



Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

La presente colección bibliográfica digital está sujeta a la legislación española sobre propiedad intelectual.

De acuerdo con lo establecido en la legislación vigente su utilización será exclusivamente con fines de estudio e investigación científica; en consecuencia, no podrán ser objeto de utilización colectiva ni lucrativa ni ser depositadas en centros públicos que las destinen a otros fines.

En las citas o referencias a los fondos incluidos en la investigación deberá mencionarse que los mismos proceden de la Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife y, además, hacer mención expresa del enlace permanente en Internet.

El investigador que utilice los citados fondos está obligado a hacer donación de un ejemplar a la Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife del estudio o trabajo de investigación realizado.

This bibliographic digital collection is subject to Spanish intellectual property Law. In accordance with current legislation, its use is solely for purposes of study and scientific research. Collective use, profit, and deposit of the materials in public centers intended for non-academic or study purposes is expressly prohibited.

Excerpts and references should be cited as being from the Library of the Patronato of the Alhambra and Generalife, and a stable URL should be included in the citation.

We kindly request that a copy of any publications resulting from said research be donated to the Library of the Patronato of the Alhambra and Generalife for the use of future students and researchers.

***Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
C / Real de la Alhambra S/N . Edificio Nuevos Museos
18009 GRANADA (ESPAÑA)***

+ 34 958 02 79 45

biblioteca.pag@juntadeandalucia.es

FORMES FUNDENGE

DE LA

CIUDAD DE

SEVILLA V.

P.C. Inventario de la Alhambra y General

COLECCION DE BIENAS DE CULTURA

INVENTARIO DE BIENES DE CULTURA

EN

B
34

No. 150

M



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJO DE CULTURA



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

X

10

BIBLIOTECA DE
LA ALHAMBRA

Est. A-2

Tabl. 3

N.º 15



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

R.271



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalif
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA



Titian, pinx.

J. Prentiss, sc.

CHARLES

THE EMPEROR CHARLES 5TH

FROM THE IMPERIAL COLLECTION, LOWER BELVIDERE, VIENNA.

BIBLIOTECA DE LA ALHAMBRA

London, Richard Bentley, 1850

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.
AND
HIS AMBASSADORS AT THE COURTS OF
ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

FROM
THE ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE IMPERIAL FAMILY ARCHIVES
AT VIENNA ;
WITH A CONNECTING NARRATIVE AND BIOGRAPHICAL
NOTICES OF
THE EMPEROR,
AND OF SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS
OF HIS ARMY AND HOUSEHOLD ;

TOGETHER WITH
THE EMPEROR'S ITINERARY FROM 1519—1551,

EDITED BY
WILLIAM BRADFORD, M.A.

FORMERLY CHAPLAIN TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT VIENNA.



LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1850.

Donativo de' S. Conde de
Romeros á la Biblioteca
de la Alhambra. 1909

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

B. G. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalit
INSTITUTO DE CULTURA



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

LONDON :

PRINTED BY WILLIAM NICOL, SHAKSPEARE PRESS, PALL MALL.

TO HIS HIGHNESS
PRINCE METTERNICH,
LATE CHANCELLOR OF STATE, &c., OF THE
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE,
KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE,
&c. &c. &c.

THROUGH WHOSE FAVOUR I WAS ENABLED SEVERAL YEARS
AGO TO OBTAIN COPIES OF THE LETTERS, WHICH GIVE THE
CHIEF, IF NOT THE ONLY VALUE TO THE FOLLOWING
PAGES; I VENTURE WITHOUT HAVING ASKED OR RECEIVED
PERMISSION BUT WITH THE MOST SINCERE RESPECT AND
DEFERENCE TO INSCRIBE THIS VOLUME.

W. B.

PREFACE.

OF the original letters which have given occasion to this Volume, some portions were published, as will be noticed in the introductory chapter, in a miscellaneous German work of Baron Hormayr's at a time when the office of the Imperial family archives at Vienna was under his direction.

During a long residence in that capital several years ago, I sought permission to obtain entire and authenticated copies of such as had been thus made use of, only in fragmentary extracts; a permission which was most liberally granted, and to an extent much greater than I had ventured to ask. Since my return home, as leisure and inclination prompted, translations of these letters have been made; but, as may be imagined from the long time which has been suffered to elapse, they did not occupy much of my attention. In fact I thought but little of them as a matter of any general interest, until an opportunity offered of laying a portion of them before a high authority at the British Museum, who pronounced them to be wholly unknown in this country and possessing so much historical value as fully to warrant their publication.

Influenced by this opinion and somewhat stimulated by the late stirring circumstances of the Continent, and of that part of it where the scene of the transactions chiefly referred to, is laid, I have overcome the hesitation I felt, from considerations of the limited nature of the correspondence, both as to time and circumstances, in presenting so imperfect a work to the British public; and I am now encouraged to hope that a collection such as it is, which interested me much individually at the time of making it, may not prove an unacceptable offering.

As the letters are not in any continued series, so as sufficiently to declare their own story and connection, some occasionally interwoven narrative is introduced respecting facts and personages, which to some readers may be superfluous, but to others perhaps, no unsatisfactory accompaniment.

The Itinerary of Charles the Fifth, kept by his Flemish Secretary Vandernesse, which, as far as I can learn, has never appeared in print, (otherwise than in a German translation and in detached portions in the miscellaneous publication of Hormayr, already alluded to,) is a document of too much historical importance to need any excuse for its insertion.

The same plea cannot be advanced for that which in order follows the correspondence, "characteristic sketches of Charles the Fifth and of some of his distinguished contemporaries."

It is not attempted in these brief notices to produce matter altogether new in illustration of characters, which

Robertson and other eminent writers have made already familiar to the English reader. They are nevertheless meant to contain some particulars, not so well known as others on record, derived from the same authentic sources as the foregoing letters, and a few throwing light on certain points, enough perhaps to justify what might otherwise be deemed an unnecessary repetition.

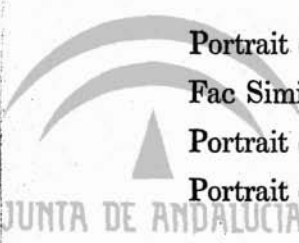
The concluding details concerning the Emperor, his army and household are furnished from an unpublished relation of a Venetian Ambassador contained amongst the Italian MSS. formerly belonging to the Abbate Canonici of Venice, now in the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Denton, Oxon, who kindly permitted me to make use of whatever I found in them suitable to the present publication. This collection is a rich mine of valuable matter illustrative of the history of the 16th and 17th centuries, which I had an opportunity of looking into a little while only before this volume was sent to the press.

As far as my own work is here concerned, it is one of very small pretension. For the most part it consists in translation and compilation.

W. BRADFORD.

Rectory, Storrington,
June, 1850.

Portrait of Charles V.	to face Title-page.
Fac Similes	page 255.
Portrait of the Marquis Pescara	386.
Portrait of the Duke of Alva	409.



P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERIA DE CULTURA

INTRODUCTORY.

THE great events which distinguished the sixteenth century, and more especially the earlier part of it, are such in their circumstances and consequences as to have engaged in no ordinary degree the interest and attention of each succeeding age, even to the present. A grand moral and intellectual movement had then commenced, in which the whole of Christendom was concerned; and from the peculiar character of the times, and the extraordinary personages which they produced, nothing seemed wanting to its progressive developement. Never perhaps was a period so fertile in men of renown, men illustrious in their several stations, as sovereigns, statesmen, warriors, men of learning and piety eminently suited to the purposes, which in the divine order of things they were meant to serve. To these, however apparently opposed, the passions of those concerned, as well as their best energies were made instrumental, a result not difficult to be traced in the various conflicts which occurred during the advance of the Reformation, in the wars of the Emperor Charles the Fifth with the French king, in the selfish

policy of Henry the Eighth,* and the ambition of his powerful minister Wolsey.

In addition to the interest which subjects of this nature cannot fail to excite, it is no small satisfaction to be convinced, that the age referred to, as it was the most important, so it was the first also in modern history, when the facts and transactions belonging to it, as well as individual character and motives, were, from the more general diffusion of every kind of knowledge, more clearly ascertained and authenticated. Of this advantage the historians and biographers of those times were not negligent; witness those on the Continent who were contemporaries with the circumstances they relate, such as Guicciardini, Bellay, Sandoval, Ulloa, Sepulveda, Sleidan and Paulus Jovius; and besides the public acts and records of our own country, private letters and memoirs have supplied a host of authorities, on which we do, and may safely, ground our belief. In the several remarkable transactions therefore of this age, thus brought clearly before us, as well as the great actors who figured in the drama then commenced, and scarcely yet conducted to its conclusion, no wonder that we feel a peculiar interest and satisfaction. And though much is told, and believed, and treasured in the memory, yet from the very nature of things, the mind is not thereby fully

* "If Henry the Eighth had any private sinister grounds," observes Bramhall, "they do not render the Reformation one jot the worse in itself, but only prove that *he* proceeded not uprightly, which concerneth *him*, not *us*."

satiated. As our understanding becomes informed, our curiosity is more and more piqued, and we are not unwilling to look back to, and to scrutinize those sources of intelligence from which supplies may have been already drawn, seeking to pick up a little from that field, whose harvest has been carried away, but which still yields something to reward the industrious gleaner. Hence the writers before named, though many of them sealed books to the ordinary reader, are often diligently examined by the antiquary; and where a trait, or circumstance, or motive can be elicited, which had escaped the historian, or was unsuited to the gravity of his general subject, it is felt to be not without its value, if fairly adduced in detecting some received error, or illustrating some hitherto doubtful fact. But much ground in this path is hitherto untrodden. Much matter of interest and curiosity contained in public and private letters reflecting light on many an obscure point of our own history, notwithstanding the active research of Ellis, Tytler, Sharon Turner, Halliwell and others, still, it may be presumed, lies buried amidst the dust and confusion to which these documents have been consigned. The attention of the English public has, however, of late years been a good deal directed to these long-neglected mines of hidden truth, by those able and successful enquirers, who have made it their business to explore them.

An impulse of this nature was given in Germany several years ago by Baron Hormayr, the well known author of the Austrian Plutarch, a writer of great

powers of memory, and vast historical information, who whilst Director of the Family Archives at Vienna contributed largely to a periodical work, entitled "*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst,*" and gave the highest interest to its pages by the insertion of letters, or rather extracts of letters from Charles the Fifth, and his Ministers. The form in which they were then published, and the various matter with which they were accompanied in such a miscellaneous work, rendered it unfavourable for an extensive, at least for a foreign circulation. These letters and extracts were translated into German, from the French, Latin or Spanish originals, and it is believed no part of them has been otherwise submitted to the public.

A sense of their great curiosity and importance led the Editor of these pages during a long residence in Vienna, when Chaplain to the British Embassy, to obtain an access to the original documents; and a facility for so doing was not only most graciously accorded by the Chancellor of State Prince Metternich, but the still greater favor was conferred of allowing copies to be made for him, when desired, of all the letters which had in part or wholly appeared in Baron Hormayr's work. This most liberal permission was not disregarded; and hence a collection was obtained, and is now in the Editor's possession, from which the following pages have been in great measure prepared.

The authenticity of these letters will therefore bear every test of enquiry; and it is hoped there will be found no infidelity, and no great inaccuracy in the

translation. In this it has not been attempted to render in our own language the antiquated phraseology of the originals. It would have been a difficult undertaking; and had it been tolerably successful, it would have savoured of affectation rather than of truth.

It might perhaps be expected that the entire correspondence should appear in the language in which it was written, along with its English version. This has been the practice in many similar publications; but it has been deemed advisable not unnecessarily to increase the bulk of this volume. A middle course has therefore been adopted. Original passages will be found occasionally added on the lower margin of the page, as well as whole letters thus inserted, when of more than ordinary interest. Such, it is hoped, may enable the reader to keep in view and realise the ideas meant to be conveyed, as well as to form some judgment of the fidelity or inaccuracy of the translation. Although the work of Baron Hormayr, in leading to the acquisition of these letters, has given rise to the present publication, it is not to be supposed that his plan and method of producing them is here meant to be followed.

The Editor fully acknowledges his obligations to this industrious author, in having brought certain extracts to bear with great force and truth on points which they were intended to illustrate; but so much further matter of interest and curiosity is contained in these authentic documents of history, that he is here led to introduce them almost entire. This has been

done without any curtailment with regard to those letters written by the Emperor's ambassadors in England, giving a very detailed account of conferences with the King (Henry the Eighth) and Wolsey in which the characteristic arrogance and high business-like powers of the minister as well as the waywardness and shrewdness of his "hard ruled master" are strikingly portrayed.

It is to be regretted that in this Correspondence, there is but very little which refers directly and immediately to the great event of that age, the commencement of the Reformation. This most important of subjects is only incidentally referred to, either because the family archives at Vienna afford nothing new relating to it, to inform or gratify the public, or that it did not fall within the Director's plan, in a popular and miscellaneous work, to bring prominently forward a matter of such grave and copious bearing.

It has been the principal object of the Editor, throughout the following Correspondence, to submit it to the English reader in as faithful a translation as he could render, not always a very easy task from the obsolete turn of expression, the occasional bad spelling, and often otherwise incorrect orthography of the French originals, common to that age. He has not sought to make these letters a vehicle for his own speculations, further than by sometimes pointing out their agreement or otherwise with correspondent and generally received facts and opinions, and occasionally offering a clue to assist the reader in forming his own conclusions.

When a new transaction is to be introduced, and the attention is turned from one subject to another, a few connecting points will be noticed, in order to give a little continuity of narrative. And as this Work is not offered exclusively to the attention of the historian or the antiquary, the Editor hopes to be excused in not taking it for granted, that every individual who may cast an eye over these pages, must necessarily be perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of the times, and all the personages to which they refer. On this account it will not be superfluous before entering upon the letters themselves, to take a slight glance at the leading events of the period, and at the relative position in which the principal states and potentates of Europe stood towards each other, when the earliest portion of them were written.

Real Academia de la Historia y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

NOTICES
OF
THE STATES OF EUROPE
AT
THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE
FIFTH.

CHARLES THE FIFTH was born on the 24th of February, 1500. On the death of his father, Philip, in 1506, he inherited the rich domains of the house of Burgundy in the Netherlands and Franche Comté, in right of his Grandmother, Mary, daughter of Charles the bold. Through his mother, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he succeeded to the united crowns of Arragon and Castile, forming the kingdom of Spain, as well as to those of Naples and Sicily; and on the death of his grandfather, Maximilian the first, he was elected Emperor on the 28th of June, 1519.

Henry the Eighth and Francis the First were competitors with Charles for the Imperial crown; but Henry finding his pretensions weakly supported, soon abandoned the contest to the Kings of France and Spain. A rivalry thus commencing, led to the most disastrous consequences, and to a hostility which ended only with their lives. The sources of discord between them were

many and various. In Italy, the French king had some claim to the crown of Naples, of which his predecessor had been unfairly deprived by Ferdinand of Arragon. On the other hand, Charles might demand the Dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the Empire, which Francis had seized and held possession of, without investiture from the Emperor. Charles again viewed with a jealous eye the Dutchy of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by the unjust policy of Louis the eleventh, and now become an appendage to the crown of France. In Navarre too, a more pressing cause of difference had fallen out, by the exclusion of the young king John D'Albret, to whose claims, Charles even in breach of treaty had refused to do justice, and whom Francis both from motives of interest and honor was bound to restore to his throne. This latter circumstance soon occasioned a rupture between these sovereigns, and a war, in which the other great powers of Europe were speedily involved. Leo the tenth dreading its effects in Italy, and foreseeing that the Milanese would probably become the great field of operations, endeavoured to maintain neutrality, but at length sided with the Emperor, from whom he had more to hope and to fear than from Francis. On similar motives the Venetians espoused the part of France. The alliance however to which the rival monarchs looked with the greatest anxiety was England, and each courted Henry with the utmost assiduity. From his personal character, his credit as being the richest prince in Christendom, and his commanding position with regard to a conti-

mental war in being master of Calais, the key to France and to the Netherlands, Henry was supposed to hold the balance in his hands, a circumstance which he was not backward to appreciate, and which led him to boast, that whichever side he favored, must prevail.

The year before Charles's election to the empire, Francis had spared no pains, not only to secure the friendship of Henry, but to gain over Wolsey to his interest; having sent Bonnivet, Admiral of France, a favorite and accomplished courtier, on a special mission to England, who by flattery, presents, and promises had laboured to work on the haughty prelate.

The meeting of the Cloth of Gold appointed for the summer of 1520, caused much alarm and jealousy to Charles, then become Emperor, who dreaded its probable effects in cementing the good understanding which had led to this friendly rencontre, from a similarity of character and pursuits in the two youthful and high spirited sovereigns. As the interview could not be prevented, Charles was determined to forestall Francis in the advantage of a first impression. This he effected by an act the most flattering which could be devised. Whilst the courts of France and England were vying in their preparations for the gorgeous festival which was at hand, the Emperor, almost unattended, sailed from Coruña, and arrived in England, wholly relying on Henry's generosity for his safety. Wolsey, who is supposed to have known, if not to have counselled this undertaking, was immediately dispatched by the King, then at Canterbury on his way to France,

to meet the Emperor at Dover. Thither the King immediately followed, to receive his illustrious and confiding guest. This visit, so complimentary to Henry's better feelings, and so gratifying to his vanity, had, it may be presumed, its desired effect. Although only of four days' continuance, Charles so well employed the opportunity, as deeply to prejudice Henry in his favor, and to detach Wolsey from his French connections. Soon after the Emperor's departure for the Netherlands, Wolsey had another interview with him at Gravelines, which paved the way for that more complete devotion to his cause, which soon became manifest.

In the following year, 1521, hostilities having commenced between Charles and Francis, Henry's mediation was proposed, and accepted unwillingly by the French king, who had good reason to dread the artifices and ill will of Wolsey. A congress was accordingly held at Calais, which was followed by a conference at Bruges, when instead of advancing a treaty of peace, the Cardinal, acting in his master's name, concluded a league with the Emperor against France, to which the Pope, after some wavering, had previously become a party. Great and successful efforts were now made by the confederates to drive the French from their possessions in Italy. Lautrec the French general, after the defection of twelve thousand Swiss troops, was compelled to abandon the Milanese with the loss of its capital and principal cities, and to retire towards the Venetian territories with the wreck of his army. Of their former conquests in Lombardy, the town of Cre-

mona, the castle of Milan and a few inconsiderable forts, were all that remained to the French after these disasters. Such was the relative position of the sovereigns of Europe towards the conclusion of the year 1521; when, amidst the rejoicings at Rome for the brilliant result of the campaign and the acquisition of Parma and Placentia to the ecclesiastical states, Pope Leo the tenth died after a few days illness, on the first of December in the forty-sixth year of his age.

By this unexpected event, the operations of the confederacy were wholly suspended. The rival potentates now anxiously turned their attention to the proceedings of the conclave; and the Cardinal of York who had been paving the way for his own election on such a contingency, now looked forward like the ambitious Balaam to his "promotion unto 'that' great honor," in which his whole soul had been engaged.

The letters immediately following will throw an additional and perhaps novel light, on some of the transactions relating to this subject, and will certainly make it appear that the disappointment of Wolsey's hopes is not to be attributed to any duplicity on the part of the Emperor, or to any want of exertions in his favor.

LETTERS OF THE EMPEROR AND HIS MINISTERS
RELATIVE TO THE PAPAL ELECTION AFTER THE
DEATH OF LEO THE TENTH.

The first letter in this series is the announcement of an ambassador from Charles the Fifth to Henry the

Eighth, and is introduced merely as a matter of curiosity to shew the form and fashion of address which the sovereigns of those days were pleased to hold in their correspondence, when in high good humour with each other.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO HENRY
THE EIGHTH OF ENGLAND.

“Most beloved, most excellent and most puissant Prince, our most dear brother, cousin, and fair uncle !

“We commend ourselves to you with all possible cordiality, that our affairs may be made known to you, and their prosperous or adverse issue, as is becoming and suitable to the true and indissoluble alliance and union which subsist between us, so firm and stable that the good of the one, is the good of the other.

“To this intent therefore we write at present to the reverend father in God our dear and faithful counsellor and ambassador the Bishop of Badajoz and Elna, who will make all known to you on our part, which you may desire to know, most high, most excellent, and most puissant prince our very dear brother, cousin and fair uncle, one whom you may trust as ourself, and who will contribute to our singular pleasure in being able to communicate good news of you. We pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Written in our city of Ghent 16th December, 1521.”

Before this letter to the King, and one of the same date from Charles to his ambassador (the Bishop of

Badajoz) had reached London, the following had been dispatched to the emperor, by the ambassador.

BERNARD DE MEZZA AMBASSADOR IN LONDON
BISHOP OF BADAJOZ AND PERPIGNAN, TO THE
EMPEROR.

Dated 19th December, 1521. (From Latin original.)

“ Most sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty !

On the 16th of this month after dinner at Richmond, where the King and the Cardinal were, the latter informed me, that he had received letters from the French King, which he shewed me, and the contents of which I will presently communicate to your Majesty: and further, that he had heard from the ambassador of the said King, that the death of the Pope was fully confirmed, and that the Cardinal of Medicis was at Rome, that your Majesty's and the papal armies were disbanded, and that the affairs of the French in Italy were returning into their former train. These things the Ambassador writes from the mouth of the King himself. At this news the king of England is disturbed and alarmed. Two things according to his judgment ought immediately to be attended to, and provided; first, that the kingdom of Naples should hence receive no injury, a matter to be strictly looked to by your Majesty's generals; and secondly, that especial care be taken in the ensuing election to the Popedom, in order to the bringing forward a person devoted to the interests of both your

Majesties, and in whom both may repose a mutual and absolute confidence. And for these purposes, it seemed most expedient to the King and Cardinal that your Majesty's army in Italy should be kept up in its complete efficiency, as well for the peace of the aforementioned kingdom, as for maintaining security in the forthcoming election. With regard to the person to be elected to this dignity, the said King of England expresses his most decided and very earnest desire, that it should be the most reverend the Cardinal of York; and is anxious beyond what I can express, that your Majesty should concur in this; and in order that nothing may be omitted which on his part might lead to its success, he has determined to send an envoy to Rome, with letters persuasive and commendatory to the Cardinals, in favor of the said Cardinal of York, written after the form and purport of which I am about to speak.* But since the King of England, as he most strenuously affirms, has no intention to do or to attempt anything but in perfect concert and understanding with your Majesty, and since there is but one mind, and one interest between you; he proposes sending the said envoy, not direct to Rome, but to your Majesty, in order that his instructions being submitted to your Majesty in person, (he being heard

* "Tamen cum jam rex Angliæ, ut constantissimè affirmat non intendat aliquid facere aut temptare, nisi de scitu et consilio Majestatis vestræ, cum ambarum Majestatum sit una fortuna, et unus animus; noluit dictum hominem mittere Romæ, sed ad Majestatem vestram cum suis instructionibus, quibus visis et audito dicto oratore

in explanation of them) may be approved or altered according to your Majesty's pleasure, which he will have strict orders to comply with, in every particular. Besides in a negociation so delicate, where inconvenience might arise, unless conducted with the utmost caution, and particularly when the chances in favor of the said Cardinal of York may turn out less probable than is hoped; it is thought expedient to provide against such a contingency, by taking good care that the Cardinal of Medicis, his most powerful opponent, should not be offended. In order therefore to secure his friendship, measures are to be so arranged, as to shew that your Majesties in all your proceedings are doing nothing to his prejudice, but even all for his advantage; unless it should appear that his chance was small, and then that every possible effort should be made openly for the most reverend the Cardinal of York.

“It is with this design that the King of England

suo qui declarabit Majestati vestræ animum suum circa singula possit Majestas vestra deliberare quid dictus orator suus est facturus qui per omnia servabit ordinem sibi datam per Majestatem vestram. Præterea quia ex dicta negociatione possent sequi multa inconvenientia nisi cum magna cautela tractaretur, et potissimum si non esset apparens possibilitas quod electio dicti Cardinalis Eboracensis sortiretur effectam, visum est providere pro tali casu taliter quod ad minus si supradictus non deberet eligi, eligatur Cardinalis de Medicis ne perdat ille amicus, nec sentiat dictus Cardinalis de Medicis, quod aliquid faciunt Majestates vestræ in prejudicium electionis suæ ymo quod omnia fiunt in favorem suam nisi in casu quod dictus de Medicis nullam haberet spem neque copiam votorum pro se, tunc aperte esset agendum pro dicto reverendissimo Cardinali Eboracensi; et ad istum

writes two letters to the Cardinals, one in favor of the Cardinal of York, and the other in favor of the Cardinal of Medicis, and suggests, that your Majesty, if it so please you, should do the like, and that his Envoy associated with your Majesty's Ambassador at Rome (the Sieur John Manuel) should make use of the said letters according to circumstances, and say and do whatever else your Majesty may judge more convenient.

“ Moreover, since the Envoy to be charged with this commission may not be able to accomplish the object here referred to, either because your Majesty might direct otherwise, or other impediments might occur ; his most serene Majesty of England has selected a person duly qualified to serve and negotiate many other of your common interests in those parts, for which his presence may be requisite. The person named is Richard Pace* first Secretary of the King, and an ap-

propositum dictus serenissimus Rex Angliæ scribit binas litteras Cardinalibus, unas in favorem dicti Eboracensis, alias in favorem dicti de Medicis, quarum similes debebat scribere Majestas vestra si videbitur sic expedire, supradictus verò orator utatur dictis literis sicuti fuerit etiam visum Majestati vestræ, conjungetque se dictus orator cum Domino Johanne Manuel, facietque et dicet simul cum eoque videbuntur Majestati vestræ melius convenire, &c. &c.”

* “ Polydore Vergil says of this same Richard Pace ‘musicus et facetus incredibiliter animum regis delectabat.’ Wolsey saw the fascination, and despatched him on a foreign Embassy !” Ellis’s Original Letters.

proved servant of your Majesty, whom the King sends in full assurance of his zeal and fidelity, 'as if he had sent his very heart,' to use his own expression, shewing indeed in this how much he is interested in the result of the election.*

"But to return to the Cardinal and to what he feels, or what he says regarding the election of the future Pope. He has declared in my presence with the most solemn oaths and protestations to the King his master, that nothing could induce him to seek or accept of this dignity, unless your Majesty and his King deemed it conducive to the security and glory of both your Majesties; and should this indeed be your mutual opinion, there was no labour he would refuse, in order to merit your confidence, assuring you that the chief benefit and emolument he could look to in such an advancement, was the exaltation of your Majesties. All this was fully responded to by the King, who gave his royal word, that such was his conviction; and further, that both himself and your Majesty might so direct and dispose of his (the Cardinal's) power and authority, as if the Holy See were in their own possessions, and thus give ease to the world.

* In the intervening part here omitted, which relates to the affairs of the Swiss and the Venetians, Pace, who, with some view to these also, was selected as an able negotiator, is further spoken of as enjoying the highest credit with the King, and one most likely to succeed the Cardinal in his favor and counsels, should the occasion occur. He is also described as devoted to the Emperor (*totus Cæsarius*) in the Latin original.

It was on these grounds, added the King, that he implored your Majesty to lend a helping hand. Should this however fail, it was strongly urged, that such care and diligence should be exercised in the election, as to secure a person devoted to both your interests; and to employ such caution and dexterity, that he who gained it, should at least suppose his success obtained only through the concurrent interest and support of both your Majesties.

“In fine, Sire, for the relief of my own mind, I will venture to express an opinion which I have formed. On the one side, it does not appear to me that the Cardinal entertains any very sanguine hopes of success, though he is very far from despairing of it; on the other, it is nevertheless obvious, that something may be gained in this affair. The Cardinal will not fail to perceive in the management of it, what the disposition of your Majesty towards his pretensions really is, and what trust is to be placed in your Majesty's promises conveyed to him last year, through the Sieur de la Roche and myself, which he at that time refused, but which he did not now forget to remind me of.

“I would suggest, therefore, that although your Majesty's exertions in the present instance may be unattended with much prospect of success, they should nevertheless be carried on with such zeal and lively interest, as to shew yourself in earnest, and prepared to urge them to perhaps better effect on a future vacancy.

“I make this observation, Sire, not from the *supposed*

result, which such a demonstration would produce upon the good offices of the Cardinal toward the King his master, but from what I have actually seen and witnessed; for example at present, the Cardinal seizes every occasion of confirming the King's affection towards your Majesty, and exasperating him against the French. They deal, he tells him, in nothing but professions and lies; and just now, a case has occurred of several French ships being detained, on a pretence of some violence being committed, or on account of the Duke of Albany's being now on his passage to Scotland, or in short for some frivolous reason, which would not at other times be noticed.

"Hence, Sire, I cannot but recommend to your Majesty, that whether the election be gained or lost by the said Cardinal, this affair be treated with such dexterity, that he should not be lost to your service; and that such measures be taken, that the aforementioned Pape in his despatches home, may be able to speak of your Majesty's good will and exertions.

From London the 19th day of December, 1521,

of your most sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty
the most humble Servant and subject,

THE BISHOP OF BADAJOZ AND PERPIGNAN."*

The following letter from Charles to his Ambassador was written three days before the preceding one, and had not reached its destination when the above was despatched. The sentiments it expresses, with regard

* Pacensis ac Helnensis Episcopus (Latin original).

to Wolsey's elevation, are sufficiently in accordance with the views and wishes of the King and Cardinal, to anticipate a favourable reception of the combined movement proposed in favor of Wolsey, as well as a full concurrence in that dextrous manœuvre of diplomacy, which was to secure the good will of either Cardinal (York, or de Medicis) who might happen to prove the successful candidate.

FROM THE EMPEROR TO BERNARD DE MEZZA,
BISHOP OF BADAJOZ.

14th December, 1521.

“Reverend father in God, dear and loyal!

On our arrival in this our city of Ghent in the evening, after our return from hunting, we received your letters of the 12 of this month, containing matter of much satisfaction, to which we are not able to make an immediate reply; but we hasten, this post, expressly to transmit to you letters to our good uncle the King, and to Monseigneur the legate. I send also your cre-

MINUTE DE LA LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR A SES AM-
BASSADEURS EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrité à Gand le 14 Xbre, 1521.

“Reverend Pere en Dieu cher et féal!

A notre arryvé en ceste notre ville de Gand, que a esté à ce soir, retournant de la Chasse, nous avons veu vos Lettres du XII^e. de ce mois, contenant beaucoup de bonnes choses, ausquelles ne vous povons promptement fere responce, mais depechons ceste poste tout exprès pour vous envoyer Lettres au Roy notre bon Oncle et à Monseigneur

dentials, and desire you to announce on our part to the aforesaid, the decease of our holy father the Pope, as was yesterday made known to you by our Grand Chancellor. In doing of which, I entirely rely on your skill and address, being particularly desirous that they should understand, that we lost no time in acquainting them with this event; and that what our said Chancellor did in this behalf, was done only in consequence of our absence.

“ We wish you further to inform Monseigneur the Legate on our part, that we have never failed to have his advancement and elevation in view; and that we most willingly hold to the promise made to him at Bruges, respecting the papal dignity; requiring only to know his own wishes, and the measures he would advise, in order to use in this affair, and in every other which concerns his interest, all the power and influence without any reserve, which we can command.

le Legat, qui contiennent credence sur vous, par laquelle les advertirez de notre part du Trespas de notre Saint Pere le Pape, selon ce que hier vous fut escript par notre grand Chancelier et que par votre bonne dexterité scaurez bien fere, afin qu'ils cognoissent que de notre costé le lui vouloir bien escrire, et ce que en a esté fait par notre dit Chancelier, a esté pour notre dite absence. D'autre part vous direz de par nous à Monseigneur le Legat, comme nous avons toujours en notre bonne souvenance son avancement et exaltation, et le tenons racors de propos, que luy avons tenuz à Bruges touchant la Papalité, ensuivant lesquels et pour l'effect de ce, sommes deliberez l'ayder de notre pouvoir, tant en cestuy affaire que aultres, que luy pourroient toucher, parquoy le requerez qu'il vueille dire son advis, s'il y a quelque affection, et nous y employerons très volontier sans

“ And although we are of opinion that this election is not likely speedily to be brought to issue, and that the Cardinal of York stands well already ; we are nevertheless desirous of approaching nearer to Italy than we now are, to give the most effectual proof of our cordial affection ; and in our earnest desire to do for him more than for any other person, we may thus apply ourselves the more readily to the accomplishment of his wishes.

“ It is our further pleasure that you should use your best diligence in acquainting us with the views which the Sieur Legate may himself entertain, to whom you will not fail with your accustomed prudence and dexterity fully to make known these our sentiments, that we may secure his good will, nothing doubting but that the king of France will make him all sorts of fair offers, fruitless, as it is well known, they are likely to be.

“ We write also to our Ambassador at Rome, Don

y riens espargner, combien que faisons doute que la chose sera tardive, et qu'il en-soit desja bien avant allé et neant moins nous voudrions bien estre plus près d'Italye que ne sommes, et nous luy demonstrerions effectivement que voudrions fere pour luy, plustot que pour nul autre et n'actendrions à luy, en demander son advis pour la bonne et grande amour et cordiale affection que nous luy pourtons.

“ Nous desirons que à diligence nous advertissez sur ce, de l'advis du dit Seigneur Legat auquel vous remonstrerez toutes ces choses de bonne sorte, comme bien scaurez fere par votre dextérité et prudence afin d'en gaigner sa bien vuellance, car nous ne faisons doute que le Roy de France luy fera tout plain de belle ouffert de son cousté, combien qu'il est tout notoir que en jcelle ne pourroient porter grand fruit n'y ne luy scauroient ayder.

“ Nous escripvons aussi à notre Ambassadeur Don Jehan Manuel

John Manuel, that, if it should so fall out that the election of a new Pope should have been so hastened as already to have taken place, he should take occasion to represent how necessary it would be for the good of Christendom, that his Holiness should send deputies into Switzerland there to meet those which we also send : and if the said election has been retarded, we have given instructions that this matter should be urged through the College of Cardinals.

à Rome, que si d'aventure l'élection du Pape futur estoit si hastée qu'elle fust tantost faite, et en cas il treuve main pour le bien de la Chretienneté que le dit futur Pape ordonne ses deputez pour estre à la ditte journée de Suysse, et si l'élection se retardoit que en ce cas soit dressé ce que dessus par le moyen du College des Cardinaulx.

* The parts here omitted relate to a negociation just set on foot by the Emperor, for a levy of Swiss troops to reinforce the army of the Confederacy. In letting out their troops for hire, it was a rule of the Swiss republic to prohibit their engagement in any war, in the service of *both* contending parties. This law no less politic than humane, had, it seems, been eluded or connived at in the late campaign. Twelve thousand Swiss had joined the army of Lautrec at its commencement, and by the address of the Cardinal of Sion a warm partisan of the Emperor, twelve thousand were engaged also on the side of the Confederacy. A clamour against this proceeding occasioned the Swiss states to order the withdrawal of both ; but by the artifice of the above named Cardinal, the order was communicated only to those in the service of France. Hence the defection of that large body from Lautrec, and its calamitous result.

On the death of Leo the tenth, the Swiss in the service of the Confederacy had been recalled ; and Charles was now anxious in con-

“ We further require and command that you employ all your wonted care and diligence in all the aforesaid particulars, and apprize us as quickly as possible, of the resolutions which the aforesaid King my uncle, and Monseigneur the Legate may take in each and all of them.

“ Our very dear and beloved brother * the Archduke is just arrived to visit us in our city of Ghent, which gives us the greatest pleasure. We are making all necessary arrangements to prepare for our speedy departure into Spain.

“ With regard to your letters of the 12th, above mentioned, you will receive our answer at large within a couple of days.

Given at our said city of Ghent
the 16 day of December, 1521.”

“ Si vous requerons et neantmoins ordonnons de sur toutes les choses susdites fere bonne dilligence que auez acoustumés et au plustot que pourrez nous advertisser de la resolution, que le dit Seigneur Roy notre oncle, et monseigneur le Legat aurons prins sur le tout.

“ Notre très cher et très Amé frere l'Archiduc est arrivé vers nous en ceste notre ville de Gand, de quoy sommes très joyeux, et sommes venus icy pour mectre ordre en nos affaires et principalement pour haster notre allée d'Espagne; quant à la response à vos dittes Lettres du 12^e dessus mentionnée vous y fereis ample response dedans deux jours. Donnè en notre ditte Ville de Gand le XVI^e. jour de Decembre, XV^e. XXI.”

cert with Henry and the new Pope to anticipate the King of France, in immediately engaging a body of these important auxiliaries.

* Ferdinand, afterwards King of Bohemia, &c. and Emperor.

EXTRACT FROM MEZZA'S DESPATCH.

Dated 24th December, in reply to the foregoing.

“I obeyed in every particular your Majesty's commands of the 16th instant. The Cardinal listened to me with the greatest attention, and accepted with evident joy the offers made to him. They called forth such expressions of humble and reiterated thanks, as though they had already secured for him the papal dignity. He afterwards spoke in a manner, which did not a little astonish me, and however strange they may appear, I must acquaint your Majesty with his words. “Nothing would more contribute,” he said, “towards determining the result of the election in my favor than the march of the Imperial troops now in Italy towards Rome: and in case neither presents nor good words have their effect on the College of Cardinals, they should be compelled by main force to the choice which his Majesty approves;*” so that in no case they be suffered to elect a dependant on the French; the result of which would be the destruction of Naples and Sicily, involving that of all Christendom: this would be avoided by my election.” He added that he was quite ready for the object in view to expend one hundred thousand

* Burnet represents the Emperor as complaining that Wolsey had urged him to employ his army in Italy to enforce his election to the Popedom. This charge Burnet deems much aggravated, as it cannot be supposed, he thinks, that either the King or Wolsey “could desire so barefaced a thing as the Emperor here fastened upon them.” Hist. of the Reform. vol. 5 p. 57.

ducats. He intimated that the King of France counted upon commanding twenty-two voices among the Cardinals; and I see clearly that the King offered them to him: but the Cardinal relies exclusively on your Majesty."

The following are answers to the letters sent by the King and Cardinal, and conveyed to the Emperor by Pace, who immediately set off on his mission, as had been announced by Mezza.

FROM CHARLES THE FIFTH TO THE KING OF
ENGLAND.

Dated Ghent, the 27th of December, 1521.

"My good uncle, brother and father! I most heartily recommend myself to you, having received the letters by your first Secretary Pace, which you wrote with your own hand, and having learned from them, as well as by relation at length from your aforesaid Secretary, all your thoughts and desires touching the election of the

MINUTE DE LA LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR AU ROI
D'ANGLETERRE.

Ecrité à Gand, le 27 Xbre, 1521.

"Mon bon Oncle, Frere et Pere.

A vous de très bon cueur me recommande, ayant par votre premier Secretaire Pacey receu les lectres que m'avez nouvellement escriptes de votre main, et tant par icelles que par relation de votre dit Secretaire entendu bien au long votre pensement et desir touchant l'election du nouveau Pape, ay trouvé vraye conformité et corres-

new Pope, which bear the most perfect conformity with all I have hitherto myself thought and wished, respecting the person of my especial friend Monseigneur the Cardinal of York; of which sentiments he could not fail to be assured by the letters, which I immediately wrote, on receiving the news of the death of our late holy father. For, certes, the prudence, learning, integrity, experience, as well as other virtues and accomplishments, for which he is distinguished, render him eminently worthy of such a dignity.

“ I have, therefore, in coming to the knowledge of your intentions and his, hastened letters in the best form I could devise, for the promotion of the said Seigneur Cardinal to the said holy see, as will appear by the copies of my letters given to the said Pace, along with the originals; insomuch, that you yourself as well as the said Seigneur Cardinal may rest perfectly assured of my most earnest co-operation, and that there

pondence à ce que par avant avoye pensé de la personne de mon especial amy Monseigneur le Cardinal de Yorck, celon que luy mesme aura peu cogneistre par les Lectres que je vous escripviz sur ce incontinent que jeuz les nouvelles du trespas, car certes la prudence, Doctrine, intégrité, experience et aultres vertuz et bonnes meurs que sont en luy, le rendent meritement digne de tenir tel Siege, parquoy incontinent que ay sceu votre intencion et la Sienne, ay despeché sur ce mes lectres pertinentes en la meilleure forme que l'hon a sceu deviser pour promouvoir le dit Seigneur Cardinal au dit Saint Siege, comme par la copie de mes lectres donnée au dit Pacey avec les originales, se pourra assez cogneistre, et pouvez estre asschuré et le dit Seigneur Cardinal aussy, que en cest affaire tant que en moi sera, mespargneray chose quelcunque, pour le conduire à bon effect,

is nothing which I would leave undone, which might contribute to this good effect; and glad should I be, could he see with his own eyes, and understand, the full extent of the assistance I am ready to offer, not only in letters and words of myself and my friends, but also, should need be, by force of hand, in employing all the army which I have in Italy, and that not a small one; for besides the forces I have now in Lombardy, there remain in our Kingdom of Naples, the five hundred men at arms, and the five hundred light cavalry of the rear Guard, which might be brought forward on any sudden emergency, as my Ambassador will more particularly inform you. And now I will conclude, praying the blessed Son of God, to give you a good, happy and long life."

et voudroye bien que luy mesme puist veoir de l'euil et cogneistre la bonne assistance que luy voudroye fere, non seulement de lectres et paroles, tant de moy que de mes amys, mais aussy quand il seroit besoing avec la main, y emploiant toute l'armée que j'ay en Italie, que n'est pas petite, car oultre celle que est encoures en Lombardie, sont demeurez en notre Royaulme de Naples cinq cens hommes d'armes et cinq cens chivaux ligiers de l'arriere garde, desquelz l'hon se pourroit ayder soubdainement à une necessité, comme vous dira plus amplement mon Ambassadeur, et à tant ferai fin, priant le Benoit Filz de Dieu qu'il vous doint bonne vie et longue."

THE EMPEROR TO MONSEIGNEUR THE CARDINAL
OF YORK.

Ghent, 27th Decr. 1521.

“ Monseigneur Legate, my good father, and especial friend! I have received by the Secretary Pace, the letters which the King my uncle, and you have written with your own hands ; and it gives me great pleasure to find that they were in perfect accordance with what I had already written on this subject ; and the more so, because a way is opened to me, to prove how cordially I desire your increased greatness and advancement, which you will the more distinctly perceive from the letter I have written with my own hand, to the King my uncle, and still more so from my Ambassador who will confer with you on every necessary detail. I will not therefore write more at length, assured as you must be, that no effort on my part will be wanting for the desired result, and that my favor in this affair will be confined to you alone, as the Creator knows my affection is ; and may he grant you, Monseigneur Legate, all your desires, with a happy and long life.”

Pace after he had delivered his letters at Ghent, and received the Emperor's instructions, proceeded on his way to Rome ; but supposing him to have made every exertion, in expediting his journey, he could not possibly have arrived in time for the purposes of his mission.

Adrian of Utrecht, Cardinal of Tortosa, formerly preceptor of Charles, and then administering in his

name the affairs of Spain, was elected Pope on the 9th of January, 1522.

The struggle in the conclave * which lasted fourteen days, and ended in this result, had been throughout warm and turbulent. The candidate first named was the Cardinal of Medicis, who favored by some Cardinals in the Emperor's interest, but strongly opposed by the French party, was resolutely rejected. Others were brought forward, who were less decided in their politics ; but with no better success. At one time, the

* The following are the forms observed in the Conclave for the election of a Pope.

The day after the last of the funeral of the late Pope, the Cardinals after hearing a solemn mass *de Spiritu sancto*, proceed to one of the Pontifical palaces, where rooms have been prepared for each of them, and where they remain till the election has taken place. Each Cardinal has with him a Secretary called *Conclavista* and two domestics. They meet once a day in the chapel of the Palace, where a scrutiny is made of their votes previously written, and placed in an urn. This is repeated each day, till two thirds at least of the votes are in favor of one Candidate, who is then duly elected. Each Cardinal in giving his written vote, gives also his name with it, written on a separate and sealed paper which is not opened, till the Pope is declared. When the election is strongly contested, and the Cardinals become weary of their confinement, negotiations in writing are carried on between the leaders of parties, and a compromise is entered into, by which two or more parties not being able singly to succeed, join in favor of a third, who is acceptable or at least not obnoxious to any of them ; a proceeding which often gives an unexpected turn to the election. During the Conclave the ambassadors of Austria, France and Spain, have each the right to put their veto upon one particular Cardinal, whose election would be objectionable to their respective Courts.

contest seemed to rest between the Cardinals Farnese and Colonna, but neither could obtain the requisite number of votes.* Wolsey was at length named, and stood three divisions of the Conclave; on the first he had nine votes, on the second twelve, on the third an increased number, but under twenty, beyond which he could not advance. After ten scrutinies, in which negatives prevailed against all the names submitted, some one of the imperial party proposed Adrian Cardinal of Tortosa, when fifteen votes were pronounced in his favor; to these afterwards four of the friends of de Medicis added their support; and others suspecting some secret influence successfully at work, and seeking to gain credit by timely aid, suddenly concurred in joining their suffrage also.

On the eleventh scrutiny, twenty six votes (forming the requisite two thirds of the thirty seven Cardinals then in conclave) were consequently found to have declared for Adrian of Utrecht; who although a stranger to Italy, and almost unknown even to those who supported him, thus obtained the papal crown to the surprize of the Cardinals themselves, and the utter dissatisfaction of the Roman citizens.

Whilst this important election was pending, Wolsey

* This account of the proceeding of the Conclave at this election rests on the authority of Sharon Turner, who with singular care and diligence has in his history of Henry VIIIth adduced much curious evidence from MS. letters in the British Museum, bearing on this and other interesting points, never as it would appear before consulted.

seems to have apprehended some underhand dealing unfavourable to his cause, as is intimated in the following extract from Mezza's dispatch to the Emperor, dated 17th January, 1522.

MEZZA TO THE EMPEROR.

“The Sieur Legate has informed me, that he has received news from Rome, which leads him in nowise to anticipate any great advantage from Pace's mission, inasmuch as your Majesty's Ambassador, Don John Manuel, is doing every thing in his power to promote the cause of Medicis. This he said with a change of colour and manifest expression of anger. I enquired whether he had good grounds for what he affirmed; and considered myself called upon to assure him, that, if so, Manuel's conduct would be most certainly altered after his first interview with Pace.”

A very few days after the above date, the intelligence of Adrian's election reached the Emperor at Brussels; and the sentiments with which he received it will appear in an extract of his dispatch to his Ambassador in London.

CHARLES THE FIFTH TO MEZZA.

Brussels, January 21st, 1522.

“However anxious was our wish that Pace should have arrived in Rome at the right time, and that the letters we had written in favor of the Sieur Legate had been conducive to the fulfilment of his wishes, and

those of our uncle the King ; yet must we be thankful, the object we had at heart having thus failed, that the choice fell upon Cardinal Tortosa, whose elevation, next after the Cardinal of York, will certainly be most for the good, not of ourselves only, but of the whole of Christendom. I hope to have the greater interest with him, who under my own roof was my instructor in morals and literature."

In a subsequent dispatch the Emperor thus refers to Wolsey's complaints, noticed in Mezza's letter of the 17th January.

CHARLES THE FIFTH TO MEZZA.*

Brussels, Feb. 5th, 1522.

" With regard to the news which the Sieur Cardinal intimates having received from Rome, you may confidently assure him that Don John Manuel had no sort of commission from us to interest himself in favor of Medicis, or of any other person whatsoever, except Wolsey himself. The letters requiring him to make every possible effort to secure Wolsey's election, had not then arrived ; and before the actual meeting of the Conclave, he had no other orders from us than to remind the Members of the sacred college col-

* " Surplus quant aux nouvelles que ledit Sieur Cardinal dict avoir eu de Romme, vous pouvez en ce hardiment asschurer le dit Legat, que le dit Don Jehan n'a jamais eu charge de nous de l'election en faveur de Medicis ne aultre quelconque excepté les lectres que luy escripismes en faveur du dit Sieur Legat, lesquelles ne lui ont été presentées ; et avant que les Cardinaulx entrassent en conclave, il n'avoit eu aultre charge de nous, que de requerir ledit Collège des

lectively and individually, strictly to do their duty in making such a choice, as promised to be most conducive to the welfare of the Church, and the cause of Christianity.* But since, at the time when the election took place, neither Pace nor the Courier had reached Rome, it is in the highest degree improbable that Don John should have made interest for Medicis in particular; and indeed the result seems to prove the contrary. The choice, which fell upon one, who was never even contemplated by any party, appears to have been rather the choice of God, than of men. And seeing that our dispatch did not arrive in time to operate in favor of the Sieur Legate's election; he may nevertheless be pleased with the choice of one, who of the whole college is the person most likely to do him favor and advantage."

Cardinaulx, et chacun en particulier, quilz vouldissent en ce descharger leur conscience et elire cellui que leur sembleroit plus convenable pour le bien de l'Eglise et de toute la Chretienete: et puy que au temps de l'Election n'estoit encore arrivè Pacey ne le Courier qui apportoit les lettres ecrites en faveur du dit Legat, n'est vraysemblable que ledit Don Jehan deust avoir fait particuliere sollicitation pour Medicis, mesmes voyant l'effect, qui s'en est ensuy, tout au contraire d'avoir esleu celluy auquel nul y pensoit, qu'est plus tost euvre de Dieu que des hommes; et puy que la depeche n'estoit venue en temps de pouvoir profiter à M. le Legat, il se doit resjoir qu'elle soit tombée ceste election sur celluy duquel il doit esperer plus de bien et avancement que de nul aultre du Collège."

* It would appear that the Cardinals sent to Rome from the French Court were not more fortunate than Pace. They were to have hindered the choice of a Pope devoted to the Emperor's in-

The following is a curious testimony* on the subject of this election, extracted from a letter of the Emperor to Charles de Peupet one of his Ministers, dated the 8th March, 1522.

“Since our last letter of instructions to you, we have received dispatches from the Holy Father, and our Viceroy, from Spain, and others from Rome. Those from Spain will serve to shew you how eagerly the Cardinal de Santa croce (he who with the semblance of an inspired person pronounced the name of Adrian) hurried to be the first to address his Holiness, and to give him to understand, that it was *he* who made him Pope, and moreover that he had done so against the will of the Emperor, who through his minister Manuel had been working in favor of another—all fabrication and untruth. We further were informed, that the man whom Cardinal de Santa croce sent to the Pope, had previously been with the French King, and under pious pretences, had made very base offers, to substantiate which, he is now endeavouring to win over the Pope’s favor. All these circumstances make it imperative, that you should explain to the Pope the relation in which he really at present stands with respect to us. Inform him, that the aforementioned Cardinal did not make him Pope, he having on the contrary given himself a great deal of trouble to throw obstacles in the way of his election; for although this interest, and heard, whilst yet on their journey, that the election had already taken place.

* Hormayr.

Cardinal at the last scrutiny did give his vote in favor of Adrian in the certain expectation that he would not be chosen ; yet when he found the number of votes swelling, and finally on the point of determining the election in Adrian's favor, he then endeavoured to withdraw his own vote ; a proceeding which the other Cardinals would not admit of. And this you may add as the purest truth, that he has to thank no man for his elevation, but God, and his own high character. In some respects, to judge from a declaration made to our Minister Hinbercourt by several of the Cardinals, there might be some little bias in favor of his pretensions from good will and consideration towards ourselves."

The sentiments and conduct of Charles the Fifth, as shewn in the foregoing extracts from dispatches to his ministers, must remove all reasonable ground of suspicion that he was insincere in his professions in Wolsey's favor, with regard to this important election. That he was ready enough to employ dissimulation in his policy, is sufficiently declared in a former letter ; but were Wolsey's surmises well founded with respect to Manuel, the Emperor's ambassador at Rome, and were this minister, on a contingency so little anticipated as the death of Leo, for which it cannot be presumed that he had received any instructions, doing his best to promote the advancement of de Medicis, no blame can on this account fairly attach to his master. Neither the Courier, nor Pace, who was charged with full and implicit directions, had at that time arrived. The Imperial party was certainly favorable to this Car-

dinal from his known hostility to the French ; and it is evident from the diplomatic *ruse* with respect to two letters, one of which was to be delivered, and the other suppressed according to circumstances (as referred to in the dispatch of Mezza) that the success of de Medicis would be far from unpleasing either to the Emperor or King Henry. But setting aside every other motive than those of interest and expediency, we may conceive Charles sincere in seeking the elevation of Wolsey, as the most solid link for securing the alliance of Henry, and of attaching the new Pope indissolubly to his cause. Such at least might have been the expectation of Charles at the early age of twenty-two, cautious and calculating as he was, and prudent far beyond his years. How far these anticipations might have been realized, is another consideration. A deeper, and more experienced insight into the workings of an ambitious mind would have suggested perhaps, a more probable result in the recurrence of the history of a former Henry, and his favorite prelate, a former Thomas of Canterbury.

On the other hand, the election of Adrian was never once contemplated by the Emperor. Such an event would have placed a friend on the papal throne ; but not have brought with it any further accession of power in reference to the grand struggle between himself and Francis. It is nevertheless reasonable to suppose, that the decision of the Conclave was far from unpleasing to Charles. A certain tone of qualified satisfaction at the unexpected turn of the election is

indeed sufficiently manifested in his letter to his minister, such at least as to neutralize any feeling of disappointment on his part, from the failure of Wolsey.

It is remarkable how many different versions have appeared of the proceedings, which led to the election of Adrian the Sixth. The detail given by Mr. Sharon Turner derived from manuscripts in the British Museum, has been followed in the slight notice before referred to, because it is borne out in every respect by the testimonies as far as they go, which are here adduced.

Robertson without bringing forward any authority, states, that "Wolsey's name, notwithstanding all the Emperor's magnificent promises, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the Conclave."* If it were not frequently mentioned, we have seen in the foregoing correspondence, a sufficient reason for such an omission, as well as for the non-performance of the Emperor's promises. His imputing the result of the election to the address and intrigues of Don John Manuel seems to have no better foundation than the former assertion.

Galliard on the other hand declares, that "the imperial party loudly proclaimed itself in favor of Wolsey; whilst in secret they most strenuously sought to support Adrian's claims. By this cunning manœuvre, they made Wolsey believe that the Emperor had not failed in his promise. Even the sharp sighted Italians were themselves deceived. The election was daily going on without any decisive movement. Wolsey

* Book II. p. 192.

and Medicis had by turns the preference, yet neither could gain the necessary superiority. The Cardinals at length growing tired of this ebb and flow; and Adrian's party now considering itself strong enough; one Cardinal as if by divine inspiration submitted his name, and the election was carried. Ever since the death of Leo, the imperial party had been agreed as to what the result was to be, and every thing had been prepared." Guicciardini alone, rejecting all thoughts of intrigue, considers this Pope's election as one of those singular freaks of fortune for which no reason can be assigned.

We may now be satisfied to conclude this subject with a very important document from the Pope himself, a letter addressed to the Emperor, in which his own impressions as to this unlooked for event, and the sentiments to which it gave occasion, are most candidly and naturally expressed; and whilst they corroborate the fact already exhibited of the Emperor's non-interference in his favor, convey a most pleasing idea of his own moral fitness, for the high dignity to which he had thus been most unexpectedly called.*

* Ranke speaking of this Pope observes, "it was long since the election had fallen on a man more worthy of his high and holy office. Adrian was of a most spotless fame; upright, pious, industrious; of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, pure intentions; a true minister of religion. What a contrast when he entered the city in which Leo had held his prodigal and magnificent court! A letter is extant in which he says, that he had rather serve God in

POPE ADRIAN THE SIXTH TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Dated Saragossa, 3 May, 1522.

“ Tres cher et tres amé Filz !

Health and apostolical benediction. I have been rejoiced on receiving the letter which your Majesty has written to me with your own hand, in finding that it has not escaped your memory what you have heard from me, and learned in our hours of study, that the French are ever rich and abundant in promises, as well as in all fair and soft speeches ; whilst their acts of friendship are always measured by the standard of their interest.

“ Très Chier et très amé Filz !

Salut et Apostolique benediction: j'ay esté fort joyeux veuer les lettres que votre Majesté m'a escript de sa propre main, veant que ne luy est cheu de la memoire ce que de moi avoit ouy et aprins aux ecoles, assavoir, les François estre rices et abundans de promesses, belles et douces paroles ; mais mesurer l'amitié à leur profit ; desorte, que changeant la fortune et condition des choses si ne leur vient à profit soubz quelque couleur guise et à la fois mains que veritable ; ilz, de-

his Priory at Louvain, than be Pope! and in fact he carried the life and habits of a Professor into the Vatican. It is a characteristic trait which we may be permitted to record, that he brought with him an old woman servant, who continued to provide for the wants of his household, as she had been accustomed to do. He changed nothing in his manner of living ; rose at early dawn, said mass, and then proceeded in his accustomed order to business and to study, which were only interrupted by the simplest meal.”—*History of the Popes.*

“This you will now prove by your own experience ; henceforward therefore, we must deal with more wisdom and foresight ; for as to the past, counsel is unavailing, though I might speak of the caution which I never failed to urge on your father King Philip, and formerly on the Emperor Maximilian your grandfather, both of glorious memory, as well as latterly upon your Majesty.

“Concerning the favor borne towards me by the French, and that which I bear towards them, you will hear from a common friend, whose name I need not mention.

“I am fully convinced of the satisfaction which you will derive from my election to the popedom ; and I never entertained a doubt that had it depended alone

sirent et laissent l'amitié, ce que maintenant avés aprins par experience si que la seule vexation et tribulation a esté cause de ce croire, à la myenne volonté que les autres en ces affaires vous eussent aussi diligemment ingeré la verité, j'extime et croy que ne fussions tombez et escheux ès inconveniens et dangiers du temps qui court, il est besoing que d'ici en avant, nous cheminons et marchandons plus sagement ; aux choses passées n'y a conseil, soit votre Majesté toute assureé que quand je voudroye, je ne pourroye oublier ce que à cautelle vous ay enseigné, et depuis peu de temps au Roy Don Phelippes votre pere, et en l'Empereur Maximilian votre Aœul de glorieuses memoires, et en vostre Majesté maintenant que l'ay veu et experimenté. De la faveur que les François me portent et moi à eux, votre Majesté l'entendra d'ung notre amy commun, elle le cognait, il se presentera de soi meisme ad ce, il n'est ja besoing exprimer son nom.

“Je suis plus que certain de la joye que avés eu de mon election à la Papalité, et me suis toujours tenu pour assureé, que, si votre pure

on your good will and affection towards me, your suffrage would have been in my favor ; but I was equally aware that it was neither suitable to your own interests nor to the good of the Christian commonwealth, that you should have used any sollicitation in my behalf, knowing that such interference would have been fatal to your good understanding with one,* who at this moment is of all others most necessary to your welfare in Italy.

“ Although my election may in one respect be attended with inconvenience, in taking me away from the management of your affairs in Spain, yet this will be so much overbalanced by other considerations, as nowise to diminish the joy which it will occasion you. And in this my election, the feeling which influenced the sacred college of Cardinals, as you will readily believe, and as has been intimated by them to Don John

affection et entiere amour vous seul eussies deast eslire ung Pape, vous fussies decliné vers moy et m'eussies donné votre vot, mais je savois qu'il ne convenoit n'y à voz affaires, n'y à la Republique chrestienne que sollicitissies pour moy, pour ce que eussies solut et enfraint l'amitié avec cestuy qui de tous estoit le plus necessaire aux choses de Italie, savois aussi que icelle mon election vous donneroit quelque tristesse et desplaisance pour le detrimant à venir ès choses de pardeça, à cause de mon absence ; mais l'excessive et vehemente delectation survenue en chassera et expulsera toute tristesse non seulement contraire, mais aussi toute aultre quelconque, je croy bien toutefois que à contemplacion de votre Majestè, comme le Sacré collège des Cardinaulx doit avoir dit à Don Jehan Manuel, j'aye esté estent, sachantz

* Wolsey.

Manuel, was, that it would be a choice agreeable to your Majesty : for no one, it appeared, would have obtained their votes who could be considered objectionable either to you, or to the King of France.

“ I cannot therefore suppress my satisfaction in having attained to this elevation without the exercise of your influence, inconsistent as that would have been with the purity and sincerity which divine and human rights require in such proceedings ; and in saying this, you will be assured that I feel as much, if not more truly devoted to your Majesty, than if I had owed to your means and prayers my present advancement.

“ Your Majesty will nowise doubt of the constancy and continuance of my affection ; and as hitherto in all matters of negotiation and treaty, I have ever considered your interests before any personal objects of my own, I shall not cease so to view them ; and therefore beg you never to entertain an idea of my being led to reverse this order, and to think of any self aggran-

iceulx Cardinaulx moy estre agreable à votre Majesté et jamais n'eussent osé eslire homme mal agreable, et à vous et au Roy de France ; je suis toutefois bien joyeux non estre parvenu à l'election par voz prieres, pour la pureté et sincerité que les droictz divins et humains requierent en semblables afferes, je vous en scay neantmoins aussi bon gre, ou meilleur que si par vostre moyen et prières vous le m'eussies impetré.

“ Votre Majesté ne doit aucunement doubter de ma constance et perseverance en son amour ; et comme en procurant et negociant, j'ai toujours preferé vos affaires aux miens, aussi le ferai icy après ; il vous prie que ja ne vous monte en la fantasie que de laissez et postposez vos affaires je procure et entende privement aux miens.

dizement, to the detriment and undervaluing of what may concern your Majesty.

“Sire ! The cause of all our misfortunes and our adversity in general is, as St. Chrysostom observes, that we pervert the divine rules, by setting our affections on what we think convenient for us, rather than on that promise, which adds all temporal good to those who first seek the things eternal. For this *maledicti sumus*. Sire ! I pray God to grant you a happy and long life. Written at Saragossa the third of May ad tempus sacræ Romanæ ecclesiæ. Entirely yours.”

Adrian appears to have been an honest, upright and conscientious man, but unequal to the complicated difficulties which he had to encounter. His reign which did not exceed ten months, was unsuccessful and unhappy ; and such was the satisfaction evinced on the occasion of his death by the populace of Rome, that garlands were suspended over the doors of the house of his chief physician, with the insulting inscription, “To the deliverer of his country.”

Under less trying circumstances, and in more peaceful times, this Pope* might have administered the

“Sire ! la cause de nostre malheur et grandes aversités comme dit St. Jan Chrisostomus est, que pervertissons le vrai et deu ordre de chercher et demander choses à nous convenables, plus a promis que adjutera les biens temporels a ceux qui premierement cherchent les biens spirituels, nous pour ce que cerchons plus affectueusement et devant tous les biens temporels pour ce maledicti sumus.

* “Adrian once said ; ‘let a man be never so good, how much

affairs of the Romish Church with credit and advantage, but called to this painful pre-eminence in evil days; his very virtues were of that tone and quality, which rendered him obnoxious to his friends and little formidable to his enemies. Deeply skilled, as he is said to have been in scholastic learning, and inflexible with regard to doctrine and discipline, he looked upon the conduct of the Reformers as impious and heretical in the highest degree: but whilst he proceeded against Luther with no less zeal and asperity than Leo himself, he perceived and acknowledged, with a candor fatal to his authority, the abuses and corruptions which disgraced the Court, as well as the Church of Rome. So little was this spirit of moderation calculated to appease the contentions which had arisen, that it no less disgusted the Cardinals and great Ecclesiastics in Italy, than it tended to encourage and strengthen the friends of the Reformation throughout Germany.

To causes like these, connected with others of personal unfitness, as they were deemed by the luxurious and intriguing Italians, namely, his great simplicity, perhaps austerity of life and manners, presenting a most unfavorable contrast with the popular qualities and magnificence of his two immediate predecessors, it has been usual to ascribe the unceasing opposition, which thwarted all his projects, and rendered unavailing every

depends on the times in which he is born! The whole feeling of his position is expressed in this painful exclamation. It was fitly inscribed on his monument in the German Church at Rome."

Ranke's Lives of the Popes.

attempt to suppress heresy. It is easy indeed to pronounce on those habits and qualities which may seem best suited to great emergencies, and to bring about certain ends of worldly policy; but it is neither safe nor wise to venture far in such speculations. The history of Adrian's successor would teach us the vanity of those calculations, which in the order of events attach undue importance to the character and talents of the individual through whose instrumentality they may be accomplished.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

THE CONSTABLE OF BOURBON.

A leading circumstance of the year 1523, which caused some important results throughout Europe, was the revolt and conspiracy of the Constable of Bourbon. This prince, the most powerful and accomplished Seigneur of France, was born in 1489. He was of the Montpensier branch of the Bourbon family, and by the death of his elder brother at an early age, he became its representative. By his marriage with Suzanne daughter and heiress of the Duke of Bourbon, he accumulated in his own person the wealth and honors of that illustrious house, and was thus the richest of all the Princes of his name, who had not worn the crown. His natural and acquired endowments seem to have kept pace with these lavish gifts of fortune. He had early opportunities of distinguishing himself in war, first in the expedition which Lewis the Twelfth made in person into Italy, where he served and studied under such friends and leaders as Tremouille and Bayard, and afterwards in the war of the league of Cambray. Upon the death of Gaston de Foix in 1512, Bourbon, though only in his twenty-third year, was demanded by the army of Italy as its leader; a requisition which the King did not deem it prudent to

comply with. He is said to have been beyond his years grave, reserved, thoughtful and laborious, and such as to have called forth a reflection recorded of Lewis XII. "would that there were in that young man more openness and gaiety with less taciturnity; nothing is more deceitful than the water that sleeps."

On the accession of Francis the First (1515) Bourbon was appointed Constable of France; and whilst performing the duties of this high office, his administrative talents, in establishing and enforcing a new system of military discipline, became no less conspicuous than his skill and valor had been in achieving the victory of Marignano.

When the King returned to France in 1516, the Constable remained behind as his Lieutenant general in Lombardy. Here he performed considerable services, and amidst many difficulties, accomplished the important object of dispersing a formidable army, which the Emperor Maximilian had assembled near Milan. On the return of Bourbon to the French Court, he was at first received with great distinction, but the King was observed gradually to cool towards him. The cause of this change has been usually attributed to a passionate attachment on the part of Louise of Savoy, mother to the King, which was not only coldly, but disdainfully met by Bourbon. Francis, however we may be disposed in charity to assume his ignorance of the occasion of the Queen's consequent hatred and resentment, was nevertheless involved, and made a chief instrument in the vindictive persecution of the

Constable, which ensued. Continued injuries and insults were now heaped upon him. His just claims to remuneration for sums furnished or borrowed by him, in his defence of the Milanese, were disallowed. His appointments, as Prince of the blood, as Constable of France, and as Governor of Languedoc were withheld; but an affront more galling was offered to his proud spirit, when in a northern campaign against Charles the Fifth, the command of the Van belonging of right to him as Constable of France, was conferred on the Duke of Alençon. This indignity drew from him an expression similar to one uttered by a courtier of Charles the Seventh, who, being asked by his King if any thing were capable of shaking his fidelity, answered; "no Sir, not the offer of three kingdoms such as yours, but an affront is."

On the death of his wife, Suzanne de Bourbon, without any living issue, a scheme was suggested and carried into execution through the chicanery of the Chancellor du Prat, a devoted tool of Louise of Savoy, which deprived the Constable of the most valuable part of his possessions. It was pretended, that the immense property he had enjoyed in right of his wife now deceased, should revert to the crown, or to the King's Mother, as Duchess of Angoulême, next of kin. This claim, brought for adjudication before the courts of law, it was conjectured, might subdue the pride of Bourbon, or at least from motives of interest lead him to seek in marriage the hand of the revengeful, but not implacable Louise. Deeply hurt and

known to him at Valladolid, by his Chamberlain Adrian de Croy, Seigneur of Beaurain, in the latter days of August, 1522. Little advantage had accrued to the allied sovereigns, Charles the Fifth and Henry the Eighth, during the campaign of this year, a prominent feature of which was the invasion of France by the English, under the Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden field. This led to more formidable efforts in the following year, towards which the accession of such a powerful partizan from the ranks of the enemy, as the Duke of Bourbon, might be imagined no inconsiderable stimulative. It appears to have been proposed between the confederates in the Spring of 1523, that an overwhelming attack should be made on France by the simultaneous movement of three separate armies; one from the Ligurian coast through Nice or Provence, another from the borders of Spain, and a third by the King of England on Picardy, with which the Governess of the Netherlands was to cooperate, with the common view of uniting in some central part of the French dominions, and thus achieving a conquest of the whole kingdom.

The following dispatch from De Praet the Emperor's Ambassador, and Marnix Treasurer of the Governess of the Netherlands, (both accredited at the Court of Henry), which gives a detailed account of a negociation with Wolsey on the conditions of this confederacy, is a curious specimen of the diplomacy of the times, and of the overbearing pretensions no less than the singular acuteness of him with whom they had to

deal. It shews moreover, that Wolsey was no longer the obsequious servant of the Emperor.

De Praet was one of the Emperor's most distinguished diplomatists, high in his Master's favor and confidence, and afterwards employed as Ambassador at the Court of London.

Philip de Marnix Lord of Aldegonde was a Flemish nobleman, celebrated for his eloquence and address. It was by his counsel and direction, on the commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands during the year 1556, that a document which obtained the name of the *Compromise* was drawn up and presented to King Philip II. It strongly marked the spirit of his countrymen at that period, but was productive of no good effect.

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

London, 1st June, 1523.

“ Sire !

In the greatest possible humility, to your Imperial Majesty, we commend the following ;

“ Sire ! By our last letters your Majesty has been able to see and understand the offers we have made to the King of England and the Sieur Legate, through the intervention of Madame, your Majesty's Aunt, in reference to the co-operation and assistance of the army which the said King would send across the Sea against the common enemy of your Majesty and himself.

“ We have also declared to them in full detail the reasons why the proposed assistance could not be more

extended, lest the frontiers of your territories in that quarter should be left wholly unprovided against any hostile attack, which considering their great extent, they must be necessarily exposed to. We further did not fail to shew, that your Majesty had besides, provided a considerable army at your own sole charge; and therefore that the co-operation thus afforded, ought not to be thought inferior to the means employed on their part, especially as the expence to be supported by your Majesty was so great, and the aid thus afforded to the army of the aforesaid King was far from small.

“Sire! They could no wise be satisfied with the number we had to offer for the said co-operation, but persisted in pressing for three thousand horse and five thousand foot with the half of the artillery munition and equipage, requiring us to write immediately to the said Lady, which we have done, and have moreover received her answer. She, having communicated with M. de Beuren your Majesty's Captain General, and acting on his advice declares, that it is quite impossible to augment the number she had already offered, to wit, two thousand good horse, and four thousand foot, with twelve pieces of field artillery; but if they would pass the Sea, we should be ready to give all the assistance in our power; and were the enemy to offer battle or commence a siege, there would be a force always ready of ten or twelve thousand Flemish foot to come to their assistance.

“Sire! we made known to them this reply with all

good persuasion thereto, and remonstrance ; but the aforesaid personages not being able to come to any positive resolution, began to put forward their objections, whereof we have already apprized your Majesty ; that is to say, in case the army in question should prolong the enterprize on foot, for one or two years, they could not take part in it on any other terms, for the reasons which I, de Praet, have already mentioned. They further declared that their people could not be so quickly ready, and that it would be impossible for them to cross the Sea before the end of the month of June, notwithstanding we had constantly affirmed that our number above offered, would be at their post by the 25th of this month. This indeed is the truth ; and it became the duty of me, Marnix, further to state and declare, that they talked of besieging Boulogne, which appeared to us, as it did to your Majesty's Privy Council a very fruitless and unprofitable enterprize. Moreover they all along persisted in sending M. Jerningham as Envoy to your Majesty to take note of your preparations, which we know not how they could expect to be in forwardness, seeing that they were all along dissatisfied with the number of troops we had offered, and persisting in requiring the number, which they demanded.

“ Sire ! In considering their manner of treating this affair, and the little disposition shewn to put their army in motion, and that time was passing on, we have insisted that at least the aforementioned Seigneur of Jerningham should hasten his departure ; and since

they have demanded so many conditions, in which it was quite out of the power of Madame, and of me, de Praet, to satisfy them, we have declared our opinion that it would be best to furnish the said Envoy full power to treat of the whole affair with your Majesty in person, especially as they lay great stress on the coming of your Maitre d'Hotel Mosqueron, and the money which he ought to bring for raising men, by means of which they conceive it will be very easy to complete the number wanted both of foot and horse, and even more; whilst their intention is limited to bringing into the field under the orders of M. de Suffolk as their commander and lieutenant of the King, a force not exceeding fifteen thousand foot with a portion of artillery.

“Sire! In following up this day (21st of May) the execution and conclusion of our business with the Sieur Legate, (which has already detained me, Marnix, more than twenty days); and I, de Praet, having replied to the letters of your Majesty of the 16th of April, the said Legate, in presence of the Privy Council of the King his Master, informed us, that if it were our wish to treat concerning the army which your Majesty was expected to provide against Guienne, and the assistance which the aforesaid Madame would render in your name, he was ready to enter into this affair. He said that whilst their preparations were proceeding, he would send the aforesaid Jerningham to your Majesty, in order to report the progress which was making on your part, and that as soon as he found

matters in effectual operation, he would lose no time in transporting the troops to Calais, although your Majesty as he observed, would have no difficulty in postponing the grand enterprize of the war, since you had, according to the tenor of your Majesty's late letters, desired a truce of three years.

“ Upon this, Sire, I, de Praet, perceiving that the said Cardinal wished only to put some appearance of justice on his side, without any desire to advance the business in hand, answered, that I would willingly treat with him in pursuance of the instructions of Madame which had been communicated to me through Marnix, and, I added, there was no fault on our part, seeing that our people had been in readiness since the 15th of this month. With respect to the army which your Majesty was expected to employ on the side of Spain, for the invasion of Guienne or some other part of France, I said that I should be equally willing to enter into that subject also, according to the orders which I had already received in your Majesty's letters, in which among other things I am directed not to lay too great stress on this point, being of no great importance; and in order to come to as speedy a settlement of it as possible, I transmitted a note, of which I enclose a copy. But since they mistrust your Majesty's preparations, and therefore have wished to send the aforementioned Jerningham, he perhaps might be the fittest person to treat of this affair. The Cardinal's object is sufficiently apparent, namely to bind your Majesty, and to leave the King his Master at liberty, a

proceeding not altogether fair and to the purpose, whilst I am not quite aware of the measures taken by your Majesty, and whilst they assume, that their movements must be tardy, and perhaps ineffective, in consequence of this imputed dilatoriness.

“ We have therefore judged it expedient, Sire, in order that no charge of this sort may be justly imputed to your Majesty, to lay before the Cardinal Legate the aforementioned note, expressing our offers to enter into a treaty on this subject, according to the powers already granted to us for this purpose. The Sieur Legate nevertheless became more difficult, and although he had before expressed himself satisfied with the offer of Madame, he then complained that it was too small, making use of several reproachful words against your Majesty in his accustomed manner, and saying that it was proper to await the arrival of Mosqueron, before he could enter into any treaty at all. In fine he put us off till this day (Whitsunday) at Greenwich, where we were to have an audience of the King, and where he would be present, and come to a final decision.

“ On which day and in which place we were assembled, when the same my Lord the King related to us the good news he had received from Scotland, how that his people had laid waste and destroyed two of the finest tracts of country on the frontier, and how they had taken and razed several strong castles, having met with little resistance. At all this the king shewed great joyousness, and turning to me, Marnix, asked if I would not increase the number which I had offered

on the part of Madame, as otherwise the co-operation could not be deemed equal, and unless they had a more numerous cavalry than the two thousand promised on her part, it would be surely impossible for him to bring his infantry into the field. To this we both in presence of the Legate made our answer as before, observing from the extended frontier of your Majesty's territories which could not be left unprotected, how impossible it would be to contribute a larger portion of cavalry; and having said this, I, Marnix, craved permission to return. Inasmuch however as the King appeared mild and considerate, and disposed to be satisfied, the Legate took up the argument, and pronouncing that the thing was not feasible, drew the King his Master towards the Privy Council, where they remained a long time together. At length the Sieur Legate came to inform us that his King had embarked in this war for the sake of your Majesty; and in good train and expectation as he then was to reduce the Scotch to obedience, he was far from indisposed to extend his endeavours for your Majesty's satisfaction; but on your side, he maintained, that nothing was done, and that the co-operation proposed was not on equal terms, which to become such, absolutely required that a force should be sent from your Low Countries of three thousand cavalry, and a like number of foot, with which they would be content, and were ready to abandon that part of their demand which related to artillery and munition.

“ The Legate then begged us to lose no time in writ-

offended at these injurious proceedings, the Constable sternly and determinately defended his supposed rights. The result of such a trial and in such times, may be easily anticipated. By a decree of the Parliament the property brought into litigation was sequestered; and the rich and haughty Bourbon was thus reduced to comparative beggary.

Such were the aggravated injuries which worked on the mind of this ill starred Prince to his unhappy and culpable revolt, the miserable effects of which he just lived to experience; miserable even in the moment of triumph, when he encountered the disdainful eye of his captive Sovereign, and the scornful repulse of his once admiring comrades.

It is said by du Bellay, in which he is followed by Robertson, that the Emperor first made overtures to this distinguished, and not without cause discontented subject. It would seem however scarcely probable, that so prudent a sovereign as Charles should so commit himself; and it will appear in some of the following correspondence (as has been already shewn by letters quoted in Mr Turner's work) that Bourbon was himself the first to court an alliance, which stamped him a rebel and a traitor. It is no less true, that Charles caught at and responded to his proposals, in a manner marking the great political importance which he attached to such a defection, and such an acquisition.

Hormayr asserts, that the first intimation of Bourbon's wish to come over to the Emperor, was made

ing to your Majesty, and that I, Marnix, should remain here until the answer arrived; that in the meantime he could continue to negotiate with us, leaving a blank space in the treaty, for inserting the article respecting the number of troops when the expected instructions from your Majesty should be received.

“ Upon which, after again repeating the reasons we had already urged, in order to avoid any unnecessary delay, we agreed to write to your Majesty, and moreover I, de Praet, expressed my entire readiness to treat with him according to the note which I had already transmitted, as beyond it I had no power to go; for it was not to be expected that I could impose on your Majesty any further obligation than he was willing to lay on the King his Master. And whatever he may say, Sire, if it be their intention to do nothing until such time as something is commenced on your Majesty's part, and notified through the means of Jerningham, who is to be sent off as they pretend in two days, yet from the delays which may arise on his journey, and in those of the expected communications to be hereafter made, it is easy enough to see that the season will pass without a single effort of any importance.

“ With regard to another subject, Sire, the payment of the army of your Low Countries will expire at the end of September, from which time how it is to be continued we cannot well devise, but on this point the arrival of your Majesty's Maitre d'Hotel, Mosqueron, and the supplies which he is expected to bring according to your Majesty's letters, is much looked to,

the long delay of which has made them the more distrustful of your Majesty's preparations. The Sieur Legate in conclusion of our conference said, that he would come on Thursday the 28th of May into this city, and then we might begin to negotiate the treaty.

“Sire! On the aforesaid 28th of May, we did not fail to resort hither to meet the Cardinal, with whom were assembled the Privy Council of the King, and having insisted that he should be pleased to take some resolution with regard to the affair in hand, as the time was passing, and your Majesty was continuing in suspense without knowing what was to be done, the said Cardinal in presence of the said council demanded of me, de Praet, to see my credentials and commission to treat with him, notwithstanding they had been in his hands six weeks before. I presented them however to him again, which being looked at, he enquired if it were my wish to enter into a negotiation. To this I answered in the affirmative, according to the tenor, I added, of the note which I had transmitted, but beyond it, and into more particular detail, I was not authorised to go. The Sieur Legate replied that a treaty in such sort and so general would be of no avail, that it was quite necessary to go into particulars, to wit, a specification of the number of horse and foot and artillery, as well as of the time when they were to be brought into the field, and further he insisted that your Majesty was to invade the Dutchy of Guienne with your grand army, and with another the provinces of Languedoc, according to the provisions heretofore made and declared

by the tenor of your Majesty's letters under the date of the 8th day of March. At the same time the Sieur Cardinal reproachfully intimated that I had no right to enter into the subject at all, unless prepared to treat on these very points. To this I replied, that it was true your Majesty was ready to provide such and such a force by sea and by land in the manner aforesaid, and that it would doubtless be of such quality and such numbers as could not fail to satisfy the King his Master. Nevertheless it was beyond my power and altogether unreasonable under such circumstances to enter into a particular obligation which would bind your Majesty to the furnishing of one army to make an invasion on the side of Guienne with an equipment of artillery fit for sieges and field service, and of another to march upon Rousillon, independently of the aid to be rendered by Madame on the side of Flanders of two thousand horse and four thousand infantry with twelve pieces of field artillery, whilst the King his master was held under no other obligation than the supply of fifteen thousand foot with the usual complement of artillery and munition. I maintained also, that an ambassador or any accredited minister was oftentimes charged by his Master generally to speak of, and to propose matters, without being authorised to bind himself specifically in any particular. In proof of this I begged to remind him of the example afforded on his part last winter, when in his conference with M. de Badajoz and myself he referred to the armies which the King his Master was levying for the inva-

sion of Scotland, nothing of which was yet done or accomplished. To this the *Sieur Legate* made no direct reply, but resuming his observations on the inequality of the expence of which I had spoken, reminded me again of the faults of the war during the last year both by sea and land, and of the little assistance which the English had received from your Majesty. Indeed he did not hesitate to declare, that your Majesty was not an observer of the treaties by which it had been stipulated that your marine force ought not to be scattered over the sea of Spain, but confined to the channel which is the true sea of France, and that thus the article in the said treaties relating to this matter, should be interpreted and understood. To this, *Sire*, uttered in my presence, I replied with arguments such as I had before used, that concerning the army of the Scheldt no blame could attach to your Majesty, and as touching the want of success at sea, the words of the article referred to imposed no sort of obligation on your Majesty in the sense which he had thought proper to pretend. He ought I added, to be well aware of this, as he had himself drawn up the treaty, and knew well in what sense and with what intent, the article in question had been introduced.

“Notwithstanding all these devices of the *Sieur Legate*, I proceeded to repeat, that since he was not unwilling to give attention to the article in the dispatch which your Majesty was pleased to write to me, of the 7th of February, by which the number of troops

brought into the field was particularly specified (on condition of the assistance required from him being acceded to and declared) I should be quite ready to enter into an obligation on the part of your Majesty to fit out a good and powerful army on the side of Spain. That it should be provided and equipped in such a manner as to enter Guienne or Languedoc, or elsewhere in the kingdom of France, as you might deem most expedient, to invade, to besiege, to give and to receive battle, being present with it in person, should circumstances permit. With regard to the time for the commencement of operations, were it not for the uncertainty of the weather, that I should be willing to fix it according to the note beforementioned, or not later than twenty days after the ratification of the treaty. In respect to the contingent to be furnished by Madame, looking to the proposal made by us, Marnix and de Praet, which laid no positive obligations on the King his Master as to the number of troops, provided a well appointed and suitable force were brought into the field, a reinforcement on her part, I observed, would be undoubtedly brought forward according to the number already stated.

“ At this the Sieur Legate was no wise satisfied, and beginning to put himself into a passion, seemed desirous that I should treat in every particular only according to his pleasure ;—that is to say, that I should place your Majesty under much more strict obligations than the King his Master, and much beyond any powers I possess ;— even that your Majesty should be held

bound to invade the territory of the common enemy expressly by Guienne, as well as by Languedoc. That the choice of these two provinces should not rest with your Majesty to be determined according to your own judgment and information, (which might render one a point more desirable of attack than the other,) unless a second army were in readiness for the other specified point of invasion; and in fine he insisted on the 1st day of August being fixed upon, for the commencement of operations.

“ Seeing with whom I had to deal, I answered him as mildly as I could, begging him not to put himself out of humour with me, who could not do any thing beyond the commission, I had received; and since they could not possibly be in readiness before the first of August, and since M. Jerningham had been dispatched to your Majesty to await your answer before their army were put in motion, and moreover as they wished for a delay for two years, before the great enterprize in view were undertaken, I begged to suggest whether it would not be better to submit the whole affair to your Majesty’s consideration, inasmuch as the points he seemed so strongly to insist on, went far beyond my authority to treat of. This being apparently admitted by the said Sieur Cardinal and the Council, they have determined that to-morrow, the last day but one of May, a draft should be made out of such articles as they wish to introduce into the treaty, and that these should be shewn to us the following day, in order that they may be transmitted to your Majesty with all pos-

sible expedition. It was agreed that if they meet with your Majesty's approbation, they should be accepted by the said Jerningham and Dr. Sampson who are to have authority for the same, and that your Majesty's pleasure in this affair should be forthwith communicated to me, with a view to the immediate preparations which would then be required.

“Sire, this has appeared to us the most expedient method of getting rid of the present difficulty, and of advancing the work in hand; as your Majesty in seeing the said articles, will be best able to discern their intentions, which according to our opinion are altogether to their own especial profit and advantage.

“Sire! Upon this day the last of May, according to the appointment of the Sieur Legate, we again met, and were shewn the articles which he had digested, and which were now submitted to us in a written form. The purport of these is, that your Majesty should provide an army of twenty thousand men, foot and horse included, to invade the enemy by Bayonne or by the Dutchy of Guienne. The King his Master is held to furnish one not exceeding fifteen thousand; from which a portion is to be employed in the siege of Boulogne, to be increased on your Majesty's part by a contingent from the Low Countries of three thousand horse and a like number of foot, though we had never been empowered to offer more than two thousand horse and four thousand foot, and what seemed further objectionable, their armament is not to be required till the first of August.

“ We did not hesitate candidly and with as good a grace as we could command, to protest against those articles as being wholly unreasonable, and for the causes before assigned. The Sieur Legate replied to us in his accustomed manner, repeating all the great things they had done for you from the beginning, and throughout, and how we ought not to throw any difficulties in the way of these demands, offering however to qualify the article respecting the twenty thousand combatants, which they had demanded, in a manner which your Majesty will perceive. In all other particulars they would admit of no change; wherefore seeing that nothing was to be gained by any further discussion, we agreed to send the draft of the articles proposed, for your Majesty's consideration, to be dealt with according to your good pleasure.

“ Sire! In considering the difficulties which are insisted on, in furnishing this army by the Sieur Legate and his Colleagues, as well as the lateness of bringing it now into the field, it will be impossible at present to attempt any grand movement against the enemy; since according to the terms on which they are disposed to treat, its service cannot be extended this season beyond the term of three months, from the beginning of August to the end of October. The latter part of this period cannot be very favorable for the transport of artillery and baggage, since the earlier and better part of it, is, it seems, to be occupied in an attempt upon Boulogne, which appears to me and your Privy Council, as well as to several English, and even

to the Treasurer of Calais, a most unprofitable undertaking. The latter declared to me, Marnix, that the place was impregnable; and since to this point, the force which Madame is to employ must be sent, the greater part of your Majesty's Low Countries will be left unprotected and exposed to the enemy, as from the position of the said town of Boulogne, troops there employed cannot be available to any other purpose. Apprehending also that the payment of the *Gens d'armes* of the Low Countries may probably fail at the end of September, they could not but be highly dissatisfied, considering the treaty in hand, were the said expenditure not to be continued from your Majesty's own resources during the whole month of October. I fear indeed further that if Madame should not change her opinion in increasing the aforesaid number of troops according to their pleasure, in making up the three thousand horse, which they demand, an additional expence must necessarily fall upon your Majesty.

“Considering all these circumstances, Sire, it appears to us under your good favor and correction, that if your affairs admitted of such a postponement, on account of the aforesaid reasons, and the facility of putting off the grand object of the war until the month of May next, it might be expedient under colour of yielding to the desire they have long expressed of following up their success against Scotland, which they pretend to have already in their power, and complain that the opportunity may be lost by the treaty in hand, to dispense with their assistance at present altogether,

and not to accede to the terms, they demand. And in this, Sire, we entreat your Majesty to receive our small advice in good part, and to make use of it, if it should meet your good opinion and approbation, for in acquittance of our own duty we have anxiously desired to apprize your Majesty of the whole affair. Although I, Marnix, have no commission to take part in these conferences, and have pressed for permission to return, the Sieur Legate has nevertheless wished and requested that I should be present and concerned in these proceedings with me, de Praet, in order to make a report of them to Madame.

“Sire! The said Madame has written to inform us how the King of Denmark, who with the Queen and his children, is, as we have already made known to your Majesty, in your Low Countries, has demanded of her three things. One, that she should be willing to render sufficient aid and assistance to enable him to reconquer his kingdom; a second, that she should grant a passport to one of his people whom he intends to dispatch to your Majesty, and by him should write to you in his favor; the third, that you should write to Monseigneur your Majesty's brother, and the Electoral Princes, that right and justice may be rendered to him in his quarrels and contentions against his uncle the Duke of Holstein, who, with the aid of the city of Lubeck, has occasioned his expulsion. To these demands, inasmuch as regards the two latter, Madame has signified her willing acquiescence; but in respect to the first, she begs to be excused, on account of the

impossibility of acceding to it ; and refers all to the good pleasure of your Majesty.

“ And further in this matter we have to apprise your Majesty, that the said Seigneur King of Denmark, has sent a herald to demand a permanent safe conduct of the King of England, to enable him to come and go with his navy, into any of the ports of this Kingdom, according to his pleasure, either towards friends or against enemies. The Sieur Cardinal has informed us, that a safe conduct has been granted him for six months, on condition of his coming without ships and with a suite of not more than a hundred followers, and not going into Scotland or elsewhere into an enemy's country ; and hence the Cardinal hopes that he will not give them the trouble of coming at all.

“ Sire ! In consequence of our remonstrances with the Sieur Legate, they have ceased, it appears, to insist on the article of the invasion of Languedoc, as it has not again been mentioned ; but at all events, it is clear they will not proceed with the said treaty, unless your Majesty should agree to postpone the grand enterprise for at least a year, although nothing is expressed to this effect in any article.

“ The aforesaid Jerningham has received a positive charge in his instructions to press this point with your Majesty before concluding the treaty, as well as a distinct power for this purpose, which we have seen.

“ The said Envoy will set off on his journey tomorrow ; and since it is not probable that he will arrive so soon as this Courier, we have thought it

necessary to apprise your Majesty of this particular, for, were you disposed to accept the articles without agreeing to this delay, the proceeding would end in nothing.

“Sire! We expect an answer from Madame in three or four days touching her acceptance or the contrary of their last requisition, of which we shall hasten to inform your Majesty; and I, Marnix, shall then immediately return to my Mistress.

“Sire! Your Majesty will continue to direct and command our best services according to your own good pleasure; and for the accomplishment of all your high and noble desires we pray God to aid you with his power, and to grant your Majesty a good and long life.

Written at London this first day of June, 1523.

Of your most sacred Majesty

we are the most humble and most obedient

Subjects and Servants

Signed

LOUIS DE PRAET.

JOHN DE MARNIX.”

At the period of these negotiations, the meditated revolt of the Constable of Bourbon was not the profound secret which might have been expected. It appears from the authority of letters in the British Museum, cited by Mr. S. Turner, that on the 12th of May, Bourbon had opened a direct communication with Wolsey by the Sieur de Chasteaufort, explaining his proposals and intentions. In a sequel to the dispatch

of de Praet (dated 1st of June, 1523) the following passage occurs ; “ In truth, Sire, this affair I know not why, has not long remained a secret, and in a short time cannot fail to be publickly known. Even at this Court there are to my knowledge, more than ten people now acquainted with it. The day before yesterday when the Cardinal and I met concerning the present war, he immediately began to talk of the coming over of Bourbon, and related the whole transaction from beginning to end, and this in the presence of the Duke of Suffolk, Messieurs Talbot and Wingfield, three of the Bishops, and the Treasurer Marnix. M. de Badajoz and I knew it ever since the past month of January ; but we obstinately denied it before the King of England and the Cardinal, until your Majesty ordered us to be candid on the subject.”

It seems indeed that definite advances had been made through M. de Croy, when Bourbon's views and proposals were first made known to the Emperor in the preceding autumn at Valladolid. The Duke asked the hand of one of the Emperor's sisters in marriage, offering to assist him with five hundred horse and ten thousand foot, by raising the provinces where he had adherents and dependants. A negociation on this basis was speedily decided on ; and M. de Croy was sent to London to confer with Wolsey, and afterwards to enter into a formal treaty* with Bourbon. The issue

* The oath of allegiance which Bourbon was to swear to King Henry is given by Rymer as an accompaniment to this treaty, as follows :—

“ Juramentum homagii et fidelitatis a præfato Duce pro nobis et

of this negotiation is communicated to the Emperor in the following dispatch.

LETTER OF ADRIAN DE CROY SEIGNEUR OF BEAURAIN ENVOY FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

Dated Genoa, 22nd of July, 1523.

" Sire!

I came in communication with M. de Bourbon the

nomine nostro, quod ipse nos pro vero rege Franciæ recognoscat et acceptabit, nobisque tanquam regi Franciæ fideliter serviet, atque obediet " &c.

The Treaty was concluded at London on the 17th of May, 1523, stipulating, on the part of Henry, that in the projected war against the French, they (the Emperor and he) should be " communibus impensis."

" The monthly charge for the army to be employed under the Duke of Bourbon was thus rated:

" 13,000 Germans	-	-	39,000 crowns
9,000 Spaniards	-	-	27,000 "
Subsistence of 1200 light horse			7,000 "
300 men at arms	-	-	6,000 "
Artillery and Pioneers	-		7,000 "
Pour le traitement de M. de Bourbon as Lieutenant-General of the Emperor and King	-	-	3,000 "
Marquis of Pescara as Captain-General of the army	-	-	800 "
The Seigneur de Laurain as Captain-General of the light horse	-		300 "
For extraordinaries	-	-	400 "
3,000 Italians	-	-	10,000 " "

Vide Rymer's Fœdera.

third day of July at Monbrison, which is three days journey within the French territory, and there treated with him.

“ M. de Bourbon is ready to declare himself the enemy of France, but is unwilling to enter into terms with the King of England, thinking the articles proposed too unreasonable, as I myself observed to the King of England, on leaving him.

“ At the conclusion however of our conference, M. de Bourbon declared himself ready to do whatever the King wished.

“ I have promised him, that your army shall be ready to enter France on the 26th or at latest the last day of August. The said Duke of Bourbon recommends and desires that your army may be made to enter France by Narbonne, and that this should not be deferred on any account beyond the month of August. M. de Bourbon wishes to have ten thousand Lansquenets which I have promised him. He hopes to gain over the son of Albert, who is much dissatisfied with his own party.

Genes, le 22 Juillet, 1523.

“ Sire !

Je me suis trouvé vers Monsieur de Bourbon le tier jour de Juillet à Montbrison qui est trois journees dedans France, j'ai traicté avec M. de Bourbon. M. de Bourbon se declairera Enemy de France et n'a voulu traicter avec le Roi d'Angleterre, poursequer les articles que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit balié estoit trop deresonable comme bien je le dit au Roi d'Angleterre au partir ; toute fois en la fin M. de Bourbon est venu a me dire, qui fera pour le Roi d'Angleterre ce qu'il plaira.”

“ M. de Bourbon expects that a hundred thousand crowns should be provided for the payment of these ten thousand troops, which he hopes to have by the middle of August, and that from that time a month's pay should be sent to Constance.

“ This I have already ordered, having drawn for one half on Moqueron and Prantner, and for the other on the Abbé de Nogera. I have sent Loquinghein to Monseigneur,* and others whom you have named, to levy the required German troops. I have dispatched also my secretary to the King of England to apprise him of all I have thought necessary, urging him to hasten his army according to the advice of M. de Bourbon; and I have advertised Madame, that if she should hear of what has passed, respecting the said duke from any other quarter, to be cautious, lest any difficulty should be thrown in the way.

“ M. de Bourbon has made friends of many rich people who are ready to come forward with several thousand crowns for the payment of his debts, at which I rejoice; for he is a fine fellow. Among these friends are, de Saint Valier, the Bishop of Puis, Emare de Prié, Ponthievre, la Clayette and many others of the same province.

“ I have treated with him according to the secret articles with which you were pleased to charge me.

J'ai traité avec lui selon les secretes memoirs qui vous a plut

* The Archduke Ferdinand, afterwards King of Bohemia, and eventually Emperor.

He will take in marriage either Madame Eleonore or Madame Katerine, but would greatly prefer the former.

“ M. de Bourbon will stir up a fine commotion in France.

ADRIAN DE CROY.”

It was in the month of August of this year (1523) that the King of France on his route to Lyons to take the command of his army in Italy, first received intimation of Bourbon's treasonable correspondence with the Emperor. Francis, with that generosity which belonged to his character, notwithstanding the injustice which has been noticed, appears scarcely to have credited such an imputation against his kinsman and subject. Resolved however to ascertain what he could from a personal interview, and to dissuade him, if any wise committed, from his foul and perilous enterprize, he took Moulins in his way, where Bourbon lay feigning illness, to avoid accompanying his sovereign into Italy; and paying him a visit in his chamber, informed him of the suspicions which he was unwillingly made to entertain. The Constable, who well knew how to dissemble, confessed that overtures had been made to him, to which he had never wished to lend an ear, and of which he had only desired an opportunity to acquaint the King in person, not choosing to communicate such a secret through the lips of another. He expressed at the same time his great anxiety to put an

me bailer; il prend Me. Eleonore ou Me. Katharine; il aimeroit beaucoup plus Me. Eleonor.

“ M. de Bourbon dressera ung bon brouilliz en France.”

end to such rumours by joining the army at Lyons, the moment his physicians would permit his removal.

Francis who had then the power of arresting him, and was urged to do so, forbore to take this step. He trusted rather to the effect which the proof of confidence he had rendered by such a visit, might be expected to have on the mind of one, who had hitherto maintained the character of a frank and loyal Cavalier; and he resumed his journey, with the intention of awaiting the Constable's arrival at Lyons. This was so long delayed, that the King's apprehensions were afresh excited, when Bourbon, having exhausted every pretext for his non-appearance, at length set off to join him. He took the direct route for this purpose, but made a halt at la Palice; and feigning a relapse of his illness, he dispatched one of his attendants, Perot de Warty, to apprise the King of his departure from Moulins, and of the cause which detained him on the way.

Whatever physical malady might have been assumed by Bourbon, we can easily conceive the moral disorder, the disquietude and conflicting sentiments which agitated his mind at this wretched crisis of his fate. Indecision and dissimulation were no longer available, and he must at length determine, either to be a traitor to his king, who had given such an affecting proof of his returning confidence, or at once to abandon his foreign engagements, and with them some towering hopes, and opportunities of revenge. He still however hesitated; and no sooner had he dispatched de Warty

to the King, than he mounted his horse, and, with his attendants, leaving the road to Lyons, pressed on with all haste for his castle at Chantelles. Here, as in a position which he might defend if necessary, or quit without observation, he resolved on an attempt at negociation with the King, by a preparatory letter of submission and supplication. This, of which du Bellay has given a transcript, was hence conveyed by the Bishop of Autun, and is as follows ;

“ Monseigneur,

I have written to you at large by Perot de Warty. I now write by the Bishop of Autun, the more to convince you of my desire to continue in your service. I entreat you, Monseigneur, to be pleased to believe all that he will say of me, and I assure you on my honor, I will never commit a fault against you. From our Castle of Chantelles, the 7th of September.”

The pith of the matter was however contained in the instructions to the Bishop, which accompanied the letter, and both of these documents were signed by Bourbon's own hand.

“ But may it please the King to cede to him the possessions of the late M. de Bourbon. He promises to serve him well and loyally, and with his whole heart without fault, in all places, and at all times, where and when he may require, and of that he gives assurance, to the very end of life. Also may it please the said King to pardon those whom in this affair he may be displeased with.”*

* Memoires de Du Bellay, 11me Livre, page 413.

It is possible that this determination was written in good faith, in which his better feelings, after much conflict had prevailed. But it was now too late. The first messenger announcing his departure from Moulins, had reached the King, and before the arrival of the Bishop of Autun with the above letter, Francis received intelligence of Bourbon's deviation from the road to Lyons and of his being shut up in his castle of Chantelles. All compromise was therefore at an end. The Bastard of Savoy Grand Master of France, and the Marshal de Chabannes, each with a hundred men-at-arms, were ordered instantly to pursue and arrest the Duke, or besiege him in his Castle. Bourbon at first thought of defending himself within his walls, but soon determined on flight. This he accomplished in the disguise of a simple gens d'armes, having sent off one of his attendants in his own dress, in another direction. Thus without page or valet and accompanied only by one friend M. de Pomperant, Bourbon after surmounting many difficulties and dangers which are related in detail by Du Bellay at length reached the borders of Savoy. All his hopes of raising the provinces had been wholly frustrated; and instead of realizing those high expectations, he had nothing to bear along with him into foreign countries, but the odious pretensions of a fugitive and proscribed traitor.

In reviewing the subsequent career of this ill-fated prince it has been justly observed, "that the pride which Bourbon nourished, and the desire of vengeance turned only to his disadvantage the great qualities of

his nature. As long as he fought for his country he was a hero ; when he turned his arms against it he fell into that class of adventurers, who astonish by their valour, without inspiring the smallest esteem."

Some of the circumstances attending his escape from the pursuit of Francis are alluded to, in the following letter addressed to him by the Emperor.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE
DUKE OF BOURBON.

Dated Logroño, 3rd of October, 1523.

" My brother !

On the 16th of September Gracian arrived and gave me news of you, which afforded me the greatest satisfaction. I lost no time in hastening his return to you, having furnished him with every information concerning myself, which it would be interesting to you to be made acquainted with. The said Gracian has however lately come back, having found it impossible to pass from hence to you ; which has also unluckily been the case with another gentleman whom I had dispatched eight days before him, and who is also returned.

" One of your gentlemen, by name Monbardon reached me three days ago, by whom, as well as through some of my spies, I have learned the difficulty in which you are placed, and that our common enemy has been desirous of seizing your person, and making you prisoner, as he has already done with several of your friends, for which I am heartily sorry.

“ Anxious as I am for your safety, you may rest assured there is nothing which the King of England, my good father and I, as well as all our friends and allies, will not be ready to do for your succour and assistance ; and that, faithful to my promise, you will ever find me a true prince, your good brother, cousin, and friend, who, come what may of good or evil fortune, will never abandon your interest, as I am sure you will never cease to feel and do the like for me.

“ My brother ! I have received accounts since the return of the aforementioned persons, that you are meditating a junction with the ten thousand Germans, a circumstance which I much desire. Their payment of a hundred thousand crowns has been sent by letters of exchange, as has been written to you by Bissy. The passage by sea is, as you know, so uncertain ; and on the other hand, that by land is so strictly guarded, that it was difficult to find a safe means of making the remittance, as speedily as I could have wished ; but thank God, it is now done, as the bearer will inform you, and so I hope before long to hear of its good effects.

“ I pray you, my brother, if it be possible, that you will speedily unite yourself and yours with my army, at least with that part of it which is in Italy, as I have communicated my desire to them that this junction be accomplished, when and where the occasion may offer : and on this article, if any other scheme should be thought of by you for our greater advantage, fail not, I beg, to say, what you would wish to do, and what you

think I ought to do, and this at large through the present bearer, as soon as possible."

In the minute of a letter of the same date and place, to the Duchess of Savoy, Governess of the Netherlands, the Emperor, after noticing the difficulties of his communication with Bourbon as expressed above, and speaking of the misfortune which had occurred in the seizure by the French King of some of his distinguished friends and adherents, requires Madame to write to the King of England with a request that he will give orders to the Duke of Suffolk* to detain every person of rank who may happen to be taken prisoner, and not permit them to be ransomed. This direction is applied also to the army of the Netherlands, as well as to the one in Italy. It is evident from the tenor of this letter, how highly the Emperor appreciated Bourbon individually as a great military leader, whom he intended to place at the head of all his forces.

The formidable and extensive enterprize of this campaign which seemed to threaten the destruction of the French Monarchy, in consequence of the vacillation of Bourbon and other causes, dwindled into three insulated, and unavailing attacks from Spain, Germany and England. The English army under the Duke of Suffolk had assembled at Calais at the end of August; and as at this juncture, when co-operation and counsel on the part of Bourbon were eagerly expected, no intelligence reached them of his actual insurrection, Henry turned his attention to the achievement of a purely English object, the siege and reduc-

* Then commanding the English force in Picardy.

tion of Boulogne. It was soon however deemed inexpedient to waste the season on such an attempt, in which the Flemish general with his levies from the Netherlands could hardly be expected to concur. It was therefore determined to march on the French capital with their united forces, amounting to six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. But having penetrated to within eleven leagues of Paris, the sickness which prevailed during an unusually wet season, together with the difficulty in obtaining supplies occasioned by the judicious movements of Tremouille, and the approach of a large body of troops under Vendôme, who had raised the adjoining provinces, induced the Duke of Suffolk to retire; and towards the middle of December, to Henry's great mortification his army resumed its quarters in Calais.

The following dispatch from De Praet, the Emperor's Ambassador in London, refers to this expedition; and in announcing the death of Adrian the Sixth revives the subject of Wolsey's pretensions to the Popedom.

FROM THE AMBASSADOR OF THE EMPEROR.

Written at London the 6th of October, 1523.

"Sire! According to the intentions expressed in my last dispatches to your Majesty by Richard the Courier, I have so closely followed up my affair with the Legate, that he has directed the money which was placed in the hands of Dr. Knicht (Knight) Ambassa-

dor to Madame, to be employed in the payment of the ten thousand Germans of Count Felix, out of which a month's pay has been already issued.

“ With regard to the attack on Boulogne, on which the King was so resolutely bent, after many pressing considerations and arguments against it urged by the Cardinal, he has at length signified his pleasure that the said enterprize should be abandoned. He has ordered that his army should commence their march into the interior, which as I have this evening heard, has already advanced as far as St. Pol, whence, it appears, that its commanders have decided on a direct movement on Paris, which God grant they may effect. In order that there may be no failure in the payment of the said Germans, the Seigneur King has dispatched M. Roussel (Russel) who sets off the day after to-morrow, with the remainder of the two thousand crowns, in order to contribute for this purpose his own portion and quota to be distributed to the troops monthly, and according to the periods of their service.

“ Moreover, Sire, I have to inform your Majesty that I have received letters from Madame dated the 25th of last month containing the afflicting news of the decease of the Holy Father, which took place on the 14th of the said month, commanding me on this account to repair without delay to the said Cardinal to give him as it may so happen the first intelligence of this event, and to offer him on her part all the favor and assistance in her power towards his promotion to this dignity. This I lost no time in doing according

to her order, as well on the part of your Majesty as on hers ; to which he made the most grateful and suitable reply, expressing his profound thanks to Madame for such demonstrations of her good will in offering her services for his advancement to a dignity of which he felt himself utterly unworthy. Nevertheless in acknowledging her gracious intentions, he could not but bear in mind, in what manner your Majesty, when with the King at Windsor, had touched upon this subject, exhorting him to think of it and promising every possible aid on your part in bringing about its accomplishment.

“ He expressed the willingness of one, who was always ready to conform with the wishes and advice of both your Majesties, begging that Madame in case such a promotion and election should appear to her as tending to the benefit of Christendom, and to the common interests of your Majesties, would write without a moments delay to your Ambassador at Rome, and to other of your good friends there. He gave me expressly to understand that should the object in view be gained, he should not fail so to direct and conduct his future measures, that your Majesty and the King of England should have no occasion to regret the misapplication of their interest and recommendation.

The Sieur Legate further earnestly requested that this might be made known to your Majesty, and with all speed ; and the more to engage your Majesty in his behalf, he has made a great point that the King should write a letter to your Majesty with his own hand.

Although according to my opinion this announcement, Sire, cannot reach you in sufficient time, and however unwilling to dispatch a Courier at your expence for a particular object of the said Cardinal, I have nevertheless been induced to do so from divers considerations, hoping that your Majesty will not take it amiss. The Cardinal, it is clear, has this affair very much at heart, and is not without good hope of success through your recommendation and the endeavours of the King's Ambassadors, and somewhat relying on a promise from the Cardinal of Medicis that in case of the probable failure of his own prospects, he would throw all the weight he could into his scale. The choice, he assures me, will assuredly rest between three, the said Cardinal Medicis, the Cardinal Farnese, and himself.

"Sire, I sent with my late dispatches a note to your Majesty, with a statement of the pensions which your Majesty is pleased to grant to the Seigneurs of this country, according to which it will be perceived that I made a payment to the Legate for half a year due at the end of last May.* Having informed him that I had received your Majesty's orders to pay the other pensions also, as far as the money in my possession would permit, the Sieur Cardinal observed, since there was not money sufficient to satisfy all, and as most of the

* By a formal instrument quoted by Rymer, Charles agrees to pay to Wolsey 9,000 crowns a year; another pension seems to have been afterwards granted of 2,500 ducats; other pensions were given to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and to others of less merit and degree, according to their supposed influence.

said pensioners were absent on the King's service, and since the matter was not pressing, it would be better to wait. I have therefore acted upon his advice, and shall wait, till your Majesty may be pleased to give further instructions on sending the remainder of the money, or of directing otherwise according to circumstances.

In commending myself with all humility to your Majesty I pray our Lord to have you in his holy and worthy keeping,

“ From London this 6th day of October, 1523.

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant and subject,

DE PRAET.

In another letter of the 6th of October, 1523, de Praet writes as follows concerning Bourbon.

“ Sire,

We have just heard that Bourbon, after the determination taken with Russell, has travelled in great haste to join your Majesty in Auvergne. I enquired of a nobleman what followers Bourbon had with him, what route he took after the discovery of the negotiations, and where he had been all the time before he joined himself with his Germans. I received for answer only, that the Duke had twice been as far as the frontiers of Saulce with the intention of visiting your Majesty, but that perceiving it would have been impossible to pass the boundary without great personal

risk, he returned, and after being only two or three miles distant from Lyons where the French King then was, he went to Saint Claude in your Majesty's county of Burgundy, where the Bishop of Geneva provided him with clothing and attendance, and accompanied him as far as Besançon."

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR CHARLES
THE FIFTH TO HIS AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, IN
REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Pampeluna, 27th November, 1523.

" Since our last we have received your letters of the 6th of October, which have been so long on the way, that they only reached us on the 23rd of this present month ; and what also causes us some surprize is, that Chasteau servant of Beaurain should also have so long delayed his arrival, anxious as we are to know what turn the affairs of the French army are taking in Italy, and whether our army, as is probable, has entered France, and obtained some advantage there. This, and no other has been the reason of our not having sent a courier to you till the present time.

" But to reply to the contents of your said letters of the 6th of October. The principal point is concerning

LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR À SON AMBASSADEUR
EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrité à Pampelune le 27 November, 1523.

* * " Pour responce au contenu en vos dites lettres du 6e d'Octobre.

the advancement of the Cardinal to the papal dignity. We have always desired, and with most sincere good feeling and intention have wished to promote this to the utmost of our power, having a full recollection how we, and the King our good father and brother, being at Wyndesort (Windsor), opened to him our minds on this subject, exhorting him to think of it, and promising our best services in his assistance, because it appeared to us that his promotion and election would be attended with great good to Christendom, and advantage to our common interest. On this account you have done very well in dispatching a special courier; and that you may be aware with what zeal and diligence we have taken up this affair in favor of the Sieur Legate, we send copies of letters in his behalf to the Duke of Sessa our Ambassador at the Court of Rome written before the receipt of yours, as well as of others afterwards sent to the sacred College, and to some of the

Le principal point est touchant la promotion de Monsieur le Legat à la dignité papale, a quoy avons désiré toujours et en avons vraye bonne intention et affection favoriser le dit Sieur Legat de tout notre pouvoir, ayant bonne souvenance comme nous et le Roy notre bon pere et frere estant à Wyndesort luy fismes ouverture de ceste matiere, l'exhortant d'y penser et lui promestant toute assistance pour ce qu'il nous semble que sa promotion et Election pourra estre cause de quelque grand bien à la Chretienneté et à noz commungs affaires, à ces causes avez très bien fait de nous depecher le Courier tout expres et affin que cognoissez la dilligence que incontinent qu'avons peu nous avons semblablement fait faire par de ça pour le dit Sieur Legat, vous envoyons la coppie des lettres que avons escript à sa faveur au Duc de Sesse notre Ambassadeur à Rome." * * * *

Cardinals. You will shew and read all these copies to the said Seigneurs the King and the Cardinal, apprizing them, how we incontinently sent off a special courier to Rome as the bearer of them, which the ambassadors here present can testify. Moreover, you will inform them of our great regret, that the news of the vacancy of the Holy See had not sooner reached us, which was confirmed to us by letters from some of our people in Italy, only about the 4th of this month (November) though a rumour to this effect had before reached us from our spies in the French quarters to which we gave but little credit, from the well known deception in matters of foreign intelligence which has been so often practised upon them. We firmly believe that the Cardinal of Medicis will give his assistance to the Sieur Legate, from the little chance, as we are informed, of his own success; and we well know and acknowledge how cordially and sincerely Madame our good aunt is occupied in this affair not only in her own name, but in ours. We entertain a good hope therefore that all these efforts will prosper, and are anxiously expecting favourable news which has been hitherto retarded on account of the tempestuous weather prevailing at sea.

“ Given at Pampeluña the 27th of the said month of November, 1523.”

The following appears at the conclusion of the minute of a dispatch from the Emperor to M. de Praet, dated Pampeluña the 15th of December, which announces the result of the election.

“ We have here received the news by a letter from the Marquis de Finale that on the 19th of November the Cardinal of Medicis was elected Pope;* but we have received no letters either from our Ambassador, or from any of our friends at Rome; although we had been previously informed by our said Ambassador, of the great ado that was making by the different parties

* “ This Pope, who took the name of Clement VII., most carefully avoided the errors and abuses which had marked the reigns of his two predecessors; the uncertainty and prodigality, the indecorous habits and manners of Leo; and the conflict maintained by Adrian with the tastes and opinions of his Court. Everything was conducted with prudence, and his own conduct, at least, was marked by blamelessness and moderation. The pontifical ceremonies were punctually and reverently performed, audiences granted from morning to evening with unwearied patience; science and art encouraged in the career they had now entered upon. Clement was himself very well informed. He could converse with the same technical knowledge on mechanics and hydraulics, as on questions of philosophy and theology. He displayed extraordinary acuteness on all subjects, penetrated to the very bottom of the most perplexing circumstances, and was singularly easy and adroit in discourse and argument.”—*Ranke*.

Vettori's testimony is not less laudatory; “ non superbo, non simoniaco, non avaro, non libidinoso, sobrio nel victo, parco nel vestire, religioso, devoto.”

Marco Foscarelli, the Venetian Ambassador to the Pope, thus describes him, “ Hom prudente e savio, ma longo a risolversi, e di qua vien le sue operatione varie discorre ben, vede tutto ma e molto timido . . . homo justo et homo di Dio . . . Questo non vende beneficij, nè li da per symonia . . . E continentissimo, non si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi . . . Non vol buffoni, non musici, non va a cazare. Tutto il suo piacer è di rasonar con ingegneri e parlar di aqui.”

Appendix to Ranke, No. 17.

both within the Conclave and without, to carry this election, and that the Cardinals had all sworn to reject the pretensions of any foreigner, fearing the menaces of the Roman people. By this time you have probably heard the truth ; you will nevertheless do well to communicate the above to the Seigneurs, the King, and the Cardinal, advertising them that our Ambassador the Duke of Sessa had written to inform us that he was doing everything in his power, and with the utmost diligence, to influence the votes of the Conclave in favor of the Sieur Legate."

It appears more than probable from the foregoing correspondence that the Emperor used all the influence he possessed, in this as well as in the preceding election in Wolsey's favor. The Cardinal's subsequent coolness towards the Emperor's interests during the following years, has been attributed to this further proof, as is assumed, of Charles's duplicity. Such an accusation however cannot be substantiated by the result of this election ; but one point may be clearly inferred which would have the same effect on Wolsey's feelings, and that is, the incapacity of the Emperor to rule the event of these proceedings. To judge from the temper of the Conclave, partly influenced by the clamour of the Roman people, no foreigner on this occasion however recommended and supported could have hoped for success. There is a letter* from Wolsey given in Burnet's history of the Reformation which expresses the sentiment he wishes to convey to King

* No. IX. in Collection of Records, Vol. III., part 2.

Henry and to the world, of his joyousness and satisfaction on learning the issue of the contest. Whether he was sincere, is a different question. Experience must now however have taught him an important lesson, that he had overrated either the Emperor's inclination, or his ability. He therefore found himself at liberty to pursue a more unfettered course in his foreign administration, far from unwilling perhaps to gratify a feeling of pique or resentment against the Emperor, no unnatural consequence of his own disappointed and selfish policy.

The Duke of Bourbon, after having escaped from the French territory, passed from Switzerland by Trent to Mantua and Cremona; at which latter place he had an interview with Lannoy the Viceroy of Naples, at that time Lieutenant General in the Milanese, and thence proceeded to Genoa to await the Emperor's orders for the direction of his future movements, where as appears from the following letter some delay occurred.

FROM THE DUKE OF BOURBON TO THE EMPEROR.

“ Monseigneur,

Although I have despatched M. de Bissy who will give you ample details of all that has passed, yet fearing from the uncertainty of the weather, that he will not reach you with the information with which he is charged, so soon as I could wish, and as circumstances demand, I have thought it right to dispatch the bearer of these also, who is the fifth messenger sent, to ac-

quaint you with the arrival of M. de Beaurain, and that I am still remaining here according to your good pleasure and command, which, besides the instructions contained in your letters, have been conveyed to me by the said Sieur de Beaurain.

“ Monseigneur, I hope with the aid of God and your own faithful servants that we shall be able, on this side, without sparing life or limb to cause great inconvenience to the enemy, whilst your army in another direction is giving and will give them so much to do, that no means of reinforcement will remain to them in that quarter.

“ Monseigneur, my cousin de Penthievre has lately written to me, that should it happen, that your army now here, were placed under my command, the King of England and Madama would not only again march their armies into France, but would reinforce them anew. To this I have replied, that your good pleasure is that I should remain here, where it is also my own earnest desire to do you good service; and I have entreated them to make their said armies advance, for thus the enemy will be constrained to withdraw his

* * * “ Monseigneur mon cousin de Pointhieure m'a naguieres escript que si d'avanture advenoit qu'eusse quelque charge de votre armée pardeça que le Roy d'Angleterre et Madame feroient non seulement remarcher avant en france leur armée; la renforceroient de nouveau, je leur ay escript que votre bon plaisir et que je y demeure et la bonne envie, qu'aye vous y faire service, leur suppliant faire avancer leur dite armée car en ce faisant notre ennemi sera contraint faire retirer son armée d'ici en nous donnant occasion et che-

army hence, and thus give us the opportunity of pursuing him and harrassing his retreat, or force him to strengthen his frontier, either of which disadvantages will be the sure means of bringing him to reason.

“ Monseigneur, if you will please to write one word to the King of England, considering his good will in the cause, it cannot fail to urge him in what the present crisis requires, and this I humbly supplicate you to do.

“ Monseigneur, I pray our Lord to grant you a happy and long life. Written at Genoa the 25th of January, 1524.

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant,

CHARLES.

FROM CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES
TO THE EMPEROR.

Milan, 25th January, 1524.

“ Sire,

I received the letter, which you were pleased to write to me with your own hand, and heard what

min de les bien poursuivre ou a son très grand desavantage de fournir ses frontières que sera moyen et cause le fere venir au point de raison.

“ Monseigneur s'il vous plaistit en escripre ung mot au Roy d'Angleterre avec le desir qu'il à ce seroit cause de le faire continuer en son bon vouloir comme le cas le requiert de quoy vous supplye très humblement.

“ Monseigneur je prie notre Seigneur que vous doint très bonne vie et longue escript à gennes le XXVe. de janvier.

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

CHARLES.

M. de Beaurain had to tell me on your part, and have also well considered his instructions.

“Sire, as to M. de Bourbon, I will obey him in the manner in which Beaurain has pointed out, and will render him all the service in my power.

“With regard to the matters of which he spoke, both as to a movement in France, and those of a secret nature, which you had charged him to mention, I have given him my opinion. By these instructions it would seem, that your Majesty views the affairs of Italy somewhat differently to what they are in reality. In truth the want of money has been great, and will be greater. Something therefore must be hazarded to bring things to a crisis; and if the authorities of Milan had not countermanded the Germans, it is more than probable the French would have raised the siege of Milan and been off.

“Had they indeed been here as soon as I was, we should, in order to avoid an expence which is insupportable, not have lost a month, which has been lost since my arrival at Pavia; and then the French would either have passed the Ticino or we should have gone to meet them. This is what I hope to do at the end of this week, in case the Germans join us, and to do your Majesty good service.

“I have apprized M. de Bourbon of this our intention, in order that if he has any other and better plan he may direct us.

“Sire, If I had not been obliged by this war of Milan, and the urgent demand of the Duke and all

your captains that I should repair hither, made still more pressing by Prospero's* state of health (who was little better than a dead man) as well as by the strong letters of your Ambassador the Duke of Sessa to the same effect, being quite aware that the French, if they happened to gain the ascendancy, would be just as ready to pounce upon your kingdom of Naples, as the Turk would be; and as it was my duty and desire to serve you the best in my power, if I had not been obliged to be here it was my determination to have gone into Apulia to put the fortifications there in the best order I could. I have spies at Constantinople, who will not fail to apprise me of every thing new which occurs, and which I shall immediately communicate to your Majesty. Sire! I cannot desist most humbly to supplicate you for the advantage of your affairs, that your navy may be carefully looked to, which is a matter of the utmost importance for the defence of your kingdoms of Sicily and Naples.

"M. de Beaurain will advertise you of all he has done with the Duke of Genoa on this subject.

"Sire! Don Hugo de Moncada is coming with M. de Bourbon, and I will confer with him on what may be wanting for this service, and let you know.

"Sire, I will conclude, praying God to grant you a happy and long life. From Milan the 25th January, 1524.

Your most humble and obedient subject
and Servant,
CHARLES DE LANNOY."

* Prospero Colonna Governor of Milan.

LETTER FROM ADRIAN DE CROY SEIGNEUR DE
BEURAIN TO THE SAME, FROM PLACENTIA.

Dated 22 February, 1524.

“Sire. Since my last letter written on my way between Castel St. John and this city, I received intelligence by a Courier, of the surrender of the castle of Cremona, which has since been confirmed to me by the Governor of this city.

This is no insignificant matter, and comes very conveniently for our movements in Italy.

“Sire, the said Governor is more your servant than I know how to describe. He has rendered all the service to M. de Bourbon that he could shew to a foreign prince; and all the assistance in his power to all your servants, and especially to myself, for which I most humbly beg to recommend him to your Majesty, praying that you may be pleased to write him a kind letter of thanks.

* “Your affairs in Italy go on well, with one exception, a want of money, of which I see no likelihood of a supply, unless our holy father and the league make a new contribution.

“When I am at Rome, I will give you an account of all my proceedings, as well as of other matters which I may be able to learn.

* “Vos affaires d'Italie vont tous bien saulf qu'il y a faulte d'argent et ne vois aparence d'en recouvrer si notre Saint Pere et les lighes ne font nouvelle contribution; ayant esté à Rome je vous aviseray de mon besognie ensemble de toutes autres nouvelles que je pourrai entendre.

" May our Lord to whom I pray, give you a happy and long life. From Placentia this 22nd February, 1524.

" Sire, I humbly entreat you to hasten on the affairs of Italy, for you may be assured that if the King of France loses this army, he will lose his senses."

Your most humble and most obedient

Subject and Servant,

ADRIAN DE CROY."

The writer of the above, M. de Beurain was the Minister, it will be remembered, through whom Bourbon's alliance with the Emperor was negociated. He was a person highly and deservedly esteemed by his sovereign, and seems to have remained with Bourbon, as Pace did on the part of England during the greater part of his after-career. It was greatly owing to Beaurain's courage, presence of mind and fertility of resource, that the Duke in his unfortunate retreat from Marseilles was so far successful as to be able to save his army and ammunition. Beaurain's language in his letters to the Emperor, as appears from the authority of Hormayr, betrays the fondest attachment to his master, perfect good sense, zeal, and the most unshaken

" A l'aide de notre Seigneur auquel je prie, Sire, vous donner tres bonne et longue vie. De Plaisance ce 22 jour de Febvrier, 1524.

" Sire, je vous supplie humblement qu'il vous plesse diligenter les affaires d'Italie; car vous povés estre assurie que si le Roi de France pert ceste armée, il est affolé."

Votre très humble et tres obeissant Subjet et Serviteur,

ADRIEN DE CROY."

constancy. During their arduous passage across the Alps in their retreat, he thus speaks of himself in one of his letters. "I have been constantly endeavouring, Sire, to find some means of repressing my natural corpulency, and I can now most honestly assert that I have discovered the true secret of such a cure on this expedition."

With the same indefatigable spirit, Beaurain had hastened the armament at Genoa for the invasion of Provence, and seems to have treated the Doge, who wished to remain neuter on the occasion, and to serve no interest but that of his own state, with some harshness and severity. It was in consequence of this, that the Emperor thought proper to send M. de Montfort to Bourbon's Head Quarters, (Burgos 10 July) with a letter which was to effect a reconciliation between the Doge and Beaurain. De Montfort was ordered also to give the latter verbally to understand, *qu'il vaut mieux faire les choses par douceur que par aygreur.*

Between Bourbon and Charles de Lannoy viceroy of Naples, there was from the first as might be expected, no great cordiality of co-operation. There is a tone in the preceding letter of Lannoy to the Emperor, which betrays no little soreness of feeling at the necessity which places the writer in some degree under the command of Bourbon. A jealousy more and more excited by succeeding circumstances, manifested itself in several instances of unjustifiable opposition and vexatious delays on the part of Lannoy, in affording the support which was expected, and was in his power

to render during Bourbon's invading progress and retreat from France, as well as in the events which followed close after the battle of Pavia.

The success which attended Bourbon's first undertaking was nevertheless brilliant. During the spring of 1524 the French were driven out of the Milanese by the Imperialists under his command; but in the ensuing summer when the renegade Duke put his army in movement against the French territory, he had difficulties and disappointments to encounter, which all the resources of his enterprising spirit, and great military genius could not overcome. His first object was to get possession of Marseilles; but here and on his previous march, his troops suffered greatly from a failure of the aid he had counted on. The money which he expected from England, had, it appears been sent to Genoa, but it did not reach him at the time when it was most needed; and the main supply of his provisions, for which he depended on the ships under the command of Moncada, was cut off by the French fleet, of which Andrew Doria, afterwards so distinguished in the service of the Emperor, was then Admiral.*—

* It has, says Hormayr, been asserted of this great naval hero, that in order to take service with the Emperor, he had in violation of all law, broken faith with the Pope and the King of France. This, he observes is one of the many historical errors, which may be proved by reference to any contemporary authority. Doria entered into no sort of confederacy, nor do we see how he could have done it. He had no paramount jurisdiction, nor was he in any position at Genoa for acting such a part, were it even his wish, which it was not. At the time when France so ill requited his services, he was labouring

Bourbon was thus compelled to retrace his steps into the Milanese, where the French King relieved from the apprehended danger which threatened France, had directed the march of a formidable army under Bonnavet, and was about to follow to take the command of it in person. A timid and dilatory campaign soon commenced, without any very important result. Milan was taken by the French, and Pavia, held and garrisoned by Antonio da Leyva on the part of the Emperor, was besieged by them. There was at this time much discontent amongst the Imperial troops for want of pay, and much jealousy and disunion among their leaders. Bourbon, piqued and mortified with the treatment to which he was exposed, sought permission from the Emperor to go to him in Spain, in order to solemnize the marriage with his sister the widowed Queen of Portugal, according to the treaty which had been made. This at such a juncture, and for many reasons, Charles

to free his native city from the evil rule of the Fregosi and Adorni, and to place it with its liberties under the protection of the Emperor, as well as to strengthen its interests by the possession of Savorna. For a certain stipulated period he had been in the employ of the Pope, afterwards in that of France, but according to the *Condottieri* spirit of the times, was at liberty to serve whom he pleased, when free from any positive engagements. Some negociation on the part of the Emperor with Doria appears to have commenced in 1527, and in the treaty on this subject concluded by the Prince of Orange in July 1528 the following condition is specifically inserted: *Più domanda a sua Cesaria Maestà, che l'obbligo di questo servizio cominci al primo di giuglio al qual tempo ha presa licenzia del Re Christianissimo, to whom he had not bound himself for longer than duoi anni.*

did not deem expedient, and therefore refused his request.

The following letter from the Emperor appears to be in reply to this application.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE
DUKE OF BOURBON.

Written at Valladolid September 5th, 1524.

“My good brother!

I herewith inclose the duplicate of what I before sent to you by the last Courier. Since his departure, I have heard and considered well, the charge which you gave to the Sr. de Lurcy, with whom I have also talked over the said affairs, several times. He has alluded to the principal one, which has already been matter of discussion between us, and also to your wish of coming here. On both of these subjects I have answered in the manner which he will make known to you, and by which you will see, that I fully intend to keep, and entirely to observe and accomplish every thing that I have promised.

“Concerning your journey hitherwards, it appears to me that it will be right to watch the turn our affairs may take, and to act accordingly: for which purpose I will apprise you of what is going on, and further make known to you what is best to be done for our common advantage, and for the discomfiture of our enemy.

“Concerning the supply of money, I think the King

of England will not fail to make good his treaties and promises on this head. I am informed, that he has already sent you two hundred thousand crowns, and, as you will have seen by my last letters, I have commanded my Viceroy of Naples, and again do command him as expressly as possible, to see that there be no default in this matter, and to use all diligence to assist you in whatever you may require. This you will be assured of by the copy of my letter, which I herewith send.

“The Marquis de Pescara, and Don Hugo de Moncada, have made known to me, that it would be adviseable to send to you by the Galleys, a good number of Germans who are now in this country on the frontiers of Languedoc, as I before wrote to you. I am well pleased to do so, and to send them either by sea or land, unless they should be able to do better service in the place where they now are, by causing a diversion in the forces of the enemy in order that they may not all fall upon you. For this purpose, I have written to the Prior of Castille, our Viceroy in Catalonia, that if, with the said Gens d’armes from Germany, and the foot soldiers of the Country, he is able to do some good service, or to join himself to you, he should do it; but if not, that he should write to Don Hugo to come and fetch as many of the said Germans as he can convey to you in two voyages with the aforementioned Galleys.

“I have also written myself to the said Hugo, desiring him, that as soon as he hears from the said Prior and finds a fitting opportunity of doing so, he shall conduct

these our Galleys into the Port of Collioure near Perpignan. And further, that he shall convey the German troops to you, in as large a number as he can in two voyages, in order that you may be prepared, with so much the more advantage to repel any attack of our common enemy. I have likewise desired our Viceroy to provide for the expenses of the said Galleys.

“ Concerning the Marquis del Guasto, what you have done is pleasing to me, and I have in consequence ordered his commission as Captain General of the Infantry during this expedition, to be forwarded to him, with the order to obey you as he would obey myself.

“ Regarding my own person, I would most willingly have gone to Barcelona according to your wish, if my affairs had permitted me to do so. But I must previously conclude the marriage of my sister Madame Katerine, and dispatch some affairs of this kingdom. Besides, I have for several days been suffering from an intermittent fever, which has hindered me from attending much to business. The said fever is, however, much diminished, and I hope with God's help to be soon restored to health! I make this known to you the more readily, first, because our enemies might spread a report of my being in danger, and secondly, because it will account for my not having sent you this Courier sooner.

“ Lurcy tells me, that you wish to know whether it is my intention, that you should use the money shared between the King of England and myself, for the ordinary and extraordinary necessities of the army, and

for the maintenance of your own household. It appears to me that you will do well thus to use it, for it is my desire that you should do exactly as you please, and as I should do myself in your place.

“ The said Lurcy has also spoken to me in favour of Messire Garnier Guasq of Alexandria. I had intended, for your sake, to write to the Duke of Milan, desiring him to make the wished for abolition and restitution in his favour, but I have since had letters from the said Duke, acquainting me, that the said Captain Garnier has always been inclined to rebellion. Also that he was one of the accomplices in the conspiracy for putting him (the Duke) to death, and in many other evil intentioned things. It will therefore be more prudent to dissemble, and to delay the said affair for the present, lest there should be danger of stirring up any fresh disturbances in Italy : especially, since the said Duke is already labouring under some suspicion, as are also the Pope and other Potentates of Italy, with regard to the rumour which is now current, of our intending to grant the investiture to the said Duke.

“ I am writing to Pace, the English Ambassador, who is with you, in order that he may look well to the contribution which the King his Master is bound to grant for the support of the army. I am also sending to the Duc de Monego, by his servant, a duplicate of the dispatch which he lately wrote to me. It is with great anxiety that I am expecting to hear from you. And thus for the present I have no other subject to communicate, save that I send you the letters I have

written to the towns of Provence, which you will forward, if it appears good to you.

“Praying God, my good brother, to have you in his holy keeping, I will conclude this letter.

Written at Valladolid
the v. September, 1524.”

Bourbon now determined on another step to increase his influence and authority and to secure a better chance of success in the field. He set off for Germany, where disposing of his jewels, and using all the credit in his power, and with the assistance of Fronsberg a military Partizan of great renown, and of ardent zeal as a follower of the Reformed Religion, he raised a body of twelve thousand well disciplined troops. At the head of these, in the beginning of the following year he reappeared in the Milanese, and again with the Viceroy and the Marquis Pescara took the command of the Imperial army, ready and anxious to strike a decisive blow, which a want of money and other circumstances rendered necessary to their keeping the troops together. The opportunity was soon offered them. Francis, who had rashly boasted that he would take Pavia, or fall in the attempt, contrary to the advice of his more prudent generals, but giving way to his own ardor, and encouraged by the kindred spirit of Bonnivet, whose counsels seemed destined to be fatal to France, would not decline the proffered encounter. The battle of Pavia was fought on the 24th (St. Matthias) of February, 1525, the Emperor's birthday. In

this great conflict the French army was utterly defeated, the King made prisoner, and the greater part of the chivalry of France destroyed. The personal prowess, of Francis in his last struggle, wounded, dismounted and amidst a host of enemies, as well as his gallant and dignified demeanour when physically overcome, is described by Du Bellay and other cotemporary writers, but with some slight differences of detail.

Pomperant, the faithful adherent of Bourbon, has been represented as one of the first to make his way through the crowd to the rescue of his abandoned sovereign. Throwing himself on his knees, he entreated him not to court certain death by offering a hopeless resistance, and to yield up his sword to the Duke of Bourbon who was at hand. "I know no Duke of Bourbon," replied the Monarch, "but myself." By this time the Viceroy of Naples, Guasto, and Bourbon had hastened to the spot. The latter hurried up to the King, and sinking on his knees humbly demanded the royal hand to kiss. On this being refused, Bourbon moved almost to tears said, "Sire, if you would have followed my counsel, you would not have needed to be in this estate, nor so much blood of French nobility to have been shed, as now stains the fields of Italy." The King turning up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "Patience! since fortune has forsaken me." The Viceroy then approached him, and Francis gave him his sword, which Lannoy received on his knees, and kissing the King's hand respectfully, presented him with his own weapon. Francis was conducted to the nearest dwelling where his

wounds were dressed. The first object that struck him on entering his bed room was a small altar or oratory on the side of the wall inscribed with the text from Scripture, "Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas."* ("It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn Thy statutes.")

A dispatch was immediately sent off to the Emperor to announce this great victory. Francis gave the bearer of it, the Commander Pennalosa, a passport through France, and charged him with his well known laconic letter to the Duchess Regent his mother. The fatal tale was told, and all was said in those despairing and touching words: "*Madame, tout est perdu fors l'honneur.*"

Three days after the battle the King received a visit

* Brantôme says that after the battle the king was conducted into the Church of the Chartreux and that the first object which struck his eyes was this inscription from the 119th Psalm. De Thou in his memoirs relates this incident in a different manner. Travelling in Italy in the year 1573 he visited this Church, where he was told by the person who shewed it, that Francis the First, being made prisoner near the walls of the Convent which were partly destroyed by the canon, was led into the Church through a breach; and that falling on his knees before the High Altar, at the moment when the Monks were in the Choir chanting the 119th Psalm, and on making the usual pause between the verses, at the end of the 70th, the King anticipating them recited aloud the following verse "bonum mihi" &c. If this anecdote be true, adds de Thou, "the profound calm which reigned in this religious solitude, even when the most fearful conflict was raging without its gates, and when all the fury of war seemed as though miraculously arrested on the threshold of the temple of God, how penetrating must have been its impression on the soul of the Monarch."

from the chiefs of the victorious army. Bourbon who begged to pay his respects was not excluded. Francis perhaps might have been led to feel that Bourbon had received some ill treatment at his hands. This at least was not the time to exhibit resentment. He treated him with the respect due to his rank as Prince of the blood, but with cold and distant courtesy, without making or suffering any allusion to the past; whilst his adherent, Pomperant, was addressed with much cordiality, as one to whom the King owed his rescue.

The Marquis of Pescara is said to have appeared in mourning on this occasion, a strange and somewhat overwrought compliment, if such were intended. Each, it is clear, vied with the other in expressions of sympathy for the King's misfortune, and like high minded and gallant gentlemen, said and did everything in their power to alleviate it. Francis bore himself up with great fortitude, and assuming even an air of cheerfulness, talked over several points of the battle, and gave due praise to the dispositions which had been made against him, and the valour with which they had been executed. The castle of Pizzighitone was the fortress fixed upon with the King's concurrence for his present abode; and thither he was conducted under the charge of *Alarcon commandant of the Spanish infantry.

*In a letter from Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey on the subject of the French King's imprisonment, there is the following passage. "The Frenche King is conductyd into the castel of Pizigatone commytted to the custodie of the Capitayn Alarcon, a Spaniard, a verraye sadde man."

Ellis's Original Letters.

When the Emperor, who was at Madrid, received the news of this splendid victory, young as he was, neither his words nor his countenance betrayed the smallest sign of exultation. He would scarcely even permit the congratulations of the courtiers about him, and forbade all those public demonstrations and rejoicings which are customary on like occasions, as quite unsuitable to the present one, when a great Christian King had fallen under such misfortune. Bonfires and illuminations, he said, should be reserved for their triumphs over the enemies of Christendom, against whom, Europe soon at peace with itself, would be able to direct all its energies. Charles presently retired to his private chapel to pay his devotions; and the next morning went to offer up his public thanksgivings in the church. His whole conduct on this occasion merited and called forth the admiration of all who witnessed it;* and though his subsequent dealings with the royal prisoner forbid us to ascribe this shew of piety and humility and moderation to the highest and

It was to this Alarcon that the Pope was given in custody after the siege of Rome in 1527.

* Dr. Sampson, King Henry's Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, writing to Cardinal Wolsey concerning the capture of the French King, and the other prisoners, gives a detailed account of Charles's moderation and humility on receiving the news, and says in conclusion;

“In summâ the Emperor hath usyd such demeanor in all thingis both be worde, deade, and countenance, and toward all maner off persons, that every wyse man hath ben most joyffull to see it *magnâ cum admiratione in atate tam tenerâ.*”

Ellis's Original Letters, Vol. 1., P. 266.

most virtuous impulse, we are hardly warranted in pronouncing it an act of mere hypocrisy. Charles had been brought up in all the strict forms of his religion ; and to this daily routine of life and a cold phlegmatic temperament which enabled him to control and regulate all his outward demeanour, a behaviour in itself so praiseworthy may in some measure be attributed.

But whatever his feelings might have been at the moment, he was not long in determining to make the most of his success. A council was held, at which the Bishop of Osmo, Frederic Duke of Alva, and the Chancellor Gattinara with other distinguished functionaries attended, to consult on the best method of turning it to advantage. The two former personages, in long set orations as given by Guicciardini after the manner of Livy, pronounced their opinions. The Duke of Alva insisted on the most rigorous terms as the price of the King's freedom. The Bishop recommended a more magnanimous course, as one more honorable to the Emperor, and most likely to secure a lasting peace, by liberating the King on such generous terms as would bind him to his friendship by the ties of gratitude, rather than by imposing harsh and humbling conditions which Francis would take the first opportunity to break. This was a refinement of policy not quite in accordance perhaps with the genius of the age, certainly not with that of the Emperor. The former counsel prevailed, and terms the most exorbitant and humiliating were offered, which the King indignantly rejected. Some attempts at negotiation were nevertheless kept up ; and Francis in

fine made a proposal to comply with the following articles; viz., that he would marry the Dowager Queen Eleanora, the Emperor's sister, and settle upon the issue of such marriage the Dutchy of Burgundy; that he would pardon Bourbon and give him in marriage his sister the Duchess of Alençon now become a widow, and restore to him the whole of his possessions; that he would take upon himself the Emperor's engagements with the King of England, pay a large ransom, and furnish troops to attend the Emperor to Rome at his coronation. These were concessions which did not in any way approach the unmeasured demands made upon the King.

During a period of inaction which followed, the mutual jealousies of the three great leaders of the Imperial army, the Viceroy, Bourbon, and Pescara, had leisure to increase; whilst at the same time, their best co-operation could hardly have availed to suppress the mutinous spirit of the troops, exasperated as they now were at the still continued delay in the payments due to them. The danger however which they apprehended, lest the soldiers should seize upon the King's person in order to secure for themselves the ransom to be demanded for his liberty, led them to concur in the expediency of his prompt removal from the Milanese.

A council was accordingly held, in which it was agreed, that Francis should be removed to Genoa, and thence embarked for Naples* the seat of Lannoy's Vice-

* Sir John Russell, accredited Minister from King Henry, who was with the Duke of Bourbon and the army during these operations,

royalty under his especial charge and direction. Had any other destination been contemplated, especially that which did in fact occur, of his being conducted into Spain where the Emperor was, neither Bourbon nor Pescara, it may be presumed, would have consented to an arrangement so palpably to the advantage of the Viceroy, whom those two distinguished generals had always viewed with jealousy and had not scrupled to accuse of cowardice in the late battle.

Lannoy is said to have been a statesman of talents and address, and much in the favor and confidence of his master; and was therefore not unreasonably sus-

in a letter from Milan dated 11th of May to Wolsey thus describes matters at this juncture:—

“As touching the sending of the French King into Naples, whereof I in my former lettres have certified your Grace, there is nothing doon, for sometymes the Viceroy's advise was to kepe hym still in Pischiketon, sometime to bring him to Myllan, and sometime to Naples, wherewith the Ducke of Bourbon was wel contented.” Russell complains that the French King had too much liberty, and that the prisoners were suffered to go home on paying their ransoms. He then goes on, “I have spoken with the Viceroy in that matter, who sayethe, that he cannot do other, for they that have taken them must nedes deliver them for to have monney. Mons. de Bourbon hath likewise spoken to the said Viceroy divers tymes concerning that, and is not wel contented with hym, as well for suche sufferance, as also for that he entreateth hym not wel. The said Ducke of Bourbon wold have or this tyme goon in to Spayne, and there to have fornished his marriage saving only that he is desierous to performe all such promesses as he hath made to the King and th' Emperor in tymes past. Here he lyeth at greate coste and charge, for his howse costeth hym a hundreth crownes a day.”

Ellis's Original Letters, 2 Ser. Vol. 1, P. 326.

pected of being capable, in presenting the royal prisoner to the Emperor, of laying claim to a greater share in the victory than of right belonged to him.

All three leaders accompanied the King to Genoa, where he embarked, under the care and direction of Lannoy, in French gallies manned by the Emperor's people, as had been appointed.

Orders were given to steer for Naples, but on the second day their course was changed. Lannoy gave directions to make for the coast of Spain. It is most probable that this manœuvre had been concerted between the Viceroy and his prisoner before their embarkation; anxious as Francis was for an interview with the Emperor, as the most likely step to his release, an opinion which Lannoy is supposed to have encouraged.

Bourbon's anger, on learning the trick which had been played on him and his colleague, broke out in the following letter to the Emperor.

COPY OF AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF
BOURBON TO THE EMPEROR.

Written at Milan on the 12th June, 1525.

“Sire!

The Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis of Pescara, Monsr. de Reüs, the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and

COPIE DE LA LETTRE ORIGINALE DU DUC DE BOURBON
A L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrité à Milan, 1525. 12. juin.

“Monseigneur!

Estant icy le Vice-Roy de Naples, Monsr. Le Marquis de Pes-

Alarcon being here, it was agreed, that the said Viceroy should conduct the King of France to Naples for the reasons already assigned to your Majesty by M. de Reus. Since that, however, the said Viceroy has done the exact contrary, and is conducting the King of France to your Majesty.

“I think it very strange that the said Viceroy should not have made known his intentions either to me, or to any of your faithful servants here. He has caused me much annoyance, and in this country there are many reports spread abroad to my dishonour. This, I am assured, Sire, is not according to your wish, and my firm intention is to continue to do you service as heretofore, even at the risk of my life, as I am in duty bound.

“Sire! I much fear that this sudden journey may cause you to lose both the Pope, the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy, and that your Alliance with the King of England may be endangered. The said Viceroy has left me here without any money, or means of regaining

cayre, Monsr. de Reus, le Marquis del Gouaste, Anthoyne de Leve et Alarcon, fust conclut que le dit Viseroy devoist mener le Roy de France à Naples pour les raisons que vous a dites Monsr. du Reus; depuis le dit Viseroy a fait tout le contraire, et amene le Roy de France vers votre Majesté. Se quay trouvè byen estrange que le dit Viseroy ne m' an a adverty, et aussy parellement voz bon Serviteurs de pardessa. Il m' a fait grant honte tellement que en Se pais san parle en beaucoup de sortes que se n'est a mon honneur. Se que suis assure, Monseigneur, que ne l'entendés, quarma deliberation est de continuer a vous fayre le servyse comme tenu, sans y espergner ma vye, comme ay fait jusques icy. * * *

the Germans, to aid our expedition against France ; and I think he is very glad of it, in order that he may try to compel you by necessity, to make any appointment that he may choose.

“Whenever you please to listen to me, I will tell you things before his face, which will shew, that others, besides himself, must have had a hand in your affairs. During the course of all this business most people will think that your Majesty has forgotten me ; but this I have never believed, nor will I believe it yet, considering your great virtue and goodness, and my loyal and devoted service, which will ever remain such.

“Sire ! I firmly believe that your Majesty will take such cognizance of him concerning whom I am now writing, as will be for the good and settlement of your affairs, and the contentment of all your faithful and loyal subjects, amongst whom I reckon myself. I have never complained of him before ; nor should I do so now, but that I consider it necessary to your service, for I was afraid, Sire, that you should think my complaints dictated by passion. But I tell you in truth, that we are about to send to Rome, to England, to Venice, and to Germany in order to break through the various cabals which are beginning to be formed, and which are of no small consequence. If I were able, I would go to your Majesty myself, but I see that it would be very difficult, on account of the great urgency of your affairs here — and so this shall be the end of my letter, praying you very humbly to take it in good part, and to keep me always in your good favor and recollection, in which if

it please your Majesty, I should wish to retain a place for ever.

"I promise you, Sire, that the Viceroy who is escorting the King of France, is not the cause of his being in your hands. He takes with him also the galleys of the King of France, which might have served me for my journey to your Majesty, as I have already written, had such a thing been either proper or convenient.

"Sire! I pray our Lord to give you a good and a long life. From Milan the 12th June, 1525, and from the hand of your

Very humble and obedient Servant

CHARLES."

In the two following letters, the Viceroy gives the Emperor an account of his proceedings.

CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES TO THE EMPEROR.

Villa Franca, 10th of June, 1525.

"Sire!

By the Seigneur Don Hugo*, you have heard what could be drawn from the King of France up to the present time concerning the articles which it has pleased

* * * "Je vous proumetz, Monseigneur, que le Vice-roy quil meyne le Roy de Franse n'est cause dequoy il est entre voz mains, il meyne aussi les Galeres du Roy de Franse lesquelles m'eussent peu servir a aler vers votre Majesté comme ja vous ay escript moyennant quil eust esté raysonnable et convenyent.

"Monseigneur! je suplye notre Seig" vous donner tres bonne vye et longue; de Milan le xij juin 1525 et de la main de votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

CARLES."

* De Moncada, Admiral of the Emperor's fleet.

your Majesty to send, as well as the state of our affairs in Italy, and what has been the opinion of M. de Bourbon and all those of your council in that country, on the question of removing the King thence and conducting him to Naples. On the 28th of May I wrote to your Majesty to acquaint you that the King had embarked the same day, and was ready to undertake the voyage, in a manner suitable to your reputation, and with a view to draw matters to a crisis relating to himself as soon as possible.

“Sire ! Since I have had the six galleys of the King of France placed at my disposal, they have been manned by your own sailors ; and our united squadron is now composed of twenty good vessels well armed. As to the rest of the French fleet, I am quite assured, they will offer no sort of impediment to my passage with their King to meet your Majesty, and I am certain that it will be a matter of satisfaction to you with whom in fact it rests, to put as speedy an end as possible to the present uncertain posture of affairs, having no doubt as I have already written, that your Majesty has come to some determination either for peace or war.

“Sire ! I beg most humbly that you will command whither you will have the King conveyed, or whether it is your pleasure that he should be left at some place on the coast, on account of the want of horses which must occur for a journey inland ; or whether it may be your wish that I myself should hasten by post to your Majesty, in order to facilitate a speedy arrangement of the present affair, which, as your Majesty will hear from

me on my arrival, is an object of all others that I have most at heart.

“Sire! I send this bearer to your Majesty, begging you to give full credit to what Don Hugo may have said, and also to signify through the said bearer whatever thoughts or opinion you may think fit to communicate, and as speedily as may be convenient.

“Sire! May it please you to make known your good pleasure and commands, which I shall spare no effort most loyally to fulfil, praying God to grant you a long and happy life. From the Port of Villa Franca, this tenth of June, 1525.

Your most humble and obedient subject and Servant,
 CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

The following gives the Viceroy's reason for changing the original destination in the removal of the French King:

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS WRITTEN IN SPANISH TO MANUEL MALVERSIN ENVOY FROM THE VICEROY OF NAPLES TO THE EMPEROR.

11th of June, 1525.

“The reason why the Viceroy has changed his plan from that which was agreed on, when Señor Don Hugo departed from Pizzighitone, is, that he has learned the King of France is very desirous of coming to an agreement with the Emperor. To enable the said Viceroy to convey the said King in safety to Spain, there have been obtained six galleys, manned partly by the common

people of the country and partly by sailors. Of these galleys four belong to the Baron de San Brancate, and two to Fraÿ Bernardino; and the said Viceroy has newly manned them, having changed the gunners and sailors; and for the greater security Montmorenci and the nephew of Andrea Doria are to remain as hostages in the power of the said Viceroy. Moreover, it is capitulated that the rest of the French fleet shall not, in any way whatsoever, harm or molest any servant or subject of his Majesty, which condition is to be observed until his Majesty's galleys shall have returned to Genoa; but in the event of his Majesty not wishing that the said galleys should return thither, it is understood that the French fleet is bound to observe the above conditions, during the space of fifteen days after the said galleys shall have arrived in Spain.

"Therefore you will acquaint His Majesty that considering all the above circumstances, it appears to the Viceroy that in order to bring the negotiation to a good end, and in a way proper for the service of His Majesty, he, (the said Viceroy) ought to leave Naples and make the voyage to Spain; for his object has ever been to do that which seems most fitting for the service of His Majesty, and for that object he has never shrunk from trouble or difficulty.

"Furthermore you will inform His Majesty that the explanation of the particulars of what the King of France intends doing, (in addition to those entrusted to Señor Don Hugo,) the said Viceroy will defer until such time as, please God, he may see His Majesty.

“Furthermore you will inform the Emperor, that, please God, I will depart with this flotilla of galleys, and convey the person of the King of France to Tarragona; and there I will await His Majesty’s answer to inform me whither it may be determined that the said flotilla shall proceed, for the purpose of landing the person of the King of France; for to me it seems not desireable to enter Barcelona or Valencia (those being such large towns) without first obtaining his Majesty’s sanction thereto.

“Furthermore you will inform His Majesty that after having landed the said King of France, I beg it may be so ordered, that I proceed forthwith to the place where-soever His Majesty may be, to apprise him of all things that have occurred; and you the said Manuel, will endeavour to arrange so that his Majesty may send me intelligence of all that I have to do in the above matters.

“Furthermore you will acquaint His Majesty, that for this flotilla there is required at present, the sum of ten thousand escudos; this you will say when His Majesty shall have determined on what I have to do.

“Furthermore you will go to the abode of the Señor Don Ugo, to whom, and to Figaroa, you will communicate all the above; and in company with them you will wait on the Emperor.

(Signed) DON CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

Villa Franca de Nica,
Febry 11th, 1525.”

THE VICEROY OF NAPLES CHARLES DE LANNOY TO
THE EMPEROR.

From Palamos, 17 June, 1525.

“ Sire !

I had dispatched Emanuel Malversin from Villa Franca with all speed to inform your Majesty, that I was on the way to you with the King of France, and to make known to you the measures which I had taken for his security on the passage ; and this morning I was writing to tell you further that we had reached this point, when Chateredon arrived with letters from M. de Rogersdorff apprizing me that the said Sieur Emanuel had been taken ill at Perpignan. In consequence, Sire, I have thought it necessary to send off Peralte with this intelligence, and I take the opportunity of writing to Don Hugo, whose representations respecting myself arising out of what I shall communicate to him, I entreat your Majesty to give full credence to. May it please you, Sire, with the least possible delay, to furnish me with instructions as to your good will in the measures I ought now to take, and the place where the King is to be conducted ; and whether it may be your pleasure that I should send by post an account of the reasons which have induced me to bring him hither, which will I think appear satisfactory to your Majesty.

“ Whatever, Sire, may be you intentions for peace or war, you will act according to your good pleasure ; but it is my poor opinion, that if you decide on making

war this summer, it is time to begin. Your army in Italy, Sire, is very expensive to keep up, and the money you already owe is eight hundred thousand crowns, as you will perceive in the accounts brought to you by Figueroa.

“Sire! My greatest wish in this world is to be near your Majesty’s person, and to render you all the service in my power. This is the constant object of my heart’s desire, as I trust your Majesty is well assured. Be pleased to signify your will whether I should write to you as aforesaid by the post, and your command as to the disposal of the King’s person, which in all cases shall be as securely guarded and attended as hitherto.

“Sire! The King of France readily submits to do in every thing what is agreeable to you; and as I hope soon to see you, I will continue till then to keep charge of him myself. I will not go beyond the Port of Salo, and will remain thereabouts, till I receive instructions from your Majesty, which for many reasons I most anxiously await.

“Sire! I pray God to grant you a long and happy life. From Palamos the 17th of June, 1525.

“Sire! I have brought with me the Seigneur Alarcon, who is a faithful servant of your Majesty.

Your most humble and obedient Subject
and Servant,

CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

Reply of the Emperor to the foregoing.

THE EMPEROR TO THE VICEROY OF NAPLES.

Toledo, June 20th, 1525.

“Tres cher et Feal!

We have received your letters from Villa Franca of the 10th of this month, and have seen the instructions you have given to Manuel Malversin, the contents of which have given us great satisfaction, as well as the arrangements you have made for the removal of the King of France. With regard to the desire you express to know our good pleasure respecting the place, where his person may be securely deposited, as well as the time of your own coming to us, and how the fleet you have brought, for which we have to remit ten thousand ducats, should be disposed of, we have to answer,

“First as to the person of the King of France; it is our desire that he should be well treated, and even better, if it be possible, than he has already been,—provided always that he is well secured; and for this purpose three places have been named to us, which are said to be very suitable. The one is Patina near

LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR AU VICEROY DE NAPLES.

Ecritte à Toledé le 20 Juin, 1525.

“ * * * Premièrement quant à la personne du dit Roy de France, nous desirons qu'il soit bien traicté, et encoires mieulx par de ça s'il est possible qu'il n'a esté par de là, moyennent toutes fois qu'il soit mis en seureté; et pour ce faire, nous ont esté mis avant, trois places que l'on nous dit estre bonne, l'une est Patina prez Valence,

Valencia, another Chinchilla in Castile, for which it would be necessary to disembark at Carthage, and the third Mora, which is a considerable distance from you and not more than five leagues hence. It appears to us that the said Patina, being situated in an agreeable part of the country, and being the nearest point to Saulo or to any port in Catalonia where you might disembark, would be the best and most secure place we could fix on for the King, always, be it understood, with a good guard about him, as usual, and as you know to be necessary. At the same time, if any other place should appear to you more likely to keep his person in greater safety, and not liable to inconvenience, you are at liberty to determine on this point as you think best, with this condition, that a sea port must not be fixed on, which might be dangerous. As to your coming to us, it is the thing which we have always most desired were it possible, and now that there is so good an opportunity we the more desire it,

*l'autre Chincila en Castille, pour laquelle faudroit aller de s'embarquer à Carthagene, et l'autre Mora, qu'est bien loing de vous, car c'est à cinq lieues d'icy. Il nous semble, actendu que le dit Patina est situé en assez bon Pays, et que c'est le lieu plus prouchain du port, soit de Saulo ou autre en Catheloine ou pourrez estre desambarqué, que le dit Patina est le meilleur et le plus sur lieu pour mectre le dit Roy de France, bien entendu avec bonne garde, comme avez accoustumé, et que savez estre nessaire ;—toutefois si vous semble autre chose encoires meilleur pour tenir sa personne en plus grande seureté et obvier à tout inconvenient, nous le remectons à vous, desirant neantmoins que ne le laissez en nul port de mer, car il pourroit avoir trop grand dangier. * * **

when you may be sure you will be more than welcome, and not only give us pleasure, but render us service. The sooner you come the better, as you will see by the dispatch which we believe Figueroa, who left us two days ago, will have already brought you, in which we inform you of many important things touching the affairs of Italy, that inasmuch as new circumstances require new counsels, it is our intention so with you to advise, conclude and resolve, as may best promote our service.

“ After which it will be necessary with all diligence to make known our resolves to those in Italy, who ought to be acquainted with them, that no time may be lost in the execution of whatever, as has been intimated, shall in your presence and with your advice be determined on. As every thing therefore must remain in suspense till your arrival, we have dispatched a special courier to M. de Bourbon, begging him to await where he at present is the further communication of our intentions, and another also to the Marquis of Pescara, requiring him not to abate in his endeavours to fulfil the charge which you committed to him, holding out a good hope that his services will not be unrequited. Whether you think good to accompany the said King of France to Patina, or to whatever place he may be conducted, or to come incontinently to us, leaving the aforesaid charge to Alarcon, we commit to your own discretion ; begging you not to forget that your presence here is most desirable, and to take care, that the King and his attendants should have no lack of horses on his journey,

that he may be sensible of the interest we take in his progress, and of our earnest desire that his treatment in all respects may be good and honorable. We write to our cousin the Marquis of Brandenburgh now being at Valencia, that he should pay the King a visit on our part, and see that horses be provided. This letter will be intrusted to your care, and you will read it.— Write also yourself to the said Marquis, giving him your instructions as to what he should do and say, and among them, that he make his visit handsomely accompanied, as he well knows how.

“As to what is to be done with our said fleet which you have brought, it is my wish on this subject also to consult with you in person, and to have your opinion and advice. It is our desire that before you take your leave of the King of France you should endeavour, if possible, that, besides what he has already accorded, in case it should prove not desirable that his Galleys should return to Genoa, the rest of the French fleet should abstain from making war or causing damage to any of our vassals or servants during the term of fifteen days after the arrival of our fleet on the coasts of Spain. You might indeed prolong this term to two months or less after the expiration of the fifteen days, but for this it would be necessary to take the precaution of sufficient security, and also that the six galleys of the King of France should remain with ours, as you have been at the charge of their equipment. With regard to the ten thousand ducats which you have thought necessary for the said fleet, we have inconti-

nently ordered them to be forthcoming, and will transmit them as soon as possible without fail.

“For the rest, we have no doubt, but you will take care to make the King of France satisfied with the proposed movement to the said Patina,* telling him of the honorable treatment he may expect, and of our good intentions towards an universal peace and his consequent enlargement, maintaining throughout this matter our own honor without sullyng his, and preserving the good opinion of the friends of both. You may further assure him in the most courteous terms, that his present removal is only until we have time to come to a good resolution and conclusion of the whole matter. We write thus, because we think it proper that you should spare no pains to make him satisfied, and to keep him cheerful, that he may not take in ill part, or as unkind treatment, his being placed in the Castle of Patina, where his person, I repeat, must be kept in perfect security.

“Instead of your Maitre d’Hotel, who has been taken ill on the road, we send Colin Bajonier; and we have now nothing further to say, until we hear from you, which we much desire; and for this purpose you can send back the said Colin, or some other person as soon as possible, and inform us of what you have done, in the aforesaid matters, and when we may expect you here.

“Given in our city of Toledo, Tuesday the 20th of June, 1525.”

* Sic in orig. Quere Patacina a city near Taragon?

The following is from the autograph Minute of a letter of the same date as the preceding from the Emperor to the King of France.

“It is with pleasure that I have heard of your arrival in this direction, because I hope it will be the cause of a good peace between us, for the great benefit of Christendom, the thing which I most desire. I have ordered my Viceroy of Naples to proceed onwards to me, to inform me of your intentions, and I have charged him to direct the same honorable treatment towards you which has been hitherto observed, or still better, that you may be assured of my desire to be and remain your true good brother and friend.”

Such was the consternation, and so great the despair which paralysed France after the disasters of Pavia, that all hope of saving the monarchy would have been abandoned, had it not been for the wisdom and spirit of the King's Mother, Louise of Savoy, who had been left regent of the kingdom, on her son's departure for the army in Italy. With a presence of mind and energy which in this crisis made some amends for the violence of her passions, which had so largely contributed towards these misfortunes, she promptly applied every available resource for warding off the perils which threatened France on every side. She called together to her council at Lyons the Princes of the blood, and the Governors of Provinces ; and inspired all, by her words and example with hope and courage. The remains of the army were recalled from Italy ; the

arrears due to them were paid; and by the most strenuous efforts new levies were raised. One of her first cares was to make an appeal to the generosity of the King of England for obtaining a cessation of hostilities. This was no difficult matter. Henry, though urged by the Duke of Bourbon who promised his allegiance, and the help of the army he commanded, to render him more than nominally King of France, was unmoved by these considerations; and jealous of the increasing power of the Emperor, and not over confident in the good faith of Bourbon, listened to the overtures of the Lady Regent and soon concluded with her a treaty of Peace.

The following letter appears to be in answer to one from the Emperor, announcing the King her son's arrival in Spain.

June, 1525.

“ Monseigneur !

By the letter which it has pleased you to write to me, I have learned the arrival of Monseigneur the King my son in your country, and the good will and good disposition you entertain to treat him well, for which

LETTRE DE LA REINE MERE DU ROI DE FRANCE
À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrité en Juin, 1525.

“ Monseigneur !

Par la lettre qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre, j'ay sceu l'arryvée du Roy Monseigneur et filz en voz pays, aussy la bonne volonté en quoy vous estes de le byen traiter, dont je ne sauroys tant que je

I know not how sufficiently to express to you my thanks and gratitude, humbly beseeching you, Sir, to continue to act in this liberal manner, which so well befits your greatness and magnanimity. As for the rest, Monseigneur, in pursuance of what you have required of me, I have given a safe conduct to your Courier, desiring to do your pleasure in this and all other things, as I would for the said Monseigneur my son the King, and this the Lord knows, whom I pray to give you a good and long life

Your most humble

LOYSE."

Charles's calculating policy and extreme cautiousness are strongly developed in the two following confidential letters to his brother on the affairs of Germany and Italy.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM
THE EMPEROR TO THE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND
HIS BROTHER KING OF BOHEMIA.

Dated Toledo, 25th June, 1525.

" My Good Brother !

I have received your letters by the Commander Me-

desyre vous en rendre graces et mercys, vous suplyant humblement, Monseigneur, l'avoir en cela pour recommandé autant et de telle lyberalité que à votre magnanymité et grandeur apartyent ; au demourant, Monseigneur, suyvant ce que vous m'avez mandé, j'ay bayllé sauf conduyt à votre courryer, desyrant vous complayre, et fayre pour vous en toutes choses comme je ferois pour mon dit Seigneur et filz, et ce sayt notre Seigneur, lequel je pry Monseigneur, vous donner bonne et longue vye

Votre humble

LOYSE."

neses, bearer of the present dispatch, and am much rejoiced at the good news of you which he has brought me. He has informed me (having sent his credentials in writing, as did likewise Salinas) of all the things that you desired him to say, in which I have found much that is good, for which I thank you cordially—and now to answer you thereupon.

“First—As to the movement of the Lutherans, and the evil they have done, and to all appearance mean to do; it has annoyed, and does continue to annoy me bitterly. If it were in my power to remedy it speedily, I would spare neither my person nor my estates in the cause, but you see the difficulty there is in it, especially since I hope to be in Italy so soon, in order to take possession of my crowns as I have already written you word.

“When that is done, I mean to exert all my power in the extermination of this said sect of the Lutherans, nothing doubting, that awaiting my aforesaid return, you will provide for the encounter against them in the best manner you can, as you have very well done heretofore; and besides the honour and merit you will acquire towards God, and the world, I shall hold myself much bounden to you for it.

“As to the dispatch that you ask for, concerning the necessary letters and instructions which would be required on the subject of your election to be King of the Romans, and your wish that I should let you know, how far and in what manner, I shall be both able and willing to assist you in gaining the Electors in the said election, I pray you to believe and to consider well, that it

would be very desirable both for your affairs and my own, that this thing should be done. Nevertheless you know and are aware of the condition of the said Electors, and how that I do not think all the gold of Spain could gain them at present, because of the difficulties which would be suggested by such people as you well know are far from being favourably disposed towards us. They would raise suspicions, *zizanie*, (discords,) scruples, diffidence and great jealousy both between the Potentates of Italy, and the several Princes of Germany. They would probably allege, and with truth, that at present I am myself in fact, no more than King of the Romans, and that on this account the election of another ought to be deferred.

“Under this pretext they would bring me into some quarrel which I should have difficulty in getting out of; whilst you would be involved in the same, inasmuch as my troubles so strictly concern you. Wherefore, my good brother, I advise you to keep this matter very secret, and not to let any one hear of it, until I have assumed my said crowns as Emperor.* This done, you may be assured that I will assist you in the said Election, with all my power, and, by my presence then, I shall do more to the purpose with one golden florin, than could now be effected with one million. Wherefore, as aforesaid, the thing cannot be done till my coronation is over — for it would only be losing money, and spoiling all to attempt it at present.

* The Emperor's Coronation at Bologna did not take place till Feb. 21st 1530, when he received the crowns of Lombardy, and of the Empire.

“I am at this time writing to several Princes of Germany, and addressing myself to them as having concluded to go shortly to my coronation, as you will advertise them more at length. I am not writing to them to prepare themselves, nor to come to meet me, because they would require money, and would afterwards hold me responsible for it. Wherefore, considering that they are not bound to appear at the said coronation, I have thought it better to send them no other notice of it, than one of courtesy such as my said letters contain. I have desired the superscriptions to be left blank and open, in order that you may have them filled up and directed to whomsoever you please; and I think they may serve and assist in the readier dispatch and conclusion of the said Diet of St. Michel's, under color of the necessity of commencing at that time your journey towards Milan, there to join or await me—for I singularly desire to see you, and to enjoy the comfort and pleasure of your fraternal presence, and that we may confer together on all our affairs. Wherefore I will give you early notice of the time you should leave Germany, and it suffices for the present, that you hold everything in good order and readiness, as I have no doubt you well know how to do.

“The King of France is now here—I have caused him to be placed in the Castle of *Patina* where he will be well treated. He has offered me certain articles of peace, which I send you a copy of, and has promised to do still better. I will let you know the result; and if it tends to my honour and advantage, and to the pre-

serving of my friends, I will follow your advice in coming to terms, well knowing that it would be very propitious to my interests to make peace before I leave this for Italy. If the said peace cannot be concluded, I shall order the said King of France to be kept here in all safety, and will deliberate on the subject of a war for next year.

“In order to leave these kingdoms under good order and government, I see no other remedy than to marry the Infanta Donna Isabella of Portugal, since the Cortes of the said kingdoms have required me to propose myself for such an union; and that on his part the King of Portugal offers me a million of ducats, most of them to be paid at once, in order to assist in defraying the expenses of our said journey into Italy. Were this marriage to take place, I could leave the Government here in the person of the said Infanta, who should be provided with a good council, so that there would be no apparent cause to fear any new movement.

“According also to your good advice, I fully intend to take with me certain Grandees who have attained their majority; nevertheless I will not hear of the said marriage without first being in possession of two things— one is, the consent of the King of England with the renewal of our friendship, as I have already written him word, and am expecting an answer; and the other is, what I desire to have from you as my good brother, namely, your counsel and advice in the aforesaid matter, of which, before the arrival of the said Meneses, I wished to have expressly apprised you by the said Salinas,

for which reason I had already prepared his safe conduct for a land journey, but kept him back when the said Meneses arrived, which latter I have also detained, in order to acquaint you more perfectly with all my affairs. Although I had come to a decision thereupon, yet I would not put any thing into practice, when I heard that the said King of France and my Viceroy of Naples were arrived. You know that new events bring new counsels ;* and I shall therefore leave my affairs of Italy in suspense until I have conferred with my said Viceroy, whom I had sent for. To tell you my mind I do not wish for war this year, but rather to attend to the said marriage, and to the said journey into Italy by sea, landing at Genoa. If you so advise, and that the affairs will admit of it, I should wish to conclude a good peace, and for this reason, my brother, I send you the said Meneses, praying you to send him back as soon as possible, with your said advice and counsel, as well on my aforesaid marriage, as on the journey, and on the articles of peace which the aforesaid King of France has proposed to me. If I come to any other conclusion with my Viceroy touching the aforesaid peace and the journey to Italy, I will inform you of it, but I think that the said Meneses, seeing that he is diligent, will reach you long before any thing worthy of a dispatch is determined on.

“Touching the papers found in the chests of the King of France of which you wish to have a copy, the whole is in Italy. When I am there, I will communicate everything to you as openly as to my own self, and in

* De nouveau fait nouveau conseil.

order that you may see the courtesies that pass between the said King of France and me, I send you copies of three letters which he wrote me, and of my answers.

“As to the Swiss, I thank you for what you have done with them, and it seems to me that it will be well to keep them in employ; but as to giving them any money, it would only be lost, or ill-spent.

“On the subject of your being made Lieutenant-General in Italy, you and I will confer about it together when we meet, for it is my wish to do you service in greater things than this, and to make you a party in our affairs, so as to increase your honour and reputation, which are my own, being well assured, that you are quite able to acquit yourself creditably therein.

“I am sorry, that hitherto there has been no opportunity of doing so, but from this time forward, if it please God that my affairs should prosper, every thing shall be done according to your desire, which is one with mine in every wish and intention. As to the debt of the Duke George of Saxony, I again intreat you to have patience, and it will not be for long; for if we can accomplish a favorable peace, you know that the said payment will not fail, and that great things will be done both by you and me for the service of God, the good of Christendom, and our own lasting renown. You need not call upon me to uphold your rights with regard to the Venetians, for I fully intend doing so, and should now have a good opportunity for the same, were it not necessary that we should continue to dissemble, lest

they should occasion us some annoyance, as you well know.

“Touching the Ambassador of Muscovy, I am sending back with him the Count of Padua who was there lately, and have desired him to negotiate, and that they should both go to you, and that he should be guided by your directions.

“As to the affair of Hannart, I have not yet given it due consideration, on account of the illness I then had, —I have desired the said Hannart to come here, in order to answer to this business; and as to Michel Gillis, he is at Perpignan. You will do well to send me by the aforesaid Meneses some clear details on this subject, with such information as you have been able to procure, as I have already written you word, for the matter touches you no less than myself, so that I cannot allow it to go to sleep, or be forgotten. I intend to have it well investigated, and inasmuch as it is well known, and variously reported of, you had better send me as soon as convenient, a learned man, well instructed to this effect, that he may be able to answer whatever the aforesaid Hannart may say in excuse, or exculpation, in order to judge whether they are true and reasonable.

“My good brother, may our Lord give you what you most desire.

Written at Toledo, xxv June.”

COPY OF THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EM-
PEROR TO HIS BROTHER THE ARCHDUKE FERDI-
NAND.

Written at Toledo, 31st July, 1525.

“My Good Brother

Since writing my last letter I have detained Meneses till now, that I might through him give you more certain information of the state of my affairs, and of the resolutions which I have come to with regard to them.

“The Mareshal Montmorenci has been with me, and required three things. First, that I should grant a safe conduct to the Duchess of Alençon, sister to the King of France, who intends coming to me with full powers to treat of peace; secondly, that I should provide measures that the said King be brought hitherwards also, in order that he may be consulted on the conditions of peace, and it be thus more easily concluded; and thirdly, that I should conclude a truce for the time being, giving free passage by sea, and land to all ambassadors and couriers on both sides.

“With regard to the safe conduct for the Duchess of Alençon, I have granted it, and sent it to the said Montmorenci, causing him to promise that the same thing shall be done for M. le Duc de Bourbon, to whom I have written desiring him to come hither, in order to hear what concerns himself in the settlement of the said peace; and I am sending my galleys to him for this purpose.

“Touching the King of France, I have made arrange-

ments that he should come through Madrid, and if I go to Segovia to hold the Assembly there, as I hope to do, I shall desire him to be conducted to *Coca*.* Regarding the cessation of hostilities, I have communicated on the subject with the Ambassadors from England who are here, and are empowered to conclude either a peace or truce, and by their advice and consent, the plan has been laid out, namely, that hostilities should cease till the end of next December, in which arrangement you are included, as you will see by the copy I send you. In order to its conclusion, therefore, it only remains to obtain the ratification of France which has been promised by the said Montmorenci in the course of the present month; and of this result you shall be duly advertised. As to the affair of my marriage in Portugal, it remains in the same state as when I last wrote to you, waiting for the consent of England, as also for your advice on the subject. Besides, it is right that before my departure, I should know whether I shall have peace or war; and seeing that there is every hope of the said peace being concluded, only that time is requisite for it, I have settled to put off my Italian journey till next March or April. Thus I shall have time enough to be married in September, by which arrangement also I shall be able to receive the said consent, and your said advice, and to ascertain the fact or failure of the said peace. On this account, my brother, there will be no occasion to send you the letters for the Princes of Germany, whom I shall address during my

* A small town in Old Castile.

journey this year; and I shall always write you an account of what takes place.

“You may have heard of the practices of some of the Potentates of Italy adverse to our greatness; in order to put down which practices, and considering they have caused the delay of my said journey, I have been counselled and have concluded three things with regard to my Italian affairs. Firstly, to consider the Pope’s representations, in virtue of the league which you know exists between him and me; secondly, to reconcile the Venetians to myself, by offering to ratify the last treaty which was made with them, as if they had never infringed it, provided they agree to pay me at least 100,000 ducats; thirdly, to place Duke Francis Sforza in possession of Milan, offering to send him his investiture immediately, on condition that he pays me 600,000 ducats — 100,000 now, another 100,000 when I go to my coronation, another in two years after, and the remaining 300,000 in three years. Also that he should renounce in my favour all right which he pretends to have to the Duchy of Bar; that he does not marry without my consent, and that he provides for the distribution of the salt of Milan according to my directions, without oppressing his territory.

“The said sums of money, both from Venice and Milan, will be employed in paying and disbanding my troops; for, considering the said truce, it will be sufficient to keep the Spaniards, and my soldiers from the Duchy of Naples, under arms. Wherefore, my brother, inasmuch as any delay in the said affair of Venice would

put me to a heavy expence, by keeping from me the means of dismissing the said men at arms, I pray you on your part not to oppose any difficulty to the said ratification, but to consent to the same, as my Ambassadors will propose it to you — seeing that this is not the time to make any new movement in Italy.

“As regards the aforesaid salt, I have done my best that you should have it, on the same terms that Pope Leo had. The Ambassador of Milan answers for it, that his master will cause your German salt to be used at the same price that the marine salt is now sold for in the Milanese State, and if your said salt is not sufficient, that it should be permitted him for the indemnification of his subjects, to provide them forthwith with other salt, as shall be necessary. I have not chosen to decide any thing in this matter, and have therefore delayed doing any thing till I had made you acquainted with what was said about it, in order that you may send me some one acquainted with the subject, together with your instructions on it, and I will take care that you shall have all that is possible, seeing that you deserve so much more, being, as you are, the cause of gaining the battle for the said state of Milan, and besides you know that my affairs are yours, and yours are mine.

“I am sending the commission of Captain-General in Lombardy to the Marquis de Pescara, to be held until I arrive in those parts, and am keeping here, near my own person, my Viceroy of Naples, who may be of much service in concluding the said peace.

Written at Toledo, 31st July, 1525.

“Concerning the lands of Burgundy, I have to apprise you, that the Sieur d’Anguien is coming here for the purpose of amicably arranging the matter, as I have written to pray you to do, on your part. I therefore beg you to send some one well acquainted with your rights, and with full instructions from yourself, to arbitrate in this case, and the sooner the better; and I will have all your concerns cared for as much as if they were my own. Praying God to grant what you most desire, my good brother.

Written at Toledo, 31 July, xx.”

In reply to a foregoing letter of the Emperor.

THE EMPEROR TO THE LADY REGENT MOTHER OF
THE KING OF FRANCE.

Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

“Madame the Regent!

I have received your letter by Mr. the Mareschal Montmorency, who has delivered his credentials; and as to the safe conduct which I have caused to be forthwith provided for Madame d’Alençon and her train, you may rest assured, Madame, that her safety will be well provided for, as I have already given orders that she should be received and treated in this Country not only as if she were my own sister, but with no less attention and respect than I should wish shewn to myself. I trust that the said Madame d’Alençon will come so well furnished with all necessary powers, that no time may be lost in the conclusion of a good and universal

peace, by which the rights and interests of each party may be so attended to and settled, that the journey of the said Lady may not be fruitless; and of this you will learn more at large from the instructions which have been given to your Ambassadors.

“Madame the Regent! May our Lord have you in his holy keeping. Written at Toledo the 25 of August.

“Madame the Regent! I send the Sieur de Bossu, one of the gentlemen of my chamber, and the bearer of these, to solicit from you the deliverance of my cousin the Prince of Orange.* I beg this favour in pursuance of what the King your son has frequently given me reason to expect, in what he has said and written; and that the said prince be allowed to depart on his parole and mine, according to what the said M. de Bossu is commissioned to propose.

“P.S. “Madame the Regent! Since the time when your Ambassadors first arrived here, it has been my intention to send also some fit personage to reside at your Court. I have now learned, that the Sieur de Praet, my counsellor and Chamberlain in ordinary, is far advanced on his way hither; and as he is a courteous knight in whom I have the greatest confidence, and whom I have always found frank, loyal and entirely loving the peace and repose of Christendom, I have chosen him for the aforesaid purpose, and have

* This Prince of Orange who had been taken prisoner, was the father of the afterwards celebrated protector of the protestant cause in the Netherlands, and founder of the Dutch republic.

commanded him to turn back, in order to go and fill the post of Ambassador to you, as long as your Ambassadors, Madame, may continue with me.

“ I beg you, Madame the Regent, to give him a good reception and treatment, whilst acting in my service, such as I would always have your Ambassadors to expect from me, who, I trust, have hitherto had nothing to complain of, and who will, as is my desire, have more and more reason to be satisfied.

“ Hoping, Madame, for the same consideration on your part towards my said Ambassador, and that our correspondence may be suffered to pass without hindrance, I conclude for this time, Madame the Regent; and may our Lord have you in his holy keeping.”

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE
KING OF FRANCE.

Toledo, 25 August, 1525.

Autograph.

“ My Viceroy of Naples is arrived, and with him the Mareschal Montmorency, who has delivered to me your letter, and acquainted me with all he has been

COPIE DE LA MINUTE D'UNE LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR
AU ROI DE FRANCE.

Ecrité à Toledo le 25 Aout, 1525.

NB. Cette Minute est de la main de l'Empereur.

“ Mon Viceroy de Naples est arryvé vers moy et avec luy Mons^r. le Marechal De Montmorency ; lequel m'a baillé votre lettre, et dit sa charge, et ay esté bien ayse de savoir le bon desir que vous avés

commissioned to say. It has given me pleasure to learn the favorable desire you have expressed to expedite the negotiation for an universal peace; for which end I have willingly granted a safe conduct for Madame the Duchess of Alençon your sister, hoping she will come provided with all the necessary powers for the conclusion of so desirable an event, when we may then hope to meet. It is with a view to peace, that I made provisions for your coming into this country; and when that is accomplished, we may take counsel together for the execution of what I have much at heart, a war against the Infidels, in which I doubt not, you will gladly participate. In thus doing, which I pray may be your desire, you will cause me to remain always your true good servant and friend."

Of the same date as the two preceding letters is the following to the Sieur de Praet.

THE EMPEROR TO THE SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

"Cher et Feal!

Ever since the arrival of the Archbishop of Ambrun,

d'abregier la negociacion de paix universelle, pour à laquelle parvenier j'ay volontiers accordé le sauf conduit pour Madame D'Alanson votre seur, esperant que elle viendra sy bien pourveue de tous pouvoirs pour conclure ceste paix universelle que lors nous pourions nous veoir: à ceste fin j'ay pourveu à votre venue pardeça, et lors aviserons d'executer la bonne voulonté que j'ay de faire guerre contre les infidels; à quoy me fais doute aurés bon vouloir et vous prie ainsy le faire et vous me obligerés de vous estre et demeurer vray bon serviteur et amy."

the premier president of Paris, and the other Ambassadors of France, it has been our intention to send also some suitable and good personage, trusty and confidential, to reside at the Court of Madame the Regent of France. Knowing that you are on the way to us, notwithstanding our desire to have you near our person to assist us with your counsel here; yet, after long consideration, we find no one so worthy of such a charge, and to us so unexceptionable, and so wholly desireable; or one in whom we place greater confidence, than yourself; being well aware from experience, of your perfect loyalty and integrity, as well as of your love and affection to our service. On all these accounts, we have made choice of you, and appointed you to be our Ambassador to the Lady Regent of France, to whom we write a letter, of which a copy is enclosed. We therefore require and command, that wherever the said notice of appointment may come to hand, you will forthwith use all dispatch to betake yourself to the Court of the said Lady Regent, and there present our aforesaid letter; that you will thence follow her in her journeys, attend to what she and others may say; and report for our information all that is passing, and all news which may be to us of any concern. In like manner you may expect to receive communications from us. And in this service you will use the Cypher you have received, as most suitable at times, of which you will be the best judge. And since you cannot but be sensible of the great and important services which we require, and that we are not ungrateful, but are

always ready to prove ourselves your good prince and master, it is our will that during this embassy, you should receive the same wages and allowances as when you were in England.

“ We send you also a copy of the cessation of hostilities lately concluded, by the tenor of which, you will perceive, that you have the power of sending couriers whenever you please, and that the said treaty is in force only until the first of next year. It is to be hoped in the mean time, that we shall know what we have to expect, peace or war ; and it is probable you will not remain to the extremity of this term in the said embassy, for we are quite as desirous to see you again, as you can be to come to us, pleased as we surely are with the good and loyal services you have rendered us, during your embassy in England.

“ And further with respect to money either for couriers, or your own expences, you have only to inform us of the sums you want, for supplying which we will make immediate provision. And knowing, as we do, that you will have many things to communicate, we require and command, that as soon as you arrive at the Court of France, you write to us at length in Cypher, sending your dispatches by a courier, to which in reply we will furnish such answers, as shall be to your contentment, and not only prove our love, but the satisfaction we have in your services.

Given in our city of Toledo,

25th of Aug. 1525.”

Of the above date is a letter from the Emperor to Margaret of Savoy Governess of the Netherlands, who seems to have concluded some separate treaty without the Emperor's concurrence or authority.

Margaret Duchess of Savoy was daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, born in 1480. When an infant, she was affianced to Charles, Dauphin of France; but this union was set aside by the subsequent marriage of this Prince with Anne of Brittany. She was then betrothed to John son of Ferdinand and Isabella.

On her passage from the Low Countries towards Spain she nearly suffered shipwreck on the coast of England; and during this danger, the following couplet alluding to her double marriage is said to have been composed by her, and bound with her jewels round her arm;

“ Ce git Margot la gente demoiselle
Q'eut deux maris, et mourut pucelle.”

The anticipated catastrophe was nevertheless escaped. She arrived at her destination, and was married. Her husband dying soon afterwards, she espoused in 1501 Philibert Duke of Savoy; and in the 24th year of her age, was again left a widow.

After having refused other offers of marriage, she was appointed by her father, Governess of the Netherlands, and was confirmed in the same by her nephew Charles, on his coming of age. She is represented as a Princess of great beauty, spirit and understanding, and

one who, filled her important office with the highest reputation until her death in 1530.

In the time of Maximilian, she concluded the treaty of Cambray; and was appointed by Charles, and invested with full powers, to negotiate with Louise of Savoy mother of Francis the First, a still more delicate and difficult work, the *peace of Cambray*, known in history by the name of the Ladies' peace.

The day before her death she wrote an affectionate letter to her nephew the Emperor; and her last words were, "Peace with France and *England*."

She was held in great esteem, and enjoyed the full confidence of Charles, notwithstanding the severe and sharp rebuke, which, on an occasion of some excitement and jealousy of power, is conveyed in the following letter.

THE EMPEROR TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY GOVER-
NESS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

Minute of a letter dated Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

"Madam, my good Aunt!

I have received your letters by Richard, and quite approve what you were able to communicate to him in what your memory served you.

"I have received also a copy of the treaty of cessa-

De Toledo, 15th Aout, 1525.

Madame ma bonne Tante!

"J'ay reçue vos lettres par Richard et bien veu ce que luy avez

tion of hostilities, which you have concluded. But I cannot conceal from you, Madam, that I have found it very strange, and very far from satisfactory, that this should have been done without knowing my intentions, and without receiving instructions on this behalf, and powers from me. I have found it convenient both for the advantage of my affairs, and the preservation of my authority as heretofore, to declare to the Ambassadors of England, and still more to those of France, that since the said treaty has been entered into without instructions and powers from me, I shall neither acknowledge it, nor ratify it, nor cause it to be observed.

“ Before the arrival of the said Richard, I was already in communication on the subject of a cessation of hostilities in all my kingdoms and countries generally, which I consider much more suitable than any partial or particular arrangement ; and have just concluded a treaty with the participation and consent of the said Ambas-

baillé par memoire, ensemble la copie du traicté de l'abstinence de guerre que avez conclue par de là, je vous advertis Madame, que je trouve bien estrange et ne me scauroye contenter, que l'on ayt fait telle chose sans premiers scavoir mon intencion et en avoir ordonnance et pouvoir de moy. Il a convenu pour le bien de mes affaires et garder mon autorité comme je l'ay ainsi fait dire aux Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, et d'avantaige à ceulx de France, et que veu que le dit Traicté d'abstinence avoit esté fait sans pouvoir ny ordonnance de moy, je nele tiendroye ny ratifieroye, ny l'entendz tenir ny ratifier, aussi par avant la venue du dit Richard, j'estoye desja en communication de faire la dite abstinence en tous mes royaumes et pays generalement, qu'est beaucop myeulx que particulièrement, et maintenant la chose s'est conclute par l'intervention et consentement des

sadors of England (as principal contracting parties jointly with myself) wherein the articles are much more to my honor than they were in yours. In fact, there are two points in the latter so ill advised, as to condemn the whole. You bring forward England alone as an ally, (as does also the Duke of Cleves,) and promise to offer no assistance to the enemies of France, which is directly in contradiction with the treaties in force with England, and tending to call forth war against Spain and other of my states, in which case you become incapable of offering any assistance whatever. Thus, the Ambassadors of England know very well how to pretend that they cannot escape from the position in which they would be placed, which is in fact as much or more to my disadvantage than theirs; and as to the French, they may fairly say that all which has been demanded has been granted them.

“I am quite sure that this great error, Madam, is not

dits Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre comme principaux contrahans conjointement avec moy, et si sont les articles à mon honneur plus que n'estoient ceulx que aviez conclu par de là es quels pour deux petits points mal advisez vous denommez Angleterre seulement pour allyé comme faites le Duc de Cleves et promettez ne bailler assistance aux Ennemis de France, q'est directement contre les traictes d'Angleterre et aussi revoquer la guerre contre Espagne et aultres mes Estas; car en ce cas ne les eussiez peu assister du coustè de mes pays de par-delà, et scavant très bien dire les dits Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre qu'ils ne s'esvahissent de ce que a este fait contre eulx, car c'est astant et plus contre moy, et quant aux François ils dient que tout ainsi qu'ils l'ont demandé leurs a esté accordé par de la,—je pance bien que telle grande erreur n'est faites à votre faulte ny coulpe, et

arising from any fault or oversight of yours, and that you have been led to understand, that there was some necessity for it: at the same time I am very far from being satisfied with those who have allowed themselves to proceed in this matter without my command, and who have presumed to counsel you on subjects of such grave importance, as ought never to be treated of without my knowledge and approval.

“Madam! I send you a copy of the cessation of hostilities concluded here, in order that you may cause it to be published duly, and at the time therein declared, and to be strictly kept and performed according to its form and tenor, setting aside your own as null and void, as well as the publications which may have taken place; for it is my express intention, that it should not be held of the smallest force or value; inasmuch that if I had not even concluded a treaty, as aforesaid, here, I would not have permitted yours to be carried into effect.

que l'on vous a donné à entendre qu'il y avoit justes causes, si ne suis content de ceulx qui se sont avancez sans mon ordonnance d'entendre a telle affaire, et que le vous ont osé conseiller, car telles n'y aultres grandes matieres ne se doyvent traicter sans mons sceu.

“Madame! je vous envoie copie de l'abstinence conclute pardeça, afin que la faites publier pardelà comme il appartient, et au temps declaré en icelle, et la faites garder et observer selon sa forme et teneur delaissant la votre pour nulle, ensemble le publications que en porez avoir fait faire, car je n'entends qu'elle soit entretenue ou ayt lieu n'y valeur, et quant bien la dessus dite fait et pardeça ne fut esté conclute, si n'eusse je souffert que la votre se pardelà et aultres en effet.

“Madam! May our Lord have you in his holy keeping.

Written at Toledo, the 13th of August.

“Further, Madam, I have lately sent a dispatch by sea to England, the duplicate of which I now send to Master John de la Sancho; you will be able to see it, and to pass it on forthwith, for the affair is very pressing, and requires an immediate answer; you will therefore Madam, do me a singular pleasure in expediting it by a proper messenger.

“As soon as I shall receive the courier sent by sea, whose expected arrival several of your letters have announced, I will return an answer respecting my affairs in that quarter, of which I have received no news of importance since the return of Cilly.

“In the meantime I beg you to inform me of anything worthy of communication.

“I have ratified the neutrality of Burgundy, as you desire, and I have included you, as well as my brother the Archduke and all your country and subjects in the treaty for the cessation of hostilities, which has been here negociated; and in all I may be able to do for you, for your affairs and your welfare, I shall always and most willingly do the same for you, my good Mother

“Madame! ma. bonne Tante! notre Seigneur vous ayt en sa Sainte garde.

Esript à Toledo, le xiii°. d'Aoust, &c., &c., &c.

and Aunt, as for myself, praying God to give you all your hearts desire.

Written at Toledo, the 15th of August, 1525."

The King of France on his arrival at Madrid found to his disappointment and sorrow that the Emperor, whom he had anxiously looked forward to meeting, with a view to a personal settlement of the terms of his liberation, was not there. Francis was lodged in the castle, and was for several days permitted to receive the visits of those, who thus sought to testify their respect and sympathy. His reputation for valor, generosity, and gallantry had gone before him. Ladies of the highest rank encouraged by the Queen Eleanora, sister of the Emperor, whose feelings revolted at the idea of becoming the price of Bourbon's treason, vied with each other in their endeavours to dissipate the ennui of the illustrious prisoner. The men also partook of the same generous disposition, indignant that one, whom they regarded as the model of chivalry, should be subject to a rigorous restraint, instead of being left at large on his parole.

All these attentions of the Spanish nobles were of course gratifying to Francis; but the hard conditions at first demanded were no wise relaxed, and losing all hope of the Emperor's generosity, his health gave way, and his life became endangered.

It was when this news reached the court of the Regent, that his sister Margaret de Valois, more correctly d'Angoulême [Duchess of Alençon] having learned

the ill success of the first attempt at negotiation, formed the resolution of visiting her brother in his sickness, and of undertaking the task of treating in person for his liberty. This distinguished lady was celebrated for her natural endowments, her wit, her learning and the gracefulness of her manners, which had rendered her the ornament of her brother's Court, and an especial object of attraction and admiration to the foreign Ministers, in whose society and conversation she had peculiar pleasure. Her well known devoted attachment to her brother was met on his part by the most cordial affection. What then could be more soothing to him in his captivity and sickness, than the presence of such a sister, whom he delighted to address as *sa mignonne*. and *la Marguerite des Marguerites*.* or more likely to increase the interest his situation had inspired, and to subdue the ungenerous feelings which sought his further humiliation?

An early attachment is said to have subsisted between her and the Duke of Bourbon; but this was an union little suitable to the views of her mother Louise of Savoy; and in 1509, when in her seventeenth year, Margaret became the unwilling bride of the Duke of Alençon, the first Prince of the blood; as such her equal in rank, but greatly her inferior in understanding, in instruction, and in merit. This Prince survived only a very few weeks the disasters of Pavia, to which his own pusillanimous conduct had not a little contributed.

It was of this lady, it will be remembered, that

* The Pearl of Pearls.

Wolsey speaks, when ruminating on the proposed marriage of his master ;

“ — It shall be the Duchess of Alençon,
The French King's sister—he shall marry her.
Anne Bulleyn ! I'll no Anne Bulleyns for him.”*

This amiable intention of the Cardinal's, the Duchess of Alençon had the good fortune not to realize ; and hence, it may be presumed, to have saved her head.

After a widowhood of two years, Margaret became the wife of Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, with whom she lived in the most uninterrupted union. She had two children, a son who died in 1530, and a daughter Jeanne d'Albret, who succeeded to the crown of Navarre, and was the mother of Henry the Fourth.

Margaret, is represented by her biographers as carrying with her into Navarre, and employing, as she had done, during her first marriage at Alençon, those great qualities and talents which do honor to Princes, and benefit their people. It is, they say, through her care, that agriculture and commerce began to flourish in her country, as well as the fine arts ; and that justice and security were established. She built the Castle of Pau, and founded several hospitals. The asylum which she was at all times ready to afford to those exposed to persecution for the new opinions on the subject of religion, rendered her liable to the imputation of favoring heresy. So far indeed did this notion at one time prevail, that the Professors of the College of Navarre had her ridiculed on the stage at Paris, as a senseless person, whose

* Shakspeare. Henry viii.

head had been turned by sectarianism. This scandalous attack, which excited the just anger of the King her brother, was not the only one directed against her. The Sorbonne unscrupulously designated her as an heretic; and this body, then so formidable, instilled their zeal into the Constable of Montmorency, who endeavoured, though unavailingly, to rouse the King's indignation against his sister.

Margaret, in her hours of gaiety, and for the most part when journeying in her litter, as Brantôme relates, composed those light tales called the Heptameron, in imitation of the Decameron of Boccaccio, tales full of spirit and imagination; written with a freedom suited to the taste and loose morals of the age, but strangely inconsistent with another work which occupied her serious thoughts, *le miroir de l'ame pecheresse*. This latter work though of a devotional and even ascetic character, might in its way be deemed a little free, inasmuch as it incurred the censure of the Sorbonne, and was ranked among suspected publications, having appeared without the name of the author, and without the approbation of the faculty of theology.

When not engaged in study or literary composition, Margaret employed some of her hours of leisure in works of the needle and tapestry, and in conversation with the distinguished savans and poets whom she admitted to her intimacy, which gave occasion to the saying, that the Chamber of this Princess was a real Parnassus. She died in the Chateau d'Odos in the district of Tarbes, in 1549; and notwithstanding the

surmises to the contrary, gave proof to the last, of her attachment to the Roman Catholic Faith.

But to return to that period of the Duchess of Alençon's life, with which we have here to do.

The Duchess set out on her mission, attended by some of the dignitaries of the kingdom, even before the safe conduct demanded of the Emperor had reached Lyons; provided with full powers from the Regent, and accredited in her own person to conduct the negotiation. About the time of her arrival at Madrid, the King's illness had assumed a dangerous character. The Emperor according to his Itinerary, given in another part of this volume, had come to visit him the day before. The entry is as follows, "On the 18th of September, the Emperor came from Segovia, which he had left on the 16th to Madrid, to visit the King of France, who according to the report of his Physicians, was very ill. On the following day also arrived the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, whom the Emperor received on the stair case and conducted to the sick bed of Francis; after which the Emperor again departed, leaving the Duchess with the King her brother."

No great impression seems to have been made on Charles's sensibility or generosity at this touching interview. The Duchess was left to employ all her address in treating with cold hearted Counsellors, officially concerned, whose determination was made, and who abated nothing of their oppressive conditions.

There seemed to be some shew of good feeling on

the part of Charles, when he first presented himself to his illustrious captive, "Sir," said Francis, when the Emperor first appeared before him, "you come to witness the death of your prisoner;" "You are not my prisoner," returned Charles, "but my friend and my brother, I have no other desire than to give you liberty, and all the satisfaction you desire."

It would have been well if these consoling words had been followed by corresponding actions; but other affairs called him off to Toledo to meet Bourbon, whose interests also were to be considered in the arrangements pending with Francis. The marks of friendship and favor heaped upon this ill-fated and culpable Prince by his new Master, roused the indignation of the Castilian Nobles. It was on this occasion, that the Marquis of Villana, whose palace had been assigned as his temporary residence, thus dared to address the Emperor; "Sire, I can refuse nothing to your Majesty; but the moment Bourbon quits my house, I shall set fire to it as a place polluted by the presence of a traitor, and no longer a fit residence for men of honor."

It was on the final departure of the Duchess of Alençon, that the King's dejection returned; when in utter despair of obtaining his liberty, on terms otherwise than dishonorable to himself and ruinous to the interests of his country, he came to the resolution of abdicating his crown. This magnanimous determination was soon resounded throughout Europe, and redoubled the interest felt for his misfortunes. All the men of letters were forward in deploring his fate; and

Erasmus, a subject of the Emperor, had the boldness thus to plead his cause to his Master. "If I were conqueror," wrote this eminent man, I would thus speak to the conquered; "my brother, fate has made you my prisoner; a like misfortune might have happened to me. Your defeat shews the fragility of all human greatness: Receive your freedom; become my friend. Let all rivalry cease between us except that of virtue. In delivering you, I acquire more glory, than if I had conquered France. In accepting this kindness with gratitude, you achieve more, than if you had driven me from Italy." *

This good advice was all thrown away; other notions prevailed, and Charles with his ministers went on in their cold heartless diplomacy, as the ensuing letters testify.

The first in order, is the minute of a letter from Charles to the King of France, written from Segovia a little before his visit to Madrid.

These minutes of letters from the Emperor, many of them autograph, were memoranda, to be worked up by the Secretary into a more epistolary form.

TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Segovia, September, 1525.

"I have been informed by your letter of the news of M^e. D'Alençon, your sister, having set sail, and hope soon to hear of her disembarkment, which I much desire, and which will give me pleasure. I have also

* Du Bellay.

been informed of your illness, at which I am deeply grieved. On this account I send Don John de Cuniga to learn, as I hope, better tidings of your health. Through whom I beg you to communicate them to him who desires to be, and to remain your &c. &c."

The following from the Duchess of Alençon to the Emperor, is from a facsimile of the original, from which the translation is made. It is in so illegible a hand, that the meaning in one or two passages is only to be guessed. It was written apparently a few days after the Emperor's visit to her brother.

September, 1525.

"Sire!

The kind visit which you have been pleased to make to the King my brother, and the good words which the present satisfactory messenger has brought him from you, as well as the letters you have condescended to write to me with your own hand, and which I have shewn him, have given him so much comfort and ease, that I now see him out of all danger for the pre-

LA DUCHESSE D'ALENÇON À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrit en 7bre. 1525.

"Monseigneur!

La bonne visitacion qu'il vous a pleu fere au Roy Monseigneur et frere, par la venue de Cetrop, sufisant porteur, et les bonnes paroles qu'il luy a portées avecques les lectres de votre main que vous avés daigné m'escripre, lesquelles luy ay Montrées, luy hont tant donné d'Allegresse et de consolacion, que je le voy par l'espoir qu'il a de

sent, rejoicing in the hope of a speedy termination of affairs, and the continuation of your entire friendship.

“Whereupon, Sire, for fear of a relapse, which might prove fatal, and thus deprive you of so good and affectionate a friend and brother as I know him to be, may it please you to permit for the same cause that you kindly agreed to my coming here, that I should shortly go to you, in order that I may at once witness the union of two Princes, whom God has placed together upon earth, and endued with greater power and excellence than others, for some inestimable good. And this I now more than ever hope for.

Your most humble

To the Emperor.

MARGUERITE.

It appears from the Itinerary before quoted, that “on the 21st of September, the Emperor reached Toledo, where he remained till the 13th of October. Here

bientost voir la fin de vos affaires et la seuretté de votre parfaite amytié hors de tout dangier pour cette foys.

“Parquoy, Monseigneur, je vous suplye très humblement, afin que sa recheute, quy à la seconde foys pourroit estre sans retour, ne vous face perdre ung sy bon et affectionne amy et frere que je le say estre envers vous, qu’il vous pleze avoir agreable que suivant l’ocasion pour laquelle tant honnestment aves permis ma venue par dessà, je puise aler bientost devers vous, afin de voir en bref l’union des deux Prinses que je pance pour ung bien inestimable estre de Dieu mis sur terre les plus parfaits quy oncques feurent ; ce que plus que jamés espere.

Votre très humble

MARGUERITE.”

also the Duchess of Alençon arrived, with several French Gentlemen." The Itinerary goes on to state; "on the second day after her arrival, the Queen Eleonora of Portugal after a conversation with her, travelled from Toledo to Talavera, upon which the Duchess, having staid a few days longer at Toledo, left it for Madrid, and from thence returned to France, without having brought the treaty to any conclusion."

This sums up all that needs further to be said of this amiable and fruitless mission.

The Mareschal de Montmorency, the Archbishop of Ambrun, and de Silva first President of Paris remained behind, as Ambassadors from the Regent, to try their strength with the Diplomats of the Emperor, who were beginning to abate a little in the rigor of their terms, under fear of the King's abdication being persisted in, and accepted.

It is said by Brantôme, and du Bellay, and followed by subsequent writers, that Charles had taken measures to arrest Margaret on her way homewards, on the expiration of her safe conduct. This appears to have been stated on mere hearsay report, and consequently of very doubtful truth. From the extreme unpopularity of all Charles's proceedings with regard to Francis, and the indignation they had justly excited amongst the French in general, one cannot be surprised at any rumours injurious to his character being caught at and propagated; but it would be difficult to find any motive for such a base and unmanly attempt. Brantôme where his own views, and prejudices, and gossiping pro-

pensities are concerned, is, on his own authority alone, worthy of very little credit. We may say this without injustice of a writer, who living under the auspices of Henry the Second and Catharine of Medicis, and speaking of that Queen and her Court, could describe it as "*vn vrai paradis du monde, et escole de toute honesteté et de vertu.*"

The two du Bellays, Langey and Martin, whose memoirs of these times are perhaps more frequently referred to and consulted than the German and Spanish authorities, were men of a different stamp; both warriors and statesmen and men of letters. They served in the army of Francis at the Battle of Pavia, and each had a share in some of the important transactions of the period. Another brother was the celebrated Cardinal Jean du Bellay, who was employed on a mission from the Pope to Henry the Eighth, during the divorce embarrassments. He is said to have so far succeeded as to have gained over the King to an acquiescence in the Pope's judgment; but his return to Rome was so much retarded by bad weather and other accidents on the journey, that all his address and combinations to prevent a rupture were rendered unavailing.

High and good as is the authority in general of these two distinguished writers, it is nevertheless to be remembered, that from their position with the Court of France, reserve and qualified representations were often requisite in their treatment of all delicate points, in which the credit of that Court was concerned. This

is a defect, which, in some respect, spoils the interest and damages the truth of what they relate. It has hence been judiciously observed by Montaigne, in speaking of their memoirs ; “ It is always a pleasure, to read the writings of those, who have themselves experienced how things ought to be conducted ; but it is not to be denied, that in the writings of these two Seigneurs, there is a perceptible want of that candor and frankness, which shone in the works of the earlier authors of that kind, such as Eginard, Chancellor of Charlemagne, Joinville, servant of St. Louis, and of later memory, Philippe de Comines. But here there is rather a *pleading* for King Francis against the Emperor Charles the Fifth, than a *history*. I do not mean to say, that they have changed anything as to the material facts, but that they are prone to twist a judgment on events, often against reason, and to our advantage, and to omit whatever may be called ticklish in the life of their master. This indeed may be considered almost a trade with them.” “ The great advantage,” he goes on to add, “ in this work, is its particular deductions from the issue of battles and warlike exploits, in which these Gentlemen themselves were concerned ; the words and private actions of some Princes of their time, as well as the affairs and negotiations conducted by the Sieur de Langey form subjects in plenty, well worth knowing, and which are here treated in no ordinary style.”

The Lady Regent on learning the catastrophe at

Pavia had lost no time in dispatching personages of the highest rank in the kingdom, to be near the person of her son, and to act as Ambassadors at the Court of the Emperor. These were the first President of Paris, the Mareschal de Montmorency, and the Archbishop of Ambrun; from the latter of whom is the following spirited remonstrance on the arrest of a courier.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF AMBRUN TO THE GRAND MAITRE
(THE SIEUR DE NASSAU.)

Madrid, 7th September, 1525.

“ Sir!

When the Mareschal de Montmorency and I were lately deputed by the King to go to the Emperor at Toledo, they dispatched a courier hence, for the express purpose of acquainting Madame the Regent, and Madame the Duchess of our departure; and at the same time the Viceroy wrote to Rogendorf to request his passport. We have nevertheless been informed that the said courier was arrested on his journey, in what place it does not appear, and deprived of his dispatches, which were taken and sent to the Emperor.

“ This is directly contrary to what his Majesty has always declared, and even lately repeated to the said Seigneur Mareschal, that in such cases there was no need whatever of a safe conduct, and that every courier might pass with safety and without interruption.

“ Sir! It appears to me this is not the way to smooth existing difficulties, as his Majesty has wished and has always expressed himself. I have to request therefore,

that you will please to remonstrate on this occasion, and to beg his Majesty will not take it strange or amiss, if M. de Bossu should not return as speedily, as he may have calculated, for I will answer for it, if the present courier has been really arrested, M. de Bossu, and others need not expect any better treatment.

“At the same time, I cannot conceal my opinion, that this has been the work of some underlings true to their trade, who would be very sorry to see that peace and amity established, which their masters would be so happy to accomplish. Thus then I will conclude with my best recommendations to your good favor. Sir! I beg our Lord to grant you a happy life!

“From Madrid, this 7th of September, by the hand
of your servant
and good Cousin,

The Archbishop of Ambrun.”

“Since four o'clock this morning the King has had a relapse of fever, of which M. the Mareschal would have written for the information of the Viceroy, but is prevented by his attendance on the King. He humbly recommends himself to his good favor and to yours, as I also beg to do.”

The following from the Sieur de Praet whose appointment as Ambassador to the Lady Regent of France is announced in a previous letter, seems to justify, by the sagacity and tact manifested in his first interview with

the Regent on presenting his credentials, the high consideration in which he was held by the Emperor.

His report on the conversation which then took place, and his opinions on the peace between France and England, as well as other observations relating to the existing state of affairs between the Emperor, and the Kings of England and of France, with his keen strictures on Wolsey's motives, give clear indications of the judicious and penetrating politician.

FROM THE SIEUR DE PRAET TO THE EMPEROR.

From Lyons the 15th October, 1525.

“Sire!

In compliance with your commands to inform your Majesty of all which has occurred during my journey up to the present time, when I have just received your letter of exchange for a thousand ducats, it is my duty to state, that on the second day of this month I left Perpignan, and on the following arrived at Narbonne. Here I was received on my arrival by the Sieur de Ba-

DU SIEUR DE PRAET À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrité à Lions, le 15 8bre, 1525.

Une partie de la lettre est écrite en chiffre.

“Sire! pour ensuivant vostre commandement advertir vostre Majesté de ce que m'est survenu pendant mon voyaige jusques à ceste heure, incontinent que Eulx receu les lettres de mil ducas, que fust le second jour de ce mois, je me partys de Perpignan, et arrivay le lendemain à Narbonne ou fus traité, de premiere arrivée,

silacto, Governor of the said city coldly enough, although before my departure he made me very fine offers of civility, with a present of wine, and the services of one of his Gentlemen, to conduct me two or three day's journey on my way.

"Having arrived yesterday, Sire ! at Valence, a city about sixteen leagues hence, where I was met by the present bearer ; and having seen what your Majesty was pleased to write to me by him, I sent him on immediately to this place, in order both to hasten the safe conduct of the Germans, and also to apprise the Treasurer Robertet or some other of the gentlemen in this quarter, as if of his own accord, of my coming. My object was to ascertain, whether they would send any one to meet me, a compliment as I heard from the said courier, which had not been neglected in the case of M. de Vendosme. This, however, had no result, for I made

du S^r de Basilacto, Gouverneur de la ditte ville, assez froidement, toutes fois avant que m'en partir il me feist tout plain de belles offres, me presenta de son vyn, et me donna ung gentilhomme des siens pour me conduyre deux ou trois journées ; qui a esté toute la conduyte que j'ay eut par tout le chemin, si ce n'a esté d'aucuns gentils-hommes que j'ay rencontré que d'Eulx mesmes m'ont fait compagnie.

"Estant Sire, arrivé avanthier à Valence qu'est une ville à xvj. lieues d'ycy, arriva le present porteur, lequel apres avoir veu ce qu'il vous pleut par luy m'escrivre, feiz soubyt partir pour ceste ville, pour d'autant plus haster le fait du saufconduyt des allemans, et aussi pour advertir comme de soy mesmes le Tresorier Robertet ou quelcun autre des S^{rs} de pardeça de ma venue, affyn de veoir si lon m'envoyeroit quelcun au devant, ce que le dit Courier a fait mesment à Mons. de Vendosme, selon qu'il ma compté ; combien que riens ne s'en est

my entry uncondacted by any living person. As soon as I had reached my lodgings, an hostellerie which I have long been in the habit of frequenting, I sent one of my attendants to the aforesaid Treasurer Robertet, to make him acquainted with my arrival, and to beg that he would communicate the same to Madame the Regent. This he incontinently did, and expressed great regret that I had not met with a more honorable reception, swearing with a great oath, that Madame had no idea that I was so near, and adding many fine phrases. Certes, Sire, it would seem he spoke truth, to judge from the good cheer and great attentions I received from her, and through her orders, after she had been informed of my arrival; for although it was then not earlier than eight o'clock at night, she immediately dispatched her Chevalier of Honor M. de la Roche, who had formerly been Ambassador in Flanders at the Court of your Majesty, and along with him a Maitre d'Hotel of the King.

suyvy, ains suis entré sans aucune conduite de personne vivant; deiz que fus arrivé en mon logys, qu'est une hostelerye ou de loing temps j'ay accoustumé de logier, j'envoyay l'ung de mes serviteurs vers le dit Tresorier Robertet l'advertir de ma venue, et luy prier le faire scavoir à Madame, ce qu'il feist incontinent et demonstra avoir ung très gros regret que n'avoie esté aultrement honnouré, et receully, et jura gros serment que Madame ne me pensoit point estre si pres d'Elle, avec plusieurs aultres belles parolles; et certes Sire, je tiens qu'il disoit verité pour la bonne chiere et honneste accueil qu'ellè ma fait faire, et fait Elle mesmes depuis, car deiz qu'elle sceut ma venue, non obstant qu'il estoit bien huyt heures du soir, Elle m'envoya soubyt son Chevalier d'honneur nommè Mons' de la Roche, que aultres-fois a esté Ambassadeur en Flandres vers votre Majesté, et avec luy

This Gentleman, making many excuses from Madame for not having been earlier apprized of my arrival, sent over to me a supply of wine which he has continued to do every day, both for dinner and supper. Next morning her Majesty's harbingers were sent to provide a lodging near her abode and according to my choice, and all this was accompanied with many other courtesies and fair speeches.

"This day after dinner, Sire, the aforesaid lady having sent for me by the said Sieur de la Roche, the King's Maitre d'Hotel, and some other Gentlemen, I found her attended by the Cardinals of Lorraine, and Bourbon, the Sieur de Vendosme and de Lautrec and several others, both French and Italian; when having made my reverence, and presented my credentials, she drew me aside and listened to what I had to say on the part of your Majesty in fulfilment of my charge; with which she

ung maistre dostel du Roy pour me bien viegner et faire ses excuses de ce qu'Elle n'avois esté advertir de ma si briefve venue et m'envoya fors flacons de vyn, et continue le mesmes jusques à maintenant, chacun disner et chacun souper, m'a aussi envoyé à mon lever ses fourriers qui m'ont baillé tel logys que j'ay volu fere choisir et bien prochain d'Elle, et au demeurant tout plain de courtoisies et honestes paroles.

"A cest apredyner Sire! ma ditte Dame ma envoie querir par les dits S^r de la Roche et maistre dostel du Roy, avec aucuns aultres gentilshommes, et l'ay trouvé accompaigne de Messrs. les Cardinaux de Lorraine et Bourbon, les S^r de Vendosme, de Lautrect et grant nombres d'aultres, tant François que Italyens, et apres luy avoir fait la Reverence et baillée mes lettres de credence. Ella m'a thiré à part, et au long oy ce que luy ay dyt de la part de votre ditte Majesté, en ensuyvant le contenu de ma charge, dont Elle s'est demonstrée mer-

expressed herself wonderfully rejoiced. She then recounted to me the great kindness which you had been pleased to shew the King her son, in having visited him in his dangerous illness, with so much familiarity, using such gracious and courteous language, that in her opinion, next to God's mercy, there was nothing in the world could have contributed so much to her son's recovery, as this visit. She then took up the subject of your handsome reception of the Duchess of Alençon, as well as all in general of this nation; and on this point she reiterated her excuses for not having made herself earlier acquainted with my coming; for your Majesty she observed, never failed so to conduct yourself in matters of this particular, that none of those who were sent to you ever returned without being full of your praises.

“And as to the arrival of the aforesaid lady, M^e. d'Alençon at Toledo; to come to the subject in hand,

veilleusement resjoye et ma compté au long la grant humanité qu'il vous a pleu monstrier au Roy son fils, de l'avoir esté visité en sa grant maladie si familiarément et avec si gracieux et honnestes propos, que a son advis après la grace de Dieu, ny a chose en ce monde qui ayt donné guerison au dit Seigneur Roy que la dite visitacion, en apres Elle est tombée sur le bon receul que votre Majesté a fait à Madame la Duchesse d'Alençon et generalmente à tous ceulx de ce Royaume, et sur ce point me fist longues excuses de ce qu'elle n'avoit esté myeulx advertye de ma venue, car votre Majesté en cest endroit en usé desorte que tous ceulx qui vieignent de pardela ne s'en scaivent assez l'houer.

“Et quand au point de la venue de ma ditte Dame d'Alençon à Toledo pour en commencer à desveloper les matieres, la ditte Dame

Madame the Regent, apparently speaking from her own feelings and those of the King, observed, that propositions the most ample and the most honorable would be made. She trusted that these would be met in the same spirit, and that your Majesty according to your great virtue and magnanimity, would not require any sacrifices from the said King, inconsistent with his honor; but that arrangements might be made of such a nature as to secure a perpetual peace and amity between you. After several other observations tending to the same end, I perceived, Sire, that she was ready to enter upon the subject of the surrender of Burgundy, to which many difficulties will be opposed by the States of the Kingdom; but from the ardent desire Madame the Regent has, again to see her son the King, no obstacle would be offered on her part, if her consent alone were necessary.

“In conclusion, Sire, it was evident that Madame would willingly have entered with me into more parti-

Regente ma semblablement respondu que du costé du Roy que du sien seront proposées choses si honnestes que pour souffire esperant que du vostre sera fait le semblable, et que votre d^e Majesté usera de la vertu de magnanimité en ne veullant contraindre audit Seign^r Roy faire chose contre son honneur, ains appointer avec luy de si bonne sorte que la Paix et amytié seront perpetuelles entre vous deux, avec plusieurs aultres propos tendans à la mesmes fyn; et tiens Sire, qu'elle vouloit venir sur le propos de la rendicion de Bourgoigne á quoy je tiegns aura grosse difficulté mesmement les Estaz de ce Royaulme, et croy que pour l'envie que Madame la Regente a de ravoire le Roy, Elle y consentiroit si ne tenoit que à elle, et pour conclusion, Sire, la ditte Dame Regente eust a moy l'advis bien entré avec moy en propos

culars, had I been disposed to give her the occasion ; but finding that I persisted to speak on matters only in a general way, she did not attempt any thing further ; and for my own part I could not do otherwise, seeing how inconvenient it would have been to enlarge on affairs which have occurred since the capture of the King of France. In fact, Sire, on all the points which had come before us, I answered the said Lady Regent in a manner as little painful to her feelings as possible, in-somuch that to all appearance she was not dissatisfied.

“ With regard to the Ambassadors from England, there are two here, as I have heard, not from the Regent, for she did not say a word about them, but from other quarters, and one of them is Auditor to the Apostolic chamber, and the other is M. Gregory Casal. The final declaration of peace has been published on all the frontiers of this country, and even in this city ; and, if I have not been misinformed, they have sent

plus particuliers si je luy en eusse commencé a parler, mais voyant que je persistois en termes generaux Elle y demora aussi, et de ma part ny pouvoir faire aultre chose, veu que ne scay riens a parler des affaires survenuz depuis la prinse du Roy de France.

“ Sur tous les propos susdits, Sire, respondis à la ditte Dame au moins mal que me fust possible, desorte que au Semblant quelle tenoit, Elle s’entint pour contente.

“ Au regard des Ambassadeurs d’Engleterre il en y a deux comme j’ay entendu non pas de la ditte Dame Regente car Elle ne m’en a parlé ung seul mot, mais aultres m’ont dit qu’ils y sont, et est l’ung l’auditeur de la chambre Apostolique et l’autre Messire Gregoire Casal ; la Paix finale entre ces deux Royaulmes a esté publyée par toutes les frontieres de ce Pays et mesment en ceste ville, et si cuide estre bien informé que l’on ayt envoye d’ycy en Engleterre, n’a pas

hence into England within the last three weeks one hundred thousand crowns as the first instalment of a payment due from this Court. The remainder, I suppose, will be paid in paper, and fine speeches; but whatever may be the result of this peace, to you it comes rather mal à propos, as your Majesty knows better than I; and the more so, since the Cardinal has thought proper to send hither two Italians as Ambassadors, for the purpose, as it would seem, of again disturbing the affairs of Italy. May it please you, Sire to write me your instructions by the first opportunity, how I am to demean myself towards these Ambassadors or others sent hither on the part of the King of England. I have at other times expressed my opinion to your Majesty, that the said Cardinal is aiming at two ends, the one under the shadow and pretence of war, to raise money for the King of England and throw the principal charge on your Majesty; the other to keep

trois sepmaines, cent mil Escus pour commencement des payemens de leur deu, je croy que la reste se payera en papier et belles pannes, mais comment qu'il en soit la ditte Paix vous vient très mal à propos quant votre Majesté entend trop mieulx que moy, et d'avantage puis le Cardinal a icy envoyé deux ytalien pour Ambassadeurs, pourroit sembler qu'il vouldroit de rechief tacher a embrouiller les affaires de la ditte Italie; il vous playra sur ce m'escrire par le premier, comme je me devray conduire avec les dits Ambassadeurs ou autres qui venir pourroient cy apres, de la part du Roy d'Angleterre.

“ J'ay aultres fois escript a vostre Majesté que à mon advis le dit Cardinal pretendoit à deux fins; l'une de sous l'umbre de Guerre lever pour le Roy d'Angleterre grans deniers, et jeter le principal frais sur votre Majesté, l'autre fin est de tenir le Roy de France et