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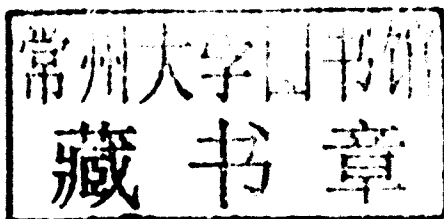
*Psal. 45. 4 & 5.
Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, etc.
Good lucke have thou with thine honour:
ride on, because of the word of trueth,*

LONDON'S NEWS PRESS
and the
THIRTY YEARS WAR

JAYNE E.E. BOYS

LONDON'S NEWS PRESS AND
THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Jayne E. E. Boys



THE BOYDELL PRESS

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First published 2011
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978-1-84383-677-3

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

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Printed in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURAL,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Volume 12

LONDON'S NEWS PRESS AND
THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History

ISSN: 1476-9107

Series editors

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr Gerhardt Benecke, my first tutor, whose enthusiasm and encouragement inspired my interest in the Thirty Years War and the news trade. I also want to thank Dr Kenneth Fincham for his support and advice over the years: without his help this would not have been possible. Thanks also go to David Ormrod, Jacqueline Eales, Erin Dooley, Tim Harris and Tom Cogswell for their encouragement, and to the many librarians who have assisted me, particularly at the Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and also at the British Library where the calm efficiency of the service cannot fail to impress. The Burney Collection contains the best single resource for news reporting in English on the Thirty Years War from the early 1620s through to the 1640s, and its curators have been most helpful.

The notes and dates follow the usual conventions. New Style dating is given and the year is taken to begin on 1 January. Newsbook and coranto dates are given as they appear in the original publications and I discuss dating issues in Chapter 2. Spelling and punctuation in quotations is not modernised unless I am quoting from a secondary source, except that I have used modern conventions for 'j's', 'v's' and 's's'. The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated. The use of false imprints is discussed in Chapter 3. Titles that appear throughout are cited in full in the first instance in each consecutive chapter, except for those that appear in the table of abbreviations. Corantos, currantoes and newsbooks are identified in the footnotes by their date and number in the relevant printed catalogues (STC, N&S or Wing), in the following form; (date), pages, catalogue reference. Some 1640s publications also have Thomason collection shelf marks from the British Library, given as E with the number. References are provided in full in the bibliography.

Abbreviations

Add MS	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
Amussen	S. D. Amussen and M. A. Kishlansky, <i>Political Culture and Politics in Early Modern England</i> (Manchester, 1995)
Annual (1993)	<i>Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History; 1993 Annual</i> , ed. M. Harris (Westport, CT and London, 1993)
Annual (1994)	<i>Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History; 1994 Annual</i> , ed. M. Harris (Westport, CT and London, 1994)
APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
Arber	E. Arber, <i>A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers' of London 1554–1640</i> , 4 vols (London and Birmingham, 1875–94)
Arblaster	P. Arblaster, 'Current Affairs Publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands 1620–1660 in Comparative European Perspective' (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1999)
Atherton	I. Atherton, 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in <i>News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain</i> , ed. J. Raymond (London and Portland, OR, 1999), 39–65
Barnard	J. Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, ed., <i>The Cambridge History of the Book 1557–1695</i> , vol. 4 (Cambridge, 2002)
B&B	Butter and Bourne
CandT	<i>Court and Times of Charles I</i> , ed. T. Birch, 2 vols (1848)
Chamberlain	<i>The Letters of John Chamberlain</i> , ed. N. E. McClure, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA, 1939)
Cogswell	T. Cogswell, <i>The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War 1621–24</i> (Cambridge, 1989)
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
Cust	R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth Century England', <i>PandP</i> , 112 (1986), 60–90
Dahl	F. Dahl, <i>A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620–42</i> (1952)
DandB	B. Dooley and S. Baron, ed., <i>The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe</i> (London and New York, 2001)
EHR	<i>The Economic History Review</i>
ESR	<i>European Studies Review</i> (<i>European History Quarterly</i> from 1984)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Fox A. Fox, 'Rumour, News and Popular Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 597–620
- Frank J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper* (Cambridge, MA, 1966)
- Frearson M. C. Frearson, 'The English Corantos of the 1620s' (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1993)
- Hanson L. Hanson, 'English Newsbooks 1620–1641', *The Library*, 4:18 (1938), 355–84
- Harl. MS Harleian Manuscript, British Library
- HJ *Historical Journal*
- HLQ *Huntington Library Quarterly*
- Jackson *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602–1640*, ed. W. A. Jackson (1957)
- JBS *Journal of British Studies*
- Jonson Ben Jonson, 'The Staple of News', 1625 in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Plays*, 2 vols (Everyman Library, 1910/1970)
- JNandPH *Journal of Newspapers and Periodical History*
- Koopmans J. W. Koopmans, *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800* (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA, 2005)
- Lake K. Sharpe and P. Lake, ed., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke and London, 1994)
- Lambert S. Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640', in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600–1910*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester, 1992), 1–32
- Levy F. J. Levy, 'The Decorum of News', in *News, Newspapers, and Early Modern Britain*, ed. J. Raymond (1999), 12–38
- Love H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford, 1993)
- MB *Mercurius Britannicus*
- McKenzie D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: Printers of the Mind and Other Essays*, ed. P. D. McDonald and M. F. Suarez (Amherst and Boston, MA, 2002)
- N&S C. Nelson and M. Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals: A Short Title Catalogue* (New York, 1987)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)
- Patterson W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997)
- PandP *Past and Present*
- Plant M. Plant, *The English Book Trade; An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (1965)
- Pory W. S. Powell, *John Pory 1572–1636: The Life and Letters of Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1977)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Proclamations* Stuart Royal Proclamations, ed. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, 2 vols (Oxford, 1973–83)
- Raymond J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996)
- Reeve L. J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Ries P. Ries, 'The Anatomy of a Seventeenth Century Newspaper', *Daphnis*, 6, Heft 1–2 (1977), 170–232
- Rous *The Diary of John Rous*, ed. M. A. Everett Green (Camden Society, 164, 1856)
- Schumacher W. H. Schumacher, 'Vox Populi: The Thirty Years' War in English Pamphlets and Newspapers' (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Princeton, 1975)
- Siebert F. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776* (Urbana, IL, 1952)
- Shaaber M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476–1622* (Philadelphia, PA, 1929)
- SPDom. State Papers Domestic, The National Archives
- STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave and K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols (1991), Vol. 4, Indexes (New York, 1998)
- Watt T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Wedgwood C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (1938/1968)
- Wing D. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641–1700*, rev. ed., 3 vols (New York, 1972–94)

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4. *The Swedish Intelligencer. The first part*, ed. 3, Butter and Bourne (1632), page 142, British Library, STC23523 164
5. *Numb. 84. The Norimberg Curranto*, Butter and Bourne (21 June 1639), front page, Cambridge University Library, STC18507.312 244
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Introduction

‘God grant a good and universal Peace’¹

This prayer concluded a letter from Mainz with news that the Elector of Saxony was treating with the Habsburg emperor for peace at Pirna. It was included inconspicuously towards the end of chapter 4 of a London publication, *The German History Continued* that appeared in the mid-1630s, at a time when, according to conventional historical wisdom, the publication of news in London was subject to a ban that lasted from October 1632 to December 1638. In fact, this *German History* followed upon a dozen or more publications in London covering recent events in the Thirty Years War that appeared after the 1632 ban. Others included *The Swedish Intelligencer ... with the Discipline*, *The History of the Present Warres* and *A True Relacon of the Duke of Ffreidlands death*.²

The events reported may now seem far removed from the day-to-day concerns of seventeenth-century Londoners. By the autumn of 1634, the emperor, Ferdinand, was capitalising on success at the Battle of Nordlingen by negotiating from strength for peace within the Empire and England had little say in the matter. Yet many Scottish and English lives were lost at Nordlingen and government reaction in London was swift, and far more draconian than the better-known ban of 1632 that stopped London production of weekly newsbooks only. This was a crackdown on all foreign news reporting that lasted until 1637.³ Only one further news digest was published in the whole of 1635 and 1636 and this was probably allowed only to correspond with the arrival in England of Charles I's nephew, the new Palatine Elector, Charles Louis, late in November 1635. The November 1635 news digest belatedly recounted details of the Protestant losses at Nordlingen and plainly showed that Peace of Prague, concluded in May 1635, made no provision for the restitution of the Palatinate.⁴

The reason for the government's reaction is not immediately obvious: a prayer for peace was entirely consistent with the foreign policy Charles had settled upon when, following long discussions with Sweden, he deter-

¹ *The German History*, Part 7 (1634), 70, STC23525.7.

² See pp. 232–5.

³ An official translation of a treaty was permitted: *The forme of the agreement*, B&B (1634), STC23366.

⁴ *The Modern History of the World*, Part 8 (1635), Section 2, 50–1, STC23525.9.

INTRODUCTION

mined not to put his backing behind Gustavus Adolphus's successful military campaign in Germany. But by 1634 Charles was becoming frustrated by lack of progress in his alternative dealings with Spain for the restoration of the Palatinate. He issued his first writs for ship money that October. Specific instructions for the sheriffs went out on 3 December. Intending to strengthen the fleet, ship money was presented as a means of improving defences against piracy as well as the threats of continental neighbours. Charles hoped to give England a stronger negotiating hand and was silencing the press during a time of intense diplomatic activity. While the Prague articles in May 1635 demonstrated just how little England counted by this stage in the affairs of Europe (providing reason enough for a decision to delay its reporting in print in England for as long as possible), Charles was not about to accept this outcome. No longer so committed to peace, he explored a further option – the scope for an alliance with France. The strict embargo on war news only ended when the resulting offensive and defensive treaty with France was prepared. Then *Monro, His Expedition* (recounting his continental military experiences), a journal of Arundel's embassy to the Habsburgs (relating the experience of journeying through war-torn Germany), and the start of a new news series, *The principall passages of Germany, Italy, France*, were authorised for publication in early 1637 as part of a carefully orchestrated programme of publications to support and encourage military engagement in the Thirty Years War.⁵

It has been suggested that, had this treaty with France been ratified, it would have brought Charles's kingdoms fully into the Thirty Years War, in opposition to the Counter-Reformation advances of the Habsburgs, and there may have been no domestic conflicts.⁶ Enlisted English soldiers would have been fighting in Germany alongside their volunteering Protestant neighbours and Swedish allies. But in 1637 the battle lines were formed instead, with many Scots released from Swedish service in Germany and supported by Swedish supplies shipped via the Baltic in opposition to Charles and his new Scottish Prayer Book. Meanwhile a wide range of London publications encouraged readers further in a belief that not enough had been done by Charles to support either his Palatine relatives or the Protestant cause.

This illustration of the interplay between high domestic politics, international relations and London news publication is just one of many that occurred throughout the 1620s and 1630s, and even into the 1640s. This book brings together these different spheres of interest, so often treated in isolation, demonstrating their interdependence. Throughout the period, events in the Thirty Years War played a far larger role in influencing readers,

⁵ Arber, Vol. 4, 343, 344, 345; R. Monro, *Monro, His Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment* (1637); W. Crowne, *A Journall... the Embassee of the Earle of Arundell to the Emperor of Germany* (1637); Numb. 1. *The principall passages of* (1637), STC4293.

⁶ K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT and London, 1992), 825–8, 953–4.

INTRODUCTION

parliaments and early Stuart decision-making than is generally recognised. Hans Werner has identified fifty-five plays, entertainments and masques with allusions to the Thirty Years War between 1620 and 1642, including ten that were entirely devoted to it, plus up to sixty works of prose and poetry. News coverage was extensive and informative, and surviving journals, commonplace books and the letters of news correspondents in England show that contemporaries took printed war news seriously. Successive failures to assume an effective role in the Thirty Years War, and efforts to resolve the crisis by engaging with Spain in negotiations to restore the Palatinate, undermined confidence in the Crown's commitment to Protestantism. This fuelled anxieties that at times verged upon paranoia about popish conspiracies at home and abroad, and resulted in a generation of soldiers and officers receiving military training and experience on the Continent as volunteers and mercenaries, primarily serving under Swedish, Danish and Dutch banners.⁷

Themes in recent historiography

Interest has grown in the formation of public opinion and what Jürgen Habermas described as the emergence of a 'public sphere', where information about contemporary events was exchanged and discussed. Habermas's work has spurred an upsurge in analysis and reflection on what constitute the essential criteria of a rational, critical and influential public sphere, making this topic steadily more popular and mainstream.⁸

⁷ C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1983); P. H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: a History of the Thirty Years' War* (2009), 321–2; H. Werner, 'The Hector of Germanie, or The Palsgrave, Prime Elector and Anglo-German Relations of Early Stuart England: The View from the Popular Stage', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. M. Smuts (Cambridge, 1996), 113; B. Donagan, 'Halcyon Days and the Literature of the War: England's Military Education before 1642', *PandP*, 147 (1995); A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2003), 56–71, 88–95; R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), 10–47, 67, 119, 128–9, 131–135; J. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609–1683* (Cambridge, 1993), 154–87.

⁸ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, MA, 1989), especially 13–17, 20–1; T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford, 2002); D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637–45* (London and New York, 1997); M. Kishlansky, 'Turning Frogs into Princes', in *Political Culture and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. S. D. Amussen and M. A. Kishlansky (Manchester, 1995); P. Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s; Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *HJ*, 25 (1982); K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in*

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Habermas concentrated upon the role of the Western European intellectual aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and middle classes, prompting questions about the membership of these groups and their involvement in public debate. Within this exploration, historians are now examining the characteristics of the 'middling sort' in seventeenth-century England. Christopher Brooks has described their distinctive urban culture and Barry Reay has helped place the readership and market for newsbooks in its cultural context, drawing out its political and economic relevance. News publishers, as traders and entrepreneurs who served their apprenticeships in the Stationers' Company, were also middling sorts operating within these cultural frameworks. Jonathan Barry has described their attitudes, seeing success and failure in terms of the individual, with an emphasis on industry, thrift, self-discipline, and most importantly, credit worthiness.⁹

Debate around the development of polarities in public opinion provides a further context for the story of foreign news reporting. A Protestant version of events, vital at the time to muster and retain support for resistance to the Habsburgs, laid foundations for a story that was to have significant long-term ramifications in Britain and across Europe. It underpinned the nineteenth-century formation of a unified Protestant Germany and has subsequently supplied a basis for Whig, Marxist and Habermasian arguments that link the transformation of news with the transformation of political culture, leading ultimately to the rise of liberal democracy.

There has been considerable progress in our understanding of the relationships between the dissemination of information and the formation of public opinion. Manuscript news circulation has been explored along with questions about the interplay between libels and the cheapest and most popular publications of the period. This shows how oral news and print were interrelated so that information could flow between the media, and news could penetrate throughout all levels of society. Studies of cheap print and distribution have demonstrated how all regions of Britain could be connected. We can now appreciate the way and the extent that news travelled, and this has opened up the tantalising prospect that the whole of the British Isles could have been reached with news of the Thirty Years War.¹⁰

Early Modern England (New Haven, CT, 2000); D. Zaret, 'Religion, Science and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-century England', in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. C. Calhoun (Cambridge, MA and London, 1992).

⁹ C. Brooks, 'Apprenticeship and Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', and J. Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort', in *The Middling Sort of People, Culture, Society, and Politics in England 1550–1800*, ed. J. Barry and C. Brooks (Cambridge, 1991); B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550–1750* (1998).

¹⁰ P. Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:1 (1991); P. Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995); T. Cogswell, 'Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture', in *Political Culture*, Amussen and

Yet the role of the printed periodical news that covered the war has been relatively neglected. Whig historians suggested the early Stuart media was too censored to be effective. They told a traditional story of the triumph of the press over censorship and though revisionists challenged the Whig account of an escalating constitutional crisis in pre-Civil War England they also discounted the significance of the early press. Post-revisionists have since argued for a more nuanced approach but while this has fed into greater interest in exploring contemporary ephemeral publications such as pamphlets and ballads, it has not, so far, led to a significant growth in the study of foreign news reporting.¹¹ The dull and abbreviated texts of foreign newsbooks, the need to read many successive issues (scattered in a number of library collections) to detect story lines, and the need for a grasp of the broader European context, may have deterred many from paying them attention, particularly since, as Steven Pincus has suggested, English foreign policy in this period 'has more often been written off than written about'. However, this is changing: there is now a wide recognition that news reports generated excitement and foreign policy was widely discussed outside Parliament in the 1620s, and there is an appreciation of the way this played into anti-papery that was to remain a persistent concern throughout the early Stuart regime.¹² This account of the history of the periodical news reporting of the Thirty Years War is therefore both timely and relevant. Pursuing the

Kishlansky, 277–300; D. Underdown, *A Freeborn People* (1996), 19, 39, 50, 70–1; Love; Watt; A. McShane Jones, 'The Gazet in Metre; Or the Rhiming Newsmonger' The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer, a New Narrative', in Koopmans; P. Lake, 'Deeds Against Nature', and A. Bellamy, 'Raylinge Rhymes and Vaunting Verse', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. K. Sharpe and P. Lake (Basingstoke and London, 1994); Fox, 607–13, 616, 620; A. Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *PandP*, 145 (1995); M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories, Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1981); C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), especially Ch. 5; Levy, 13, 17, 31–4; H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London, 2008).

¹¹ Frank; Shaaber; M. A. Shaaber, 'The First English Newspaper', *Studies in Philology*, 29 (1932); Dahl; F. Dahl, 'Amsterdam – the Cradle of English Newspapers', *The Library*, 5:4 (1949); F. Dahl, *Amsterdam – the Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe* (The Hague, 1939); F. Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618–1650, A Bibliography and an Introductory Essay on Seventeenth Century Stop Press News* (The Hague, 1946); Siebert; Lambert; S. Lambert, 'Coranto Printing in England', *JNandPH*, 8, (1992); Clegg, *Jacobean England*.

¹² S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996), 1; Cogswell, 287–8, 325; T. Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *JBS*, 29 (1990); T. Cogswell, 'The People's Love: The Duke of Buckingham and Popularity', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain*, ed. T. Cogswell, R. Cust and P. Lake (Cambridge, 2002); C. J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (New York and Oxford, 1996), 22–8; R. Cust, *The Forced Loan and English Politics 1626–28* (Oxford, 1989), 317; Hibbard, *Popish Plot*, 4.