

Political Communication between Prague, Heidelberg and London at the Time of the Bohemian Revolt

Correspondence and communication networks¹

PAVEL KRÁL

The Defenestration of Prague marked the culmination of a power and religious struggle between the Bohemian and Moravian estates on the one hand and the ruling Habsburg dynasty on the other.² In the next two years, a resolution of the conflict would be sought through military clashes and diplomatic negotiations.³ Meanwhile, however, the conflict of religions spread all across Central Europe.⁴ The subsequent charged period, lasting

¹ This study was written as a part of the grant project of the The Czech Science Foundation No. 19-10493S Political Communication at the Time of the Bohemian Revolt among Prague, Dresden, Heidelberg and Munich. It focuses on the political communication between the Bohemian estates and England in 1618–1620; a parallel study to be published investigates the same issue in relation to the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

² See Václav BŮŽEK, *From a compromise to the rebellion. Religion and political power of the nobility in the first century of the Habsburgs' reign in Bohemia and Moravia*, *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 2004, pp. 31–45; Jaroslav PÁNEK, *The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of the White Mountain*, in: Robert John W. Evans – Trevor V. Thomas (eds.), *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London 1991, pp. 129–148.

³ For a reflection of the Bohemian Revolt in Czech historiography see Anton GINDELY, *Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Abteilung 1. Geschichte des böhmischen Aufstands von 1618 I–III*, Prague 1869–1878; Josef PEKAŘ, *Bílá hora, její příčiny a následky*, Prague 1921; Bohdan CHUDOBA, *Španělé na Bílé hoře. Tři kapitoly z evropských politických dějin*, Prague 1945; František KAVKA, *Bílá hora a české dějiny*, Prague 1962, 2003²; Josef POLIŠENSKÝ, *Der Krieg und die Gesellschaft in Europa 1618–1648*, Prague 1971 (= *Documenta Bohemica Bellum Tricennale illustrantia* 1); Miroslav TOEGEL (Hg.), *Der Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Der Kampf um Böhmen. Quellen zur Geschichte des böhmischen Krieges 1618–1621*, Prague 1972 (= *Documenta Bohemica Bellum Tricennale illustrantia* 2); Josef PETRÁŇ, *Staroměstská exekuce*, Prague 1972¹, 1985², 1996³, 2004⁴. Further scholarship is summed up by Josef JANÁČEK, *České starovoské povstání 1618–1620 (Otázky a problémy)*, *Folia historica bohemia* 8, 1985, pp. 7–41. For English and American historiography see Geoff MORTIMER, *The Origins of the Thirty Years War and the Revolt in Bohemia, 1618*, New York 2015.

⁴ Joachim BAHLCKE, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit. Die Länder der böhmischen Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft 1526–1619*, München 1994; Thomas WINKELBAUER, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter I–II*, Wien 2003 (= *Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699*); Arno STROHMEYER, *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung. Das Widerstandsrecht bei den österreichischen Ständen 1550–1650*, Mainz 2006 (= *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, Band 201*).

until the Battle of the White Mountain on November 8, 1620, can be considered a prelude or the first phase of the Thirty Years' War.⁵

Well before the Revolt, the Bohemian opposition was in contact with Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire, who organized themselves in the Union since 1608,⁶ and with other non-Catholic or anti-Habsburg centres in Europe. From the very beginning it was clear that the Bohemian Revolt would be played out in the international context and the rebels counted on foreign help.⁷

The present study focuses on ways and means of political communication between the Bohemian estates and the Stuart England. When examining the contacts between the rebellious estates and the English court, the role of Frederick V of the Palatinate and his diplomatic network cannot be neglected, since it was him who served as the chief representative and mediator of Bohemian interests in England. Besides searching for main communication channels among the Czech lands, the Palatinate and England, the key goal of this study is to identify who the principal actors of this communication were and what centres they used. Objects of interest will include a reconstruction of

⁵ For the Battle of the White Mountain see Dalibor UHLÍŘ, *Černý den na Bílé hoře, 8. listopad 1620*, Brno 1998; Jan P. KUČERA, *8. 11. 1620. Bílá hora. O potracení starobylé slávy české*, Prague 2003; Josef PETRÁŇ, *Bitva na Bílé hoře podle současného stavu znalostí*, Folia historica bohemia 8, 1985, pp. 109–134; Josef PETRÁŇ – Lydia PETRÁŇOVÁ, *The White Mountain as a Symbol in Modern Czech History*, in: Mikuláš Teich (ed.), *Bohemia in History*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 143–163; Viktor S. MAMATEY, *The Battle of the White Mountain as Myth in Czech History*, East European Quarterly 15, 1981, pp. 335–345; Olivier CHALINE, *Bílá hora*, Prague 2013.; IDEM, *Zpět k Bílé hoře. Francouz na Bílé hoře*, Folia historica bohemia 29, 2014, pp. 463–478. For the Thirty Years' War see Tomáš KNOZ, *1618. České povstání jako evropská krize*, in: Libor Jan (ed.), 8. Osmičky: osudová výročí českých a československých dějin končící na jednu číslici, Prague 2018, pp. 103–131. For the Thirty Years' War in English and American perspective see Adam MARKS, *England, the English and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648*, St Andrews 2012; Peter H. WILSON, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War*, London 2009; Geoffrey PARKER, *The Thirty Years' War*, London-New York 1997; William P. GUTHRIE, *The Later Thirty Years War: From the Battle of Wittstock to the Treaty of Westphalia*, Westport 2003; IDEM, *Battles of the Thirty Years War: From White Mountain to Nordlingen 1618–1635*, Westport-London 2002; Robert BIRELEY, *The Thirty Years' War as Germany's War*, in: Konrad Repgen (ed.), *Krieg und Politik 1618–1648*, München 1998, pp. 85–106; S. H. STEIBERG, *The Thirty Years War and the Conflict for European Hegemony*, New York 1966; Samuel Rawson GARDINER, *The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648*, London 1874. For scholarship written in German see Christoph KAMPFMAN, *Europa und das Reich im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Geschichte eines europäischen Konflikts*, Berlin 2008; Ronald G. ASCH, *Holy Roman Empire The Thirty Years War: the and Europe, 1618–1648*, New York 1997; Johannes BURKHARDT, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, Frankfurt am Main 1992.

⁶ See Albrecht ERNST – Anton SCHINDLING (eds.), *Union und Liga 1608/1609. Konfessionelle Bündnisse im Reich – Weichenstellung zum Religionskrieg?*, Stuttgart 2010.

⁷ Josef MACŮREK, *České povstání r. 1618–1620 a Polsko*, Časopis Matice moravské 61, 1937, pp. 1–48, 152–194, 289–362; Miroslav HROCH – Josef POLIŠENSKÝ, *Švédská politika a české stavovské povstání 1618–1620*, Sborník historický 7, 1960, pp. 157–190; Josef FORBELSKÝ, *Španěl, Říše a Čechy v 16. a 17. století*, Prague 2006.

communication and correspondence networks established by these key stakeholders and the ways they used to achieve their aims.⁸ What will be left out, on the contrary, is propaganda and pamphlet news as a means to communicate political attitudes, since these have been studied in detail by Josef Polišíenský, Jaroslav Miller and Jana Hubková.⁹ Basic sources include the correspondence of diplomatic, political and military representatives of the English court, the Elector Palatine and the Kingdom of Bohemia.¹⁰

From the perspective of the Bohemian Revolt's international context, it was the representative of the Union, Frederick V of the Palatinate, who played the key role. It is all the more surprising that he has been paid more attention by foreign than Czech historiography.¹¹ The Bohemian estates expected military and financial help from the United

⁸ For political communication see Kevin SHARPE, *Crown, Parliament and Locality: Government and Communication in Early Stuart England*, *The English Historical Review* 101, 1986, pp. 321–350; Zdeněk VYBÍRAL, *Politická komunikace aristokratické společnosti českých zemí na počátku novověku*, České Budějovice 2005; Jaroslav MILLER, *Propaganda, symbolika a rituály protestantské Evropy (1580–1650)*, Prague 2012; Zofia KOWALSKA, *Formy komunikacji politycznej na przelomie średniowiecza i nowożytności. Habsburgowie i Jagiellonowie w czasy Maksymiliana I*, in: Krzysztof Ożog – Stanisław Szczur (eds.), *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średniowieczu*, Kraków 2000, pp. 333–343. For a possible concept of the history of diplomacy see Christian WINDLER, *Symbolische Kommunikation und diplomatische Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit. Erträge neuer Forschungen*, in: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger – Tim Neu – Christina Brauner (eds.), *Alles nur symbolisch? Bilanz und Perspektiven der Erforschung symbolischer Kommunikation*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, pp. 161–185.

⁹ See Josef POLIŠIENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, Prague 1949; Jaroslav MILLER, *Falcký mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně Stuartovské Anglii*, Prague 2004; IDEM, *Rex pacificus nebo fidei defensor? Jakub I. tisk pamfletů o českém povstání v Anglii, 1618–1621*, *Český časopis historický* 99, 2001, pp. 760–787; IDEM, *Tištné prameny o českém stavovském povstání z let 1618–1621 v anglických knihovnách*, *Folia historica bohemia* 20, 2003, pp. 133–213; Jana HUBKOVÁ, *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky. Letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619–1632*, Prague 2010.

¹⁰ See National Archives (NA) London, Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign (SP), Holy Roman Empire 80/3; SP, German States 81/15, 81/16, 81/17, 81/19, 81/20, 81/21; State Paper Office: Williamson Collection, Pamphlets, Miscellaneous, SP 9/201. Some documents have been made accessible in book form. See Samuel Rawson GARDINER (ed.), *Letters and other Documents illustrating the Relations between England and Germany at the Commencement of the Thirty Years' War*, London 1865–1868. See also British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Add MS 5950, Add MS 36444–36445.

¹¹ See Brennan C. PURSELL, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years War*, Aldershot 2003; Peter WOLF et al. (eds.), *Der Winterkönig Fridrich V. Der letzte Kurfürst aus der Oberen Pfalz*, Amberg–Heidelberg–Prag–Den Haag–Augsburg 2003; Volker Preuss, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat. Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619*, Stuttgart 1970 (= Kieler Historische Studien 7). In Czech historiography see Jaroslav ČECHURA, *Zimní král aneb české dobrodružství Fridricha Falckého*, Prague 2004; J. HUBKOVÁ, *Fridrich Falcký*; Anton GINDELY, *Friedrich V von Pfalz, der ehemalige Winterkönig von Böhmen seit dem Regensburger Disputationstag vom Jahre 1622 bis zu seinem Tod*, Prague 1885.

Provinces of the Netherlands and England,¹² the latter being the main potential ally first because of family relations between James I and Frederick, second because of the fact that the English King was a Protestant. After all, James I was seen as the authority of the Protestant Europe¹³ and since his daughter Elizabeth married Frederick V of the Palatinate, he was logically perceived as a natural ally of the revolt.¹⁴ These expectations were only strengthened when Frederick decided to accept the Bohemian crown and became the King of Bohemia.¹⁵ After all, Frederick emerged as the winner from among the contenders who included the Elector of Saxony John George I, the Prince of Transylvania Gábor Bethlén or the Duke of Savoy Charles Emmanuel I, not only thanks to his exclusive status in the Empire, his young age and agile reason but because of his close contacts to the English King and Moritz of Orange.¹⁶ It was his wife and daughter of James I, Elizabeth Stuart, who played the essential role in the decision of the Estates.¹⁷ Her opinions can be inferred chiefly from her rich correspondence, which

.....

¹² See Josef POLIŠENSKÝ, *Nizozemská politika a Bílá hora*, Prague 1958; IDEM, *Tragic Triangle – The Netherlands, Spain and Bohemia, 1617–1621*, Prague 1991; IDEM, *Anglie a Bílá hora*; J. MILLER, *Falcký mýtus; Rex pacificus*; IDEM, *Tištěné prameny*; Antonín KOSTLÁN, *Anglické listy s českou tematikou z let 1610–1660 (Sonda do fondů British Library v Londýně)*, in: Anežka Baďurová (ed.), *Sborník k 80. narozeninám Mirjam Bohatcové*, Prague 1999, pp. 171–202. For relation between England and the Palatinate see Magnus RÜDE, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteuropa. Konfession – Dynastie – kulturelle Ausdrucksformen*, Stuttgart 2007; *England und Kurpfalz: Bilder und Dokumente aus der Zeit der Winterkönigin Elisabeth Stuart: Ausstellung im Ottheinrichsbau des Heidelberger Schlosses vom 1. Juni bis 15. Oktober 1963*, Heidelberg 1963; Václav BŮŽEK, *Mezi zdrženlivostí a hledáním kompromisů. Anglie, Falc a Sasko v počátcích českého stavovského povstání*, *Dějiny a současnost* 40, 2018, no. 10, pp. 41–44.

¹³ See W. B. PATTERSON, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Cambridge 1997.

¹⁴ For this see Jaroslav MILLER, *Between Nationalism and European Pan-Protestantism: Palatine Propaganda in Jacobean England and the Holy Roman Empire*, in: Sara Smart – Mara R. Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 61–82; Matthew L. O'BRIEN, „Admirable Service“. *William Trumbull and the Palatine Couple as Icons of the International Calvinist Community*, in: ibidem, pp. 83–112. For the history of the Palatinate generally see Claus-Peter CLASEN, *The Palatinate in European History, 1559–1660*, Oxford 1963.

¹⁵ Joachim BAHLCKE, „Falcko-české království“ (motivy a působení zabráněněpolitické orientace Falce od české královské volby po ulmskou smlouvu 1619–1620), *Časopis Matice moravské* 111, 1992, pp. 227–251.

¹⁶ B. C. PURSELL, *The Winter King*, p. 74.

¹⁷ In English historiography Carola OMAN, *The Winter Queen, Elisabeth of Bohemia*, London 2000³; Jessica GORST-WILLIAMS, *Elisabeth, The Winter Queen*, London 1977; Mary Anne Everett GREEN, *Elisabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia*, London 1909. Czech historiography, too, paid attention to Elizabeth. See Eva MENDELOVÁ-MRÁČKOVÁ, „Alžběta Falcká, „zimní královna česká“, in: Karel Stloukal (ed.), *Královny, kněžny a velké ženy české*, Prague 1940, pp. 273–280. Z novějších popularizačních prací Eduard MAUR, *Zimní královna*, in: Jaroslav Čechura – Milan Hlavačka – Eduard Maur (eds.), *Ženy a milenky českých králů*, Prague 1994, pp. 127–123.

has been edited and published by both foreign and Czech scholars.¹⁸ Other power centres of Central Europe that the Bohemian estates communicated with included namely the courts of Maximilian I of Bavaria,¹⁹ John George I of Saxony,²⁰ John Sigismund I, George William of Brandenburg and George Julius of Brunswick.²¹

Correspondence of the Bohemian Estates and the Court of England

The communication of the rebellious Estates of Bohemia and the English court of James I was usually indirect. From the very outset of the revolt, the Estates resorted to Frederick's diplomatic network. This became all the more frequent when Frederick became the King of Bohemia. Among Frederick's ambassadors, the chief mediators between Prague and Heidelberg were Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg, John Christopher of Solms and

.....

¹⁸ From Czech editions see Bedřich MENDL, *Ze zimního království. Dopisy Friedricha Falckého královny Alžbětě z let 1619–1620*, Prague 1919; IVO BARTEČEK, *Listy Fridricha Falckého královny Alžbětě z let českého stavovského povstání 1619–1620*, Folia historica bohemia 17, 1994, pp. 151–157. See also Margaret LEMBERG, *Eine Königin ohne Reich: Das Leben der Winterkönigin Elisabeth Stuart und ihre Briefe nach Hessen*, Marburg 1996; Johann Christoph VON ARETIN, *Sammlung noch ungedruckter Briefe des Churfürsten Friedrich V. von der Pfalz, nachberigen Königs von Böhmen, von den Jahren 1612–1632*, München 1806 (= Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur vorzüglich aus den Schätzen der pfalzbaierischen Centralbibliothek zu München 7). Most recently a total of 2,000 items from 47 archives across Europe and the USA was edited by Nadine AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia I, 1603–1631*, Oxford–New York 2011; *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia II, 1632–1642*, Oxford–New York 2015. It is worth noting that this edition of 2,200 pages, so important for the Czech context, received no reviews. For more details see L. M. BAKER, *The Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, London 1953; Paul MARCHEGAY (ed.), *Original Letters to the Trémoille Family, Chiefly from Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, London 1863; Patrick WALKER (ed.), *Letters to King James the Sixth from the Queen, Prince Henry, Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth and her husband, Frederick, King of Bohemia, and from their son, Prince Frederick Henry: From the originals in the Library of Advocates*, Edinburgh 1835.

¹⁹ Dieter ALBRECHT, *Die auswärtige Politik Maximilians von Bayern 1618–1635*, Göttingen 1962; IDEM, *Maximilian I. von Bayern, 1573–1651*, München 1998.

²⁰ IVO BARTEČEK, *Saská politika a české stavovské povstání (květen 1618 – srpen 1619)*, Sborník historický 30, 1984, pp. 5–47; IDEM, *Vyhlídky saské kandidatury na český trůn roku 1619*, Folia historica bohemia 8, 1985, pp. 88–101; IDEM, *Informátoři saského dvora z Království českého v letech stavovského povstání 1618–1619*, in: Ivo Bartěček – Zdeněk Šamberger (eds.), *Ad honorem Josef Polišenský 1915–2001*, Olomouc 2007, pp. 63–70; Jaroslava HAUSENBLASOVÁ, *Die diplomatischen Aktivitäten des sächsischen Kurfürsten Christians II. in Prag 1609*, in: Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Jiří Mikulec – M. Thomsen (eds.), *Religion and Politik im frühneuzeitlichen Böhmen. Der Majestätsbrief Rudolfs II. von 1609*, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 63–81; Frank MÜLLER, *Kursachsen und der Böhmisches Aufstand 1618–1622*, Münster 1997.

²¹ Václav BŮŽEK, *Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel am Prager Kaiserhof*, in: Werner Arnold – Brage Bei der Wieden – Ulrike Gleixner (eds.), *Herzog Heinrich Julius zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (1564–1613): Politiker und Gelehrter mit europäischem Profil*, Braunschweig 2016 (= Quellen und Forschungen zur braunschweigischen Landesgeschichte, Band 49), pp. 42–56.

Achatius of Dohna;²² from among the Bohemian estates negotiators mostly included Václav Vilém of Roupov, Jáchym Ondřej Šlik, Petr Milner of Milhauz and his brother Jan.²³ A number of English ambassadors or agents held talks in Prague — William Norreys in August 1619, Francis Nethersole, Richard Weston, Edward Conwey and Henry Wotton in October and November 1620.

The Bohemian estates dispatched letters also directly to the English court. Not being able to speak English, they used the lingua franca of the early seventeenth century, Latin. Clearly aware of the importance of the revolt's international context, they wrote a text called *An Apology*, the purpose of which was to explain to the foreign audience the reasons of their action and its legal framework.²⁴ Its first version was drafted as early as May 27, 1618, and was subsequently translated into German, Latin and Dutch. While the German version was sent to courts of German princes, including Frederick, the Dutch version was targeted at readers in The Hague, and the Latin one at, among others, the English royal court.²⁵

The first report on events in Prague and the defenestration was sent by the Estates of Bohemia to James I as early as June 16, 1618. In the letter, they explained that it was the Jesuits who were responsible for the situation in Bohemia as they prevented the non-Catholics to exercise their right of the freedom of faith, guaranteed by Rudolph II.²⁶ They failed to establish, however, a direct communication channel between them and the English court. An important mediating role in this respect was played by the English ambassador to The Hague, Dudley Carleton.²⁷ Sealed letters and other texts were first

.....
²² For Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg, John Christopher of Solms and Achatius of Dohna see Václav BŮŽEK, *Komunikační síť Kristiána I. z Anhaltu-Bernburgu v Království českém před propuknutím stavovského povstání*, in print.

²³ See J. PETRÁŇ, *Staroměstská exekuce*, pp. 235–243; Ivana ČORNEJOVÁ – Jiří KAŠE – Jiří MIKULEC – Vít VLNAS, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české VIII. 1618–1683*, Prague–Litomyšl 2008, p. 36. Jan Milner of z Milhauz headed the legation which was to announce to Frederick in Rothenburg the result of the election of the King of Bohemia. See J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, p. 61.

²⁴ For more see Václav ŠUBERT, *Apologie druhá stavův Království českého, tělo a krev Pána Ježíše Krista pod obojí způsobou přijímajících, která roku 1618 na ospravedlnění Čechův před Evropou od týchž pánův stavův v českém i německém jazyku tiskem vydaná, nyní opět k poučení a oslavení milého národa našeho na světlo vychází*, Prague 1862; Antonín MARKUS, *Stavovské apologie z roku 1618*, Český časopis historický 17, 1911, pp. 58–74, 200–217, 304–315, 421–435.

²⁵ See I. ČORNEJOVÁ – J. KAŠE – J. MIKULEC – V. VLNAS, *Velké dějiny VIII*, p. 36.

²⁶ See *States of Bohemia to James I*, 16 June 1618, NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 162–163. For more see S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 1–3; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 56.

²⁷ See Maurice Lee (ed.), *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603–1624. Jacobean letters*, New Brunswick 1972; David COAST, *The politics of information in the correspondence of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1616–25*, University of Sheffield 2010 (PhD Thesis); Philip YORKE, Second Earl of HARDWICKE (ed.), *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. during his embassy in Holland, from January 1615/6 to December 1620*, London 1757.

sent to his intelligence headquarters in The Hague and from there forwarded to England, with secret agents of the United Provinces serving as couriers. The second letter of the Bohemian estates to James, dated November 3, 1618, was delivered to The Hague by Captain Herman Frenck, together with the Latin text of the *Apology* and a German anti-Jesuit pamphlet.²⁸ There he gave these to Dudley Carleton, who forwarded them to the English court and to General Estates.²⁹ In their second letter to England, endowed with thirty-six seals, the Bohemian estates tried to defend their position and addressed James as the Protector of the Faith, referred to the teaching of John Huss who they presented as the successor of John Wycliff, blamed the Jesuits and defined their armed resistance as defence.³⁰ Tellingly, both letters were left unanswered by the King. Two more letters were sent by the Bohemian estates on April 12, 1619, and May 12, 1619;³¹ later, after his election to the Bohemian throne, it was exclusively Frederick V of the Palatinate or his diplomats who communicated with James. Besides usual requests for financial support, the Estates did not hesitate to draw attention to the fact that their previous two letters had been left without an answer and voiced worries whether they had been delivered at all. This, too, is a proof that there was no direct communication channel between the Bohemian estates and the English court, i. e. a connection that Frederick had and the one on which the representatives of the Estates had to rely.³²

James I answered just once, on March 20, 1619.³³ He entrusted with the letter James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, who was to embark on his mission to Central Europe, including Prague. The King failed to mention all the previous unanswered letters and stated diplomatically that the willingness of the Estates to reach an agreement with the Emperor was appreciated indeed.³⁴ As James Hay never reached Prague, though, it is unlikely that the letter ended up in the hands of the Bohemian estates.³⁵ It is evident that the efforts of the Bohemian leaders to communicate directly with the King of England had only a limited impact. James usually did not bother to answer the letters at all,

²⁸ For captain Herman Frenck and his diplomatic activities on behalf of the Bohemian estates see J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Tragic Triangle*, pp. 102–103, 114–117, 122–125; IDEM, *Nizozemská politika*, pp. 159–161, 172–173.

²⁹ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 66–67.

³⁰ See *The Estates of Bohemia sub utraque to James I*, 3 November 1618, SP 81/15, fol. 225–226. For more see S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 17–20.

³¹ *States of Bohemia to James I*, 12 April 1619, 12 May 1619, SP 81/16, fol. 28–30, 38–39. For more see S. A. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters II*, p. 61.

³² See J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, p. 79.

³³ See *James I to the Estates of Bohemia*, 20 March 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 21–22. For more see S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 57–58.

³⁴ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 73.

³⁵ IBIDEM, p. 73.

probably with the intention to eschew any direct promise of financial and military aid. For the English King, moreover, the letters sent by the Bohemian estates did not have even an informational value as he was receiving news about events in Bohemia through his own wide diplomatic network and also from the contemporary journalism. The Bohemian estates thus did not have any other option but to rely on the craft and skills of the diplomats and agents of Frederick V and the Dutch General Estates.

“Family” Correspondence of James I, Frederick V of the Palatine and Elizabeth Stuart

The political and religious tension in the Kingdom of Bohemia became the subject of written communication between the Elector Palatine, his wife and Whitehall chiefly after Frederick had become the King of Bohemia. In letters written in Latin, Frederick regularly explained to his English father-in-law his attitudes, shared his opinions and reported on political developments in the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Bohemia, expecting advice, vows of support and financial and military help.³⁶ The answers of King James, however, were much less frequent, reserved and mostly suggested that the King of England serve as an intermediary.³⁷ Elizabeth Stuart, too, was active in writing to her English family for support of the Palatinate candidacy in the Kingdom of Bohemia.³⁸ For the first time she did so immediately on the election of Frederick the King of Bohemia, even earlier than she was asked to do so by the Bohemian estates,³⁹ later, in 1620, she asked for further financial help, which eventually allowed the colonel Andrew Gray to recruit 2,500 musketeers in England.⁴⁰ Elizabeth's letters were directed to various other persons, including military leaders and politicians such as Kristian von Brunswick or Ernst von Mansfeld,⁴¹ who led

.....
³⁶ See *Elector Palatine to James I*, 20 June 1620, 2 July 1618, 10 September 1618, 15 September 1618, 8 October 1618, 19 October 1618, 22 January 1619, 5 February 1619, 25 March 1619, 1 July 1619, 1 August 1619, 26 January 1620, 5 August 1620, 28 August 1620, 15 December 1620, NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 166–169, 199–202, 205–206, 217–218, 221–222, 254–256; SP 81/16, fol. 6–9, 17–18, 47–50, 334; SP 81/17, fol. 192, 262; SP 81/19, fol. 254.

³⁷ See *James I to Elector Palatine*, 4 July 1619, 15 October 1619, 13 January 1620, 14 June 1620, 29 June 1620, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 102, 265–266; SP 81/17, fol. 1–2, 69–70, 90–92.

³⁸ See *Princess Palatine/Queen of Bohemia to James I*, 23 March 1619, 27 January 1620, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 15–16; SP 81/17, fol. 4–5.

³⁹ See N. AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart I*, p. 23 and letters 149, 151, 156, 160 and 161.

⁴⁰ *IBIDEM*, p. 29 and letters 186 a 187. See also Josef POLIŠENSKÝ, *A Note on Scottish Soldiers in the Bohemian War 1619–1622*, in: Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years War*, Leiden 2001, pp. 109–116.

⁴¹ Walter KRÜSSMANN, *Ernst von Mansfeld (1580–1626). Grafensohn, Söldnerführer, Kriegsunternehmer gegen Habsburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, Berlin 2010.

armies fighting for the Queen.⁴² Among diplomats, with whom Elizabeth maintained contact, an important role was played by Thomas Roe, the ambassador to Istanbul. Later he would provide Elizabeth with news from India, Denmark, Poland, Hamburg and Vienna.⁴³ As far as actors of the Bohemian Revolt are concerned, what survived is the correspondence of Frederick and Elizabeth to Jindřich Matyáš Thurn.⁴⁴ The correspondence between James I and Frederick is characterised by predominantly general diplomatic dimension and only occasionally switches into a familial tone.⁴⁵ Political and diplomatic decisions were taken mostly during offstage negotiations among politicians, diplomats, ambassadors and agents, situated in Prague, Heidelberg, The Hague and London.

To learn about the arguments of other parties in the Central European conflict, however, we must take into account their correspondence with James I and other members of the his royal court. The collection of Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, National Archives London, contains the correspondence of Ferdinand II of Styria, Archduke Albert, John Albert I, Duke of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg Margraves John Sigismund I, George William I and Joachim Ernst, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, representatives of the Union, Antonin Günther of Oldenburg, Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, George Friedrich, Margrave of Baden-Durlach, Maximilian I of Bavaria, the Mainz archbishop Johann Schweikhard of Kronberg, the Trier archbishop Lothar of Metternich or the Unionist municipal councils in Nürnberg, Ulm and Strasbourg.⁴⁶

.....
⁴² See N. AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart I*, p. 4.

⁴³ *IBIDEM*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Joseph FIEDLER (ed.), *Correspondenz des Pfalzgrafen Friedrich V und seiner Gemahlin Elisabeth mit Heinrich Mathias von Thurn*, Wien 1864. Thurn did not destroy the letters and they were later, in 1637, sent to Ferdinand III as a curiosity See N. AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart I*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 98.

⁴⁶ See *John Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, to James I*, 20 April 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 34; *Marquis of Baden to James I*, 14 April 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 40; *Princes of Union to James I*, 17 April 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 47–50; *Max., Duke of Bavaria, to James I*, 2 July 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 79–80; *Ferdinand, King of Hungary, etc., to James I*, 17 July 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 103–104; *Count of Oldenburg to James I*, 29 July 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 127; *Maurice, Langrave of Hesse, to James I*, 13 August 1619, *IBIDEM*, fol. 148; *James I to Archduke Albert*, 26 June 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 85; *James I to Archbishop Mainz*, 26 June 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 88; *James I to Archbishop Treves*, 26 June 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 89; *James I to Ulm*, September 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 100–101; *James I to Strasburg*, September 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 102; *Nuremberg to James I*, 5. September 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 329–330; *James I to George Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg*, 27 December 1620, NA London, SP 81/19, fol. 271–272; *Joachim Ernest, Marquis of Brandenburg, to James I*, 18 December 1620, 30 December 1620, *IBIDEM*, fol. 260–261, 276–277.

Palatinate Diplomatic Network in the Political Communication with England — Ministers, Ambassadors and Agents

Frederick's foreign policy was discussed mainly in the Palatine Council (*Oberrat*). In between 1614 and 1618 the political activity of the council weakened. This was related to the fact that Frederick, in line with his education, took control over the foreign policy.⁴⁷ The most important members of the council included the Grand Chamberlain John Albert of Solms,⁴⁸ the Chancellor John Christopher of Grün and the leading advisor on foreign affairs Volrad of Plessen.⁴⁹ Decisive roles in the foreign policy of the Heidelberg court were taken up by the Governor of the Upper Palatine, Prince Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg and Ludwig Camerarius.⁵⁰ Namely Volrad of Plessen and brothers Christopher and Achatius of Dohna, besides occasional letters sent by Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg to James I⁵¹ and by the Grand Chamberlain John Albert of Solms to secretaries of state,⁵² were in contact with the court and diplomats of James I.

Volrad of Plessen (1560–1631) was Frederick's leading advisor on foreign affairs and a member of the Palatine Council.⁵³ He served as the Palatinate agent to France and presented the plans of Frederick V to replace the Habsburgs on the Imperial throne. In 1617, he tried to win the French ambassadors in Düsseldorf for the support of the bid by Maximilian I of Bavaria, Frederick's cousin, for the Imperial throne,⁵⁴ in August 1619 he represented Frederick at the Imperial Election in Frankfurt am Main,⁵⁵ in December 1619 he negotiated with Maximilian in Munich about neutrality in the war against

⁴⁷ V. PRESS, *Calvinismus*, pp. 486–489; B. C. PURSELL, *The Winter King*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ For diplomatic activities of the Count of Solms in Bohemia see A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání I*, pp. 292–296.

⁴⁹ Other members of the council included Count John VII of Nassau, Dietrich of Schönberg, George Frederick Pastoir, John Fridrich Schloer, Karl and Andreas Pawel, Achatius and Christopher of Dohna, Joachim Rusdorf and the court preacher Abraham Scultetus. See B. C. PURSELL, *The Winter King*, p. 20.

⁵⁰ See Václav BŮŽEK, *Komunikační síť Kristiána I. z Anhaltu-Bernburgu v Království českém před propuknutím českého stavovského povstání*, in print.

⁵¹ See *Christian, prince of Anhalt, to James I*, 27 January 1620, 22 August 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 308.

⁵² See *Albert, Count of Solms, to Lake*, 9 January 1618, 17 April 1618, NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 69–70, 127–128.

⁵³ See Mattias ASCHE, *Volrad von Plessen: ein Konvertit zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und Diplomatie*, in: Christian von Plessen (ed.), Maueranker und Stier I, Schwerin 2015, pp. 329–336; Helge BEI DER WIEDEN, *Volrad von Plessen*, in: Sabine Pettke (ed.), *Biographisches Lexikon für Mecklenburg III*, Lübeck 2001, pp. 186–189; Max NAUMANN, *Die Plessen. Stammfolge vom XIII. bis XX. Jahrhundert*, Limburg an der Lahn 1971; B. C. PURSELL, *The Winter King*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ B. C. PURSELL, *The Winter King*, p. 69

⁵⁵ *IBIDEM*, p. 88.

the Kingdom of Bohemia,⁵⁶ later he accompanied Frederick to Bohemia and he and Christopher of Dohna served as his diplomatic secretaries, who were to negotiate, in October 1620, with the expected English envoys Richard Weston and Edward Conway.⁵⁷ Even before, in August, he negotiated with Gabriel Bethlén at the Hungarian Land Diet in Besztercebánya about the financial and military help to Frederick.⁵⁸

Volrad of Plessen was deeply engaged in negotiations with the English court. In April 1619 he was sent to England to offer condolences for the death of the Queen Anne and negotiate an agreement on mutual help between the Union and James I in case of attack. He remained in England until May 24, 1619.⁵⁹ He maintained lively correspondence with representatives of the diplomatic network of James I and served for them as one of the chief informers on events in Central Europe. His varied communication network included English state secretaries, namely Ralph Winwood, in office 1614–1617,⁶⁰ whom he informed in regular letters, prior to the outbreak of the Bohemian Revolt, about developments at the Heidelberg court. He also frequently corresponded with English ambassadors in The Hague, Dudley Carleton, and in Brussels, William Trumbull,⁶¹ or with the English agent at the Heidelberg court and secretary to Queen Elizabeth Stuart, Francis Nethersole. It was to him that he regularly and frequently supplied information, namely in October 1620.⁶²

Christopher of Dohna was a member of the noble family of Burgraves of Dohna⁶³ and a member of Frederick's Palatine Council. As early as June and July 1618, Christopher held talks at the Elector court in Dresden, trying to find ways to negotiate peace between the Emperor and the rebellious estates.⁶⁴ In October 1618 he set

.....

⁵⁶ IBIDEM, p. 104–105.

⁵⁷ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 163.

⁵⁸ A. GINDELÝ, *Dějiny českého povstání III*, p. 124–125.

⁵⁹ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 79.

⁶⁰ See *De Plessen to Winwood*, 29 January 1617, 1 May 1617, 4 July 1617, 20 August 1617 NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 15–16, 36–37, 42–43, 48–49.

⁶¹ See *De Plessen to Carleton*, 29 April 1618, 12 April 1619, NA London, SP 84/83/90, fol. 218–219; SP 81/16, fol. 27–28; *De Plessen to Trumbull*, NA London, SP 77/13, fol. 390–391.

⁶² See *De Plessen to Nethersole*, 16 September 1620, 8 October 1620, 12 October 1620, 15 October 1620, 19 October 1620, 20 October 1620, NA London, SP 81/18, fol. 47, 165–167; SP 81/19, fol. 19–20, 32–34, 63–64, 67.

⁶³ Volker PRESS, *Das Haus Dohna in der europäischen Adelsgesellschaften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Andreas Mehl – Wolfgang Christian Schneider (eds.), *Reformation et Reformationes. Festschrift für Lothar Graf zu Dohna zum 75. Geburtstag*, Darmstadt 1989, pp. 371–402; Lothar Graf zu DOHNA, *Die Dohnas und ihre Häuser. Profil einer europäischen Adelsfamilie I-II*, Göttingen 2013.

⁶⁴ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 61.

out for Turin where he talked to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, about foreign financial help to the rebellious estates, which was to include financial obligations for England.⁶⁵

After the meeting of the representatives of the Union in Crailsheim, Christopher of Dohna was sent to England and the Netherlands. He was instructed to persuade James to renew the defence association with the Union, negotiate the support for the creation of Union's defence army, ask James for a financial loan and obtain his opinion on what Frederick should do if the Bohemian crown were offered to him. Christopher of Dohna reached London at the turn of 1618 and 1619 and was soon accepted by the King, who he managed to persuade to renew a defence agreement with the Union but failed, on the other hand, to obtain his approval concerning the acceptance of the Bohemian Crown for Frederick, were this offered to him by the Bohemian estates.⁶⁶ Later, Christopher of Dohna was invited for a second audience. He met with members of the Privy Council headed by George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, later with the Queen Anne in London. He left England on February 13, 1619.⁶⁷

His second stay in England came at the time when Ferdinand II of Styria was elected the Emperor in Frankfurt and Frederick the King of Bohemia in Prague.⁶⁸ He reached the English capital in early September 1619 but soon had to travel to Bagshot, where James spent the summer. It was here that he was given an audience on September 13 and he announced to James that Frederick had been elected the King of Bohemia. He then travelled with the court to Windsor. An important part of his mission consisted of writing memos which were to serve as materials for negotiations of the Privy Council. The memo *Why the Bohemian Estates Rejected Ferdinand*⁶⁹ was submitted to James at the second audience. The council then held talks on the Bohemian Revolt on September 20 in London and State Secretary Richard Naunton submitted for negotiation a collection of letters between James I and Frederick and two memos — *A Consideration of Bohemian Offer to Palatine* and *On the Election of the King of Bohemia*.⁷⁰ Two days later another meeting of the Privy Council was held, at which Christopher of Dohna presented the King with a letter in German, the authenticity of which, however, is contested by

.....
⁶⁵ See A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání I*, pp. 372–373.

⁶⁶ For the first mission of Christopher of Dohna see F. KAVKA, *Bílá hora a české dějiny*, p. 164; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 68; A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání I*, pp. 383–384.

⁶⁷ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 69. See his letter to Francis Windebank of 14 June 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 51.

⁶⁸ See A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, pp. 178–182.

⁶⁹ See *Why Estates of Bohemia rejected Ferdinand*, 7 September 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 24–226; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 95.

⁷⁰ See *A Consideration of Bohemian offer to Palatine*, NA Londýn, SP 81/16, fol. 306–309; *On election of a king of Bohemia*, September 1619, IBIDEM. fol. 251–254; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 95.

historians.⁷¹ The letter announced Frederick's decision to accept the Crown of Bohemia and made James I to withhold any talks about the Bohemian question at the Privy Council and to refuse any responsibility for Frederick's independent decision.⁷²

Achatius of Dohna, brother of Christopher of Dohna. Instructed by Ludwig Camearius he held several talks with the representatives of the government (*Direktorium*) in Prague, namely Václav Vilém of Roupov and Jáchym Ondřej Šlik, about the support for the Frederick's candidacy to the Bohemian throne,⁷³ for the first time as early as November 1618, then in April and August 1619, when he discussed the issue of the Imperial Election in Frankfurt and the election of the King of Bohemia in Prague.⁷⁴

January 1620 saw the beginning of Achatius's mission to the royal court of England, which lasted until the early 1621. At this time Achatius of Dohna can be considered to be the official ambassador of Frederick V to the English court. His work consisted in informing James I and state secretaries about the situation in the Kingdom of Bohemia and in the Palatinate. He was granted several audiences at the very beginning of his stay and at these he defended the position of Frederick.⁷⁵ The first of these audiences took part on January 16, when he submitted to the King new documents proving the legality of Frederick's election as the new King of Bohemia. James I, who was supplied with legal arguments from the Spanish, however, deemed those as not sufficient. Therefore Achatius was requested to write another memo for the King. James I gave him copies of documents from the Emperor's ambassadors and the Spanish solicitors, including the *Informatio fundamentalis*, and asked him to respond to these. He obliged and submitted his reasoning, which was based mainly on the Golden Bull of Charles IV, at the next audience, held on February 1 in Newmarket, where he was accompanied by James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster. However, at the very next audience he was asked to explain whether the Bohemian estates had the right to dethrone Ferdinand. Achatius of Dohna obliged again, provided a legal reasoning and presented it to James I on March 1. It was at this time that the Palatinate ambassador negotiated a loan of 100,000 pounds in the City,⁷⁶ made steps to recruit an army for the potential defence of the Palatinate and tried, through John Packer, to persuade George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to make James I approach the archduke Albert over the security of the Palatinate. In the

⁷¹ See for instance F. KAVKA, *Bílá hora a české dějiny*, p. 213.

⁷² See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 94–99.

⁷³ See I. ČORNEJOVÁ – J. KAŠE – J. MIKULEC – V. VLNAS, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české VIII*, p. 42; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 65.

⁷⁴ See J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 52, 56.

⁷⁵ See *Achatius baron Dona, discourse with the King at Windsor*, NA London, SP 81/18, fol. 98–101.

⁷⁶ For this collection which generated just 12,000 to 13,000 pounds, for the collection among the English clergy and Dohna's request among the English aristocrats see J. MILLER, *Falcký mýtus*, p. 142. See also A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, pp. 46–48.

subsequent months he followed the travelling court of James I and spoke to the King on occasional audiences, such as that in Salisbury, or approached him in letters sent to State Secretary George Calvert. His mission ended in January 1621, when he set forth to the King a memo which stated that James I had promised more than he actually delivered. Consequently he was ordered to abstain from the court.⁷⁷

During his stay in England Achatius of Dohna was in frequent correspondence with State Secretary George Calvert and wrote to him a total of six letters between August 16 and 30, 1620.⁷⁸ He responded to these on August 18, 1620.⁷⁹ He maintained written contact with the agent of the English court in Heidelberg, Francis Nethersole,⁸⁰ and among other representatives of the English diplomatic network, the addressees of his letters included James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, the head of the diplomatic mission to Central Europe in mid-1620.⁸¹ In England he maintained written contact with John Packer, Clerk of the Privy Seal,⁸² Thomas Cecil, Duke of Exeter⁸³ or Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports Edward la Zouche, baron of Harrington.⁸⁴

Daniel Buwinckhausen von Wallmerode was a counsel to the Württemberg duke John Frederick I and a diplomat of Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Union, who maintained good contacts with English politicians and was well acquainted with the background of the English court.⁸⁵ It was for this reason that he was sent to England in February 1620 to support negotiations of Achatius of Dohna and to put additional emphasis on the defence of the Palatinate. In March 1620 he was granted three audiences with the King, with talks usually led by State Secretaries Richard Naunton and George Calvert. Although James I had originally claimed, in a letter to Buwinckhausen,

⁷⁷ For the English mission of Achatius of Dohna see J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 112–113, 117, 132, 147–149, 153, 168, 183; J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 87–88.

⁷⁸ See *Baron Achatius, Baron de de Dona to Calvert*, 16 August 1620, 17 August 1620, 19 August 1620, 20 August 1620, 27 August 1620, 29 August 1620, 30 August 1620, 18 September 1620, 22 September 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 251–252, 257–259, 288–291, 298–299, 331–332, 350–352; SP 81/18, fol. 106–107, 134–136

⁷⁹ See *Calvert to Dona*, 18 August 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 263–264.

⁸⁰ See *Baron A. de Dona to Netbersole*, 17 July 1620, 29 December 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 120–121; SP 81/19, fol. 273–274.

⁸¹ See *Achatius, baron de Dona, to Doncaster*, 12 February 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 9–10.

⁸² See *Achatius, baron de Dona, to Mr. Packer*, 29 May 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 47. For John Packer (1570–1549) see Gordon GOODWIN, *Packer, John*, in: *Dictionary of National Biography* XLIII, 1895, pp. 31–32.

⁸³ See *Achatius, baron de Dona, to Lord Lieutenant of Nothans*, 31 May 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 52–53.

⁸⁴ See *Achatius, Baron de Dona, to Lord Zouche/Achatius, baron de Dona, to Barons of Cinque Ports*, 4 September 1620, 14 September 1620, NA London, SP 81/18, fol. 25–26, 78–79.

⁸⁵ His previous missions in London mentioned by A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, pp. 41–42.

that there was no danger for the Palatinate, when his argument was indignantly refused by the agent, he promised to defend the Palatinate, were it subjected to an attack.⁸⁶ As an ambassador of the Union he was in frequent contact with the representatives of United Provinces of the Netherlands.⁸⁷ On his departure from England he stopped in The Hague, where, among other things, he held talks with the English ambassador Dudley Carleton about the possibility to isolate matters of the Union from those of the Kingdom of Bohemia.⁸⁸

English Diplomatic Network in Political Communication with the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Palatinate – Ambassadors, Agents, Soldiers and Travellers⁸⁹

English interests in Europe were mostly represented by ordinary ambassadors, but often ambassadors extraordinary were sent on missions, endowed with a special task. If no ambassador was present at the given place, the mission was led by a resident.⁹⁰ In 1618, when the Bohemian Revolt broke out, the network of English ambassadors was far from complete. There was, for instance, no ordinary ambassador in France and affairs were dealt with by exceptional envoys – in 1619 it was Edward Herbert, who, eventually, stayed until 1623. In Turin, England was represented by Isaac Wake, who replaced Dudley Carlton, as the latter became the ambassador to the court of Moritz of Orange in The Hague in 1616. It was here that he built his intelligence headquarters important for the political communication of the Bohemian estates. In Venice, English interests were represented by Henry Wotton, in Brussels by William Trumbull, who had a very good knowledge of conditions in Heidelberg. Last but not least, James I had diplomatic representation in Istanbul, where his interests were defended by Thomas Roe.⁹¹ Mostly, these were Protestants who often stood on Frederick's side in the conflict.⁹²

The diplomatic representation of England in Central Europe was rather weak at the outset of the Thirty Years' War. The last agent in Prague was Stephen Lesiuer in

.....
⁸⁶ See *Burwinckhausen to James I*, 14 March 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 20–21; *Points of Burwinckhausen's Letter of the 20th with King's Answer*, *IBIDEM*, fol. 25–26. In detail see J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 114–118.

⁸⁷ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Tragic Triangle*, pp. 96, 98, 107, 127

⁸⁸ *IBIDEM*, pp. 163–164.

⁸⁹ For English diplomatic missions see Gary M. BELL, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688*, London 1990. See also Jiří KUBEŠ et al., *V zastoupení císaře. Česká a moravská aristokracie v habsburské diplomacii 1640–1740*, Praha 2018.

⁹⁰ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 33.

⁹¹ Michael STRACHAN, *Sir Thomas Roe, 1581–1644: A Life*, Salisbury 1989; E. A. BELLER, *The Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to the Conference of Hamburg 1638–40*, *English Historical Review* 41, 1926, pp. 61–77.

⁹² J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 34–35.

1603–1604, 1610–1611 and 1614,⁹³ and in 1618 England had no ordinary ambassador to the court in Vienna. The interests of the Austrian Habsburgs were represented in London by Diego Sarmiento, Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to the English King, whose diplomatic efforts significantly influenced the eventual stance of James I on the development in the Kingdom of Bohemia.⁹⁴

Albertus Morton was the English resident at Frederick's court in Heidelberg. An indispensable role in the English diplomatic representation in the Palatinate was fulfilled by the personal secretaries of Elizabeth Stuart, who were present at the courts in Heidelberg and Prague, where they were certain to meet the chief political councillors of Frederick V of the Palatinate, Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg and Ludwig Camerarius.⁹⁵

Reports were then sent to the royal court of England.⁹⁶ Only rarely were these addressed to the King, Prince Charles or their favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.⁹⁷ Much more often the ambassadors addressed their reports and insights to two Secretaries of State. Their agenda, which included both home and foreign affairs, was far from specialized in the early seventeenth century. The so-called Secretary of State for the Northern Department took care of relations with the Protestant Europe while the Southern Department was responsible for the Catholic and Muslim states of the continent.⁹⁸ At the time of the Bohemian Revolt, three persons occupied the secretary

⁹³ See Otakar ODLOŽILÍK, *Cesty z Čech a Moravy do Velké Británie v letech 1563–1620*, Časopis Matice moravské 41, 1935, pp. 68–70.

⁹⁴ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 49–51. For more details see Brennan C. PURSELL, *James I, Gondomar and the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621*, History 85, 2000, pp. 428–445. For Spanish diplomats on the Imperial Court see Pavel MAREK, *La embajada española en la corte imperial (1558–1641). Figuras de los embajadores y estrategias clientelares*, Prague 2013.

⁹⁵ See Volker PRESS, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat. Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619*, Stuttgart 1970 (= Kieler Historische Studien 7); Hans Georg UFLACKER, *Christian I. von Anhalt und Peter Wok von Rosenberg. Eine Untersuchung zur Vorgeschichte des pfälzischen Königtums in Böhmen*, München 1926; Václav BŮŽEK, *Komunikační síť Kristiána I. z Anhaltu-Bernburgu v Království českém před propuknutím českého stavovského povstání*, in print; Roland GEHRKE, *Politische Allianz und religiöse Gruppenbildung am Vorabend des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Die gescheiterte Diplomatie Christians I. von Anhalt-Bernburg*, in: Joachim Bahlcke – Albrecht Ernst (eds.), *Schlesien und der deutsche Südwesten um 1600. Späthumanismus – reformierte Konfessionalisierung – politische Formierung*, Heidelberg 2012 (= Pforzheimer Gespräche zur Sozial-, Wirtschafts- und Stadtgeschichte 5), pp. 221–239, 241–259; Friedrich Hermann SCHUBERT, *Ludwig Camerarius (1573–1651). Eine Biographie. Die Pfälzische Exilregierung im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Protestantismus*, Münster 2013².

⁹⁶ See G. P. V. AKRIGG, *Jacobean Pageant: The Court of King James I*, New York 1978.

⁹⁷ See Roger LOCKYER, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628*, New York 1981.

⁹⁸ See Joseph Robson TANNER, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, A. D. 1603–1625 with an historical commentary*, Cambridge 1961, pp.110–127; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 29.

positions: in 1618–1623 Robert Naunton was Secretary for the Northern Department,⁹⁹ while Thomas Lake (1616–1619), later replaced by George Calvert (1619–1625), served as Secretary for the Southern Department. With no clearly delineated responsibilities, there was rivalry between the two secretaries, therefore ambassadors and agents often sent in their reports in multiple copies.¹⁰⁰ It was on the basis of these reports that secretaries then prepared materials for the meetings of the Privy Council, which were read also by the King.¹⁰¹

These residents, secretaries and special envoys, however, maintained relations with other persons at the English court and across Europe. The development of their diplomatic missions and their correspondence show the way the communication network among London, Heidelberg and Prague worked during the Bohemian Revolt. Among residents and agents, namely Albertus Morton and Thomas Nethersole deserve attention. Originally, they served as secretaries to Elizabeth Stuart but gradually they were promoted into regular representatives of James I in Heidelberg and later in Prague. In 1618–1620 the King of England sent two major envoys to Bohemia. The first mission, taken in the second half of 1619, was headed by James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, the second, undertaken a year later, was led jointly by Richard Weston and Edward Conway. In spring 1619, Heidelberg was visited by the Turin ambassador Isaak Wake,¹⁰² and the journey to courts in Heidelberg, Vienna and Prague was undertaken, on the eve of the Battle of the White Mountain, also by the Venice ambassador Henry Wotton.¹⁰³ In June 1620, Prague was visited by the English agent in Nürnberg, John Carpenter, to assess the situation.¹⁰⁴ He then reported, from Nürnberg, on the developments in the Kingdom of Bohemia to State Secretary George Calvert.¹⁰⁵ The commanders of military units recruited in Britain for the support of the Bohemian Revolt can too be considered a part of the English diplomatic network. Namely Andrew

.....
⁹⁹ See Roy E. SCHREIBER, *The Political Career of Sir Robert Naunton, 1589–1635*, London 1981.

¹⁰⁰ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 29.

¹⁰¹ On the Privy Council see J. R. TANNER, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 128–139; Edward Raymond TURNER, *The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, 1603–1784*, Baltimore 1927, mainly pp. 67–105, 134–172; J. V. LYLE (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume XXXVII, 1619–1621*, London 1930.

¹⁰² J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 81.

¹⁰³ See J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 93–94.

¹⁰⁴ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁵ See *Carpenter to Secretary of State from Nuremberg*, 28 April 1620, 6 May 1620, 12 May, 19 May, 7 June, 21 June 1620, 11 August 1620, 6 October 1620, 4 November 1620, 10 November 1618, 17 November 1620, 7 December 1620, 15 December 1620, NA London, SP 80/3, fol. 179–192, 202, 221–223, 240–245, 248–250, 258–265.

Gray,¹⁰⁶ John Seton¹⁰⁷ and Horace Vere¹⁰⁸ deserve attention. The communication network was complemented by traveller John Taylor, who came to Prague in autumn.¹⁰⁹

Albertus Morton (1584–1625),¹¹⁰ the nephew of Henry Wotton, who served as the ambassador of the English King to Venice since 1604. Morton accompanied Wotton to Venice as a secretary. In 1613, he was appointed the agent in Savoy and, since April 1616, he was a member of Elizabeth's court in Heidelberg as her secretary only to become the resident of James I to the Heidelberg court and the Union later.¹¹¹ In 1620, he helped to gather financial support for Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Union. He served as Elizabeth's secretary until 1623, and then, thanks to the support of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, he became gradually the ambassador to France, State Secretary and a member of the Parliament. Albert Morton's letters were sent to the English court to State Secretaries Thomas Lake and Robert Nauton,¹¹² and his correspondence network included the English ambassador to The Hague Dudley Carleton.¹¹³

Thomas Nethersole (1587–1659)¹¹⁴ served at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1605 to 1619. It was in the latter year that he became the secretary to James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, a special envoy of the English court to Frederick's Heidelberg court, where his mission was to negotiate settlement between the Catholics and the Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire. Nethersole soon became a supporter of Frederick and his wife Elizabeth Stuart. On his return to England he was knighted and appointed the agent of James I to princes of the Union and the Private Secretary to Elizabeth Stuart, thus replacing Albert Morton. In summer 1620, he left for the court of the newly elected

.....
¹⁰⁶ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 140–141; *A Note on Scottish Soldiers*, pp. 111–112.

¹⁰⁷ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *A Note on Scottish Soldiers*, pp. 112–114.

¹⁰⁸ See Thomas SECCOMBE, *Vere, Sir Horace, baron Vere of Tilbury*, in: *Dictionary of the National Biography* LVII, London 1899, pp. 235–239. For more details see J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 132–134, 138, with a name list of commanders of Vere's troops.

¹⁰⁹ See Hana FERENCOVÁ, *Čechy a Morava očima anglických cestovatelů 1570–1800*, Olomouc 2018, pp. 52–53; Alois BEJBLÍK (ed.), *Fynes Moryson – John Taylor, Cesta do Čech*, Prague 1977.

¹¹⁰ See William Arthur Jobson ARCHBOLD, *Morton, Sir Albertus*, in: *Dictionary of National Biography* X, London 1894, p. 148.

¹¹¹ For this see *Memoir given by Elector Palatine to Mr. Morton*, NA Londýn, SP 81/15, fol. 40–41. For this see also *Warrant to payments to Sir A. Morton, agent to the Union*, 30 October 1617, *IBIDEM*, fol. 50–51.

¹¹² See *Sir Thomas Morton to Sir Thomas Lake*, 8 December 1617, 3 January 1618, 8 January 1618, 30 January 1618, 6 February 1620, 28 April 1618, 6 May 1618, 28 May 1618, 6 June 1618, NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 56–57, 62–63, 67–68, 79–80, 89–90, 133–136, 141–142, 149–150.

¹¹³ See *Morton to Carleton*, 28 January 1618, 3 April 1618, 28 April 1618, NA London, SP 81/15, fol. 71–72, 121–122, 137–138, 174–175.

¹¹⁴ See Sidney LEE, *Nethersole, Sir Francis*, in: *Dictionary of National Biography* XL, London 1894, pp. 229–231.

King of Bohemia to Prague, where he fulfilled the role of the chief English agent.¹¹⁵ From Prague he regularly informed James's court about Frederick's chances in the conflict, foretelling, as early as August 1620, the Winter King's defeat.¹¹⁶ In mid-September Frederick ordered him to take Elizabeth away from Prague, but she refused.¹¹⁷ He experienced their flight from Prague and went into exile with the royal couple. In May 1621 Frederick sent Francis Nethersole back to England on an abortive mission to negotiate for the financial support for the defence of the Palatinate. After the defeat at Heidelberg he returned to England, where the Duke of Buckingham dismissed him as the agent of the English court to the Protestant princes but he still retained the position of Queen Elizabeth's secretary. Although he stayed in England, he served in this position for the next twelve years. Nethersole's letters sent to the English court were addresses mainly to Secretaries of State Robert Naunton¹¹⁸ and George Calvert,¹¹⁹ or George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.¹²⁰

His vast correspondence network included English diplomats Edward Conway and Richard Weston, James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, Doncaster's secretary John Woodward, councillors of Frederick V of the Palatinate, Christopher and Achatius of Dohna, Francis II, Duke of Lorraine, English ambassador to Spain Walter Aston, condottiere, mathematician and Venetian agent in Prague Alphonso Antonini or the Chancellor of the Danish King Kristian IV.¹²¹

.....
¹¹⁵ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 145–146.

¹¹⁶ See S. LEE, *Nethersole*, p. 230; J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 92–93.

¹¹⁷ See N. AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart I*, p. 31 and letter 198.

¹¹⁸ See *Nethersole to Secretary of State/Naunton*, 13 July 1620, 28 July 1620, 11 August 1620, 1 September 1620, 8 September 1620, 13 September 1620, 15 September 1620, 18 September 1620, 22 September 1620, 23 September 1620, 24 September 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 124–132, 159–166, 213–214; SP 81/18, fol. 3–15, 54–65, 72, 83–95, 108–109, 117–133, 137–138, 139–146.

¹¹⁹ See *Nethersole to Calvert*, 11 August 1620, 21 August 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 215–216, 219–220.

¹²⁰ See *Nethersole to Buckingham*, 11 August 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 221–224.

¹²¹ See *Nethersole to Conway and Weston*, 5 September 1620, 25 September 1620, NA London, SP 81/18, fol. 42–43, 153–155; *Nethersole to Doncaster*, 5 September 1620, 22 September 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/18, fol. 44, 116; *John Woodward to Nethersole*, 13 September 1620, 22 September 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/18, fol. 74, 114–115; *Sir Henry Wotton to Conway, Weston and Nethersole*, 7 September 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/18, fol. 50–51; *Christopher, baron Dona, to Nethersole*, 14 October 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/19, fol. 27; *Baron A. de Dona to Nethersole*, 17 July 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/17, fol. 120–121; *Nethersole to Count Vaudemont*, 13 September 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/18, fol. 16–18; *Alfonso Antonini to Nethersole*, 20 June 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/17, fol. 64; *Nethersole to Chancellor of Denmark*, 20 October 1620, IBIDEM, SP 81/19, fol. 68. See also *The register of the Dispatches, etc. Of Sir Francis Nethersole, agent from King James I to the King of Bohemia*, British Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Add MS 5950; *Aston Papers, Correspondence of Sir Walter Aston, 1619–1621 I-II*, IBIDEM, Add MS 36444–36445.

James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster († 1636),¹²² was a member of the court of James I. In February 1619, he was appointed the head of James I's mission to the Palatinate court in Heidelberg and then to the Emperor Mathias, who, however, died in between.¹²³ He embarked on his journey on May 12, and his first stop was in Brussels, where, at two audiences, he talked to Archduke Albert and his wife about the possibilities to mediate peace, provided James helped Ferdinand back onto the Bohemian throne.¹²⁴ On June 20, he reached the court of Frederick V of the Palatinate in Heidelberg, where he immediately established friendly contact with the Elector and his wife Elizabeth. He also managed to recommend Thomas Nethersole for Elizabeth's secretary.¹²⁵ In his letters he urged James to support Frederick against the Habsburgs, although the original task of his mission was different. In the course of his journey to the Imperial Election in Frankfurt am Main he met Ferdinand II of Styria in Salzburg in July 1619. Ferdinand submitted to him a letter for James I, in which he assured the King of England about efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully.¹²⁶ Ferdinand did not take the inexperienced Viscount of Doncaster very seriously and asked the High Chamberlain, Leonhard Helfried of Meggau, to negotiate with the English diplomat.¹²⁷ In Frankfurt he held talks on the same issue with Íñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassis, Count de Oñate and de Villamediana, and then again with Ferdinand; he also unsuccessfully championed James's proposal to mediate truce. On the election of Ferdinand he was authorised to present the Habsburg ruler with James's congratulation.¹²⁸ Viscount of Doncaster's ignorance in Central European matters caused the mission to end in fiasco, which gave free room to the Habsburgs.¹²⁹

.....
¹²² For him see Samuel Rawson GARDINER, *Hay, James, first Earl of Carlise*, in: Dictionary of National Biography XXV, London 1891, pp. 265–267. See also Timothy RAYLOR, *The Essex House masque of 1621: Viscount Doncaster and the Jacobean masque*, Pittsburg 1999.

¹²³ It is worth noting that Henry Wotton, the ambassador to Venice, was originally appointed but his appointment was later cancelled. See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 72.

¹²⁴ *IBIDEM*, p. 82.

¹²⁵ *IBIDEM*, p. 83.

¹²⁶ See *Ferdinand II, King of Bohemia and Hungary, to James I*, 17 July 1619, NA London, PS 81/16, fol. 103–104. For more see S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 154–155; J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 73.

¹²⁷ See A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, pp. 107–108.

¹²⁸ See Ivo BARTEČEK, *Česká otázka na volebním sněmu ve Frankfurtu nad Mohanem roku 1619*, *Folia historica bohemia* 14, 1990, pp. 195–205.

¹²⁹ See I. ČORNEJOVÁ – J. KAŠE – J. MIKULEC – V. VLNAS, *Velké dějiny VIII*, p. 35. For Hay's diplomatic mission see also F. KAVKA, *Bílá hora a české dějiny*, pp. 191–196; A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, p. 100–123.

After his return to England in January 1620 he tried to persuade James I to join the war against Ferdinand by the side of his son-in-law. It was because of these opinion that he was no longer sent to the Holy Roman Empire but held several diplomatic missions in France. Besides James I and Prince Charles, the addressees of Doncaster's letters between June and September 1619 were the King's favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and Secretary of State Robert Naunton.¹³⁰ It was based on his letters that the latter could draft a report on developments in Bohemia, submitted to King James I on September 19, 1619.¹³¹ James Hay, however, corresponded with other persons outside the royal court across Europe. He thus exchanged letters with the English ambassadors to Spain, John Digby and Walter Aston, the Spanish ambassador Count Oñate, John George of Saxony, the High Chamberlain Leonhard Helfried of Meggau, Würzburg Bishop John Gottfried I of Aschhausen or the ambassador of Frederick V of the Palatinate to the English court, Achatius of Dohna.¹³²

William Norreys was a member of James Hay's mission into Central Europe. Following the embarrassing results of his talks with Ferdinand of Styria in Salzburg, Viscount of Doncaster abandoned, in August 1619, his initial intention to travel to Prague and sent William Norreys instead,¹³³ who had visited the capital of Bohemia in the past.¹³⁴ His task was to inform the Bohemian estates about the current state of Doncaster's mission and, according to a memo he was given,¹³⁵ to talk about sending their

.....
¹³⁰ See *Doncaster to James I*, 18 June 1619, NA London, PS 81/16, fol. 52–55 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 118–120; *Charles, Prince of Wales, to Doncaster*, 17 June 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 126–127 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 149–150; *Doncaster to Buckingham*, 18 June 1619, NA London, PS 81/16, fol. 56–57 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 120–121; *Doncaster to Secretary of State/Naunton*, 18 June 1619, 2 July 1619, 9 July 1619, 24 July 1619, 17 August 1619, 26 August 1619, 8 September 1619, 27 September 1619, NA London, PS 81/16, fol. 58–67, 97–100, 105–112, 118–123, 160–163, 194–197, 226–227, 242–246 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 129–139, 144–149, 156–166, 174–179, 188–203, 205–206.

¹³¹ *Naunton's account of Bohemia*, 19 September 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 238–241.

¹³² See *Sir John Digby to Doncaster*, 28 June 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 93–94; *Doncaster to Count Onate*, 31 August 1619, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/16, fol. 74–75, 135–136 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 180–181; *John George Elector of Saxony to Doncaster*, 3 July 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 81–82 a S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 149–150; *Leopold, Baron de Meggau to Doncaster*, 5 August 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 81–82 and S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, pp. 179–180; *Godfrey, Bishop of Wurzburg, to Doncaster*, 26 September 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 81–82; *Achatius, Baron Dona, to Doncaster*, 12 February 1620, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/17, fol. 9–10

¹³³ See *Doncaster, letter for William Norreys to Bohemians*, August 1619, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 218–219. See also *Credentials given by Viscount Doncaster to W. Norry*, in: S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, p. 166.

¹³⁴ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 89.

¹³⁵ See *Memoir for Mr. Norreys*, NA London, SP 81/16, fol. 220–221. See also *Instructions given by Viscount Doncaster to W. Norry*, in: S. R. GARDINER (ed.), *Letters I*, p. 166–167.

envoys to Frankfurt, where the Imperial Election was being prepared. The representatives of the Estates were to prepare copies of privileges that justified their resistance to the ruler and, at the same time, they were to refute the allegations that they did not want peace with Ferdinand II.¹³⁶ In Prague Norreys held talks with Václav Vilém of Roupov, but left without any result as the Bohemian estates requested more concrete help in the form of money or soldiers.¹³⁷

Richard Weston (1577–1635)¹³⁸ was a courtier at the court of James I and a good businessman. In June 1620 he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission that stemmed from the premise that he had contacts to Catholics and an ardent relation to Spain. He was a favourite of the Spanish ambassador in England, Diego Sarmiento, Count of Gondomar, and it was thanks to his recommendation that he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Central Europe, alongside Protestant **Edward Conway** († 1631).¹³⁹ Their task was to try to settle problems issuing from the independent politics of the Bohemian King Frederick. From Brussels, where they had unsuccessful talks with Archduke Albert,¹⁴⁰ they continued into the residence of the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, talked to the Margrave of Baden-Durlach and with Duke of Württemberg, then headed for Dresden of John George I of Saxony and to Prague, from where they were to enter into communication with Henry Wotton in Vienna.¹⁴¹ Instructed by Robert Naunton, they were to try to persuade Frederick to exchange the crown of Bohemia for the Palatinate. They reached Prague on October 21, i. e. at the time when the defeat at the White Mountain was imminent.¹⁴² Throughout their diplomatic mission, Weston and Conway dispatched reports to London, again mainly to the two state secretaries¹⁴³ and

.....
¹³⁶ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 89; A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání II*, p. 100–123.

¹³⁷ See J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 90.

¹³⁸ For more details about him see Albert Frederick POLLARD, *Weston, Richard, first Earl of Portland*, in: Dictionary of National Biography LX, 1899, pp. 364–367; N. AKKERMAN, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart I*, p. 31.

¹³⁹ See Thomson COOPER, *Conway, Edward, Viscount Conway*, in: Dictionary of National Biography XII, London 1887, pp. 50–51. See also A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání III*, pp. 198–206.

¹⁴⁰ See Luc DUERLOO, *Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars*, Farnham-Burlington 2012.

¹⁴¹ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, pp. 151–152.

¹⁴² See J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 90–93.

¹⁴³ See *Conway to Naunton/Naunton to Conway*, July 1620, 5 August 1620, 18 August 1620, 21 August 1620, 27 August 1620, 28 August 1620, 29 August 1620, 7 September 1620, 12 October 1620, 13 October 1620, 17 October 1620, 26 October 1620, 26 October 1620, 3 December 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 171, 176, 181, 191–191, 193–194, 265–266, 302–303, 307, 333–334, 335–340, 343–344, 353; SP 81/18, fol. 48–49; SP 81/19, fol. 73–76, 77–78, 121–122, 125–127, 162–163, 175, 234–235.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.¹⁴⁴ Their correspondence network included Archduke Albert in Brussel, English ambassador in The Hague Dudley Carleton, secretary of Elizabeth Stuart Thomas Nethersole, Henry Wotton or Joachim Ernest of Brandenburg-Ansbach.¹⁴⁵

Henry Wotton (1568–1639)¹⁴⁶ stayed in Prague as early as the 1590s and was rather knowledgeable about the situation in Bohemia.¹⁴⁷ When the Bohemian Revolt broke out he served as the English ambassador to Venice. His experience from Bohemia was to be leveraged in early 1619, when he was entrusted with heading the diplomatic mission to German princes, to the Imperial court in Vienna and to Prague. James I, however, changed his mind at the last moment and put the inexperienced James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, in charge of the mission. This replacement is, among other things, often seen as the cause of the mission's failure.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless Henry Wotton eventually travelled to Central Europe to visit Frederick and other Protestant princes.¹⁴⁹

Wotton was sent to Central Europe for the second time on the eve of the battle of the White Mountain. It was a diplomatic mission undertaken in parallel with the legation of Richard Weston and Edward Conwey. While Weston and Conwey were assigned with the task to visit Protestant courts, Wotton headed predominantly into Catholic countries.¹⁵⁰ His diplomatic mission started in August 1620 and took him across Lorraine and Strasbourg to Augsburg. In September, he negotiated with Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna and tried to suggest variants of possible peace settlement between the Emperor and Frederick. He then proceeded to Prague, which he reached on October 4. It was here that the two legations met — Wotton's on the one hand, Weston's

.....
¹⁴⁴ See *Conway to Buckingham*, July 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 169–170.

¹⁴⁵ See *Conway to Archduke Albert*, July 1620, NA London, SP 81/17, fol. 167; *Conway to Carleton*, 14 October 1620, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/19, fol. 103–105; *Conway and Weston to Nethersole*, 25 August 1620, 5 September 1620, 25 September 1620, 6 October 1620, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/17, fol. 312–313; SP 81/18, fol. 42–43, 153–154; SP 81/19, fol. 35–36; *Sir Henry Wotton co Conway, Weston and Nethersole*, 7 September 1620, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/18, fol. 52–53; *Joachim Ernest, Marquis of Brandenburg, to Conway and Weston*, 3 December 1620, *IBIDEM*, SP 81/19, fol. 217–219.

¹⁴⁶ See Sidney LEE, *Wotton, Sir Henry*, in: Dictionary of the national Biography LXIII, London 1900, pp. 51–57; Logan PEARSALL SMITH, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, Oxford 1907. See editions of the correspondence George TOMLINE (ed.), *Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James the First and his ministers, in the years MDCXVII–XX. Printed from the originals in the Library of Eton College*, London 1850.

¹⁴⁷ J. MILLER, *Falcký mýtus*, p. 42.

¹⁴⁸ *IBIDEM*, p. 42; I. ČORNEJOVÁ – J. KAŠE – J. MIKULEC – V. VLNAS, *Velké dějiny VIII*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Anglie a Bílá hora*, p. 72.

¹⁵⁰ *IBIDEM*, p. 131; A. GINDELY, *Dějiny českého povstání III*, pp. 206–221.

and Conway's on the other – to witness the defeat at the White Mountain.¹⁵¹ He sent reports from his journey to State Secretary George Calvert¹⁵² and James I.¹⁵³

Conclusion

The communication of the Bohemian estates with the English royal court was never direct during the Bohemian Revolt. Although the uprising was in the very centre of political and military developments in Europe, Bohemian leaders remained, with a few exceptions, at the very margin of political communication with remote England and had to resort to mediating roles provided by the Palatinate and the Dutch General Estates. Their attempts at correspondence with the English King remained largely unanswered. The Bohemian affairs were also a part of correspondence between James I and Frederick V of the Palatine and his wife Elizabeth Stuart, but usually it was treated just formally and diplomatically.

It was the members of English diplomatic missions and of the Heidelberg court who were the key actors of political communication. On the Palatinate side, the diplomatic tasks were often entrusted to members of the Palatine Council, namely Volrad of Plessen, Christopher of Dohna and Achatius of Dohna, who visited London several times and talked to the King or Secretaries of State. They maintained correspondence networks, through which they tried to disseminate their stances and opinions. During their stays in London they had the opportunity to promote their goals at royal audiences, or at meetings of the Privy Council. Their obligations included drafting reports and memos at short notice.

The English diplomatic network seems more professional. With exceptions, James I could use service of experienced diplomats in all power centres of the then Europe. From the perspective of the political communication of the Bohemian Revolt, the intelligence headquarters built in The Hague by English ambassador Dudley Carleton seems essential. English ambassadors collected their information in the place of their residence, but when necessary they turned into ambassadors extraordinary into politically unstable areas, such as Central Europe in the early seventeenth century. This was the case of Henry Wotton, who, as a Venice diplomat undertook a journey into Central Europe in autumn 1620. In other cases, the positions of envoys were filled with individuals without solid diplomatic experience. It was the lack of experience and the inability to understand the conditions of the Central European politics that made the diplomatic journey of James Hay, Viscount of Doncaster, a failure. For English interests in the Palatinate and

.....
¹⁵¹ J. ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, pp. 92–93.

¹⁵² See *Sir Henry Wotton to Calvert*, 18 August 1620, 7 September 1620, 14 October 1620, 18 November 1620, 16 December 1620, NA London, SP 80/3, fol. 219–220, 226–227, 234–239, 246–247.

¹⁵³ See *Wotton to James I*, 7 September 1620, 29 December 1620, NA London, SP 80/3, fol. 228–233, 268–275.

later in Prague, personal secretaries to Elizabeth Stuart, first Albertus Morton and then Francis Nethersole, played an irreplaceable part. Last but not least, diplomatic tasks were fulfilled by commanders of English troops in the Kingdom of Bohemia — Andrew Gray, John Seton and Horace Vere.

Pavel Král

Political Communication between Prague, Heidelberg and London at the Time of the Bohemian Revolt

Correspondence and communication networks

Abstract

The study focuses on ways and tools of political communication between the Bohemian estates and the Stuart England. Besides searching for main communication channels among the Czech lands, the Palatinate and England, the main goal of the study is to identify who the principal actors of this communication were and what centres they used. Objects of interest include a reconstruction of communication and correspondence networks established by these key stakeholders and the ways they used to achieve their aims. Basic sources are the correspondence of diplomatic, political and military representatives of the English court, the Elector Palatine and the Kingdom of Bohemia. The communication of the Bohemian estates with the English royal court was never direct during the Bohemian Revolt. The Estates resorted to mediating roles of the Palatinate and Dutch General Estates. Their attempts at correspondence with the English King remained largely unanswered. The Bohemian matters were also a part of correspondence between James I and Frederick V of the Palatine and his wife Elizabeth Stuart, but usually it was treated just formally and diplomatically. Key actors of the political communication included members of the diplomatic missions of the English royal court and the court of the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg. On the Palatinate side, diplomatic tasks were assigned mainly to members of the Palatine council, namely Volrad of Plessen, Christopher of Dohna and Achatius of Dohna, who visited London several times and held talks with the King or secretaries state. The English diplomatic network seems more professional. From the perspective of the political communication of the Bohemian Revolt, the intelligence headquarters built in The Hague by English ambassador Dudley Carleton seems essential. English ambassadors gathered information in the place of their residence, but when it was necessary they turned into ambassadors extraordinary into politically unstable areas, such as Central Europe in the early seventeenth century. Sometimes, individuals with little diplomatic experience were appointed envoys. For the English interests in the Palatinate and later in Prague, personal secretaries of Elizabeth Stuart were of essential importance. Last but not least, diplomatic tasks were fulfilled also by English military commanders in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

KEY WORDS:

Bohemian Revolt; England; James I; Frederick V of the Palatinate; Political communication; Diplomacy; Correspondence network