

## The Hunt for William Brewster and Thomas Brewer, 1619

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 17 July 1619.

I have seen, within these two days, a certain Scottish book, called *Perth Assembly*, written with much scorn and reproach of the proceedings in that Kingdom concerning the affairs of the Church. It is without name, either of author or printer: but I am informed it is printed by a certain English Brownist of Leiden; as are most of the Puritan books sent over, of late days, into England.

Wherein being directly against an express *Plakkaat* of the States General, which was published in December last: I intend, when I have more particular knowledge of the printer, to make complaint thereof; conceiving that His Majesty will not dislike I should so do.

Thus I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 22 July 1619.

Right Honorable. By letters of 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of this present by Marten the Post, of which I sent the duplicates by my Lord Lisle, the 18<sup>th</sup>; I advertised your Honor of all we had here worth His Majesty's knowledge.

And withal, I sent your Honor a book, entitled *Perth Assembly*: of which, finding many copies dispersed at Leiden, and from thence some sent into England, I had reason to suspect it was printed in that town; but, upon more particular enquiry, do rest somewhat doubtful.

Yet, in search after that book, I believe I have discovered the printer of another *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae*; which His Majesty was informed to be done in Middelburg: and that is, one William Brewster, a Brownist, who hath been, for some years, an inhabitant and printer at Leiden; but is now, within these three weeks, removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London. Where he may be found out, and examined, not only of this book, *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae*: but likewise of *Perth Assembly*; of which, if he was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and the author.

For, as I am informed, he hath had, whilst he remained here, his hand in all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland. As particularly, a book in folio entitled *A Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament*; anno 1618, was printed by him.

So was another, in decimo-sexto, *De vera et genuine Jesu Christi Domini et Salvatoris nostri Religione*; of which I send your Honor herewith the title page. And if you will compare that which is underlined therein, with the other *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae*, of which I send your Honor the title page likewise; you will find it is the same character. And the one being confessed, as that *De vera et genuine Jesu Christi* etc., *Religione*, Brewster doth openly avow; the other cannot well be denied.

This I thought fit, for His Majesty's service, to advertise your Honor. ...

From the Hague, this 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 3 August 1619.

I am told William Brewster is come again for Leiden; where I doubt not but your Lordship will lay for him, if he come thither: as I will likewise do here; where I have already committed some of his complices, and am commanded to make search for the rest. ...

Whitehall, 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 20 August 1619.

I have made good enquiry after William Brewster at Leiden, and am well assured that he is not returned thither; neither is likely he will: having removed from thence both his family and goods. ...

From the Hague, this 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 23 August 1619.

My good Lord. His Majesty doth so much resent those Puritan pamphlets which are there imprinted underhand by the practices of Brewster and his complices in those parts, and in Scotland, and here—divers of whom as we are informed, have made, very lately, an escape from hence; and are slipped over hither with him, the said Brewster—hath commanded me again, over and beside what I wrote unto you in my former, to require your Lordship, in his name, to deal roundly with the States, as in his name, for the apprehension of him, the said Brewster; as they tender His Majesty's friendship.

Whitehall, 23 August 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 28 August 1619.

Touching Brewster, I am now informed that he is on this side of the seas; and that he was seen yesterday at Leiden: but, as yet, is not there settled.

To complain of him in general terms, were to small effect: but when I can certainly learn where he is permanent; I will then move the States to do that which belongs to them, for His Majesty's satisfaction.

From the Hague, the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 3 September 1619.

I have used all diligence to enquire after Brewster; and finds he keeps most at Amsterdam: but, being *incerti laris*, he is not yet to be lighted upon.

I understand he prepares to settle himself at a village called Leiderdorp, not far from Leiden; thinking there to be able to print prohibited books without discovery: but I shall lay wait for him, both there and in other places, so, as I doubt but either he must leave this country; or I shall, sooner or later, find him out.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, this 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1619.

The Schepens and Council of Leiden to Jacob von Brouckhoven, Deputy, 9 September 1619.

We have today summoned into our presence Thomas Brewer, an Englishman; and he being heard, we learn that his business heretofore has been printing, or having printing done: but in consequence of the publication of the Placaat in relation to the printing of books, he had stopped the printing office; which was, at that time, mostly his own, and that his partner was a certain William Brewster, who was also in town at present, but sick.

We have therefore resolved, after having communicated with the Rector Magnificus to deliver the said Thomas Brewer, who is a member of the University, in the place where it is the custom to bring the members thereof: and in regard to William Brewster, to bring him, inasmuch as he is sick, into the Debtors' Chamber, provisionally; where he went voluntarily.

Of which things we have thought proper to inform you, and to await further orders in the matter.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 10 September 1619.

I have at length found out Brewster at Leiden, whom the magistrates of that town, at my instance, apprehended yesternight, though he was sick in bed; as likewise one Brewer, of his profession, a Brownist, who was an assistant to him in his printing.

By the Deputy of that town, who is continually resident here at the Hague and is this day gone thither, I have required to have their books and their printing letters seized; as likewise to have them strictly examined of all the books, as well Latin as English, they have printed, for the space of eighteen months or two years past. Of which, I shall have answer this night, or tomorrow.

From the Hague, this 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1619.

Warrant of the University of Leiden to seize Brewer's types, 11 September 1619.

Upon the application of Loth Huyghenszoon Gael, Bailiff of the University, to have an assessor and schepenmaster to assist him in seizing the types of Thomas Brewer, a member of the said University, now in prison; and in searching his library for any Works printed, or caused to be printed, by him, within a year and a half or thereabouts; and in seizing the same; and in examining him as to what books he has printed, or caused to be printed, within a year and a half either in English or in other languages: the rector and judges of the said University have appointed and by these presents do, Doctor Johannes Polyander, assessor; and Doctor Guilielmus Bontius, schepenmaster, provisionally only, for the seizure of the type; and searching of the library aforesaid; and seizing the books.

In pursuance whereof, the types found in the garret were seized; the garret door nailed in two places, and the seal of the said Officer, impressed in green wax over paper, is placed upon the lock and nails; a catalogue is made of the books, and the chamber where the same were found is sealed with the aforesaid seal upon the lock and nails.

Done, the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1619, in my presence.

J. Vervey.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 12 September 1619.

In my last, I advertised your Honor, that Brewster was taken at Leiden: which proved an error, in that the scout, who was employed by the magistrates for his apprehension being a dull, drunken fellow, took one man for another.

But Brewer (who set him on work and, being a man of means, bare the charge of his printing) is fast in the University's Prison: and his printing letters (which were found in his house, in a garret where he had hid them), and his books and papers, are all seized and sealed up.

I expect, tomorrow, to receive his voluntary confession of such books as he hath caused to be printed by Brewster, for this year and a half or two years past: and then I intend to send one expressly to visit his books and papers; and to examine him particularly touching *Perth Assembly*, the discourse *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae*, and other Puritan pamphlets which I have newly recovered. ...

From the Hague, this 12<sup>th</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1619.

The Schepens and Council of Leiden to Jacob von Brouckhoven, 13 September 1619.

We have, this day, in consequence of your letter, summoned the officer; and strongly enjoined upon him, to do his best to arrest William Brewster; in whose person he was mistaken: which he has promised to do. But, at the same time, said, that the said William Brewster had already left. ...

Warrant of the University of Leiden to Examine Thomas Brewer, 13 September 1619.

On this 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1619, the honorable rector and judges of the University in the city of Leiden, have, upon the application of Loth Huyghenszoon Gael, bailiff of the University, appointed by these presents do appoint, Doctor Cornelius Swanenburg, assessor; and Doctor Guilielmus Bontius, schepenmaster; to examine Thomas Brewer, in custody of the said bailiff, as to what books he has, within a year and a half past, printed, or caused to be printed in Latin, English, or other languages.

And the said assessor and Jan Bout Jacobszoon, schepenmaster, shall cause the type of the said Brewer, which have been seized, to be brought, for better keeping, from his house, to the University Rooms.

Which is accordingly done, the day and year aforesaid, in my presence.

Jacob V. Vervey.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 18 September 1619.

I am sorry that Brewster's person hath so escaped you: but I hope Brewer will help you to find him out.

Whitehall, 18 September 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 18 September 1619.

Since my last of the 12<sup>th</sup> of this present, whereby I advertised your Honor of Brewer's being laid fast in the University's Prison at Leiden; I have sent an advocate of this town, who understands our language, with a servant of mine, expressly to visit his books and papers: and to present certain interrogatories to those who examine him whereof I send your Honor the translation; with his answers, which are so indirect that they give no man satisfaction that sees them.

And therefore I have now used the Prince of Orange's authority; who hath spoken himself to the rector of the University, not to give the prisoner any liberty until His Majesty's pleasure be known concerning him: which the rector doth promise shall be fulfilled; notwithstanding that the whole company of Brownists doth offer caution for Brewer. And he being a University man, the scholars are likewise stirred up by the Brownists to plead privilege in that kind, when caution is offered.

Wherefore I am requested by the rector, and by the deputy of the town of Leiden, Monsieur Brouckhoven, residing here in the Council of Holland, whose serious care in this business I cannot but commend to His Majesty, to know His Majesty's pleasure with the soonest: whereby to prevent some disorder, which may happen upon this occasion.

Meantime I intend to have him further examined, which Monsieur Brouckhoven will give order for on Monday next, when he goeth to Leiden for two or three days; and if there be any things more particular in his confession, I will send the same speedily to your Honor; as with these which go herewith, I thought it my duty to dispatch this bearer expressly.

Amongst the books touching which I have caused him to be examined, I have inserted some, as that Amesii in Grevinchovium, which as he cannot deny so he may, and doth, confess it without difficulty: but by that character, he is condemned of the rest. And certain experienced printers, which

have viewed the letters, affirm that all and every one of the books with which he is charged, particularly those *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae* and *Perth Assembly*, were printed by them.

And it appears that this Brewer, and Brewster whom this man set on work, having kept no open shop, nor printed many books fit for public sale in those provinces, their practice was to print prohibited books, to be vented underhand in His Majesty's kingdoms.

And if, hereupon, His Majesty will be pleased that I move the States General to take some strict order therein, through all their Provinces; either by further explanation of their late Placaat concerning printing of books and libels, or some other way: as I believe they will do it very willingly, so will it serve for preventing of the like inconvenience hereafter.

What this Brewer is, and what fantastical courses he hath run heretofore, your Honor will see by an information which hath been given me concerning him.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1619.

Upon some just ground of suspicion that Master Ames hath his hand in many of these books, which your Honor will find specified in these interrogatories; I have desired the curators of the University of Leiden not to admit him to a place of public professor, to which he doth pretend and hath many strong recommendations, until he hath given His Majesty full satisfaction: which they do very willingly yield unto; and I am very well assured, his preferment will here stay unless His Majesty give way unto it.

Thus I rest, your Honor's etc.

Dudley Carleton

Matthew Slade to Sir Dudley Carleton, 18 September 1619.

Right Honorable. My duty remembered unto your good Lordship.

May it please the same to understand that I have made the best enquiry that I could, concerning William Brewster, among them that know him well. But cannot hear otherwise than that he is yet dwelling and resident at Leiden.

Neither is it likely that he will remove his dwelling hither: there being another English printer named William Thorp, also a Brownist, settled here; and for that there is also variance about religion, between the Separatists at Amsterdam and them of Leiden.

If he lurk here, for fear of apprehension; it will be hard to find him. But I will speak with our burgomaster about that business, at his return; who is not yet, in two or three days, expected.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 22 September 1619.

Concerning Brewer, now prisoner at Leiden, who was the chief subject of my last dispatch; I have, as yet, no more to advertise: but I shall expect, with much devotion, His Majesty's pleasure about him. ...

From the Hague, this 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 28 September 1619.

Sir. For answer to your last of the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you present his princely thanks to that noble Prince; also to Monsieur Brouckhoven, and the rector: for their serious care, and respect showed, in the apprehension and examination of Brewer. From whom, His Majesty hopes well that you will draw more particularities in his after confessions than yet he sees in

those you have sent us over; which meanwhile he takes in good part as a fair beginning and introduction to the rest.

When you shall have discovered all you can there, His Majesty would have you move the States earnestly, in his name, that he may be remanded hither. Which he promiseth himself, that they will not take it for an unreasonable request, since he is his own native subject: they having formerly remanded some of their own hither, upon His Majesty's like motion.

But if any fond scruple or difficulty should be made herein, in respect of the scholars their pleading their privilege in that tumultuous town, especially in these troubled times; or otherwise: His Majesty will have you, rather than you should fail in his design, to descend thus much further, as to promise them, that if they shall so require, he will return him back again, after he shall have informed himself from him, of divers things merely concerning his own special service: His Majesty having no intention to touch him, either in body or goods; or to punish him further than with a free confession of his misdemeanors, and those of his complices.

And for the time to come, you are required to move the States, to take some strict order, through all their Provinces, for the preventing of the like abuses and licentiousness in publishing, printing and venting underhand such scandalous and libelous pamphlets.

For Ames his preferment, His Majesty doth utterly distaste it; as if a new Vorstius were reviving in him: and would, in no sort, have any way given unto it.

Hampton Court, this 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1619.

Refusal of the University of Leiden to surrender Thomas Brewer, 11/21 October 1619.

At an extraordinary meeting of the curators and burgomasters, held on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 1619.

It being represented to the curators and burgomasters, that the ambassador of His Royal Majesty, the King of Great Britain requested that Thomas Brewer, English gentleman, who is now confined in the Prison of the University, upon the complaint of the said ambassador, by order of the rector and assessors, might be taken from here to His Royal Majesty in England, it is resolved:

That the said Brewer shall be still offered, as before, to the said ambassador, for further examination in the presence of any one whom His Excellency may be pleased to appoint, or he shall go before His Excellency himself, or otherwise, a proper obligation shall be demanded from His Excellency, to the effect that the said Brewer shall be restored here again within two months.

Which he not consenting to; the matter must be referred to the High and Mighty Lords the States of Holland and West Friesland.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 13 October 1619.

In the further examination of Brewer, the remanding him into England, and the moving the States to take some strict order against the like abuse as that of which he is accused; touching which three points, I understand His Majesty's pleasure by your Honor's letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> of last:

In the first, I find it lost labor, he persisting in his former answers: only he hath written me a long impertinent letter, which I send your Honor herewith.

In the second, because I know it will be a matter of much difficulty to effect His Majesty's desire; in regard of the scrupulosity of the town and University of Leiden in point of privilege: both which are interested herein, as a mixed cause; he being apprehended by the public escoutete, and kept in the University prison.

I have therefore thought best to begin the matter there, by preparing the curators and rector of the University as likewise the magistrates, by means of their Deputy, Monseieur Brouckhoven: having spoken likewise with the Prince of Orange, to the same effect.

The curators are now at this present at Leiden, upon the admission of some of their new professors; and have promised me their endeavors to give His Majesty satisfaction. Wherein I shall know, within these two days, what to trust to.

And then I may, upon better grounds, move the States both touching that point in particular, and likewise concerning the last in general, of preventing the like abuse, not only in that town but in all the Provinces. Wherein I will neither fail of my duty in doing, nor diligence in advertising.

Meanwhile I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 22 October 1619.

Right Honorable. The business of Brewer, now prisoner at Leiden, whom His Majesty demands to be remanded into England, requires a letter apart.

Concerning which, I have been spoken with twice since my last to your Honor, by Sir Thomas Dutton, of the 13<sup>th</sup> of this present.

First, by two of the curators of the University.

And after, by one of the curators, the rector, his two assessors; and a deputy of the town: all which came unto me in one company; and, after large profession of due respect to His Majesty and desire to give His Majesty all possible satisfaction, they alleged unto me these difficulties:

First. The privilege of the University: which any man that is matriculated, as this Brewer is, may plead, upon any accusation, for his trial upon the place; without having his cause or person removed elsewhere, contrary to his own mind.

Secondly. The nature of their University: consisting chiefly of strangers; to whom if they should not carefully preserve their privilege in a matter of this consequence, they would all fly their University.

Thirdly. The condition of the time: there being now newly a general Reformation made; and if they should neglect the preservation of their privileges, they should expose themselves unto the scandal of such as are deported.

Lastly. The example of one Cluverus, a German; who, having printed a book against the Emperor Rodolph, and thereupon being required of the States, to be sent to Prague, there to be punished; the University made absolute refusal, as that which could not be granted without breach of their privileges.

To all which points I answered:

First, concerning the privileges in general. It was an argument that I sought to maintain, not to infringe, them; in that I addressed myself first to them, who were the Chief of the University: before I would move the States to use authority this business.

And for Brewer in particular, though he were a matriculate man, his printing house where he, for the space of these three years, hath printed prohibited books and pamphlets—not for the use of the University of Leiden, or these Provinces; but for His Majesty's disservice, and the trouble of his Kingdoms—was in the town.

And, in the like case, I asked them, if some busy, or factious, Arminian, a subject of these Provinces, should matriculate himself in one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; and there print, and send over hither, books of that argument: of which their ambassador should complain, and desire to have him remanded; how they would take it, if they should be answered by a plea or privilege?

Touching the nature of the University, which consists of strangers; I said, they must have, in that regard, the greater consideration of giving contentment to stranger Princes: otherwise they would, and might very well, forbid their subjects from frequenting the University.

Concerning the time of their present Reformation; I desired them to remember to whom they might chiefly ascribe this Reformation: which they have often acknowledged unto me, to proceed from His Majesty; and then to consider, whether it was fit to allege this Reformation against His Majesty's satisfaction.

As for Cluverus; I told them the case was different, in that he was required to receive both trial and punishment at Prague: but His Majesty demands Brewer without intention to touch him, either in body or goods; or to punish him further than with a free confession of his own misdemeanors, and those of his complices; with purpose to return him back again (after he shall have informed himself from him, of such things which concern his service), if they shall so require it. And for conclusion, I wished them to put difference between the satisfaction of that Emperor, with whom they had little or no correspondence, and the King my Master; whom this State in general, and that University in particular, could not but acknowledge their best friend.

I found them well apprehensive of these reasons, and to continue, in as much as depended on them, for so they professed, in their desire of giving His Majesty satisfaction. But because their University acknowledgeth for Founders, the States of Holland; whose assembly is near at hand, within a fortnight, or three weeks at the furthest, they desired me to forbear pressing this matter any further till that time.

Wherein I made no difficulty: knowing it would be fruitless. Only I told them, that if they had readily consented, I made no doubt but that Brewer might be in England, and returned again, before the meeting of the States of Holland.

The curators asked me, when they alone were with me, whether I would give them an act in writing, in manner of a safe conduct, for Brewer's return; in case they should send him into England?

Wherein, having no express order; I prayed them to weigh, whether that were any way needful; in regard, by what had passed in former occasions, they might be well assured, that His Majesty's word, given by any of his ministers, will never be infringed.

I understand they have privately appointed Polyander and Walaeus to deal with Brewer, of his own accord to desire to go into England whereby to satisfy His Majesty, and preserve their privileges: which I do not mislike. For if he yield thereunto, His Majesty hath what he requires. If he make difficulty, I have the more just subject to press his remanding; which at the time of the assembly of the States of Holland, I will not fail to do. And before, in regard the University belongs only to this Province, it will be to no purpose to move anything to the States General.

Of this, I beseech your Honor to advertise His Majesty. So I humbly take leave. From the Hague, this 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 23 October 1619.

His Majesty hath charged me, once more, to require you, as from himself, that you press, with all earnestness, the matter of Brewer, in all these three points I recommended to you, from Hampton Court, 28 September.

Whitehall, 23 October 1619.



Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 25 October 1619.

What is done about Brewster at Leiden; your Honor will see by a letter I have, even now, received from Polyander. Thus I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 3 November 1619.

Right Honorable. One of the curators, and the rector of the University of Leiden; with John Polyander and Heinsius, came to me on Monday last, being the 1<sup>st</sup> of this present, expressly from Leiden, to let me know their resolution to send Brewer into England: which, for the preservation of the privileges of their University, they made appear unto me, by a writing under Brewer's hand, to proceed of his own desire, as a dutiful subject to His Majesty; and willing to give His Majesty all satisfaction.

But first, he requires of them, in the said writing, to be assured

1. It is His Majesty's own pleasure to have him sent.
2. Next, that he may go as a free man under caution of his lands and goods; not as a prisoner.
3. Then, that he may not be punished during his abode in England, either in body or goods.
4. And, that he may be suffered to return hither, in a competent time.
5. And lastly, that his journey be without his own charge.

These things were requested of me by the curator, the rector, and the rest, in his behalf. Wherein I made them this verbal promise, without being further moved by any of them, as I was formerly, to give them my act in writing:

1. That, for the first, It was His Majesty's express will and pleasure: which I might the better assure them, having the same, now a second time, reiterated unto me by your Honor's letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October; which, at that instant, I received.
2. Next, that if they would take caution of him of his lands and goods, for his rendering himself to His Majesty in England; I left it to their discretions. But to send him as a free man could not well be, as long as he remained *in reatu*.
3. Then, that for his body and goods during his abode in England, I undertook he should not be touched: being so warranted by your Honor's former letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of September.
4. And for his return, that it should be within the space of three months at the furthest; and sooner, if he dealt ingenuously and freely in his confessions.
5. Touching the charge of his journey, I made no difficulty to free both him and them thereof: not doubting but His Majesty will be pleased to allow it.

So as there remaining this only point of difference between us, whether he should go as a prisoner, or as a free man? In the end we concluded to a middle way betwixt both, that he should go *sub libera custodia*.

Being attended from Leiden to Rotterdam, by one of the Beadles, with another officer, of the University; and be there delivered to some such person as I should appoint for his safe convoy into England: where I have undertaken for him, he shall not be cast into any common prison, nor be ill used. Though for his liberty, I let them know, he must not expect it but according as he shall merit it by the satisfaction he shall give His Majesty.

Wherein if he fail of what he now seems willing to perform, the fear of being returned back thither again to the place where he hath lain ever since his first apprehension; and where he may lie long enough, unless he be delivered by His Majesty's grace and favor, will be a sufficient torture.

But, on the other side, if he carry himself well and dutifully, I beseech your Honor to be a means to His Majesty, that he may be well treated and sent back with contentment: the rather, because he hath taken his resolution of presenting himself unto His Majesty, against the minds of some stiff-necked men in Leiden; who endeavored to dissuade him. And it will give all inferior persons encouragement by his example, according to the like occasions, willingly to submit themselves: he being a Gentleman of a good house, both in land and living; which none of his profession in these parts are—though through the reveries of his religion (he being, as I advertised your Honor, a professed Brownist), he hath mortgaged and consumed a great part of his estate.

This noble gentleman, Sir William Zouche, being to go into England upon his own affairs, hath, upon my entreaty, willingly undertaken the charge of conducting Brewer to your Honor. For which purpose, he hath stayed his journey until this time, when I am promised Brewer shall meet him at Rotterdam: and he being a Gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber as well as a servant to this State; His Majesty may be pleased to take notice of his readiness to do His Majesty's service.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 1619.

At the assembly of the States of Holland, which is to begin the 8 of this present; I will not fail to move the States to take some strict public order against these abuses of private printing, for His Majesty's service: as well as they have, not long since, carefully done for their own.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 10 November 1619.

I will hope that Brewer, whom Sir William Zouche took charge to conduct to your Honor, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of this present, will be with you, about this time; if the winds have not hindered their passage.

For that night, I understand he was delivered unto Sir William Zouche, by the Beadle of the University of Leiden, at Rotterdam; and the next day, they set forward together by way of Zealand.

The Hague, the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1619.

Sir William Zouche to Sir Dudley Carleton, 13 November 1619.

Right Honorable. I did purpose to have advertised your Lordship of our proceedings.

I was last night, almost out of hope of having my expected company: but, about ten of the clock, Master Brewer arrived, conveyed hither by the Beadle of the University, Master Robinson and Master Kebel accompanied by two other of his friends; their names I think are not worth the asking.

We go forward about two or three of the clock; and if we find not a boat of Terveer ready to go away, we intend to lie at Dort this night.

The gentleman seems very ready and willing to go with me; and hath good hope of his dispatch and happy issue, if he be not referred to the judgment of the Bishops; concerning which, he says, he made caution before his departure: and if you have not written so much already, he desires you will do so much, when you write next to Master Secretary.

He excuses his long stay, by reason of the sudden warning to provide himself for the journey.

He demanded of me, if I had order to defray him?

I have told him, yes.

He says, he is contented: but says, it was not his desire; nor mentioned by him.

I assure your Lordship, I will make no delay; but take the speediest opportunities to be rid of this employment.

My best service humbly remembered to your Honor and my honorable Lady.

I take my leave and rest.

Ready to observe and serve you,

W. Zouche

Rotterdam, the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 20 November 1619.

For Brewer, His Majesty will be well content with the course offered in Polyander's letter to your Lordship.

For his assurance: no good subject can refuse His Majesty's gracious promise, signified by my former letter to your Lordship.

Whitehall, 20 November 1619.

Sir William Zouche to Sir Dudley Carleton, 26 November 1619.

Right honorable. I have here waited a wind, these ten days; but can get none good: nor fair weather. No day hath passed without a storm: and some of them so rude as the streets, in some places, have run with salt water that hath scaled the walls; and in other, it hath made pools and lakes, and kept the people within their own doors.

A ship, with a mast lost, brought news of a Tilt-Boat drowned; wherein were above thirty. Of them about seven saved.

George Martin in this day arrived; having been nine days between Rotterdam and here.

I have scarce any opportunity to go over into Flanders; and Master Brewer very unwilling to go that way in so bad weather.

He hath many friends in Middelburg; and those exceeding earnest in his cause: as the Treasurer General; his brother Chief of the Reckoning Chamber; and his other brother, a minister. Their name is Teelinck. And one, Master Vosberghe, Chief Reconmaster; who was on the way towards Holland, to speak to His Excellency, in Master Brewer's behalf: and to have advised him, to have challenged the privileges of the University and of the town; by which he should have had his trial there.

They told me many stories of it; and how the Earl of Holland had been denied to have a prisoner out of the town.

I was, on Monday was sevenight, invited to dinner by them; wherein they did expostulate the business.

As, how great a power our King hath here, as to have a prisoner, after he had been kept in prison longer the law of the land doth allow, to be sent to him, almost with breach of their privileges: and that he shall have ever the same power, if he perform the conditions made by your Lordship his Ambassador; who will not abuse them, but have authority from His Majesty for all you do.

But if the conditions are broken, they will be more wary to satisfy his demand again in the same kind; or to trust your Lordship.

And if there be any occasion, they will write, and send in his behalf: and have persuaded me so to signify so much to His Majesty.

I have promised to tell so much to Master Secretary; and to the King, if it please him to question with me concerning him: otherwise I durst not, of myself, presume to speak with him about it.

I was much importuned, as if I had been a Great Man, and have had many promises of their loves and friendship, if I can show him any; and they, being my Lords and Paymasters, may do it, if it please them.

My Lord, I pray you pardon my brevity; for I write in haste; and, it may be, I forget somewhat of this case.

The names of the other two that came with Master Brewer to Rotterdam, are Jenkins and Lisle.

My duty and service remembered to your Lordship and my good Lady. I commit your Lordship to God's protection! Your Lordship's as I ought, in all love, to serve you,

W. Zouche.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 28 November 1619.

The States' Fleet against the pirates could not possibly put to sea until this day, which is the first easterly wind we have had for these six weeks past.

I hope it will carry over Sir William Zouche and Master Brewer to your Honor; who have lain long together at Flushing: and his fellow Brownists at Leiden are somewhat scandalized, because they hear Sir William hath taught him to drink healths.

The Hague, the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 3 December 1619.

My Lord Ambassador. Sir William Zouche is at length arrived with his charge; wherewith I have acquainted His Majesty, the best I can in both their favor: and do now daily expect his own directions for my proceeding in that business.

Whitehall, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 16 December 1619.

Brewer's manner of coming hath a little troubled His Majesty, who saith, You should not have intermingled those instructions which he gave for the carriage of this business with the States, with any other fashion of proceeding with himself, or with any other inferior officer apart, as you have done.

For the charge of his journey, His Majesty hath no purpose to take it upon him longer than whiles he is within his dominions.

As for his coming hither, if it have proceeded from his own free motion only, His Majesty oweth it to him; and not to the States: and so he would have you understand it, and tell them.

But if the States had sent him, by their own authority, whether he had been willing to have come or not; His Majesty would have acknowledged the thanks to them for it. And His Majesty had no meaning to engage himself, nor purposes to do, further to the States touching him, than that they should perceive he would not be cruel: and his desire of his coming over, was to no other end but that he might know the truth.

All which, His Majesty's pleasure is, and I am commanded to instruct you, that you should take heed of being too forward hereafter in confounding matters so different, and so punctually to be distinguished, as are the overtures of treating with a free State, and the accepting of capitulations from a subject delinquent.

He remaineth with one of the messengers of the Chamber; and is to be examined by Sir John Benet and Sir Henry Martin.

You shall do well to cause his books and his letters, and alphabets to be kept in safe custody at Leiden: as you advertised that they were.

Whitehall, 16 December 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 1 January 1619/20.

Right Honorable. In answer of your Honor's letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> of this last month and year; which yesterday I received, by this bearer, William Dirston:

First, concerning the manner of sending Brewer into England; I must humbly crave pardon for anything was done therein different from His Majesty's pleasure: which is, and shall always be, a strict rule of my proceedings.

And though it be true that by public proposition in the assembly of the States General I did not press his remanding into England; knowing—as well by the speech I had with the Prince of Orange and some of the States: as likewise by the observation I make of their present carriage of affairs, which is full of stiffness; out of jealousy they should be less curious and careful of preservation of their privileges than those who were lately in Government—what rubs it would have met with. And I hold it no service to His Majesty to entangle his affairs with difficulties; when the end may be attained unto, by a more facile and feasible way.

Yet I did not so much forget myself, or my duty, as to capitulate with him; being, as your Honor saith, a subject delinquent: not having, at any time since his remanding came in question, so much as sent unto him; and, at his going, I refused to speak with him. So as all which passed was betwixt the Magistrates and chief officers of the town and University of Leiden and himself. With which, it is true, they acquainted me; and I left it to them to proceed after their manner, so as His Majesty might be satisfied in the matter: which was to have him sent over, whereby to know the truth of what belonged to his printing.

And this I conceived would not have been disagreeable to His Majesty; having understood by your Honor's letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, that His Majesty liked well of the course set down in Polyander's letter, which I sent your Honor: and that was no other than this which is since taken, as far as I can call to remembrance; not having retained a copy of Polyander's letter.

All I undertook for, was his good treatment in England, and yet that as a prisoner, not as a free man; and his safe return hither: for which I had His Majesty's order.

About the time of his going over; a resolution was taken, at my notion, by the States General, upon the first occasion to reprint and publish anew their Placaat against private printings; with addition of a clause, which might comprehend more expressly than yet the Placaat doth, the chief friends and allies of this State.

Which hitherto is not effected: but I most humbly refer it to His Majesty, whether, at such a time as it is his pleasure to send Brewer back, I shall not call upon them for it? With declaration of the occasion which moves His Majesty thereunto.

Meantime, I fail not to send to Leiden, to cause his books, letters and alphabets to be safely kept; according as your Honor requires.

The Hague, this 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1619, *stylo vetero*.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 13 January 1619/20.

The States General have finally published a Placaat against licentious printing of libels and pamphlets, either in strange languages or their own, which doth concern strangers in amity with this State, as well as themselves.

And though other Princes will receive benefit hereby: yet is it done only in His Majesty's contemplation; and at my pursuit, having carried the same through divers colleges; as the States General; the States of Holland; and the High Councils, who do not usually give way to a restraint of anything which may touch upon liberty.

And there is not a greater argument than this, of a better temper in this State than formerly. Wherefore His Majesty may be pleased to take particular knowledge thereof to their Ambassadors, to encourage them in well doing.

The Hague, the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1620.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 14 January 1619/20.

My Lord Ambassador. I have cleared His Majesty's construction as best I can, touching Brewer; who did all that a silly creature could, to increase his unsatisfaction: viz., standing upon Terms of Covenant publicly passed by your Lordship, and I know not what; as he saith, Heinsius, Polyander, and I know not who, asserved it unto him. But I have beaten him from his ass; and drawn something from him that hath in part contented His Majesty: who bade me tell you, that he gives no credit to this fool's confident and improbable assertions; and that he will be very good friends with you, if you can procure Brewster to be taken, wherein he makes no doubt of your careful endeavor.

Whitehall, 14 January 1619.

I thought fit to let you know by this postscript, that I have discharged Brewer: who hath hitherto been defrayed by His Majesty; but offered to return upon his own charge.

I doubt he will advise Brewster to conceal himself; and therefore have thus forewarned your Lordship.

He will be known of no privity, or so much as conjecture that he can make, how their pamphlets have been vented: which I presume will be better learned from him there, upon the place, before he shall be discharged; by perusing his papers, and other examinations.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 14 January 1619/20.

The enclosed from Polyander will show your Honor that Brewer's letters and papers are in safe custody.

To which he enlargeth further concerns Master Ames: who, seeking for a Professor's place (if not in Divinity, yet in Logic, or some of the sciences), finds friends amongst the curators; particularly Pauw of Amsterdam, whose sons he hath under his tutelage.

Upon my knowledge whereof, I recommended to Polyander the care, as I have done formerly to all the curators, that His Majesty should not be affronted with that man's preferment, before he had given full satisfaction to His Majesty in those things wherein he hath offended His Majesty.

From the Hague, this 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1619.

Sir Robert Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, 20 January 1619/20.

Master Brewer being now dismissed, as I wrote in my last; His Majesty would have you take occasion, upon his coming back thither, to renew your former motion for publishing anew their Placaat in more particular terms against printing of anything that may touch, or give distaste or prejudice to, their friends and allies.

Whitehall, 20 January 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton, 29 January 1619/20.

Right Honorable. Your Honor's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of this present came to my hands, by way of Antwerp, the 23<sup>rd</sup>.

Since which time, I have acquainted the curators of the University of Leiden, with the good treatment which hath been given unto Brewer, far beyond his deserving; and with his delivery.

For which they render His Majesty their humble thanks. And, at his return hither—unless he undertake to them to do his uttermost in finding out Brewster—wherein I will not fail likewise, of all other endeavors, he is not like to be at liberty.

The suspicion whereof, I believe, keeps me from hence; for, as yet, he appears not in these parts. From the Hague, this 29<sup>th</sup> of January 1619.

University of Leiden decides to continue holding Thomas Brewer's type, 9 May 1620.

At a meeting held the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1620.

A certain Memorial of the Ambassador Carleton is read, to the effect, that the types and papers of Brewer might remain in keeping here. It is resolved to keep the said types as hitherto.