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English Opinion About Scotland and of Union between England and Scotland During the Reign of James I

Vincent A. Sheridan
Loyola University Chicago

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ENGLISH OPINION ABOUT SCOTLAND AND OF
UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND
DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I

by

Vincent A. Sheridan

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface.	1
Chapter	
I Prologue	1
II Opinions Concerned with Union at the Time of the Accession of James I .	8
III Parliament, Letters and other Accounts of Phase One, 1603-1607	21
IV Parliament, Letters and other Accounts of Phase Two, 1608-1625	43
V Historical Opinion	61
VI Religious Opinion	71
VII Conclusion	83
Bibliography	88
I. Primary Sources.	88
II. Secondary Sources.	92
III. Collected and Edited Primary Sources.	93

PREFACE

In our present age, there have been effected various means by which to ascertain the pulse of opinion of a nation. The words "Gallup Poll", for instance, have entered into the every-day vocabulary. This is the application of various principles by which a researcher can attempt to gauge public thinking. Yet, this method can and has been proven wrong at times. The American presidential election of 1948 is the classic example.

In addition to opinion polls, a researcher has many other facets by which he is able to delve into the public mind. He can study newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books, television and radio. All of these media express opinions -- some overtly as in an editorial, others less clearly as in the amount of television prime time which is allotted to a certain item.

Still, when a man has availed himself of all this material, he must consolidate it. The proper stress, however, must be placed on the different aspects. As an example, an

editorial from a small town newspaper would not ordinarily rate as much emphasis as that from a large metropolitan paper. However, it should be given some consideration. The question to be answered is -- how much?

When the researcher has finally and judiciously compiled all the evidence that he has amassed, he draws conclusions. These inferences are quite a bit more tenuous, in general, than other historical conclusions since the researcher has been attempting, first to analyze the individual minds of a nation, and then to formulate a collective thesis. But this thesis cannot be verified by interrogating each person of the country, requesting his opinion. Arguments may prevail against the thesis postulated because those opposed to it believe that proper stress has not been given to the established data.

These are some of the difficulties involved in the examination of public opinion in the present age. There is a vast amount of material to be sifted. Yet, the final answer rests on debatable grounds. If this seems risky in our present time, the conclusions which will be elucidated here, will seem that much greater, because of the era under study.

The time period covered in this paper is more than

three centuries in the past. Opinion polls from this era are nonexistent. Other evidence must be relied upon. The researcher seeks other sources, only to learn that magazines and newspapers also did not exist. Furthermore, official censorship of other types of printed matter was practiced. Therefore, one must be aware of this fact, although a contemporary mentioned that these rules were somewhat lax and far from uniform in application.¹

In doing this paper, I have relied on books and pamphlets of the time. There has been no attempt to present the official government view. However, in the event that a government official, including the King, had written or made some statement which was subsequently published or may have affected the English opinion, such information was utilized. In addition, this paper is not limited to merely political topics; religious and personal opinions concerning Scotland have also been considered.

1

At the Hampton Court Conference, John Rainolds complained that books which he thought seditious, were easily obtainable in London. One of these was De iure Magistratus in Subditos by one Ficlerus. William Barlow, The summe and substance of the conference, which it pleased his Majestie to have with the Lords Bishops and other clergie at Hampton Court, London, 1604, pp. 48-51. Another man twenty years later, made a list of over one hundred and fifty Roman Catholic books

The separation of the chapters has been completely arbitrary. One may believe that a chronological or topical dichotomy would have been better. Such is the reader's prerogative. However, it appeared to me, as I was preparing this essay, that the present style of division was appropriate. I do not, however, think that a difference of opinion regarding the manner of division will alter any conclusions that can be drawn. In addition, one might object to the inclusion of foreign authors. The use of them is justified because only those works have been included which were translated, editions of which were sold in England. This indicates that the opinion expressed had some following. In fact, it would seem to signify that it had a large following since someone considered it sufficiently marketable to render it into English. These, in a significant way, translated works help to enlighten one on the state of opinion in England.

In conclusion, one point must be emphasized -- that is the almost complete lack of any opinion contrary to the royal view in published works. That there were some, is obvious from the writings of Gordon, Cornwallis and Thornborough. Also, as is shown, I believe that there was opposition propounded which was part of religious issues, whether

which were "printed, reprinted or dispersed" in England. Joan Gee, The Foot out of the Snare, London, 1624, quoted in Somer's Tracts, Vol. iii, pp. 86-90.

these were outright oppositional tracts or not, could not be decided. However, if any did exist or are still extant, I have been unable to uncover them, despite the vast amount of primary material of which I availed myself. The Parliamentary debates and other accounts of the time served to fill the gaps.

It is hoped that the reader will keep in mind the limited scope and inherent difficulties of doing this paper. Hopefully, this essay will be a useful tool in historical research.

CHAPTER I

Prologue

Between two and three o'clock in the morning of March 24, 1603,¹ Elizabeth I, Queen of England, died at Richmond in Surrey. With her demise, there was no direct descendant of the Tudor heir to the Throne. However, England was not cast into the throes of revolution nor into a tumultuous battle among contending factions. Elizabeth had named a successor, James Stáart of Scotland. The history of this choice and his subsequent peaceful accession to the English Crown, goes back more than forty years prior to the death of Elizabeth.

During October of 1562, Elizabeth was critically ill with small-pox. In fact, she was so seriously sick that during the crisis of the disease, she was in a state of coma. Her chief advisers were reconciled to her death and discussed among themselves, to whom the Crown would pass, since Elizabeth was unmarried. Two names were bantered about,

¹ Dates used in the paper have the month and day according to the Julian style and the year according to the Gregorian style, except those titles which include a date in the title. These have been left unchanged.

Lady Catherine Grey and the Earl of Huntingdon. No one mentioned the Stuart family, whose present ruler, Mary, was a granddaughter of Henry VII. Events proved these discussions to be in vain. Elizabeth did not succumb. However, to all involved, a lesson had been learned. "Henceforward, Englishmen could not fail to realize upon what a slender thread -- a woman's life -- depended the tranquility of their land".²

Shortly thereafter, in January 1563, the second Parliament of Elizabeth's reign convened. The reason for this assembly, in the Queen's mind, was unrelated to her recent illness. But Parliament had other ideas. Each House separately petitioned the Monarch to consider the succession problem. Two courses of action were suggested: Elizabeth, being still of child-bearing age, could marry; or she could name her successor. The Queen was displeased to have such impetuosity from her Parliament; nevertheless, she needed to have the French war financed. Thus, she delivered answers. These replies said that she realized the gravity of the problem and that it would be solved, perhaps by marriage.

Even while doing this, Elizabeth had already chosen a successor. It was to be the young Queen of Scotland,

Mary, the person whom Elizabeth's advisers had not considered. If Mary were not to be the heiress, then the next in her line would be. Yet, Elizabeth did not choose to openly proclaim her successor. In general, she feared that once she had declared in favor of someone, it could not be withdrawn with any show of justice or hope of real effect. Also, any subversive elements could coalesce around the choice and force a rivalry that would threaten the realm, as had happened to her during Mary Tudor's reign. In the particular case of Mary Stuart, Parliament was not convinced that she was effectively tied to both England and Protestantism. Elizabeth wanted time to prepare the way for Mary's acceptability. Eventually these preparations worked not for Mary, but for her yet unconceived son, James VI of Scotland.

Mary was never to become a palatable choice. Frequently, she clashed with her cousin because of Scottish foreign policy. Moreover, with her marriage to Lord Darnley, although it strengthened her dynastic claim and brought her closer to tying herself to England, was disapproved of by Elizabeth. The murder of Darnley and Mary's consequent imprisonment and execution, quite literally erased the Scottish Queen from contention. However, the displeasing union of Mary and Darnley did have one approved result. On June 19, 1566, James Stuart was born. Regarding his claim to the English throne, he had all the qualities of his

mother, plus none of the disadvantages. Both his parents were blood descendants of Henry VII; he was tied to England through his father; and he was not tainted by Roman Catholicism.

As he matured, Elizabeth groomed James. After the death of Mary in 1587, it was obvious that he was the heir apparent. James made no pretensions of modesty and clearly yearned for Elizabeth's passing. The Queen was cognizant of this, but reluctantly ignored his indiscretions. She even overlooked his involvement in the Essex Plot. Still James was not officially proclaimed her successor. The entire resources of Scotland and its proximity to England, Elizabeth believed, would be sufficient for him to make his claim stick, should she die suddenly, unable to manifest him as her selection. At the same time, it prevented him from becoming a rival while she lived.

Fortunately, she did not die suddenly. She was able to make her choice known openly during her final days. James peacefully assumed the Throne and her dream of Union was effected.³

³
The material for this section of the chapter was taken from: S.T. Bindoff, Tudor England (Baltimore: 1965), pp. 296, 308-309. J.E. Neale, Elizabeth I: a Biography (Garden City, New York: 1957), pp. 121-135, 402-407; Helen Georgia Stafford, James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England (New York: 1940), pp. 250-292.

Since, during his entire life in Scotland, James had been constantly reminded that he was to be the next ruler of England, it is, therefore, no surprise that he immediately commenced to bring about Union. It was an idea to which he had given serious thought,⁴ and with his accession came the practical question of how to effect this Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland. In James there was a personal Union already. The question of a further corporate legal Union was a sensitive one for many years to come. However, it is in the years of the first Parliament of James when it flared most brightly. Yet even after 1608, the problem of Union and the Scots remained just below the surface. It did not require much prying in order to stir up the hornets' nest.

For the sake of chronology, one can say that there are two periods in James' English reign. The first phase ranges from 1603 to the decision rendered in the case of the Post-Nati in 1608. The second carries one to James' death.

During the first period, the noticeable feature is the direct concern about Union. James apparently hoped that by proposing that Parliament discuss the issue, he would gain

⁴
D.H. Willson, "King James I and Anglo-Scottish Unity" in W.A.Aiken and Basil D. Henning (editors), Conflict

strong popular support. Some personages close to the Monarch printed pamphlets favoring unification. Despite this promotion, Commons proved to be reluctant, and eventually James was impelled to use his prerogative and the Infant Colville to salvage something from this unexpected rebuff.

Thereafter the second phase is begun. Other problems came to the fore and the question of Union was not seriously raised. Englishmen, however, did not forget. Instead of Union itself, attacks were made against the Scots, a tactic which had been used before and which remained an effective weapon to hinder different proposals in these years, although they may seem unrelated to Union.

Throughout both periods there were men whose writings, though not concerned specifically with unification, did mention it. A history of England could not include James' reign without touching the dual considerations of Union and the Scots; any man dealing with religion was apt to run into the religious conflict between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, which stance, to one side or the other, was almost inextricably bound up with the question

In Stuart England, (London, 1960), pp. 43-55.

of Union.

There stands the overall view. What follows is the examination -- what were the arguments? who were the men involved on both sides? and how much of the population did they represent?

CHAPTER II

Opinions Concerned with Union at the Time of the Accession of James I

This chapter might well have been entitled "Court Propaganda". The tracts contained herein were written by men who were all connected with James. There is Francis Bacon of whose fame little need be said. Yet this intellectual fame may have had the effect of overshadowing his political position. During the First Parliament of the Stuart Era, he held a seat in Commons for Ipswich. His defense of Union merited the King's recognition and he was an English Commissioner for the conferences with the Scottish Commissioners concerning terms for Union. When the agreement (Instrument) was laid before Commons, it was Bacon who was its most avid supporter. Another of these authors is Sir William Cornwallis, who also was a member of Commons -- he, from Oxford. Cornwallis, whose father, Charles, was the Resident Ambassador at Spain, was knighted by James. A third member of this sextet was an import. John Gordon was born in Scotland. Among his many positions before 1603, he had served Mary Stuart for a time when she was in England. At

the time of James' accession, Gordon was in France and wrote a defense of the Stuart claim. Due to this James nominated him for the position of Dean of Salisbury and at the Hampton Court Conference he supported James. The fourth propagandist was Sir John Hayward. His interest in writing such a propaganda treatise was simply to curry royal favor. He had been implicated in the Essex Plot and, although defended by Bacon, was imprisoned, not being released until after Essex's execution. That Hayward was successful is demonstrated by the facts that Prince Henry patronized him and that later in his life he was knighted. Edward Forsett was a political writer. However, he was also tied to the Crown because of his post as Justice of the Peace. The last man of the group is John Thornborough, who wrote two pamphlets advocating Union. At the time when these both were written, Thornborough was Bishop of Bristol, having been appointed by James within seven months after Elizabeth's death.

Since all these writers, then, had a common denominator -- a definite connection with, if not dependence upon, the King -- it is not surprising to find that they unanimously pronounce a favorable verdict. This is not to mean that they resorted to distortions. However, it does indicate

¹ These and other biographical sketches which are used in the paper have been taken from the appropriate volumes of the Dictionary of National Biography, New York, 1889-1900.

that one should expect to discover that they use the royal arguments. They presented one side of the picture. Two of the titles demonstrate forthrightly what the writers concluded: A discourse of the happy union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; ² and The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland. ³ These six tracts all see unification as a definite good. The following are typical of the phraseology: "the which Union of one language, one Religion, and one King, maketh the Union of the two countries, ipso iure naturale;" ⁴ the Union has produced "a new Form agreeable and convenient to the entire Estate;" ⁵ the opponents are damnable and "the chiefest impugners thereof are not able, even in the greatest tempest of their judgement, directly to denie them, and they seeke either in silence or generalities to passe them over. . ."; ⁶ times have been harsh because "we had yet laboured under the burthen of a torne and dis-

² Francis Bacon, A discourse of the happy union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (reprint; London: 1700).

³ William Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland (London: 1604).

⁴ John Gordon, A sermon of the union of Great Brittainie (London: 1604), p.32.

⁵ Francis Bacon, A discourse of the happy union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (reprint; London: 1700), p.6

⁶ John Hayward, A treatise of union of England and Scotland (London: 1604), pp. 2-3.

membered kingdom;"⁷ this island, in ancient times, used to be one "till ambition and contention devided them;"⁸ the burden existed "untill at the last the mightie and onlly wonder working hand of God, wyping away the deformitie"⁹ again unified Britain.

Having all agreed that the accession of James I and the consequent Royal Union of the Kingdoms were beneficial, these authors did not stop. That in se Union was good, was almost self-evident to them. It appears that by showing the advantages of Union for England, the men hoped to convince their readers.

A major assumption, showing the religious influence of the time, was explicitly stated by Gordon, whose theme for a sermon was the biblical quote, "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand". This train of thought presupposed the concept that Britain was an organic unit. Forsett's words, part of which have already been quoted, explain this idea -

Nay, hath not the whole Island of
Britannia, being a bodie perfectly

⁷ William Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland (London: 1604), p.N. (v).

⁸ John Thornborough, A discourse plainely proving the necessitie of union (London: 1604), p.5.

⁹ Edward Forcett, A comparative discourse of the

shaped, rounded and bounded with
 an environing see, been a long
 time thus dissevered, and disfigured
 by that unluckie dualitie the author
 of division? Untill at the mightie
 and onlly wonder working hand of God,
 wpying away the deformitie (not by any
 violent cutting off, but by a new
 moulding, as it were of the two heads
 into one) hath restored it againe to
 his first right, imperiall and most
 monarchiall greatnesse.¹⁰

The naturalness of the Union was an attitude which pervaded these authors and which cannot be over-emphasized. It is a recurring defense of Union. However, this natural gravitation of Scotland to England seemed to have awaited a special person to be the catalyst. This person was James I. In explaining that Monarch's role, the writers tended to be quite eulogistic. He was almost a sine qua non.

In a worde, never was a Prince received with so general applause, nor was there ever Prince that deserved better of us; for laying by the justnesse of his owne title, the remembrance of his sufferings (which to another nature would have beene accounted an earning of this kingdome) the need we had of him, the testimonies given to the whole world of his abilities

bodies natural and politique (London: 1606), p. 58.

10

Edward Forsett, A comparative discourse of the bodies natural and politique (London: 1606), p.58.

for government, laying by these considerations, he hath beene yet content to acknowledge the love of his subjects, and not alone to acknowledge it in wordes, but to assume them of it, he hath not respected¹¹ his private gaine beyond their profits.

Cornwallis did not end his laudatory tone with these. Shortly after the above lines, one finds the following:

By this we may cheere the doubt of English and Scottish since he is King of both, he is father of both, and (being equally charged by the King of Kings with both) owing unto both one duty, he will give unto both one affection.¹²

The praise that Cornwallis heaped upon James leaves a person wondering if this is merely a subjective evaluation and to what extent others believed it. In examining the works of other men, similar sentiments are echoed in defense of Union. The great popular response to James is confirmed by Thomas Dekker, one of the greatest London dramatists of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart ages, who was at his height during the reign of James. Dekker recorded that the entire city of London appeared to greet James upon his entrance into

¹¹

William Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland (London: 1604), p. B3 (r).

¹²

Ibid. (emphasis in original. Throughout the paper no emphasis will be added unless noted).

the city. Although this huge reception was partly due to curiosity because he was a male succeeding Elizabeth, whose reign had lasted nearly a half century, it also resulted from public approval of the Scottish Monarch who was to be crowned King of England. As James neared the city, there was a symbolic meeting of the two patrons, Saint George and Saint Andrew.¹³ "S. George and S. Andrew that many hundred yeares had defied one another were now sworne brothers." ¹⁴ Unfortunately for James, he did not comprehend the fickleness of this manifestation.

Beyond the wishes of God and James, there were practical advantages to be gained. The writers did not neglect these mundane factors. One can well suspect that these were more potent than other arguments. Both Hayward and Cornwallis listed the advantages. To the northern counties, in particular, the end of wars between the two nations would prove beneficial. Physical depredations would cease. Furthermore, no more would Scotland be France's "onely refuge, to escape the English preparations".¹⁵ Now this fear would be quieted and there would be a reduction of the possibility

13

Thomas Dekker, The magnificent entertainment given to King James upon his Passage through London (London: 1604), pp. A 3(v) - B(v).

14

Thomas Dekker, The Wonderfull Yeare, 1603 (London: 1603), p.30; reprinted by Curwen Press, London, 1924.

15

William Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union

of the realm being invaded. The strength of unity would make it "almost impossible either for forreine enemies or domes-
 tical rebell to have power to prevail"¹⁶. Another advantage
 which one man foresaw was that there would be a greater
 freedom, "for generally, in small principalities, the people
 are more wronged in person and purse"¹⁷.

Finally, one cannot omit overt religious considera-
 tions. These years, in general, were ones wherein religion
 was more important than it is today. English writing of
 all kinds abounded in diatribes against and condemnations
 of Papists and Romanists. In formulating an opinion concerning
 Scotland, religious persuasion was often a determining force.
 In a later chapter this question will be treated in greater
 detail. However, in this particular case, it must be studied.
 The predominant religion in both nations was different:
 Calvinism in Scotland, Anglicanism in England. On the other
 hand, there was a basic similarity -- they both could be
 fiercely anti-Catholic. In discussing Union and seeing it
 in an acceptable light, this fact was stressed. Hayward
 never mentioned religion at all, giving the impression that

of England and Scotland (London: 1604), p. D(v).

¹⁶ John Hayward, A treatise of union of England and
 Scotland (London: 1604), p.6.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.6.

he took this similarity for granted. Gordon was gratified because he thought that Britain would be a powerful Protestant state. Both nations, Cornwallis noted, since they were "invironed by the Sea," would be "knit together by Religion, Language, Disposition & whatsoever els can take away difference".¹⁸

Although these men expressed sentiments favoring what was occurring, they did not overlook the fact that opposition could coalesce. Gordon was very open. The admonition in his sermon can be related to the Gunpowder Plot. In that Plot, there was supposed to be an appeal to the citizens of London for support after Parliament had been blown up; an appeal based on the rise of Scottish influence within England because of James I, which had to be eliminated. The destruction of Parliament was to accomplish this. Gordon foresaw these objections of the Plot and forewarned the English by lecturing the Scots on their responsibilities:

On the other part let not the subjects of the North desire, or hunt after any preheminance in honours, dignitie, offices, or preferments either temporall or Ecclesiasticall because that the King his Majestie, our common head,

was borne and bred, and had his beginning in the North, or because the Nobilitie of the North may claime to have some preheminance by the antiquitie of their houses, above the South.¹⁹

Despite the wariness, Gordon did not mean to hinder Union. He was straightforward in maintaining that opposition -- all problems concerning Union being put aside -- was tantamount to sin. "He that opposeth himselfe against this holy Union, doth offend his God."²⁰

One writer did counter the opposition in depth. This was Thornborough. From his work it is possible to conclude that there was Anti-Union sentiment outside of Parliament. Why else would he feel constrained to combat, one by one, twelve objections in the published work? However, one cannot ascertain the extent or degree of organization which it had. The list which he compiled has overlapping parts and the grounds for disapproval can be found to be basically five: there was no precedent; legal and governmental problems would ensue; England would be obliterated; trade and contracts with foreign lands would be placed in a precarious position; the idea of Union would be rejected by public opinion. These

¹⁹

John Gordon, A sermon of the union of Great Brittainie (London: 1604), p. 39.

²⁰

Ibid., p. 50.

are similar to those voiced in Commons, as shall be seen in a later chapter.

Calling upon history, Thornborough was able to show that the first two arguments were illegitimate. The case of the Houses of Castile and Aragon and the incorporation of Wales into England were examples from the past to show that not only did precedents exist, but that the legal and governmental difficulties could be overcome.²¹ Again referring to history, Thornborough used a two-edged sword to cut up the third objection. For, according to his reasoning, are not the ancient heroes of Britain -- like Albion and King Arthur -- still remembered? England's fame will be retained also by its glorious men, just as these heroes accomplished^h for Britain when it had but one monarch -- something we are attempting to duplicate. It is the deeds of the man, not his nationality, that are honored.²²

In discussing the fourth argument against Union, his answer is surprising. One is accustomed to read flattering phrases about most of the English royalty, especially the Tudors. Thornborough deviated from this norm. Elizabeth's

21

John Thornborough, A discourse plainly proving the necessitie of union (London: 1604), pp. 2-3, 8-10.

22

Ibid., pp. 23-24, 26.

reign, he claimed had witnessed a deterioration in foreign relations and "intercourse utterly decayed with many Princes". Now a new look would begin. Commerce should boom by this overhaul. He thought that rather than pessimism, merchants should be hailing the dawn of a new era.²³

For the final objection, he did not present a convincing case. No proof was given to support his position that the populace would not object because they would approve of whatever the King wished.²⁴ However, neither was there any evidence cited in the opposition's claim, although it must be realized that since Thornborough was writing the tract, he might very well have omitted anything which could have aided the cause of his adversaries.

When all was considered, he did not hesitate to state that Anti-Union feeling was small. He regarded it as an obstacle to overcome, as a "great shew of big logges laid in the way, betweene the two eminent markes shot at by the souveraigne Unitor, namely, honor and happinesse". Everything would be smashed by the powerful and blessed Union.²⁵

Where Gordon and Thornborough were open, the others were somewhat oblique. Bacon, in his optimism, disregarded

²³

Ibid., p.23

²⁴Ibid., pp. 26-27

²⁵Ibid., pp 1, 31-33.

the problems. He was already moving to discuss what the ultimate result of Union would be, in the fields of language, laws and employment. Cornwallis was idealistic in his evaluation of difficulties. He admitted there would be some, but placed his firm belief in the axiom, "Kingdomes must be maintained by such meanes as they were gotten". Since the method of Union could be traced ultimately to a marriage -- a knot made indissoluble by God -- he happily surmised that there would be "a constant friendship and love".²⁶ To these men, problems were no problems. Forsett was not so strict as Gordon in his distaste for opposition. On the other hand, he listed no specific areas where it could arise. Forsett claimed that those who were against this organic Union,²⁷ "seemeth to bee better pleased with the imperfection". Hayward, curiously enough, saw the crux of the opposition to be centered around the future name of the island. This may ring funny to our contemporary ears, accustomed as they are to hear the words Great Britain. Yet Hayward's observation, though not a total picture, had some truth to it. This was a sensitive part of the whole question.

2

26

William Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland (London: 1604), p. B4(v).

27

Edward Forsett, A comparative discourse of the bodies natural and politique (London: 1606, p. 59).

CHAPTER IIIParliament, Letters and other
Accounts of Phase One, 1603-1607

I find most Men are of the Opinion that there will be so great difficulty to change the State of the present Constitutions, as it is thought that little can be done to satisfy that which is proposed.¹

This is how one career diplomat, Sir Thomas Edmondes, assessed the situation in England in a letter to another career diplomat, Sir Ralph Winwood, on the last day of September, 1604. The rosy picture which the writers in the last chapter portrayed had more than just a few frayed edges according to Edmondes. And his judgment was to prove the more competent.

The King's side had, early in the battle, grossly misjudged the opinion in England. James proposed Union to Parliament within a year of Elizabeth's death. He either was too overconfident or was trying to cull the opposition into overestimating the royal following. In his speech to Parliament at its convocation on March 19, 1604, James dismissed opposition, contending that it was based on a "frivolous

¹ Sir Ralph Winwood, Memorials of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I, Vol. II, edited by Sawyer (London: 1725), p. 32.

objection" which was "either blended by ignorance, or els transported with malice, being unable to live in a well governed commonwealth, and onely delighting to fish in troubled waters."² In little more than three years (March 31, 1607) James, in another speech to Parliament at Whitehall, bitterly rued this error in judgement.³ In the intervening years he had been brutally awakened to the fact that the "frivolous objection" had enough strength to stymie James' plans.

This first Parliament of James was concerned with this question of Union throughout. James believed that he could have used his prerogative and brought about Union. However, though to a limited extent he did this with the Great Seal,⁴ the naval flags,⁵ and some particular denizations, he did not do much more. He had cast Union's fate to Parliament and too late saw that Commons was of a different mind than he.

² The Kings Majesties Speech, as it was delivered by him. . . on the 19. day of March, 1603, being the first day of this present Parliament (London: 1604), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, p. 63.

³ His Majesties Speech to both Houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse great Chamber at Whitehall, the day of Adjournment of the last Session, which was the last day of March, 1607 (London: 1607), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 117-132.

⁴ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Vol. VIII, p.2; hereafter referred to as Cal. St. Pap., Dom.

⁵ George Roberts (editor), Diary of Walter Yonge (London; 1848), pp. 6-7.

When he finally was able to drag Union back from Commons, it was too tattered to satisfy James but it was also too late for him to do much except to allow the courts, a known quantity, to do as much as possible. Yet, he was quite cognizant that it was the courts, not the Parliament, the legal system not the national forum, which was his final resort.

Before James arrived at this realization, he had heard the voices of three sessions of Parliament. The first of these began with the speech of 1604, already quoted from. In this speech, besides minimizing the discontent and opposition that he would find to Union, James emphasized its positive aspects. These reasons did not differ much from the arguments of the other authors cited in the last chapter. He offered seven points in favor of his proposal: the strength of the combined nations; the corollary that this power would scare off prospective enemies; the riches that would fall to England; the greater freedom which the realm would enjoy; the Island was a natural unit; no more would Scotland be a haven for English foes, nor a foe itself; God demands this Union which can be likened to the Mystical Body, with James as the head.⁶ In the same speech, the King also broached

⁶
The Kings Majesties Speech, as it was delivered by him. . . on the 19 day of March, 1603, being the first day of this present Parliament (London:1604), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 117-132.

other topics which were to play a much more important role. James insisted that both halves of Britain would be equal, at least. If one kingdom were to be at an advantage, it would be England, because it would "enjoy the perfect and the last halfe" of his life.⁷ Concerning the Puritans, James described them as inveterate malcontents, something "which maketh their sect unable to be suffered in any well governed commonwealth."⁸ He was not, on this occasion, mentioning them as connected with opposition to Union. However, he perceived here as he had at the Hampton Court Conference, that the Puritans were not easily reconciled to the Anglican Church, whose liturgy he was about to attempt to impose on the Scots. Later he was to see that this irreconcilable attitude was to have repercussions in his policy for Union.

The demands of both nations regarding the necessary elements of any pact for Union were diametrically opposed on three points. At this time, no commissioners had met but the Venetian Ambassador wrote home what each side was claiming and on which points each would be adamant. The places of conflict, at this particular time, centered on honors, ranks and taxes. As yet, another problem which was to be crucial --

⁷
Ibid., p. 63.

⁸
Ibid., p. 64.

that of citizenship -- had not reared its head. On the subject of honors, the Scottish position was, according to Nicolo Molin, the Venetian Ambassador, that all honors and dignities were to be open to members of each country, regardless of nationality. Englishmen found this unacceptable. The four offices -- Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper and Lord Chamberlain -- were to be perpetually staffed by an English national. Furthermore, the English side contended that no Scot was to receive any office whatsoever, for a period of twelve years. Apparently, the English hoped that by this action they would be able to gain the affection of James, an affection in which the Scots, to the English mind, had an almost complete monopoly. This sentiment, one that James noted in his initial address, had its origins in an English fear of a Scottish infiltration of their realm. During James' first months in England, this discontent could already be observed. The Scots, it was felt, were not only receiving vacant offices, but were even displacing Englishmen. The only Englishmen who were receiving anything were those to whom James believed he was under obligation. To the rest, it was thought, "he shows small regard." This was to become

⁹
Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Vol. X, May 22, 1603, p. 33; hereafter referred to as Cal. St. Pap. Ven.

a very bitter apple of discord during and after the debates in Commons. Secondly, the English demanded that the Scottish peerage have no rank in England, whereas the Scots protested that they should, since the seniority of the patent was the only criterion. The third field of division, as Molin reported it, was whether or not the Scots should have to pay direct taxes. Of course, the English took the affirmative, claiming that since their northern brethren would share English dignities and immunities, it would only be fair that they pay the direct taxes, rather than have the English citizenry shoulder the burden alone. The Scottish claim was that under their civil law they had never paid direct taxes. Moreover, they turned their pockets inside out, arguing that, anyway, they were too poor. That James was aware of all this, is obvious from Molin's evaluation of the intensity of the emotions.

"These points are sustained and argued by both sides with such heat that the King doubts whether he will be able to surmount the difficulties."⁽¹⁰⁾

James did not succumb to despair. In a letter, he advised Commons where the discontent was centered and that

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Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, April 28, 1604, p. 148.

Union was to be achieved "by yielding to the Providence of God."¹¹ The necessity for this letter seems to have originated in Commons' initial rejection of a royal request that a commission be established to meet with a Scotch delegation of equal status and negotiate a treaty of Union. That James had not lost control of the situation was shown because Commons did reverse their decision and voted for the commission. This being done, Parliament was prorogued shortly thereafter, on July 7, 1604. By now it was discernible that James was not to have smooth sailing. Parliament, or to be more exact Commons, was flexing itself. The idea of Union was a battleground. The Venetian Ambassador judged this dispute over the commissioners as being prompted "not by the nature of the proposal itself"¹² but in Parliament. However, this is to give too little credit to the issue of Union. For there were other points which Commons could and did choose. However, on this particular issue, it was apparent that James was on the defensive.

Parliament did not reconvene again for more than a year and a half, although the final two months' postponement

¹¹ Winwood, Memorials of Affairs of State, Vol. II., p. 20.

¹² Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, May 19, 1604, p. 151.

was not due to James but to the Gunpowder Plot. During this span - July 7, 1604 to January 21, 1606 - the commissioners met and hammered out an agreement, while the conspirators were making their own plans, which would have rendered the Commission's work superfluous.

By the end of 1604, the two delegations had come to an agreement. In general, the provisions called for: the abolition of all mutually hostile laws; trade regulations; settlement of border problems; extradition laws; and provisions for the post- and ante-nati. The last provision, according to a contemporary account, "begat more Debate and Contestation than all the rest."¹³ Be that as it may, the Commission had done its job and it was then up to each country to ratify the agreement. Originally Parliament was to meet in February, 1605. It was postponed to October, then to November. Finally, it was convened in January, 1606. During the period while Parliament's schedule for its session was being put back, it appeared to the Venetian Ambassador that the opposition had been growing. In fact, he suggested that the Parliament which was to meet in October was prorogued because James wanted to root out "certain turbulent and seditious spirits"¹⁴

¹³
Winwood, Memorials of Affairs of State, Vol. II,
p. 38.

¹⁴
Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, Sept. 20, 1605,
p. 151.

who wanted to thwart Union. Within a month, the same man was writing that James' opponents were still so strong that the whole issue might possibly be dropped, with the King hoping that time would heal all divisions.¹⁵

James did not elect to forget the matter and let time heal the wounds. He would have held the Parliament, except for the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. This conspiracy had been planned long in advance. Among its reasons, said the famous plotter, Guy Fawkes, was an anti-Scot feeling. James had suspected this and ordered the investigators to pursue this line of inquiry. Fawkes confessed that one of the ultimate results of the Plot was that Princess Elizabeth would come to the throne and the plotters, in her name, would issue a proclamation against Union.¹⁶ It was further reported that, of the Scots, Fawkes had expressed his intention "to have blown them back again to Scotland", for, using a medical metaphor, he reasoned that "a dangerous disease required a desperate remedy".¹⁷ In fact, the commissioners

¹⁵

Ibid., Oct. 12, 1605, p. 280.

¹⁶

Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. VIII, November 8, 1605, p. 270.

¹⁷

Letter of Sir Edward Hobart to Sir Thomas Edmondes, quoted in Godfrey Goodman, The Court of King James I, Vol. II, edited by John S. Brewer (London: 1839), p. 112.

assigned to investigate the affair were themselves sufficiently convinced of the anti-Union sentiment behind the plan that when the Earl of Northumberland was implicated, one explanation he had to give was why he had been discussing Union with one of the conspirators, Thomas Percy, on November 4.¹⁸

On account of this extraordinary event, Parliament was prorogued for two more months. However, James was able to get in a bid for Union in his speech at the prorogation. He took the opportunity to assure Parliament that nothing would be proposed which would not be of equal benefit to both nations.¹⁹ And during the two-month interval one sees occasional glimpses of continued royal propaganda. Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones used one of their masques to compare Union of England and Scotland to the marital union.²⁰

When, at last, Parliament convened, James did not press his newly gained advantage. He was riding the crest of popularity, but quickly dissipated it by becoming involved with the question of purveyance. Salisbury hoped to settle this

¹⁸
Cal. St., Pap., Dom., Vol. VIII, December 2, 1605, and December 13, 1605, pp. 266 and 271.

¹⁹
Wilbraham Harold S. Scott (editor), Journal of Sir Roger (London: 1902), p. 75.

²⁰
Letter of Mr. Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, January, 1606, quoted in Goodman, The Court of King James I., Vol. II, p. 125.

matter first, then to proceed unencumbered to Union.²¹
 Commons was amenable to such a procedure, which is known from
 the best source of the Parliamentary maneuvers of this and
 the next session of Parliament, which is Robert Bowyer.
 His diary is a very incisive record. One man, Sir William
 Morrice, spoke on the first day, concerning the propriety of
 the title of King of Great Britain in "a long unneccessaire
 weake speache".²² Thereafter, however, Union took a definite
 second seat. Eventually, Commons decided with very little
 deliberation, to let the entire matter be deferred.²³
 Seemingly, James was in full accord, fearing that it was still
 too unpopular a subject.²⁴ One man, Dr. Lionel Sharpe, in a
 letter to the Privy Council at about this time (July, 1606),
 had to defend certain actions of his. In so doing he noted
 that what he had done was prompted because speeches of English-

²¹
 p. 27. Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. XIX, March 9, 1606,

²²
 D.H. Willson (editor), The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer (Minneapolis: 1931), p. 1.

²³
Ibid., p. 124.

²⁴
 p. 329. Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, March 23, 1606,

men and Scots were prevalent with talk of dissension and
²⁵
 disunion.

So this session of Parliament can be said to be a prelude to the stormy session to come, which began on November 18, 1606 and lasted until July 4, 1607. The overriding subject for these months was Union. It was no longer deferred. Rather it was pushed directly in front of Parliament. In his opening speech which lasted for an hour and a half, James was quite blunt about what Parliament was supposed to do. Since he had resolved the problem of monopolies, he
²⁶
 "urged the Union as the sole matter to be treated of"
²⁷
 because it was "the greatest and weightiest Matter of all". To him, the major objection was still the assertion that the Scots were a poor nation and consequently were going to rob England and remove its riches to Scotland. James reminded his listeners that a similar argument could have been advanced against Wales. Yet Wales and England were now well
²⁸
 united.

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Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. XII, pp. 483-486.

²⁶

Scott, Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, p. 89.

²⁷

Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. I, p. 314;
 hereafter referred to as C.J.

²⁸

Willson, Bowyer Diary, p. 185; Scott, Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, p. 89.

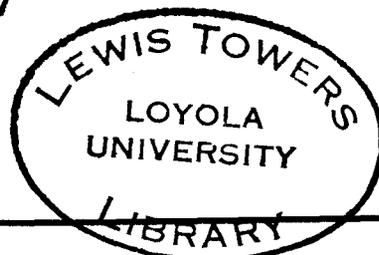
Two days later the Instrument of Union as passed by the Commission was sent to Commons. Something which Bowyer felt was significant enough to note was that one commissioner only had signed the document.²⁹ It is symbolic, to say the least, that the man was Sir Edward Hobby, a member of Commons. Although Commons had received the document, the lower house still stalled. The Instrument languished for a while. For the day of 22 November, Bowyer wrote: "Note that all this day, the Instrument of Union, lay on the Deske before the Clerke but not moved by any man to be reade, or dealt with all".³⁰ This was to be a usual complaint of Lords throughout this session. Periodically they had to prod the reluctant Commons to action. Lords had quickly sought to satisfy the King's wishes. But Commons was more willing to sit on its hands. Characteristically, three days elapsed in debate over whether or not to have a conference with the Lords. In the end, Commons consented, but the appointed day was not scheduled until the middle of December, almost a month to the day from the opening of Parliament. Between the day when Commons approved the establishment of a committee on 29 November and when the conference

29

Willson, Bowyer Diary, p. 187

30

Ibid., p. 189.



was held on 16 December, Commons obtained more ammunition with which to fight Union.

A Common's Committee had been meeting in order to gather information relating to Union. On 4 December, a group of merchants from London issued a protest against certain clauses of the Act of Union. This protest centered on commerce, because the merchants did not want Scots to be admitted to the English merchant companies. Also they objected that Scots had trading advantages in France; that the Scots were able to gain advantages in trading because of their system of weights and measures;³¹ and that they could build and operate their ships more cheaply than the English,³² thus having a further advantage over the English. Eventually these problems were settled, although the Scots had answered that the charges were not so serious as the London merchants described. However, these problems had that greater significance. It too is another manifestation of that fear of a Scottish takeover of English finances.

The Conference between the two houses was held on two days, during which the questions of hostile laws and

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Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. VIII, p. 336.

³²

Willson, Bowyer Diary, p. 203n.

commerce were discussed. Naturalization was omitted from the agenda at the request of Commons. Nonetheless, the Conference was quite heated, being described as violent "like the month of March", with the merchants and Nicholas Fuller, a member of Commons, leading the opposition.³³ It was here that the commercial compromise was concluded, after Egerton had pointedly defended the royal position. But the compromise did not annihilate the opponents to Union. Some unnamed person sent a memorandum telling the conferees that they had to yield to Union "though we foresee we shall be losers".³⁴

Nevertheless, the compromise and easy concurrence on the hostile laws opened the way for the next proposal -- that of naturalization. Again both committees returned to their respective houses to give their report and receive instructions for another conference. During this time, the House of Commons erupted. On February 10, 1607, Commons heard the report from the Conference.³⁵ Three days later a member from Bucks, Christopher Pigott, created a sensation and found himself in the Tower during the King's Pleasure. The Common's

³³ Letter of Carleton to Chamberlain quoted in Willson, Bowyer Diary, p. 208n.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 209n.

³⁵ In his diary, Bowyer erred on his dating by placing this report on February 14, 1607. The almost two-months' delay between the Conference and report was due to a recess.

Journal described what happened in this manner: "He afterwards entered into By-matter of Invective against the Scotts and Scottish Nation, using many words of Scandal and Obloquy". Scots, to him, were beggars, rebels and traitors and Pigott thought that it was as sensible to have Union with Scotland as it would be to put a prisoner on the bench. ³⁶ Commons remained silent despite the penalty he was given. However, Pigott probably was stating an opinion similar to that held by many of his fellow Commoners. His fault was his lack of tact. During the week following Pigott's speech, Bowyer' recorded four opinions given about Union. Of these four, one was against Union completely (Fuller), two were against naturalization (Wentworth and Moore), and only one spoke favorably of Union (Francis Bacon). When the committee was sent to the Conference, it was under instruction to plead ³⁷ the case against naturalization.

This Conference, held on 25 February, throws much light on the reasoning of both sides. It is apparently the only one of which some type of extensive, objective transcript

³⁶ C.J., Vol. I, p. 333; Cal. St. Pap., Ven., March 8, 1607, pp. 478-479.

³⁷ C.J., Vol. I, p. 339.

exists. A copy of it can be found in Somers Tracts and by studying it, one gathers an interesting and valuable insight. Each house sent very learned representatives to present its case, but Lords had an overwhelming superiority. Naturalization and the questions of the post- and ante-nati are, in themselves, basically legal questions. Lords brought some of the best jurists in England with them. There were two Judges from Common Pleas; three from the Exchequer and three from the King's Bench, besides the famous Edward Coke and Lord Chief Justice Popham. Commons had but one judge who supported their cause. This was Justice Thomas Walmsley. So heavily weighted by legalists were Lords that at one point in the Conference, the committee from Commons was addressed as "the civilians".³⁸ Although many of the Commoners were lawyers, none was of the same stature as these Justices from Lords. The Committee from the lower house presented several arguments but the Justices were able to pick apart each one, point by point, citing precedent after precedent. In fact, so devastating were their counterarguments that when the report was given back to Commons, it was pointed out in a

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From Common Pleas there was Warburton and Danyell; Exchequer Altham, Swigg and Flemming; and King's Bench Fenner, Williams and Tanfield. The Conference held the 25th of February, Anno 1606, betweene the Lords Committees and Commons, touching the Naturalizing of the Scots (London: 1607) quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 132-144.

weak rebuttal to the Justices' answers, that one Justice had disagreed with the other nine. Moreover, besides this lack of unanimity, Sandys who gave the report claimed that they were speaking as Lords, not as Justices under oath, as if their judicial training could be compartmentalized. Thirdly, Sandys erroneously said that the Justices had not heard the other side of the question.³⁹ According to the transcript from this Conference, the Justices did not give their opinions until after the committee from Commons had spoken. From the internal evidence which shows that the Justices countered the arguments one by one, the conclusion must inescapably be drawn that somehow, whether then or before the meeting, these men had access to the arguments of Commons.

That the question of naturalization ran deeper is another result of the Conference. The bogey of a Scottish takeover was lurking in the background, at the root of all the objections. Opponents to Union reasoned that if the Scots became citizens they would come to England in droves and suck out all the wealth. It was the basis for the merchants' objections which were cured by compromise. However, there was little compromise to

³⁹Willson, Bowyer Diary, p. 218.

be made concerning naturalization. The rather arbitrary division between post- and ante-nati was ridiculous. The Venetian Ambassador saw this. The ante-nati were the dying generation. It was those who would be born after 1603 who would be living in the future. He knew that if the post-nati received full citizenship, there would eventually be a Union, "automatically".⁴⁰ James, too, recognized this. On 31 March, he spoke to Parliament. In this speech he emphasized that he wanted to have Union gradually take place and that in so doing the English would lose nothing, but would be given all⁴¹ that he had promised.

Sir Edwin Sandys now took up the challenge. After the King's speech, Parliament was adjourned until 20 April. Eight days later on 28 April, Sandys, an Oxford graduate and influential member of the East India Company, told Commons that a perfect (complete) Union was necessary. He did not want any imperfect Union, he continued, but rather a complete and absolute one. Sandys

⁴⁰ Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, March 29, 1607, p. 435.

⁴¹ His Majesties Speech. . . .the last day of March, 1607, pp. 117-132.

always had been a champion of the opponents to Union and apparently now he was gambling by calling James' bluff. He claimed, and rightfully so, that the King wanted a perfect Union. So, Sandys argued, why go only half way with an imperfect Union.⁴² This method of attack was deadly. Debate now turned on the point of Union or no Union. Hitherto, some men had supported naturalization, not perceiving the full implications of that problem. Sandys, however, successfully destroyed the illusions. Men, previously not committed to his stand, now joined him and naturalization was rebuffed. This, then, was the stand of Commons, when the session ended on July 4, 1607. Parliament had passed bills for the abolition of the hostile laws, but would not allow prisoners to be re-manded, and had ratified commercial plans, but with enough of a compromise to satisfy the London merchants.

One can well wonder how accurately did Commons reflect public opinion. One person conducted his private opinion poll. If this were an honest effort, it would indicate that Commons was quite in tune with the English

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Willson, Bowyer Diary, pp. 255-261.

mind and Lords was out of step. There is a pamphlet which still exists in which this seventeenth-century pollster wrote his conclusions. He remained anonymous and there is no date nor place of publication. It has, however, been established that it was probably written sometime between 1605 and 1610. If that author is to be believed, he was giving a consensus of English thought, stressing that he himself wanted some type of Union. "It weare good we could forgett all difference of names, and repayr the almost decaied name of Great Britain". Yet, the author claimed that Englishmen, in general, thought the King too generous to his Scottish subjects and that he was attempting to displace English Common Law by Scottish Civil Law. These are opinions which were argued in Commons during the debates about Union. (Here it should be noted that the point of James' benevolence to the Scots will arise again). It would seem that the anonymous author had a solid basis for his assertions. The question of the legal system was involved in the disputes of naturalization and direct taxes and the author was, at least, repeating what Commons had argued. ⁴³ The letters of the Venetian

43

Advertisements of a loyal Subject to his gracious Sovereign, drawn from the Observations of the Peoples Speeches, quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol II, pp. 144-148.

Ambassadors lend confirmation to him. James' actions tend to give further credence. He took the matter away from Parliament and handed it to the courts, where legality, not public opinion, was the norm.

CHAPTER IV

Parliament, Letters and other
Accounts of Phase Two, 1608-1625

I found the Case to bee rare, and
the Matter of great import and
consequences, as being a special
and principall part of the blessed,
and happy Union of Great Britaine.¹

Parliament was prorogued. The Case of the Post-Nati was engineered so that it could be brought to the Jurists. They had, in effect, already given their opinion at the Conference between Commons and Lords on February 25, 1607. In June of 1608, the opinions were rendered and given legal status by a twelve to two decision in favor of the Infant Colville. The above quote was what Thomas Egerton, Bacon, Ellesmere, thought the significance of the case to be. It is noteworthy that the King ordered a publication of this decision. Egerton was Lord Chancellor and one of the twelve judges who ruled in favor of Colville. All along he had supported Union. Of the two Justices who voted against the Infant -- one of whom was Walmsley -- Egerton had little regard thereafter. He refused to have contact with them.

¹ Thomas Egerton, The Speech of the Lord Chancellor in the Exchequer Chamber, touching the Post-Nati (London: 1609), preface.

After the Post-Nati Case the King's policy was one of official disregard for Union. It was hoped that Union would naturally flow through intermarriage and the effects of the decision of the Post-Nati.² No more was the Act of Union brought to Parliament, although at one time between the third and fourth sessions James had contemplated it.³ This nice, compact, evolutionary plan for Union had a significant omission. It left out consideration of outside interference. James did not have to mention Union. Persons, events and Commons would not permit the nation to forget. Into many topics the Scottish question was to be inserted.

The Parliament of 1610 is a very good example. Elizabeth Reed Foster's masterful work of editing the papers in two volumes, Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, enables one to see clearly how the Scottish question remained a factor with which to be reckoned. This was the Parliament which came very close to negotiating the famous Great Contract. In return for giving up certain

² Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol XI, April 1, 1610
p. 451.

³ Ibid., June 4, 1608, p. 137.

of his means of income, the King would be granted a definite annual income plus one other lump sum immediately so as to liquidate outstanding debts. Among the important sources of income, one source of royal revenue at this time was the Court of Wards. In attempting to wrest control of this from James, many reasons were advanced, significant among these being the question of the Scots. It was mentioned in Parliament that one motive for the King's desire to retain custody of the Wards was that he had designs to marry at least some of these wards to Scots -- reasoning that could have had its origins in James' new method of achieving Union. The King thought the suggestion ridiculous. Yet, it was deemed necessary that Sir Thomas Lake, a royal secretary and constant champion of the Scots at Court, write to four Lords -- the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, Suffolk and Worcester --⁴ to disparage such an argument.

It was not a long step to move from the Monarch's income to his expenditure. Here the Scots

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Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. VIII, November 21, 1610, p. 644.

came in for a terrific tongue-lashing. Verbal abuse of James' lavishness to the Scots was termed "common discourses" by a contemporary,⁵ and the Venetian Ambassador of the time, Marc'Antonio Correr, wrote that "public and loud complaints are raised."⁶ A particular case concerned James' bestowal of £ 40,000 to six Scots of the Bedchamber, about which complaints were voiced. To one Englishman it appeared that "all the world wisheth they may not"⁷ receive the grant. Some members of Commons became sufficiently exasperated that they delivered a grievance to a committee of their House. The grievance was registered against "the giving of honors and preferments to strangers."⁸ There can be no doubt that this was aimed at the Scots.

Concerning Union itself, there was only very

⁵ Elizabeth Reed Foster (editor), Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, Vol. II (New Haven: 1966), p. 71.

⁶ Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. XII, July 14, 1610, p. 12.

⁷ E.K.Purnell and A.B.Hinds, Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, presented at Easthampstead Park, Berks. Vol. III (London: 1936), pp. 20,29.

⁸ Foster, Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, Vol. II, p. 71.

minor talk. William Morrice again spoke on the first day, as he had done at the second session. As at that time, he broached the subject of Union. This speech, too, was a rather obnoxious one, lasting for two hours and covering but two of the six headings he had outlined. Moreover, he presented no new ideas and undoubtedly bored his listeners.⁹ The only other mention of Union was in Lords where Egerton recapitulated what had occurred in the last session of Parliament, noting what Sandys had used as his guideline: "Love me little, love me long".¹⁰ The Great Contract was too important to be superseded by a question that had already been greatly kicked about. However, people outside of Parliament were not that easily dissuaded from speaking their mind about the Scots. Daily they could see Scots who became the constant object of hatred.

Some very interesting letters and extracts of letters are to be found in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, which are part of the correspondence between

⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 279.

John Chamberlain and Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester. Carleton had been implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, but had successfully proved his innocence.

Through the influence of Salisbury, he was appointed to the vacant post of Ambassador to Venice in 1610, succeeding Wotton. For the rest of his life, which ended in 1632, he was renowned as a sagacious diplomat. Whereas Carleton was a traveler, Chamberlain was a veritable homebody. Throughout his life of seventy-four years, he left England but twice, although he had sufficient funds to travel at will. He chose to spend most of life in and about London and cultivated friendships with many of the most prominent men of his day. Furthermore he was a prolific letter writer. Much of the thinking of the time, at least from Chamberlain's associations, was reflected in his mail.

The correspondence between Chamberlain and Carleton is rife with information of English attitudes toward the Scots; the impression one gathers from the letters is of mutual hatred between the two nationalities. Disputes between the two groups are mentioned, and it was reported to Carleton that the Scots feared the English. "The Scots are afraid; 300 have returned to Scotland".

Gossip was not omitted from the letters. When an official wore the arms of Scotland before those of England at the wedding of Princess Elizabeth, Chamberlain recorded that the display "was much noted".¹¹

These letters need not stand alone. Other descriptions of London and the borders by contemporaries reveal this same intense dislike of the Scots. James' actions even encouraged it. His generosity to the Scots of the Bedchamber had already been called to attention. This was not the only tactless deed. In the denization of some Scots, James had a tendency to facilitate matters in a way which could only displease the English.¹² He also interfered with legal proceedings. When three Scots had slain an English officer, the King moderated the penalties, rousing further consternation and causing one man to speak of the English as having a "universal hatred for that race".¹³ Englishmen would then point to the overabundance of Scots which they felt still remained at Court. One person talked of the wide diversity of opinion

¹¹ Cal. St., Pap., Dom., Vol. IX, May 20, 1612, June 11, 1612, February 25, 1613, pp. 129, 134, 172.

¹² Letter of James to Egerton, quoted in J. Payne Collier (editor), The Egerton Papers (London: 1840), pp. 442-443.

¹³ Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. XII, December 31, 1610, pp. 101-103.

which prevented James from making any effective decision. The cause, of course, was ascribed to the Scots.¹⁴ Another said he had nothing against the Scots personally, but with a plea to the nebulous, claimed that it was believed that James' problem with Parliament could be traced to the Scots.¹⁵

Individual Scots did not seem to appreciate the English attitudes. They were in the spotlight and their behaviour was under close scrutiny. When one killed the son of a nobleman it was duly recorded.¹⁶ When a Scotch Court used an alleged packed jury to convict some self-proclaimed members of the Anglican Church of recusancy,¹⁷ Englishmen were further reinforced in their hatred. It did not matter whether the charges were true or not. What did matter was that James had sought leniency for three guilty Scots while these obviously innocent Englishmen were liable to lose their ears. There was the further miscarriage of justice -- again completely clear to all true Englishmen. This occurred when a servant of Sir Francis Bacon

¹⁴ Purnell and Hinds, Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Vol. II, p. 490.

¹⁵ Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. IX, June 1614, p. 238.

¹⁶ Purnell and Hinds, Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Vol. III, p. 332.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 252.

was found guilty of manslaughter in the death of a Scot,¹⁸
 Any honest Englishman knew it was a case of self-defense.
 Then there was the case of the hired Scotch assassin. His
 duty was to slay an English fencer, one Mr. Turner.
 Concurrently with this, another Scot had pricked the ear
 of an English gentleman, causing profuse bleeding. The
 result was the following limerick which was said to be
 quite popular:

The Scots beg our goods, lands and lives,
 They switch our nobles and lie with their
 wives.

They punch our gentlemen, and send for
 our benchers;

They stab our serjeants and pistol our
 fencers.¹⁹

This mutual suspicion and distrust became most manifest
 when the water and oil were thrown together. Two striking
 instances were the retinue of Princess Elizabeth after
 her marriage to Frederick of the Palatinate and a combined
 force which was fighting in Holland. From the Princess'
 party came letters complaining of the quarrels and jealousies

¹⁸ Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. St., Pap., Dom.,
 Vol. IX, November 25, 1613, p. 212

¹⁹ Furnell and Hinds, Manuscripts of the Marquess
 of Downshire, Vol. III, pp. 297, 315.

20

of the two nations. In the field of military affairs, the Venetians were considering hiring some English troops under a Scottish commander. However, their Ambassador in England wrote back advising against such a plan and previously he had noted the problems of the combined army in Holland.²¹

Despite these attitudes some men did try to find grounds for understanding. One of these was Sir John Davies, the Attorney General for Ireland, who wrote a pamphlet purporting to show why Ireland had finally been subdued. Actually, he did not keep to his topic and ended up on a distant tangent. One reason a reader can discern in his publication why Ireland had been brought under control only during James' reign was that finally Britain was united.²² Here was a proof of the argument which James had put forth all along -- in Union there was strength. The fact was, however, that few cared about Ireland -- that was somewhere West. Scots were in London.

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Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 178,445.

21

Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. XIV, September 13, 1616, February 3, 1617, pp. 295, 431-433; Purnell and Hinds, Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Vol. IV, p. 22.

22

John Davies, A discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued until his majesties raigne. (London: 1612), p. 76.

One other voice was raised in defense of the Scots. It was an anonymous letter which lampooned not the Scots, but the nobility. The cause for the satire lay in the fact that the man was claiming that the nobles were responsible for the empty royal coffers.²³

But these two were voices crying out in the wilderness. When James went on his lone progress to Scotland in 1617, people imputed different motives. Yet all had some connection with Union in one way or another. One said it was to restore amity with Scotland,²⁴ while a second said it was to establish the English hierarchy and force the Puritans to "receive communion on their knees."²⁵ To Chamberlain it was logical that in James' absence "the chief Scots linger in town, for want of money."²⁶ When it was over, however, the English people²⁷ welcomed their returning monarch with crowds of people.

²³ Furnell and Hinds, Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, Vol. III, p. 3.

²⁴ Gal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. IX, August 7, 1616, p. 390

²⁵ Ibid., January 14, 1617, p. 424.

²⁶ Ibid., April 19, 1617, p. 460.

²⁷ Ibid., October 11, 1617, p. 488.

At least this time he was not fooled. He did not attempt to revive Union as an issue. In fact opposition to it continued at its steady pace. The Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, for example, protested at Whitehall. Their charge was the same one which had been used in earlier years. -- unfair commercial advantages being granted to the Scots. This time it was in the United Provinces.²⁸ The Bristol merchants had complaints too. They could not pay their contribution for the fighting of pirates. Part of this absence of money was due to a "decay of shipping by resort of Scottish ships".²⁹

However, external events were now to prove to be the channels for Union and some positive thought. In 1618, the Thirty Years' War began on the Continent. James' pacific nature supported by Cranfield's financial measures demanded that England remain clear of this devastating turmoil. On the other hand, others regarded the situation differently. To them, it was a religious war which had to be fought to the extermination of the Catholics. Anyone who would not involve himself in it

28

Surtees Society (editor), Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, Vol. I (Durham: 1895), pp. 119-120.

29

Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. X, March 13, 1620, p. 130.

was a sinner against God's will. During these last years of James' life, he further aggravated these irreconcilables by coming dangerously close to marrying his son Charles, Prince of Wales, to the Spanish Infanta. Despite these events, Parliament did not concern itself with Union. In the Parliament of 1621, it was referred to only a handful of times and then only in a factual context, that James had brought about a personal Union.

Thomas Scott became a minor sensation with his attacks on the Spanish Marriage. At one time he had been a royal chaplain and his sentiments were violently anti-Catholic. In 1620, he published a pamphlet called Vox Populi in an attempt to arouse opinion against the project. This pamphlet purported to be a truthful account of the report which Gondomar gave to his government upon his return to Spain; it was in fact, highly regarded as factual history. James attempted to repress what was somehow considered a "tirade against the King of Great Britain; especially for his favoring Spaniards and Scots, and putting down the English and Welsh". Furthermore, what was also disturbing was that stationers who heard that the book was forbidden wanted to get copies so they could be transcribed. These vendors knew "they

are eagerly bought up³⁰.

What Scott had to say was quite serious. He intimated that the Catholics, working hand in hand with the Spanish government and some Anglican bishops, were going to sabotage Union. The bishops did not desire Union because they realized that the Scottish Kirk would then convert the mass of Anglicans as well as many of the clergy, thus destroying the episcopal power.³¹ It is apparent, too, by a reading of the pamphlet and the official records that there was a hypersensitivity regarding the Scottish question. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, one receives the impression that Vox Populi was an anti-Union appeal. On the contrary, Scott was, if anything, pro-Union because of his pro-Puritan and anti-episcopal stance. It would seem, then, that James and the Court were overly cautious with the concepts of Union and Scotland.

What reinforces this evaluation of the two documents is an examination of another tract written by Scott. Four years after his previous publication, he

30

Ibid., 1620, p. 208.

31

Thomas Scott, Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how faire

wrote against the Spanish Marriage, having the pamphlet published in "Elisium". He reported a supposed celestial conversation among the three Queens, Elizabeth, Mary and Anne, and the two Kings, Henry VIII and Edward VI, and James' son, Prince Henry. His obvious point was that Britain, as a result of Union, was a powerful land. The problem was James' obsequiousness to Spain. The Spanish Marriage would only resurrect Catholicism and perhaps split Protestantism. In Scott's opinion, Spain would be bowing to Great Britain, if the King would only seize hold of the advantage of the prestige and strength of his united Island.³²

Another pamphlet, Tom Tell-Troath, was also critical of James' implementation of Union. This was anonymously written, with no date nor place of publication, although it was apparently written in 1621 or 1622. Rather than criticizing the Spanish Marriage, James was faulted because he did not recognize the opportunity to make Union certain. This chance was the Thirty Years' War. One is led to the conclusion, however, that the main purpose

To twist Spanish pretences (n.p.:1620), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol II, pp. 555-596.

32

Thomas Scott, Vox Coeli, or News from Heaven (Elisium: 1624), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 555-596.

of the tract was to get England into the War, and by stressing the Scottish power his cause was helped. In fact the author wondered if James seriously desired Union or whether he hoped to keep both nations at loggerheads so he could increase royal authority. Nonetheless, the criticism was that James' four methods had failed: by choosing his favorite alternately from each nation (a reference to Robert Carr, a Scot, and Buckingham, an Englishman); by making the Lords of each nation, Lords in the other; by intermarriage; "no, nor by the most subtle way, that is now practised, of making England as poor as Scotland". There was a way, though, according to the author. By forgetting or ignoring the past he opted for a combined Anglo-Scottish army under the banner of Protestantism. This army was to be sent to the Continent to do battle. Presumably victory was a foregone conclusion. For the author reasoned: "one victory obtained by the joynt valour of English and Scots, will more indelibly christen your majesties empire, Great Brittain³³e, then by any act of Parliament or artifice of state".

These last two men put an unusual twist to Union.

33

Tom Tell-Troath: or, a free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majestie by way of humble advertisement. (n.p.:n.l.), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 469-492.

They challenged the view that Scots were enemies and placed the blame at the royal doorstep. They, therefore, raise the question where did the populace believe the truth to be. Two outsiders are called in, in order to cast the ballots which say that it was the Scots who were to blame. Even Tom Tell-Troath believed the English were being injured by the Scots, although he did think that the King could alter it all. However, two Venetian Ambassadors disagreed. When an ambassador was recalled to Venice, he was supposed to give a report on the conditions of the country to which he had been assigned. Two of these reports survive and both are quite definite in stating that England and Scotland could not get along. It was acknowledged that James did not improve the situation. Yet, this made little difference because England and Scotland were "natural enemies". Everywhere one could find "continual signs of hatred and ill-will".

34

These reports were given in 1618, but no evidence exists to contradict them. Parliamentary debates and other

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Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. XV, pp. 386-401, 412-422. One of these men, Piero Contarine, believed that James was not to blame. He said James was working hard for Union, but that monarch was being frustrated by national strife.

documents seem to indicate that James was unable to convince the people of the benefit of his program. Moreover, there were other people writing at this time. These men, historians and religious leaders, present a different aspect by which to study English opinion concerning Union.

CHAPTER V

Historical Opinion

One of the royal propagandists had mentioned the problem of nomenclature: Sir John Hayward had maintained that the most crucial question of Union would be the name of the unified Island. Thornborough, too had noted this. In the interrogation of the conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot, one answer which James sought was if the Plot arose because he had assumed the name of Britain.¹ The Scots were also wary of this name.² However, as events developed, this did not become the most important point of difference. Nonetheless, Englishmen did not want their name lost to posterity. The historians eradicated or attempted to eradicate, this problem of the name to be applied to the Island.

These men delved into great detail in order to discover the etymological and historical roots for the word, "Britain". The results of their work demonstrate that the historians desired this name because it could

¹
p. 241. Cal. St. Pap., Dom., Vol. VIII, November 6, 1605,

²
p. 94. Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. X, September 18, 1603,

not to be accredited to either England or Scotland, but rather honor was found to be the claimant. The greatest historian of the time, William Camden, was involved in the debates. It was even hinted that he had altered his writings so that he would please James. Although no credence can now be given to this charge, it does indicate that the conclusions which historians reached were used in the political arena. Camden examined various derivations of the word, "Britain". He brought forth as one possibility a Greek word, Brithin, meaning a type of drink. His reasoning for discarding this theory was "that the drinke called Brithin was even in use among our countrimen, can hardly be proved: and to give a name to our nation of the Greekes drinke were ridiculous."³ It was not at all fitting that this mighty and unified land should have such a lowly background for its name. The generally accepted theory was that it was a corruption of the name Brute, a grandson of Aeneas. This was almost putting the British on a par with the Romans. In fact, epic poems, reminding the reader of the Aeneid, were published,

³ William Camden, Britain, or a chorographical description of England, Scotland and Ireland, translated by Philemon Holland (London: 1610), p.5.

that traced James' roots to this ancient past, when Britain had but one king.⁴

These attempts at dispelling unfavorable and divergent opinions concerning the name for the unified island resulted in the formation of ideas concerning the origins of the inhabitants. It is easier to achieve agreement on a Union if it can be demonstrated that the past is fundamentally the same, that the heritage is alike. In this case the historians attempted to supply the information. Edward Ayscu wrote only one known work. It was concerned with the problems of England and Scotland and posed the rhetorical question, "Are we not all (for the most part) the broode and off-spring of the same parents, the auintient English-Saxons?"⁵ Expounding upon the same theme, Camden depicted of whom the "broode" consisted and of whom it did not -

I would think that the Picts came from no other place at all, but were verie

⁴
Two such poems are: William Slayter, The history of Great Britanie to this present raigne (London: 1621) and William Warner, Albions England (London: 1612); it is interesting to note that the Habsburgs at this time also believed that they could trace their genealogy to the Trojans. Adam Wandruszka, Das Haus Habsburg (Vienna: 1959), pp. 29-30.

⁵
Edward Ayscu, A historie contayning the warres, treaties, marriages betweene England and Scotland (London: 1607) preface.

naturall Britans, themselves, even the right progenie of the most ancient Britans: these Britans, I meane, and none other, who before the coming in of the Romans were seated in the North part of the Island.⁶

Having excluded the Picts of Scotland from "the broode", Camden proceeded to include most of the Scots in a common racial strain with the English.

I must certifie the Reader before hand, that everie particular hath reference to the old, true and naturall Scots only: whose off spring are those Scots speaking Irish, which inhabits all the West part of the kingdome of Scotland, and now so called, and the Islands adjoyning thereto, and who now adales be termed High-land men. For the which are of civill behaviour, and be seated in the East part thereof, albeit they now beare the name of Scottish-men, yet are they nothing lesse than Scots, but descended from the very same Germane originall, that we Englishmen are. And this neither can they chuse but confesse, nor we but acknowledge, being as they are, termed by those abovesaid, High-land men, Sassons, as well as we; and using as they doe the same language with us, to wit, the English-Saxon different only in Dialect, a most assured ⁷ agreement of the one and the same originall.

Not all the researchers reached the same conclusins

⁶ William Camden, Britain, or a chorographicall description of England, Scotland and Ireland, translated by Philomon Holland (London: 1610), p. 116.

⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

which Camden did. The most prominent chronicler and antiquarian of sixteenth century England was John Stow. Although he died in 1605, friends carried out enlargements of his work which he had planned. His findings inclined him to accept the Trojan theory as the origins of the British heritage.⁸ Another man differed from both. John Speed, before he turned to theology, had earned the twofold reputation of cartographer and historian. Among his numerous learned friends was Camden. Nevertheless he offered a new interpretation which held that even the Picts were not to be excluded from "the broode".⁹ This is the crucial part, because it means that all these historians wrote beyond the literal significance of their lines. No matter which angle they used to view the Island's history -- be it Saxon, Trojan or British -- they all saw the communion of all, or most of the peoples from time immemorial. They all give historical conclusions which expressed in lay language, Gordon's thesis, "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand". These were historical reinforcements for the organic opinions discussed by the Royalist propagandists.

⁸ John Stow and Edmund Howes, The annales of England from the first inhabitation until 1614 (London: 1615), preface.

⁹ John Speed, The history of Great Britaine (London: 1611), p. 181.

Furthermore, they brought the kingdom, in a greater degree to a more personal level. They populated, it.

There were further subtleties to the above-mentioned authors, especially Camden. In one way or another, these men expressed an opinion that coincided with that held by a large group. It was that Scotland was a backward state. The cause stemmed from any number of reasons, but the panacea for these historians was always the same -- England. A brand of English nationalism was brought forward. Fynes Moryson had little of a complimentary nature to write about Scotland. His travelogue never compared it favorably to England. However, in this land, the most refined section was Edinburgh, which lies within Camden's pale.¹⁰ In a translated work, the Scots in the southern regions were again pictured as the more civil. The northerners (corresponding to the Picts whom most excluded from the joint past) were unflatteringly described as "for the most part . . . uncivil, unsociable

10

Fynes Moryson, An itinerary written by F. Moryson, Gent. (London: 1617), Part I, p. 273; Part III, pp. 13-74. See also Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland, as they were in 1597 (Commonly called Monipenny's Chronicle) (London: 1603), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. III, pp. 344-403. This places Scottish civilization in this same area.

and inured to cruelty and fiercenesse by the aboundance
of blood".¹¹ Stow was not quite as harsh, but was
nevertheless, explicit. He pictured them as "a very
rude and homely kinde of people".¹² Because cultural
and material benefits would accrue to Union, Scotland
was considered fortunate, were Union effected. England
would defend it. There would be greater commercial inter-
course between the two, which had a mutual advantage.
Moryson even intimated that the better English habits
would be assimilated.¹³

To an humanitarian Englishman, that Scotland
would profit by the Union was all well and good. But,
the historians realized, as did the propagandists, that
Englishmen would have to see advantages from a movement

 II

Giovanni Botero, Relationes of the most famous
kingdoms and common-weales, translated by R. Johnson (London:
1608), p. 22; this bellicose attitude of the Scots was
fairly widespread; see the speech of the Polish Ambassador,
A true copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord
George Ossolinski, Count Palatine of Tenizyn and Sendomyria,
Chamberlain to the Kings Majestie of Poland and Suetland,
and Embassadour to the King's most Excellent Majesty.
with the translation of the same into English (London: 1620),
quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 462.

12

Stow and Howes, The Annales of England, p.4.

13

Moryson, An itinerary, Part III, p. 63.

to bring their northern brothers under England's aegis. These advantages had to be made clear and the historians did their share. No doubts were to be left in anyone's mind. The increased commerce was sure to help, D'Avity maintained. Camden's Annales almost seems to be a perpetual plea for Union, because it continuously showed that France had exerted a decidedly inappropriate balance in Scottish affairs during the reign of Elizabeth.

"The Guizes carried their credulous ambition with such a flattering hope, to joyne Englands Scepter to France, be meanes of the Queen of Scots their neece".¹⁴ This was an observation which had very pertinent contemporary ramifications. The Scots at the English Court seemed to retain, to some extent, these Francophile tendencies during James' reign in England.¹⁵ Both Camden and D'Avity argued that James' accession and rule as King of England and King of Scotland had assisted in calming the border areas.¹⁶ Peace had been brought by James from Scotland. It was the redoubtable Raleigh, who went into the deepest

¹⁴
William Camden, Annales, the true and royall history of Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland (London: 1625), p. 63.

¹⁵
Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol. XII, April 14, 1611, pp. 133-134.

¹⁶
P. D'Avity, The estates, empires and principalities of the world, translated by Edward Grimstone (London:

detail of the defensive benefits. Besides the end to senseless bloodshed, he foresaw a strengthened England, using language similar to that employed by Hayward. Finally, Raleigh sought to prove his point by a concrete example taken from the time of the Spanish Armada. What, he wondered aloud, would have been England's fate, had a Spanish force landed and then Scotland had declared for Spain? His answer to what might have resulted from this pincer movement was pessimistic. "It is easie to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur have brought us this union at a farre greater price then it hath since cost us."¹⁷

These men could have had a mixed or neutral value. These historians presented facts which either side in the Union debates could employ. That the Scots were ultimately of the same race as the English, flew in the face of those who regarded the English and Scots as natural enemies. Yet, the historical opinion that the Scots were warlike and backward could bolster anti-

1615), p. 19.
17

Walter Raleigh, The History of the world (London: 1614), preface, p. 82 (v).

Unionists who feared a corruption of England and a flow of riches from well-off England to poor Scotland.

However, it is apparent that the historians opted for Union. While acknowledging the retardation of Scotland, they also reached conclusions which were the same as the royal propagandists: peace and profit by joining with our kinsmen of Scotland and expelling any French remnants. They would well concur that St. Andrew and St. George, as Dekker had staged for the King's pleasure, should greet each other and be "both sworne into a League of Unitie." 18

18

Thomas Dekker, The magnificent entertainment given to King James upon his passage through London (London: 1604), p. B(v).

CHAPTER VI
Religious Opinion

While the historians were praising Scotland's swing toward England, religious leaders had some doubts of the beneficial results. It is not that historians denied religious feeling. To the contrary, they wrote flourishing thanksgivings for this divine intervention in the course of history. Camden believed that Union pleased God.¹ Ayscu professed that "the Lord by this Union hath now established that peace to his Church within this Island".² And Raleigh was no less happy in acknowledging God's personal handicraft.³ However, the religious leaders had more than God to worry them.⁴ Calvinism and Catholicism had to be averted. Depending upon the person

¹ William Camden, Britain, or a chorographical description of England, Scotland and Ireland, translated by Philemon Holland (London: 1610), p. 3.

² Edward Ayscu, A historie containyng the warres, treaties, marriages betweene England and Scotland (London: 1607), preface.

³ Walter Raleigh, The history of the world (London: 1614), p. B2(r).

⁴ Calvinism and Puritanism will be used interchangeably. Whether this is doctrinally true or not, is open to correction. However, the fact remains that the English writers of the time viewed them together. See

against whom the individual was writing or preaching, one can usually deduce his opinion of Scotland.

Men debated whether or not Protestantism was under one banner. Those who answer positively held that Europe was divided into two camps, Catholic and anti-Catholic or Protestant. The men would summon forth⁵ the Calvinists or Anglicans -- whichever the case might have been -- to resist any plots or other sorts of usurpation by any "Jesuiticall firebrand". On the other hand, there were those who, while acknowledging the perfidy of the Roman Catholics, also wept because of the diversity in the Protestant cause. These divisions within the Protestant circle were seen to be repugnant to God, as well as a peril to the nation. It was an Anglican precept that those who did not support episcopacy were disloyal to the Crown, because the King was the Head of the Church and the bishops, God's ordained ministers, were necessary for the orderly function of society.

Agnes M. Mackenzie, The Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars, 1513-1638 (Edinburgh: 1957), p. 273.

⁵ John Donne, The first sermon preached to King Charles at St. James, April, 1625 (London: 1625), p. 40.

It was this latter stance which claimed the most adherents, or at least claimed the most adherents among the writers. Attacks on episcopacy struck at the hierarchical structure of the Established Church. To be sure, these men saw a definite link between the attacks on episcopacy in England and the theology of the Scots. One polemicist, Oliver Ormerod, alleged this was discernible.⁶ William Barlow, a bishop himself and a man who suffered scathing criticism from the Puritans,⁷ complained in a sermon about the "Ministers of Scotland" because they had termed the English bishops "papistical". "This", he added, "is a slanderous Epithete".⁸

The Puritans in England contended that they were loyal subjects. The Millenary Petition began with the acceptance of the article from the Act of Conformity, "that the Kings Majesty under God, is the onely supreme

⁶ Oliver Ormerod, The picture of a puritane (London: 1605), p. 13.

⁷ Hugh Broughton, Two little workes defensive of our Redemption (n.p.: 1604), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, pp. 12-14.

⁸ William Barlow, One of the foure sermons preached before the Kings Maiestie (London: 1606), preface.

Governour of this Realme, and of all his Highnesse
 Dominions and Countries".⁹ The most eminent Puritan
 of the time was John Rainolds, who led that faction at
 the Hampton Court Conference. Although he did not deny
 the theological unity with Calvinists in other countries,¹⁰
 he most certainly considered it an affront if anyone
 discredited his political loyalty to the English Throne.¹¹

James' influence on this debate was considerable. Originally, he was looked to hopefully by both sides. The King, however, decided in favor of the Anglicans. Although Calvinists claimed to be loyal subjects, he had only to recall his turbulent childhood to see that their deeds could easily belie their words. In addition, he could notice the consistent support which the Anglicans had given to the English Crown. At the Hampton Court Conference, he spoke disparagingly of the Puritans. They "were not the learned men of the world". He decried the lack of a well translated bible, which led him to remark of the Geneva Bible, which was the Calvinist

⁹
An abridgement of that booke which the ministers of Lincoln diocess delivered to his Majestie (London:1638),p.1.

¹⁰
 John Rainolds, An answer to a sermon preached the 17 of April, 1608 (London: 1609), p. 85/

¹¹
 William Barlow, The summe and substance of the conference, which it pleased his Majestie to have with the

Bible and very popular in Scotland, that it was the worst of the lot.¹² Besides having made these comments to the assembled churchmen, they were included in Barlow's published record of the Conference. James had placed the power and prestige of the Crown squarely behind the Anglicans. Furthermore, he proceeded to try to extend the Anglican ecclesiastical structure to Scotland. The King valued the aid which the Anglican Church had given him. So he hoped that by extending its structure to Scotland, he would strengthen the royal power in his native country. After Hampton Court, James sent George Abbot to the North with instructions to carry out this plan.¹³ In the Parliament of 1610, Abbot spoke about a bill relating to ecclesiastical affairs and remarked that it would "bring in barbarism and I know not what, as we see an example in Scotland".¹⁴ Moreover, it is to be remembered that one reason advanced for the royal progress to Scotland was to compel the Puritans to receive communion on the knees. This coincided

Lords Bishops and clergie at Hampton Court (London: 1604), $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 48.

¹²

Ibid, pp. 20, 46.

¹³

John Speed, The history of Great Britaine, p. 838.

¹⁴

Foster, Proceedings in Parliament, 1610, Vol. I, p. 73.

with James' entire religious policy. He viewed the Puritan attacks on the Church as attacks on the royal authority.¹⁵

In addition, Anglican leaders attempted to destroy the Puritans because they believed they could be linked to two other despicable religions - Anabaptists and Catholics. Sir Edward Coke suggested a connection existed with the Anabaptists, while speaking in an official capacity.¹⁶

One of the more brilliant preachers of the day, Richard Gardiner, who lived through the Commonwealth and Restoration, stated that Great Britain was infested with one seditious force which manifested itself in a twofold fashion -- Puritanism and Anabaptism.¹⁷ That a puritan and a papist were ultimately the same was the theory advanced by Richard Montagu, Bishop of Norwich, whose work Apello Caesarem was one of the most celebrated works of the time. Montagu said they both were of foreign origin and had a foreign

¹⁵The Kings Majesties Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawfull Sports to be used (London: 1618), quoted in Somers Tracts, Vol. II, p. 55.

¹⁶Edward Coke, Lord Coke, his speech and charge given at Norwich Assises (London: 1606), p. 18.

¹⁷Richard Gardiner, A sermon preached at St. Maries Oxford on Act Sunday, 1622 (Oxford: 1622), p. 24.

discipline, "the onely difference being, Papacy is for ¹⁸
Tyranny, Puritanisme for Anarchy". One of the most
vehement of all of the anti-Puritan voices was that raised
by Timothy Rogers. In a far fetched equation, he, too,
¹⁹
showed the Catholics and Puritans were alike.

With these assaults upon them, Calvinists were
forced to offer some defense. Their claim of support for
the Throne was based on their beliefs as enunciated in the
Millenary Petition. The proof of their loyalty was to
be found in their strong anti-Catholic position. They were
accustomed to point out that it had been Catholic Spain which
had sent the Armada; that Catholics had upheld the Infanta
Isabella's title to the English Throne; that the Gunpowder
Plot was a Catholic scheme; that the Catholics were
traitorous; that the Catholics, not the Calvinists were in
league with the Sectaries, because both sought to overthrow
James, albeit for different motives. ²⁰ This strong anti-

¹⁸
Richard Montagu, Apello Caesarem, A just appeale
from two unjust informers (London: 1625), pp. 44, 320-321.

¹⁹
Timothy Rogets, The Roman-Catharist: or the
papist is a puritan (London: 1621).

²⁰
The Catholic retort was that they cared only
about religion and not about politics. Silvester Norris,
An antidote against pestiferous writings of all English
sectaries (St. Omer, France: 1622). This writer was a
priest and although it was printed in France, this work was
circulated in England. In fact, it went through at least
two editions, 1615 and 1622.

Catholic viewpoint led them into conflict with the Anglican Church's episcopal structure. This and other liturgical forms smacked of papistry. But Scotland adamantly resisted any attempts to impose this on them.

There was a third camp. This consisted of those men who believed that conciliation was the best policy. It was their opinion that the differences between the Puritans and Anglicans were basically founded in non-essentials. Ritual and liturgical variations should be no bar to a theological convergence. Francis Mason, who was to become the Archdeacon of Norfolk, referred to Calvin and the Scottish Kirk in a genuinely affectionate manner. ²¹ This line of reasoning was employed by other men. Sir Edwin Sandys, of Parliamentary fame, devoted an entire work showing that ²² fundamentally the entire Protestant movement was the same. John Sprint's life had been an example of this belief. Originally he had been an outspoken Puritan, but later was convinced that conformity was the best answer, for there was no essential variance between the Protestant religions. His work, Cassander Anglicanus, maintained that there were three divisions among Christians, Catholics, Sectaries and

21

Francis Mason, The auctoritie of the Church in making Canons and Constitutions (London: 1607), p.7

22

Edwain Sandys, A relation of the state of religion. (London: 1605).

Protestants, the latter group including Anglicans, Calvinists²³ and Lutherans. Thomas Scott, whose works concerning the Spanish Marriage have already been discussed, made an interesting analogy. He opined that the "difference between Protestants and Puritans in England" could be compared to the difference between Dominicans and Franciscans.²⁴

However, one wonders how much this call for a theological agreement was based on necessity rather than honesty. These men lived under a cloud of an imminent Catholic attempt to invade England. Whether the cloud existed in reality or not is unnecessary to determine, because the apprehension was there. Men could point to the Gunpowder Plot and the papal declaration of the legality of the assassination of the English King while he maintained his heretical views. Near the end of James' reign, the royal chaplain, William Loe, a man who had had disagreements with Laud, echoed the theme of religious unity. However, his appeal appears to have rested more upon political

²³ John Sprint, Cassander Anglicanus: showing the necessitie of conformitie (London: 1618), passim.

²⁴ Thomas Scott, A tongue-combat lately happening betweene two English souldiers in the tilt-bout of Gravesend (London: 1613), p. 86.

advantages for England than on religious conviction. Rather than striving for any communion of doctrine, Loe demanded agreement of Calvinism and Anglicanism on the grounds that together they could smash "seditious Papists,²⁵ and tumultuous Anabaptists and other Sectaries". That accomplished, the nagging question is -- would he have then wanted to turn on the Calvinists? Another author, George Carleton, had the temerity to suggest that the blame was due to the Anglicans. Carleton had Puritan sympathies, but defended the office of bishop, becoming the Bishop of Chichester in 1621. He wrote that Calvin, during his lifetime, had been misinformed concerning the Act of Supremacy by Stephen Gardiner, Henry VIII's Bishop of Winchester and a conservative on religious doctrine. Much of the difficulty, Carleton claimed, was directly traceable to this unfortunate episode. Thus, Carleton clearly absolved Calvin of all guilt. He even wrote in the Dedicatorie Epistle, "Calvin & writers of the Centuries doe much complaine thereof, and worthily".²⁶

The religious situation had bearing on Union even

²⁵ William Loe, The kings shoe. A sermon before the King of Theobalds, Oct. 9, 1622 (London: 1623), p.28.

²⁶ George Carleton, Jurisdiction, regall, episcopall, papall (London: 1610), p. 4.

more directly than just one's feelings toward the Scots. In general, the Anglican opinion supported the royal policy. Not only was this based on the mutual backing which both gave to each other -- but there were deeper reasons. One was that the episcopal structure of Anglicanism was severely attacked. Of course, there were men like Carleton who moderated this somewhat and supported episcopacy, while still maintaining their Calvinistic leanings. However, the defense of episcopacy was combined with an offensive attitude, an attitude which was James' policy of attempting to introduce the Anglican structure into the Scottish Kirk and this meant material as well as spiritual gains for the Anglicans if it were effected. They would be the ones to staff many of the positions in Scotland. This change in the structure of the Kirk would have been facilitated by Union. So, for the Anglicans, Union had benefits, especially for those in its structure.

On the other hand, the Puritans saw Union as an attack on their religion. They were, in general, not content with the set-up of the English Church. Scotland was their model. Therefore, they objected to the attempts to impose this hated system on their co-religionists. The Puritans, too, realized that Union would aid in the establishment of episcopacy in the Scottish Kirk. For this

reason, they were "The chief opponents of the Union".

Obviously, religion was another hinge on which Union swung. One cannot forget that some men pleaded for conciliation. But it would be a mistake to overemphasize their importance. For the men against moderation were the stronger force. To them, conciliation meant capitulation. So, generally, it was that the Anglicans desired Union, as a method of support for the King and a spread of their influence to Scotland, and the Puritans were against Union because it would result in imposing episcopacy on their co-religionists of the Scottish Kirk.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

Bacon recorded an interesting prophecy from Elizabethan times, with the addition of his own comment about its merits. There was a little ditty that ran thus: "When Heme is Sponne; Englands done". The interpretation given this supposedly popular line was that following Elizabeth's death, England would come to "utter confusion" because heme had run out. "Heme" was an acronym from the names of the last five monarchs: Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip and Elizabeth. "Thanks be to God", Bacon wrote, that it was "verified only, in the change of the Name. For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of England, but of Britaine".¹

This happiness which Bacon expressed was indicative of the feeling of the English subjects toward James. In turn, however, this approval of the King as a person and the anointed leader was not reflected by a corresponding approbation of Union with Scotland. There were, of course,

¹ Francis Bacon, The Essayes or Counsels, Civil and Morall (London: 1625), pp. 214-215. John Stow had written down lines which expressed similar meanings and which were also popular. His conclusion was like that made by Bacon. John Stow, The annales of England from the first inhabitation

those who most definitely did believe in Union. That many of these had connections with James is true, but to be so cynical as to say that these men were only syncophants and cared only for Union because it was the way to royal favor and the national treasury, is ridiculous. It would be naive to think that these were none who did this. Yet, to accuse men of Egerton's and Thornborough's stature of such prostitution is wrong. Of course, that the King favored a policy did carry weight -- but to say that the twelve Justices who voted for the Infant Colville were of this type, is to display an unwarranted cynicism. One may not agree with the opinions expressed by these men, but that does not mean they did not sincerely believe them. Defense, peace and increased commerce are decisive considerations. To spread one's religion is a commendable quality. Because one would also receive material benefits does not say his motives are wrong. It must be admitted that some Anglicans worked for Union primarily because of the material advantages, but it can be seriously doubted if this were the majority.

However, those opposed to Union seem to have had the greater backing from the country. It was sufficient to block Union in Commons. Their appeal was varied and was

until 1614 (London: 1615), preface.

more potent than the printed campaign of the Unionists. One can break their appeal into a threefold attack: national, religious and geographical.

It is customary to label the nineteenth century as the century of nationalism. Be that as it may, there were truly nationalistic motives used against Union. The English had a national consciousness and were not about to have it swamped. There was a discernible feeling that with Union, England would find itself submerged, maybe by Scotland, but likely by that new, uncertain creation, Britain. It was to no avail to speak of Union as being natural or an organic process or that Britain had, at one time, been united. These seventeenth century Englishmen could not recall it. The Scots were natural enemies and most important, England had begun to emerge as a major power since the time of the Tudors and especially of Elizabeth.

Intertwined with nationalism was the religious factor. Although the Established Church - a nationalist Church at that -- was in favor of Union, the rising Puritans took the negative pose. They refused to stand by and watch their religious cohorts in Scotland be corrupted by the evils of episcopacy. Some men of puritanical leanings

did seem to support Union, but this was later in James' reign and appears to have been accepted as a necessary evil. These men saw that Catholicism had to be destroyed; and if, to do this, required Union, then one should swallow his pride, because it was the lesser of two evils. Nonetheless, attempts at the importation of episcopacy were to be resisted. Theoretical Union was acceptable so that a Protestant army could be raised, but the practical effects were unacceptable.

Geographically and commercially, one is led to doubt the pertinence of the argument that the Union would be an economic boom. It ultimately has proven to be true; but the fact remains that the commercial class did not believe this would occur. It has been indicated that the London merchants protested against Union and that merchants from two other cities blamed their financial woes on the Scots. The commercial center of England was undoubtedly London. It would appear that, geographically, London and the borders were two hotbeds of anti-Union sentiment. The latter, the border area, had very apparent reasons. It was filled with blood feuds and mutual claims on territory between nationals of both countries. Also, men of both countries used their homeland as a haven after raids across

the border. London's disagreement with Union was vehement enough, that, at one time, James contemplated dissolving Parliament and summoning a new one to be convoked at York.² The antipathy in London came from two sources: the mercantile classes and the daily sight of Scots within the confines of the city. The Scots apparently did not learn how to behave themselves well enough to suit the Londoners.

Another interesting correlation is the one between religion and commerce. There was a tendency for the commercial class to adopt Calvinistic doctrines. Both of these interests -- religious and commercial -- had independent reasons for opposing Union; combined, they made for even stronger opposition.

Two composite pictures can be drawn. Of course, one must not forget that these composites are generalizations and therefore, if stretched too far, will snap. Remembering that, one would draw the Unionist as being an Anglican, preferably within the structure of the Church, and also of the peerage and living outside of London and other commercial areas and away from the borders. His counterpart would be larger, a Puritan, of the commercial class, and a citizen of London or another commercial center.

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Cal. St. Pap., Ven., Vol X, April 12, 1607, p. 488.

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