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Source: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. 15 (1901), pp. 151-170

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Royal Historical Society

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3678083>

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THE ADVENT OF THE GREAT ELECTOR

By W. F. REDDAWAY, M.A.

Read April 20

THE present paper contains a slight contribution from unpublished English State Papers to our knowledge of the history and policy of Brandenburg during the first years of the rule of Frederick William the Great Elector: that is, from December 1640 to about the year 1643. The great English historians of the time, Lord Clarendon and Dr. Gardiner, have told us but little of the distant and distracted German March, and our State Papers deepen the impression that in 1640 Brandenburg lay just beyond the horizon of English politics.

More than a quarter of a century later, when the Court of Vienna was beginning to doubt, if not as yet to dread, the talons of the northern eagle, this limitation of vision was still the subject of reproach to English statesmen. 'Believe it,' wrote a Privy Councillor of his Imperial Majesty in July 1666, when the Great Elector had made himself master of the town of Magdeburg, 'his said Electoral Highness doth now render himself very considerable, promising in shew jointly with the States of Holland and other allies very much, in case it be not timely prevented. On that subject enough hath been written you. *But it seems the English Court will not comprehend his interests within the Empire.*' That was, however, in 1666, when the equation Berlin=Berolinum=Lumen Orbi, devised by a patriotic lexicographer under Frederick William's son, was becoming year by year less imaginary. In 1640 Brandenburg (her young ruler excepted) justified the scepticism of her rivals by her obvious failure to believe in herself. She had been

already two centuries and a quarter under the continuous rule of the Hohenzollern House. In 1411 the Emperor Sigismund had invested Frederick with a country not quite one eighth as large again as modern Wales, and by a consistent and fortunate policy of marriage and merchandise her area upon the map had been multiplied fourfold, till it almost equalled that of Ireland. But to all appearance the Hohenzollern dominions were still a casual and temporary aggregate rather than a well-knit State—isolated units picked up at random in the wide plain of Northern Europe, lacking common traditions, common rights, and even common dangers ;—all, or almost all, that made for integration. Prussia, with rich manors and thriving ports on the one wing, turbulent Cleve and Mark upon the other ; between them, but severed from both by great masses of alien territory, the sterile and afflicted Mark of Brandenburg—almost the only political aims which all had in common were to avoid being used to serve the interests of one another and to thwart the Elector, who was the bugbear of them all. Even that common principle, that bond of union between ruler and ruled, which in the age of the greatest religious war in modern history we might with most confidence expect to find—even community of creed could not be invoked to weld together the Brandenburg dominions. In 1614, six years before the birth of Frederick William and six-and-twenty before his advent to power, the Electoral House had perverted from the Lutheran to the Calvinistic communion. This step had roused the swift suspicion of its subjects and had gone far towards setting up a state of latent rebellion. In 1615 the Lutherans of Berlin had wrung from the Elector the surrender of his rights of church patronage, and it had been questioned whether a Calvinist could be Duke of Prussia, just as sixty years later it was questioned whether a Papist could be King of England. In each case, as we know, Exclusion failed, but in neither was the discord finally appeased. In the first months of 1642 the Lutheran divines of Königsberg were infuriated by the Elector's appointment of the Court preacher, a Calvinist, to

preach the funeral sermon of his father. A great gathering of the people was looked for, and the crisis gave rise to a correspondence between Frederick William and Hoverbeck, his representative at Warsaw, which illuminates, more swiftly than can any description of mine, the politics of Brandenburg at the time.

On February 10, 1642, the Elector, after protesting the innocence of his intentions, maintains that the present forms 'ein singularissimus casus' which cannot be made conformable to any rule. To ward off riot, he instructs Hoverbeck to approach the Polish King and 'to make humble request to His Majesty that His Majesty would in friendly-cousinly fashion let it please him to send a letter to our chief councillors (but as if His Majesty had been informed of this from other quarters and not from us) and thereby to order them to reprove and repress this folly of the unquiet theologians, which rests upon no need or ostensible cause.' The royal signet will perhaps suffice to seal the order, 'and since the Diet has already begun and will come to an end within a fortnight it will perhaps be best if you solicit this work only after the departure of the Diet.'

Some time later in the month, Hoverbeck and the Papist King of Poland discussed the matter, and a promise of the desired Rescript was obtained, but only the signet was to be used. Hoverbeck will send the document as soon as received, and then—he writes to the Elector—'you can have it broken open by the Chief Marshal, who will scarcely know the difference between the signet and the small crown seal, and allow the rest to see only the copy.'

But I must forbear to draw further draughts from these copious German sources, which contrast so strikingly with the meagre contributions of other lands to the early history of the Great Elector.

The chief of the information which I have found in our own State Papers comes from despatches written or forwarded by Sir Thomas Roe during his mission to Germany, which came to an end in 1642. These despatches display at the

close of life a really great personality—author, explorer, statesman, theologian, connoisseur ; a diplomatist who had essayed missions of the most diverse kinds—to the Mogul, the Turk, the Prince of Transylvania, the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Sweden—and had everywhere increased his fame. His wide influence and high repute are attested by the mere names of his innumerable correspondents, among them Charles Stuart, Mazarin, Sir William Boswell, who addresses ‘my ever singular good lord,’ and the Queen of Bohemia, who styles him ‘honest Thom.’ Everything from the Continent seems to have passed through his hands, so that we find in our State Papers despatches from Rome, Venice, Paris, and even Constantinople, classed together under the heading ‘Germany.’ The opinion of a man who knew the politics of half the world at first hand needs no commendation, and the evidence both of his speech and of his silence is that at the accession of Frederick William the influence of Brandenburg was not to be compared with that of the other Electors. Roe’s main object was dictated to him by Charles I., who in the midst of his own troubles showed himself invincibly and honourably obstinate for the cause of his sister and her sons, for the restitution of the Palatinate to the family of the Winter King.¹ To the Palatinate cause Roe devoted all his energies, first at Ratisbon in the Diet and afterwards at Vienna in special negotiation with the Emperor, and it is to his search among the ranks of Protestant princes for allies that we owe a few stray gleams of light on the policy and resources of Frederick William. Thus on July 16, 1641, he reported in cipher ‘*From the Ambassadors of Brandenburg, Lunenburg, and Hessen, and most of the cities I may expect a faithful, strict, and sincere correspondence.*’

A month later (August 13, new style), ‘All men see that the [cipher] designs of the House of Austria are built upon impoverishing of the princes and upon the desolation of the

¹ Thus in 1643 Curtius, whose salary was three years in arrear, was still assisting in the negotiations for the payment by Charles of one million rix-dollars on their behalf. In January 1649, his son sent Buckingham from his court in Jersey to assist them by diplomacy.

country, which, being once brought low, can be with more ease kept down.' The only way to frustrate these designs and to secure the lasting peace of Germany was, he declared, by an amnesty to date from 1618, 'and to this all the towns have voted and presented their resolutions apart, and to which [cipher] the ambassadors of Brandenburg, Lunenburg, and Hessen will absolutely adhere if we join with them, and we are in hopes to draw some others to the party—but the difficulty will be great.'

The plan here proposed, that England should form and lead an alliance of the Protestant States of North Germany, with perhaps the addition of Denmark, 'to embrace the whole cause of the Palatinate or else to make no peace,' is urged by Roe upon his master as the only hope of rescuing Germany from the overwhelming preponderance of the House of Austria. He writes to Charles on October 24, 1641: 'You may be the means to reunite a Protestant league, to reconcile the King of Denmark and the towns . . . to save the Landgravine and reclaim the Duke of Lunenburg from wandering, to preserve the religion and liberty, and to give Germany a safe and honest peace.' And he further develops the plan in a long undated *exposé* of German affairs which is to be found (I know not for what reason) in the volume 'Germany 1644-1657' of the State Papers. Here an alternative is first considered in the shape of that marriage of Frederick William with Queen Christina of Sweden which, with its corollary in the formation of a great Baltic power, began to be discussed by English diplomatists in the summer of 1641. The very date at which this English interference was proposed gives, however, a sufficient clue to its fortune. Apart altogether from the fact that, as Roe admits, Lüneburg alone was at first willing to fight for the Palatinate and that after some gleams of hope he had soon to regret what he considers the ungrateful and dangerous if not suicidal withdrawal of Brandenburg from 'the good party'—apart from all this the generous hand of Charles was crippled by Parliament, and intervention in Germany became impossible. English

diplomacy was still, as we shall see, at the disposal of Elizabeth and her family, but force could not be looked for. Within a month of Roe's proposal the Commons carried the Grand Remonstrance.

It is, however, easier to describe in general terms than to illustrate by the citation of isolated passages the impression of Brandenburg which these State Papers convey. It is the laborious establishment of a negative result—great masses of writing on German affairs in which Brandenburg is usually ignored or is mentioned only to be summarily dismissed.

Roe and his lieutenants, Curtius and Avery,¹ the agent of the Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg, were casting about on every side for help for their policy of Peace and Restitution, and to record the occasions on which they turned for a moment towards Brandenburg might be misleading were not their silences also borne in mind. A few definite assertions of the impotence of Brandenburg may, however, be worthy of mention, as when on June 1, 1641, the Emperor is moved by Frederick William to urge the Cardinal Infanta to pay her dowry to the widow of the Winter King, 'since the Electorate of Brandenburg, where hitherto she has had some subsistence, *'plenè sit exhaustus et inanimus.'* And some three months later (September 7, 1641) Avery writes apprehensively from Hamburg with regard to the prospect of a partial as opposed to a total amnesty: 'I fear the Prince Elector of Brandenburg's vote and reasons (which hath been brave and constant still, as well as the Houses of Brunswick, Hessen, and the Towns, will be of as little force to hinder the publishing thereof. And if so, the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria will have sufficiently gained their ends at this Diet.'

¹ To the kindness of the Master of Peterhouse I owe (as well as several valuable suggestions) the following notice of Mr. Avery, communicated by the archivist of the Hamburg Senate: 'Joseph Averie erscheint bis 1612 als Secretair des englischen Court in Stade, und sodann in gleicher Eigenschaft in Hamburg im J. 1618; als englischer Resident erscheint er wieder im J. 1633; und er wird wieder als englischer Resident und Court-Master von 1638 bis 1645 genannt.' To the 'Winter King' and his son he is 'très-honnête homme'—'honest Mr. Avery.' *Bromley's Original Royal Letters*, pp. 36, 154.

They consider '*how little Brandenburg is able to do.*' A comparison may perhaps be suggested with the statements that 'the Elector of Brandenburg has not so much as a shallop,' 'without Danzig the Brandenburger and Prussia cannot do anything,' 'Sweden can ruin the Brandenburger in a small time,' of Mr. Secretary Thurloe's Hague Correspondent in 1655—when the territorial impotence was passing away, but the maritime remained.

After leaving Ratisbon, our envoy, as I have said, continued the work of negotiation at Vienna, and the Emperor remarked that 'if Roe had been one of the fair sex and a beauty he was sure the engaging conversation of the English ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue.' Restitution was, however, not to be won by engaging conversation. What was needed was not an *entente cordiale*, but force. In Roe's remaining accounts of his mission, which are preserved among the Foreign State Papers in the Public Record Office, I have not once encountered the name of Frederick William or of Brandenburg.

The Stuart Government, however, continued to regard Brandenburg as a cat's-paw to be used in the interest of the exiled Palatine family with its Stuart blood. It fell into the familiar attitude of which it has been said that the English and the Dutch regard themselves as alone entitled to full political rights, and other nations as a dumb herd who must accommodate themselves to the requirements of high politics.

For the time being Frederick William acquiesced in these pretensions. He strove to live down to the position marked out for him, to sell his humility for what it was worth, to dare much in diplomacy, but to embrace a policy of adventure only when the participation of stronger powers had made it rather politic than adventurous. Thus on June 9, 1641, Avery reports from Hamburg a humble application from one of the Prince Elector of Brandenburg's Privy Councillors, who begs for the intercession of the King of Great Britain not only with Sweden to procure Pomerania

for his master, but also with the States and Parliament of Poland. The king and crown of that country had (he said) demanded (1) the cathedral of Königsberg and another church for the Catholics; (2) the settling of tolls in 'the Pillawe' and the inspection over the same; (3) a double marriage, the sister of Poland to marry the Prince Elector and Prince Casimir to marry the Elector's sister; 'but (he said) they believed the latter match was moved only for the better advancing of the former,' while with regard to all these demands 'his Highness is resolved in no wise to admit or yield.'

The King of England did in fact put pressure on Poland to abate the first two demands. In the matrimonial affair the young Elector was his own best ally. In September, 1641, the French ambassador D'Avaugour describes how at a court festivity 'the princess danced a graceful ballet to give him pleasure. But the Elector appeared in a dirty neckband and boots all worn on one side and muddy half up the leg, and altogether dressed with such negligence that the least observant could easily see that he had little heart for dancing in that company.'

The circumstances already passed in review—the inflexible family policy of the Stuarts, their lack of force to render it effective, the willing clientage of Frederick William—all these contributed to bring about the mission of Avery in 1642, with the astounding proposal of a marriage which would have linked the young Elector with the fugitive and embroiled Palatine House. In the instructions (Appendix I., below) despatched by Nicholas from Windsor, the slender considerations that Charles could offer, a month after the episode of the Five Members, are marshalled with care—only to be still further attenuated in revision. Appendix II. shows what Avery made of his task.

This fragmentary record of a preposterous mission seems to be the sole substantial contribution of our own State Papers to the history of the relations between England and Brandenburg during the first years of Frederick William's rule. If it may establish a claim on our attention, it is because of the supreme

importance of the period of Brandenburg history which it illuminates, and because that period has received less than its due share of notice from historians. With regard to the whole of the Great Elector's forty-eight years of rule, indeed, English and American thought seems to find expression only in Carlyle's brief panegyric and the severe indictment of Mr. Herbert Tuttle. And even the wide-flung net of modern German research, represented in this case by the fourteen thousand quarto pages to which the 'Urkunden und Aktenstücke' has already swelled—even this has suffered our small fry to slip through its meshes. The omission is the more notable because in Paris and at the Hague the editors deplore a dearth of material for the diplomatic history of these early years which might enhance the value of what can be discovered in London.

My main line of defence, however, must rest on the importance of the period. The rise of the Great Elector must be measured from the low-water mark of his fortunes. Our verdict upon his achievement must depend upon the accurate estimate of the external forces working for and against him as well as upon a careful delineation of his policy, his talents, and his character. I know not which historian has stood beside the young ruler as he bewailed 'difficulties greater than those of David or Solomon,' to sum up, more dispassionately than was possible under so threatening a sky, the true strength and weakness of his position. The other dramas of the time—the triumph of Richelieu, the fall of Strafford—have diverted men's eyes from the sombre protagonist of the Mark, so that it is not till after a generation has passed by that he dashes out of obscurity upon the field of Fehrbellin.

And further, quite apart from accuracy of historical estimate, we are investigating the origin of a living force in the German Empire of to-day. There the Great Elector stands not only for a moral and domestic court life which he did not invent, nor for that ceaseless territorial expansion which has been termed the inexorable law of Prussia's being. For these, though he followed both, he can claim no

exclusive patent. But he stands out also as the inventor and legendary hero of consolidation of colonial aspirations, of maritime endeavour, of that military monarchy, perfected by Peter the Great and by his grandson, which ripe judgment regards as the most formidable foe that the Anglo-Saxon race has yet to meet. And the key to all this, as I think, lay in these early years of obscurity—years which were to determine whether Brandenburg should lose whatever small significance she still possessed or whether she should at least keep unbarred the door to future greatness. For his own dominions these years decided between the ideals—one State or many, toleration or aggressive Lutheranism at home, adventure or mercantile self-interest in foreign affairs, Swedish unity or Polish particularism in the social structure. But for Germany and for Europe they were fraught with still more momentous meaning. Should the Swede dictate to Germany unchecked? Should Protestant or Papist dominate the fatherland? Should the future belong to the North or to the South—to progressive Prussia or to mediæval Austria? Such were the questions which the Great Elector volunteered to answer. To him and to his offspring—strong men armed keeping their house—Europe owes it that Stettin and Hamburg have not shared the fate of Dorpat and Riga—that the main tide of Slavic advance flows East instead of West. It is for their subject rather than for themselves that I offer the few poor ears which I have gleaned in a barren field.

APPENDIX I¹

INSTRUCTIONS FOR OUR TRUSTY AND WEL-BELOVED
JOSEPH AVERY, OUR AGENT IN GERMANY, IMPLYED
BY US TO THE ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

I

As soon as you have presented our letters of Credence to the Elector of Brandenburg and his Mother, our will and commaund is :

¹ *State Papers*, Foreign, German States.

That you shall represent to the said Elector how much we were displeased to understand the difficulties which were made in Poland about his Investiture of Prussia ; as also our great contentment to hear they were passed over and ended to his satisfaction. Whereupon (according to our wonted affection to that Electoral Howse, and our singular estimation of his Person) we could not forbear to congratulate with him, both for the expedition of the said business and his safe return out of Poland. And so much the rather for the great hope, generally conceived of him, that, with the increase of his power and authority, he will endeavour the Restoration of the true Religion, so much oppressed, and of the publike Peace in Germany.

II

Wheras we have been particularly informed by our Ambassador from Ratisbone of the intimate correspondence between him and the said Elector's Ministers, expressed by their endeavors, both in councell and action, to advance the negotiations of our said Ambassador, and of the Deputies from our nephew the Elector Palatine : And more especially, of the Commission given them, by the said Elector, to follow the Imperiall Court to Vienna ; there to further and assist the particuler Treaty, concerning the Electorall Palatine Howse : Whereby we are sufficiently assured of his intire Affection to the said Howse and of his desire to have the antient honour thereof restored, you shall therefore in our name render our due thancks to the said Elector, and desire him to proceed in his laudable Intentions by furthering all things that may conduce to the resettlement of the Electoral Palatine Howse, the maintaining of the Reformed Religion, and the general Peace and tranquility of the Empire, which will not only binde the said House in all thanckfull obligations, but we shall also, upon all occasions, be readie to acknowledge the same ; and joyn with him, in all ways, for the compassing of so good and honourable a worck.

III

You shall also, in our name, salute the Electresse Dowager of Brandenburg, Mother to the said Elector, and with due terms insinuate unto her the great respects we bear to the Elector her Son, and to the prosperitie of his Howse, which made us dispatch you expressly thither, to represent our Affections and concurrence with the Interests of the same.

EDW. NICOLAS.

Windsor Castle : 23rd Januarii, 1641.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR OUR TRUSTY AND WEL-BELOVED
JOSEPH AVERRY, EMPLOYED BY US TO THE ELECTRESSE
PALATINE DOWAGER, WHICH YOU ARE TO SHOW UNTO
HER AND CRAVE HER FURTHER ADVICE THEREIN.

I

After you have discharged the former instructions to the Elector of Brandenburg and his Mother, our will and pleasure is, That you shall repair in private to the Dowager Electresse Palatine, and when you have presented our letters of Credence to her, and performed the due Compliments in our name; you shall signifie unto her that upon an Intimation from her, of a match to be endeavoured between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Princesse Louisa Palatine our Niece, we have commanded you in the first place, to present her our thancks, and give her all manner of Assurance, how willing we are to joyne with her, in furtherance of the same; and then withall to desire her advice and counsell how to proceed onwards therin, which by our especial command you are to follow, that nothing might be done without her direction.

II

You shall visit the Chancellor Götz, the two Leuchtemars, and whom else the said Electress shall appoint; and acquaint them with the scope of your other Instructions to the Elector of Brandenburg; letting them know, that altho the bonds of bloud and interest (which point of interest you may inlarge and amplifie) have induced the Elector their Master to express his forwardnes to further and advance the particulers contained in your said Instructions; yet we have given you expresse Order, to take especial notice of their good counsell therin; to thanck them for it, and desire the continuance thereof, wherein their former wisdome and integrity, hath given us great reason to confide. And in case the particular Treatie, now transferred to Vienna, concerning the Electorall Palatine Howse, should prove either fruitlesse or deceitfull, that we desire their sound advice and co-operation by what other means the just restitution thereof might be laboured and obtained, and worck not onely advantageous to the whole Empire and all the Protestant partie, but more particularly to the Electorall Howse of Brandenburg, upon which the whole burden might otherwise fall and remaine; their enemies seeming to aime at the utter extirpation of the Religion they professe, which design would be much hindered by the restitution of the Electorall Palatin Howse, whereby it might be so firmly united

with that of Brandenburg that upon all occasions the one might second the other.

III

We therefore judge it usefull and expedient that some fitt meanes be found out timely to oppose such dangerous designes. And for the better effecting thereof you shall represent unto the said Ministers that we are willing to contribute therunto by joyning with the Howse of Brandenburg in a nearer Allyance, which may be fitly and happily brought to passe by a marriage between the said Elector and our Niece Louisa Princesse Palatine, daughter of our onely dear Sister, she being a Lady professing the same Religion with him and equall to anie in all Germanie for her princely qualities and extraction of her blood : And you shall further add, (as need requireth) that the present oppression of the Palatine Howse ought not to be anie impediment hereunto ; for besides that the restitution thereof be now more earnestly intended and hoped for than heretofore, the Elector of Brandenburg, among other advantages arising from this Allyance, may be confidently assured of our constant favour and countenance towards all his affaires and interests.

IV

More particularly you shall assure them that if needs be we shall not stick to imploy our credit and mediation with the States Generall of the United Provinces and Prince of Orange, whereby we hope to procure the said Elector more profite and satisfaction out of the Land of Cleve than hitherto he hath injoyed, and shall also be readie to assist him in the peaceable possession of his Rights and Tytles if any should attempt to deprive or molest him therin. You shall moreover assure them that when the provisionall partition between the said Elector and Duke of Newburg of the lands of Guleck, Cleve and Bergh shall happen to expire, we will be ready to assist him by our best mediation either in his just claime to the intire possession of the said Lands, in regard of the inequality of the present division, or else, in any Treatie he shall be willing to intertain, to procure him a better and more reasonable accommodation. As also that we shall imploy our best offices and intercession with the Swedens concerning his hereditarie lands in Pomern in anie such manner as the said Elector shall desire or think convenient. And lastly that in all other matters which they can propound or thinck upon, wherein we may give a further testimonie of our friendship to the said Elector, we shall most willingly entertain any overture

therof and take such resolution as may best conduce to his contentment.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Windsor Castle: 23rd Januarii, 1641.

A PRIVATE INSTRUCTION FOR OUR TRUSTY AND WEL-BELOVED JOSEPH AVERY TO BE KEPT SECRET TO YOURSELF.

When you have showed the foresaid Instructions to the Electress Palatine Dowager (according to our commaund) and taken her advice and direction how to carry yourself therin, you shall then by the like dexteritie propound the same to the said severall councillors apart, and if you finde them to approve therof, and be willing to co-operate with us in the foresaid intent, you shall encourage them all and severally therein by giving them assurance in our name, how well we shall take their good offices and indeavours as very acceptable unto us. Or els, if the said Elector shall incline to give them larger Commission or desire himself to treat and communicate therin, we do then hereby authorize you to treat with the said Elector or any of his Commissioners and to conclude with them according to your Instructions, giving us a full and frequent account of your negotiation therin.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Windsor Castle: 23rd Januarii, 1641.

APPENDIX II

*James Averie to Secretary Nicholas, April 29, 1642.*¹

Right Honourable,—My last vnto yo^r Honou^r was dated at Köningsberg the 28th of the last moneth old stile, addressed over land by the Post, and written wth mine owne hand, as the secrecie of the affaire therein mentioned required: & for that it passed safely from hence also, I will not doubt of the safe arriuell thereof vnto yo^r hands. I therein gave a large accompt of my negotiation at the Court of Brandenburg; and of such Conferences as I had had wth the old Electoresse Palatine, and sondry others of that Prince Elector's Counsell: whervnto yo^w will please to be referred.²

¹ *State Papers*. Foreign, German States.

² Writing from Hamburg on April 30 [old style] Avery reports that 'his despatch touching the secret business is scarcely worth the perusal, seeing that that affair was dashed at his first coming by the advice and direction of the old Electress Palatine Dowager, whose order therein he was wholly to follow.' *Cal. S.P.*, Domestic, 1641-43.

Now seeing no cause of my longer abode at this Court, I solicited earnestly for my dispatch, and obteyned it, accordingly, vpon Thursday, the last of the last moneth : this Elector's answere to my proposition being brought me in writing by the Chancelour^r Gottz, and the Herr Von Brunne ; of whome my former haue made mention. So, after I had dined wth his Highnes, I tooke my leaue that afternoone first of himselfe and afterwards of his Mother and Grandmother the two Electoresse Dowagers, and had recredentials from them all deliuered vnto me : the w^{ch} together wth this Electors resolution, or answere aforsayd, I send yo^r Honor herewth ; and am withall to acquaint yo^w wth the summe of such further Conferences as I had wth sondry of this Prince's Counsell before my comming away. Out of my former yo^w will haue vnderstood how that the Chancelour Gottz, and Herr von Bronne had taken some time to Consider what aduise to giue vnto the particulars, vpon w^{ch} I required it of them according to my instructions. This they brought not vnto me vntill the day before my dispatch, and then comming to dine wth me, after dinner they joyntly gaue answere vnto that w^{ch} I had proposed vnto them apart and, after they had againe amply professed their resentment of the greate honour and grace his Ma^{tie} had bene pleased to vouchsafe them, and no lesse contested their engagement for the same ; they signified wth what zeale and affection, not only themselues, but generally all those of their Prince and M^{rs} Counsell, desired the full and intire restitution of the Palatinate, and that they were now so much the more encouraged to Continue and improue the vtmost of theire indeavours in this Cause : as knowing very well how highly it imported the publike State and peace of Germanie, and the Protestant Religion, as well as their owne Master in his particular affaire ; for matter of aduise herein, they well knew that his Matie. stood in no need of any at all from them : neuer the less, seeing he was so graciously pleased to require it at their hands, they would humbly deliuer their opinion, the w^{ch} they did to this effect : namely, That although they could not as yet discerne, or determine what would be the issue of the particular Treatie in hand at Vienna touching the Palatinate ; yet, considering how much both his Ma^{ties} and his royall Father's Moderation and patience haue bene abused in so many Intercessions, Ambassages, and Treaties hertofore concerning this affaire, what aduerse Parties are interested in the same, and the artificies also w^{ch} they haue formerly vsed ; they doubted that the Successe would no way be answerable vnto his Ma^{ties} expectation : and, although there seemed to be better hopes of accomodating this affaire in the generall Treatie for peace designed in Westphalia ; as well in respect of the King of Denmarke and and their Master, who

are to be Mediators there, as of those that are principally interested therein, to witt the Crownes of France and Sweden, who are both in allyance wth the Prince Elector Palatine and should therefore seriously take his cause to heart : yet, they left it vnto his Ma^{ties} high wisdome to consider, whither it were convenient or safe to depend altogether vpon the hopes of this Treatie ; in respect of the allyance w^{ch} is sayd to be betweene France and Bauaria, and for that both the French and Swedes are like cheifly to reflect vpon their owne ends, and, so they may attaine them, may perhappes not be so so sollicitous (as were to be wished) of others their allies, such espetially as are not actually interested, and imbarqued wth them in the warres ; and, in such case, the affaire of the Palatinate would be rendered more difficult, seeing his Ma^{tie} would be (if not as it were) almost left alone to vindicate this cause, yet deprived of those Co-operating helpes and furtherances by the armies on foote, and such allyances as are yet intire, and free to league wth his Ma^{tie} ; and who they presumed would gladly joyne their effectuall Counsell and forces wth his, as for the obteyning of a generall peace, so also for the restitution of the Palatinate : and this, as their opinion (they sayd), they in all humilitie submitted vnto his Ma^{ties} Consideration. Herevpon I asked them, in case his Ma^{tie} should resolute to put himselfe into a Posture of armes for the publike, as well as the Palatinate cause, what encouragement, ayd, & assistance might be expected from the Elector of Brandenborgh, and other Protestant Princes of Germanie. To this they made answeare, that I might call to mind what passed hertofore in Conference betweene them and me, and betweene theire M^{rs} Father and me at Berline, when I was sent from his Ma^{tie} vnto his Highnes in the yeare 1636 touching the same affaire ; namely, that, although the Protestant Princes were so exhausted, and distressed, as that they Could not doe much, and so curbed, and kept vnder the yoke, as that they durst not now stirre : yet, they would be glad to see a change, and as readie and willing to entertaine his Ma^{tie}, and shrowde themselues vnder his protection, whensoever he should shew himselfe in a vigorous and potent way amongst them ; and herevnto they sayd they would now only add this, that, although the Elector their Master were so intricated in his affaires euery where, and had scarce any where meanes for his sustenance and support, but out of that Dukedome of Prusia ; yet when he saw his Ma^{tie} and other Potent Princes (who haue Power and meanes to turne the skale) once joyned in a faire league of amitie and action for the cause of the Palatinate, they presumed his their Master's interest and affection thervnto is such, as that he would not sitt out : but till then, sayd they, it behoueth his highnes

to carrie himselfe very warily, haueing many enuious eies vpon his actions, and such as owe him no good will : this is the sume of my discourse wth these gentlemen touching this particular.

I hold it my dutie now to acquaint yo^r Honour wth that w^{ch} further passed betwixt some of this Princes Counsell and me Concerning the high tolles of the Pillawe, imposed by this Duke's Father, and wherwth the Eastland Company of English Merchants haue bene, and are yet very sore burthened in the course of their trade into and from those parts. Mr. Gordon, by his letters from Dansicke, had signified vnto me, that he had made remonstrance and craued redressed of their grieuances by writing vnto certaine of this Prince's Counsell, but had receiued no answere at all from them ; The Principall Merchants of that Company at Dansicke by their letters, and others of them at Köningsberg by word of mowth, Desired me to moue and Sollicite the Prince Elector and his Counsell in their behalfe : so herevpon I resolved to doe them the best offices I could. Wherefore, I tooke opportunitie to make the first ouuerture of this buisnes vnto the Chancellour Gotz and Collonell Bursdorff, according to such information as I had receiued from the Merchants. They tooke vpon them to relate and recomend the cause wth my desires, vnto the Prince Elector their Master, and to returne me his Highnes answere : the w^{ch} they did the next day : demanding of me first, by the Elector's order, if I had any Comission from his Ma^{tie} to moue his Highnes in this affaire. I answered No ; but I knew very well that the Eastland Company had made remonstrance of this as a spetiall grieuance vnto his Ma^{tie} and the Parliament both, and that they had taken the same into their Consideration, were very sensible therof, and would no doubt take an opportunitie to ressent it vnto his Highnes ere long. Herevpon they sayd they had order from the Prince their Master to desire in confidence my opinion and aduise in a particular w^{ch} concerned this buisnes ; Then acquainted me that, certaine years since, an ouuerture had bene made in behalfe of the Eastland Companie for the settling of a residence, or Staple for their trade wthin that Towne of Königsberg ; the w^{ch} was hindered at that time by certaine difficulties w^{ch} this Prince knew well how, as he had the meanes also in his power to remoue ; and not only so, but, in case the sayd Comp^a would settle themselues there in this Towne, he would vndertake so to deale wth the King and State of Poland, as that the Scale of Dansick (w^{ch} hath bene so grieuous a burthen vnto the English merchants for so many yeares) should be vtterly abolished ; & further, that his Highnes would vouchsafe them as ample priuiledges as any they should find ells

where : lastly, they shewed me the conueniencies of that Towne and Port for the course of Trade, both for importation and exportation, buying and selling of comodities ; all w^{ch} would be too tedious here to relate. And vnto these particulars they expecting my answere, I signified, that, as I was vtterly ignorant of what ouuertures might haue bene made formerly there in behalfe of the Eastland Company, so neither knew I how the state of their affaires stood, or what Townes or Ports they by experience had found to be most proper and conuenient for the course of their trade and residence ; but, if they found Köningsberg as fitte as other places, his Highnes gracious offers before mentioned were (in my opinion) greate inducements for them to settle there. Upon this they desired me to conferre wth the English marchants in those parts, and to vse meanes that some of them might be deputed thither to treat vpon the buisnes ; but, for sondry reasons, I waued all engagement of my selfe herin, and therfore sayd, that the Corporation and Principall bodie of the Eastland Comp^a were resident at London, and that there their chiefe affaires were ordered : those at Dansicke & other parts thereabouts, being for the most parte Factors, & yong men, who neither durst nor had any power to treat or doe any thing wth out the Comission of their Principalls : but I signified that I would acquaint, and recomend vnto them his Highnes offers, and that it would be a further and very forceable incouragement to perswade them to hearken therevnto, if, according to my instance, he would be pleased, as a taste of his affection, to ease them in the heauie Tolles of the Pillawe, w^{ch} diuerted their trade from th^t place, euen like vnto an obstructed riuer, w^{ch} when it is stopped will forsake his former current and seeke another ells where, and here I shewed by sondry experimentall arguments (too long here to relate), that it would be more profitable for this Prince Elector to moderate his Tolles, then to continue them at the hight they now are at ; for that, according to the old Prouerb, what he thereby gayned in the hundred he lost in the shire, &c. They gaue me thankses for my aduise and discourse, and sayd they would Consider thereof wth the Prince their Master, who, the same day I tooke my leaue of him, entered himselfe into Conference wth me vpon the same subject ; desiring me to Communicate further wth another of his Counsell, one Mr. Ouerbecke, whome it seemes he most vseth in this buisnes of the Tolles. And this gentleman Coming vnto me, a little before I parted from the Court, after we had had a good time's Conference together, signified vnto me that the Prince Elector his Master, vpon the inducements I had used, but espetially for testefying of his affection and respects vnto his Ma^{tie} of greate Brittain, had bene moued to moderate his Tolles

vnto all his Ma^{ties} subjects in a farre greater measure then any other Nation ; and therefore had resolved to ease the same vpon all English woollen Commodities (according vnto a proportion and rate he shewed me in writing ; wherein by my Collation of the former w^h the Tolles now sett, I found in most Commodities the one halfe, or a third, and in none lesse then a fourth part abated of what was payd heretofore) : adding further, that his Highnes would be Content that the Eastland Companie settle but a part of their residence at Koningsburgh (for, vpon further information, I shewed that that Towne was no place for their whole staple), and, in such case, would accomodate them further in the point of Tolles, and priuiledges as they themselues in reason should desire : all w^{ch} this gentleman sayd his Highnes desired that I would impart vnto the Eastland Merchants, and vnto his Ma^{tie} also, if I thought fitte : the w^{ch} I promised accordingly, wth returne of dew thanks vnto his Highnes for this, and all other his gratefull and respectfvll expressions towards his Ma^{tie} ; the w^{ch} were indeed as greate as Could be expected.

I departed from Königsberg the first of this moneth ; and when I came to Dansick acquainted those of the Eastland Merchants there wth that had passed touching them ; and what I had obteyned at this Prince's hands in the poynt of their Tolles, who accompted it a good office done them, and prayed by my letters from thence vnto the Elector to render their thanks for his fauors towards them ; w^{ch} I did accordingly : They signified moreouer, how the King of Denmarke had raised his Tolles vpon them in the Sound as they were in the yeare 1618, and gaue me a note showing the differences of that w^{ch} is now there paid vpon Co^modities betweene the English and the Hollanders in this behalfe : the w^{ch} I send yo^r Hon^r herewth.

At Dansicke I vnderstood that the Turke or Grand Signior had lately made a Truce for 20 yeares wth the Emperour, and king of Poland both ; and that the great Duke of Mosco hath resigned vp the gouernment there vnto his Sonne, and betaken himselfe vnto a Cloyster ; and some thinke he will become a Patriarch of that Countrey. This giues great umbrage and jealousie vnto the Crownes of Poland and Sweden both ; for they both doubt it will proue an artificie, wherby the Moscouites may the better breake of his dishonourable peace heretofore made wth them : w^{ch} time will discover.

In my further journey I vnderstood that the Treatie for a Cessation of armes betwixt the Crowne of Sweden and Elector of Brandenburg was newly finished at Stralsond : where all the ordnance on the walls were discharged in Hono^r of the Brandenburg Amb^{rs}, at

their parting from thence. By this agreement, the Elector is to giue a yearly Contribution to the Crowne of Sweden out of his 3 Marquisates of one hundred thousand dollers, and thirtie thousand measures of Corne. But at Grinswald I understood that the Amb^{rs} aforesaid haue yet another treatie wth the Swedes' Legate, yong Oxenstirn, about certaine lands in one of the Marquisates, belonging to the Dutch order (whereof this Elector is Patron) w^{ch} the Swedes haue lately taken from one of this Princes' Cheife Counsell (on whome he had Conferred it) and bestowed vpon Generall Major Stallhaus ; wth some other the like differences, and that the sayd Legate Oxenstirn was forthwith to depart from Strallsondt vnto Stettin to giue meeting there vnto the Brandenborch Amb^{rs} touching this buisnes, and the same I haue vnderstood also since my returne to this place : but I belieue they haue a greater buisnes besides to treat vpon touching the marriage (whereof my former haue made mention), although neither side wilbe knowne thereof.

I arrived here on Monday last, and perceiue the Treaties for the generall peace to hang vpon the same doubtfull termes as before : the Emperour refusing as yet to ratifie the præliminary articles in forme, as they were agreed vpon betwixt the Amb^{rs} of France and Sweden, and his owne Plenipotentiary ; and these Amb^{rs} haueing no orders to proceed to treat vpon other grounds, so what will come therof at length we know not . The Princes of Brunswick and Lunenborch haue made their agreement wth the Emperour ; w^{ch} is lately published openly throughout those Countries. The Imperiall armie vnder Piccolomini lyes yet in the Elector of Saxons' Countrie, w^{ch} is miserably harrassed by them, to the great regret of this Prince : who hath of late vttered his discontent for it in very strange termes vnto Sondry of the Imperialists ; and there is newes come that he will also seeke a neutralitie at the hands of the Crowne of Sweden. Arch Duke Leopold is sayd to haue altered his first resolution of going into the low Countries, and that he wilbe shortly againe wth the armie : in the meane the Swedes armie haue begunne their March into Silesia wth good successe : haueing taken 2 or 3 Townes, wherein were garrisons of the Imperialists, and forced them to range themselues among their troupes : and the last newes from those parts saye that they had beleaguered, Groszlozow, a Towne and Passe of principall importance.

We looke dayly to heare what wilbe Concluded at the Parliament of Denmarke, holden at Copenhagen : w^{ch} will end very shortly ; and then this King is expected in Holstein.

Herwith &c.
[Not signed.]