which means that it was part of the original old library. The library is still accessible to the public and is seen as the oldest public library in England. The librarian believes the books were bought for the library at the time of publication.<sup>59</sup>

At the Restoration more libraries were founded and as we have seen the private collections grew with the public libraries. One third of the total number of endowed libraries were founded between 1680-1720. These were mainly in towns

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<sup>58</sup> Thomas Kelly, *Early Public Libraries: A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (London: Library Association. 1966), pp. 77-80.

<sup>59</sup> Email correspondence with Fergus Wilde, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, 6 April 2006.

and villages.<sup>60</sup> Surprisingly London had few library resources for the public. Archbishop Tension founded a library at St Martins in the Fields in 1684 and in 1727 the Dr Williams Library was founded but only for dissenters. According to the Dr Williams Library the 1654 *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* and the 1663 *Scrinia Ceciliania*, found in the library today, formed part of his original library of 7,600 books.<sup>61</sup> However this edition was hardly accessible to the public as the library was restricted to dissenters but examining the book shows a partial part of its lending history as the books were allowed to be removed from the library up until the 1970s. However in this instance the book's availability was restricted.

The national libraries of England and Scotland were also founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In England the British Museum which opened in 1759 was founded on the strength of the entire collection of Sir Hans Sloane who left it to the crown for £20,000. The Museum's collection also included the Cotton Library and the Harleian manuscripts and the Royal Library donated by George II in 1757.<sup>62</sup> According to the British Library, the Royal Library is the largest part of the library of the English sovereigns. It also incorporates the libraries of John Morris and John, Lord Lumley. Within this Library we find a 1663 *Cabala*.<sup>63</sup> Lumley died in 1609, his books passing to Henry, Prince of Wales. Morris died in 1658 with his book collection passing to the Royal Library at St James. Therefore neither of them could have owned the 1663 edition. However, the fact that both collections passed to the royal libraries of the Stuarts could mean that this edition comes from a Stuart Library and was owned by a Stuart. The Royal Library at St James was not dispersed during the Civil War or Protectorate and it was largely increased by Charles II numbering at least 10,000 books at his death.<sup>64</sup> Charles was not a lover of books but the 1662 Press Licensing Acts meant that the Royal Library was entitled to receive a copy of every English publication registered with the Stationers' Company just in time for the publication of the 1663 *Cabala*.<sup>65</sup> The Thomason Tracts as we have seen also ended up at the British Museum in 1762, this time presented by George III.

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<sup>60</sup> Kelly, p. 91.

<sup>61</sup> Email correspondence with Dr Williams Library, 31 October 2005 and visit to the Library 5 July 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Kelly, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> Email correspondence with Ruth Greenwood, Early Printed Collections, The British Library, 3 August 2005.

<sup>64</sup> Fletcher, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Kelly, p. 157.

Access to the British Museum Library was for scholars only and permission to read there had to be sought from the trustees.

In Scotland a similar library had been set up in Edinburgh. The Advocates Library was founded in 1680 as a legal library and in 1682 the Library was actually established at the corner of Parliament. By 1692 it had 3,000 volumes mostly on law and by 1742 it had 25,000 works.<sup>66</sup> It is described by the National Library of Scotland as its forerunner. Within the National Library there are books from the old library stamped 'Ex Libris Bibliothecae Facultatis Juridicae Edinb' which means they were initially acquired by the Advocates Library. Stamped with this are two 1654 editions, a 1663 and a 1691 edition of the *Cabala*. The 1691 edition has the year 1763 inscribed as well. One of the 1654 editions was also that of Tho. Tullie possibly identified as Thomas Tully. The other two have no other inscriptions.<sup>67</sup> The National Library of Scotland also has a 1663 edition found in its Newhailles Library. This library belonged to the Dalrymple family; it was collected primarily in the eighteenth century by Sir David Dalrymple in Newhailles House and was accepted by the Government from the Trustees of Sir Mark Dalrymple in lieu of estate duty and allocated to the National Library in 1978.<sup>68</sup> This demonstrates how the library of a family becomes a source of wealth for the heirs but gains wider availability through a national library. However the *Cabala* came as part of a collection wanted or not unlike the editions from the Advocates Library which were acquired for the library.

The British Library also obtained a copy of *Scrinia Ceciliana* from Thomas Birch. Birch's own work included *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* and this work references the 1691 *Cabala*. Birch was also an editor of Francis Bacon. He left his library to the British Museum on his death in 1766.<sup>69</sup> Birch, like Hacket, uses the *Cabala* but in this case his library only appears to hold *Scrinia Ceciliana*. He was however a trustee of the British Museum so he could have used their copy of 1691. The 1691 British Library copy has no known provenance and we cannot even know whether their edition was in the library at the time Birch wrote his book in 1754.

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<sup>66</sup> Kelly, p. 180.

<sup>67</sup> Email correspondence with Dr Anette Hagan, Curator Rare Books, National Library of Scotland, 25 August 2005.

<sup>68</sup> <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/newhailles>>

<sup>69</sup> Email correspondence with Ruth Greenwood, Early Printed Collections, The British Library, 3 August 2005.

Birch's edition we could argue was bought by the owner because he had an interest in the period in which the letters come from, however it is acquired by the national library by donation rather than because it is needed. A 1654 edition also found in the British Library makes its way to the library via the ownership of Henry Blount in the seventeenth century and then the donation of Major Arthur Edward's library which was bequeathed in 1743 to the Cotton Library at Westminster, later to form part of the British Library.<sup>70</sup>

The National Library of Wales, which was established in 1907, is a much younger library than the British Library and the Advocates Library, libraries which were both established in the seventeenth century. Therefore it is not surprising that its *Cabala* volumes are donated rather than purchased by the library. We can see that in the seventeenth century the *Cabala* was a staple of the library collections but this may not be the case in the twentieth century as scholarship evolves and there is more access to other primary sources and texts. The *Cabala* may no longer be a priority purchase. Thus the 1654 edition held by the library has a varied provenance. It was presented to the library by Gwyn Jones (1907-1999) in the late 1980s. This copy was previously owned by Ann Holtfield, 1758, B. Williams and Richard Dickinson, 1829. The free endpaper at the beginning bears a promissory note dated 1767. The library also owns a 1663 *Scrinia Ceciliana* owned by Thomas Tanner, John Moore's chaplain. There is a note on the title page: 'Liber Bibliothecae Asaphensis ex dono Thomae Episcopi Asaph 1732'. This relates to the library of St Asaph Cathedral which is held on deposit by the National Library and refers to Tanner's time as Bishop of Asaph in 1732.<sup>71</sup> This gives us another instance of a clergyman with a copy of the book. We have already seen John Moore, bishop of Ely, as a collector and this reinforces the clergy as a known type of collector.

The ownership of the National Library of Wales's copy by Ann Holtfield directs us towards the topic of female ownership of the *Cabala*. As we have seen there are no recorded ownership records of female owners in the seventeenth century and Ann Holtfield appears to be the earliest recorded with the date 1758. We have found no information on who she is. We have also seen that Mary Sackville-West

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<sup>70</sup> Email correspondence with Ruth Greenwood, Early Printed Collections, The British Library, 3 August 2005.

<sup>71</sup> Email correspondence with Charles Parry, Head of Rare Books, National Library of Wales, 12 September 2005.

reportedly brought a copy to Hatfield House. Of the over one hundred individual owners identified only seven, including myself, are female. The Folger owns a copy inscribed with name Elizabeth Pritchard which has no date so she could be an earlier owner.<sup>72</sup> The National Library of Wales also holds the 1654 *Cabala* owned by Lady Morgan Sydney (bap.1783 d.1859).<sup>73</sup> She was a novelist whose work was often set against Irish religious strife and Dennis R. Dean describes one such novel *O'Donnell* as condemning the injustice of British laws penalising Roman Catholics.<sup>74</sup> Given that the letters in *Scrinia Sacra* concern Ireland to some extent, in particular the Earl of Essex's own role in the country, we can possibly see the appeal for an Irish novelist. Harder to understand is why Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray (1868-1940) owned the 1654 *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* which was part of her collection of books donated to the National Library of Scotland unless of course she inherited the book.<sup>75</sup> She is described as a Gaelic folklorist and needlewoman.<sup>76</sup> Williamina Helen Stewart Forbes Leith of Whitehaugh was the author of *Whitehaugh*, a poem dedicated to her son James on the death of his father and was written in 1847.<sup>77</sup> Her 1663 *Cabala* is found in the library at Leeds University.<sup>78</sup> There is no information on her life found in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* or elsewhere so we cannot comment on her interest in the book. These are the only women identified so far. This is not to say that there were no other female owners or collectors but this search has only revealed a small number. This would be expected of an earlier readership in the seventeenth century when women were less likely to be readers of such a book but would we not expect a more varied audience as we move into the later centuries? Though the *Cabala* appears accessible and appealing is it only to a predominantly male audience? The women also appear, from their names at least, to be of a certain class i.e. the gentry, and if we look at appendix eight we can see that the male

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<sup>72</sup> Email correspondence with Georgianna Ziegler, Ph.D. Head of Reference, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2 August 2005.

<sup>73</sup> Email correspondence with Charles Parry, Head of Rare Books, National Library of Wales, 12 September 2005.

<sup>74</sup> Dennis R. Dean, 'Morgan, Sydney, Lady Morgan (bap.1783, d.1859)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 14 June 2017], p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Email correspondence with Dr Anette Hagan, Curator Rare Books, National Library of Scotland, 25 August 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Jane Anderson, 'Murray, Lady Evelyn Stewart (1868-1940)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 14 June 2017].

<sup>77</sup> Williamina Helen Stewart Forbes Leith, *Whitehaugh*, (Boulogne-sue-Mer, 1848).

<sup>78</sup> Email correspondence with Richard High, Team Librarian, Special Collections, Leeds University, 9 September 2005.



audience is also of a similar class with nobility, clergy, politicians and scholars. The *Cabala* is not necessarily a book for every man and class.

The early versions of what would have been the public or national libraries were still not completely accessible to all. Chetham's and the British Museum for example were only open to scholars and in the Museum's case by permission of the trustees. Dr William's library was limited to those of a certain religious conviction. We can also see that the acquisition of the *Cabala* books can be by the library directly, in particular the earlier libraries such as Chetham and the Advocates libraries, and also by donation. Those that acquire the book must have thought the *Cabala* was a useful addition to the library and then for the scholars that could access the libraries it could be a useful research document especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth century when letters of state were a novelty rather than the norm that they are today. Following the building and establishing of the national and public libraries the *Cabala* reaches a far greater audience but this audience's use of the books is still invisible to us unless, as we will see in the next chapter, a historian/scholar refers to the book in their research.

### **Distribution: the university libraries and the modern world**

The university libraries holds the most *Cabala* volumes with a count of 205 copies discovered so far in this research. The modern day scholar or student has a far greater access to the book than ever before. The relevant university libraries holding the *Cabala* are predominantly British and North American with the American universities holding 90 copies compared to the 93 held in the UK (in total the UK has more copies but these are distributed over different types of library). There are 18 in Europe. Universities predominately acquire the book through donation. Older university libraries such as those in Oxford and Cambridge acquire them through donors such as Hacket and Moore, as we have seen earlier, and in general the UK university libraries have acquired their editions from seventeenth and eighteenth century donors. American universities acquire theirs through various donations and by the actual purchase of the book and we will explore these as well as a couple of notable exceptions in the UK. This section explores those who donated the books to the libraries concentrating on a few key figures and also looks at how the access this

creates for the modern reader opens up a new audience to the *Cabala* examining how relevant the editions are today to the scholar/historian.

A notable exception to the donors of the UK libraries are the two libraries found in the University of London: the Durning-Lawrence library and the Sterling Library. The Durning-Lawrence library holds a 1654, 1663 (2 copies) and a 1691 *Cabala* plus a *Scrinia Cecilians*. These books come from the private collection of Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence (1837-1914) who was a protagonist in the Bacon-Shakespeare authorship controversy. The library contains approximately 5,750 volumes, in particular early editions of works connected with Sir Francis Bacon.<sup>79</sup> The *Cabala* contains a number of Bacon's letters. The collection was bequeathed to the Senate House library at the University of London in 1929 and the online catalogue confirms the *Cabala* volumes of 1663 and 1691 were owned by Durning-Lawrence. This may mean that the 1654 edition and the *Scrinia Cecilians* were added to the collection by Senate House as the website states that the library has supplemented the collection. However what this may tell us is that the *Cabala* was seen by Durning-Lawrence as a source on Francis Bacon. How he used it in his debate on the authorship controversy is unclear but we could argue that the Bacon letters of the *Cabala* are key to his scholarship.

The interest in the *Cabala* by Louis Sterling who donated his library to Senate House on 1954 is much harder to understand. The collection holds the 1691 edition once owned by Christopher Turnor and the Duke of Grafton – further evidence of the type of reader the *Cabala* attracted originally as both are men of means and birth. Again the online catalogue confirms Sterling as the owner rather than the work being a new acquisition by Senate House library. Sterling was the managing director of the record company EMI and a confirmed bibliophile.<sup>80</sup> The collection is much more eclectic than the Durning-Lawrence library and it is harder to ascertain the *Cabala*'s attraction for Sterling. The notes on the collection on Senate House's website state that it is divided into four sections – the first of which 'Authors before 1900' must be where the *Cabala* fits. Sterling was obviously a collector of famous English literature but there is no mention of history except the

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<sup>79</sup><http://www.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/our-collections/special-collections/printed-special-collections/durning-lawrence-library>.

<sup>80</sup><http://www.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/our-collections/special-collections/printed-special-collections/sterling-library>.

comment that ‘a few ground-breaking non-literary works are also present’. This could be where the *Cabala* fits as it is seen as the first collection of state letters published.

As we have seen the British public, private and university libraries acquire their edition of the *Cabala* through a variety of means such as bequests, donation and of acquisition especially when a library is being founded, as in the case of Chetham. However the British university libraries rarely seem to have to purchase the *Cabala* as it is most commonly acquired by bequest or donation particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The North American universities are comparatively modern and this means their acquisition of the *Cabala* comes much later although of course the provenance must come from an earlier period. For example the University of Texas at Austin has several copies of the *Cabala* volumes which have a varied ownership history. One copy of the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* was part of the library of George Atherton Aitkin, described by the University’s librarian as an author and scholar whose library was purchased by the University in 1921. A copy of the 1663 *Scrinia Cecilianiana* bound with a further copy of the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* has the armorial bookplate of the Medlycott family and a further inscription ‘J.G.1716’. The third copy of the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* owned by the University came to the library with the purchase of the Woodward-Ruth collection. The librarian describes the collection as ‘mostly compiled by Frank Woodward, one time president of England’s Bacon Society, who was concerned with the Bacon/Shakespeare question’. This library was acquired by the late Professor Burrell F. Ruth of Ames Iowa and was purchased by the University from his widow in 1960. The University also holds a further 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* and a 1663 *Cabala* in its Recusant Collection, a library formed by James Molloy, a Catholic priest in England who according to the librarian, was a defrocked priest who collected books from Catholic libraries that were closing down. Molloy collected his books in the twentieth century.<sup>81</sup> This collection of *Cabala* volumes demonstrates the different ways the book came into the library at the University of Texas plus the wealth of information a librarian can give you regarding provenance. However it is obvious in this case that the *Cabala* was part of various collections donated to the library rather than a need or

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<sup>81</sup> Email correspondence with Margaret Tenney, Head of the Reading Room, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 12 December 2005.

requirement for the volumes within the library which is why the library has several copies of the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra*. What is interesting amongst the provenance details is the fact that once again a Bacon scholar features and also in relation to the Bacon/Shakespeare debate. Frank Woodward and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence are both connected through their interest in the debate, Francis Bacon and the *Cabala*. This confirms the argument that the *Cabala* is relevant to Bacon scholarship.

The Library of Congress, Washington, demonstrates a diversity of donor similar to the University of London with one notable donor. One of its copies of the 1654 *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* was acquired in 1815 from former President Thomas Jefferson whose library helped restart the Library of Congress following the fire of 1814. The library's copy of 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* was a gift from Eugene Dernary on 24 September 1942. The 1691 *Cabala* also came from the Jefferson library but has evidence of earlier provenance on its first fly leaf where the name Mr Jn Randolph is written in ink. A second copy of the 1691 edition was received by the library in 1940 as part of the bequest of George Fabyan (1867-1936), a Chicago stock broker who, the librarian informs me, developed a library on cryptography and he also was a supporter of the theory that Francis Bacon was the author of Shakespeare's plays. Inside the front cover there is also the book plate of 'E.A.Hitchcock, U.S. Army'.<sup>82</sup> This detailed information on the provenance of the library's editions again highlights very different types of *Cabala* owners from a former US president to a US army soldier. It also begs the question of why a Chicago stock broker interested in cryptography had a copy of the *Cabala* until we realise his interest lies like Durning-Lawrence and Woodward with the Bacon debate. It would appear that state letters appeal to a variety of readers.

Other US libraries receive the *Cabala* volumes in a very similar fashion. Harvard library acquires its 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* in memory of 'Lionel de Jersey Harvard, Class of 1915, killed in action at Boisleux-au-Mont, France, March 30, 1918'. It was received by Harvard 2 June 1926.<sup>83</sup> The 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library came as a gift to the library in April 2002 via a variety of provenances inscribed on the back paste down: 'Tho.Wallis'; 'Elizabeth

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<sup>82</sup> Email correspondence with Clark Evans, Library of Congress, 4 November 2005.

<sup>83</sup> Email correspondence with Emily Walhout, Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University, 31 August 2005.

Prichard/inquire of Mrs Warnell by the lambe in lower northgate for her at Kate Jones by the ayler gate'; Thomas Lovet his book...166[7]?'; and inscribed on the title page 'William Bunting'.<sup>84</sup> A *Cabala* well-travelled it would seem and often owned. The Folger also hold provenance records in its online records for all its *Cabala* volumes which makes provenance research much easier for the modern scholar. Several US libraries also buy their versions: for example the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library bought its 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* in 1951 from bookseller Maggs having earlier bought a *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* from the same bookseller in 1940. The library also acquired a 1663 *Cabala* in 1945, bookseller unknown, and a 1691 edition from bookseller Fletchers in 1951.<sup>85</sup> It is interesting to note that the library buys its edition in the 1940/50s. In the 1940s and 1950s J.E.Neale was writing his books on Elizabethan studies and his adoption of the *Cabala's* Tilbury speech, discussed in the next chapter, resonates throughout Elizabethan studies even now.<sup>86</sup> Did Elizabethan studies in the US also experience a resurgence in this period hence the need for the University to acquire the *Cabala*?

We have shown just an example of the provenance details of the *Cabala* found overseas but it shows the durability of the book within book collecting history and how the *Cabala* 'travels' from the seventeenth and eighteenth collections of the British libraries to the modern library collections of the United States. We should also note that the *Cabala* is also found in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, most notably the National libraries of these countries, and in some parts of Europe but not in the same volume of copies as it does in the US and provenance details have been less forthcoming. Also this search is by no mean exhaustive but this research highlights the accessibility of the *Cabala* volumes in the UK and US at least. We can also see that in the US as well as in the UK there is a variety of owners with the *Cabala* appealing to a wealth of different people not just scholars and historians. But we cannot know why these people bought it and what their interest in the book was. All we can say is that the *Cabala* would appear to be popular and still remained collectable especially it seems to Bacon scholars. Although many universities

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<sup>84</sup> Email correspondence with Georgianna Ziegler, Ph.D. Head of Reference, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2 August 2005.

<sup>85</sup> Email correspondence with Bruce Whiteman, Head Librarian, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2 November 2005.

<sup>86</sup> J.E.Neale, *The Elizabethan Political Scene*, originally published in 1948; *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, originally published 1949; *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1559-1581*, originally published 1953; *Essays in Elizabethan History*, originally published in 1958.

acquire the *Cabala* via donation and bequest we also have the example of libraries buying it to form part of their collection, a fact that demonstrates its agreed importance as a historical source. This section proves the *Cabala* had a relevance throughout the period since its publication to the present day and its accessibility to the modern scholar is greater now than at any other time. Whereas the seventeenth century scholar had to either buy the *Cabala* or find a library that would permit access, today's UK/US student can find it in most university libraries and in the major public libraries.

The growing trend towards the use of digital libraries is another source for scholars now. Two such libraries are Early English Books Online (EEBO) and the Text Creation Partnership (TCP).<sup>87</sup> These both hold various editions of the *Cabala*. EEBO allows a choice of the photocopied version of the book or a full text version. TCP displays a list of contents which allows the researcher to click on an individual letter to display text. However these are surrogates for the printed editions and are susceptible to error in uploading or transcribing.<sup>88</sup> Although these are more accessible for the scholar you still need to log in via a university or library affiliation which means access is still restricted.

The *Cabala* volumes can also be purchased via booksellers on line. A google search on 10 July 2015 found a 1654 *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* sold on Bauman Rare books website. Bauman gave a detailed description of what it describes as a 'scarce volume' and highlighted the first printing of the Tilbury speech and the debate that surrounds it which is discussed in the next chapter. Bauman's described the collection of letters as of vital interest to historians.<sup>89</sup> I have three editions myself, all purchased online from the United States. The *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* 1654 was the most expensive of the three costing \$775; the 1663 and 1691 *Cabalas* both cost around \$350. Looking at the statistics in appendix five this shows that the later editions are more readily available accounting for the cheaper price. The 1654 edition was bought from Barnaby Rudge Booksellers, California but I no longer have details of the other two acquisitions. There are also no provenance details found

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<sup>87</sup> <<https://eebo.chadwyck.com>>; <<http://www.textcreationpartnership.org>>

<sup>88</sup> Michael Whitmore, Jonathan Hope and Michael Gleicher, 'Digital Approach to the Language of Shakespearian Tragedy' in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearian Tragedy*, ed. by Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 317-335.

<sup>89</sup> <<http://www.baumanrarebooks.com>> accessed 10 July 2015.

within any of the books so we cannot tell where they came from and who owned them previously. The 1654 and 1663 editions are in their original bindings. The 1654 edition is a smaller volume and the late Michael Harris, the book historian, informed me that the size of the book made it a 'news book' whereas the later editions are designed with a book collector in mind. The 1663 has the following written in its back page 'the best copies of Bacon's letters are in the Resuscitatio' a reference to the 1657 edition of Bacon's letters. The 1691 edition has been rebound at some stage. My own collection of *Cabala* volumes makes me a collector who also uses them for research purposes. I have yet to see a 1654 *Cabala*, 1654 *Scrinia Sacra* or the 1663 *Scrinia Cecilianiana* for sale. These editions are scarcer in number than the later editions when we look at the statistics so this may account for availability in general. However, although the volumes are available the cost would be prohibitive for most scholars and with their availability in libraries it would not be necessary to buy them anyway. There are now much cheaper printed versions available: the *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* is published in paperback by Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints selling for \$36; and by Scholar Select Printing sells for £25 (2017).<sup>90</sup> Adeboks sell a print on demand version of the 1691 *Cabala* for \$38 (2017).<sup>91</sup> Therefore the *Cabala* is becoming accessible and perhaps its reprinting by publishers such as Kessinger demonstrates a new requirement for the *Cabala* amongst the modern academic world. However these reprints come with a note of caution: the Kessinger print is missing part of the table of letters for *Scrinia Sacra*.

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have focused on some of the owners of the *Cabala* volumes and in the course of this research we have identified over one hundred individual owners, not counting those editions acquired specifically for an institution but named persons such as Pepys, Hackett etc. We have also seen that there are few female owners and that the class of ownership tends towards a certain class for both women and men such as nobility, clergy, politicians and scholars. We have discussed the book's accessibility, arguing that the *Cabala* is readily available. We have discovered 377 editions worldwide in a variety of places but does this really

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<sup>90</sup> *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* (1654), (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, undated); *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra* (1654), (Arkose Press, 2015).

<sup>91</sup> <[http\\www.adebooks.com](http://www.adebooks.com)>

demonstrate the book's durability? David Pearson did a similar exercise taking as his research the book *The Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* published in the period from 1590 to 1695.<sup>92</sup> He found 33 copies of the 1590 edition; 78 copies of the 1655 one, and 47 copies of the two variant issues of 1695. Like the *Cabala* these were found distributed in the UK and the US with one found in New Zealand. In the UK the institutions which held the editions were similar in breadth to the *Cabala* distribution: ecclesiastical; national libraries; public libraries and National Trust properties. In America copies were found predominantly in the university libraries such as Harvard and Yale.<sup>93</sup> The book was also owned by Pepys and John Moore but he found little evidence for the book actually being acquired for a library.<sup>94</sup> He found no early women owners.<sup>95</sup> Thus we can see similar patterns in the provenance research of these two books and their editions. However Pearson asked one important question: why did he find so few copies of these books? He argues that 'we believe that edition sizes in the sixteenth and seventeenth century were typically of the order of 1000-1500'.<sup>96</sup> This is also true of the *Cabala* volumes. We may have found 377 copies but this is split between six separate editions published between 1654 and 1691. Looking at the statistics in appendix five we can see that the 1663 and 1691 have survived in more editions with 100 and 85 copies respectively. 1654 does indeed see three different editions published which could account for the even spread of at least 50 copies per edition. But where have the rest gone if we expect at least one thousand copies per edition? As mentioned before this research is not exhaustive but one might have expected to have found a lot more. For instance it has proved harder to track copies in the European libraries of which there are many and perhaps Europe is where more copies could be found. In appendix six we can see that only 18 copies are found in Europe out of a total of 377.

Exploring the provenance of the *Cabala* volumes poses as many questions as it answers. We can never really know why most of the people mentioned in this chapter bought the *Cabala* except in the rare case of Samuel Pepys who describes buying it and later discussing its merits with his friend. But provenance research

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<sup>92</sup> David Pearson, "What Can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books?" in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*, eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (London: The British Library, 2007).

<sup>93</sup> Pearson, p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> Pearson, p. 26.

<sup>95</sup> Pearson, p. 31.

<sup>96</sup> Pearson, p. 33.



highlights the book's enduring appeal from the time it was first published until the modern day; from John Hackett, one of the *Cabala's* first owners and first to use it as reference material, to E.A.Hitchcock of the US army of whom we know nothing, least of all why he might have had the book. In between we have scholars, diarists, noblemen, a president and Elizabeth Pritchard waiting at the ayler gate. The book itself appears to have been durable and capable of multiple reuse and interpretations. It takes its place in the great collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the newly found libraries both public and private. The book travels overseas to find its place in university libraries by various means. The *Cabala's* continued accessibility is driven by a seventeenth century popularity demonstrated by its inclusion in collections including Camden, Stowe, Burnett, Rushworth, to name but a few.

Researching the transmission and use of the *Cabala* also demonstrates the history of the library. As we have seen from the statistics in the appendices we can see how ecclesiastical collections give way to the private collections of the country house. Then we see the development of the public libraries which give the *Cabala* a wider audience. This is in some part a consequence of the private libraries being dismantled so private becomes public. Some copies do remain in the great houses, such as those held by the National Trust, but other libraries and indeed collections such as Hearne's are disbanded and sold or donated onwards. The university libraries remain a constant providing a home for the *Cabala* from the seventeenth century to the modern day. The way the university library has developed in terms of the type of scholar throughout this period means the *Cabala* becomes more accessible to more scholars than ever before. The *Cabala* appears to have been collectible throughout its publication history and this has endured as it is still acquired and it is now published once again.

As the original printers, Bedell and Collins, tell us in the preface to the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra*, the book has been 'seen and approved' by the reader (A2). The reader has driven the need for further editions. It is, after all, the reading public who allow the book its durability. At its most popular the *Cabala* was part of a collection of 'must have' books for scholars, historians and librarians. How popular it is today as a historical resource will be discussed in the next chapter but it is worth noting that the availability of the *Cabala* means that there is no excuse for not referencing it in

certain studies. I refer to the Tilbury speech which is further investigated in the next chapter but is worth mentioning here. The *Cabala* of 1654 is the first known printing of the famous Tilbury speech by Elizabeth I but the *Cabala* is rarely referenced in Elizabethan studies when the speech is quoted. J.E. Neale does refer to the speech but he erroneously dates the *Cabala* as 1651. This is the date on the microfilm stored at the British Library hinting at the fact that Neale may have sourced the speech from there.<sup>97</sup> He also quotes the 1691 edition and as a professor at University of London he had not only the British Library as a resource but Senate House library which as we have seen holds two copies of the 1691 edition. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar erroneously reference the *Cabala* in their work as 1752 but Gilbert was teaching at the University of California and Gubar at Indiana University.<sup>98</sup> Both universities hold multiple copies of the *Cabala* and my point is that there is no reason in each case why the book could not be referenced correctly as it is readily available.<sup>99</sup> As we will see a number of historians and scholars do not reference it all. Even if a particular author has no affiliation to a university we have seen that public and national libraries also hold it particularly in the UK and US. The *Cabala* is not a rare source but it does hold a wealth of information readily available to the modern scholar. We will see in the next chapter that even though it is very accessible it is underused and undervalued as an important historical resource. However its provenance history demonstrates that the *Cabala* has endured and it has had appeal.

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<sup>97</sup> .E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (The Bedford Historical Series, 1954), p. 309; and *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), p. 104.

<sup>98</sup> *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English*, eds. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New York; London: Norton and Company Inc, 1985), p. 30.

<sup>99</sup> See appendix seven.

**Chapter Five: ‘A Rhapsody of Letters’: reconsidering the *Cabala*’s contribution to Tudor and Jacobean scholarship.**

One of the aims of this thesis is to demonstrate how the *Cabala* volumes have contributed to the representations of the Tudor and Stuart courts and to analyse how they have been used in canonical scholarship since their first publication in 1654. This chapter will identify which contemporary and modern historians have used the *Cabala* volumes and which letters in particular they have cited. If we accept that there is an agenda behind the publication of the letters, in particular the way the respective courts are influenced by the favourites, can we use the letters more richly as evidence of such a debate within the context of their publication? This political agenda, that the thesis identified in chapters one to three, could influence the use of the *Cabala* by contemporary historians who were themselves participants in the debates but it could also influence modern historians who are aware or unaware of the context in which these volumes were published. This chapter determines if the *Cabala* has indeed been used in the same way by both contemporary and modern historians. More importantly, given the way it is used and the evidence of its complex print history, is the *Cabala* as a publication, rather than the individual letters, undervalued for its own part in Civil War publications?

In order to discuss the use of the *Cabala* as a source document this chapter will begin with the work of John Hacket who would appear to be the first biographer to use the *Cabala*. Hacket wrote his book in the 1650s immediately after the publication of the 1653 *Cabala* and was a witness to some of the events mentioned in the letter volumes. The chapter will then discuss the use of the *Cabala* by modern biographers and historians to highlight some of the ways the book can be used in works on figures such as Francis Bacon and George Villiers. The previous chapters within this thesis demonstrate how we can use these figures and their letters to evidence a known concern about the roles these people had. Both Bacon and Villiers were important, influential figures within the Tudor and Jacobean courts. The *Cabala* will also be seen to be a useful source for the events of the Spanish Match of 1623. Finally it will analyse the part played by the *Cabala* in the accepted version of the Tilbury speech. The letter containing the speech, written by Leonell Sharpe to the Duke of Buckingham, raises a critical set of questions. In particular how this version

first published in 1653, some 67 years after it was supposed to have been spoken, becomes the official version of the speech? Importantly my research shows that the speech has been quoted and accepted by most Elizabethan scholars but that the argument made by Susan Frye in 1992, disputing the speech as authentic, has mostly been ignored. The speech is taken as fact but its provenance is not recognised or challenged. The Tilbury speech will highlight how the *Cabala* as a source document cannot only be used but how it has also been undervalued and also misused.

### **Challenging the *Cabala* in the 1650s: John Hacket, the Lord Keeper and the Spanish Match**

One of the first scholars to respond to the *Cabala* was John Hacket in the 1650s in his book *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D.*<sup>1</sup> The *Cabala* is only published in 1653 and Hacket's use of it is immediate as he was already working on his book at the time of the *Cabala*'s publication. John Hacket was the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who had also been a household chaplain to John Williams, the Lord Keeper, in the 1620s. Hacket's use of the *Cabala* is particularly important as Hacket was not only a witness to the events discussed by the letter writers but he knew at least one of them personally. As we saw in chapter one, John Williams' letters feature within the *Cabala*. Hacket had an immediacy, because of this friendship, to the letters which modern scholars do not. His use of certain letters will be crucial in our understanding of the importance of the *Cabala* as a source document because of the reasons he used them.

Hacket began his biography of Williams in 1650 and it was finished in 1658. Brian Quintell suggests that Hacket had 'taken stock of his sources of information' by the end of 1650.<sup>2</sup> However, Hacket uses the *Cabala* throughout his work and as the *Cabala* was not printed until 1653 we must assume that Hacket revised his work to accommodate the source material he used from the letter volume. However, Hacket only uses the first volume of the *Cabala* published in 1653.<sup>3</sup> He does not use the second volume published in 1654 and this contains further letters from the period he is writing about, in particular there is further correspondence between James and

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<sup>1</sup> John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams D.D.* (1692).

<sup>2</sup> Brian Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592-1670)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 10 August 2005], p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Cabala, Mysteries of State in Letters of the great Ministers of K. James and K. Charles* (1653).

the Earl of Bristol from 1623. Therefore the *Cabala* allows us to confidently date Hacket's work. He could not have finished sourcing his work in 1650 as the *Cabala* was published in 1653 but he does appear to have completed it before the publication of the second edition.

We are also fortunate enough to know that the *Cabala* Hacket owned still exists and is held by Cambridge University by his bequest on his death in 1670.<sup>4</sup> Hacket was meticulous in citing his source documents. This means we can easily see where he used the *Cabala* letters. Hacket cites the *Cabala* at least 68 times and would appear to be not only the first known user of the *Cabala* as a source but also he appears to cite it the most. In my research I have not found another scholar who uses the *Cabala* as much as Hacket does. This is not surprising considering Williams wrote 32 of the *Cabala* letters in total. There are also three letters written to Williams. Therefore any scholar researching the Lord Keeper would find valuable source documents within the *Cabala*. John Hacket was a contemporary of the letter writers. He knew the people as he was alive during the time the letters were written and he was active at Court as chaplain to Williams. Therefore his comments are based on his own experiences within this period and this makes him unique amongst those who reference the *Cabala*. This may allow us to give credence to the *Cabala* because a contemporary such as Hacket gives it a platform as a source document.

Hacket's primary use of the *Cabala* letters pertains to the Spanish Match of 1623 and the consequences which arose from it in terms of foreign policy and the effect on the careers of those caught up in it. He particularly focuses on the parts played by Williams and John Digby, first earl of Bristol and ambassador to Spain at the time. As mentioned in chapter one, the first volume of the *Cabala* has a wealth of information and letters on the Match and Hacket demonstrates its richness in his use of the letters. Hacket states that others may undertake to write a full history of the Match whereas, although he will comment on certain things needed to aid his narration, he will be concentrating on the role of Williams.<sup>5</sup>

Hacket's use of the *Cabala* letters can be summarised in five categories. Firstly, the Prince's arrival and his subsequent reputation in Spain. Secondly, the role

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<sup>4</sup> Email correspondence with Nicholas Smith, Cambridge University Library, 5 August 2007.

<sup>5</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 112.

and conduct of Buckingham. Thirdly, the matter of the marriage terms in particular that of the request for Catholic clemency by the Spanish and the restitution of the Palatine by the English. Fourthly, the role of the Earl of Bristol and his subsequent downfall; and finally the role of Williams, his need to reassure Buckingham of his support and how his role leads to Buckingham withdrawing his patronage. Some of these letters have already been discussed in chapter one and this chapter will not discuss the contents of the letters at great length but will illustrate how Hacket uses them for his own narrative.

Hacket uses the anonymous letter published in the *Cabala* entitled ‘The Copy of the Letter sent from Spain, concerning the Princes arrival there, &c.’<sup>6</sup> This gives his reader a summary of the events in Spain when the Prince and Buckingham arrived and how welcome they had been made by the Spanish and the King who at that time held them in high esteem. Hacket declares that it was untrue that the Spanish were trying to convert Charles to Catholicism and both Charles and the Duke were steadfast Protestants.<sup>7</sup> Therefore Hacket is engaging with the *Cabala* as only a contemporary can. He is able to agree or disagree with the letter writers because he was a witness to the events of 1623. His relationship with Williams gave him an insider’s knowledge of the Match which is exclusive compared to the other scholars discussed in this chapter.

Hacket uses three *Cabala* letters to demonstrate how much Charles appeared to be liked by the Spanish when he left Spain. Hacket quotes from one of the letter’s evocative words: ‘Never a Prince parted with such universal love of all’.<sup>8</sup> He further illustrates this affection with another letter from Bristol to Williams: ‘The love that is here generally born unto a Prince is such, as cannot be well believed by those that daily hear not what passeth from the King and his Chief Ministers’ and using the same letter he quotes ‘Since the departure of his Highness, there have passed Letters of extraordinary Affection between the King and the Prince’.<sup>9</sup>

The demise of the Match appeared to be unexpected because Hacket believed that Charles held the Infanta in high esteem. Hacket himself was surprised that

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<sup>6</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, pp. 119-120; *Cabala*, pp. 14-17.

<sup>7</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, pp. 120-121.

<sup>8</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 161; *Cabala*, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, pp. 161-162; *Cabala*, p. 22. (Hacket references this as 21 when it is 22).

Charles was easily persuaded out of his own judgement and knowledge ‘by some whom he permitted to have Power over him, who had not half his intellectuals’.<sup>10</sup> He backs this up with a *Cabala* letter written by Bristol to Charles whereby Bristol believed Charles to be in love with the Infanta.<sup>11</sup> Hacket believes that Buckingham had such a hold over Charles that he could easily forget his affections towards such a beauty as the Infanta.<sup>12</sup> Hacket again is engaging with the letters and appearing to side with Bristol over the claims that it was Buckingham who opposed the Match. However we have to take into account Hacket’s relationship with Williams. He is not an unbiased witness.

Hacket uses another anonymous letter to the King to present his own views on the Spanish Match and the aftermath. The letter writer insults Buckingham ‘For how many did he deflower, abuse and conzen with marriage, by his grace in Court, and power with your Majestie’.<sup>13</sup> Hacket comments that though he believes Buckingham deterred Charles from the Match it could be argued that the Match failing was not such a bad thing as the marriage that came afterwards ‘was most Happy in a thrice Noble Progeny’.<sup>14</sup> However Hacket observes that the issue of the Palatine was never resolved with England becoming involved in more wars. Hacket illustrates this point by quoting from an anonymous observer who believed ‘that the Ruin of P Charles by the Spanish Match might have been prevented; the Spaniard being the most part a steady Friend, then the wavering French’<sup>15</sup>. Hacket rejects this and states that the French are brave and that religion would always have caused a break between England and Spain ‘But if the Daughter of Spain had landed upon our shore, I believe we should have had more cause to love him [Spain]’.<sup>16</sup> Therefore Hacket demonstrates differing views on the Spanish and French matches. Hacket himself saw the French Match as successful in that it produced heirs but he also argues that the Spanish Match could also have been a success but neither match did or would have resolved the Palatine issue.

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<sup>10</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 164.

<sup>11</sup> *Cabala*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 164.

<sup>13</sup> *Cabala*, p. 223.

<sup>14</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 164.

<sup>15</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 164.

<sup>16</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, pp. 164-165.

Hacket, as a contemporary, lived through Charles' match with Henrietta Maria which he calls 'happy'. Hacket wrote in hindsight during the Protectorate and by then his readers would have known that the marriage had not been popular in later years, as we have seen in chapter two, with Henrietta Maria being portrayed as a bad influence on her husband. This, therefore, would seem a bold statement to make. The 'Noble Progeny' Hacket refers to are the children of Charles and Henrietta Maria's marriage. When Hacket is writing his book in the early 1650s, they are exiled in France and a threat to the Protectorate of Cromwell. Writing under the cloud of the Protectorate his opinions, although biased in many ways, could also be deemed dangerous. Therefore Hacket is not only engaging with the *Cabala* letters but he is using them and his own opinions to challenge both the Stuarts and the Protectorate. His own role within the court makes his role as historian/biographer very different to that of the modern scholar. He is not objective but he can engage with the *Cabala* in a different way to the modern scholar. He personally knows the letter writers but he is not necessarily informed of all the facts. Unlike the modern scholar he does not have all the source documents. He is therefore limited in his own knowledge and he is confined and constrained within the age in which he lived.

Hacket's use of the *Cabala* letters also appears to show that he held Charles in some regard during 1623, as did the Spanish. However, for Hacket and the Spanish, the problems lay with the Duke of Buckingham's influence over Charles during the Match. Hacket states that one of the issues was the breach between Buckingham and the Duke of Olivares, Spain's Chief Minister. It was rumoured that the Match had little chance because of this breach and there was even a rumour that Buckingham had tried to bed the Countess of Olivares.<sup>17</sup> Hacket dismisses this particular rumour by quoting a postscript from a letter produced in the *Cabala* written by Aston to Buckingham. It is a message from the Countess who wants Buckingham to know that he is in her daily prayers. Hacket believes this proves that no such an advance was made by the Duke as the Countess would not have sent him a message if he had offended her.<sup>18</sup> Hacket refers to another anonymous letter, this time to James I, which states that the Duke did not show the proper reverence to

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<sup>17</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 132; *Cabala*, p. 33.



Charles and at times acted against him.<sup>19</sup> Hacket argues that Buckingham's presence in Spain damaged the chances of the marriage ever happening and if he had not been there Charles would have married the Infanta. The fact that the Match did not happen made Buckingham popular for a short time with the English but as Hacket demonstrates with a further anonymous letter to James that what had made him popular was later used against him in Parliament.<sup>20</sup> The Spanish had made an error in underestimating the power of the Duke because, Hacket writes, they believed that the treaty negotiations were led by Charles and then by Bristol with Buckingham relegated to third place.<sup>21</sup>

Hacket discusses how Buckingham and Charles were perceived by the Spanish who found it hard to understand how a subject such as Buckingham had power over a Prince. They liked Charles but not Buckingham and Hacket demonstrates this with a letter written by Bristol to Williams. Bristol writes that they believed Charles was guided too much by Buckingham. Hacket quotes from the letter:

I know not how things may be reconciled here before my Lord Duke's departure, but at present, they are in all extremity ill, betwixt this King, and his Ministers, and the Duke, and they stick not to profess, that they will rather put the Infanta headlong into a Well then into his hands.<sup>22</sup>

Hacket focuses heavily on the role of Buckingham as a cause for the Match's failure and in particular the fact that the Spanish were astonished at the power of the favourite. This is at odds with the role of their own favourite Olivares, known as a *privado* in Spain, who probably had a lot more power than Buckingham could ever dream of. Olivares was also not the first of his kind: Philip III's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, was despised by the Spanish. Therefore when Hacket states that it 'was an Eye-Sore to the Spaniards above any people, who speak not to their King, and the Royal Stems of the Crown, without the Complement of Reverence; nor approach unto them without a kind of Adoration' he appears to be using this as his own argument against Buckingham.<sup>23</sup> It would be true to say that the relationship between Buckingham and Olivares had deteriorated during the Duke's time in Madrid. Alan

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<sup>19</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 133; *Cabala*, p. 221.

<sup>20</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 133; *Cabala*, p. 227.

<sup>21</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 133.

<sup>22</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 149; *Cabala*, p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 149.

Stewart notes that this was because Olivares believed it was Buckingham who stood in the way of Charles' conversion to Catholicism.<sup>24</sup> However, it would be probably untrue to say that the Spanish thought that the role of Buckingham as favourite was unusual. Hacket however had his reasons to be prejudiced against Buckingham. He is writing a memorial to Williams who lost his place in Court due to the Duke's own perceptions of the Lord Keeper's role in the Match as we will see in Hacket's further use of the *Cabala* letters.

Hacket argues that there were two main issues preventing the Match going ahead and these had little to do with how Charles or Buckingham was perceived by the Spanish. For the Spanish the major obstacle was religion. They demanded concessions for Catholics which included freedom of worship.<sup>25</sup> Hacket cites a letter from Williams to Buckingham to demonstrate the English's real fear that the concessions asked for would stir up trouble against both King and State.<sup>26</sup> However, he also refers to a letter from the Earl of Nithisdail, who Hacket describes as a main prop of the Catholic cause, to show that the Earl at least would take the Prince's word on the safety of Catholics in England rather than have the marriage falter, such was the English Catholics' desire for the match.<sup>27</sup> Hacket therefore uses two *Cabala* letters to demonstrate that a discussion was taking place over the Match by Catholics and Protestants. Protestants believed that too much clemency would stir up insurrection whereas the Catholics, in the case of Nithisdail, would take what concessions they could on the word of a Prince. This is reiterated by Sir Tobie Mathew in a letter to the King of Spain importuning the King not to entangle the Prince with concessions he cannot possibly submit to with honour, but to accept the conditions for Catholics which James and Charles have conceded to.<sup>28</sup> Hacket highlights how the religious concessions were a major issue: Charles writing to Bristol in 1625 states that he would never have allowed his children to be brought up as Catholics and he accuses Bristol of trying to convert him.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), p. 323.

<sup>25</sup> Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 108-111.

<sup>26</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 134; *Cabala*, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 134; *Cabala*, p. 250.

<sup>28</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 135; *Cabala*, p. 251.

<sup>29</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 153; *Cabala*, p. 17.

Hacket also uses Aston's memorial published within the *Cabala* to show that James wanted the Match to bring peace to the Palatine and for his son-in-law to be reinstated in his lands.<sup>30</sup> Buckingham himself writes to Aston to reiterate that the marriage proxy was not to be delivered without the restitution of the Palatine being resolved and Hacket cites a letter which states that once letters had been received from the Palatine demonstrating that such a restitution had not been forthcoming the Match was revoked.<sup>31</sup> Indeed Buckingham in his letter to Aston writes that James 'would be sorrie to welcome one daughter with a smiling cheer, and leave his own onely daughter at the same time weeping and disconsolate'.<sup>32</sup>

Hacket describes how the Match was to prove problematic to those involved in it and in particular the roles of the Earl of Bristol, the Ambassador in Spain, and John Williams, the Lord Keeper. As we have seen in chapter one, Bristol's role in the Match was to prove ruinous for him and Hacket uses the *Cabala* letters to inform the reader how this was done. Hacket uses a letter from Bristol to Williams in which Bristol lays out the Duke's accusations against him. Bristol was accused of siding with the Spanish, of advancing the Catholic religion and of not pleading for the cause of the Palatine.<sup>33</sup> The subsequent *Cabala* letters Hacket uses continue with the theme of Bristol's innocence and desire for a pardon. The letter from Sir Robert Philips to Buckingham asks the Duke to pardon Bristol as a matter of honour and in a further letter from Bristol to Conway, written after James' death, Bristol argues that he should not have to ask for a pardon as he is innocent of all charges.<sup>34</sup> Hacket also cites other letters by Bristol to Williams which ask for his help with Buckingham as Bristol is desperate for the Duke's friendship.<sup>35</sup> Hacket, however, believed that Williams' intervention between Bristol and Buckingham was one of the reasons Williams himself lost favour with the Duke.<sup>36</sup> Hacket as a contemporary and servant of Williams could promote this view with some authority and any reader of his work would give credence to his views in a way they may not to a modern scholar looking back in hindsight.

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<sup>30</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 151; *Cabala*, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 162; *Cabala*, p. 35, p. 219.

<sup>32</sup> *Cabala*, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 134; *Cabala*, p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 134; *Cabala*, p. 265, p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, pp. 148-149; *Cabala*, p. 20, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 148.

The Lord Keeper's position on the Spanish Match was determined by James' own stance on peace but not at the cost of the Palatine. Hacket includes the *Cabala* letters to demonstrate the difficult position Williams was in as he tries to be loyal to both King and favourite. Whilst Buckingham was in Spain, Williams writes to the Duke explaining how he is striving to put in place such measures that would help Catholics in England but without upsetting the people.<sup>37</sup> Hacket writes that this letter demonstrates 'the lively character of him that wrote it, Policy mixt with Inocency'.<sup>38</sup>

Hacket argues that when Buckingham returned from Spain he was 'mortally Anti-Spanish and this Anger was headed with Steel'.<sup>39</sup> He insisted Williams sided with his judgement but Hacket refers to a letter from Williams to the Duke that shows Williams, although loyal to the Duke, could only be true and faithful to his King and the King desired peace.<sup>40</sup> Using more *Cabala* letters, Hacket describes that the Duke wanted war with Spain because of the Palatine but the Lords including Williams could not see any fault with Spain over their dealings regarding the Palatine situation. The Duke is said to have left the Council in fury.<sup>41</sup> A further letter from Arthur Chichester to the Duke describes how the Duke berates him for turning against him and Chichester responds by saying he is loyal to the King.<sup>42</sup> However Hacket believed that Buckingham held the greatest grudge against Williams.<sup>43</sup> Aston in his letter to the Duke also pledges Williams' loyalty to Buckingham but again Hacket believes this is another example of how Williams was in what Hacket describes as Buckingham's 'Black Book of Remembrance'.<sup>44</sup> Hacket show how far Williams had fallen from grace with another *Cabala* letter. Written by the Duke's secretary, John Parker, to Williams it states that the Duke believes that the Lord Keeper no longer supports him and therefore he can no longer help Williams or continue to be his friend. Williams appeared to take his cue from other men rather than the Duke and this meant that they threw 'dirt in the Prince's teeth'.<sup>45</sup> In

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<sup>37</sup> *Cabala*, p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 167.

<sup>40</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 167; *Cabala*, p. 89.

<sup>41</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 169; *Cabala*, p. 218. (This is printed as 278 in Hacket's work when it is 218).

<sup>42</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 169; *Cabala*, p. 243.

<sup>43</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 169.

<sup>44</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 170; *Cabala*, p. 37.

<sup>45</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 170; *Cabala*, p. 86.

response Williams writes back ‘in my heart and soul, your Grace’s most faithful and constant friend and servant’ and he defends himself against the accusations.<sup>46</sup>

A further letter from Williams to the Duke, is dated by Hacket as 13 February 1623 rather than the *Cabala* date of 2 March 1624, correcting an error that Hacket sees as ‘very common in this rhapsody of Letters’.<sup>47</sup> In this letter, Williams suggests that Buckingham take up the office of Lord Steward to the King but advises he gives up another office to avoid envy. Hacket uses this to demonstrate how Buckingham’s wealth of offices were a major grievance throughout his time as favourite. He does not mention why Williams is writing such a letter; I can only presume Williams was attempting to get back in favour. Hacket however states that Williams’ friendship with the Duke could not continue unless Williams was willing not to oppose him and he argues:

Since his Grace’s return from Spaine, you shall find the Keeper in every of his letters in the Cabal, few excepted, endeavouring to take the Edge of some late started Quarrell. As p.96 in a Date July 21, 1624, in this submission ‘*if ever I have offended your Grace, I take Almighty God to witness, it was for want of a perfect understanding of these matters* (let the Reader be informed it was about the Earl of Bristol’s recrimination) *not out of any Corruption of Affections towards your Grace, or the least struggling in a continued Resolution, to live and dye your Grace’s most constant and most trusted servant.*’<sup>48</sup>

Hacket was using the *Cabala* to present an argument concerning Williams’ role in the case against Bristol and to show how Williams was working only for the good of the Duke. Hacket could assuredly tell his reader what the letter was about because he was part of Williams’ household. He could also challenge the dating of such letters for the same reason. We can use the example of Hacket and his manipulation of the *Cabala* letters to demonstrate the role the letters can play in understanding the 1620s. However Hacket has proved that there are errors in the *Cabala*’s presentation.

As we know, Hacket had an agenda when he used the letters. He used them to illustrate his own opinions as well as the character of Williams. He attempted to portray Williams as a wise, honest man who is loyal to King and country. To achieve

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<sup>46</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 171; *Cabala*, p. 89.

<sup>47</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 174; *Cabala*, p. 101.

<sup>48</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 202; *Cabala*, p. 96.

this he portrayed Buckingham in a less than flattering way. Hacket's relationship to Williams meant he had a personal connection to his subject matter which modern scholars who use the *Cabala* will not have. Hacket used the *Cabala* to shape and project his own views but the fact that he, a contemporary of the time that the letters were written, places such emphasis on the *Cabala* letters contributes to the book's own place as an important political document. Hacket's work would appear to be one of the first examples of political biography and demonstrates how letters can contribute to this field.

The significance of the Spanish Match is also now a focus of modern scholars and two such works are *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* by Thomas Cogswell and *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* by Glyn Redworth.<sup>49</sup> Both books cite the *Cabala*. Cogswell uses three letters. The first is a letter also referenced by Hacket which is titled 'To his Sacred Majestie ab ignoto' and Cogswell uses this to illustrate how the Spanish complained that Buckingham was over familiar with Charles and called him by 'ridiculous names'.<sup>50</sup> The second is a letter from Henry Wotton to the Earl of Portland which Cogswell uses to demonstrate the fact that Edward Conway was preferred to Sir Richard Weston, Portland, for the role of secretary because he was favoured by Buckingham. Wotton writes that Conway was preferred because he was Buckingham's 'Martial Secretarie' and Cogswell quotes this phrase.<sup>51</sup> The third and final letter Cogswell uses is from the second volume of the *Cabala* and is a letter from Bristol to James dated 29 October 1623 which concerns the delaying of the wedding between Charles and the Infanta.<sup>52</sup> Redworth cites the *Cabala* twice in his book which concentrates entirely on the Match. He uses a letter from Edward Clarke to the Duke of Buckingham whereby the Duke had entrusted a letter to Clarke to be delivered to Bristol which instructed Bristol not to hand over the marriage proxy.<sup>53</sup> Redworth's second reference is not so clear. He quotes *Cabala* page 246 which is part of Sir Arthur Chichester's passages with the Ambassadors of Spain. Redworth uses this to demonstrate that the final obstacle to Charles' desire for war was

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<sup>49</sup> Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge University Press, 1989); Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>50</sup> Cogswell, p. 64; *Cabala*, pp. 217-22.

<sup>51</sup> Cogswell, p. 83; *Cabala*, pp.198-199.

<sup>52</sup> Cogswell, p. 110; *Scrinia Sacra*, pp. 137-141.

<sup>53</sup> Redworth, p. 135; *Cabala*, pp. 306-307.

removed when Frederick, his brother-in-law, rejected James' appeal that he send his eldest son to be married at the Emperor's court.<sup>54</sup> I can find no reference in the discourse written by Chichester where he mentions this. Both authors use the *Cabala* rather than other contemporary sources suggesting they draw exclusively to the *Cabala* and the letters quoted suggest an importance to the authors' own interpretation of the Match.

Looking at how the *Cabala* has been used by Cogswell and Redworth we can see that the letters are important to the history of the Spanish Match as the modern scholars have access to more material than Hacket had. The modern scholar will where possible usually cite original manuscripts or letters. They will also try to cite the earliest publication of such sources. This signifies that the *Cabala* may well be the earliest known reference or the only citation of such a letter. However neither author reflects on the *Cabala* as a source and what its own political message could be seen to be.

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* cites the *Cabala* for several subjects also involved in the Spanish Match. In particular unsurprisingly Brian Quintrell uses the *Cabala* in his piece on Williams and also on Richard Weston concerning his loyalty to Buckingham.<sup>55</sup> David L. Smith also uses it for his entry on the Earl of Bristol and A.J. Loomie on his entry for Sir Toby Matthew who writes to the Spanish king, Philip IV, requesting that he does not press Prince Charles too far on the concessions to Catholics.<sup>56</sup> Further references within the *Dictionary* include those on Henry Rich, another major player in the Spanish Match.<sup>57</sup>

John Hacket's primary use of the *Cabala* concerns the Spanish Match of the 1620s. I would argue that the *Cabala* can be considered as a major source for the Match. Hacket was a witness to the Match and all its consequences and his emphasis on the Match shows just how important this episode was in Stuart history. It had major repercussions for not just Williams and Bristol but for Buckingham and the monarchy. The letter written by the archbishop of York to James, discussed in

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<sup>54</sup> Redworth, p. 138; *Cabala*, p. 246.

<sup>55</sup> Brian Quintrell, 'Williams, John (1582-1650)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 4 May 2016]; 'Weston, Richard, (bap.1577, d. 1635)', *ODNB Online* [accessed 4 May 2016].

<sup>56</sup> David L Smith, 'Digby, John, first earl of Bristol (1580-1653)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 4 May 2016]; A.J. Loomie, 'Matthew, Sir Toby (1577-1655)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 4 May 2016].

<sup>57</sup> R. Malcom Smuts, 'Rich, Henry, first earl of Holland (bap.1590, d. 1649)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 4<sup>th</sup> May 2016].

chapter one, warned James of the consequences of the Match with its tolerance of religion and how ignoring his subjects' wishes would draw God's wrath and indignation.<sup>58</sup> As we have seen in chapter one, Hacket dismisses this letter as a forgery but it proves that whoever wrote it saw the Match as the road to maybe not civil war but to a spilt between the monarch and his people. Therefore the Match was not just important to Hacket but to other contemporaries as well. Modern scholars such as Cogswell are also now appreciating the role the Match had in the anticipation of the troubles ahead. The *Cabala* positions this role within the 1650s as well and allows us as readers to see this importance in the hindsight of the Protectorate. However the modern scholar loses this significance if they do not consider the *Cabala* as the source.

### **Representing Lives: Modern Scholars and Biography.**

John Hacket is a unique witness because he was a contemporary of the letter writers and therefore he could challenge the letters in a way the modern scholar cannot, in particular in the case of the forged letter. However this is not to suggest that modern scholars cannot use the letters in a constructive and resourceful way but rather that being removed from the period in question allows the modern scholar to investigate sources and material that may not have been available to Hacket and to also give a more balanced view than a man who was loyal to his friends. We could question Hacket's use of the *Cabala* as a source SINCE there are now more sources available; after all, the *Cabala* only gives us a selection of letters which do not always give the reader the full picture. Hacket's individual interests and opinions are also a factor which would not be relevant to the modern scholar who wouldn't have his personal agenda.

What we can gain from the modern scholar is the idea that the *Cabala* can influence how we perceive a subject or an event. The modern scholar may have at hand more source documentation and also original manuscript evidence that Hacket may not have been party to. If therefore the modern scholar uses the *Cabala* it may mean that it is in fact the only source available. For example many of the Essex letters discussed in chapter three are not cited by Essex scholars from the *Cabala* because there are several manuscript copies available and the same can be said for

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<sup>58</sup> *Cabala*, p. 13.



the Anne Boleyn letter which we have seen exists in several forms. We need to ascertain what source information is therefore unique to the *Cabala* which makes it important to modern scholarship. If we examine the *Cabala*'s use in modern biography it helps us understand the book's place in canonical scholarship.

Roger Lockyer uses the *Cabala* extensively in his book *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* and to a lesser extent in his shorter work *James VI & I*.<sup>59</sup> For his work on James, Lockyer uses two letters from the 1691 edition of the *Cabala* both concerning the Spanish Match. The first is a letter from James to Pope Gregory in 1622 and Lockyer quotes from the letter to illustrate how James desired peace through marriage.<sup>60</sup> His second reference was also used by Hacket for the same effect. Both Lockyer and Hacket cite a discourse from a Don Francisco which was sent by Williams to the Duke. In the discourse Francisco states that Buckingham's power was so great with the King that the King was hindered in his own judgement. He had wanted peace at any cost until the Duke had returned from Spain counselling for war.<sup>61</sup> Lockyer and Hacket use this to show how powerful Buckingham had become and how his hold over James was perceived by the Spanish in particular.<sup>62</sup>

Lockyer's uses the 1691 *Cabala* in his work on Buckingham and cites the book at least 21 times. Lockyer cites the *Cabala* more times than any other modern scholar but like other users of the book he does not comment on the *Cabala* as a source document which, considering its role in the print history of Buckingham, is interesting. In chapter one we have argued that the *Cabala* makes an important contribution to Buckingham's reputation in the 1650s and this has an impact on Buckingham studies such as Lockyer's work. Lockyer also uses the book on a variety of themes in comparison with Hacket who primarily used it for the letters pertaining to the Spanish Match. For example Lockyer's first citation of the *Cabala* is a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to Buckingham in which Suffolk is thanking Buckingham for his release from the Tower. What is ironic about this is the fact that

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<sup>59</sup> Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London: Longman Group, 1981); *James VI & I* (London: Longman Group, 1998).

<sup>60</sup> Lockyer, *James VI & I*, p. 150; *Cabala 1691*, pp. 376-377.

<sup>61</sup> Lockyer, *James VI & I*, pp. 151-152; Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 170; *Cabala*, p. 92; *Cabala 1691*, p. 276.

<sup>62</sup> Lockyer uses this in *Buckingham*, p. 192 for the same effect.

he was imprisoned because he had upset the Duke and Lockyer uses this letter to show how Suffolk now recognised the fact that Buckingham was the ‘major single political influence at Court’.<sup>63</sup>

Lockyer also discusses how the power of the favourite could be used to secure his family honours and good marriages too. Chapter one discusses how Buckingham’s influence meant his family progressed in court. Lockyer writes about one such incident when Buckingham was thwarted in his plans for his brother, Christopher Villiers, whom he had wished to marry to Lady Elizabeth Norris. Norris in a letter to the Duke, used by Lockyer, describes Kit Villiers as ‘a gentleman of high worth and quality’ but she was already in love with Edward Wray, a close friend of Buckingham’s and they eloped rather than have Villiers forced on her.<sup>64</sup>

Lockyer’s use of the letters regarding the Spanish Match is restricted to one letter written in 1622, before the Duke’s journey to Spain, with none being used during Buckingham’s time in Spain. Critically he does use quite a few when he is discussing the fallout from the Match when the Duke returns from Spain thus demonstrating the importance of the *Cabala* as a source for political debate concerning the Match. The letter he uses from 1622 is a letter from the Duke to Count Gondomar discussing the terms of the Match between Charles and the Infanta. Lockyer thinks this was written at the King’s command and it assures the Count that the penal laws have been relaxed, and the imprisoned priests and recusants released. Now James expects Spain’s help with the Emperor over the situation in the Palatine.<sup>65</sup> Lockyer, in his chapter on the policies adopted by Charles and Buckingham after their return, uses another letter also used by Hacket. It is the letter from Williams to the Duke protesting his innocence about his part in the protestations against the Match. Lockyer uses the letter to emphasise two points: one demonstrating how Lord Saye was made a viscount and the other to show how Williams writes to Buckingham that he had never opposed him.<sup>66</sup> Lockyer, in agreement with Hacket, argues that Buckingham resented the way in which Williams had pressed him to be reconciled with Bristol and that was one of the reason

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<sup>63</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 65; *Cabala 1691*, p. 333.

<sup>64</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 117; *Cabala 1691*, pp. 304-305. (There is a printer’s error in the 1691 edition as the pages numbers are duplicated so there are two sets of 304-305. The Norris letter is in the second set.)

<sup>65</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 128; *Cabala 1691*, pp. 224-226.

<sup>66</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 175; *Cabala 1691*, p. 274.

Buckingham was eager to get rid of Williams from office.<sup>67</sup> Lockyer points out that Williams himself told Hacket that he was not eager to commit himself to one man as 'it is expected he should run the same hazard with him'.<sup>68</sup>

Lockyer cites a letter used by Hacket to describe how the Duke turned on Sir Arthur Chichester when the Duke believed Chichester had not supported him in Parliament regarding Spanish foreign policy. A further letter, also used by Hacket, is sent by the Duke's servant, Packer, to Williams accusing him of the same thing. Buckingham saw this opposition as a personal affront by people whom he had supported.<sup>69</sup> Lockyer even quotes the same words as Hacket from the Packer letter, whereby Buckingham accuses Charles' opponents of throwing 'dirt in the Prince's teeth'.<sup>70</sup> Lockyer uses this letter to support the idea that Buckingham was aiming to rally Parliament to support his own and the Prince's policy rather than the King's. Williams, when accused, states his loyalty to the King and his desire for peace, whereas Buckingham by pushing Williams to support him is actually asking the Lord Keeper to go against the King's wishes.<sup>71</sup> Therefore we can see Hacket and Lockyer using the same letters but in Lockyer's case he uses the letters in a different way. Lockyer without what we might call the emotional bias of Hacket can interact with the evidence provided by the letters in an impartial way.

The idea of a power shift from James to Charles is further demonstrated by Sir Walter Ashton's Memorial to the King of Spain from which Lockyer quotes. Buckingham, it appears, has consulted with various lords and had resolved that if the King would not agree to their counsels 'they would give him a house of pleasure, whither he might retire himself to his sports, in regard that the Prince had now years sufficient to, and parts answerable for, the government of the kingdom'.<sup>72</sup> Although James did not abdicate, the power of the favourite showed no signs of diminishing and Lockyer uses another letter to show how one of the Duke's friends, the Earl of Nithisdail, is involved in resolving matters within the French Match whereby he writes to the Duke with the French assurances that all they needed was a written

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<sup>67</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 175.

<sup>68</sup> *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 39; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 176.

<sup>69</sup> Lockyer, p. 179; *Cabala 1691*, p. 197, p. 319.

<sup>70</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 179; *Cabala 1691*, p. 310, *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 170.

<sup>71</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 179.

<sup>72</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 195; *Cabala 1691*, p. 13.

promise from James to procure the dispensation from the Pope.<sup>73</sup> The Duke's desire for war was also granted when James and the French agreed to send joint forces to help restore the Palatinate. However, it was to be under the command of a German mercenary, Count Mansfeld, and this was seen as a slight by the English. Lockyer quotes a letter from Sir Edward Cecil to the Duke who writes he intended to retire from military service now 'that strangers get the command'.<sup>74</sup> Lockyer's use of another *Cabala* letter allows him to argue that the desire for war will not end well for Buckingham. The letter in question is written anonymously to James urging him to stand firm for peace. Lockyer argues that Buckingham witnesses the fulfilment of a prophesy made by the writer who warns that those who cry for war will then curse him over the payment of subsidies to sustain it.<sup>75</sup> Therefore we can see that the aftermath of the Match is also seen as important to Lockyer and he uses the *Cabala* letters to demonstrate this.

Lockyer uses the *Cabala* letters to demonstrate the impact of Buckingham's family on matters of state. In doing so he uses the Purbeck letter and then letters concerning the Duke's own personal life. The Purbeck letter, as we have seen in chapter one, concerns the Duke's family and the scandal of Lady Purbeck, the Duke's sister-in-law, and her lover Sir Robert Howard. Lady Purbeck had given birth to a child said to be her lover's and both Lady Purbeck and Howard were summoned to appear before the Court of High Commission. Lockyer references a further letter from the Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the appearance of Howard at the Commission.<sup>76</sup> In another letter Lockyer demonstrates how there was further gossip surrounding the Duke who had himself become infatuated with another woman and this letter from the Earl of Holland to the Duke contains information relating to the Duke's passion for Anne of Austria whom he had met in France in 1625. Holland acts as a mediator for the Duke with Anne and sends a report to the Duke using the symbol of a crown for Louis XIII and a heart for Anne. Buckingham desired to see Anne again but Holland does not venture a clear opinion with Lockyer quoting from the letter, 'Do what you will, I dare not advise you. To come is dangerous. Not to

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<sup>73</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 200; *Cabala 1691*, p. 304 (as before these pages have a printer's error where pp. 304-305 are numbered twice. This is printed on the second set.).

<sup>74</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 208; *Cabala 1691*, p. 170.

<sup>75</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 211; *Cabala 1691*, p. 255.

<sup>76</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 286; *Cabala 1691*, p. 281.

come is unfortunate'.<sup>77</sup> Therefore court scandal and gossip can be demonstrated through the *Cabala* letters and both instances would be a matter of interest to the Stuart Court. Lockyer uses these potential scandals to illustrate how Buckingham affairs impact domestic and foreign affairs.

Buckingham was involved in yet another marriage crisis with a political dimension. He was accused of fomenting 'the bad blood between Charles and Henrietta Maria in order to preserve his monopoly of influence over the King' and Lockyer quotes from a *Cabala* letter from Holland to the Duke where Holland writes to the Duke of a conversation he had with Marie de Medici. Holland tells her that 'she must distinguish between what you say as commanded by the King, and what you say of yourself: for if it be his pleasure to make the Instrument to convey his will upon any occasion of his displeasure, you are not to dispute but to obey his command, in that and in all things'.<sup>78</sup> These letters all highlight how involved Buckingham was in not just state matters but in the personal affairs of the French royal family with Anne of Austria and Henrietta Maria. It would appear Buckingham's influence stretched wide and the letters help Lockyer demonstrate that.

Lockyer uses the *Cabala* in a similar way to Hacket and in many cases they reference the same letters for similar reasons. Lockyer's focus is on Buckingham rather than Williams and it is the crossover between the two where the similarities lie. Lockyer also uses other letters which are relevant only to Buckingham but both Hacket and Lockyer demonstrate the wealth of source material to be found within the *Cabala*. Hacket with his limited resources could be said to rely on the *Cabala* because he had little access to any other manuscripts but Lockyer had a much broader array of source material at hand but he still required the *Cabala* for references to the life of Buckingham as much as Hacket relied on it for his life of Williams. Therefore the evidence points to the *Cabala* as a unique source for Buckingham's biography and the fact the letters may come from a Buckingham residence adds a new dimension to this.

Alan Stewart uses the *Cabala* in two of his books: *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (in collaboration with Lisa Jardine) and *The Cradle*

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<sup>77</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, pp. 295-296; *Cabala 1691*, p. 233.

<sup>78</sup> Lockyer, *Buckingham*, pp. 334-335; *Cabala 1691*, p. 232.

*King: A Life of James VI & I*.<sup>79</sup> In his biography of James, Stewart uses two *Cabala* letters, one of which was used by both Hacket and Lockyer.<sup>80</sup> The first of which is the discourse with Don Francisco which was sent by Williams to the Duke and Stewart, in a similar way to Hacket and Lockyer, uses the letter to demonstrate how the Spanish believed that James himself was concerned over the power of Buckingham.<sup>81</sup> The second letter is the memorial from Aston to the King of Spain whereby Charles and Buckingham plot to get James to abdicate in favour of his son. Lockyer also cites this letter in his biography on Buckingham and both Stewart and Lockyer use this to demonstrate how far the shift of power was now with Charles and Buckingham rather than with James and the Duke.<sup>82</sup> Thus the letter would appear to be an important source not just on Buckingham's life but on James' too. The *Cabala* becomes an important biographical document.

Stewart and Jardine cite the *Cabala* at least six times and use the 1663 supplement known as *Scrinia Ceciliana*.<sup>83</sup> This was marketed as a supplement to the 1654 edition although the printers also printed and sold a new full edition combining the 1654 letters with the supplement. The *Cabala* of 1663 has a large number of letters from Francis Bacon.<sup>84</sup> Stewart and Jardine's first citation is a letter regarding Bacon's prosecution of Lord Sanquhar who had procured the murder of an English fencing master.<sup>85</sup> Then four letters written to the Duke of Buckingham are used, once again highlighting how the *Cabala* is an important source of information regarding the Duke. One of these letters is from Bacon to Buckingham whereby Bacon advises the Duke on his advance to power which Stewart and Jardine say Bacon was encouraged to give to the new favourite.<sup>86</sup> The *Cabala* is also used to enhance Bacon's biography.

Another letter is used as part of a footnote to a problem Bacon faced whilst in charge of the King's finances and there was a further complication on this issue later

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<sup>79</sup> Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1998); Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003).

<sup>80</sup> Lockyer references this in his own biography of James and his book on Buckingham.

<sup>81</sup> Stewart, *The Cradle King*, p. 335; Lockyer, *James VI & I*, pp. 151-152; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 192. Stewart references *Cabala 1691* pp. 275-276.

<sup>82</sup> Stewart, *Cradle King*, p. 33; Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 195; *Cabala 1691*, p. 13.

<sup>83</sup> *Scrinia Ceciliana, Mysteries of State and Government* (1663).

<sup>84</sup> *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra, Mysteries of State and Government* (1663).

<sup>85</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 325; *Scrinia Ceciliana*, pp. 368-369.

<sup>86</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 389; *Scrinia Ceciliana*, pp. 43-66.

which is mentioned in a letter from Williams to the Duke.<sup>87</sup> The fourth letter relates to the fall of Bacon and how Buckingham's intervention had allowed Bacon to stay under house arrest at York House rather than be committed to the Tower. Anthony Ashley in a letter to the Duke warns him that this leniency is being used with 'malice' against him.<sup>88</sup> Bacon's pardon is also dealt with in another letter from Williams to the Duke whereby the pardon was delayed. This letter is used by the authors to show that Buckingham knew about the delay even though he pleaded ignorance to Bacon.<sup>89</sup> The authors write:

The *Cabala* published in 1663 contains a warrant addressed from James to the Attorney-General with directions to prepare a full pardon; the warrant spoke of 'calling to mind his former good Services, and how well and profitably he hath spent his time since his trouble', as a result of which the King (having 'formerly pardoned his fine, and released his confinement') was 'pleased to remove him from that blot of ignominy which yet remaineth upon him, of incapacity and disablement; and to remit to him all penalties whatsoever inflicted by that sentence'.<sup>90</sup>

Thus we can see the *Cabala* is used by the authors to demonstrate how James was responding favourably to Bacon's request for a pardon. The authors also add that no such pardon is issued in the Patent Rolls and the Signet Office Docquet books which may mean that the *Cabala* is the only source remaining of the request by James to pardon Bacon.<sup>91</sup> The fact that Jardine and Stewart use the *Cabala* for their work on Bacon is very important. There is a large amount of source material available on Bacon in manuscript and in letter form; in fact the majority of Bacon letters published in the *Cabala* are found elsewhere, therefore their use of these letters point towards an exclusivity within the *Cabala* as a source.

The *Cabala*, it can be argued, is source document for Stuart political biography, in particular the Spanish Match and its aftermath. In some cases these letters must be unique as source documents and that they are in fact the only sources for the information they relay. The letters are used in biographies of key Stuart courtiers such as Buckingham and Bacon but as individual source documents. If however, the biographer or scholar were to examine the letter volumes as a source

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<sup>87</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 420, (fn. 25); *Scrinia Ceciliania*, p. 291.

<sup>88</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 467; *Scrinia Ceciliania*, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 479; *Scrinia Ceciliania*, p. 287.

<sup>90</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 496; *Scrinia Ceciliania*, p. 270.

<sup>91</sup> Stewart and Jardine, p. 496.

document this could allow them to examine the reputation of figures such as Buckingham in the 1650s and the role of York House as the source of the letters could in some way add value to the Buckingham biography. They might also see the *Cabala* as one amongst many biased sources not as a mere repository. However the letter volumes are often overlooked, seen perhaps like Evelyn did as ‘things in a heap’ and in the next section we will discover how the *Cabala* can in fact be deliberately ignored.

### **Witnessing Tilbury: Leonell Sharpe and the publication of the Tilbury Speech**

As we have seen, the *Cabala* letters are used as a source document by a number of historians from Hackett to the present day. Many of the Tudor letters can indeed be found in various manuscript collections, in particular those of the Earl of Essex, and therefore these letters are not in fact unique. Its uniqueness, it could be argued, lies in the fact it was the first time state letters had been published in one volume. However the first volume of the *Cabala* has one letter which brings to prominence the famous Tilbury speech of Elizabeth I.<sup>92</sup> We can take this letter as an example of how the *Cabala* has been used but also how, we could also argue, it gets deliberately ignored as a source document. Whereas we have seen scholars dismissing or challenging some letters, such as Anne Boleyn’s and the archbishop of York’s, the Tilbury speech is taken as fact. Why does this happen and what also happens to the *Cabala*’s own place within its publishing history? The letter written by Dr Leonell Sharpe to the Duke of Buckingham in the 1620s only comes into the public domain with the publication of the *Cabala* in 1653, 67 years after the Armada and Elizabeth’s appearance at Tilbury.<sup>93</sup> The letter itself is fairly innocuous. Written to Buckingham during the heightened tensions with Spain, after the failure of the Spanish Match in 1623, it appears to situate Sharpe on the side of Buckingham and the anti-Spanish faction.

As we have seen in chapter one, the Duke was the receiver of many such letters from people wishing to align themselves with him and therefore gain his patronage. Sharpe had been previously aligned with famous patrons who were major

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<sup>92</sup> *Cabala*, pp. 257-262.

<sup>93</sup> The letter’s contents dates it to the time of the Spanish Match and I would argue that it was written in 1624 after the Prince and Buckingham return from Spain as it appears to support the subsequent anti-Spanish policy being pursued by the Prince and the Duke.



players in the Elizabethan Court. He was chaplain first to the Earl of Leicester and then the Earl of Essex and through his service to Leicester he was present at Tilbury in 1588.<sup>94</sup> The Armada and the war with Spain was a recent memory in 1624 and the current break with Spain after the Match had broken down meant it was once again topical. Sharpe therefore emphasises his link with 1588 by including in his letter the speech he says was made by Elizabeth at Tilbury which he was given and ‘commanded to redeliver to all the Armies together’ and he tells Buckingham ‘And no man hath it, but myself, and such as I have given it to, and therefore I made bold to send it unto you, if you have it not already.’<sup>95</sup> Sharpe hints of a wider audience and claims he was asked to deliver it in some form to all the army but intriguingly the 1624 letter appears to be the first record of this version of the speech and there is certainly no record of it being in print before 1653.

Sharpe’s *Cabala* letter, printed some years after the event, is therefore key to whether we accept the Tilbury speech as genuine. Its very publication raises doubt because until Sharpe writes it in his letter to Buckingham in 1624 it does not appear in any records and its first recorded print version is the *Cabala* of 1653. Does the fact that it is written within a personal letter give it credence or does it actually diminish its claim to authenticity? The authenticity of the speech has, in recent years, been a subject of some debate. This debate was actually started in 1919 by Miller Christy who declared there were in fact three different versions of the speech in existence and this was then expanded on by Felix Barker in 1988 and Susan Frye in 1992.<sup>96</sup> Frye draws our attention to two further speeches. In 1997 Janet Green then rejects the idea that the speech is not authentic and argues that Sharpe’s version is genuine.<sup>97</sup> In my 2003 M.A. dissertation, ‘The Word of a Prince? Representation and Propaganda in the Tilbury Speech 1588-1654’, the different speeches were examined in reaction to the local and political contexts within which they were published.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Cabala*, p. 259.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

<sup>96</sup> Miller Christy, ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Visit to Tilbury in 1588’, *English Historical Review*, 34 (1919), 43-61; Felix Barker, ‘If Parma had landed’, *History Today*, 38 (1988), 34-41; Susan Frye, ‘The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992), 95-114.

<sup>97</sup> Janet M. Green, ‘“I My Self”: Queen Elizabeth I’s Oration at Tilbury Camp’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 421-445.

<sup>98</sup> Samantha Smith, ‘The Word of a Prince? Representation and Propaganda in the Tilbury Speech 1588-1654’ (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 2003). The other version of speeches published are as follows: James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588); Thomas Deloney, *The Queenes visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie with her entertainment there* (1588);

The aim is to build on these arguments and discussions around the speech in order to demonstrate how the Sharpe letter becomes probably the most important contribution to Elizabethan studies from the *Cabala* volumes.

Firstly it is important to understand just how unquestionably the speech is accepted by modern scholars and biographers and how they cite the speech. This will demonstrate just how much the *Cabala* version is accepted as a record of the actual speech as given by Elizabeth. The speech is accepted and attributed to Elizabeth in numerous books on the Queen from David Hume (1759); Charles Allen (1793); Mary Markham (1851); Christopher Hibbert (1924); J.E. Neale (1934); Winston Churchill (1956); Elizabeth Jenkins (1958); Alison Plowden (1977); Carolly Erickson (1983); Christopher Haigh (1988); Maria Perry (1990); Alison Weir (1998); *Collected Works of Elizabeth I* (2000); David Loades (2003); and most recently Leanda de Lisle (2013).<sup>99</sup> The speech is also represented on film: *Fire over England* (1937) with Flora Robson rousing the troops and on television *Elizabeth R* (1971), with Glenda Jackson.<sup>100</sup> This demonstrates an acceptance of the speech both by scholars and by wider cultural mediums.

Miller Christy, as mentioned before, was the first to question the authenticity of the speech as early as 1919 and Christy describes it as ‘more like a report drawn up afterwards by some skilled literary hand’. However Christy admits that he cannot find the source of the speech and therefore concludes it is not authentic.<sup>101</sup> In 1958, J.E. Neale, described as the historian of Elizabethan England for his generation, responds to Christy.<sup>102</sup> He had already used the speech in his biography of Elizabeth in 1934 and in his later book *Essays in Elizabethan History* he directs Christy to the *Cabala* of 1651 as the source document although he cites the 1691 *Cabala*.<sup>103</sup> Sharpe,

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William Leigh, *Queene Elizabeth, Paraleld in Her Princely Vertues with David, Joshua and Hezekia* (1612).

<sup>99</sup> All apart from De Lisle were mentioned in my MA dissertation. It is interesting to note that there have been very few new works on Elizabeth I since 2003. However 2003 was four hundred years since the death of the queen hence the proliferation of studies on her around this time. All works referred to are listed in the bibliography rather than listed here unless they are quoted.

<sup>100</sup> *Fire over England*, dir. William K. Howard. Perf. Flora Robson, Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh. (London Film Productions Ltd, 1937); *Elizabeth R*, dir. Roderick Graham. Perf. Glenda Jackson and Robert Hardy. (BBC, 1971).

<sup>101</sup> Christy, p. 55.

<sup>102</sup> Patrick Collinson, ‘Neale, Sir John Ernest (1890-1975)’, *ONDB Online* [accessed 9 May 2006], p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> J.E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (The Bedford Historical Series, 1954), p. 309 and *Essays in Elizabethan History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), p. 104.

Neale states, was the chaplain to Essex, Elizabeth and Henry, Prince of Wales. His presence at Tilbury was presumably as Leicester's chaplain and Neale writes 'we know only too little about the collection in which it appears' but there is, in his opinion, 'no serious reason to reject the speech'. He has 'little doubt that Sharpe's version is a copy, at two or three times removed of a speech actually written by Elizabeth herself'.<sup>104</sup> He gives no reason or evidence for this assumption.

After Neale's endorsement of the speech as genuine, it appears that biographers and historians accept it too but they either cite Neale or give no source at all. Elizabeth Jenkins in 1958; Neville Williams in 1967; and Alison Plowden in 1977, all quote it but give no source reference. In 1985 Carolly Eriksson quotes the speech and argues 'on the authenticity of Elizabeth's speech see *Neale's Essays in Elizabethan History*'.<sup>105</sup> In an anthology on women writers printed in 1985, the editors Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar erroneously cite 1752 as the first publication of the speech but give no source other than to state it was 'delivered by Elizabeth to land forces that had assembled at Tilbury'.<sup>106</sup> As we have seen in chapter four, we know the editors had access to the *Cabala* in their respective university libraries and could therefore have accredited the book correctly. In 1987, Frances Teague does reference the *Cabala* of 1691 and appears to accept the speech's authenticity 'reading the speech today, one can see why her soldiers cheered her: it is a masterful statement of courage and national pride'.<sup>107</sup> However in 1988, Felix Barker in a journal article disputes the authenticity of the *Cabala* speech by stating 'that she spoke to the army is certain, but what she said is in doubt'. Barker argues that as Elizabeth was speaking to 20,000 soldiers on a huge flat field in August it would have been impossible for the Queen to have been heard. He also questions how the speech would have been recorded. However he does believe Sharpe was at Tilbury but with the Earl of Essex.<sup>108</sup> Maria Perry, in 1990, argues that there is 'no need to doubt the authenticity of the words she spoke' and that by 1654 Sharpe was a 'distinguished elder statesman who had served Leicester, Essex and

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<sup>104</sup> Neale, *Essays*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>105</sup> Carolly Erickson, *The First Elizabeth* (London: Robson Books, 1999, first published 1985), pp. 374-375, p. 420 fn 8.

<sup>106</sup> *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English*, ed. by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New York, London: Norton, 1985), p. 30.

<sup>107</sup> Frances Teague, 'Elizabeth I: Queen of England' in *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by Katharina M. Wilson (University of Georgia, 1987), pp. 522-547.

<sup>108</sup> Barker, p. 38.

Henry'.<sup>109</sup> She does however neglect to give a source for the speech. We can therefore see that even though the majority of scholars accept the speech their citations of it continue to be erroneous or, in many cases, lacking completely. There still appears to be confusion over the provenance of the speech.

In 1992 Susan Frye published her journal article 'The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury' where, in comparison with Miller and Barker, she casts doubt on the authenticity of the *Cabala* speech. Frye believes that 'the construction of Elizabeth I as a historical subject owes a great deal to this speech, in spite of doubts about its authenticity' and later she argues that 'Historians and biographers perpetuated a second myth, which portrayed Elizabeth as symbolic of England's emergent military power and, by extension, of a unified political power she did not actively command'.<sup>110</sup> The Tilbury speech of the *Cabala* has been used to enforce this myth hence its importance within Elizabethan scholarship. Frye presents the case for the different versions of the speech written by Aske, Deloney and Leigh which are currently overlooked by historians and biographers. Does Elizabethan scholarship then change regarding its use of the *Cabala* speech after the publication of Frye's article?

In *Gloriana's Face* published in the same year as Frye's article, Frances Teague again writes on the famous speech. She cites her source as her previous work of 1987 which in turn had referenced the *Cabala* of 1691. In her footnote regarding her source for the Tilbury account Teague writes 'Miller is sceptical about the speech text's authenticity, while Neale does accept it. I think a tentative acceptance of the speech is warranted, although I would emphasise the qualifier 'tentative''.<sup>111</sup> As this work is published in 1992 it can be accepted as written before Frye's argument has been published. However Frye states in her footnotes that Teague had already pointed out the doubtfulness of the speech's text in a paper delivered in December 1987 and had corresponded with Frye on the topic.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, 1987, Teague as we have seen had published on the speech without alluding to this doubt and in her 1992 work she argues for a tentative acceptance. Teague does

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<sup>109</sup> Maria Perry, *The Word of a Prince* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), p. 208.

<sup>110</sup> Frye, p. 98, p. 106.

<sup>111</sup> Frances Teague, 'Queen Elizabeth in Her Speeches' in *Gloriana's Face*, ed. by S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne Davis (Wayne State University Press, 1992), p. 77.

<sup>112</sup> Frye, p. 99.

however mention Sharpe and the *Cabala*. She records that Sharpe was Elizabeth's chaplain in 1588 and that the text was first published in 1651. This is in fact the date on the microfilm edition which is universally accepted as incorrect and should state 1653. Teague also states that Sharpe was imprisoned in the 1620s and the letter he wrote in 1624 to Buckingham was a way to help ingratiate himself with the Duke. She then reveals that Buckingham gave the letter to the anonymous printer of the *Cabala* in 1651 but as Buckingham died in 1628 we can only presume she meant his son?<sup>113</sup> However, Teague unhelpfully gives no source for this revelation. She then attempts to give an explanation regarding the speech's origin 'One could after all argue that Sharp invented the text himself or that the collector of the *Cabala* falsified the letter knowing that no-one could ever prove the forgery'.<sup>114</sup> I would argue that it would make more sense that Sharpe invented the speech rather than the collector of the *Cabala*. What would they gain? Why would they forge the letter and then slip it into a collection of letters? If the forger wanted to make a significant point with such a letter it would make more sense to circulate it as a singular piece in the same way that the Anne Boleyn letter was originally. Teague does not elaborate on her argument so it seems rather strange. Teague concludes by saying 'a conscientious scholar must first decide whether the speech is authentic, as most historians believe, and then whether the version preserved in the *Cabala* is authoritative'.<sup>115</sup> As we will see some of Teague's biographical details on Sharpe are incorrect and her sources are unclear, but what she says is nevertheless important. If we are going to use the speech we have to decide which is the authoritative text and the *Cabala* and Sharpe should be acknowledged. Whether the speech is genuine or not the first publication of it remains the *Cabala* of 1653. The speech is delivered to us via Sharpe in a letter and this should also be cited as such.

In direct response to Frye, in 1997 Janet Green argues for the authenticity of the speech. She believes that substantial evidence exists for believing the speech is genuine and there are three categories which support this: rhetorical characterisation which echoes Elizabeth's other speeches; considerable contemporary evidence that she delivered a speech at Tilbury; and thirdly that the text also exists in manuscript

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<sup>113</sup> *Gloriana's Face*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

form, the BL Harley 6798 f.87, which is in the handwriting of Sharpe himself.<sup>116</sup> Green also uses Sharpe's biography as a means to demonstrate why we should accept the speech as genuine. She describes him as a man trusted by some of the most powerful men of his time: Leicester, Essex, Prince Henry, Northampton, Buckingham and James I. Green states that 'they saved his letters' because he was so valued.<sup>117</sup> It is correct that his letters do exist in manuscript collection but there is no more abundance than any other letter writer of the age and in fact in comparison to writers such as Francis Bacon very few letters of Sharpe do exist. Also as we have seen from the letters written to Buckingham which appear in the *Cabala*, of which Sharpe's letter is but one, statesmen such as the Duke would retain such letters whoever the writer. The same goes for the letters from Sharpe found in the Cecil collection. Green also sees Sharpe as a successful clergyman who sometimes made bad decisions with his involvement with Essex and Hoskyns but who 'did better than most'. Therefore, Green argues, we can continue the discussion on the speech text 'with some confidence in Dr Sharpe's reliability'. Green's argument is that if Sharpe is reliable then so is the speech.<sup>118</sup>

By the 1990s the Tilbury speech had become a focus for debate. The first mention of its authenticity is when Christy casts doubt on it in 1919, but because he does not even know the source, his argument is weakened and is easily dismissed by Neale. Neale's endorsement of the speech allows scholars to accept its authenticity but with Frye's arguments in 1992 doubts creep back. From this point scholars at least have to appear to consider the arguments concerning it. They take note of Teague's recommendation that they need to decide their own position but, as we will see, the overwhelming opinion still veers towards an acceptance of the speech as genuine. However it is worth noting that Frye and other scholars are stating only opinions on the speech and they are not focused on the evidence. The speech's publication history within the *Cabala* is key to the debate. Can we truly accept a speech published so long after the event as genuine?

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<sup>116</sup> Green, p. 421.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 428.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 428.

In 1998 the popular biographer Alison Weir published *Elizabeth the Queen*.<sup>119</sup> Weir rarely offers footnotes so it is impossible to trace where she gets her information from. In this case she quotes the speech and does in fact mention Sharpe describing him as one of Elizabeth's chaplains. The speech, she states, was widely circulated and the text given to Buckingham whose son published it in 1654.<sup>120</sup> None of this is substantiated anywhere else and there is no history or evidence of such a circulation. However she does list the 1653 and 1691 *Cabala* in her bibliography. In 1999, Colin Martin and Geoffrey Palmer cite the speech in their book *Spanish Armada* but give their source as Janet Green who they argue 'demonstrates its authenticity'.<sup>121</sup> A year later *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* is published with the editors stating 'there can be little doubt that her speech was actually delivered' and they describe Sharpe as chaplain to Buckingham.<sup>122</sup> Their sources are at least correct as they quote both the *Cabala* 1653 and the BL MS Harley 6798.

In *England's Elizabeth* by Michael Dobson and Nicola Watson, published in 2002, the speech is mentioned briefly but not quoted. In a footnote to the introduction, the authors argue that 'Frye may exaggerate the dubiety of the canonical version of the speech'.<sup>123</sup> However, later in the book Dobson and Watson do accept that the speech did not reach print until 1650s.<sup>124</sup> The following year, Teresa Grant, in the *Myth of Elizabeth*, discusses Frye's argument concerning the speech and writes that Frye 'tracks the history of the famous Tilbury speech to expose the fabrication of a later period which produced the 'famous' words of Lionel Sharpe's letter to Buckingham c1623'.<sup>125</sup> In 2004 Steven W. May quotes the speech from the *Cabala* of 1654. He retraces Frye's arguments concerning the various versions of the speech which exist and which he believes all have echoes of each other. He gives his readers the texts but he himself gives no opinion on what speech

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<sup>119</sup> Alison Weir, *Elizabeth the Queen* (London: Pimlico, 1998).

<sup>120</sup> Weir, p. 393.

<sup>121</sup> Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *Spanish Armada* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1999), p. 246.

<sup>122</sup> *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janet Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 325.

<sup>123</sup> Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson, *England's Elizabeth* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 289, fn 13.

<sup>124</sup> Dobson and Watson, p. 59.

<sup>125</sup> Grant, Teresa, 'Drama Queen: Staging Elizabeth in *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*' in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 133.

he accepts.<sup>126</sup> We can now see scholars are finally accepting there is a debate around the speech and its authenticity.

In *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*, published in 2007, Ben Spiller discusses the interpretation of Joan La Pucelle in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* as a representation of Elizabeth, in particular her role at Tilbury.<sup>127</sup> Spiller cites two new televisual representations of Elizabeth's visit to Tilbury. Helen Mirren's *Elizabeth*, shown on Channel 4 in 2005, Spiller believes portrays the Queen's role 'as a public relations exercise' delivering the speech as definitely the words of Elizabeth.<sup>128</sup> However in *The Virgin Queen* screened by the BBC in 2006, Anne-Marie Duff as Elizabeth does not deliver the speech on her own but it is voiced by various characters which Spiller argues gave it a 'sense of instability and increased its potential meanings'. Thus he says 'an opportunity was created for audiences to understand that the voice of the Tilbury address is not exclusively Elizabeth's own'.<sup>129</sup> The speech is interpreted in two ways: as the genuine words of Elizabeth; or in a different voice whoever that may be.

Spiller's work is particularly interesting, as not only does he show how Elizabeth can be seen to be represented as Joan in 1590 as a warlike queen just two years after Tilbury, but he is one of the few historians since Frye to discount the various versions of the Tilbury speeches as examples 'of putting words in the Queen's mouth to attempt to strengthen an argument'.<sup>130</sup> However although Spiller acknowledges Sharpe as the author, there is no reference to the *Cabala* as the source document. In the various books on Elizabeth that I have checked during my original work on the speeches and indeed since, only Mary Perry, Alison Weir and the *Collected Works* actually reference Leonell Sharpe and the *Cabala* as the source of the speech. It is as if to acknowledge either would be to doubt the authenticity of the speech. Even the recent book by Leanda de Lisle on the Tudors quotes the speech but references it to Susan Frye's article rather than the source document.<sup>131</sup> In her

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<sup>126</sup> Steven W. May, *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2004), pp. 77-78.

<sup>127</sup> Ben Spiller, 'Warlike mates? Queen Elizabeth, and Joan La Pucelle in 1 Henry VI' in *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 34-44.

<sup>128</sup> Spiller, p. 42.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>131</sup> Leanda De Lisle, *Tudor: The Family Story*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2013), p. 377.



chapter on the Armada Sharpe is relegated to ‘a chaplain who had been at Tilbury’ who decades later ‘recalled Elizabeth’s speech in full’ but confusingly the footnote refers to Thomas Deloney’s ballad about Tilbury so the reader is led to believe that Deloney is the chaplain rather than Sharpe!<sup>132</sup> De Lisle quotes a description of Elizabeth earlier in her chapter which is actually from Sharpe’s letter to Buckingham rather than in the speech but the letter itself is not referenced. The footnote, rather than reference the letter, describes Sharpe as the man who recorded the best known version of the Tilbury speech but when she quotes the actual speech, de Lisle references Frye rather than Sharpe.<sup>133</sup> Therefore the attributions become muddled and confusing to the reader.

Through tracing the publication history of the Tilbury speech in various works we can see that writers face a dilemma concerning its authenticity. To dismiss the speech as a work of fiction by Sharpe loses us the most famous oration of Elizabeth’s reign and the iconic image of the queen rallying her troops at Tilbury when the country was under genuine threat. Therefore to cite the *Cabala* of 1653, which few writers do, could sow doubt into a reader’s mind as it is printed 67 years after the event and the letter itself is written by Sharpe 36 years after Tilbury. The reader then has to question who Leonell Sharpe actually was. If like Green we place emphasis on his biography this may allow us to accept his role in producing the text. However, as we have seen, Sharpe’s biography itself has also been adapted and re-written as if the writers themselves need to give him an ‘authenticity’ to allow us to accept the speech. Therefore we now need to unravel the biography of Dr Sharpe to see exactly who he was and if indeed he is a reliable witness.

In the *Cabala* of 1653, there are published two letters from Dr Sharpe and from these letters we can discover a few biographical details. The first letter entitled ‘The Complaint of Europe Our Mother, aged and oppressed’ is written to James I. From the letter we can glean that Sharpe is a devout Christian and anti-Catholic. The letter is signed ‘Your Majesties Most Humble Chaplain’.<sup>134</sup> Therefore we can say for certain that he was James’ chaplain as we would hope that he would not sign himself as such in a letter to the King if he was not. The letter is however undated.

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<sup>132</sup> De Lisle, p. 377.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 377, p. 510.

<sup>134</sup> *Cabala*, pp. 255-256.

The second letter, addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, is also undated but presumed to have been written around 1624 because it alludes to the Spanish Match of 1623 and the writer appears to be agreeing with the Duke's push for war with Spain: 'The good policies of the former reign in such times is the best president for this, at this time'.<sup>135</sup> Sharpe uses the Armada of 1588 as an example of Spanish treachery when the Spanish were treating for peace whilst planning to invade England. He is worried that the treaty of marriage is a smokescreen behind which they plot against England. Sharpe cites the Palatine as an example of how Spain abuses the English whilst entreating marriage. He states that in 1588 he was at Tilbury with Leicester and by 1589 he was serving Essex in Portugal. At Tilbury, Sharpe writes, Burghley gave Leicester the examination of a Spanish prisoner called Don Pedro which Leicester in turn gave to Sharpe to publish to the army in his next sermon.<sup>136</sup> Susan Frye points out that this examination did not take place until 14 August, five days after Elizabeth had left Tilbury and Sharpe's account of what took place with Don Pedro is also inaccurate.<sup>137</sup> Sharpe, however, gives his word to Buckingham that this is true and that he was also asked to redeliver the Tilbury speech to the army. Sharpe, however, appears to be lying as how can he have delivered an account of an event that had not yet taken place? This casts doubt on Sharpe's credibility.

Sharpe aligns himself firmly with Essex in the letter and even compares Buckingham to the Earl writing that the Duke is as 'odious to them [Spain] as ever the Earl of Essex was'.<sup>138</sup> There is no mention of Sharpe ever having served Elizabeth as her chaplain which considering he is keen to lay down his credentials in the letter I would have thought he would have done so if it had been the case. He also does not sign himself as Buckingham's chaplain. Therefore we can glean from Sharpe that he was with Leicester at Tilbury and he later went on to serve Essex. However his reliability as a witness is called into doubt because he states he had Don Pedro's examination five days before it actually happened. This calls into question his attestation concerning the Tilbury speech. Janet Green's trustworthy character is questionable.

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<sup>135</sup> *Cabala*, p. 258.

<sup>136</sup> *Cabala*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>137</sup> Frye, pp. 99-101.

<sup>138</sup> *Cabala*, p. 262.

Mary Perry describes Shape as a ‘distinguished elder statesman’ but if we examine the contemporary evidence of Sharpe’s biography is this true?<sup>139</sup> What exactly was his role at Court? There is some confusion over his chaplaincies and which royal he actually served. P.E.J.Hammer in his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Sharpe states that Sharpe is listed as a supernumerary chaplain to Elizabeth in 1602.<sup>140</sup> However checking the Westminster Abbey Muniment book, which Hammer cites, reveals that Sharpe is only listed under ‘others that are no chaplains’ but can preach if offered.<sup>141</sup> Folio 2 dated 1602 which lists 25 ordinary and 19 extraordinary chaplains does not list Sharpe’s name. He is however listed as a Court Lenten preacher in the late 1590s when Essex was still in power. Peter E. McCullough gives these years as 1595, 1597 and 1599 and he argues that Sharpe is not made an ordinary chaplain under Elizabeth but by 1605 he was chaplain to Prince Henry. McCullough suggests Sharpe’s name disappears after 1600 due to the fall of his patron, Essex, in 1601.<sup>142</sup> Therefore although Sharpe does preach at Court it is not the elevated role that Hammer suggests it is.

There are extant letters which reveal the relationship between Essex and Sharpe. In 1589 Sharpe writes to Essex on 17 June after Essex had already sailed to Portugal in the April. Sharpe wishes Essex honour in his endeavours because the Earl deserves it and he believes God will reward him. He informs Essex that as yet there is no news from Court and asks Essex what employment he has for him.<sup>143</sup> This is interesting because, according to Sharpe in his letter to Buckingham in 1624, he was with Essex in Portugal. Why would Sharpe be asking Essex for instructions and talking of news from Court if he was with him? It has always been accepted by biographers and historians that Sharpe was with Essex in Portugal presumably because he writes this to Buckingham but the Lansdowne letter must cast doubt on this. Is Sharpe lying about his role within Essex’s circle when he writes to Buckingham? How reliable are the facts as written by Sharpe in the 1624 letter? What cannot be doubted is his affection for Essex as he finishes the letter ‘My hart

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<sup>139</sup> Perry, p. 208.

<sup>140</sup> See Paul E.J. Hammer, ‘Sharpe [Sharp], Leonell (bap.1560, d.1631)’, *ONDB Online* [accessed 29 May 2013], p. 2.

<sup>141</sup> London: Westminster Abbey: *Muniment Book 15*, folio 16.

<sup>142</sup> Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 194.

<sup>143</sup> London: British Library, *MS Lansdowne* 61 folio 44.

was and is so full of care for you' and this affection appears to be reciprocated by Essex when he writes to Cecil on 13 August 1597:

I hear that Mr Sharpe is like to be disappointed and undone by another man's having her Majesty's grant of a personage, which is now in my Lord Exeter his hand, and was by me obtained for Dr Sharpe. I pray you favour him and stop the other. You cannot do for an honest little fellow, and you shall do it a great favour to your most assured friend <sup>144</sup>

Later, in 1599, when Essex was under house arrest at York House, Thomas Egerton wrote to Cecil with a request from Essex for Sharpe to attend on him 'that whilst he liveth, he may enjoy the exercise and heavenly comfort of God's word'.<sup>145</sup> Hammer also believes that Sharpe was probably Essex's chief liaison with Cambridge University and that 'he played a crucial role in recruiting young John Coke as an 'in-house' scholar for Essex's friend Fulke Greville and acted as Essex's intermediary over a fellowship at Eton in 1595'.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately for Sharpe, Essex fell from grace and was executed on 25 February 1601. Sharpe was now in the position of having to realign himself in Court. On 20 July 1601 he wrote to Cecil:

My public duty overswaying my private affections did move me in such error and mistaking many, to speak my conscience in the beginning of these stirs, and to crave your farther direction. But now these troubles, through her Majesty's justice and mercy, God to be thanked, are laid to sleep. And therefore it may seem that what was then fit, is now needless. What I offered proceeded of a religious mind and dutiful affection to your Honour. I crave pardon of my boldness, and if it were no presumption, I would be glad to come and vow my duty to you. <sup>147</sup>

Cecil also appears to intervene for Sharpe in 1604 when Sharpe is imprisoned in the Tower. Francis Morice writes the reasons for this imprisonment in a letter to Sir B Gawdy dated 7 June 1604:

But yesterday at Court one Dr Sharpe, sometime a chaplain to my late Lord Essex but now a chaplain to the King and by appointment waiting ordinarily upon the Princes was sent for before the Council.

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<sup>144</sup> Earl of Essex to Robert Cecil, 13 August 1597, *Calendar of Manuscripts Salisbury* 24 vols (London: 1895), VII, pp. 349-350.

<sup>145</sup> Thomas Egerton to Robert Cecil, 1599, *Salisbury*, IX, p. 410.

<sup>146</sup> Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabeth Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 303.

<sup>147</sup> Leonell Sharpe to Robert Cecil, 20 July 1601, *Salisbury*, XI, p. 29.

Sharpe was sent to the Tower, Morice continues, because:

It seemed that upon the former restraint of the Lords and the rest the Sunday before, he either solicited thereunto by others or out of his own brain, without any grounds or warrant, went about to persuade divers gentlemen of special worth and ability about London, that (the King's majesty being in danger to be surprised by some conspiracy of fancy) they should give their names in readiness upon a warning to come to the Court to defend the King's person and should also procure as many more of their friend of like quality to be likewise ready.<sup>148</sup>

On 30 June, Sharpe writes to Cecil protesting his loyalty to James and offers to answer further questions.<sup>149</sup> Three days later on 3 July, Sir Hervey, Lieutenant to the Tower writes the following to Cecil:

I send you herewith the declaration of D.Sharpe required, which you should before this time have received, if the evil disposition of his body had not hindered it. I neither may nor will plead for the man or the matter but think that by the chips which are fallen into his eyes he has learned hereafter to beware how to hew above his reach.<sup>150</sup>

Hervey also sends 'passionate' overtures from Sharpe to Cecil on 7 July. In August, Sharpe thanks Cecil for his 'speedy enlargement' and hopes he will contrive his preferment with the King.<sup>151</sup> These letters therefore confirm his role as the King's chaplain and also allow us some insight into Sharpe's character and precarious position at Court.

John Chamberlain wrote in a letter to Dudley Carleton, dated 14 October 1613, of 'little Dr Sharpe' in the running for the position of Bishop of Rochester which would appear to come to nothing as there is no further record of it.<sup>152</sup> In 1614 Sharpe creates a flurry of excitement by his involvement in the Sicilian Vespers plot with John Hoskyns and Sir Charles Cornwallis and he is again committed to the Tower. The Tower Prisoner book records him as 'a royal chaplain committed on 13<sup>th</sup> June under suspicion of stirring up strife between English and Scottish factions at

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<sup>148</sup> Francis Morice to Sir B .Gaudy, 7 June 1604, *Report on the Manuscripts of the family of Gawdy* (London: 1985), pp. 92-93.

<sup>149</sup> Sharpe to Robert Cecil, 30 June 1604, *Salisbury*, XVI, p. 157.

<sup>150</sup> Sir Hervey to Robert Cecil, 3 July 1604, *Salisbury*, XVI, p. 162.

<sup>151</sup> Sharpe to Robert Cecil, August 1604, *Salisbury*, XVI, p. 166.

<sup>152</sup> John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 14 October 1613, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* 2 vols, ed. by N.E. Mclure (American Philosophical Society, 1939), I, p. 478.

Court'.<sup>153</sup> Wotton writes to Bacon on 16 June that Hoskyns, Sharpe and Cornwallis were all sent to the Tower and that, in regards to Sharpe:

It grieved my soul to behold a grave and learned divine, and a gentleman of good hopes and merits, carried away in the face of the whole Court, with most dejected countenances, and such a greediness at the windows to gaze at unfortunate spectacles.<sup>154</sup>

On 24 June Wotton writes again to Bacon that 'Chute, Hoskyns, Sharpe and Sir Charles Cornwallis are still in the Tower, and I like not the complexion of the place'.<sup>155</sup> Chamberlain also mentions the imprisonment to Carleton in his letter dated 30 June describing 'little Dr Sharpe' being committed along with Cornwallis.<sup>156</sup> In a further letter to Isaac Wake dated 12 October he describes the prisoners being 'flouted by waggish witts with a rime' which includes the line 'Doctor Sharpe soberly mad'.<sup>157</sup> Chamberlain also reveals in a further letter to Carleton dated 15 June 1615 that all three men have been released from the Tower after a year's imprisonment. Sharpe reappears in Chamberlain's correspondence to Carleton on 4 December 1618 when he writes 'I forget in my last letter that Sir Lewes Stukeley's pamphlet was penned by Dr Sharpe'.<sup>158</sup> The pamphlet he refers to was a defence of Stukeley's allegations against Sir Walter Raleigh who had been executed on 29 October 1618. Raleigh was Essex's great rival.

Apart from the two *Cabala* letters written in the 1620s, the evidence of Sharpe in print ends and he disappears from public life. There is no evidence of him ever being Buckingham's chaplain or indeed holding any major role within James' Court except as royal chaplain which we can tell from the Gawdy letter he already held by 1604. However as we have seen there would have been several royal chaplains so this would not have been such an important role. He held various livings in particular in Tiverton where he spent most of his later career. It would appear from Chamberlain's letter he was overlooked for advancement to the role of bishop and his church records only show him reaching the office of rector and

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<sup>153</sup> Brian A. Harrison, *The Tower of London Prisoner Book* (Leeds: Royal Armouries, 2004), p. 284.

<sup>154</sup> *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* ed. by L.P. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 38-39.

<sup>155</sup> Smith, p. 41.

<sup>156</sup> Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 0 June 1613, *Chamberlain*, I, p. 540.

<sup>157</sup> Chamberlain to Isaac Wake, 12 October 1613, *Chamberlain*, I, p. 547.

<sup>158</sup> Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 4 December 1618, *Chamberlain*, II, p. 191.

archdeacon alongside his role of royal chaplain.<sup>159</sup> It also does not appear to be the case that he was imprisoned in the 1620s as cited by Francis Teague. There is no recording of it in the Tower Prisoner book whereas his imprisonments of 1604 and 1614 are.<sup>160</sup> He appears to have a fond relationship with Henry Wotton who writes to Edmund Bacon in August of 1629 that he and Sharpe may well spend Christmas with Bacon that year. Sharpe's brother William was married to Alice Wotton, daughter of John Wotton, Bishop of Exeter, so there was indeed a family connection.<sup>161</sup> Also Wotton was secretary to the Earl of Essex and it could be presumed that Essex connected the two men. Sharpe died on 1 January 1630 at Wotton's family home in Boughton Malherbe and he is buried in the church there. The church records show that he was not a rector there as sometimes believed.<sup>162</sup> His memorial appears to have been erected at a later date and reads in part:

Hee was chaplain first to the Earle of Essex and after his death to Queene Elizabeth by her own choyse, after her death to Prince Henry and lastly to King James. Briefly he preached fruitfully hee lived chearefully and he dyed joyfull the first day of January Ao Dni 1630.<sup>163</sup>

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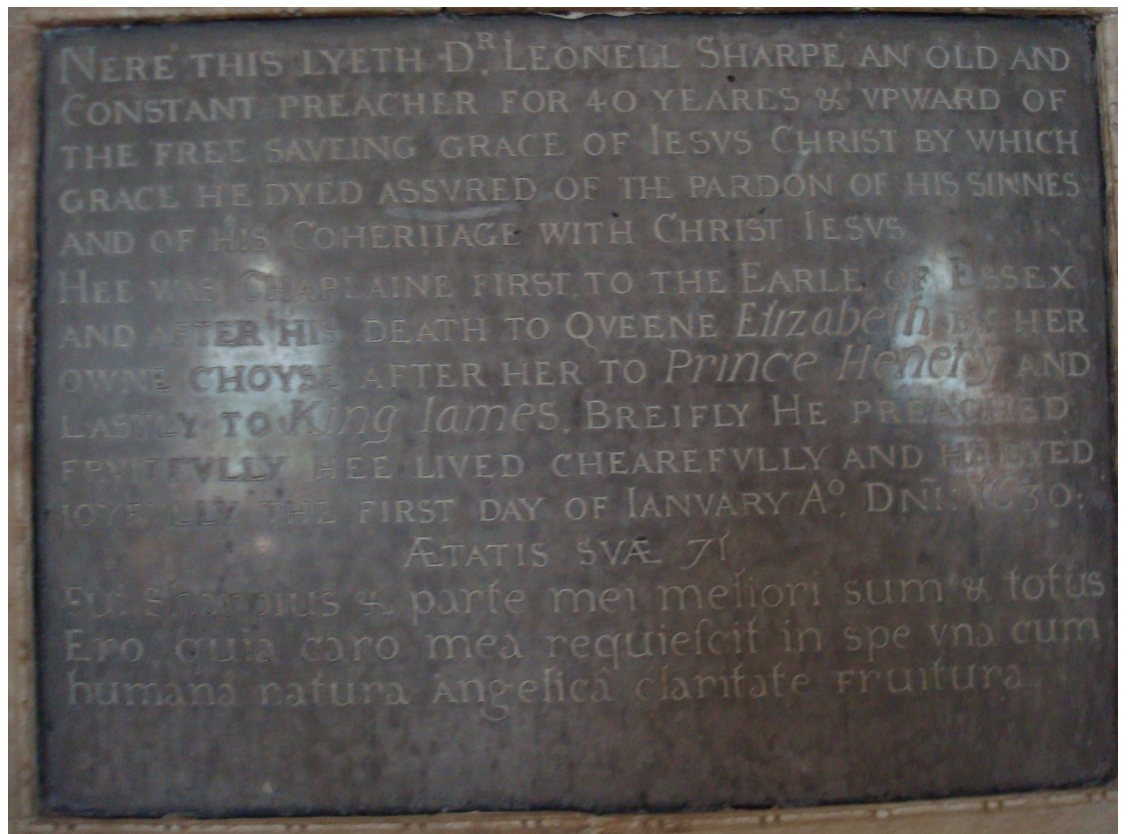
<sup>159</sup> Sharpe, Lionel (1592-1631) <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk> [accessed 16 January 2014].

<sup>160</sup> Harrison, p. 284.

<sup>161</sup> *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the year 1620* ed. by F.T. Colby (Harleian Society, 1872).

<sup>162</sup> I. E. C. Evans, *The Church of Saint Nicholas, Boughton Malherbe* (Kent: Invicta Press, undated), p. 12.

<sup>163</sup> Recorded by the author at the Church of Saint Nicholas on a visit August 2014. Photograph also taken by the author.



It does of course list him as one of Elizabeth's chaplains but as we have seen there is no concrete evidence of this. The confusion over this remains, it would seem.

Examining Sharpe's biography it would be difficult to describe him as reliable or distinguished. His letter to Buckingham contains some fabrication, in particular in the case of Don Pedro, and it would seem also on his role with Essex in Portugal. Therefore we cannot, as Green states, 'proceed with some confidence in Dr Sharpe's reliability'.<sup>164</sup> Green also believes Sharpe 'achieved considerable success in his attempt to move in royal and aristocratic circles' which is disputable. It is agreed he achieved status as chaplain to some very important people but that was the sum of his success. Green neglects to mention his imprisonment of 1604 and sees his involvement in the 1614 plot as 'in character for him' as he 'liked to manipulate affairs with advice'.<sup>165</sup> Green also fails to mention the Don Pedro issue whereby Sharpe is obviously lying. Sharpe, I would agree, was a man who during Elizabeth's reign backed the wrong man, Essex, and then used this attachment to gain some

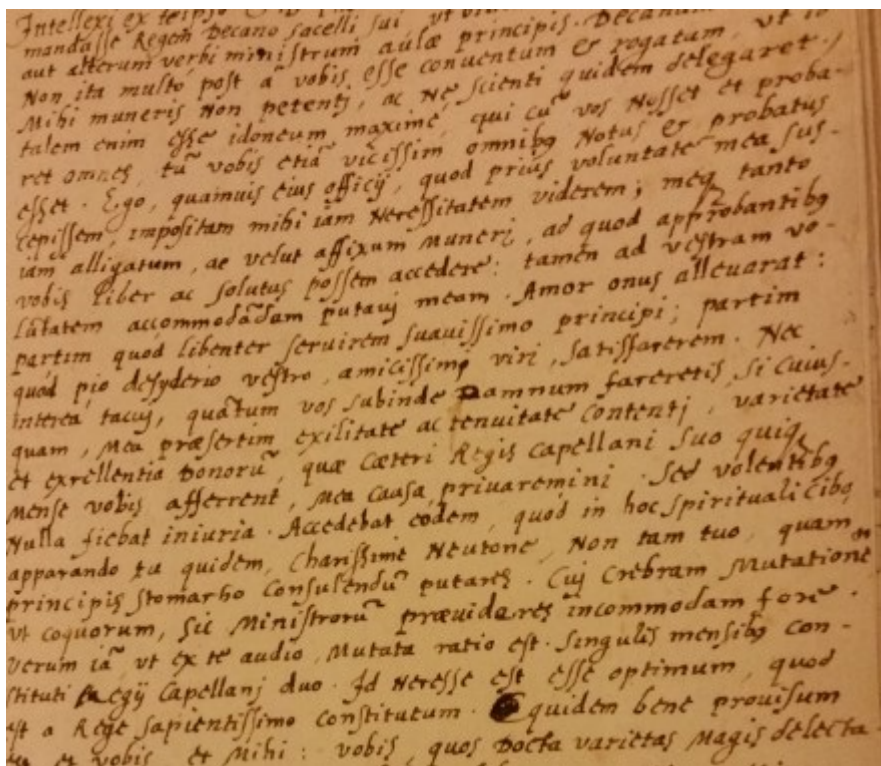
<sup>164</sup> Green, p. 438.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 437.



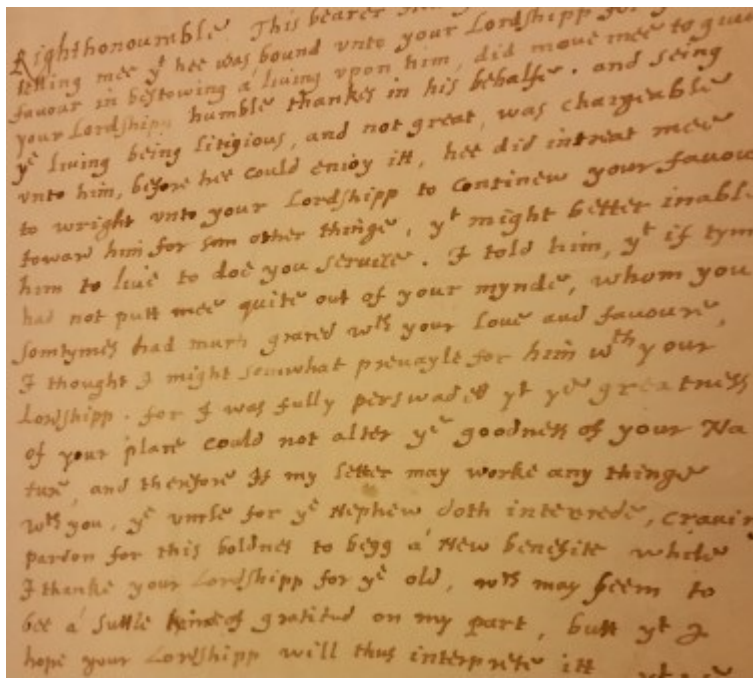
advancement within the Jacobean Court with both James and Prince Henry who were admirers of Essex. His allusions to Essex in his letter to Buckingham can be seen as an attempt to strengthen his own case with the new favourite. Essex's anti-Spanish stance gives Sharpe influence with Buckingham and allows Sharpe to manipulate his own role at Tilbury.

Janet Green's most compelling argument for the acceptance of the speech is her work regarding the manuscript copy of it found in the Harley collection and bought by Harley's collector, Humphrey Wanley, from 'Mr G Paul's landlady'. Green attests that it is in Sharpe's handwriting. There are several examples of Sharpe's handwriting available in letter or manuscript form. His letters to A. Newton (circa 1604) and to Lord Falkland (1628) are very neat and in a similar style of writing.<sup>166</sup>



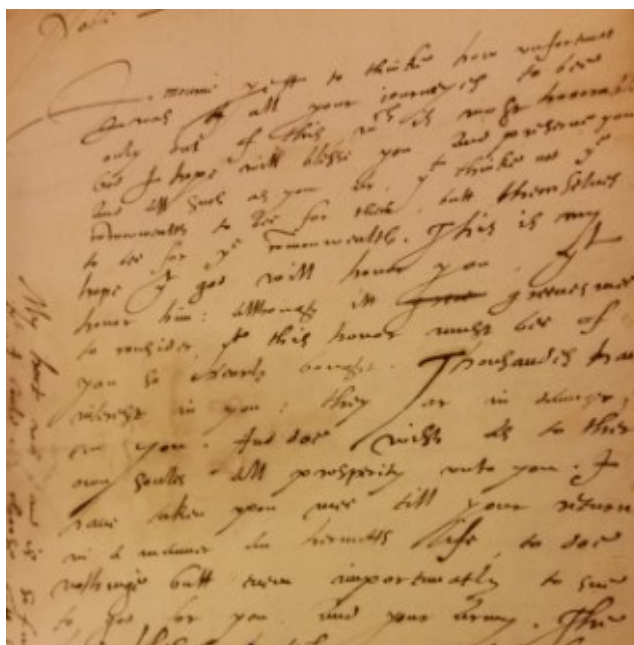
Lansdowne MS 108/93

<sup>166</sup> London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 108/93; Sloane MS 3827 Folio 134.



Sloane MS 3827 f.134.

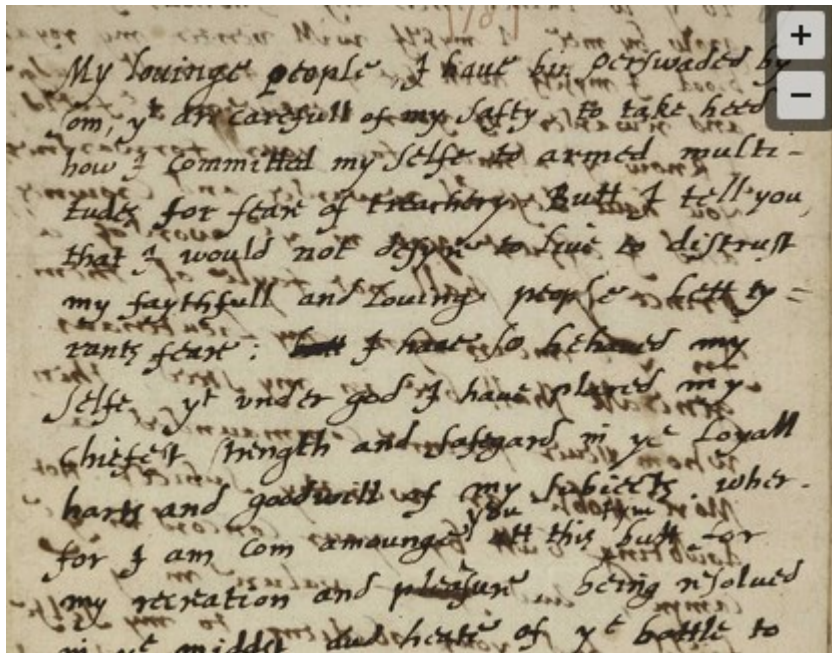
A third letter written to Essex in 1589, discussed previously, is much more flamboyant in style and I would suggest it was written in haste in comparison with the other two letters.<sup>167</sup>



Lansdowne MS 61/44

<sup>167</sup> Lansdowne MS 61/44.

The Harleian manuscript is different yet again and at first glance would appear to be by a different writer.



Harleian 6798 f.87 (taken from <<http://www.bl.uk/learning>>)

However there are mistakes which could mean it was taken down in haste but its comparative neatness would suggest it was written at a desk rather than standing up whilst listening to the Queen in the middle of a Tilbury field. Sharpe does not say whether he was given it before, during or after she spoke it. He was asked the next day to redeliver it but does not say how he comes by the speech and even if he was actually near the Queen when she said it. He describes her as riding through the army attended by 'great lords' but does not state where he actually was at the time amongst what appears to be a throng of people.<sup>168</sup>

When we examine a further manuscript, Sharpe's funeral oration for Prince Henry written in 1612, we can see, as Green did, that the handwriting here would appear to be identical to that of the Harleian text.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>168</sup> Cabala, p. 258.

<sup>169</sup> London, British Library, Add MS 40166 D 1612.

Vera effigies Henrici excellentissimi Walliae principis expressa manu Leonelli Sharpi honoris ergo, bonisque omnibus dono data.

Vultis, o boni, propria effigiem Henrici protestantissimi Walliae principis apud vos manere. vultis, scio: quia ipsum amastis. ut igitur habitum egregii corporis et mentis vobis, satis Notum etiam posteritas habeat, Statura media et recta. decantior quam sublimior. facies oblonga summa vivacium oculorum gratia. quibus in transitu suis saepe, etiam cum tartret, loquebatur. vultus placidus magis mixtus. qui principem noscitur, Magnam virum facile credent, qui sciunt, bonum sentiant. anni panni Nouendecim. Juuventa flos, prima lanugo. arma placuerunt magis quam litterae, quae tamen, ut principi, satis

Add MS 40166 D1612

It is a very good match with the speech. It begins very neatly and like the Harleian text uses both sides of the paper. The writing then gets much messier and there are more mistakes but this is probably understandable after fourteen pages. It therefore suggests that Sharpe's formal letter writing and his speech writing are very different. Green declares that handwriting experts confirm that the writing is the same and cites Laetita Yeandle of the Folger Library.<sup>170</sup> What this tells us regarding the authenticity of the speech is hard to say and we could speculate that if it had been in a different hand it would add more weight to the authenticity argument as it would mean someone else had written down the speech, i.e. one of the Queen's own clerks, thus collaborating Sharpe's own version. Having two versions by Sharpe, in my opinion, does not add any weight to an acceptance of the speech because the manuscript gives us no answers as to why Sharpe alone had it and why he chose not to publish it. He incorporates the speech within a private letter to the Duke of Buckingham where it remained until 1654. In 1624 Sharpe still had no intention of

<sup>170</sup> Green, p. 440.

publishing to a wider audience; the letter is secreted within a private correspondence, and his reasons for doing so are most probably to gain credence with the Duke. As we have seen in his biography Sharpe is a man who is constantly attempting to be a more important and a more successful man than he actually was. He remains on the periphery of court life living on his past associations with Essex in a Jacobean Court which in 1620s is trying to emulate what it sees as Elizabethan policy against Spain which in reality is tied up with the Essex faction rather than Elizabeth herself.

When it comes to giving both a place in the history of the Tilbury speech the *Cabala* and Sharpe remain on the periphery of Elizabethan scholarship. Sharpe's biography is manipulated and recreated to give him the appearance of a more important courtier than he actually was. In some cases both Sharpe and the *Cabala* are conveniently forgotten and the scholars and biographers reference Neale or Green desperate to give the Tilbury speech authenticity by ignoring the facts of its publication 66 years after the event, written by a man 36 years after Tilbury in a private letter. In fact a recent magazine article on Elizabeth printed an image of the BL Harleian manuscript version of the speech with the caption 'Ever prepared, Elizabeth wrote most of her speeches herself beforehand and practiced their delivery'. Thus the implication was that the manuscript was in Elizabeth's own hand!<sup>171</sup>

Not only does Sharpe lose his place in the history of the Tilbury speech when it is quoted and attributed to other historians but the source document itself loses its importance. It should be recognised that the *Cabala* was the very first publication to give us the Tilbury speech and it is this speech which gets quoted in biographies, historical novels and televisual representations. The Tilbury speech highlights beyond doubt the importance of the *Cabala* volumes as a significant source document for Elizabethan historians who continuously use the speech found within the 1624 letter of Leonell Sharpe. Whether they acknowledge it or not the fact remains that the speech first appears within the *Cabala* and should be acknowledged as such because the *Cabala* letter also gives us the context of the speech's first transmission. Sharpe writes it in a letter to Buckingham and this is key to why the

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<sup>171</sup> Lottie Goldfinch, "Elizabeth: The Last of the Tudors", *History Revealed*, October 2014, p. 31.

speech appears when it does in 1624, albeit in a private sphere, and not in 1588. The context alone leads to doubt over its authenticity.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to prove that the *Cabala* had and still has an important and changing contribution to Tudor and Stuart scholarship, in particular on the events of the Spanish Match and the acceptance of the Tilbury speech. Hacket's use of the *Cabala* as a contemporary allows us to see the importance and the failings of the first edition of the letter volume. Hacket relied heavily on the letters pertaining to the Match and this indicates the importance of the *Cabala* as a source for this period of history and its perception as such. Hacket also challenged the *Cabala* regarding letter authorship and in the dating of letters which brings some doubt into accepting the *Cabala* as always authoritative. In accordance with Hacket we should accept and challenge the *Cabala* as a source document. We should not always take the letters as fact although, it could be argued, that the *Cabala* publishers present them as such.

Hacket's emphasis on the Spanish Match and its consequences highlight the importance of this event within the period of 1620s and the 1650s which can often be overlooked by modern scholars. The fact that both Redworth and Cogswell both publish work on this specific episode enforces this argument. The *Cabala's* proliferation of letters on the Match demonstrates the real fears and concerns around the marriage and how in some ways it could be seen in hindsight as a prelude to civil war. The forgery of the letter which 'foretells' of the consequences of ignoring these fears only emphasises these concerns. The fact that these letters are published in 1653 can also be said to highlight that even some years later interest in the event remained.

The *Cabala's* representation of the Duke of Buckingham's role as favourite is also important for scholars and in fact it is significant to note that Lockyer's biography of the Duke relies on the *Cabala* as a source document. With Lockyer and Hacket, we can see how the *Cabala* is used by both contemporary and modern historians in a similar way. They both use letters to evidence the role of the Duke within the Spanish Match which was an important political period. Lockyer and modern scholars have more sources available but this only emphasizes the impact the

*Cabala* publication must have had in the 1650s as this would have been the first time such letters were available making it an invaluable contribution to Hackett's own work. This should make us re-evaluate the *Cabala's* own impact on the Civil War publications of the 1650s. The letters were unique in many cases and demonstrated to the contemporary readers the power politics of the day. Scholars of Civil War literature may well be neglecting a valuable source of political representation and the impact of such letters. The *Cabala* volumes demonstrate the topics and the people who were still relevant and important to the politics of the 1650s. We use individual letters as source documents as we can see scholars have done but have we neglected to use and discuss the *Cabala* as a whole body of letters taken within the context of their publication?

However, it would appear that by far the biggest contribution to scholarship by the *Cabala* is the Tilbury speech. Quoted extensively in books, magazines, TV drama and film it presents an Elizabeth we are all too familiar with. It is the iconic moment of her reign. But the role of the *Cabala* in its contribution to the speech in its 1653 publication is misunderstood and often ignored. As the thesis indicates the *Cabala* itself is undervalued and ignored in its place as an important source document not just for the Tilbury speech and the power of Buckingham but for the way it highlights to us how important the Spanish Match really was to contemporaries of the period. Using the *Cabala* as a complete source would allow scholars to enhance the biography of key figures such as Buckingham, in particular examining the collection of Buckingham's own letters and what this tells us about his role and power in the Stuart Court. The *Cabala* can also direct the scholar to re-examine the 1650s and the issues that were still current to the seventeenth century reader.

## Conclusion

Disloyalty, ingratitude & insolence: 3 offences in all Examples have seldom their Doom adjourn'd to the World to come.<sup>1</sup>

To Cabal: To form close intrigues; to intrigue; to unite in small parties.<sup>2</sup>

In their preface to the 1653 edition of the *Cabala*, Gabriel Bedell and Thomas Collins promise the reader the mysteries of government from the cabinets of Princes ‘without any false glosse’ and they tell us that ‘the cleanest hand makes blots or stains, carried away with Love or Hatred, to the side of Man’ (A3-4). They write that they are giving the reader an insight into history as it was written in the letters leaving the reader to make their own judgement but is this true? By telling the reader that there are letters which are untarnished and ‘left to their own worth’ the printers are surely influencing the reader to believe that the letters are, in fact, an historical document of the reigns of James I and Charles I. As we have seen the letters of the 1653/4 *Cabala* are in fact shaped to suggest one political message whose publication is orchestrated by a ‘noble hand’. John Evelyn’s ‘heap of letters’ is a well-timed act of political publication coming during a period of great upheaval with the Protectorate imminent.

This thesis demonstrates through the *Cabala* letters how monarchical rule was perceived by the letter writers of the Tudor and Stuart courts and how this law could be used and misused. We have seen in the letters of Anne Boleyn and the Earl of Essex that they appear to believe this law is in some ways flawed and corrupt. Essex challenges the very idea of the monarch’s law always being right whereas Anne Boleyn writes that she believes that she has already been judged because she has been replaced by another – Henry’s law needs to be implemented to make way for her successor. In his letter, Somerset asks for the King to be favourable to him but like Anne he has also been replaced in the King’s affections. However his status

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<sup>1</sup> Unknown seventeenth century hand – note found in *Scrinia Sacra* referring to p.48 Bacon to Essex after Essex’s imprisonment. Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand, copy. Thanks to Sarah Ross for taking the time to visit the library and sending me the notes found in this copy. Provenance of the copy is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), p. 4A.



as former favourite allows him to walk free rather than be executed – would this be a just reward for a murderer? The thesis then uses various letters to show how the King's power appears to be transferred to Buckingham and how his influence can be perceived as being very powerful indeed. The power of Buckingham highlights how the law can be misused and this must resonate with the seventeenth century reader who has not only seen the King challenged by parliament and executed through the judgement of the court but have also seen Oliver Cromwell manoeuvre himself into a position of such power that he appears to assume a similar mantle to the King. This opens up a debate over whose mandate is in fact correct – king or protector. How is a protector different to a favourite taking power from a king? How is a protector a different proposition to a king? Each assumes power and each can use and misuse the law. The *Cabala* letters and their writers make the reader ask these questions as part of a wider debate being had in the seventeenth century. The thesis demonstrates how the *Cabala* becomes a motivated publication which situates itself within a known debate on kingship and power – a topic pertinent in the year 1653 when Cromwell himself becomes a king in all but name.

The *Cabala* volumes of the 1650s show us the 'disloyalty, ingratitude & insolence' of the court in both the Tudor and Stuart letters. The spotlight is firmly on the role of the favourite and the power dynamic of their relationship with the monarch. The letters themselves remind the reader of the danger of allowing too much power to one man in the form of Buckingham but the letters of Essex also foretell the coming of war and how princes can err by listening to 'bad counsel'. Anne Boleyn's letter focuses the reader on the idea of monarchical rule and we have shown how rehabilitating Elizabeth I's mother as a Protestant icon can in fact be a political mirror held up against the Catholic Queen of Charles I. The *Cabala* letters highlight the intrigues of the Tudor and Stuart courts and ask the reader what they can learn from this in the 1650s. The thesis also demonstrates how the letter publication gives an insight to the modern reader of the political debates of the seventeenth century. The emphasis on the Spanish Match of the 1620s demonstrates that this had a far greater impact on the psyche of the country than may have been realised. The feuds and accusations that came about as a result of the Match were to have far-reaching consequences. We have seen that modern historians have indeed studied the Match as a significant event but the thesis shows how the letters

published in 1653 demonstrate an impact not just in the 1620s but after the Civil War itself and this significance has been overlooked. The emphasis has been clearly on how the Match influenced the policies of the 1620s and how this contributed to the path to war but the fact that it appears to remain topical in the 1650s has been ignored.<sup>3</sup> The *Cabala* publication evidences this with the amount of letters it publishes on the Match and the popularity of the first volume, shown by the publication of the second volume, proves that not only did state letters sell but that the Spanish Match did too.

The individuals found within the letter volumes obviously ‘sell’ and they themselves convey a political message. In particular Robert Devereux’s powerful letter regarding the role of princes is extremely pertinent to the seventeenth century reader who had lived through Civil War and, with Essex’s son leading the Parliamentary army at the outset of war, the reader can see an inheritance of rebellion that finally succeeds. The influence of the Devereux family on the events of the 1640s has also been neglected by modern historians who focus on Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell as the leaders of the Parliamentary forces but the fact that the Devereux orange banner leads the way demonstrates an impact that must have resonated with a seventeenth century audience. How both the Devereux and Buckingham families continue to play significant roles with the Civil War is also important to what the *Cabala* is conveying. Without such representation the letters may have had diminished impact, especially those of Essex which were written in the late sixteenth century and would rely on how Essex’s son keeps the Devereux name relevant to a 1650s readership. The fact that the letters are published is also important, as not only are they able to be published because there is no monarchical consensus, but it appears that the destruction of the great estates such as Buckingham’s during the war, where the letters may have been found, is a consequence not thought of before. Thus the study of the *Cabala* reveals new ways to study and encounter the 1650s through political memory and the destruction of the old order.

In connecting the reader of 1653, the thesis uses biographical thinking to situate historical figures within the context of the readership. It would be hard to

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<sup>3</sup> See in particular Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution English politics and the Coming of War 1621-1624* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

avoid this because the source is a collection of letters by individuals. How much the seventeenth century reader would know of this biographical detail is hard to ascertain. The modern scholar has far greater access to such material compared to their seventeenth century counterpart. Primary sources for some of the figures discussed in this thesis are sometimes not so easy to discover and if they were it would still be difficult to know how available these would also have been to the seventeenth century reader. This is particularly true of the study of the Devereux and Villiers families and we can only presume that the readership is from the circles of court and government who would have been aware of and even encountered such individuals.

The thesis also demonstrates the endurance of the *Cabala* with its readership. The printers boast of the letters being ‘seen and approved’ and this is evidenced in the reception research.<sup>4</sup> Provenance research not only allows us to identify a readership who ‘approve’ the books but it allows us to situate the *Cabala* in different genres such as the history of book collectors/collections and library history. As we have seen, David Pearson does a similar exercise with Caesar’s works but he does not demonstrate how the statistics of a book allows us to form a pattern of book collecting from the ecclesiastical libraries to those of the country house of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. The *Cabala* research allows us to see patterns of different types of collecting and we can follow this through its provenance history. There is still much that could be done on this as there are surely more copies to be found and the thesis has only highlighted a small part of the ownership of the books.

In the provenance studies the thesis included the 1663 and 1691 editions of the *Cabala* and a continuation of the research indicates here to look at the political motivation of publishing the *Cabala* at these times. The 1663 *Cabala* is published nine years after the 1654 *Scrinia Sacra*. The printers inform the reader that a new volume of letters have happily come into their hands suggesting that the letters have only just appeared, hence the time delay.<sup>5</sup> The new letters, as we have seen in chapter four, appear in *Scrinia Cecilianiana* and are added to an extended edition of the *Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra*. In the extended volume the new letters are marked with

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<sup>4</sup> *Scrinia Sacra*, sig. A3.

<sup>5</sup> 1663 *Cabala*, sig. A4.

an asterisk on the contents page. The new letters are either from Francis Bacon or from Sir William Cecil. These ‘Cabalistick mysteries of State’ are now ordered alphabetically by letter writer for ease of the reader which I would dispute as the letters are now out of sequence which makes reading the events of the Spanish Match, for example, quite difficult. The Bacon letters appear to be of a much later period than the majority of those printed within the 1653/4 *Cabala* and are from his time in the Stuart Court rather than the Tudor Court.<sup>6</sup> The Cecil letters are predominately written to Henry Norris which could suggest they come from Henry Norris’ family.<sup>7</sup> The letters are written to Norris when he was the French ambassador in France and as the Stuart Court had recently returned from exile in France in the 1660s this could provide a clue for at least the Cecil letters’ provenance. Not only is this a route for the provenance of the Cecil letters but we could explore how the addition of Cecil’s letters in particular may be a further political message for the new king. Cecil was regarded as a great statesman and would perhaps be held up as an example of such. How significant is William Cecil, Elizabeth I’s Secretary of State, to the 1660s and the restoration of the monarchy? What about the reputations of the other letter writers? The Buckingham’s were still going strong and, in a further twist, the new king’s mistress was Barbara Villiers, a relative of the late Duke of Buckingham.<sup>8</sup> She became his mistress in 1660 and in 1663 she converted to Catholicism from Anglicism.<sup>9</sup> Charles II was married in 1662 to Catherine of Braganza, herself a devout Catholic and without an heir in 1663.<sup>10</sup> These are all issues, as we have seen, relevant to the *Cabala* volumes of 1650s. The Duke of Buckingham’s son was also still politically active in the restored Stuart Court and a ‘cabal’ of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale has been mistaken as the origin of the *Cabala* title.<sup>11</sup> The focus for the reader, however would move away from the Devereux family who were no longer politically active and the male line had died with the third earl in 1646. Instead the Cecils would be a source of investigation especially as William Cecil, the second earl of Salisbury, was still

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<sup>6</sup> 1663 *Cabala*, pp. 17-92.

<sup>7</sup> 1663 *Cabala*, pp. 133-182.

<sup>8</sup> Jenny Uglow, *A Gambling Man: Charles II and the Restoration* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), p.93.

<sup>9</sup> Uglow, p. 266

<sup>10</sup> Uglow, p. 150.

<sup>11</sup> Uglow, p. 428 re the cabal. The names of the “cabal” members is written in the 1663 edition of the *Cabala* found in Senate House Library, University of London.

alive and a known Parliamentarian.<sup>12</sup> The Cecil family rather than that of the Devereux would resonate with the 1660s readership.

The 1691 *Cabala* is published during an intriguing time, some twenty-eight years after the first *Cabala*. By this point we have new printers but the preface of the 1663 *Cabala* is the same for the first part. Added as a second part is a new volume of letters relating to the events in the Netherlands in 1585. By 1691 Charles II is dead, his brother James II is in exile due to his Catholic beliefs, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 has placed William of Orange and his wife Mary on the throne. William of course gives us a relevance to the Netherlands. We could explore the new audience of 1691 and whether the letter writers are still of relevance. Does this change the *Cabala*'s message and how important is living memory to the publication of the letters? The 1691 edition throws up further questions in the study of state letters as it would be harder to argue that it was still a political publication. We know it was popular in the country house library but was it still relevant? Or was the book just a status symbol to display on shelves rather than to be read with a political message in mind?

One impact of the research in the thesis is to invite further research into what other letter volumes gets published and how not just letter volumes themselves evolve but in particular the genre of the state letters. For example in 1655 Bedell and Collins publish *The Compleat Ambassador* which was a further set of state letters. This set however focused on the intended marriage of Queen Elizabeth. The preface mentions the *Cabala* (which, we are told, have been well received) and how the letters concern one single state matter – the French Match of Elizabeth. In contrast to the *Cabala* the letters are a coherent set which have one focus and we could further explore why these letters are published after the *Cabala* and what could be the political context under which these letters are published. We could ask how significant it is that the *Cabala* can be seen as the first of a genre to those that get published later. Such letters are now commonplace to the modern reader but letters themselves remain intriguing and can have the same impact as the *Cabala* did in the 1650s. This is also true of living memory: the Essex letters are relevant and pertinent during the lifetime of his son in the same way that letters by Diana, Princess of

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<sup>12</sup> G.D.Owen, 'Cecil, William, second earl of Salisbury, (1591-1668)', *ODNB Online*, [accessed 14 March 2017], pp. 1-2.

Wales are in the lifetime of her sons. The reader connects with both letter writer and their family.

This brings us back to the *Cabala* as a significant historical resource which is neglected and dismissed by the modern scholar in much the same way Evelyn dismissed it because they do not study the *Cabala* as whole. It is easy to dismiss the *Cabala* volumes as letters in a 'heap' and to disregard the role of Leonell Sharpe in the acceptance of the Tilbury speech because the *Cabala's* relevance as a historical document is overlooked and not understood. The *Cabala* is not reflected upon by scholars as a political resource but, in fact, it can and should be used as such. The thesis confirms the importance of the *Cabala* highlighting not only how Bedell and Collins capitalised on the new genre of letter publication but how relevant the letters were to the seventeenth century reader. By situating the *Cabala* within its political context the thesis reveals how the letter volumes can impact on political biography and on studies of the Spanish Match, in particular its continuing relevance in the 1650s.

In sum, this thesis has illustrated how the *Cabala* contributes to the study of the 1650s and the political debate of the seventeenth century and how it has done so in ways not acknowledged or reflected upon before. By studying the volumes in depth we can see beyond Evelyn's 'heap' to a well-timed publication which can be mined for different uses such as biography, book collecting, letter-writing in particular forged or staged letters, and the ideas of kingship and the role of Protectorate in the 1650s. This thesis shows the *Cabala's* historical and political relevance. The thesis demonstrates that the *Cabala* was a calculated and motivated publication during the coming of the Protectorate. The analysis offered here allows us to discover the topics and debates of the 1650s and, at long last, unlocks the politics of publishing the *Cabala, Mysteries of State and Government*.

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*Fire over England*, dir. William K. Howard. Perf. Flora Robson, Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh (London Film Productions Ltd, 1937)

**Appendix One: Letter Recipients from the *Cabala* (first edition)**

Recipients of the letters	Total
Aston	2
Bishop Lincoln	3
Bristol	2
Buckingham	118
Conway	9
Cottingham	1
Count Gondomar	1
King James	23
King of Denmark	1
Lord Keeper	1
Lord Nithisdale	1
Lords	1
Philip IV	2
Pope Gregorie	2
Prince Charles	6
Secretary Nanton	2
Sir Arthur Chichester	1
Southampton	1
The Duchess of Buckingham	1
The Lord Keeper and the Bishops	1
The Secretary	4
The Spanish Ambassador	1
Viscount Annan	1
Grand Total	185

## Appendix Two: Letter Writers from the *Cabala* (first edition)

All spelling as per the *Cabala*

Letter Writers	Total
Anon	6
Archbishop Abbot	1
Aston	12
Bacon	6
Bishop Chichester	1
Bishop Landasse	2
Bishop Lincoln	2
Bishop Rochester	1
Bishop St Davids	2
Bristol	8
Buckingham	2
Conway	1
Count Gondomar	1
Don Carlos	1
Dr Belcanquel	1
Dr Corbet	1
Dr Donne	2
Dr Sharp	2
Earl of Carlile	1
Earl of Middlesex	2
Earl of Oxford	1
Edward Clerk	2
John Ogle	1
King Charles	1
King James	2
L.R.H.	1
Lady Elizabeth Howard	1
Lady Elizabeth Norris	1
Lady Purbeck	1
Lord Brook	1
Lord Cromwell	1
Lord Herbert	1
Lord Keeper Williams	31
Lord Nithisdale	1
Magibes	1
Marquesse Ynoiofa	1
Mr Ch.Th	1
Mr Larkin	2
Mr Trumbol	2
Padre Maestre	1
Pope Gregorie	2
Prince Charles	1
Sir Anthony Ashley	1

Letter Writers	Total
Sir Arthur Chichester	1
Sir Dudley Carleton	12
Sir Francis Cottington	1
Sir George Carie	1
Sir Henry Wotton	5
Sir Henry Yelverton	1
Sir Isaac Wake	4
Sir John Eliot	1
Sir John Hipsley	1
Sir John Pennington	2
Sir Richard Weston	6
Sir Robert Mansell	2
Sir Robert Philips	1
Sir Thomas Roel	1
Sir Walter Rawleigh	1
Sir William Beecher	1
Somerset	1
Southampton	1
Suffolk	3
The Spanish Ambassador	2
Viscount Rochfort	1
Worcester, Arundel, Surrey and Montgomery	1
Archbishop of York / Tobie Matthews	3
Lord Wimbledon/ Edward Cecil	6
Earl of Holland (Kensington)	13
Grand Total	185

### Appendix Three: Letters with dates from the *Cabala* (first edition)

Listed in the order they are published within the *Cabala* and all spelling as per the book.

FROM	TO	Year
Somerset	King James	undated
Bacon	King James	1617
Bacon	King James	1618
Bacon	The Lords	undated
Bacon	Buckingham	1620
Bacon	King James	1620
Bacon	Buckingham	undated
Magdibeg	King James	undated
King James	Various	1621
A of York	King James	undated
Anon		1623
Bristol	Prince Charles	undated
Bristol	Cottington	1623
Bristol	B of Lincoln	1623
Bristol	B of Lincoln	1623
Bristol	Prince Charles	1623
Bristol	Buckingham	1623
Bristol	King James	1624
King Charles	Bristol	1625
Bristol	Conway	1625
Conway	Bristol	1625
Aston	Buckingham	undated
Aston	Buckingham	1623
Buckingham	Aston	undated
Buckingham	Aston	undated
Aston	Buckingham	1623
Memorial	Aston	1623
Aston	Buckingham	1623
Aston	Conway	1623
Aston	Conway	undated
Aston	Conway	1624
Aston	Conway	1624
Aston	Buckingham	1624
Aston	Buckingham	1624
Aston	Buckingham	1625
Dr Williams	Buckingham	undated
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Southampton	B of Lincoln	undated
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Southampton	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621

FROM	TO	Year
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1622
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1622
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1621
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1623
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1622
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1622
Dr Williams	Buckingham	undated
Dr Williams	Buckingham	undated
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1623
John Packer	Dr Williams	1623
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1623
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
Dr Williams	Buckingham	1624
B of Lincoln	Buckingham	1625
B of Lincoln	king?	undated
Dr Williams	Viscount Annan	1622
B of St Davids	Buckingham	1624
B of St Davids	Buckingham	undated
B of Chichester	Buckingham	undated
Bishops	Buckingham	1625
B of Landrasse	Buckingham	undated
B of Landrasse	Buckingham	undated
Corbet	Buckingham	undated
Earls	King?	undated
Suffolk	King?	undated
Suffolk	Buckingham	undated
Suffolk	King?	undated
Lady Elizabeth Howard	King?	undated
Lady Elizabeth Norris	King?	undated
Edward Cecil	Buckingham	undated
Edward Cecil	Buckingham	undated
Edward Cecil	Conway	1625
Edward Cecil	Buckingham	1625

FROM	TO	Year
Edward Cecil	Buckingham	1625
Wimbledon	Buckingham	1626
Wimbledon	Buckingham	undated
John Olge	Buckingham	1625
Robert Mansel	Buckingham	1621
Robert Mansel	Buckingham	1621
John Pennington	Buckingham	1625
John Pennington	Buckingham	undated
Trumbal	Conway	1619
Kensington/Holland	Conway	undated
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	King?	1625
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Lorkin	Buckingham	1625
Lorkin	Buckingham	1625
Herbert	King James	1623
Edward Clerk	Buckingham	1623
Edward Clerk	Buckingham	1623
Anthony Ashley	Buckingham	1621
Raleigh	Buckingham	undated
Yelverton	Buckingham	1623
John Eliot	Buckingham	1623
Oxford	Buckingham	undated
Lady Purbeck	Buckingham	undated
Donne	Buckingham	1621
Donne	Buckingham	undated
John Hipsley	Buckingham	1623
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1616
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1620
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1622
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1622
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1623
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1623
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1623
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1623
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1625
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1625
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1624
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1625
Dudley Carleton	Buckingham	1625
Trumbal	Conway	1619
Thomas Roe	Buckingham	1621
LRH	Buckingham	undated
George Carie	Buckingham	1619
King James	ab ignoto	undated
Abbot	Nanton	1619



FROM	TO	Year
Lord Brook	Buckingham	1623
Dr Belcanquel	Nanton	undated
William Beecher	King?	undated
King James	ab ignoto	undated
Isaac Wake	Conway	1619
Isaac Wake	Conway	1619
Isaac Wake	Buckingham	1621
Isaac Wake	Proposition	undated
Wotton	Buckingham	1619
Wotton	Buckingham	1622
Wotton	Buckingham	1622
Wotton	Buckingham	undated
Wotton	Buckingham	undated
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1622
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1622
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1623
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1624
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1624
Richard Weston	Buckingham	1624
Cottington	Buckingham	1616
Rochfort	Buckingham	undated
King James	Pope Gregorie	1622
Pope Gregorie	Prince of Wales	1623
Prince of Wales	Pope Gregorie	undated
Pope Gregorie	Buckingham	1623
King James	ab ignoto	undated
King James	ab ignoto	undated
Mr Ch. Th.	Buckingham	undated
Count Gondomar	who?	undated
Count Gondomar	Buckingham	1625
Padre Maestre	Spanish Ambassador	1621
Don Carlos	Conway	undated
Ynoiosa	Conway	1623
Spanish Ambassador	Arthur Chichester	1623
Arthur Chichester	Buckingham	1623
Lord Nithisdale	Buckingham	1624
Sir Tobie Mathew	King of Spain	undated
Sir Tobie Mathew	Duchess of Buckingham	1625
Dr Sharp	King James	undated
Dr Sharp	Buckingham	undated
Lord Cromwell	Buckingham	1625
Sir Robert Philips	Buckingham	1624
Earl of Middlesex	Buckingham	undated
Earl of Middlesex	King James	1624
Earl of Carlile	King James	1623

FROM	TO	Year
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	Prince of Wales	1624
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	Prince of Wales	1624
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	undated
Kensington/Holland	Prince of Wales	undated
Kensington/Holland	Buckingham	1624

**Appendix Four: Letter Writers to the Duke of Buckingham from the *Cabala* (first edition)**

All spelling as per the *Cabala*

From	Total
Aston	7
Bacon	2
Bishop Chichester	1
Bishop Landasse	2
Bishop Lincoln	1
Bishop Rochester	1
Bishop St Davids	2
Bristol	1
Count Gondomar	1
Dr Corbet	1
Dr Donne	2
Dr Sharp	1
Earl of Middlesex	1
Earl of Oxford	1
John Ogle	1
Lady Elizabeth Norris	1
Lady Purbeck	1
Lord Brook	1
Lord Cromwell	1
Lord Nithisdale	1
Mr Ch.Th	1
Mr Larkin	2
Pope Gregorie	1
Sir Anthony Ashley	1
Sir Arthur Chichester	1
Sir Dudley Carleton	12
Sir Francis Cottington	1
Sir George Carie	1
Sir Henry Wotton	5
Sir Henry Yelverton	1
Sir Isaac Wake	1
Sir John Eliot	1
Sir John Hipsley	1
Sir John Pennington	2
Sir Richard Weston	6
Sir Robert Mansell	2
Sir Robert Philips	1
Sir Thomas Roel	1
Sir Walter Rawleigh	1
Suffolk	1
Lord Keeper - John Williams	28
Lord Kensington/also Earl of	8

From	Total
Holland	
Lord Wimbledon Edward Cecil	7
L.R.H. (Viscount Rochford)	2
Grand Total	118

## Appendix Five: *Cabala* Copies by Location and Type

Key:

C183	Cabala	1654
C184	Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2210	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2109	Scrinia Cecilianiana	1633
C185	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1663
C186	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1691

<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
<b>British Isles</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Book Catalogue</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
Library of Charles Spencer - Third Earl of Sunderland						1
Library of John Bridges (catalogue)						1
Library of John Locke (catalogue)					1	
Library of Peter Le Neve		1		1		
Library of Thomas Hearne (catalogue)					1	
<b>Ecclesiastical</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>
Canterbury Cathedral						1
Carlisle Cathedral	1		1			
Cashel Cathedral						1
Chelmsford Cathedral						1
Chichester Cathedral						1
Congregational Library			1			
Dr Williams Library	1					
Durham Cathedral					1	
Exeter Cathedral						1
Lambeth Palace Library		1			1	1
Lichfield Cathedral					1	
Lincoln Cathedral	1		1			
Salisbury Cathedral		1	1		1	
Southwell Minister Library					1	
St Asaph Cathedral				1		
Wells Cathedral	1		1			
Windsor Castle: St George's Chapel					1	
Worcester Cathedral					1	
York Minister	1	1	1	1		
<b>Law Library</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
Advocates Library, Edinburgh	1	1	1		4	1

<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
Lincoln's Inn Library						1
<b>National Library</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>
British Library	1	1	1	1	1	1
National Archives Library					1	
National Library of Ireland, Dublin		2	1			
National Library of Scotland	1	3	1	1	2	1
National Library of Wales	1	1	1		1	
Victoria and Albert Libraries					1	
<b>National Trust</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
Attingham Park						1
Belton House	1				1	
Blickling Hall					1	
Castle Ward						1
Chirk Castle					1	
Felbrigg Hall						1
Ham House					1	
Hughenden Manor					1	
Ickworth						1
Kingston Lacy					1	
Lanhydrock			1			
Nostell Priory						1
Wimpole Hall			1			1
<b>Other</b>				<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	
Antiqbook					1	
Eton College Library				1	1	
Welcome Library					1	
<b>Private</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>
Chatsworth House	1					
Chetham Library					1	1
Hatfield House						1
Longleat House						1
Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge					1	
Private Collection - Samantha Smith		1			1	1
Private Collection - Unknown					2	
Thomas Plume's Library				1	1	
<b>Public Library</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
Belfast Central Library		1				
Birmingham Central Libraries	1	2		1		1
Devon Library					1	1
Guildhall Library		2				
Innerpeffray Library, Perth				1	1	1
Marsh's Library, Dublin		1			1	1

<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
Mitchell Library, Glasgow					1	
Petyt Library, Skipton				1		
<b>University</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26</b>
Aberdeen University		1	1		1	
Birmingham University Library		1		1		1
Bodleian Library, Oxford University	1	1	1		1	1
Cambridge University: Corpus Christi College					1	
Cambridge University: Jesus College					1	
Cambridge University: Kings College					1	
Cambridge University: Magdalene College Library	1				1	
Cambridge University: Pembroke College					1	
Cambridge University: St Johns College					1	1
Cambridge University: Trinity College		1			1	2
Cambridge: Trinity Hall						1
Durham University	1					1
Edinburgh University		3	1	2	2	
Exeter University		1				
Glasgow University			1	1		1
Kings's College, London			1			
Leeds University		1			1	1
London School of Economics			1			
Manchester University		1			2	1
Newcastle University					1	1
Nottingham University						1
Oxford University: All Souls College	1	1				1
Oxford University: Christ Church		1			1	
Oxford University: Corpus Christi College			1		1	1
Oxford University: English Faculty Library	1					
Oxford University: Hertford College						1
Oxford University: Jesus College		1		1		
Oxford University: Lincoln College						1
Oxford University: Merton College						1
Oxford University: New College		1				
Oxford University: Queens College						1
Oxford University: St Anne's College	2			1		1
Oxford University: St Catherine's College					1	
Oxford University: St John's College						
Oxford University: Worcester College			1		1	1
Queen's University, Belfast	1					
Sheffield University			1			1
Trinity College, Dublin	1	1	1		1	1
University of Kent						1

<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
University of Liverpool	1				1	1
University of London		1		1	2	2
Ushaw College, Durham			1			
<b>Europe</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>National Library</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>
Austrian National Library						2
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris				1		
Danish National Collection			1		1	
National Library of Czech Republic						1
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin- Preussischer Kulturbesitz						1
State Library of Berlin		1			1	1
<b>Other</b>						<b>2</b>
Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbuttel						2
<b>University</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>			<b>2</b>
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen		1	1			1
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek	1		1			1
<b>North America</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Ecclesiastical</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
Union Theological Seminary, New York	1			1	2	1
<b>National Library</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>			
Library of Congress, Washington	2	2	1			
<b>Other</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania			1		1	
Folger Shakespeare Library	2	1	1	2	1	2
Henry E. Huntington Library	1	1	1		1	1
Newberry Library, Chicago	1		1	1	2	1
<b>Private</b>					<b>1</b>	
Private Collection - Unknown					1	
<b>Public Library</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>
American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts.					1	
Boston Public Library					1	
California State Library		1	1			
Free Library of Philadelphia					1	
Library Company of Philadelphia					1	1
New York Public Library	1			1	2	1
St Louis Public Library						1
<b>University</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14</b>
Brown University: John Hay Library	2		2	1		
Duke University					1	
Emory University		1				



<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
General Theological Seminary - St Mark's Library			1			
Harvard University Library	1	1	1		1	1
Kennesaw State University					1	1
Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies		1			1	
Montash University	1				1	
Northwestern University	1		2	1	1	
Smith College					1	
University of Arizona	1					
University of California	1	1		1	1	1
University of California, Riverside, Main	1		1			
University of Chicago			1	1	1	
Columbia University	1	1			2	
University of Illinois	1		1	1	1	1
University of Indiana		1			1	1
University of Kansas: Spencer Research	1		1			1
University of Minnesota	1					
University of North Carolina					1	
University of Pennsylvania	1		1			1
University of Tennessee - Knoxville Library						1
University of Texas	1	2	3	1	2	
University of Toronto	1	1	1	1	1	2
University of Victoria, Canada					1	1
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee		1				
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee - Memorial Library						1
Wesleyan University, Connecticut		1				
Williams Andrew Clark Memorial Library, University of California		1	1	2		1
Yale University	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Australasia</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>National Library</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	
Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand		1	1			
National Library of Australia	1				1	
<b>Public Library</b>					<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney					1	
State Library of South Australia						1
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne						1
<b>University</b>	<b>4</b>				<b>2</b>	
State University of Victoria, Melbourne	1					
University of Auckland, New Zealand						
University of Melbourne: Baillieu Library	1				1	

<b>Cabala</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>
University of Sydney - Fisher Library	1					
University of Queensland	1					
University of Western Australia					1	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>

## Appendix Six: *Cabala* copies by Region and Type and Category

Key:

C183	Cabala	1654
C184	Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2210	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2109	Scrinia Ceciliana	1633
C185	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1663
C186	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1691

<b>By Region</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>	Total
British Isles	22	35	24	17	61	52	211
Europe	1	2	3	1	2	9	18
North America	25	18	23	15	33	22	136
Australasia	4	1	1		4	2	12
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>377</b>
<b>By Region, then by Type</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>	Total
<b>British Isles</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>211</b>
Book Catalogue		1		1	2	2	6
Ecclesiastical	5	3	6	2	7	6	29
Law Library	1	1	1		4	2	9
National Library	3	7	4	2	6	2	24
National Trust	1		2		6	6	15
Other				1	3		4
Private	1	1		1	6	4	13
Public Library	1	6		3	4	4	18
University	10	16	11	7	23	26	93
<b>Europe</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>
National Library		1	1	1	2	5	10
Other						2	2
University	1	1	2			2	6
<b>North America</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>136</b>
Ecclesiastical	1			1	2	1	5
National Library	2	2	1				5
Other	4	2	4	3	5	4	22
Private					1		1
Public Library	1	1	1	1	6	3	13

<b>By Region</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>	Total
University	17	13	17	10	19	14	90
<b>Australasia</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>
National Library	1	1	1		1		4
Public Library					1	2	3
University	3				2		5
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>377</b>
<b>By Category</b>	<b>C183</b>	<b>C184</b>	<b>S2110</b>	<b>S2109</b>	<b>C185</b>	<b>C186</b>	Total
Book Catalogue		1		1	2	2	6
Ecclesiastical	6	3	6	3	9	7	34
Law Library	1	1	1		4	2	9
National Library	5	11	7	3	9	7	42
National Trust	1		2		6	6	15
Other	4	2	4	4	8	6	28
Private	1	1		1	7	4	14
Public Library	2	7	1	4	11	9	34
University	28	30	30	17	42	42	189
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>373</b>

## Appendix Seven: *Cabala* Copies by Library

Key:

C183	Cabala	1654
C184	Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2210	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2109	Scrinia Cecilianana	1633
C185	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1663
C186	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1691

NT	National Trust Property
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Library	C183	C184	S2110	S2109	C185	C186
Aberdeen University		1	1		1	
Advocates Library, Edinburgh	1	1	1		4	1
Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand		1	1			
American Antiquarian Society					1	
Antiqbook					1	
Attingham Park - NT						1
Austrian National Library						2
Belfast Central Library		1				
Belton House - NT	1				1	
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris				1		
Birmingham Central Libraries	1	2		1		1
Birmingham University Library		1		1		1
Blickling Hall - NT					1	
Bodleian Library Oxford	1	1	1		1	1
Boston Public Library					1	
British Library	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brown University: John Hay Library	2		2	1		
Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania			1		1	
California State Library		1	1			
Cambridge University: Corpus Christi College					1	
Cambridge University: Jesus College					1	
Cambridge University: Kings College					1	
Cambridge University: Magdalene College Library	1				1	
Cambridge University: Pembroke College					1	
Cambridge University: St Johns					1	1

Library	C183	C184	S2110	S2109	C185	C186
College						
Cambridge University: Trinity College		1			1	2
Cambridge: Trinity Hall						1
Canterbury Cathedral						1
Carlisle Cathedral	1		1			
Cashel Cathedral						1
Castle Ward - NT						1
Chatsworth House	1					
Chelmsford Cathedral						1
Chetham Library					1	1
Chichester Cathedral						1
Chirk Castle - NT					1	
Congregational Library			1			
Danish National Collection			1		1	
Devon Library					1	1
Dr Williams Library	1					
Duke University					1	
Durham Cathedral					1	
Durham University	1					1
Edinburgh University		3	1	2	2	
Emory University		1				
Eton College Library				1	1	
Exeter Cathedral						1
Exeter University		1				
Felbrigg Hall - NT						1
Folger Shakespeare Library	2	1	1	2	1	2
Free Library of Philadelphia					1	
General Theological Seminary - St Mark's Library			1			
Georg-August-Universitat Gottingborg		1	1			1
Glasgow University			1	1		1
Guildhall Library		2				
Ham House - NT					1	
Harvard University	1	1	1		1	1
Hatfield House						1
Henry E. Huntington Library	1	1	1		1	1
Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbuttel						2
Hughenden Manor - NT					1	
Ickworth - NT						1
Innerpeffray Library				1	1	1
Kennesaw State University					1	1
Kings's College, London			1			
Kingston Lacy - NT					1	

Library	C183	C184	S2110	S2109	C185	C186
Lambeth Palace Library		1			1	1
Lanhydrock -NT			1			
Leeds University		1			1	1
Library Company of Philadelphia					1	1
Library of Charles Spencer - Third Earl of Sunderland (catalogue)						1
Library of Congress, Washington	2	2	1			
Library of John Bridges (catalogue)						1
Library of John Locke (catalogue)					1	
Library of Thomas Hearne (catalogue)					1	
Library of Peter Le Neve		1		1		
Lichfield Cathedral					1	
Lincoln Cathedral	1		1			
Lincoln's Inn Library						1
London School of Economics			1			
Longleat House						1
Manchester University		1			2	1
Marsh's Library, Dublin		1			1	1
Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies		1			1	
Mitchell Library					1	
Montash University	1				1	
National Archives Library					1	
National Library of Australia	1				1	
National Library of Czech Republic						1
National Library of Ireland, Dublin		2	1			
National Library of Scotland	1	3	1	1	2	1
National Library of Wales	1	1	1		1	
New York Public Library	1			1	2	1
Newberry Library, Chicago	1		1	1	2	1
Newcastle University					1	1
Niedersachische Stats-und Universitatsbibliothek	1		1			1
Northwestern University	1		2	1	1	
Nostell Priory - NT						1
Nottingham University						1
Oxford University: All Souls College	1	1				1
Oxford University: Christ Church		1			1	
Oxford University: Corpus Christi College			1		1	1
Oxford University: English Faculty Library	1					
Oxford University: Hertford College						1
Oxford University: Jesus College		1		1		
Oxford University: Lincoln College						1

Library	C183	C184	S2110	S2109	C185	C186
Oxford University: Merton College						1
Oxford University: New College		1				
Oxford University: Queens College						1
Oxford University: St Anne's College	2			1		1
Oxford University: St Catherine's College					1	
Oxford University: St John's College						
Oxford University: Worcester College			1		1	1
Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge					1	
Petyt Library, Skipton				1		
Private Collection - Samantha Smith		1			1	1
Private Collection - Unknown					2	
Private Collection - Unknown					1	
Queen's University, Belfast	1					
Salisbury Cathedral		1	1		1	
Sheffield University			1			1
Smith College					1	
Southwell Minister Library					1	
St Asaph Cathedral				1		
St Louis Public Library						1
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz						1
State Library of Berlin		1			1	1
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney					1	
State Library of South Australia						1
State Library of Victoria						1
State University of Victoria, Melbourne	1					
Thomas Plume's Library				1	1	
Trinity College, Dublin	1	1	1		1	1
Union Theological Seminary, New York	1			1	2	1
University of Arizona	1					
University of Auckland						
University of California	1	1		1	1	1
University of California, Riverside, Main	1		1			
University of Chicago			1	1	1	
Columbia University	1	1			2	
University of Illinois	1		1	1	1	1
University of Indiana		1			1	1
University of Kansas: Spencer Research	1		1			1



Library	C183	C184	S2110	S2109	C185	C186
University of Kent						1
University of Liverpool	1				1	1
University of London		1		1	2	2
University of Melbourne: Baillieu Library	1				1	
University of Minnesota	1					
University of North Carolina					1	
University of Pennsylvania	1		1			1
University of Queensland	1					
University of Sydney - Fisher Library	1					
University of Tennessee - Knoxville Library						1
University of Texas	1	2	3	1	2	
University of Toronto	1	1	1	1	1	2
University of Victoria, Canada					1	1
University of Western Australia					1	
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee		1				
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee - Memorial Library						1
Ushaw College, Durham			1			
Victoria and Albert Libraries					1	
Welcome Library					1	
Wells Cathedral	1		1			
Wesleyan University, Connecticut		1				
Williams Andrew Clark Memorial Library, University of California		1	1	2		1
Wimpole Hall - NT			1			1
Windsor Castle: St George's Chapel					1	
Worcester Cathedral					1	
Yale University	1	1	1	1	1	1
York Minister	1	1	1	1		
York University		1				

## Appendix Eight: *Cabala* Owners

Key:

C183	Cabala	1654
C184	Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2210	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1654
S2109	Scrinia Cecilianiana	1633
C185	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1663
C186	Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra	1691

Note on Comments/dates

Where the comments state, for example, ‘seventeenth century handwriting’ this was from the information given by the librarian contacted. This also applies to dates inscribed in the book and dates the book was donated. Other dates refer to the owner’s life.

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
Acton	John Emerich Edward Dalberg	1834-1902 first Baron Acton	Cambridge	C185/ C186	Historian and Moralist
Bart	Sir William Abdy	Chobham Place	Newcastle Library	C186	Nobility
Bayntun	W	poss. 1787	Harvard	C183	Unknown
Bedford	William	Nineteenth century handwriting	Folger	C185	Unknown
Bell	A.J.	Book donated: 1939	University of Toronto	C186	Unknown
Birch	Thomas	1705-1766	British Library	S2109	Scholar
Blount	Henry	1602-1682	British Library	C184	Traveller
Boulton	Oscar	Unknown	Indiana	C186	Unknown
Boyle	Michael	Bishop of Cork	Trinity Dublin	C183/ C185	Clergy

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
Bridges	John	bap.1666, d. 1724	Catalogue	C186	Scholar
Brook	George Leslie	1910-1987	Manchester	C186	Unknown
Brudenell	Sir Robert	1607-1703	Wellcome Library	C185	Nobility
Bunbury	Henry Edward	1778-1860	Folger	C186	Soldier
Bunting	William	Seventeenth century handwriting	Folger	C183	Unknown
Capell	Algernon	2nd Earl of Essex 1670- 1710	Bancroft Library	C184	Nobility
Carr	John	1745-1833	St Johns Cambridge	C186	Unknown
Carr	Henry	donated 1874	St Johns Cambridge	C186	Unknown
Churton	Archdeacon E.	Book donated: 1874	York Minister	S2110	Clergy
Crichton	Johannes Patricus	Cardiff Castle	Folger	C186	Unknown
Dalrymple	David	Library becomes the Advocates Library	National Library of Scotland	C185	Judge and Historian
Davies	Henry	Donated 20th century	National Library of Wales	C183/ S2109	Unknown
Davies	Robert	Book donated: 1875	York Minister	S2109	Unknown
De la Warr	Lord John	1693-1766	Hatfield House	C186	Politician
Dernay	Eugene	Date donated: 1942	Library of Congress Washington	C183	Unknown
Dickinson	Richard	Inscription 1829	National Library of Wales	C184	Unknown
Durning- Lawrence	Edwin	1837-1914	University of London	C184/ C185/ C186/ S2109	Politician/ Scholar
Edwards	Major Arthur	1680?-1743	British Library	C184	

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
Fabyan	George	1867-1936 bequest	Library of Congress Washington	C184	Cryptogra pher
Fagel	family	Known Dutch seventeenth century book collectors	Trinity Dublin	C186	Book collectors
Faithorne	William	1620-1691	Folger	C186	Engraver
Fitzroy	Augustus	Third Duke of Grafton 1735- 1811; Prime Minister; book inscribed with 1792	University of London	C186	Politician
Fothergill	Marmaduke	1652-1731	York Minister	S2110/ S2109	Clergy
Gilbert	Claudius	1670-1740	Trinity Dublin	C183/ C185	
Gryliss	William	former scholar 1863	Trinity Cambridge	C186	Scholar
Gunning	Robert	Seventeenth century handwriting	Newberry Library	C185	Unknown
Gunning	Peter	1661-1670 master	St Johns Cambridge	C185	Scholar
Hacket	John	d.1670	Cambridge	C183	Scholar
Halpenny	B.	Seventeenth century handwriting	Hatfield House	C186	Unknown
Hanmer	Sir Thomas	1677-1746 Speaker of the House of Commons	Folger	C186	Politician
Hargrave	Francis	1740/41/1821	British Library	C186	Legal Writer
Harvard	Lionel de Jersey	d.1918	Harvard	C184	Scholar and Soldier
Hearne	Thomas	bap.1678, d. 1735	Catalogue	C185	Collector/ Scholar/ Diarist
Hitchcock	E.A.	US Army	Library of Congress Washington	C184	Soldier
Holtfield	Ann	Date inscribed	National	C184	Unknown

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
		in book: 1758	Library of Wales		
Hooper	L	Unknown	University of London	C186	Unknown
Ines	L	Seventeenth century handwriting	National Library of Scotland	C185	Unknown
Jefferson	President Thomas	1743-1826 gift to library in 1815	Library of Congress Washington	C183/ C184	Politician
Joly	Dr Jasper Robert	donated 1863	National Library of Ireland	C184	Unknown
Jones	Hugh	Unknown	Newberry Library	C183	Unknown
Jones	Gwyn	Donated 20th century	National Library of Wales	C184	Unknown
Keyes	Sir Geoffrey	20th century scholar	Cambridge	C183	Scholar
Knowles	Robert	Date inscribed in book: 1715	Newberry Library	C183	Unknown
Le Neve	Peter	1661-1729	Catalogue	S2109	Scholar
Leith	Williamina Helen Stewart Forbes	Unknown	Leeds	C185	Unknown
Locke	John	1632-1704	Catalogue	C185	Scholar
Loudoun	John, Earl of	Seventeenth century handwriting	Union Theological Seminary New York	C186	Nobility
Lovet	Thomas	Date inscribed in book: 1667	Folger	C183	Unknown
L'Strange	Nick	Seventeenth century handwriting	University of Liverpool	C185	Unknown
Maxwell	William Stirling	1818-1878	Indiana	C184	Historian and book collector
Montagu	Basil	1770-1851	Cambridge	C184	Author and legal reformer
Montagu	George	1712-1790	Wellcome	C185	Courtier

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
	Brudnell		Library		
Moore	John	Bishop of Ely d.1714	Cambridge	S2110/ C185/ C186	Clergy
Mordaunt	Sir Charles	third Earl of Peterborough 1658?-1735	Bancroft Library	C2109	Nobility
Morgan	R	Date inscribed in book: 1711	National Library of Ireland	C184	Unknown
Morgan	Lady Sydney	1781?-1859	National Library of Wales	C183/ S2109	Novelist
Murray	Lady Evelyn Stewart	1868-1940	National Library of Scotland	C184	Gaelic folklorist
Ogden	CK	Book donated: 1957	Bancroft Library	C184/ S2109/ C186	Unknown
Parkinson	Edward	Eighteenth century handwriting	National Library of Wales	C183	Unknown
Paul	Henry Neill	1863-1954	Folger	S2109/ C186	Lawyer
Pepys	Samuel	1633-1703	Pepys Library	C185	Collector/ Diarist/ Naval Officer
Prichard	Elizabeth	Seventeenth century handwriting	Folger	C183	Unknown
Randolph	John	1693-1737	Library of Congress Washington	C184	American politician
Richardson	William King	Date donated: 1951	Harvard	C183	Lawyer and book collector
Roberts	Mr	Of Bethsesda 1932	National Library of Wales	C183 /S2109	Unknown
Scott	Henry Montagu	2nd Baron Montagu of Boughton; 1776-1845	Wellcome Library	C185	Nobility

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
Sewell	??	Seventeenth century handwriting	Cambridge	C184	Unknown
Sharp	John	Archbishop of York 1644- 1714	Durham	C186	Clergy
Smedley	William	b.1851	Folger	C183 /C185	Unknown
Smith	Thomas	Bishop ?? 1614-1714	Carlisle Cathedral	C2110/ C183	Clergy
Smith	Samantha	1966 - present day	Private collection	S2110/ C185/ C186	Collector
Spencer	George John	1758-1834 second earl	Manchester	C186	Politician and book collector
Spencer	John	Gift of 1942	Leeds	C186	Unknown
Spencer	Charles	Third Earl of Sunderland; 1675-1722	Catalogue	C186	Politician and book collector
St John	Paulet	Earl of Bolingbroke d.1711	St Johns Cambridge	C186	Nobility
Stanley	Edward George	14th Earl of Derby: 1799- 1869; Prime Minister	University of Liverpool	C183/ C186	Politician
Stanley	Edward John	18th Earl of Derby; 1918- 1994; inscribed in book Knowsley Hall 1952-3	University of Liverpool	C183/ C186	Nobility
Sterling	Sir Louis	1879-1958	University of London	C186	Business Man
Tanner	Thomas	Bishop of Asaph	National Library of Wales	C2109	Clergy
Thefnall	Edd.	Seventeenth century handwriting	Newberry Library	C183	Unknown
Tully	Thomas	1620-1676	National	C184	Scholar

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Comments/ dates</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Wing</b>	<b>Type of collector - if known</b>
			Library of Scotland		
Turnor	Christopher	1607-1675	University of London	C186	Judge
Wallis	Thomas	Seventeenth century handwriting	Folger	C183	Unknown
West	Mary Sackville	Date inscribed in book: 1847	Hatfield House	C186	Nobility
Whitefoord	L.Johannes	Seventeenth century handwriting	Bancroft Library	C184	Unknown
Williams	Dr Daniel	c1643-1716	Dr Williams Library	C183	Minister
Williamson	B.	Eighteenth century handwriting	National Library of Wales	C184	Unknown