

## CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO  
THE MEETING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

A CONTEMPORARY writer has briefly described the solemnities at Cambridge on the occasion of the late king's funeral: the assembling at nine o'clock in the morning; the Regent Walk, 'School yard,' non-Regent and Regent Houses and Great St Mary's, all hung with black, while numerous 'escutcheons and verses' appeared on the hangings; the afternoon sermon preached by Dr Collins and followed by an oration by Mr Thorndike, 'which being ended the company departed to their severall colleges<sup>1</sup>.'

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 Solemnities  
 at Cambridge  
 at the funeral  
 of James I :  
 7 May 1625.

The 'verses' subsequently reappeared in a somewhat remarkable collection<sup>2</sup>, wherein laments over the national loss were blended with effusive aspirations for the happiness of the new monarch. The volume, a small quarto of 72 pages, issued from the press of Cantrell Legge, the printer to the university, whose endeavours to extend the sphere of his activity were at this time involving the Press in a warm dispute with the Stationers' Company<sup>3</sup>. On the whole, the *Dolor et Solamen* may fairly be regarded as a noteworthy specimen of its kind,—a literature, which, as illustrative of contemporary history, has scarcely received the attention it

The *Dolor  
 et Solamen*.

<sup>1</sup> Baker MS. xiv 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen seu Decessio beatissimi Jacobi pacifici et Successio augustissimi Regis Caroli Magnae Britanniae*

*Galliae & Hiberniae Monarchae.*  
 Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, etc.  
 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Bowes (R.), *Notes on the University Printers*, p. 297.

**CHAP. I.**

The contributors:  
 James Stuart,  
 b. 1612,  
 d. 1655.

merits; and, amid all the customary forced metaphors and stereotyped classical allusions, there is clearly discernible a genuine sense that both the universities and the Church had lost a patron and defender who had discerned more clearly than most of his predecessors what it was that learning and orthodoxy chiefly needed at his hands. Foremost among the contributors appears the name of James Stuart, fourth duke of Lennox, who had succeeded to the title in the preceding year and was at this time a resident member of Trinity College. The conspicuous place assigned to the youthful peer's contribution is to be referred to the fact that he was related by blood to James himself, who had been by "Scots custom" his guardian during his minority. Among the sixty-five compositions which follow, the order is determined mainly by heraldic rules of precedence or by academic status. The verses themselves, regarded as specimens of Greek or Latin composition, might well have been consigned to obscurity, but they occasionally afford suggestive illustration of the point of view of some notable contributor; and among this number the tribute by Andrew Downes, the regius professor of Greek, and that by Samuel Collins, the regius professor of divinity, call more especially for a passing notice.

Andrew Downes,  
 b. 1549 (?),  
 d. 1628.

The position of Downes, in the earlier half of the year 1625, was of a kind which too frequently confronts us in the history of institutions, when it devolves upon a present generation to assess the claims arising out of services rendered to its predecessor. Five years had passed since the occasion when the Greek professor (as we last saw him)<sup>1</sup>, with his legs on the table, admitted young Simonds D'Ewes to the honour of an interview; and Downes, now in his seventy-seventh year, received an intimation that the resignation of his chair was expected. That he was past work was evident<sup>2</sup>, but he pleaded that his stipend ought still to be paid him. How far that claim was reasonable it is impossible, at this distance of time, to decide, but the evidence,

His removal from his professorship.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II 506.

<sup>2</sup> 'I could draw little or nothing from Mr Downes, whose memory falls

him.' Wheelock to Ussher, Ussher's *Works*, xv 281.

as far as it goes, would seem to shew that, with ordinary CHAP. I. prudence, he ought not to have been in necessitous circumstances. He had been fellow of St John's from 1571 to 1586, when he migrated to Trinity on his election to his professorship; his labours as one of the translators of the new version had been recognised by a prebend in the cathedral of Wells; he had filled his academic chair for nine and thirty years and had received fees from numerous pupils; and, although none could gainsay the value of his past services, his laborious method of exposition began to be regarded by the rising generation with awe rather than admiration<sup>1</sup>. So long however as James had lived, Downes felt secure. In 1609, he had received from the royal exchequer a grant of £50, 'of the king's free gift<sup>2</sup>'; and in 1621, when dedicating to his royal patron his *Praelectiones* to the *De Pace* of Demosthenes, we find him expressly stating that his obligations to Buckingham, the chief dispenser of James's favours, had been greater than those under which he lay to 'all the other magnates of the realm<sup>3</sup>.' It is these facts which enable us to understand how it was that, alone among the contributors to the *Dolor et Solamen*, Downes could venture to extol the munificence of his former patron, as verging upon lavishness<sup>4</sup>,—a fault which the late king's contemporaries had certainly not been accustomed to regard with much complacency; but at the time when the venerable professor sent in his verses, learning at Cambridge had hardly realised the loss it had sustained. Downes's plea for the continuance of his stipend granted, he retired to Coton, where an inscription in the little Norman church of that village records his death,—which occurred within rather more than a year subsequent to his removal thither,—and also attests his services to the university<sup>5</sup>.

His obligations to the King and to Buckingham.

His retirement to Coton.

<sup>1</sup> Baker-Mayor, p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers (Dom.)*, James the First, xlv, no. 56; *Warrant Book*, II 64.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ego plus illi, quam omnibus debeo Magnatibus.' Downes, *Praelectiones in Philippicam de Pace Demosthenis*, Epist. Dedicat.

<sup>4</sup> 'Forsitan immodica est largitio visa quibusdam, | Natura nimium

quippe benignus erat; | .....Provenit multos: inopes ditavit amicos; | Regibus hic semper gloria summa fuit.' *Dolor*, etc., pp. 8-9. 'In February 1611,' says Gardiner, 'James had granted to six favourites, four of whom were of Scottish birth, no less a sum than 34,000l.' *Hist. of England*, II 111.

<sup>5</sup> Baker-Mayor, II 599.

CHAP. I.  
 SAMUEL  
 COLLINS.  
 b. 1676.  
 d. 1661.

The contribution of Collins, one of the ablest members of the university at this period, was of a more ambitious character. As provost of King's as well as professor, he may have considered that he lay under a twofold obligation to assume a prominent place among the mourners, and it is certain that a tribute of special merit was looked for at his hands. Collins was already distinguished by his moderation amid the strife of parties, his refined and graceful wit, which often glanced and by no means innocuously at his antagonists, and by his love of the society of scholars such as Sir Henry Wotton (his brother provost at Eton), John Williams and Gerard Vossius. It was an impulsive, impetuous, self-reliant spirit, somewhat too disdainful of the dull and the pedantic, and ever reverting to his loved classics for solace and inspiration, but at the same time regarding with scarcely less admiration the new philosophy of Bacon. How, not a few might wonder, would Collins discharge the task of rendering homage to the late monarch? Although his composition is by far the longest in the collection, he would seem in a manner to have evaded the obligation which he could not shirk, by taking refuge in a detailed enumeration of the most important experiences in the late monarch's whole career. A remarkable effusion wanting alike in concinnity and real pathos, and otherwise notable merely as a specimen of the strained ingenuity then so prevalent and abounding in recondite allusion and ambiguous expression, to the wonder of the simple and the delectation of the initiated, but offering one passage of real value for our special purpose (p. 66),—the lines wherein the writer dilates on the genuine enthusiasm which prompted James's visits to the university<sup>1</sup>. We learn from Collins, what is nowhere else as explicitly intimated, that James had so greatly delighted in his Cambridge visits that he found a difficulty in bringing them to a close,—so completely had the royal pedant found himself at home at the disputations, the banquets and the plays, surrounded by the adulation, the learning, the wit

Value of  
 his evidence.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ut nostris dignatus adesse penatibus hospes | Dignatus leve prohvbum! gavisus et ardens | Et nulla vel saepe dolis revocabilis Aula. | Hic moriar: hic (inquit) amamus mutua amamurque.' *Dolor*, etc., p. 66.

and the youthful exuberance which ran riot on those occasions! CHAP. I.

A more formal tribute to the late monarch was paid by the passing of a grace ordaining that, in the morning of the fourth Sunday in Lent *for ever*, there should be a solemn sermon with praise to God for the perfect and happy state of the late King James, and in commemoration of the 'innumerable benefits' which the university enjoyed from his benignity<sup>1</sup>. On James Ussher, of Trinity College, Dublin, now archbishop of Armagh, it devolved to be the first to preach this sermon; and his text on the occasion, his biographer tells us, was afterwards 'much observed,' it being taken from Samuel (I xii 25),—'But if ye still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both you and your king<sup>2</sup>.' Not less ominous had appeared to be the incident, that when the new king was proclaimed at the market-cross in Cambridge, although the season was cold and backward, the voice of the crier was followed by a peal of thunder in the air<sup>3</sup>. The various aspects of the times were indeed such as justly to give rise to gloomy anticipations on the part of the more observant minds in the university. But, for the present, hope and loyal feeling prevailed; and the great majority turned to hail with enthusiasm the accession of the new monarch. His youth—he was but twenty-four—pleaded strongly in his behalf; even his taciturnity and reserved demeanour, when contrasted with his father's loquacity and vanity, inspired the belief that he was endowed with a sounder judgement and a more kingly discretion; while with many a grave divine and ardent theologian, his recent abandonment of the Spanish alliance encouraged the hope that in him a foremost champion of the interests of Protestantism throughout Europe might be destined to appear. Another and more remote occurrence can hardly also but have been present to their minds. Thirteen years before, when Charles was in his twelfth year, it had been sought to bring about

Institution of an annual sermon in James's memory.

Proclamation of Charles: 30 March 1625.

Enthusiasm at his accession.

The chief incidents in his previous relations with Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> 'qui innumeris et in aeternum recolendis beneficiis academiam beaverit.' *Lib. Grat. Z* p. 105. *Stat. Acad. Univ.* (1785), p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard (Nich.), *Funeral Sermon for Ussher* (Apr. 17, 1656), p. 86. Lond. 1656.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's *Letters* (series iii) 244.

**CHAP. I.**  
 His nomination for the  
 chancellorship: May  
 1612.

his election as chancellor of the university in succession to the earl of Salisbury. The endeavour was defeated and every effort was afterwards used to consign it to oblivion; but it none the less remained as a significant episode in the history of the office, and stands in immediate connexion with the highly important contest which will shortly claim our consideration.

Election of  
 NORTHAMPTON: his  
 letter of  
 acceptance,  
 29 May 1612.

The earl of Northampton had, as we have already seen, been elected on the occasion above referred to, and the belief was fairly general that a judicious choice had been made; for the new chancellor was not only, to use Hacket's expression, 'superlatively learned,' but also enormously wealthy. In the interval, however, between the nomination and the election, an untoward incident took place. A report was spread, probably only too true, that the lord privy-seal was really 'a papist at heart,' and Charles was nominated in opposition, Northampton's election being thus carried over the young prince's head. The new chancellor's first letter, written while he was still ignorant of the fact that a royal rival had been nominated against him, gives expression to something like surprise that in his old age, when even his person was scarcely known to the university<sup>1</sup>, and when the Latin in which he had there been wont to converse had faded from his memory<sup>2</sup>, he should have been chosen for such an honour. He claims their indulgence if, notwithstanding, he still ventures to 'stammer forth' his acknowledgements in that tongue,—his letter really being couched in a Latin style of exceptional elegance. And after intimating, in courtly phrase, his acceptance of the proffered honour, he congratulates the university that both they and he will be privileged to live under the protection of the great Maecenas and Solomon of the age, the eminent promoter of sound learning and patron of its professors. Charles's nomination, however, had been made not only unknown to

Subsequent  
 nomination  
 of Prince  
 Charles.

<sup>1</sup> —'me vix ex vultu agnitum, in ipso aetatis meae flexu vel potius crepusculo, cancellarium elegeritis.' *Camb. Univ. Transactions*, ed. Heywood and Wright, II 238.

<sup>2</sup> —'illius etiam penitus oblitus linguae qua matris academiae praecepta olim audire eamque colloqui et affari solebam.' *Ibid.*

Northampton but also to the king, and to both the disclosure came as an unpleasant surprise. For a brief period, the whole university, says Hacket, 'was under as black a cloud of displeasure as ever I knew in any time<sup>1</sup>,' an assertion corroborated by that of John Chamberlain of Trinity College, who states that 'the king was much displeased that his son should be put in balance with any of his subjects<sup>2</sup>.' The letter which Northampton now wrote, couched not in Latin but in plain and forcible English, affords, accordingly, unmistakable evidence of his chagrin at being thus obviously placed in a false position. 'I must,' he writes, 'beseech you all, that instead of sendinge up your officers and ministers about the manner of investinge me, you will vouchsafe to make another orderly election of an other, *congregatis vobis cum meo spiritu*, that my heart shall be no less dedicated and devoted to you all and every one of you (though I rest your ffellowe regent), then yf I had beine settled in the state of your high chancellor<sup>3</sup>.' The heads, sorely discomfited at this double miscarriage, decided to send John Williams, at this time one of the proctors, to the king at Greenwich. Williams had already made a favorable impression on James by a sermon preached before him in the preceding year<sup>4</sup>, and by his adroit representations he now managed so far to mitigate his displeasure, that, although still refusing to allow Charles to be nominated for the chancellorship, the king consented to come to the aid of the university by commanding Northampton to withdraw his resignation. Still smarting, however, under his recent experience, Northampton was not to be easily prevailed upon; nor was it perhaps without a certain cynical satisfaction that he wrote as follows to the vice-chancellor. 'After

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Displeasure of James who annuls the nomination.

Resignation of Northampton, 2 June.

Williams is sent to Greenwich.

James orders Northampton to withdraw his resignation; the latter entreats to be excused.

<sup>1</sup> *Scrinia Reserata: a Memorial offered to the great Deservings of John Williams, D.D.*, etc. By John Hacket, late Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. In the Savoy, 1692. i 21 [referred to in subsequent notes simply as 'Hacket'].

<sup>2</sup> MS. Sloane, no. 4173, p. 245; Heywood and Wright, ii 240.

<sup>3</sup> Heywood and Wright, ii 243.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter to his friend and patron, Sir John Wynne, Williams speaks with complacency of the signs of the royal approval which he had succeeded in eliciting and speculates on the possible results: 'I had,' he writes, 'a great deal of Court holie water, if I can make myselfe any good there bye.' 22 Nov. 1611. *Camb. Ant. Comm.* ii 37.



## CHAP. I.

longe suite on my knees, I prevayled so farr with my gracious and deere master, that he lefte me to my selfe, who held it best for my selfe, never to *appeere in the world with any marke that was sett on with so pestilent a prejudice*<sup>1</sup>. Then royalty, in turn, addressed itself to the university: 'wee would not,' said the letter, 'have you to misconceave of us that we are offended for that which hath passed about the election of your new chancellour.' James, indeed, prefers to believe that the nomination of 'the Duke of Yorke' was attributable not to 'the body of the university' 'but to some of rashe factious humour, whose conditions are alwaies apt to interrupt unity and uniformity'<sup>2</sup>; while he pronounces the original election of Northampton to have been highly commendable—'whether you looke to his birth, his education in that university, his greate learninge, his continuall favouringe of all learned men and of all things that tende to the furtherance of learninge or good of the churche.' But unfortunately the earl himself could not now be moved to accept the tarnished honour:—'wee cann,' says the king, 'by no persuasion or intreaty move him to imbrace it.' The only course left open was, accordingly, in the royal opinion, a new election—'wherin wee require you to proceede speedily and freely; and, on whomsoever your choyce shall light, wee shall use our authority to cause him to accept it'<sup>3</sup>. It seems probable that the king and the peer were acting in concert; for, following closely upon this letter, came another, also in English, from Northampton himself, conveying his acquiescence in the course which James suggested and intimating his readiness again to be nominated. *Amantium irae amoris integratio!* His heart, he affirms, had been won by the university at his first election and now returns to that body, 'to be so fastened by the bindinge knott of your inestimable love,' that 'duringe the tyme of my lyfe' it 'shall never part agayne'<sup>4</sup>. But although Northampton may have felt that the solution of the difficulty held out by the royal

Letter of James to the university: 10 June 1612.

The King bears testimony to Northampton's fitness.

He enjoins a new election.

Northampton acquiesces and declares himself reconciled.

<sup>1</sup> Heywood and Wright, II 244–5.

<sup>2</sup> So Chamberlain,—'that it was done by a few headstrong fellows that are since bound over to the council-

table.' *Ibid.* II 240.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II 245–6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* II 247–9; Baker MS. IV 366.



authority rendered it impossible for him to withhold his assent, and his re-election was carried without a dissentient voice, the extreme suavity of his language might alone suggest that it really veiled a still cherished sense of wrong; while with the death of prince Henry, towards the close of the year, the hopes of the university began again to gather round the new heir apparent. This feeling, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, found marked expression when in the following March Charles, along with his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, paid their visit to the university; he was not only elected 'in ordinem magistrorum,' but his portrait, now suspended in the university library, was painted in special honour of the occasion<sup>2</sup>, while the vice-chancellor and the caput were invested by James with authority to bestow degrees on whomever they thought fit, all prohibitory statutes being suspended by the royal fiat<sup>3</sup>. Amid all these brilliant festivities, however, Northampton was notably absent; and when, in the following year, he died, few probably were surprised to learn that Cambridge, in Hacket's homely phrase, 'was never the better for him by the wealth of a barley-corn.' His nephew, Thomas Howard, first earl of Suffolk and the lord of Audley End, who had also been educated at St John's and was the inheritor of a portion of his uncle's wealth, succeeded him in the chancellorship, and his profuse hospitality on the occasion of the royal visit in 1615<sup>4</sup> may, not improbably, have been dictated by a wish to efface the recollection of his predecessor's niggardliness; but his want of sympathy with learning, together with the incidents which marred his official career as lord high treasurer, and the difficulties in which he became involved through his marriage into the family of the Richs, did much to diminish his prestige with the university; while, on the other hand, the increased popularity which greeted Charles on his return from Spain now made him the darling of the nation. Nowhere throughout England had greater enthusiasm been displayed than at Cambridge on

CHAP. I.

His re-election: 17 June 1612.

His death: 15 June 1614.

Election of the EARL of SUFFOLK. b. 1561. d. 1626.

Growing popularity of Prince Charles.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II 514.<sup>2</sup> See label on portrait. Cooper, *Add. and Corrections*, p. 322.<sup>3</sup> Cooper, *Annals*, III 56.<sup>4</sup> Vol. II 518.

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Excerpt

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10

A.D. 1625 TO 1640.

## CHAP. I.

Deputation  
to Royston:  
12 Oct. 1623.The  
*Gratulatio.*

that occasion. On Charles's arrival, along with Buckingham, at Royston, where James was then keeping court, a deputation at once set out to convey the congratulations of the university. The bells were rung; 'a gratulatory sermon' was preached at St Mary's and an oration delivered in the afternoon<sup>1</sup>; each college listened to a speech, had its extra dish at supper, and squibs and a bonfire in the court at night<sup>2</sup>. At Royston, the deputation presented a 'book of verses<sup>3</sup>,' wherein, in a variety of metres, the loyal Latinists of the university, and especially those of King's and Trinity, vied with each other in the ardour of their congratulations, and employed their utmost ingenuity in extolling the bold emprise and heroic virtues of the two 'Smiths.' Seldom, even among the poets of the Augustan age, had the incense of flattery risen in denser fumes. Spain, according to one Trinity versifier, had at first imagined herself honoured by the presence of some celestial deity, but on discovering who her august visitor really was, became filled with even yet greater admiration and rapture. Love, sang a bard of Peterhouse, had impelled Charles forth on his outward journey; a mightier devotion, devotion to the Faith, had summoned him back. Samuel Collins, here, as ever, most prolific and exuberant, exulted in the thought that the 'Jesuit scum' had little cause for rejoicing, and that the nation's hope had returned undefiled by Circean enchantments. More than one contributor, in allusion to the crowning honour that had just descended on Buckingham by his investiture with the long dormant ducal title, thought it a happy conceit to suggest that one who had so ably *led* his prince, himself well deserved to be created *Dux*. Jerome Beale of Pembroke, the vice-chancellor, inaugurated and closed the series with two brief effusions, the first addressed to James, the last to Charles, both alike expressive of the academic sense of the

<sup>1</sup> By George Herbert; see his *Remains*, p. 224; also Bowes, *Catalogue*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, iv 929; Cooper, *Annals*, iii 160-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Gratulatio Academiae Cantabri-*

*giensis de Serenissimi Principis Reditu ex Hispaniis exoptatissimo: quam Augustissimo Regi Jacobo Celsissimoque Principi Carolo ardentissimi sui Voti Testimonium esse voluit. Ex Officina Cantrelli Legge, Almae Matris Cantabrigiae Typographi, 1623. 4to.*