

you, Sire, and the King of France in perpetual warfare or distrust of each other, with this view, that he may make sure of good treatment on both sides. Your Majesty may easily conceive from what happens every day, how far this may be true; nevertheless, speaking under correction, it appears to me very necessary that, before King Francis is suffered to be at liberty, a sufficient assurance should be given either by some strict obligation or some binding alliance, that he be rendered for the future unable to molest, or do you harm. Which of these methods is fittest and most practicable, your Majesty is the best judge; and therefore on this point it is useless to speak further.

“ I must not forget, Sire, also to inform your Majesty, how Madame the Regent has spoken to me on the subject of M. de Bourbon, telling me that she had been apprized of his arrival at Barcelona, and yet she could not suppose that as Madame her daughter was

vous Sire, en perpetuelle Guerre ou deffidence ensemble pour ce chemin estre assure et bien traicté des deux Coustez. Votre ditte Majesté peult conchevoir aux choses qui journellement occurrent ce que en est à la vérité, par quoy parlant sous correction, peult sembler estre bien necessaire, de ayant que le Roy françois sorte de prison, tellement vous assurer de luy, soit par la voye de force ou de bonne et estroicte alliance, que à l'advenir il ne vous puist nuire ou mal fere, votre Majesté cognoit trop myeux que moy lequel des deux chemyns est le plus apparant et faisable, parquoy m'en tiendray d'en parler plus avant. Je ne veulx aussi oblir, Sire, de vous escripvre comment ma ditte Dame la Regente ma tenu propos de Mons'. de Bourbon, me disant qu'elle estoit advertye de son arrivée à Barcelonè, mais qu'elle ne croit point puisque Madame sa fille

already with you, you would delay entering upon business till he made his appearance, inasmuch as it related to the most important matters touching an universal peace; in which your Majesty and the King her son were the only parties concerned. As to M. de Bourbon, she added, his was only an individual interest, and the restitution he sought could be easily effected, as the King had no need of his property or possessions. To this I made no other answer, than to express my conviction that your Majesty would so conduct yourself in every particular, as to leave no cause whatever for dissatisfaction. I was unwilling to enter further into this matter; for without more ample information as to your good pleasure, it was impossible to answer otherwise, any more than on another subject which she presently broached, giving me to understand that all the other Princes and Potentates of Christendom en-

estoit devers vous, que n'entriés tousjours avant en besoigne, sans attendre son arrivée devers vous; en tant que les grosses matieres qu'estoient a desmeler, asscavoir de la paix universelle ne touchent en rien à luy, ains seulement a vous et au Roy son fils, et que son affaire n'estoit que ung incident particulier disant meantmoins que en tant qu'il touchoit la restitution de son bien, que cela se feroit bien, car le Roy n'avoit besoing du dit bien; surquoy ne luy respondys aultre chose sinon que, ne faisons doubtte votre Magesté userat en tout desorte que chascun pour la raison s'en deveroit contenter, et ne voluz entrer en ce propos plus avant; car ce ne sont choses pour y respondre sans estre amplement informé sur ce de votre bon plaisir; et en la mesme sorte en usay au mesmes instant d'ung aultre propos quelle me tint, me donnant assez à entendre, que toute la reste des Princes et Potentats de la Chrestienté estoient en

tertained a marvellous jealousy and fear, lest a good and lasting peace should be established between you two; a circumstance to which the rest would not be a little averse. And this, Sire, I consider highly probable, since all the renown and distinction of the said Princes and Potentates rest solely in the dissensions between your Majesty and the said Seigneur King, as has been perfectly clear from the commencement of this contest to the present moment."

A few further particulars connected with the Duchess of Alençon's mission to Madrid, will appear in the subjoined letter of Perrenot de Granvelle to the Duchess of Savoy, dated from Toledo soon after her departure.

This Nicholas Perrenot was the son of a blacksmith at Besançon, and had raised himself by his own merit to be successor to Gattinara, in the Belgian Cabinet. For twenty years he continued Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Seals, and confidant of Charles, to whom his natural reserve and seriousness were more congenial than Gattinara's Italian vivacity. With a pleasing exterior, he combined an uncommon knowledge of affairs, and a remarkable power of discriminating between what was essential and necessary, and what was contingent

une merveilleuse jalousie et crainte que quelque bonne Paix et union se trouvast entre vous deux, et qu'elle estoit assez sollicitée au contraire; qu'est, Sire, chose assez creable, entant que toute la reputation des dits Princes et Potentats gist en la dissension d'entre votre Majesté et le dit Seig^r. Roy, comme est bien apparu à l'oeil, depuis le commencement de ceste guerre jusque au jour d'huy."

and ornamental. Though born of poor parents, he left behind him a large fortune, untainted by any imputation of dishonesty. He never received a present without the knowledge and wish of the Emperor. So little was the latter accustomed to act without his opinion and advice, that he used to send him every morning a note of the affairs of the day which were to come before him, and what he had to decide was almost always done in accordance with Granvelle's marginal annotations. The bearer of these notes was the Emperor's trusty valet Adrian, a safe messenger, as he could neither read nor write. Granvelle, the name by which he is best known, died in 1550 at Augsburg.

His son was Antony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, afterwards Archbishop of Mechlin, and Cardinal Granvelle. He inherited his father's talents, dignities, and power over the Emperor. Possessed of the same untiring activity, but gifted with greater eloquence than his father, a master of several languages, and of an easy persuasive style of writing, he was one of the most accomplished diplomatists of the day. He is further characterised, as ambitious, covetous and revengeful; prudent withal, except in his numerous affairs of gallantry. Great as was his power in the councils of Charles, his dominion over Philip was unbounded, and yet he so well knew how to conceal this influence, and to give the credit of his most brilliant conceptions to the Princes he served, that whilst they considered him in the light of a clever workman, he was in fact an all powerful director.*

* Oestereichischer Plutarch.

PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY,
GOVERNESS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

From Toledo, the 19th November, 1525.

“Madam!

Most humbly as I am bound I recommend myself to your good grace!

“Madam! I wrote to you, it is now about eighteen days ago, by a courier whom they were dispatching to M. de Praet, and whom M. de Bouclains promised to send on to you, at the very moment of my departure for Madrid to see the King of France. I thought it very probable that another courier would soon be sent after the arrival of Madame the Duchess of Alençon, as the Seigneurs of this Court assured me would be the case; but the communications have been so long, and so frequently interrupted, that even up to the day of her departure to visit the King at Madrid, nothing had been

19th Nov: 1525.

“Madame! Si tres humblement que fere puis a votre bonne grace me recommande!

“Madame! je vous escripviz sont environ xviii jours par un courier que se depeschoit a Mon^r de Praet lequel Mons^r de Bouclains m'a promis faire passer outre, jusques de vers vous, et estoye lors en l'instant de partir pour aller veoir le Roy de France à Madry, et pensoye que toet apres l'on depescheroit autre courier, quant ma Dame la Duchesse D'Alençon auroit icy esté cinq ou six jours, et ainsi le m'avoient dit les Seig^r de ceste Court. Mais les communications, ont esté longues, et toujours en suspend, et jusques a son partement d'icy, que fut seulement Samedij et est retourné à Madry de

concluded; and consequently no courier has been sent from this place until the present. He is ordered off with dispatches from M. de Bourbon, now at Barcelona, and thence onward to M. de Praet; and at my request, the said S^r de Bouclains has promised that he shall be the bearer of this to you.

“Madame! In fulfilment of your wishes, and in accordance with the good pleasure of the Emperor, and the advice of the Viceroy and other Seigneurs, I forthwith went to take your letters to the King, and on your part to pay him a visit. I had long audiences with him, at four different times after the fever had subsided, when I found him in a good disposition to receive me, though extremely weak from the severity of his malady. He told me, that he and his kingdom were much indebted to you, Madame, for the desire you had manifested for peace, and a good intelligence and amity between the Emperor and him, and consequently for his deliverance; which, if

vers le Roy sans aucun effect ny conclusion, et a ceste cause n'a l'on deveschie courier jusques a celuyci, lequel passera devers Monseigneur de Bourbon qu'est arrivé à Barcelone et puis dois la devers le dit S^r de Praet, et j'ay prié le dit S^r de Bouclains le faire aller devers vous, ce que m'a promis.

“Madame, comme vous escripoye deslors mon alez par le bon plaisir de l'Empereur et advis de Mons^r le Vice-Roi et autres Seig^{rs} pourter vos lettres au Roy et le visité de votre part et par quatre fois parliz a luy assez longuement et estoit hors de fiebvre, en bonne disposition selon l'extremité de la maladie dont il estoit encoires fort debile. Et me dit que tenoit luy et son Royaulme, bien obligie a vous Madame, du desir qu'aviez a la paix et bonne intelligence et amitié d'entre l'Empereur et luy, et par ce moyen a Sa delivrance et que si Dieu la

God should please to grant, he must always esteem you, even as a second mother, with whose advice and counsel he should be happy to govern his affairs ; adding many other fair and courteous expressions. On this subject, and his ardent desire for peace, as well as for the friendship and good graces of the Emperor he spoke much, devising at large the means of effecting it, and always recurring to the idea of a marriage as the principal thing to build upon. He also repeated his assurances of the desire he had to contribute to the aggrandizement of the Emperor, and to assist in forwarding all his enterprises, referring all the means and details to the aforesaid Madame d'Alençon. With regard to myself, he begged I would continue to exercise the charge which you have been pleased to give me of persuading and forwarding as much as possible the said peace, according to the efforts I had already made, of which he had been informed by his Ambassadors the Seigneurs D'Ambrun, and the President.

donnoit, il vous tiendrait toujours mais pour son autre mère, et conduiroit ses affaires au surplus par votre avis et conseil ; avec plusieurs autres bonnes paroles. Sur ceste substance ; et du singulier desir qu'il avoit a la paix, amitié, et bonne grace de l'Empereur, divisant longuement des moyens dont tousjours le principal fondement estoit de mariaige et de son desir à la grandeur de l'Empereur et aidé à par bouter outre ses emprinses, soy remectant des dits moyens à la dite Dame d'Alençon, et me requerant continuer en la charge qui vous a pleu me donner, de persuader et tenir main à la dite paix selon qu'il estoit adverty par les Seig^{rs} Dambrun, et président, ses Ambassadeurs, comme j'avois fait.

‘Madame! I met on my journey the said lady, and delivered to her your letters; and whilst I had this opportunity, with the knowledge and will of the Emperor, I went to visit her, and the aforesaid Ambassadors; and have reason to think that I gave satisfaction without any cause of distrust on one side or the other.

“Madame! I have since recovered the copy of the letter which the Emperor had written to M. de Praet, and of other writings which I now send, as a summary of the communications which here took place. At the commencement, the said lady recapitulated the proposition which had already been entertained respecting the marriage, the ransom, or the cession of the Duchy, on condition that it should be pronounced by the Parliament of Paris, a possession belonging of right to the King, who would be ready to give hostages in this case, to ensure its surrender. On this point, however, the Emperor declared, as he had before done, without any

“Madame! je rencontrez en chemin la dite Dame, et luy bailliz vos lettres, et du Sceu et vouloir de l’Empereur pendant qu’elle a esté en ce lieux, la suis esté veoir, et les dits Ambassadeurs, et y tiens avoir fait de sorte qu’ilz en sont contens et sans suspieçon d’ung coustet n’y d’autre.

“Madame! depuis j’ay recouvré la coppie de la lettre que l’Empereur en escript à Mon^{sr} de Praet, et la coppie des escriptz que j’envoye pour sommaire des dits communications, au commencement la dite Dame reprint les propoz que deja avoient esté tenuz de mariaige, ransom, ou rendre la possession du Duché à condicion que après du droit de la dite Duché fut cogneu au parlement de Parys et avec ostagiers pour le rendre en cas qui fut decidé le dit Duchié appartenir au Roy et sur ce l’Empereur declairit, comme il avoit desja fait, sans

reference to the marriage, that no ransom would satisfy him, nothing less than the Duchy, his ancient heritage, the foundation of his order, of which he bore the name and the arms, rejecting the condition attached to it as wholly inadmissible. Some days afterwards, the said lady, in the absence of the aforementioned Ambassadors, made a proposition to the Emperor who went to visit her at her lodgings, to choose arbitrators, which he had before refused, and which he then, as she told me the same day, was ready to agree to. Afterwards, however, when she was in conference with the Ambassadors, they came to a stand-still, when they touched on the aforesaid condition relating to the Parliament of Paris and the hostages, which the Emperor, they maintained, would not accept. An offer has since been made to unite the Viscounty of Auxonne with the county of the same, in order that the two should form one Duchy, which has likewise been declined. Communications have passed in writing on both sides, of which the result has been

faire mention du mariaige qui ne voulait raincon ains avoir le Duché, son ancien heritage, fondement de son ordre et dont il portait le nom et ses armes, rejectant la condition avant dite, et quelques jour apres la dite Dame en absence des dits Ambassadeurs tint propoz á l'Empereur qui la fut veoir en son Logis, de choisir arbitres, que l'Empereur qui paravant l'avoit refusé accourdit, comme le mesme jour elle me dit, et deppuis, elle, et les dits Ambassadeurs, s'arrestarent a la dite condicion d'en cognoistre à Parys et baillié hostages que l'Empereur n'a voulus accepter, et enfin ils ont offert la Viconté d'Auxone pour la joindre au Conté, affin que des deux ce fit ung Duche, qu'a esté refusé ; il a esté baillié par escript d'ung coustel et

nothing more than is above related. They have now taken their leave, both the Duchess of Alençon and the Ambassadors, declaring that the King has fully made up his mind not to resign the said Duchy except on the condition already proposed, choosing rather to submit to perpetual imprisonment; and this very day the said lady has sent to demand her passports, that she may return to France under the same security as she travelled hither, which has been granted her. No further movements or proposals have since taken place, the Emperor continuing in the same determination to obtain possession of the Duchy; and if the said lady takes her departure, as appears her intention, the hope of peace which has been excited by her arrival, and the subsequent attempts at negotiation, as well as by the arbitration supposed to be agreed on, will altogether vanish for the present.

“Madame! On Sunday last, the 15th of this month, I received by Richard the letters and other papers which you were pleased to send me. The Emperor was

d'autre, dont le principal effet est, ce que dessus, et se sont partiz les dits Dame et Ambassadeurs, disans que le Roy est entièrement resolu de non rendre le dit Duche, si non à la condition avant dite, et plustot choisir prison perpetuelle, et encoires ce jour d'huy à la dite Dame envoyé icy pour s'en pouvoir aller seurement en France comme elle est venue, que luy a esté accordé, et n'est deppuis nouvelle d'autres moyens ny changement et demeure l'Empereur resolu de ravoir le dit Duchié, et si la dite Dame se part comme il semble, et quelle demonstra vouloir faire, l'on perdra pour ceste fois l'espoir de paix que l'on a peu grant par sa venue et encoires durant ces communications, mesme sur l'accord du dit arbitraige.” * * * * *

at that time on a hunting expedition five leagues hence with a few attendants, having previously taken leave of the Duchess of Alençon; and on his return I presented to him your letters. I discussed with him at length the two principal points relative to the peace or truce, and the commercial arrangements in which your country is concerned. The present truce, I observed, such as it was, would not be of long continuance, and was not unattended with dangers and inconveniences. I spoke also to him of those three points on which he had lately written to you by his Secretary, repeating to him the causes and reasons which, for the good of his service and with the advice of the Seigneurs of your country, had influenced you in sending Messrs. de Beure and the President into England, noticing the moderation which might be observed in the instructions of Pignolosa, and finally mentioning the truce. To all this his Majesty gave a willing ear, and seemed to take in good part all that was said. Madame! His Majesty answered me as touching the first point, that he was so well aware of the truth and urgency of the remonstrances and representations which I had made, that he attached great weight to them, and was ready to give them every consideration; but that it was impossible to come to any conclusion or resolution, or to give any instructions, until it was clear how the negotiation was likely to end, and whether the Duchess would really take her departure. How this might turn out, and whether the King and the said Duchess would abide by the answer they had already made, were matters, he informed me, of which

I must await the issue. This, indeed, he had told me thrice before, when I pressed on his attention the affairs of your country ; delaying to enter on them whilst others of deeper interest were still in suspense ; but promising to give them his consideration and send you word of his pleasure, and of the settlement of what was now pending, which might be speedily looked for.

“Madame ! Whatever might have been the opinion offered, it has certainly come to pass, as my Lady Regent, the Chancellor of France, and Robertet had asserted, that peace has been made with England, and according to articles which had been proposed and resolved upon before the battle and capture of the King. His Majesty and the Seigneurs of his Court would not believe it, whilst it was affirmed by the Ambassadors of France, and at first as stoutly denied by those of England. It seems at length to be generally admitted ; although all appear ignorant of the manner in which it has been brought about. Among other causes, it has chiefly arisen, as is pretended, out of the truce made in your country, as well as from the correspondence which has passed, and your frequent declarations, that as far as your interest was concerned, you had abandoned all thoughts of war. Concerning this matter I gave a sufficient explanation, and satisfied his said Majesty, as I hope, thereupon.” * * * * *

A long passage here follows relating chiefly to some points of commerce of small interest apparently, and from ignorance of some matters alluded to, almost untranslatable.

“Madame! I pray the Creator to grant you a happy and long life. From Toledo, this 19th of October, 1525.

Your most humble and obedient subject and servant,

NICOLAS PERRENOT.”

THE SIEUR DE PRAET TO THE EMPEROR.

Lyons, 22 November, 1525.

“Sire!

Since the letters which I lately wrote to your Majesty by a gentleman of the Prince of Orange, nothing has occurred worthy of notice, except that Madame the Regent has received two couriers, through whom, as she has informed me, the news of the King of France's convalescence has been confirmed; and further, that the President of Paris, and the Bishop of Embrun had lately returned to your Majesty at Toledo; a circumstance which sufficiently shews the confidence they entertain of the delivery of the King her son. At the same time there is nothing said which gives me the least expectation of the cession of Burgundy. They persist in the same sort of general language, instead of coming to the point, which I have spoken of in former letters. One thing is true according to the accounts of some, that M. de Guise is gone to the Swiss to try to work them up to a new invasion of the Duchy of Milan in pursuance of a treaty entered into with the knowledge and advice of the Pope and the Venetians.

“It is also rumoured that the *fuorusciti* (banished) of

the said Duchy, being for the most part in this city, are likely to make there some sudden movement, and so much the more, as the Marquis of Pescara is now lying sick: all this your Majesty will learn better from the bearer than I am able to describe, and therefore I will no longer dwell upon it. I can see, however, certain appearances on another side, which seem to indicate at the end of this cessation of hostilities, a sort of threatening against the Low Countries. All the captains of the said frontiers have set off hence, with the exception of M. de Vendôme; and even Messrs. St. Pol and de Vaudemont take their departure in two days, under the pretence of a party of pleasure into Lorraine and Picardy. I have thought it right to apprise Madame of these my surmises, in order that she may make timely provisions against them; and should my apprehensions be ill founded, there will be no harm done in being on her guard against dangers which might occur. I expect an answer from Madame by Guillaume des Barres in two or three days, who has been dispatched hither by her command, and according to my request in former letters; by whom I will not fail likewise to advertise your Majesty of what may in the meantime occur; and also concerning the army of the Commander Herrera, whom I shall expect some time to-morrow; though, as I heard this morning, he had been taken a little ill at Montpellier on his way from your Majesty.

“I shall be able also to inform you of the arrival of the Ambassadors from England, who are expected the day after to-morrow. One of them is the Captain of

Guisnes,* and the other a Doctor in the service of the Cardinal of York. They are coming with a train of about sixty horse ; and their principal charge as I understand, is to receive the oath of M^e the Regent, and the ratification of the peace lately concluded between the two kingdoms.

“Sire ! I supplicate the Lord to have you in his holy keeping. From Lyons, this 22nd of November,

Your most humble and most obedient,

Servant and subject,

LOUIS DE PRAET.”



*So in original.
P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

Towards the close of this year 1525, the negotiation for setting the King of France at liberty assumed a more promising aspect ; and the opening of the next announced its favorable result, in the following letter from the Emperor to his Minister de Praet.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE
SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25 January, 1526.

“Cher et Feal! We have received your three letters, to which we have made no reply whilst awaiting the issue of the communications between our people and those of our good brother, the King of France, touching the affairs of peace. And now, thanks be to God, that to His praise, and for the repose of Christendom, and for

MINUTE DE L'EMPEREUR AU SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25^{me} Janvier, 1526.

“Chier et Feal!

Nous avons reçeu trois voz lettres aux quelles ne vous avons fait responce, actendant l'yssue des communications d'entre noz gens et ceulx de notre bon frere le Roy de France touchant les affaires de paix. Nous avons présentement, Graces à Dieu, à sa louange et pour

the extinction of all our discords, a peace has been made and sworn to, of so happy a sort as may cause and for ever establish that wise alliance and friendship between us, which ought to be the fruit of so good a work.

“ We write to M^e the Regent a letter such as you will see, and will present to her ; and in informing her of the above, you will offer and express our congratulations on the happy conclusion of peace, with all that courteousness, address and grace of language which your experienced judgment so well knows how to employ, as the case may require. You will state also to the Lady Regent how, in pursuance of the said treaty, we have lost no time in causing to be immediately announced in all the frontiers of our kingdoms the publication of peace, to be proclaimed on the 15th of February inst. ; and how we have likewise taken measures for setting at liberty without ransom all prisoners of war,

le repos de chretienté et effacer toutes noz discordes, fait conclure et jurer icelle paix en si bonne sorte que entendons à james et par sage alliance, et par bonne amytiévyvre, et ensemble nous conduyre comme une si bonne oeuvre le merite. Nous ecripvons a Madame la Regente la lettre telle que verrez, laquelle vous luy présenterez, et luy direz ce que dessus, en vous congratulant avec elle de la bonne conclusion d'icelle paix, avec l'honesteté Gracieuses paroles et bonne maniere dont par votre experimentée prudence scavez bien user comme le cas le requiert. Vous direz aussi à la dite Dame Regente, comme ensuiuant le contenu au dit traicté de paix, avons desesché incontinent par toutes les frontieres de noz royaumes et pays pour la publication d'icelle paix au xveme de Fevrier prochain, et semblablement pour mettre en liberté toutes personnes de guerre sans payer aulcun rançon ;

a step which we are quite sure will be met by a similar proceeding on the part of France. But from an especial desire which we have to see the Prince of Orange, the Commander Sucre, Guilfort an Englishman, and Don Garcia de Toledo, Gentlemen of our household as you know, we have particularly to request that the Lady Regent will do us the favor to have them sent off at once, before the prescribed term of next month. We hope on our part that as no delay need to take place, every one detained by us, may be forthwith discharged and all begin to enjoy and communicate the blessings of peace and amity.

"You will likewise also solicit according to the tenor of the said treaty, the deliverance of the Bishop of Autun, and of the Sieur de St. Valier, who have a claim to be put in immediate possession of their liberty as you will see by the article we herewith send by Dormans the bearer of this dispatch. He will remain at your dis-

et pour ce que du costé de France doit estre fait le semblable ne faisons doute qu'il y ait faulte, mais pour le desir que avons deveoir le Prinse D'Oranges, le Capitaine Sucre, Guilfort Anglois et Don Garcia de Toledo qui sont tous de notre maison comme savez ; Nous desirerions bien que la dite Dame Regente nous fit ce plaisir de les nous envoyer devant le dit xvme. de Febvrier, car nous esperons que aussi devant le dit jour toutes les personnes de notre costé seront delivrez, car puisqu'il est conclud n'est besoing se tant arrester au terme limité, ains commencer de complayre les ungs aulx autres.

"Samblablement vous sollicitez, ensuivant le contenu au dit traicté, la delivrance de L'Evesque D'Othun, et du Sieur de St. Valier, lesquelz doyyent estre mis promptement en leur playne liberté, comme verrez par l'article que vous envoyons, et vous porte Dormans ce de-

posal to receive your instructions, and to be sent wherever our service may require, concerning the aforementioned matters.

“ We will soon hasten the departure of your attendant Phippot with our resolution in some other concerns, and by him give our opinion for your direction.

“ You will, however, follow the Lady Regent in her journey to Bayonne, or wherever else also it may be her pleasure to go ; and you will constantly write to us of all that occurs. Given in our city of Toledo, the 25th day of January, 1526.”

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

Written at Toledo, January, 1526.

“ Sir, my good Brother !

Having seen by your letters, and by those of my Viceroy of Naples, and of Don Hugo, as well as having

pesche lequel pourrez employer et instruyre, l'envoyant ou sera besoing pour notre service en ce que dessus.

“ Nous depescherons bientost Phippot votre serviteur avec resolution en voz affaires, et par luy vous advertirons comme vous aurez à conduyre cependant vous suyverez la dite Dame Regente en son voyage a Bayonne si elle y vient, ou aultre part qu'elle yra, et nous escriprez toujours de toutes nouvelles.

“ Donné en notre cité de Tholedo le xxvme. jour de janvier xv^exxvi.”

DE L'EMPEREUR AU ROI DE FRANCE.

Janvier, 1526.

“ Monsieur mon bon Frere, ayant vû par vos lettres et par icelles de mon Viceroy de Naples, de Don hugo, et par la relation de Jean

heard by word of mouth from John Lallemand, of the conclusion of a peace between you and me, an event which I have so ardently desired, and which gives me marvellous pleasure from the fruit which it may produce, if we each acquit ourselves of our obligations, which I doubt not we shall heartily and honestly do, I have now the greatest satisfaction in replying to the wish you have expressed, and which I have equally entertained of a meeting between us. This might be accomplished without any delay, even whilst writing this letter, were it not that I am constrained to postpone it for a few days, in order to the dispatch of some matters of business necessary to the affairs concluded in our said peace. In the meantime however, as I am anxious to hear of your good health, I send the Count D'Egmont to see you, and in my stead to pay you a visit, untill I can do it in my own person; at the same time advising you that I have made provisions for receiving the dispensation, which I have no doubt will be

Lallemand la conclusion qu'il est pris de la paix entre vous et moi, qui estoit chose que tant je desirois, et dont j'ay eü merueilleuse plaisir, pour le service que d'icelle en reviendra, si nous nous acquittons comme ne fais doute, que vous de votre coté et moy du myen serons, et de bien bon coeur, satisferont à votre desir de nous trouver ensemble, car en ce eusse aussi satisfait au mien, que ferai tot, et tans grand delai et fut aussitot exécuté que cette lettre est ecrite, n'eut été, que suis contraint pour aucuns jours le delayer, pour entendre à faire depecher aucunes choses necessaires aux affaires conclütes par la ditte paix, et cependant est pour savoir de votre bon portement, j'envoie le Comte d'Egmont vous voir, aussi pour vous visiter, jusques a que je le fasse en personne : vous advisant, que j'ai pourvu pour avoir la

sent in the course of to-morrow, and not to fatigue you with so bad a letter, he will now conclude whom you shall always find your good brother and friend

CHARLES."

COPY OF AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE SIEUR DE
PRAET AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

Written to the Emperor from Lyons, 3rd February, 1526.

A part of this letter is written in cypher.

"Sire!

Your Majesty will have been informed of the news from hence, by the Sieur de Bossu, up to his departure, which took place last Thursday.

"On Sunday morning (the 26th January) Mons^r le Mareschal de Montmorency arrived, bringing to M^{de} la Regente the news of the conclusion of peace, with which the said lady and those of her party were marvellously pleased. Others there are at this Court who rejoice but little on the subject, both because of the cession of Burgundy, and for other reasons which touch their personal interests.

"As to the Italians who are here, they at first pretended to be much distressed about it, but from what I have since heard their present talk is of becoming from henceforward as loyal to your Majesty, as they have hi-

dispençe, laquelle ne fais doute que demain pourtout le jour sera despeschié, et pour ne vous facher de si mauvaise lettre, fera fin celui que á jamais trouverez. Votre bon frère et ami (etoit signé:)

CHARLES."

Conforme à la Minute.

therto been to the King of France, in hopes, as they have been led to expect, that each of them will recover his lands and houses as soon as the said peace is concluded.

“The same Sunday, Sire, in the afternoon, the said lady sent for me to communicate to me the said news; but I found it impossible to attend her, on account of a pain in my knees which had come on a few days before. She likewise sent for Mons^r le Prince [the Prince of Orange] and, after many very civil speeches, set him at liberty on parole, giving him leave to go and see M^{de} la Princesse his mother, on condition of being back again in time to meet the Regent on the 15th of next month, when, according to the conditions of the said Treaty of peace, he is to be set at large with the rest of the prisoners. This has been promised by the said Prince, and he is now gone to Burgundy, as your Majesty will be further informed, by the enclosed letters.

“The next day, Sire, which was last Monday, I went in spite of the pain I was suffering, to wait upon the aforesaid lady, and these are the heads of the discourse she held with me.

“The first was, touching her gratitude to God, and to you Sire, as well for the deliverance of her son, as for the friendship and alliance which is to be cemented by the marriage of the said King with M^{de} Eleonora, which thing, she said, was what she most wished for in this world. She begged me also to write to you, and to entreat, as from her, that, if it be your good pleasure, you will cause the said lady Eleanor to approach the frontier of Bayonne, in order that it may be advised

whether it be possible to celebrate the said marriage immediately at Bayonne ; in which case the said lady would proceed at once with him to France ; thus proving to me, Sire, how marvellously her heart is in this matter.

“The second thing she touched upon was the cession of the Duchy of Burgundy. She told me, that so many persons of all estates in the kingdom were so highly displeased at it, that she is giving out to all, both Princes and others, that as soon as the said Duchy shall be in your hands, its rights will be discussed and decided by umpires. She requested me to spread the same report here and to supplicate your Majesty that it be your pleasure to do the same where you are, until the said Duchy be fairly given up, after which the said article concerning it may be divulged without danger.

“Thirdly, the said lady begged me to intreat your Majesty in her name, that since M^r the Viceroy* has by your desire, taken the lead in settling the articles of the said peace, and has been at so much trouble, in conducting the King her son into Spain, as well as in negotiating the amity which now subsists between you, it may be your good pleasure to give in charge to the said Viceroy, the conduct of the said King as far as Bayonne. The Viceroy having had the honour of taking him prisoner, would thus enjoy the appropriate honour of setting him at liberty, and the aforesaid lady would have an opportunity of seeing him, and thanking him for all the duty and kindness he has shewn towards her.

“After this, Sire, the aforesaid lady called Mons^r the

* Lannoy Viceroy of Naples.

Mareschal de Montmorenci, who in my hearing made so many civil speeches about your Majesty, that I could not take upon me to record them all.

“Sire, I replied as well as I could, promising to report all that was said to your Majesty.

“With regard to the first request of the said lady the Regent, namely, the conclusion of the King’s marriage with M^{de} Eleanor at Bayonne, notwithstanding that she is dealing therein sincerely and openly as I believe, yet, according to my poor judgment, it will be safer to adhere strictly to the forms of the treaty, giving some proper reply and civil excuse to the said Regent, such as your Majesty better knows how to frame than myself.

“With regard to the second, it appears to me that it is by no means desirable for your Majesty or any of your friends, to spread a report which is neither consistent with truth, nor with your own interest, but even should it be your Majesty’s pleasure to comply with her request on this point, it will be better to speak on the subject as cautiously as possible, which I have resolved to do, Sire, until I receive your further instructions. For, Sire, as I have already written to you, if it had not been for the said lady the Regent and those of her party, the aforesaid Duchy would never have been ceded, either by treaty or otherwise ; it being a point which marvelously grieves and disturbs the whole kingdom, and not without cause, seeing that it will be much weakened thereby ; specially if the said Duchy is well watched and guarded, which I have no doubt your Majesty will look to, and which will be so much the more easily done, since

Franche Comté, and Germany are so close to it. Inasmuch, therefore, Sire, as this is a point of the greatest consequence, your Majesty must be very urgent that it be brought to pass according to the strict terms of the treaties; and to this end it will be desirable to keep together your army in Italy, and also to make known by your Ambassadors at the Courts of Rome and London, how essential you consider the said cession to the lasting good of Christendom.

“Others news, Sire, there is none, save that Madame departs to-morrow for Blois, from whence she will immediately proceed towards Bayonne with the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, for, as she has said, repeated, and sworn to me several times, neither the King nor herself will fail to observe even the minutest point contained in the treaty, as well regarding Burgundy as in every other article. She has already set M^r le Prince at liberty on parole, and he has gone to visit M^{de} his mother, on condition of being at the aforesaid Blois before the 15th of next month, there to receive his full release, and forthwith to proceed to Spain, as you will find, Sire, by the letters of the said Prince, herewith enclosed. With which I will now conclude, Sire, after recommending myself most humbly to your grace, and praying our Lord to have you in his keeping. From Lyons, the last day of January.”

“Sire, since I wrote the above, Dormans has arrived with your Majesty's dispatch; and according to its tenor, I have spoken to M^{de} la Regente, congratula-

ting her on the peace, and urging her to the speedy release of the prisoners of war, and of Mess^{rs} de St. Valier and d'Autun. She has promised me, that they shall be set at liberty as soon as she arrives at Blois, assuring me again, that every thing contained in the treaty shall be most faithfully accomplished. I will urge her to haste, and will let you know what she has done. She told me also, that the line of posting is to be changed on this side, and that it is now to pass through Bayonne. It will be necessary that your Majesty should forthwith direct a correspondent change to take place on your side, which will shorten the distance of the route by eighty or one hundred miles.

“Sire! At the beginning of this letter I wrote you word of what was said by the Italian exiles (“Fuorusciti”) here. Since that, the S^r Galeazzo Visconti has been to see me twice, and has made me a great many speeches, excusing himself for not having paid me a visit sooner, by pleading the unsettled state of affairs. He recapitulated the services which he had *formerly rendered* to the late Emperor, dwelt on his having always endeavoured to dissuade the King of France from going to war with you and concluded by saying, that he was about to proceed straight to Bayonne, and that when he had heard how the affairs of Milan were tending, he would if he could do so consistently with his honour, return to your service; in which he would so employ himself as to deserve your highest praise. This, and many other things which he said, had in my opinion no other object than to draw out from me the contents

of the aforesaid treaty with regard to Milan, and to the disposal of the property of himself and other "Fuorusciti."

"I answered, that the King was about to dispossess himself entirely of every pretended claim to Milan, and with regard to the said property, I told him in general terms, that he must feel certain, that a Prince so virtuous as yourself, would act both towards him and others in a manner which would satisfy every reasonable expectation; and this I said without entering into any further particulars. Written as above, the third of February.

Your most humble and most obedient servant
and subject,

Signed LOYS DE PRAET.

LETTER OF CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES
TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY, GOVERNESS OF THE
NETHERLANDS.

Written at Madrid, Ash Wednesday, 14th February, 1526.

"Madame!

The Emperor arrived here yesterday. The King of France went outside the city to give him the meeting. The Emperor, as they proceeded, gave the King the place of honour, which he sought to decline. After supper, they remained together for the space of two hours, and, as far as I can understand, they were mutually pleased. The King begged permission of the Emperor to see the Queen, which was granted, as well as the assurance of her being delivered over to him on the

ratification of the treaty of peace, that is to say, as soon as he, the King, sets his foot in Provence.

“Madame! The Emperor has commanded me to conduct the King on his way, and to receive Monseigneur the Dauphin and Monseigneur of Orleans, or the Dauphin and the twelve other hostages, to be surrendered as security for the treaty of peace, and to hand over the said Seigneurs to the Constable,* who is commissioned to take them under his charge, and who goes to accompany the Queen as far as Vittoria. Thence, it his Majesty’s pleasure that I should attend the Queen to Bayonne.

“Madame! The charge I have received is a great and most weighty one; but notwithstanding the difficulties in my way, with the desire I have always had of rendering my best services to the Emperor, I cannot decline it, hoping for God’s assistance that I may loyally do my duty.

“Madame! His said Majesty has commanded me to go to Naples to put in order the affairs of that kingdom, by holding a parliament with a view to its more effectual service.

“Madame! Wherever I may be, I entreat you to believe that you have in me a faithful servant, who will spare no endeavour as far as his services may avail for your interest, honour, and renown; and if at any time his power should prove insufficient, be, persuaded, Madam that his will is not in fault.

“Madame! You will be made acquainted by M. Ni-

* The Constable of Castille.

colas Perrenot of the general state of affairs. In him you have also a good servant, who has well done all that it was your pleasure to command him. I would also beg to recommend to you as such, John Lallemand, whom I have known to be so, ever since I have been at this Court.

"In conclusion, Madame, may it please you to honour me at all times with your commands ; and I pray God to give you a happy and long life. From Madrid, Ash Wednesday, 1526,

Your most humble servant,

CHARLES DE LANNOY."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE SIEUR DE PRAET.

Written at Madrid, 19th February, 1526.

"Cher et feal," we have received the letters by Bossu, and have been informed of the affairs concerning yourself, communicated through him and which we have already taken into consideration with a view to make such a provision as may meet the wishes expressed in your letter, and by the present bearer. First as to the salary you have from us on account of your Embassy, which has been at the rate of ten florins a day. We

"19th. Fevrier, 1526.

"Chier et Feal nous avons reçu les lettres par Bossu, et entendu ce qu'il nous a dit de votre part touchant voz affaires ; surquoy avons deja advisé vous pourveoir suivant ce que nous aviez escript tant par votre homme présent porteur comme auparavant, et premiers quant au Salaire qu'avez de nous à cause de votre Ambassade qu'est de dix florins par jour, nous sommes content que le dit Salaire vous soit

agree that the said salary shall be augmented to seven golden ducats a day, to commence from the date of the letters which we wrote from hence on appointing you our Ambassador in France; and we moreover agree that the said augmentation of salary shall hold good so long as you shall remain in the said embassy, and this over and above the other salaries and allowances you receive from us, and that it shall be paid by the hands of our Treasurer out of the monies in his charge. As to what may be due to you on account of your past services in England, we will have it looked to, and paid out of our revenues in Flanders, having now no doubt, since we are at present at peace, that all the payments due to you shall be surely and punctually made from our said finances. Touching the gift and present over and above, of which I have spoken, though now on the eve of my departure for Seville, be assured that when there, I will not suffer it to be forgotten, as a reward most

accreu, assavoir que ou lieu des dis dix florins vous ayez par chacun jour sept Ducaz d'or à commencer du jour de la date des lettres que vous escrivimes d'icy, que deussiez aller nous servir en la ditte Ambassade en France, et à continuer tant que demeurerez en icelle Ambassade, et ce oultre les aultres gaiges et traitment que avez de nous, desquelz sept ducas par jour serez payé par la main de notre argentier et de noz deniers de sa charge, et quant à ce que vous peult estre deu auparavant à cause de votre service en Angleterre, nous vous en ferons dresser et payer par noz finances en Flandres, et ne faisons point de doute, puyque maintenant y a paix, que votre dit payement sera bien seur et certain en nos dittes finances; et quant au don que nous avons escript que vous ferions, nous sommes sur notre partement pour aller à Seville et nous estre illec, aurons bonne souvenance d'ainsi le faire comme c'est bien raison et vos bons services le meritent. Au

reasonable, and well merited by your good services. Moreover, we send with these a copy of the treaty of peace made at Madrid, by which you will perceive and understand the conditions which are necessary to be executed promptly on either side. As concerning ourselves, we have already began what is requisite on our part, and intend so to fulfil the remainder, that no fault should be found with us; and inasmuch as it is a matter of the first necessity, that the King of France our good brother, the moment he shall be set at liberty should signify to us by letters of assurance not only of his cession of Burgundy, but the absolution of his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and should recognise the declaration of the Sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and other things as set forth in the said treaty, it seems to us that you would do well to commit to memory those particulars of which an assurance on his part is to be required, and so bring these matters to bear, that after the said Seigneur King shall have arrived at Bayonne,

surplus vous envoyons avec cestes la copie du traicté de la paix faicte à Madrid, par laquelle copie verrez et cognoistrez les choses qui sont necessaires à faire promptement d'une part et d'autre, à quoy avons desja commencé à pourveoir et y pourvoyérons en ce que reste, de maniere qu'il n'y aura nulle faulte de notre cousté, et pour ce qu'il est besoin incontinent que le Roy de France notre bon frere sera en liberté, recouvrer de luy plusieurs lectrages tant pour son desistement des pays de Bourgoyne et absolucion du sacrement des subjectz comme verrez en l'article, comme aussi *pour le fait* de la Souveraineté de Flandres et d'Artois, et autres choses declarées audit traicté, il nous semble que ferez bien de faire ung extrait par memoire des dites Lectrages qui fault recouvrer *pour en faire le devoir* quant le dit S^r

you may be able to send us immediate dispatches by post of all this being executed in due form.

“In like manner as the said Seigneur King is bound to deliver up to us certain hostages, as you will see by this treaty, we desire that you will well and carefully inform yourself, who the said hostages are to be, whether the King's two eldest sons, or Monseigneur the Dauphin and twelve of the principal nobility. We desire that you will advise us of the same, together with every other particular, especially concerning the preparations which they may be making to fulfil their part in the treaty. But the point to which we have principally to direct your attention is, that you take especial notice of, and be regardful of the persons of the three children of France, that you make yourself thoroughly acquainted with the visage, physiognomy, size and person of each, that when it comes to the delivering of them over according to the treaty, there may be no trickery in sub-

Roy sera à Bayonne, et nous envoyer par les postes le despesche du tout en fourme convenable. Semblablement pour ce que le dit Sieur Roy nous doit bailler seurté de hostages comme verrez par icelluy traicté, nous desirons que vous informez de bonne maniere quels seront les dits hostaiges ou les deux filz aisnez ou Monsieur le Dauphin et les douzes personnages, et nous advertissez ce que en entenderez ensemble de toutes autres nouvelles de par de là, et dez apprestz que l'on y fait pour satisfaire à ce que nous a esté promis, mais le principal à quoy est besoin et desirons que vous ayez regard, est que vous voyez bien les personnes des trois enfans de France, et que vous informez si bien de l'aspect, philozomie, corpulance et qualité de chacun d'iceulx, que quand viendra à la delivrance qui se doit faire selon le traicté, il n'y ait point de tromperie de bailler une personne pour autre

substituting one person for another, and that you may be able of a certainty to recognise them as the identical persons, whom we ought to have. Our Viceroy of Naples is to take the charge of the said delivery and acceptation, and as you are aware he can have no personal knowledge himself of the said children, it is a matter of necessity that you should be well acquainted with all these particulars ; and further we desire that on your arrival at Bayonne, you report the same to our said Viceroy, and receive his instructions as to what in this matter he may then require.

“ We shall send by our said Viceroy our letters of ratification of the said treaty of peace, in order that on receiving those which the said Sieur King is bound to give up at Bayonne, you may deliver ours to him in return, and that in quality of our Ambassador, you may see that he immediately take an oath that he will act at the said Bayonne in such manner as in such cases is the custom, not only as concerns the said treaty, but the

et que lors vous poussiez reconnoistre au vray si se seront ceulx que devons avoir, car notre Viceroy de Naples aura charge de la ditte delivrance et reception, et vous savez qu'il n'a pas la cognoissance des dits enfans, parquay il est de besoin que y advisez bien comme dessus et que dez que serez arrivé à Bayonne vous en advertissez notre dit Viceroy, et faites au surplus de celsui affaire selon que alors il vous escripra.

“ Nous enverrons par notre dit Viceroy nos lettres de ratificacion du dit traicté de paix, affin que en recevant celles que le dit Sieur Roy est tenu de bailler quant il sera à Bayonne, vous luy delivrez les notres, et que, comme notre Ambassadeur, vous le voyez jurer incontinent qu'il sera au dit Bayonne selon et comme en tel cas est accous-

said marriage also, and as touching his own good faith in the said treaty. You know that it is necessary as soon as the said Sieur King shall be at liberty that he renew and ratify all its conditions according to what he has promised in the said treaty, and that our said Viceroy should apprise you of it. As you know also, that on the part of France an Ambassador is to reside at our Court, and as we are especially desirous that some good personage should be selected for this purpose (a lover of peace, and of the maintenance of this friendship) you will do us a pleasure, if you would look about you where you now are for a suitable person of this description, and communicate thereon with our said Viceroy that he may of himself take some measures for the furtherance of such an appointment. Given in our City of Toledo, the 12th day of February, anno 1526.

Countersigned

Signed

CHARLES."

L'Allemand.

tumé, tant de ce qui touche à la ditte paix qu'au mariage et aussy de sa foy, comm il est convenu au dit traicté, car vous savez que ce sont toutes choses necessaires de faire renouveler et ratifier quant le dit Sieur Roy sera en sa liberté comme il est, ensuivant aussi ce qu'il a promis par le dit traicté, et que notre dit Viceroy lors vous advertira et pour ce que du cousté de France vous entendez assez qu'ils envoye-
ront icy ung Ambassadeur pour resider, et nous desirons bien que ce soit quelque bon personnage amateur de paix et de l'entretienement de ceste amytié, vous nous ferez plaisir regarder par de là quelunq qu'il soit de cette qualité, et nous en advertir, ensemble notre dit Viceroy afin que de soy mesmes il tienne main que le dit bon personnage soit envoyé. Donné en notre cité de Toledo, le xijeme. jour de Fevrier, Anno xvccxxvi. Stil d'Espagne, ainsy signé Charles et du Secre-

“To our dear and trusty Chevalier, Counsellor, Chamberlain in Ordinary, and Ambassador in France, Sieur de Praet.”

“Since writing the foregoing we have received your letter of the 4th of this month, and in it learnt the proposal which the Queen Regent had suggested and desired to be communicated to us. To which we would reply; as to the first point, the spreading a report of an arbitration respecting Burgundy seems to us little better than an impertinence; but we are ready to admit that the less it is talked of the better, though the cession of the said Burgundy, which is to take place within six weeks after the liberation of the most Christian King our brother, is a principal point in our treaty, about which there remains no doubt or difficulty, considering the good personages, who as security on this very account are to be delivered up as hostages.

taire Lalemand, et superscript à notre Amé et feal Chevalier Conseillier Chambellan ordinaire et Ambassadeur en France le Sieur de Praet,”

“Depuis notre Lettre escripte, avons reçu les vôtres du ^{iiij}^{eme} de ce mois et par icelles entendu les propoz que Madame la Regente vous a tenuz et ce quelle vous a requis nous escrire, surquoy pour responce, quant au premier point de faire courir le bruyt de l'arbitrage de Bourgongne nous semble que ce seroit chose impertinente, mais bien en peult l'on parler le moins que fere se pourra, et ainsi se fait du cousté de pardeça, car l'effect de la restitution du dit Bourgongne qui se doit faire dedans les six sepmaines du jour de la delivrance du Roy très Chretien notre bon frere est le principal, et à quoy ne faisons nulle doubte, actendu les bons personnaiges que nous doivent à ceste cause estre baillez pour hostages, et quant à ce

“As to what the Lady desires, that our Viceroy should have the charge of conducting the Seigneur King to Bayonne, and respecting her earnest wish that the consummation of the marriage with our sister, the most Christian Queen Dame Eleanora, should be so hastened as to take place at Bayonne on the King's arrival, without awaiting the time appointed in the treaty; you may assure the Lady Regent that ever since the conclusion of the peace, we have been from one day to another in the most earnest wish and disposition to go to our city of Madrid, to enjoy an interview and companionship with the S^r. King, making good cheer in all true and loyal friendship as becomes good brothers. So much however remained to be done of urgent business before we could quit Toledo, that without blame to any one, we could not get away until Monday last. On the day following, Shrove Tuesday, we reached

que la ditte Dame desire que notre Viceroy de Naples soit celluy qui ait la charge de remener le dit S^r. Roy et qu'elle desire aussi grandement que la consommacion du mariage avec notre Seur la Roynne très Chretienne Dame Eleonore se face à Bayonne au plus tost que fere se pourra, desque le dit S^r. Roy y sera arrivé sans attendre le temps contenu au traicté, vous pourrez dire à la ditte Dame Regente que depuys la paix conclute nous avons esté de jour à aultre en vouldté de venir en ceste notre ville de Madrit pour nous veoir avec le dit S^r. Roy, et par ensemble fere bonne chiere avec toute vraye et léale amytié comme entre bons Frères doit estre, et nous avons en tant d'afferes à despescher avant que partir de Toledo, afin qu'il n'y ait point de faulte à tout ce qu'est de besoign pourveoir promptement selon le dit traité de paix que n'avons peu partyr jusques à Lundy dernier, et le lendemain que fut le jour de Caresme entrant,

Madrid where we had the satisfaction of finding ourselves with the Sieur King, reciprocally exchanging such sentiments and good offices as two attached friends and brothers entertain and exercise together. Amongst other subjects, which we talked over, was the very same thing which the Lady Regent has desired, touching the consummation of the marriage of our Sister, and that our Viceroy should accompany the King to the frontier. This we have most willingly accorded, notwithstanding the contradiction of that article in the treaty which concerns our Sister, namely that she should not pass over into France, until the hostages had been placed in our hands for the cession of Burgundy.

“ We remained at Madrid Tuesday Evening, Wednesday and Thursday, and on the following day departed thence with the said Sieur King our brother, and slept four leagues from Madrid, in order to reach

sommes venuz au dit Madrit, et nous sommes trouvez ensemble le dit S^r. Roy et nous faisant l'ung envers l'autre reciproquement ce que deux bons loyaulx freres qui a jamès sont et seront vrays amis, doivent fere, et entre aultres devises qu'avons eu ensemble, il nous a requis le semblable touchant la consommacion du mariage de notre ditte Seur et aussi de l'allée du dit Viceroy que la ditte Dame Régente vous avoit requiz comme dit est, ce que liberalement avons accordé et mesmes de ce que touche notre ditte Seur, combien que par le dit traicté de paix soit dit au contrere, assavoir qu'elle n'yroit en France jusques les dits hostaiges seroient mis hors noz mains après la ditte restitution de Bourgogne fete, nous avons demeuré au dit Madrid le mardi au soir, le merquedy, et le jeudy, et le vendredy en sommes party avec le dit S^r. Roy notre Frere et sommes allé couché à quatre lieues du dit Madrit pour estre la Samedy à illescas

Illescas two leagues further on Saturday. At the said Illescas we shall find the Queen our sister. Here they will meet and see each other, and speak together ; and then the King will return to Madrid, and we shall continue his companion in the evening. The next day he will begin his journey direct for Bayonne accompanied by our said Viceroy. Soon afterwards our sister the Queen will also set off for the same, attended by our Constable of Castile. And as to ourselves we intend to take the road towards Seville, where we shall find our Empress, and where our marriage is to take place. It will be doing us a service to write an account as frequently as possible of all that is passing with you.

“ We send letters under our own hand to the Lady Regent and to M^e. d’Alençon, to the end that you may deliver them in person.

Done at Madrid, 19th February.”

qu’est à deux lieues plus avant, et audit illescas se trouvera la ditte Royne notre Seur, et illec se verront le dit S^r. Roy son mary et elle, et s’estre veuz et parlez sans plus, le dit S^r. Roy s’en retournera le chemin du dit Madrit et nous l’accompagnerons pour ce soir là, et le lendemain il prendra son chemin pour tirer droit à Bayonne accompagné de notre dit Viceroy et bientost apres partira notre ditte Seur la Royne aussi pour aller au dit Bayonne accompagné de notre Conestable de Castille ; et quant à nous prenons le chemin pour aller à Seville, où trouverons L’Imperatrix pour aussi faire nos Nopces, vous nous ferez service nous escripre de voz Nouvelles de parde là le plus souvent que vous sera possible.

“ Nous vous envoyons les Lettres de notre main à la ditte Dame Régente, et à Madame d’Alençon a fin que vous mesmes les baillez.

Fait à Madrit le xix. Febrvier.”

Conforme à la Minute.

The following is the letter spoken of, to the Lady Regent, dated Madrid, 16th Feb., 1526.

“ Madame, my good Mother,

Since I have given back a good brother to the King your son, and am offering you the Queen my sister for a daughter, it appears to me that in order not to present you one son only, I should resume the name which I used formerly to give you, and should again address you as my good mother; and seeing that I do so consider you, I pray you to act as such towards the said Queen my sister, as well as towards myself. I came to this town of Madrid to see the King your son, my good brother, and I was sorry not to have been able to do so sooner, but I am greatly rejoiced at finding both his health and his affections in so different a state from what they were when I last saw him. The love and friendship which he professes to bear towards

16. Fevrier 1526.

“ Madame ma bonne Mere !

Il m'a semblé que puy que j'ay recouvré au Roy votre Filz ung bon Frere, et que je vous baille la Royne ma Seur pour fille, que pour ne vous rendre un seul filz, que debvais reprendre le nom dont autrefois avais usé et vous tenir pour bonne Mere, et puy que pour telle vous tyens, vous pryé que vers la Royne ma ditte Seur et aussy vers moy en veulliez fere les œuvres; je suis venu en cette Ville de Madrit veoir le Roy votre Filz mon bon Frere, et m'a esté payne, que plustot n'a peu estre, mais ce m'a esté une grosse joye, le trouver en autre estat de santé, et en une autre amictié, que celle en quoy il estoit quant le veys dernièrement, et ce m'a esté petit plaisir avoir entendu de luy l'amour et amictié que il m'a declairé il me

me have given me no small satisfaction, and I nowise doubt the sincerity of these good feelings, which I hope you will assist in confirming, as you have promised me by your letters that you would do. On my part I assure you that the love and friendship I bear towards him are most sincere, and that I am fully prepared to accomplish every thing I have promised.

“ You request in your said letter, that the King your son my good brother, should take the Queen his wife my sister with him. He has himself made the same request, and is still more earnest to see her, which he is to do next Saturday, soon after which interview, he is to set out on his journey, in order to arrive on the day which has been fixed upon. To please him and you, I have also arranged that the Queen my said sister should follow him at a distance of four or five days, and as soon as the King your son, my good brother, has ratified and sworn to the treaties, and that all things are concluded between him and me, she

porte, laquelle ne fais doubte, et vous pryé que aydyés à l'entretenir comme par vos Lettres m'avez escript ferez, et de mon cousté je vous assure que l'amour et amictié que j'ay à luy est toute bonne et vray, et que il n'y aura faulte aux choses par moy promises ; vous me pryéz par vos dittes Lettres que le Roy votre dit Filz mon bon Frere, puisse mener avec luy la Royne sa femme, ma seur, il m'a pryé la semblable et d'avantaige de la veoir a qu'il fera Samedy prochain, et tost après, se mettra en chemin pour estre dedens le jour qui a esté conclud, et pour luy complaire et aussi à vous, ay esté et suys content que la Royne ma ditte Souer le sieuve de quatre où cinq journées, pour desque le dit Roy votre Filz mon bon frere aura ratiffié et juré les traicties et choses conclutes entre luy et moy, la

shall be given up at Bayonne according to your desire. This shall be done by my Viceroy of Naples after he has liberated the King your son my brother, and has received the hostages that are to be given.

“ And now, Madam, that he may no longer distress you by his bad writing,* he who looks upon you as his good mother will conclude by recommending himself with all his heart to your kindness, and will sign himself,

Your good Son

CHARLES.

To Madam the Regent of France my good Mother.

The former part of the foregoing letter from the Emperor to his Ambassador, countersigned by the Secre-

delivrer à Bayonne selon votre desir, ce que fera mon Viceroy de Naples après avoir fait la delivrance du Roy votre dit filz et mon Frere, et avoir reçu les ostaiges que se doivent delivrer, et pour ne vous facher de sa mavaise lettre, fera fin, en se recommandant de bien bon ceur à vous, Madame, celuy qui pour sa bonne Mere vous tient qui est votre bon filz.

Signé CHARLES.

Superscription. À Madame la Regente en France ma bonne Mere.

* The Emperor's hand writing is in truth as bad as can be imagined, but the accuracy of the copies in the Editor's possession may be generally relied upon, as transcribed by one of the Clerks in the Chancery of the Imperial family archives, employed in decyphering these ancient autograph Manuscripts.

tary of State, "Lallemand," seems to be of a more official character than the latter, where he indulges in a somewhat less formal and more festive vein, meant probably for the ear of the Lady Regent, to whom the epistle accompanying it was to be delivered by the Ambassador's own hands, in which amidst the many reiterated assurances of love and friendship, a stern determination to insist on "the penalty and forfeit of the bond," is sufficiently visible.

An extract from the Emperor's Itinerary as supplying a few details of this period, will here not be out of place or without interest. From this, it appears that on the 14th January the treaty was concluded. "About this time" it goes on to say, "the Duke of Bourbon came to Toledo, where the widowed Queen of Portugal having left off her mourning on being affianced to the King of France, also arrived from Talavera, and was met by the Emperor and the Duke of Bourbon. The latter took his leave on the 12th of February to return to Milan. The same day the Emperor slept at Illescas and remained there on the 13th. On the 14th he went to Madrid, and on the 18th accompanied the King of France to Tiriton. On the 20th February they came together to Illescas, where they paid a visit to Queen Eleanora, and Queen Germaine de Foix, accompanied by the Countess of Nassau and other ladies, who received them on the stairs. They then went into a saloon, where the four sat down under a canopy, whilst the ladies of the Court amused themselves by dancing. The two monarchs then took leave, and returned to-

gether to Tiriton. On the 21st in the afternoon the Emperor and King went again to Illescas to take leave of the Queens, and then returned to sleep at Tiriton, at which place the two sovereigns parted."

The treaty now at length agreed to, which was to set Francis at liberty, and to make good friends and brothers of the two great contending parties, contained amongst a variety of minor and mortifying conditions the following leading articles: namely, the cession of Burgundy to the Emperor, for the guarantee of which at the moment of the King's liberation, two of his children, the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of the principal nobility of France were to be delivered up as hostages; the renunciation on the part of Francis to all his pretensions in Italy; a disclaimer of any title to Flanders and Artois, which were both to be retained by the Emperor in undisputed sovereignty; the restoration to Bourbon and to his adherents of all the property of which they had been dispossessed, and full indemnity for the loss during confiscation; the total abandonment of the cause of the King of Navarre; and a marriage of Francis with Charles's sister in corroboration of the amity and political alliance which was henceforth to subsist between them; a ratification of these with all the minor articles, by the States, and the registration of them by the Parliament of France were also required. On the Emperor receiving this ratification, the hostages were to be set at liberty, but a still further guarantee was to be granted on their dismissal; namely, that the third son of the King should be handed

over to Charles to be educated at the Imperial Court ; and if Francis did not within the prescribed time fulfil his stipulations in the treaty, he was to promise on his honour and oath that he would surrender himself again a prisoner to the Emperor.

Such were the terms enacted by a conqueror from his prostrate and imprisoned foe, and the result was such as might have been expected. Francis, it is said, even before he quitted Madrid, protested secretly before his friends and counsellors against the validity of a treaty wrung from him under circumstances of oppression which deprived him of all power of acting as an independent sovereign. Hence ensued, on the one side bad faith, and broken engagements, on the other, mortification and disappointment, lighting up a renewed warfare embittered by personal rancour and animosity.*

* The following is the account given by Guicciardini of the manner of the delivery of the French King, which shews the feelings of distrust which actuated both parties. It is from an old English translation, published in folio, 1618. "By this time the French King was come to Fontaraby, a town appertayning to the Emperor, standing near the Ocean Sea upon the frontiers of Biscay and the Dutchy of Guyen ; and on the other side the Lady Regent was arrived with the children of France at Bayon, which is not farre from Fontaraby ; and she had lingered some time longer than the day appointed for the permutation, by reason the gout took her by the way. Then the 18th day of March, the French King accompanied by the Viceroy, Captain Alarcon, with fifty horse, came to the shore of the river that divideth the realm of France from the kingdom of Spaine ; at the same time Mr. de Lautrech with the King's children, and the like number of horse presenting themselves on the other side. There was in the midst of the river a great barke made fast with ankers, in which was

Throughout this correspondence, in the early reign of Charles the Fifth, and the transactions to which it relates, it is difficult to recognise in the Emperor, the idea of a young man progressing from twenty-three to twenty-six years of age. One is disposed to consider him rather as a person grown old in a course of selfish and subtle diplomacy. Of a nature cold, cautious and circumspect, and phlegmatic temperament, he was early trained to habits of business, in which he took a large share. Though aided by excellent ministers and coun-

no person. The King approached to this barke in a little boate, wherein he was accompanied by the Viceroy, Captain Alarcon and eight others, all armed with short weapons, and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boate, M. de Lautrech with the hostages, and eight others armed in the same maner. After this, the Viceroy went into the barke with all his company, and the King with them; and presently after M. de Lautrech, with his eight that accompanied him, so that within the barke there was a like number of both parts; who when they were all thus within the barke M. de Lautrech fetched out of the boate into the barke, the Daulphin, who being given to the Viceroy, and by him committed to Captain Alarcon was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little Duke of Orleans, who was no sooner entered the barke than the French King leaped out of the barke into his boate with such swiftnesse, that this permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant, and then the King being brought to the shore mounted suddenly, (as though he had feared some ambush) upon a Turkish horse of a wonderful swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose, and ranne without stay to St. John de Lus, a town of his obedience four leagues from thence: and being there readily relieved with a fresh horse, he ranne with the same swiftnesse to Bayon, where he was received with incredible joy of all the Court."

sellors according to the approved views and maxims of the times, whose advice he sought and usually acted upon, his conduct was always measured, and regulated by that calculating policy, which seemed to regard alone his own interest and the consolidation of his power. This may be a legitimate object in the councils of sovereigns, and wise when the true interest is understood, and the calculation just ; but errors in Government as well as in morals, are the sure consequences of wrong calculation, and instances enough are never wanting to exemplify this truth.

The mortal strife and revilings which ensued between these two Princes, it was one time sought to terminate by a duel. This proposal, however, was without effect. The war recommenced and Francis was again beaten. At length both conqueror and conquered grew sick of the conflict, and Europe sighed for peace. At this crisis what the arts of practised statesmen had failed to accomplish, was brought about by that gentler influence to which Schiller ascribes the power to

“Löschen die Zwietracht, die tobend entglüht.”*

This task was undertaken by those two distinguished ladies, Margaret of Austria, aunt to the Emperor, and Louise of Savoy, mother of the King. They met at Cambray, occupied adjoining houses opening into each other, and had daily conferences unobserved and unattended, without ceremony and without counsellors. They had both great experience in affairs of state, and had perfect confidence in each other. There is a letter

* “Würde der Frauen.” Schiller's *Gehdichte*.

of instructions written by Margaret to M. de Rosambés dated Mechlin, the 3rd of January, 1529, and intended to be laid before the Emperor, in which that Princess gives her opinion, and the reasons on which it is founded, why a peace in accordance with the interest of both parties under their peculiar circumstances, could only be concluded by ladies. They are as follows; first, she observes, such had been the bitterness of the reproaches written and spoken on either side, that ill-will and hatred were the inevitable consequences. The hostilities also which ensued, were of a character so fierce and exasperated, that neither of the two Sovereigns could compromise his dignity by being the first to talk of reconciliation, a challenge having been given and accepted for settling the differences and disputes by single combat. On the other hand, how easy for ladies, natural as it would appear, and unsolicited, to concur in some endeavours for warding off the general ruin of Christendom, and to make the first advances in such an undertaking. Secondly, that it is only by a mutual forgiveness of all offences, and the total oblivion of the causes of the war, and of every thing that had passed in writing concerning them, that the idea of peace could be entertained. This could not be thought of, or proposed by the Princes without a sacrifice of what they held most precious, their honour; but ladies might well come forward in a measure for submitting the gratification of private hatred and revenge to the far nobler principle of the welfare of nations. Thirdly, were the King of France to conduct negociations with the Em-

peror, it would be necessary for him to act with especial reference to allies and co-operators, the Venetians, Florentines, &c.: and here a difficulty would arise in effecting a reconciliation with the Emperor, not to be surmounted without the probability of some stain upon his honour; but the act of the Lady of Angoulême, his mother, would in such case take away all responsibility on the part of the King, whilst a similar advantage would present itself to the Emperor, in silencing the complaints of his friends, who might make objections to the terms of the peace. Again in the event of any of the great powers being called in as mediators in a negotiation, such as England, or the Pope, their own particular interest it is probable would be too much considered, and something perhaps required in little territorial concessions as the price of their interference; whilst the intervention proposed could be subject to no such inconvenience; as the mother of the King and the Aunt of the Emperor who regarded him as her son as well as heir, would keep in view one sole object which they had mutually at heart, the general good of Europe, in the reconciliation of these two great Princes.

Such was the reasoning of the good Governess of the Netherlands, and the endeavours of these ladies terminated in the peace of Cambray, concluded on the 5th of August, 1529, called in history the Ladies' Peace. The terms of this peace were a mitigation of those of the peace of Madrid. The restitution of Burgundy was not for the present to be insisted on, though the claim was still maintained. The sons of Francis were to be libe-

rated on the payment of a ransom, and the marriage with the Emperor's sister was now to be consummated.

Although there is no further correspondence to be produced between these two Sovereigns or their Ministers, it may not be amiss to conclude the subject with some notices of their subsequent quarrels and reconciliations. The Ladies' Peace, though not satisfactory to either of the high contracting powers, lasted till 1536, when, after the death of Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan, the Milanese again became the bone of contention; and hostilities were resumed. Francis who was as ready to break an engagement, as his more powerful and more fortunate antagonist was to impose one, had been for some time preparing his army for a fresh rencontre. From his presumed right of succession to this Duchy, after several insincere attempts on both sides at negotiation, he had eagerly seized a plea to put his troops in motion and advance towards the frontiers of Italy. Charles on the other hand, was not slow in collecting his army, of which he took the command in person, having under him some of his best generals, the Marquis del Guasto, the Duke of Alva and Antonio de Leyva. The Emperor had lately returned from his brilliant expedition to Tunis; and somewhat dazzled by his success, and the renown of his achievement, the military movement he now undertook was not directed by his wonted prudence. Contrary to the advice of his distinguished and experienced generals, he determined to invade France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, with the sole exception of

such towns as were absolutely necessary for preserving his communication with the Milanese. It was the policy of Montmorency the French General, to lead him on, without risking a battle, as far as possible from his resources. The consequence to the Imperialists was a most disastrous retreat. Half the army perished by disease or famine, among them Antonio de Leyva and other officers of distinction. In other quarters where a descent had been made on the French territory the Emperor's troops were not more successful. The tables were now turned, and Francis was to have his day of triumph. The absurd farce was accordingly enacted, when the French King seated with all due solemnities in the Parliament of Paris surrounded by the Princes and Peers of France, went through the ceremony of having Charles of Austria, as the Emperor was styled, cited to appear before him and answer for his conduct in having violated the treaty of Cambray contrary to his allegiance due to the Crown of Francis, as Count of Artois and Flanders. A Herald was sent to the frontiers of Picardy, and summoned Charles to appear on an appointed day; when, neither he nor any one appearing for him, Charles of Austria was formally declared to have forfeited by rebellion and contumacy those fiefs, which were henceforth united to the Crown of France. This ludicrous scene, little likely to be the harbinger of peace, led to further embroilments when the two Queens again tried their influence in a mediation, but with small effect. At length, through the intervention of the Pope, a truce for ten years was agreed

upon, each party being permitted to hold what by force of arms they had possessed themselves of, that time might be given for the satisfactory settlement of all contending interests. Paul the Third had invited both Sovereigns to a friendly interview at Nice, and both accepted it and appeared; but so many difficulties arose from the ceremonials to be observed, or more probably from their mutual distrust, that they never personally met. The conference was carried on by the Pope going from one to the other, till after much trouble he gained their agreement to the above mentioned truce on the 18th June, 1538.*

From Nice Charles accompanied the Pope to Genoa. Thither Francis dispatched a Minister with the request that the Emperor on his returning journey to Spain, would give him the meeting on any part of the French territory most convenient, where they might more cordially confer together, than they were able to do at Nice, embarrassed by the presence and intervention of the Pope. This unlooked for proposal was made at the instance of Queen Eleanora, consort of the King and sister of the Emperor. Charles accepted the invitation, and Aigues Mortes on the coast of Lower Languedoc was the place appointed for their interview. No sooner had Charles come to an anchor in the roadstead, than Francis hastened to visit him on board his galley. The

* Ranke informs us that this meeting was entirely the work of the Pope; and that the Venetian Ambassador who was present cannot find words to eulogize the zeal and patience which he displayed throughout the whole affair. It was not till the last moment when he threatened to go away that he succeeded in negotiating a truce.

Emperor held out his hand, which was seized by the King, and the next moment they were in each others arms. "I am come," cried Francis, "to annihilate all our former differences, and to change this ten years truce into an everlasting peace." The Emperor replied in a like tone and spirit, and frankly accepted the King's invitation to a friendly entertainment on shore. The looks of his followers would have warned him of danger, but a refusal would have betrayed a want of confidence which Charles did not feel, or was loth to manifest on an occasion which might be productive of the peace he desired. He accordingly left his galley, and landed with the King at Aigues Mortes, where he was royally entertained. The banquet was followed by a brilliant ball at which both Sovereigns appeared and remained to a late hour.

Charles was lodged in the royal castle; and the next morning, Francis and the Dauphin waited on him at his levée. The latter presented him the ewer and napkin, which Charles declining to permit, Francis most courteously declared it was his son's duty to perform an office, not unworthy of the King himself, to so great a monarch. They remained another day together, when Francis promised to break of all alliance with the Turk, and to comply with every reasonable wish of the Emperor. On parting, the King presented the Emperor with a valuable ring in pledge of their now confirmed friendship, with the motto engraven within, "*Dilectionis testis et exemplum.*" Charles then returned to his vessel, and next day set sail for Barcelona. In the fol-

lowing year when Charles had occasion to visit the Netherlands on account of the insurrection at Ghent, he accepted Francis's permission most courteously offered, for passing through France as the most convenient route. The Imperial Ministers expressed themselves against this movement; and the Court fool of Francis, Triboulet, recorded his opinion, writing on his master's tablets, "Charles is a greater fool than I am." "How so," said the King, "if I let him travel in safety through my dominions?" "In that case," returned the fool, "I will put out the name of Charles, and put in that of Francis."

But Charles had now learned to understand the man he had to deal with. The magnificence with which he was everywhere received, and the attentions lavished upon him during his journey far exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

These strange transitions from hatred to good will, from mutual insults and injuries to reconciliation and confidence, give a character of almost unnatural romance to the personal history of these rival monarchs.

To act without reflection and most frequently from a generous impulse was the natural disposition of the one — and may it not be, that the cautiousness and sagacity which distinguished the other from his earliest years, improved by experience, might now have led him to engage in a contest more worthy of great Princes — not to be outdone in acts of courtesy and chivalric honour. This feeling, usually most vigorous in early youth, seems to have influenced Charles in an *inverted ratio*; as

he grew older he appears to have learned in some respects to be less suspicious, and more confiding.

The eternal friendship vowed at *Aigues Mortes* did not, however, last for ever. In the subsequent career of these great Sovereigns it met with several interruptions; but their dissensions, though never quite extinguished until the death of Francis, in 1547, no longer exhibited the same spirit of rancour and personal animosity, which had marked them in former years. This was gradually allayed by the amiable mediation of Eleanora, the wife of one, and sister of the other.

ELEANORA.

It was not until four years after Queen Eleonora's espousals, when the treaty of Madrid was held to be fulfilled, that this virtuous Princess appeared as Queen on the soil of France.

She was welcomed on the frontier, with all due honours, by the King; and from her hands he had the happiness of receiving his sons, now restored after their long bondage as hostages; during which period, Eleonora had watched over their welfare with the care and tenderness of a mother.

To these, and her other claims on his regard, Francis was by no means insensible; and yet the Queen, though still in the prime of life and possessed of much personal attraction, good understanding, and graceful manners, found herself unable to inspire her consort with any other sentiments than those of respect and gratitude.

A hope had been entertained by those who viewed with enthusiasm the Queen's arrival, that her presence, which was regarded as the harbinger and guarantee of a solid peace, would withdraw her husband from a connection which they could no longer treat with indulgence; but the heart of the volatile King was already too deeply engaged, and Mlle. d'Heilly, afterwards Duchesse d'Estampes, was in the plenitude of her power.

On other points also, the arrival of the Queen had been looked forward to with favorable anticipations.

The new opinions in religion were not without their partisans in France, as well as in the more Catholic Italy, and expectations were entertained, that a character of so much charity and sweetness as distinguished Eleonora, could hardly fail of infusing a spirit of greater toleration than had hitherto been known, into the counsels of the ruling powers.

Théodore de Béze, better known by the latinized name of Beza, who afterwards became the distinguished theologian and eminent friend of Calvin, and who was then a gay youth, frequenting the salons of Paris, and attracting notice as an incipient Reformer, has left us a complimentary document written in her honour, and conceived somewhat in the pedantic taste of the times.

He compares her beauty to that of the Spartan Helen, but how greatly she is superior to the spouse of Menelaus, is shewn in the following couplet :

“ Utraque formosa est, sed re tamen altera major
Illa serit lites ; Helionora fugat.”

It is not very probable, that this queen, who with all her amiable qualities possessed much of the gravity and coldness of her race and nation, should have completely escaped the inheritance of some of its bigotry also, and have been a very tolerant person in the full sense of the word.

Whether she may have favoured those who incurred persecution on account of their opinions or otherwise, does not appear, but at all events, circumstanced as she was, and in such a court, her influence could not be great.

In the strict performance of all her duties, and the sincerest efforts worthily to fulfil her part as a wife and step-mother, she found her best and truest consolation.

Taking for her model the former wife of Francis, the good Queen Claude, whose memory was held in universal veneration, she peculiarly devoted herself to that Queen's children, and made their welfare, as long as she had the power of benefitting them, the object of her warmest interest.

Eleonora never interfered in politics, unless as a mediatrix of peace between those, whose discord had occasioned her the most cruel sufferings.

After the death of Francis (in 1547) she obtained permission to retire among her own kindred, and first betook herself to the Low Countries, where her sister, the Dowager Queen of Hungary, was Regent.

She afterwards passed into Spain with the intention of seeking a retreat near Charles the Fifth, when he

had entered the Monastery of St. Just, and ultimately fixed her abode in the city of Talavera, where she died in the same year as her brother, 1558.

The following domestic description of the Dowager Queen of France, during her widowed retirement at Brussels, is borrowed from Mr. Tytler's very interesting collection of "Original Letters of the times of Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary."

It is from the pen of the learned and facetious Roger Ascham, well known as the Latin Instructor of Queen Elizabeth, and a friend of Cecil as well as most of the great statesmen and scholars of the age. At one period he was Secretary to Sir Richard Morysine in his embassy to the Emperor; and on his several journeys through the Netherlands and Germany, he kept a journal of his proceedings, in which some humorous and graphic notices are inserted of the distinguished people, who fell in his way.

"Oct. 5th.— We tarried," says he, "at Brussels all Sunday: I went to the Mass, more to see than for devotion, will some of you think. The Regent was with the Emperor at August (Augsbourg); but the French Queen, the Emperor's sister, was there: she came to Mass clad very solemnly all in white cambric, a robe gathered in plaits wrought very fair as need be with needle white work, as white as a dove. A train of ladies followed her, as black and evil as she was white. Her mass was sung in pricksong by French-

men very cunningly, and a gentleman played at the organs excellently. A French Whipit Sir John bestirred himself so at the altar as I wished Patrick by to have learned some of his knacks.

“The Queen sat in a closet above; her ladies kneeled all abroad in the chapel among us. The Regent of Flanders had left at Bruxelles a sort of fair lusty young ladies: they came not out, but were kept in mew for fear of gosshawks of Spain and France; yet they came to (view) and stood above in windows, as well content to show themselves as we to see them.

“They had on French gowns of black velvet guarded down right from the collar with broad guards, one with another, some of cloth of gold, some of cloth of silver, great chains arr— (arranged) with precious jewels. On their heads they had glistening caulds of goldsmith work, and black velvet caps above, (with) frills of great agletts of gold, with white feathers round about the compass of their caps. They seemed boys rather than ladies, excellent to have played in tragedies. There was not one well-favoured among them, save one young lady, fair and well-favoured. The Queen went from Mass to dinner; I followed her, and because we were gentlemen of England, I and another was admitted to come into her chamber where she sat at dinner. She is served with no women, as great states are there in England; but altogether with men, having their caps on their heads whilst they come into the chamber where she sits, and there one takes off all their caps. I stood very near the table and saw all.

“Men, as I said, served; only two women stood

by the fireside not far from the table, for the Chamber was little, and talked very loud and lewdly with whom they would, as methought.

“This Queen’s service compared with my Lady Elizabeth’s my mistress, is not so princelike nor honorably handled. Her first course was apples, pears, plums, grapes and nuts; and with this meat she began. Then she had bacon and chickens almost covered with sale onions, that all the chamber smelled of it. She had a roast capoult, and a pasty of wild boar; and I, thus marking all the behaviour, was content to lose the second course, lest I should have lost mine own dinner at home.”—*Tytler’s England under Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 124.

The Emperor’s other sister Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, and Regent of the Netherlands from the death of their aunt Margaret of Savoy until Charles’s abdication, was in some respects a lady of very different stamp from that of the gentle Eleonora. Brantôme speaks of her in his usual strain when lauding Queens and Princesses, as possessing many charms of wit and accomplishments, as well as beauty; save that the latter was rendered somewhat doubtful by the full projecting nether lip of her family. He admits that her tastes were a little too masculine; that war and the chase were her favorite pursuits and exercises. This corresponds with the less courtly style of Roger Ascham’s description, who in the journal which has just been quoted, and soon after speaking of the Dowager Queen of France, thus proceeds. “At this town’s

(Tongres) end, we met the Queen of Hungary posting from Augusta into Flanders, having a thirty in her company, for she had outridden and wearied all the rest, passing that journey in thirteen days, that a man can scarcely do in seventeen. She is a Virago ; she is never so well as when she is flinging on horseback, and hunting all the night long."

Both sisters were equally sincere in a devoted attachment to their brother ; and both accompanied him on his retirement to his convent. They took up their several abodes in neighbouring parts of Spain ; and though they were but once or twice admitted to a sight of Charles in his solitude, they were near at hand ; and each at intervals of not more than a year, followed him to the grave.

Throughout the contests with Francis, to which the foregoing letters for the most part refer, the Emperor's attention was never diverted from the affairs of Germany, but remained watchfully intent upon the movements of its Princes and people ; with a view to the suppression of Luther's opinions, and of the spread of the principles of the Reformation.

His brother Ferdinand, to whom Charles when elected Emperor, had made over his right to the Austrian territories, thus concentrated under his own government all the German dominions of his family. In addition to this, by one of those* fortunate marriages, for which the

* These are celebrated in the well known distich ;

" *Bella gerant alii ; tu, felix Austria, nube.*

Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

House of Austria has been distinguished (his marriage with Anne, sister of Louis King of Hungary and Bohemia, who fell in the battle of Mohatz with the Turks) through the pretensions of his wife as heir to that Prince, and with the aid of his sister the Dowager Queen of Hungary he obtained these two kingdoms by right of election, and afterwards made them hereditary in his family.

Although a zealous and determined enemy to the Reformation, Ferdinand's prudence and moderation in the entangled and difficult course he had to pursue, has been acknowledged by all parties. The following letter to him from the Emperor bears testimony to these characteristics, and is at the same time no bad sample of the tact and discretion which Charles himself knew how to employ.

COPY OF THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND HIS BROTHER.

Written at Seville, 26th March, 1526.

1526, 26th March.

“ My good Brother !

I have received your letters of the last of January, the 7th February, and the 1st of this month of March, and rejoice in the good accounts of your health, and that of my good sister your companion. I have already sent you all that we have been able to conclude with regard to the Provincial Diet of your Lands ; and I have good hope, that by this time all things are so well pro-

vided for, that your subjects will not fail to persevere in their loyalty, love and obedience towards you.

“Should it be otherwise, and should you think that I can from hence be of use to you in any way, you well know that I am as ready to do my best to assist you, as if the affair were my own. Meanwhile my advice would be, to employ, as much as possible, such conciliatory means as I have no doubt you well know how to find, without entering into any spirit of bitterness against your subjects; in order to endeavour to keep up in their minds a just abhorrence of the evil state of things now prevalent in your country; for were they to lose this feeling, the consequences might be such as I advise you seriously to reflect upon.

“With regard to the report you inform me of, that certain cities and towns of our Empire, fearing to be included in the punishment of Luther's excesses, are practising upon such Princes and persons as they know to be unfavourable to our interests, in order to move and attract them towards themselves, and thus to join in a common cause against us, I could wish, that you had, at the same time, pointed out to me some remedy.

“I pray you speedily to write me your good advice on this subject, and meanwhile to use what measures you can think of yourself; for I have no doubt that upon these occasions the best remedy consists in extreme promptness, which you being on the spot, are better able to exercise, than I am from hence; and as soon as I receive your said advice, I will do my best in the cause.

“I consider your advice very good concerning that which you thought necessary to provide for the Imperial Diet at Spires, should I approve of it ; but following your said advice, I deem it better not to approve of it, and wish you to dissemble and delay, in order to gain time, if it is possible to do so without inconvenience, which I leave to your discretion. At all events I send you the power renewed as you require, including the Bishop of Trent. I have also caused the instructions to be remodelled on the same conditions, and added to them the clause touching our Faith — namely, that nothing should be disturbed, changed or altered in our ancient Belief, and that no innovations whatever should be permitted against the obedience due to the Church : but that the customs and ceremonies of the same, should be preserved exactly as they have always been kept, believed, and held until my arrival. I am determined not to meddle in any way with dispensing, changing or altering anything in our Faith ; nor will I consent, that in my time our said Faith should receive any offence from the German nation ; by whose example other provinces of Christendom, might become perverted and corrupt, if they saw that I could suffer such things without opposition.

“I assure you, that I have a great wish to go to you myself, and to have a share in the business in hand, and shall do my best to depart about St. John's day in the month of June if my affairs will permit, as I have already written to you.

“Before, however, I positively advise as aforesaid.

and arrange what concerns my said affairs and my journey, I must find out how the Italians and French are disposed to act, and what chance there is of the Pope and Potentates of Italy entering into an alliance with me as I wish, and whether they still intend to dissemble, or declare themselves openly. Whenever I know this myself, you shall have due notice of the same; but at all events you had better be prepared, seeing that in any case I shall remain constant to whatever decision I may come to. I have had from the Pope a letter similar to yours touching the invasion of Hungary by the Turk. I do not know what to think of it. You are aware how often such reports have been spread over Italy; for which reason His Holiness ought the more readily to accept a capitulation with us, in order to provide for the relief of Christendom. Also he should send the *crusados* which I have asked for.

"You will oblige me if you can obtain any accurate information from people that may be relied upon, touching the intentions of the said Turk, and let me know the result, along with your own advice how to act. After which I will undertake to resist him with all my power, hoping for due assistance from all the other Princes, as so important an occasion would require.

"I have heard from Salines of what you wrote to him concerning the affairs in that quarter, and other things of which he has given me an ample relation.

"I thank you for your satisfactory notices, to which you will find my answer in the letter I have sent by Don Pedro de Cordona. You can write your reply on all

these matters by the bearer of this dispatch, whom I send to you for the purpose.

“Duke Henry of Brunswick* has been here, to treat of the proceedings against Luther, which he had already notified by a writing, a copy of which is sent for your information. I have hastened the departure of the said Duke with credentials such as he wished for, referring him for the interpretation of the said credentials to the instructions which I have therewith given him; of which this is the substance; to keep alive the good feeling in those who are favourably disposed towards our Faith, and to try and win over to the right side those who have seceded; as you will see more in detail by the said writing. This, it appeared to me could not fail to be of some use.

“I am very sorry for the death of our sister the Queen of Denmark; and have taken care that prayers should be said for the repose of her soul. I would willingly recommend to you her children our nephews, who are at present in the hands of our dear Aunt in Flanders.

“The King of France was restored to his kingdom on the 17th of this month, on my receiving the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans as hostages, whom I have desired

* This appears to have been the Duke Henry of Brunswick, a rash and furious bigot, who afterwards on account of his oppression of some Protestant districts which had taken part in the League of Smalcalde, brought upon himself the vengeance of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, who drove him from his dominions as a wretched exile to take refuge in the Court of Bavaria.

to be taken to Burgos; and the said King of France promises to accomplish all that he has engaged in by the treaty of peace; I have now entered upon the estate of marriage, which pleases me well; and hereupon, my good brother, I pray God to grant you all your heart desires most. Written at Seville, the 25th day of March, 1526.

The following from Ferdinand to his sister justifies the favourable opinion of his discretion which was entertained by the Emperor, and gently intimates a sort of suspicion that the Dowager Queen, to whom it is addressed, was not quite so unmoved by the doctrines of Luther, as he could have wished.

The injustice of this suspicion seems acknowledged in the second of these letters.

ARCHDUKE FERDINAND KING OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA, TO HIS SISTER THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA.

Olmütz, 19th April, 1527.

“Madam, my good sister,

I humbly and affectionately recommend myself to your good favour. Madam, I have received the letter which you were so good as to write to me in answer to mine which I sent to you along with Luther's book. I can well suppose that neither you nor I can prevent Luther from writing whatever he pleases, but I can only hope that he will never address to me a laudatory book, purporting that I favour and maintain the doctrine

which he calls *the Gospel*. I am sure that you, as a wise and Christian Princess, will know how to conduct yourself as you wrote me word. I will therefore not trouble you with any repetitions on this subject; I will only entreat you to be cautious respecting two points to which you have made no reply, namely, as to reading his books printed at Antwerp, and the care necessary to be taken that all the persons about you should so conduct themselves as to give no occasion to any reports of your becoming a Lutheran convert, as some are beginning to fear and to whisper.

“I pray you to pardon me, if I have said too much about this affair, for certes, Madame, my good sister, I do it only from motives of kindness and fraternal love, because the times in which we live demand that every one should keep his conscience clear; and God knows I have no other motive in writing this.

“I pray the Creator to grant you Madam, my good sister, a happy and long life. From Olmütz on Good Friday, 19th April.

Your good and humble brother,

FERDINAND.”

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Schweidnitz, 21st May, 1527.

“I received at the same time by the bearer above mentioned (l'Evêque de Labach) your reply. Long acquainted, Madam, with your sentiments, I now only rest the more satisfied by this letter, and live in the

fullest confidence, that your behaviour will accord with your expressions to me. On the other hand I beg you to believe, that the whole world would not avail to cause in me the slightest mistrust or ill will towards your person; and I hold myself convinced that the same would be precisely the case with you in that I am concerned. Neither secret nor false notions of delicacy should be allowed to interpose between brother and sister. I reserve the rest until our meeting. I hope soon with the blessing of God to be with you again."

Before passing on to a correspondence of the Emperor's Ambassadors in England, the subject of his Italian wars may be here closed with the following letter from his trusty veteran Antonio de Leyva, who had commanded at Pavia during the siege, and had a principal share with Bourbon and Pescara in the military operations afterwards.

He here describes the condition of the army in Lombardy after the assault of Rome, and of the unhappy provinces subject to its sway and depredations.

The original letter is in Spanish.

Antonio de Leyva appears to have been a person no wise indebted to a noble ancestry for his distinction, but one who had recommended himself to the notice of the Emperor by his zeal and valour, first in a subordinate rank, and afterwards as a general in the Italian wars. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of a weak

and poor constitution he was enabled to display his eminently warlike qualities in every affair in which he was engaged; and especially in his great exploit the defence of Pavia, and his part in the subsequent victory. Brantôme thus describes his personal infirmities even at the period of his most brilliant services. "He was gouty and sickly, usually in bodily pain and suffering. In combat with the enemy he was often carried about in a sort of chair, as if he were on horseback. He thus took towns and fortresses." "What would such a man have done," adds this writer, "had he possessed the full use of his limbs; every one thought he would have faced the devil."

Leyva was the only one among the Emperor's great Captains, who was favorable to that unfortunate movement, the invasion of Provence in the year 1536. Anticipating a triumphant march to Paris, "all I ask," said the veteran, "as my share in the recompence, is a tomb at St. Denis." The event fell out otherwise. He died, a victim to the disease and hardships they had to encounter, through which, more than half the army perished. A tomb, it is true, awaited him at St. Denis, as had been foretold by a monk, before he started on this expedition, ——— but it was the St. Denis of Milan. Brantôme alludes to some early failure of De Leyva in the battle of Ravenna, which was amply repaired by his subsequent services. Speaking also of his spoliation of the Churches of Pavia in order to provide pay for his troops, then in a state of mutiny for want of it; "this robbery," he says, "was

committed under a most solemn vow of restitution, which neither he nor his master ever thought afterwards of fulfilling, verifying the proverb, "le peril passé on se moque du Saint." "If the Emperor," he continues, "had in some measure followed the example of his brave ancestor Charles Duke of Burgundy, who in repentance and self reproach for his rigorous treatment of the city of Liege, when in rebellion against him, presented, on taking it, a Saint George on horseback in pure gold to the great Church, all might have been right: if for example he had given to the Church of Pavia only one *little* Saint, still he might have been accounted a religious and conscientious Prince! But with such a matter, this Gallant never troubled himself. With him it was quite enough to reserve for his last days of penitence and contrition the reparation of all the sins he had ever committed from the days of Pavia to the end of life."

Whatever might have been De Leyva's share in these misdemeanours; from his success in war and the Emperor's favour, he obtained great wealth and accumulated honours. He died Prince of Ascoli, Duke of Terra nova, Marquis of Antilles, and Primate of the Canary Islands, leaving sons and daughters richly endowed, and connected by marriage with some of the greatest families of Spain.

LETTER FROM DON ANTONIO DE LEYVA, TO THE
EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Dated Milan, June 22nd, 1527.

“ Most Sacred Imperial Majesty,

I have received Your Majesty's letters of the dates of February 18th, March 27th, April 21st, and May 13th and 22nd. For the good news of the birth of his most Serene Highness the Prince, I offer many thanks to God, and humbly kiss Your Majesty's Imperial hands and feet, praying that Our Lord will be pleased to make the Prince as fortunate as he has made Your Majesty. It appears to me that God has ordained all things in the best manner for enabling Your Majesty to take possession of Rome, and I pray to Heaven that your Majesty will advance further still, even beyond Jerusalem.

“ By Riva de Nera, and under date of the 19th of May, I wrote to your Majesty all that had taken place up to that time. What has since occurred in Rome your Majesty will see from the copy of the Abbate de Nazarra's letter, and the capitulation entered into with the Pope, which I sent to you, and by which you will see all that has happened. What has occurred here, I will communicate to your Majesty as follows :— The Venetians, and Duke Francisco have raised a new levy of forty-eight thousand infantry, and the said Duke has come to Lodi, charged with the capture of Milan, on the part of France. Conde Pedro Navarro has arrived at Asti with the troops he had in Savonna ; and in Pie-

mont, they have six thousand more infantry. By intelligence from France it is understood, that Monsieur de Lautrec is coming with eight hundred lances. Such are the preparations made by the enemy up to the present time.

“ In Switzerland a diet has been held at Lucerne, where the King of France applied for ten thousand men. But this application was not granted, and accordingly another Diet has been convoked at Odenwald. Its sittings commenced on the 17th of this month, and I am informed, for a certainty, that the troops will be granted. I have put myself in a state of defence at all points, in the best manner I can, and lest the enemy should come upon me by the way of Asti, I have sent Count Batisto Lodron, with one thousand eight hundred Germans, two hundred Spaniards, five hundred Italians, (four hundred light horse and one hundred lances) and I trust in God that these will defend the Province of Alessandria, as long as may be requisite for provisioning these territories, and then I will endeavour to send away the German troops. I will go to meet Duke Francisco and the Venetians, and I trust that God and Your Majesty's good fortune will aid me; for though the enemy is more numerous than ourselves we will stand on our guard in such wise as will give Your Majesty satisfaction.

“ The hundred thousand ducats sent by Your Majesty have arrived at Genoa. They are reduced to sixty-three thousand by reason of certain debts of the Duke de Bourbon, respecting which the ambassador

will speak with Your Majesty more at large. There has been some difficulty about the delivery of this money, the Duke de Bourbon being no longer alive; but considering the strait to which the army is reduced I trust it will be remitted to us, that we may be enabled to give some pay to the troops. I hope that soon your Majesty's army of Rome will return, which I pray for. — With its help, and the army here, we may so harass the Venetians, as to force them to conclude the solid peace desired by Your Majesty, or make them pay by war, for their sins. These Germans, if more money do not arrive, will not go from hence for more than fifteen or twenty days, and then they would immediately come back, for eight months pay is due to them, and they allege that the Duke de Bourbon (who is in Glory) gave them leave to hold this state in pledge, till such time as they receive payment. They say that he even gave them permission to sack it, and to do in it as they please, which in truth they do, for they hold complete supremacy here, and give me much trouble. I implore your Majesty to order something for relieving the necessity to which this state is reduced; for at present it yields nothing, nor can it yield anything until the removal of these troops who are living here according to their own pleasure. If they were removed, I believe this state would be very productive, especially now with the addition of Placentia and Parma. I did not concern myself about the revenue of the said state, as long as the said Duke of Bourbon lived, for he had his French Officers, who, whatever the State might

produce, consumed it in whatever way they liked; but even that did not satisfy them, inasmuch as they have mortgaged a great part of the future products, which mortgage however, I shall not certify (because of the death of the Duke) until we shall know the correctness of these claims.

"I have placed the Officers of the Council and the Clerks, on your Majesty's rations. These are the same persons who filled the appointments when this State first fell into your Majesty's possession, and the appointments were confirmed by the Duke de Bourbon. They are men who will serve your Majesty well, in all that concerns the State. Your Majesty may rest assured that I will render account of everything even to a Maravedi, and that no money whatsoever shall be expended, save such as cannot be avoided.

"The Government functions of this State are vested in the persons of whose names I send Your Majesty a list. They are all natives of this State, as it is proper they should be, for otherwise it would not be possible to rule here. I certify to your Majesty, that they are worthy to fill those posts, and even higher ones. They have willingly devoted themselves, their wives, their children and their property to Your Majesty's service. I beseech you therefore, to retain them in their posts, and to confirm their appointments, which they are well deserving of, and they will set before others a good example of dutiful service.

"Jean Baptisto Gastaldo writes to me that Your Majesty is not pleased I should have sought leave of

absence; but truly, I have implored Your Majesty to grant that leave solely by reason of the extremely bad state of my health. So great is my will to serve Your Majesty, that I fear your service may have suffered through my illness. If Your Majesty be truly informed, you will know well, that I have no other thought in life, save how I can best serve you; so that if, in spite of my indisposition, Your Majesty be well served, I cannot do otherwise than rest satisfied with whatsoever you may determine. But if, in consequence of my indisposition, Your Majesty has not been so well served as I could have wished, I beg you will believe it to be owing to my want of power to do more; in consideration whereof I beseech Your Majesty to remember my past honourable service, in such manner as I think is merited, and as Your Majesty is wont to do by those who serve you well and faithfully.

“I informed Your Majesty, in my letter of the 19th of the condition of this fortress of Milan. The Commandant is a Frenchman, named Monsieur de Tansan, and to speak truth, he is so crack-brained, that in my opinion, he is not worthy to have charge of this fortress, nor even to be entrusted with the keeping of the meanest habitation in the world. In the fortress there are a hundred and twenty Spaniards, and as many Germans, and all (commanders as well as men) have taken oath of fealty to Your Majesty, whom they will faithfully serve. There remain, in the fortress, only four hundred and twenty Frenchmen, and great watchfulness is observed in keeping guard by night and by day, so that no mischief may happen.

"I am not authorized by Your Majesty to do many things, which ought to be done; but seeing how matters go, I humbly implore you will give orders for their being looked to without delay.

"And may God preserve Your Majesty's life, and Imperial Estate, prospering your dominions by addition of as many kingdoms and lordships as Your Majesty may desire.

"From Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant, who kisses Your Imperial feet and hands.

"Milan, June 22nd, 1527."

ANTONIO DE LEYVA.



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

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of the Constable of Bourbon, from a
Letter to the Emperor Charles Vth dated 25th January 1524.*

*Vos Loys Jumbou se nro sobersant
feyvteur El Calle*

*Votre tres humble &
tres obeissant serviteur.*



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

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of Ferdinand brother of
Charles Vth afterwards Emperor.*

*Vre tres humble et
tre obeissant fevteur
Ferdinand*

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of the Duchess of Alençon,
from a letter to the Emperor Charles Vth 1525.*

*Vostre tres humble
Margarette*

*Vostre tres humble
Margarette,*

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

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of Louise, Mother of
Francis Ist from a letter to the Emperor dated June 1525.*

*La plus respectueuse
Louise*

*La vostre tres humble
Louise.*

PART THE SECOND.

We now leave the affairs of the Continent, and come to some dispatches of Chapuys the Emperor's Ambassador at the Court of London.

Little need be said as introductory to these letters on a subject of English History well known to every English reader. They will soon be found sufficiently to tell their own story in illustrating the character of some prominent personages of the Privy Council, and giving, in a long conference with Henry the Eighth, a graphic description of his bluff Majesty, in his straight-forward and shrewd remarks on the fine-drawn policy of Charles the Fifth.

Chapuys is the *Capucius* of Shakespeare; brought forward only in one striking and touching scene, his interview with Queen Catharine. In several passages of these letters, he appears to have been her zealous and honest advocate.

He was Counsellor of State to the Emperor and appointed his Ambassador in London in 1529.

CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

25th October, 1529.

“ Sire !

With the sincerest and greatest possible humility I recommend myself to the good graces of Your Majesty.

“ Sire ! On Thursday the 21st of this present month, having received the letters which Your Majesty deigned to write to me, from Placentia, and therein having learned Your Majesty's good pleasure, I incontinently dispatched one of my people to the Court, which was then at Winnesor [Windsor] to advertize the King of the letters which I had received for him, and the charge with which I was commissioned; namely, to make a communication to him in person, whenever he might please to grant me an audience; and the sooner I

LETTRE DU SIEUR CHAPUIS, AMBASSADEUR DE L'EMPEREUR EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrite au dit Empereur de Londres, le 25 d'8bre, 1529.

Une partie de la lettre est ecrite en chiffre.

“ Sire, Tant et si très humblement que puy, à la bonne grace du Vre. Majesté me recommande.

Sire, Jedy 21e, du present, je reçu les lettres qu'il a pleu à votre Majesté m'envoyer dattées en Plaisance, et entendu le bon plaisir d'jcelle, je despachey jncontinent ung des miens, vers le Roy, estant á Winnesor, l'advertissant des lettres, qu'avées à luy, avec charge de luy dire quelque chose de la part de vôte Majesté, et qu'il luy pleust me donner jour et lieu d'audience et le plus toust qu'il seroit possible, pour ce qu'il me sembloit que la matiere le requeroit, cepen-

begged to intimate, the better, as the matter appeared to admit of no delay. In furtherance thereof, Sire! upon the same day, having perceived that the administration of affairs had fallen principally into the hands of the Duke of Nolphocq (Norfolk) and as the game on foot was more to his taste, and more agreeable to communicate than the circumstances of the marriage, for reasons which I lately wrote to Your Majesty, the issue of the affairs of the Cardinal having now moreover reached its crisis, (who on the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, was himself, so to speak, disevangelised, set aside and deprived of the office of Chancellor, and of his seat in the King's Council), all scruples being thus removed, which had hitherto restrained me from paying my court to the Duke; I hastened to visit him at his lodgings in the said city. I was received by him with much graciousness and distinction, and having presented my letters with some excuse for any appearance of dilatori-

dant, Sire, et le dit mesme jour pour non perdre Temps, voyant le Gouvernement Tumber principalement entre les mains du Duc de Nolphocq estant survenu matiere plus de son gibier, et plus agréable pour luy communiquer, que celle du mariage par les Raisons qu'aye nagaires escrits a Votre Majesté; estant aussi venue l'occasion que de longtemps aves espie de savoir l'issue des affaires du Cardinal, lequel fust le jour de Saint Lucas Evangeliste desevangelisé, demys et privé du scelz et office de Chancellier, et de Conseiller du Roy, et par ce moyen cessoient les scrupules et respectz que m'avoient gardés d'aller veoir le dit Duc. Je le fus visiter en son lougis en ceste ville; il me recuylist fort honnorablement, et amyablement, luy ayant les lettres de Votre Majesté présenté, et fayt aucunes excuses de les avoer

ness, which was taken in very good part, I expressed the high esteem in which Your Majesty had always regarded him, not only for the good will he had invariably shewn in your affairs, but for his own especial merits, as well as the personal affection he had so long manifested towards Your Majesty, which was further shewn in the late treaty of peace, affording as it did a proof the more, that he who had had a hand in negotiating it, would continue by his mediation to render it durable and permanent. To this I added a few complimentary phrases of my own, tending to the same effect.

“He appeared, to judge from his mien, highly gratified, and having cordially thanked Your Majesty for your gracious recollection, and good disposition in his favour, he assured me that his own feelings, and affections towards Your Majesty, were born with him, and could not be otherwise without disgracing his father,

tant gardées, ce qu'il print de bonne part, je luy declairey l'extime en quoy votre Majesté l'avoit toujours tenu a la bonne volonté qu'Elle luy avoit continuellement portée, et ce tant pour la vertu de luy, que aussy pour l'affection que de long temps il avoit monstré envers Votre Majesté, en laquelle pensoit Votre d^e Majesté, continueroit attendu mesmement le nouveau traité de paix entre Votre Majesté et le Roy son maistre, se confiant jcelle, qu'il seroit celluy que seroit le mediateur et tiendroit main à la perpetuelle conservation de la dite paix, Et luy adjoustey beaucoup d'autres gracieuses parolles de moy mesmes, que me sembloint servir à l'affère. Il fust à sa mine tres joyeux, et après avoir remercié Votre Majesté de sa bonne souvenance et volonté, il me dit, quant à l'affection qu'il avoit toujours porté et heu envers Votre Majesté, qu'elle ne commonçoit de maintenant, ains, qu'il avoit apporté du ventre de sa mere, et que sans forligner ou se desavoer heretier de son pere il ne pouvoit l'avoer autre,

and all his ancestors, who had been each in their turn devoted adherents to the House of Burgundy; and to prove the truth of this as far as he was concerned, he prayed God, that it might please Him and the King his master to permit him now to serve Your Majesty and the King of Hungary against the Turk.

“Concerning the peace and amity of which I had spoken, there was not a person, he maintained, in England, who lamented the late discord and disagreement more than himself, or who more cordially rejoiced at this happy change. All the evil and misunderstanding, which had led to the former state of things, he did not hesitate to ascribe to the falsehood of those who then directed the Kings Councils, and who acted often from their own will and authority, with which, the King himself was not unfrequently dissatisfied; a truth which he would sufficiently shew, before many days were past.

car son dit pere, et tous ses ancestres avoint toujours esté desdiés au service de la maison de Bourgogne, et que pour donner meilleure témoignage de sa dite affection, et desir de servir, qu'il voudroit bien qu'il pleust à Dieu et au Roy son maistre qu'il peust aller maintenant servir Votre Majesté, et le Roy d'Hongrie contre le Turk; Touchant la paix et amitié dont luy aves parlé, qu'il me pouvoit bien asseurer, que d'autant qu'il n'y avoit nul en Angleterre, que eust esté plus desplayant des discordes et facheries passés, aussy n'a voit il personne qui fut plus joyeux, des d' paix et amitié, et que ce qu'avoit esté demené en ce quartier, c'estoit esté par la fauseté de ceux que lors avoint les affaires entre mains, que donnoint entendre beaucoup bourdes, et que pis est, faisant la pluspart de telz afferes de leur propre volonté et auctorité, dont le Roy n'en avoit esté content, comment il feroit apparostre dans peu de jours; et au regard de l'entretienement

As to the aforesaid peace and amity, all his influence he protested should be used in its maintenance, and in this he anticipated not the smallest difficulty on the part of the King, whose perfect sincerity and concurrence in the measure, no one could dispute.

“Having replied, Sire, with some complimentary expressions which it would be superfluous to write, I proceeded to the matter in hand the most pressing, namely, the affair with the Turk; and here, after lauding the magnanimous and most virtuous feelings which urged him to share in so holy an enterprize, and now led him to enter upon so interesting a topic, I informed him, that this was the very point, on which I had to solicit his attention, and the principal object of my seeking the present conference; but that from what had already fallen from him, and which I had heard with so much satisfaction, that I would now no further urge this subject, but earnestly entreat him to continue in the same most laudable desire, and to use every effort in persuad-

des d' paix et amitié qu'il se employeroit de son entier pouvoir. En quoy du cousté du Roy ne pensoit avoir grand travail, vehu la grande et parfaite inclination que le Roy y avoit Sire, luy ayant usé de quelques gracieuses parolles pour la Responce des siennes que seroit superflue escrire, je vins à ce que justoit le plus, qu'estoit de l'affere du Turc, et commencay à louer la magnanime et tres vertueuse voutenté qu'il avoit d'aller à ceste tant sainte Entrepinse, luy disant que puis qu'il avoit fait l'envy en ce jeu, en entamant le propos, qu'estoit le point ou l'attendois, et duquel principalement luy voulois parler, que je le renvierés, en luy priant premierement au nom de Dieu de l'affere du quel il se agist, et de la part de Votre Majesté, que perseverant et continuant en son d' louable propos, il voulsist tenir main

ing the King, not only for the sake of his own virtue, magnanimity, and credit as defender of the faith, but for the interest he had, in common with every other Christian Prince, to resist and oppose with all his energy this mortal enemy and cruel tyrant the Turk.

“Recurring to the subject of the happy peace, which the King of England had employed so much pains to establish, I took the opportunity of observing, that there still remained an affair to be settled, the accomplishment of which remained wholly in the power of the King himself, and would redound more to his tranquillity and honour, before God and man, than any thing he had yet achieved, namely, the unhappy difference between himself and the Queen; on which so many exhortations and remonstrances of the most gracious, and yet urgent nature had been offered by your Majesty. Presuming that the Duke had heard all this from the King, I said I would make no further allusion to the subject, than to

et persuader que le Roy pour sa magnanimité et vertu, pour le devoir de sa dignité et nom de protecteur, et pour ce qu'il luy touche comme aux autres Princes, voulsist entendre à proveoir pour la Resistance de mortel Ennemy et cruel tiran.

“Puis retombismes en propos de la bonne euvre de ceste paix, et de la peine que par cy devant le Roy d'Angleterre y avoit prinse pour l'effectuer; surquoy prins l'occasion de luy dire, que encoires restoit il un accord à fere, qu'estoit au pouvoir du Roy, duquel, s'il y voulait entendre, il en acquerroit un grand repos et inestimable honneur devant Dieu et le monde, et plus que des autres qu'il avoit tant procurés, et estoit celluy d'entre la Royne et luy, sur lequel en avoit fayt au dit Roy de la part de Votre Majesté de fort honnestes et gracieuses Remonstrances et amyables enhortacions et requestes, comme

observe that however strongly and favourably, he might feel from family considerations* with regard to the marriage in question, Your Majesty was no less fully sensible that he, the Duke, as a true Knight could not act otherwise, even were it the case of his own daughter, than as honour, virtue, and conscience would direct; and was therefore incapable of instituting and following up, or even of consenting to any process in a case of such grave and important consequences, without manifest reason; and that Your Majesty was perfectly convinced that the Duke had neither been the promoter nor counsellor of such a step.

“The Duke replied, that willingly he would have parted with one of his hands rather than a question should ever have arisen on such a point; not that he himself had been a party at all appealed to; for as it was an affair wholly of law and conscience, the King

presuppousés il auroit entendu du Roy, que me garderois luy en tenir aultre propos; seulement le voules je bien advertir que combien que Votre Majesté sceut le devoir et parentage qu'il avoit avec celle du mariage de laquelle il se traittoit, toutes fois, que Votre Majesté le tenoit pourtant Chevalier d'honneur, vertu et conscience, que quant seroit pour sa fille propre, il ne voudroit non seulement ne practiquer ne porsuivre, mais aussy consentir que l'on entreprint sans manifeste raison ung cas de tel jimportance et consequence: et que Votre Majesté sçavoit certainement, qu'il n'en avoit esté promoteur, ne conseillant tel affere.

“A ce, il me repondist, qu'il voudroit luy heü cousté une de ses propres mains, et qu'il n'eust jamais esté question de ce dit affere. Et que en ce n'avoit oncques esté appellé, car comme c'est chose de

*The Duke was uncle to Anne Boleyne,

had submitted it to the consideration and discussion only of Ecclesiastics, of Doctors and other learned people, of whom a large portion had been found to pronounce against the validity of the existing marriage, but whose opinion he was very unwilling to adopt, unless he found it confirmed by the highest written authorities which he most diligently consulted. And with regard to the brief of dispensation held in Your Majesty's hands, the King, he declared, would consider himself the most abused Prince in Christendom, if the said document touching the marriage were not found to be invalid and illegal; since many of the highest credit and learning had not hesitated to force on him their conviction to this effect, as he believed, I had already heard from the King himself.

“ He further went on to say that if Your Majesty had not so openly taken the part of the Queen, but had remained neutral, the affair would have probably been the

lettres et concience, le Roy l'avoit tant seulement communiqué et desbattue avec Ecclesiastiques, Docteurs et autres gens de lettre, desquieux le Roy avoit trouvé grand nombre luy affirmant et asseurant l'invalidité du mariage, auxquieux toutes fois, le Roy n'avoit voulu adjouster parfaytte foy, sans le voir dans les livres, lesquieux j'l avoit sur ce très diligemment visités; Et que touchant le briefz de la dispensation du mariage qu'estoit entre les mains de Votre Majesté, que le Roy se trouveroit le plus abusé prince du monde, si le dit brefz n'estoit reprové de faulceté, vehu que tant de gens l'en avoint si trèsfort asseuré, comme il pensoit que le Roy m'avoit dehu dire; et en oultre qu'il croyoit que si Votre Majesté n'eust prins tant à l'ouverte la part de la Royné, et qu'elle fust demeuré neutrale, que peust-estre que l'affaire fus ploustout vuydé, et qu'il avoit semblé estrange au

sooner brought to a satisfactory issue ; and that it could not appear otherwise than strange that whilst he, of all persons in the world. the most interested in the process, had never considered or declared himself a party concerned in it, Your Majesty should have been formally held forth and proclaimed as such.

“I recapitulated to him in reply the reasons which had influenced Your Majesty, and the constraint which had been imposed upon you in this particular. At the same time I could not but remark that the dissimulation of the King, not to appear himself in the proceeding, was but too manifest both from his acts before the Cardinals, and from what his Ambassadors had done, and were still doing at Rome. On this, perceiving that the Duke appeared thoughtful, I thought it best to change the subject, remarking only that I had been led to make the foregoing observation, not more for the justification of Your Majesty than to shew the confidence you were willing to repose in the Duke's integrity and virtue.

Roy, que puisque luy, à qui atouchoit plus l'affere que à personne du monde, ne c'estoit jamais constitué ne declayré part au procées que Votre Majesté heust fayt partie formelle en ce cas. Je luy dis les raisons qu' avoint nonseulement esmeu Votre Majesté à ce fere, maisque l'en avoint constraint, et que la dissimulacion dont le Roy usoit, de n'avoir fait part, estoit trop cogneu par les actes, qu'il avoit fait devant les Cardinaux, et ceux que continuellement avoint fait et faisoit ses Ambassadeures á Rome. Sur ce il demeura pensant, quoy voyant, je luy dis changeons propoz ; je vous ay bien voulu dire ce que dessus, tant pour la justificacion de sa Majesté, que pour vous donner entendre la confiance que jcelle a de vostre honnesteté et vertu.

“Sire! After the aforesaid passages between us, the Duke turning to me full of gaiety said, ‘how delighted the Emperor will be to hear of the ruin of the Cardinal.’ ‘I think he will,’ I answered; ‘but not from any positive hatred he bears him, for whatever his disposition might have been, his incapacity to render either good or evil to the Emperor was sufficiently apparent, and as he was not of such consideration as to excite any vindictive feeling, the Emperor will make no great matter of his downfall.’ ‘The pleasure,’ I added, ‘which Your Majesty would certainly derive from this circumstance was, that the King whose welfare, honour and prosperity were as dear to Your Majesty as your own, would begin clearly to find out from experience those who had proved themselves evil counsellors, and who sought in all their proceedings, to serve only their own especial profit and advantage.’ I further remarked, ‘that

“Sire! apres les Susd^{es} devises, il me vint à dire tout en ryant, or maintenant sera bien ayse l’Empereur d’entendre ceste ruyne du Cardinal, et qu’il soit deposé de son office, et Privé du Conseil du Roy, je respondis que ainsi le pense-je, non point pour hayne que Votre Majesté portast au dit Cardinal; car combien jl en heust donné assés suffisante occasion, toutesfois, pour estre l’homme que ne pouvoit fere ne bien ne mal à Votre Majesté, et n’estoit de tel Etoffe que icelle desira ne vousist se vanger de luy; pourquoy à ce respect Votre Majesté ne feroit grand cas de son tresbuchement.

“Et le plaisir que icelle en aura, sera pourvoir que le Roy, duquel Votre Majesté desire le Bien, honneur et prosperité comme la sienne propre, commence à clerement cognoistre ceux que par le passé l’ont mal conseillé, et que ne tachoient que servir à leur commodités, proufitz et affections particulieres; aussy pour autant que Votre Majesté

the management of affairs would now fall into the hands of men better fitted by their birth and nobility to promote the happiness and honour of the King and kingdom, as well as the preservation of sincere and ancient alliances of late so much lost sight of; especially since he himself, in whom Your Majesty placed more confidence than in any one else in England was now seated at the head of the Government.'

"I afterwards took occasion to say for his still greater gratification, 'that as I had been the first to break the long chain of custom of paying court to the Cardinal, I was the first Ambassador also, who had the honour of transacting business with him. And that even before I had addressed myself to the King on the subject of the letters which had been confided to me by Your Majesty, I had hastened to communicate their purport to him, in order that should the King refer the negotiation to some other person, this previous conference might

verroit que le maniement des affaires seroit devoulus en mains degens, que oultre ce que par nature de sang et noblesse de ceur auroint plus esgard au Bien et honneur du Roy et Royaume, si auroint-ils aussi à la conservacion des vrayes et anciennes amitiés, ce que l'on n'aveit fait ses prouchaines années passées, mesmement estant luy l'ung et principal du Gouvernement et celuy duquel en Angleterre sa Majesté avoit plus de confiance. Subsequemment, pour plus amplement luy gratifier, je luy dis, que comme j'avois esté le premier Ambassadeur q'avois rompu la Chance d'aller visiter le Cardinal ainsi desires-je, estre le premier que luy fis tomber les affaires entre mains; et qu'avant qu'avoir parlé au Roy des nouvelles que m'estoint survenues de la part de Votre Majesté je m'estois devancé pour les luy communiquer, affin que venant le cas que le Roy me deust remettre avec

prove the occasion of its being entrusted to him.' He thanked me abundantly for this intention, and for the good will I had manifested, observing that 'affairs of State were not conducted by any one individual, but by the Council in general, where he usually assisted ;' and whatever concerned the service of Your Majesty, he assured me, should never want the best of his exertion in its favour.

"Sire! Although I had already sent one of my Secretaries to the King; yet in order the more to gratify the said Duke with the idea that I sought to conduct the affairs of Your Majesty through his advice and management, I asked what I ought to do, and whether I should not on similar occasions to the present, first address myself to the King, inquiring the hour, when he might be pleased to grant me an audience. This he informed me, was the proper course, and that the King had in fact commanded

quelcunq pour negocier que la dite prevancion fust l'occasion d'estre remis à luy; il me remercia grandement de ceste intencion et bonne volenté, et que des affaires, qu'ils me se traicteroient pas particulieres, mais totalement par conseil, ou il se trouveroit ordinairement et que me pouvés asseurer, que en tout ceque concerneroit le service de Votre Majesté, il en feroit toujours son mieulx.

"Sire, combien que comme ay sus escrit, huisse deja despeché mon homme au Roy, pour gratifier et donner entendre que voules conduire les affaires de Votre Majesté, par son avis et adresse, je luy demandey ce que aves affaire maintenant, et les autresfois que me vindroit nouvelles, si j'en devois premierement advertir le Roy et luy envoyer pour s'avoir l'heure que luy aggreeroit de me oyr; il me dit, que cela estoit le vray, et que le Roy l'avoit ainsy ordonné, que le tout se cheust adresser à luy, avant qu'en fere participacion à nul autre, et que ferés bien despecher ung des miens signifiant au Roy, que luy aves

that application should be made direct to himself, before any other person whatever was apprized of the intended communication, and that therefore I should do well to dispatch one of my own people to the King, begging permission to lay before him in person a message from Your Majesty.

“Upon this I took leave of the said Duke, who in spite of all my remonstrances, persisted in accompanying me beyond the Hall, where he had first come to receive me, and using the most courteous language on account of the trouble I had taken, expressed his wish of returning my visit without delay, and entreated me to command his services, which would always be promptly rendered, wherever an occasion might arise of their being at all useful to Your Majesty.

“Sire! on the evening of the ensuing day, which was the 22nd, my Secretary returned with letters from the King informing me that he was leaving Winesor (Windsor) for his palace at Grennevys (Greenwich) where he would be on Saturday, but that as he should not arrive till late, I had better not repair thither till

a parler de la part de Votre Majesté ; sur ce, je prins congé du dit Duc, que me vint accompagner, quelque refus que luy en fisse, jusques hors la salle, ou il m'estoit venu recevoir, et usant de gracieuseté vers moy, me dits, qu'aves prins trop de peyne, et que luymesme me vouloit venir visiter, et au surplus que je regardisse de l'employer et commander là ou il auroit moyen et pouvoer de fere service à Votre Majesté, en quoy le trouves toujours prest.

“Sire! Lendemain au soir, que fut le 22, revint mon homme avec lettres du Roy, que m'advertissoit, qu'il partoit de Winesor, pour aller à Grennevys, ou il se trouveroit le Samedy, et pour ce qu'il y

the next day. Accordingly, about 8 o'clock on the following morning (Sunday) I arrived at the said Greenwich, and on getting out of the boat found a very civil gentleman, M. Poller, accompanied by two others with their servants, who had been sent on the part of the King to attend and conduct me to the palace. On entering the second gate of the Court, I found Monseigneur the Bishop of London ready for the same purpose and charge, who led me to the antechamber of the King where the greatest part of the Court was assembled, and where I was received by the two Dukes, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here whilst waiting for the King, who was about to attend Mass, I remained in conversation with these seigneurs, in the course of which I was asked what were Your Majesty's sentiments respecting the proposed conference* at Bologna, and what was the force, intention and success of the

arriveroit tard, qu'il valloit mieux que me rendisse la le Dimence au matin. Le Samedy je reçeu comme dessus les lettres du 5^e; le Dimence environ les huit heures du matin, j'arrivey au dit Grennevys, et descendant du batteau, je trouvey ung bien honnest gentilhomme, nommé Mons. Poller, accompaignè de deux autres et leurs gens, que la m'attendoit de la part du Roy, pour me accompaigner et conduire; Entrant á la seconde porte de la court, survint Monseigneur l'Evesque de Londres avec la mesme commission et charge qu'il me conduyt jusques à l'avant chambre du Roy, ou estoit la pluspart de la Court, speciallement les deux Ducs, et l'Archevesque de Cantorbery, lesquieux me receurent, et attendant que le Roy sortist pour aller à la messe, nous devisames ensemble quelque piece, et furent les propos ou se

* A meeting with the Pope (Clement the 7th) which took place on the 5th of October of that year,

Turk, who had excited no small alarm amongst them; and not indeed without cause.

“Sire! Presently afterwards the King passing on his way to Mass, came up directly to me, with the utmost graciousness and courtesy, much more than on a former occasion, and, said, taking me by the sleeve, ‘so you have news for me, from my brother the Emperor?’ On answering in the affirmative, he enquired the date of the letters, and being informed, he spoke of the great care your Majesty took to inform me of the news. I assured him in reply, that it was one of the principal cares of Your Majesty to make *him* participate in all the affairs which most nearly concerned you, both in the communications you had with others, and in your own deliberations, and thus to prove the amity, brotherly affection and entire confidence cherished for him by your Majesty on all occasions, persuaded as you were that he in like manner would feel and act

trouvoit Votre Majesté de l'assemblée de Bouloigne, dont ils estoient desja advertys, de la puissance, deliberacion et succès de ce Turcq, dequoy ils se treuvent tous esbeys, et non sans grant craincte ne raisonnable cause.

“Sire! peu après, sortant le Roy pour aller à sa ditte messe, il vint droitement à moy de plus grand courtoysie et humanité beaucoup qu'il n'avoit fait la premiere fois, et me pregnant par la manche, me dis, ‘vous eu avez nouvelles de l'Empereur mon frere;’ et luy ayant repondu que ouy, jl me jnterrogua de la dâte, et l'avoit entendu, jl dit, que Votre Majesté estoit soigneuse de m'advertir, je luy replicquey que l'ung des principaux soins de Votre Majesté, estoit de l'advertir, et fere participant de toutes ses nouvelles et deliberations, et luy donner d'entendre en tout et partout l'amitié, fraternité et

towards you,—which he cordially assented to. I then presented the letters of Your Majesty and declared the tenor of my credentials, adding that although your Majesty had been advised that the Pope would himself write to him on the same subject, it was nevertheless suitable to the friendly sentiments which subsisted between you, as well as to the importance of the affair itself, that a special communication of it on Your part should not be wanting. It was true, he told me, that the Pope had written to him, but it was not the less agreeable to learn from Your Majesty the motives and object of this proceeding; and touching the particulars referred to in my said credentials, he had already provided for them, he said, in orders given to his Ambassadors now sent to Your Majesty's court, who were authorised to confer, to treat and conclude on the whole affair.

“Speaking of the cause and occasion of Your Ma-

confiance, que Votre Majesté avoit en luy, supposant que de son cousté, jl vouldroit fere le mesme. Ce qu'il affirma bien à certes. . . . Sur ce, luy presentay les lettres de Votre Majesté, et luy declaray la teneur de ma creance; y adjoustant que combien que Votre Majesté fust advertie que le Pape luy en devoit escrire, toutes fois, avoit il semblé à jcelle convenir au devoir de l'amitié d'entre vous deux et aussy à l'importance de l'affaire, le luy fere notifier de sa part. Il me dit, qu'il estoit vray, que le Pape l'en avoit fait advertir, mais que ce non obstant, ne luy avoit esté moins agréable de l'entendre du cousté de Votre Majesté, mesmes pour l'occasion qu'avoit esmeu Votre Majesté le luy faire savoir, et que touchant ce que par ma dite creance luy avés dit, qu'il y avoit desja pourvehu, et donné ordre, et que Les Ambassadeurs qu'il a envoyé devers Votre Majesté ont tout pouvoir d'assister, traiter et conclure sur cette matiere. . . .

jesty's journey into Italy, I observed, that in this instance he would surely not be the last to advance so good and holy a work. He replied certainly not, and that he should be very sorry to give cause to any such suspicion. But as it was now time for going to Mass, the King, wishing to discourse with me more at large, put off our further conference till his return.

"Sire! immediately after Mass the King coming up to me resumed the same subject, asking me if I thought it were possible that he could be backward in such a proceeding? I then laid before him more expressly and more particularly the great necessity there was to resist without further delay this formidable enemy the Turk, which would appear most pressing from extracts of letters which the king of Hungary had addressed to Your Majesty, as well as from the tenor of those which Madame had been pleased to write to me. I told him that I had reason to fear also that the Pope's expected

"Parlant de la cause motive du passage de Votre Majesté en Italie, je luy dis que à ce Compte qu'il ne vouloit estre de derniers à une si bonne et sainte euvre, il me respondit que je nany et qu'il luy grieferoit bien que l'on le luy peust reprocher. Et pour ce que le temps instoyt d'aller à la messe, et qu'il vouloit longuement parler à moy, il remit la negociation après la messe.

"Sire! après la d' Messe, le Roy tout incontinent me remit en propos, me disant, pensiés vous doncques que fusse des derniers en ung tel affere, lors je luy declairey plus expressement, et par le menu, la grand necessité qu'estoit de pourveoir subdainement à la resistance de ce grand ennemy, selon qu'il apparessoit par l' extrait des lettres que que le Roy d'hongrie escripvoit á Votre Majesté, et par la teneur de celles que Madame m'avoit sur ce escriptes, et que me craignes à

arrival at Bologna on the 5th of this month, would scarcely admit of his ambassadors who were to set out and travel at their ease, being in time for the conference; and therefore it might be expedient I observed, were he to send another power by post to the Ambassadors already with his Holiness, that they might treat on all the subjects in question, should the case require it. He told me that he had given the Ambassadors sent to your Majesty especial charge to expedite their journey, and that he would repeat his injunctions on this point. With regard to Your Majesty's expectations from him in this war with the Turk, it was right, he said, to be clearly understood, that he could only do little, but that he was ready to do all in his power.

"I was unwilling to let this observation on the smallness of his ability pass without remarking, that it could not be inconsiderable as to men, and certainly was very far from being so as to money, with which, it was well known he was provided at least as well as any

ce qu'il avoit pleu m' escrire, que le Pape au plustard deslougeroit de Rome pour venir á Boulogne le 5^e de ce mois, que à peyne ses dites Ambassad^s que iront à leur ayse, se pourront assés à temps trouver à ceste journé de Bologne pourquoy me sembloit qu'il seroit meilleur et plus seur, qu'il envoyat par la poste ung autre pouvoir, pour traiter au dit affere á ses Ambassad^s qu'il a auprès du Pape; il me dit, qu'il avoit donné charge aux d^s que vont à Votre Majesté, qu'ils fissent les plus grandes journées que leur seroit possible, sans sejourner en chemin, et que encoires leur feroit-il une rencharge, et qu'il falloit entendre, quant à luy, quil ne pouvoit pas beaucoup, mais, que en ce cas, il y feroit son possible. Je ne luy vousy laisser couler ce qu'il disoit de son pouvoir, que n'estoit petits ne en gens ne argent principalement; dont tout le monde scait assez qu'il en estourny autant que

Prince in Christendom. Were it indeed otherwise, I added, since he was absolute as the Pope, in his dominions, and had moreover such an abundance of rich ecclesiastics, he could hardly plead a want of wealth. He would not be wanting, he rejoined, to assist and promote the enterprize in view as far as the object appeared to him to require his exertions; but Your Majesty, he strongly intimated, as the principal in the affair, the greatest personage, and the most powerful, ought to be the conductor and leader of the way to others, and the more effectually to accomplish this, ought without delay to make peace with the potentates of Italy. He said that all the success you could gain there, would not add one jot to your greatness or your power, and the more Your Majesty could abstain from wasting means in that quarter which might be employed on a much greater and fitter object elsewhere.

prince de la Chrestienté, et quant bien cela ne seroit, puisqu'il est comme pape absolust en son Royaulme, aiant tant de riches Ecclesiastiques en son Royaume comme il a, il ne falloit qu'il se excusat sus non pouvoir; jl replicquat ainsy que dessus, que à luy ne tiendroit que l'entreprinse ne se dressat ainsi qu'il en estoit de besoing et l'affere le requeroit, mais qu'il falloit que Votre Majesté, comme le chief le plus grand et plus puissant, fust le conducteur et celluy qui monstra le chemin aux autres, et que pour ce fere il estoit necessaire que Votre Majesté se reduit à fere quelque paix avec tous ses Potentatz d'italye, ores que cela fust à son desavantage, car Votre Majesté a d'ailleurs assés biens sans ceux-la qu'elle pourroit pretendre en Italye, les quieux ayant obtenus, ne la sauroient excaucer ung grain. ne en grandeur ne pouvoir; et d'autant que Votre Majesté laissoit en ce entroit couler de ce que luy pourroit appartenir, pour fere une

the more would it redound to Your Majesty's honour, praise and reputation in the face of all the world. It was not, he said, out of any favour or affection towards the Italian powers, to whom he was bound by no tie or obligation, but out of a sense of duty to Your Majesty, that he made this remark, for whose exaltation and glory he was always anxious. Not that he presumed to offer advice to Your Majesty, he continued, who was not only provided with a store of faithful counsellors, but who was yourself greatly distinguished for your prudence. Your Majesty, I assured him, had never ceased to use your best efforts for bringing about a safe peace, union and tranquillity in Italy, and that this was one of the motives of the present journey, as I had before observed. I told him that the parties with whom you had to deal were so difficult to bring to reason, having always some reserved point in their proposals,

telle emprinse, d'autant gaigneroit-elle tant plus d'honneur, louange et Reputacion vers tout le monde, ainsi que par tel moyen Votre Majesté pourroit inextimablement conquerer plus de Bien que ne Saurion ceulx dont se agit en Italye; lesquelles choses jl disoit, non point pour faveur ne interest des dits potentats, auxquieux n'avoit nul deubvoir, mais tant seulement pour le deubvoir qu'il a à votre Majesté, et le desir qu'il a de l'exhaucement et gloire d'jcelle; protestant qu'il n'entendoit de vouloir presumer de vouloir donner conseil à Votre Majesté, qu'estoit si bien pourveu de bons conseillers, avec ce que d'ellemesmes estoit assés prudente. Je luy dis, que Votre Majesté, n'avoit en riens plus taché, ne tachoit encoires a présent, que de reduyre l'jalye en bonne paix, union et tranquillité, et que c'estoit l'une des causes pourquoy Votre Majesté avoit tenu tous les moyens propices, mais estans les parties si obstinés qu'elles ne veullent en sorte quelcunque entendre rayson, ne venir en amitié, et

that caution in proceeding with them was, so to speak, no less necessary than with the Turks, and consequently that their very offers of amity were not immediately to be acceded to, much to the discomfiture of Your Majesty; as might be seen in the case of the Duke Francisco Sforza.

“But come,” said the King interrupting me, “what are they about, with this poor Duke? What harm can he do?” I told him according to the tenor of the letter Your Majesty was pleased to write, how it was intended to treat with him. “Perhaps,” said he, “you may be wishing to refer his case to Arbitrators whom he may have reason to think not the most impartial.” It was impossible, I replied, for any Judges to be more fair than those who had been named, and that nothing could be more gracious and advantageous to the Duke, than the terms proposed, which had been rendered the more so, out of consideration to the Pope, and to him-

que pis est, que ont une garde derriere, et desquieux jl se fault autant asseurer, à mode de parler, que des turcs mesmes, jl estoit forcé que Votre Majesté usast en refus de l'amitié de sa puissance, qu'est bien la chose que desplaysoit autant à Votre Majesté come l'on peut clerement appercevoir par ce que Votre Majesté avoit fait demener et traiter avec le Duc Francisque Sforce; jl me dit sur ce, “mais voyer, que veust l'on fere de ce povre Duc, ne quel mal peust-il fere?” Je luy contoïis le contenu en l'escrit qu'il pleust à Votre Majesté m'envoyer de ce qu'avoit esté traytté avec luy. Il dit que par aventure l'on vouloit mettre son cas en justice devant quelques gens suspetz, que le gardoit de se soubmettre; à cela, je luy dis, que des juges l'on luy avoit toujours parler de les baillier non suspetz, et que les affères que l'on luy avoit fait, ne pouvoit estre plus gracieux ne proufitables pour luy, et que pensés que l'on les luy avoit fait aussi amples car à la contemplacion du Pape que aussy de

self, who had on this and former occasions interceded with your Majesty in favour of the said Duke. The King said, that his motive in so doing was no other than to bring about an universal peace; and that as to the Pope he was bound to it by their Holy League, in which he had himself been made, he knew not how and certainly not with his own consent, a party concerned. With regard to another point the cession of Pavia and Alessandria; those towns, he allowed, might be given up to your Majesty, as far as you were personally responsible for such a charge; but to be handed over to your own people was a different thing, as in your absence it would appear there was but little safety and security, judging from what had lately occurred at Sienna, which place, notwithstanding its devotion to Your Majesty had been entered and plundered by some of Your troops under the Prince himself. The King, when he perceived that I did not give credit to

luy, que autre fois avoit fayt porter beaucoup parrolles à Votre Majesté par ses Ambassadeurs en faveur du Duc; il dit que ce qu'il en avoit fayt parler estoit pour conclure la paix universelle, et non pour autre respectz ny obligacion. Quant au pape, jl estoit à ce astraint par leur saincte ligue, de la quelle jl ne fust jamais; combien qu'il y fut nommé, et Votre Majesté pensoit qu'il y heust consenty. Et quand á rendre Pavye et Alexandrie, qu'il s'en pourroit bien confier à Votre Majesté quand elle y seroit presente, mais autrement de la Remettre entre les mains de vos gens en d' absence, jl n'y auroit seurté ne fiance, pour beaucoup d'experiences que l'on a ci-devant vehu, encores frechement en Siena, laquelle, non obstant qu'elle heust toujours eu devotion de Votre Majesté, non obstant quelques gens de votre armée soub Mons' le Prince estoit entré au d' siennes, et l'avoit saccagé; et voyant que le descroyés pour non avoir grand

such an assertion which bore so little appearance of truth or probability, continued more stoutly to confirm it, declaring that he had received letters to this express effect from his ambassadors. "As far as relates to Pavia," I observed, "that is out of the reach of any dispute, for it has been already given up." He demanded two or three times whether I knew this of a certainty; I had not, I replied, received any letters from your Majesty to this effect, but I had heard it from a friend who was not in the habit of transgressing the truth, and I was the more disposed to credit his account from a particular circumstance he at the same time mentioned, namely the capture of the Count de Gayaz, and his subsequent escape. "I have also heard," said the King, "that it had been given up, and was afterwards retaken; but," he continued "I would make one observation, and this I should wish to remain between ourselves; I think it a very great shame, the Turk being in Austria, the true patrimony of the Emperor, that he should

apparence ne verisimilitude par aucunes conjectures, que luy dis, jl le me affirmoit tant plus fort, me disant qu'il en avoit lettres expresses de son Ambassadeur; Je luy dis que quant à Pavie, elle estoit desja hors de dispute, car elle s'estoit rendue; jl me replicquat par deux ou trois fois si le scavés pour vray? Je luy dis, que n'en avés lettres de Votre Majesté, ouy bien de quelcun mien ami, que n'estoit coustumier donner bordes, et que le me faisoit plus croire estoit la particularité de la prince du Conte de Gayaz, et ce qu'il s'estoit sauvé; jl dit qu'il avoit heu nouvelles qu'elle estoit une fois rendue, et puis avoit esté reprise; apres ce me dit; "jl fault que je vous die une chose, mais je ne vouldroie qu'elle partist d'entre nous deux, jl me semble ung grant honte, estant le turc en Austrice, qu'est le vray patrimoyne de

“not go to its rescue instead of making war upon Christians.” Nothing, I replied, could afford a subject of more painful regret to Your Majesty than this. It certainly was not an acquisition of territory (of which you were accustomed to say you had already *too much*) that influenced Your Majesty in any of these proceedings; and as to the aforesaid Sforza, Your Majesty, I was certain, was not only quite willing to reinstate him in Milan, but to add to his possessions, provided he had been, or was, such as he ought to be. But it was much to be feared, that the moment Your Majesty’s army should be withdrawn from Italy to march against the Turks, the said Sforza on one side would commence a thousand acts of aggression, whilst the Venetians on theirs would make a feint of invading Brindisi in order to embarrass Your Majesty’s operations by preventing a removal of your troops from Naples, and thus endanger

l’Empereur, qu’il ne va secourir, non point faire la guerre aux Chrestiens; je luy respondis, que tout cela estoit au gros regret de Votre Majesté, et que nul Bien ne mouvoit Votre Majesté desquieux, à ce qu’avés entendu, souloit dire, quelle nen avoit que trop, et que je pense que Votre Majesté voudroit avoir donné au d’ Sforce, oultre la Duché de Milan, beaucoup d’autres Biens, pourveu qu’il heust été et fust, tel qu’il devoit estre. Mais qu’il estoit à craindre, que aiant envoyé Votre Majesté son armée contre le turc, que le dit Sforce ne face mille maux et les Veniciens de l’autre cousté, que ne s’etoit cuyde faindre de jnvahir Brundisio, et que demourant en ce etat les choses, Votre Majesté ne se pourroit servir contre le dit turc des gens d’armes ne pietons du Royaume de Naples, ains seroit contrainte y laisser grosse Garnison que viendroit mal à point, et pourroit estre cause que pour ce moyen l’ung et l’autre pays seroit en dangier d

the loss of both countries. "The Duke," returned the King quickly, "can do nothing, and the Venetians have quite as much as they can manage, in guarding their own states. Invasion is therefore out of the question." As to withdrawing troops out of Italy, that he maintained was unnecessary, as long as it were possible to employ Lanzknechts and Swiss, who were more at home in the business required, and should occasion arise, having expelled the Turk, the recovery of any thing lost elsewhere would be easy enough. I said that I supposed his instructions to his Ambassadors had been directed to these very subjects which we had been discussing, and that Your Majesty's explanations on every point would be so frank and explicit as to shew clearly that you had even done more to satisfy every claim than could have been expected, and that it was neither avarice nor ambition, but the causes only which I had assigned, which had throughout governed all your actions.

estre perdu ; Il me dit, que le Duc ne pouvoit Rien, les Veneciens ne procureront que de garder leurs terres et ne sont pour jnvahir. Quant à Tirer gens d'italye, cela n'estoit necessaire, puisque l'on pourroit avoir Lansquenetz et Suysses qui sont plus duytz au mestier ; et puis quand tout seroit perdu, ayant repousé le turc, la Recouvrance en seroit aisée. Je luy dis, que je pense qu'il auroit donné charge à ses Ambassadeurs de parler à Votre Majesté, de tous ses affaires icy, dont estes seur que jcelle en donneroit sur le tout si bonne et concluante rayson et responce qu'il auroit occasion de se contenter, et que Votre Majesté s'estoit mis plus que à devoir envers tous ; et que Votre Majesté avoit desja assés donné entendre, ne que le fauste de la coronation, ne convoytise d'occuper terres d'esglise ne autres, ne l'avoit tiré d'Italye, sinon les causes que pieca luy avés dit ; Il dit

“As to the latter part of this observation, the King fully admitted its truth, but this, he said, would more satisfactorily appear, were the aforementioned suggestions attended to; and as to the former part touching his instructions to his Ambassadors, they were confined to certain recommendations respecting his own friends in Italy. These, I rejoined, were surely unnecessary, as your Majesty being aware of all these connections could not fail of bestowing every due consideration upon them; and therefore it were surely better instead of wasting time in such persuasions, to employ them rather in bringing the said friends and potentates to a juster sense of their own interest and duty. He said he had done that also.

“Then changing his tone, and with great emphasis as well as with some expression of surprize, “My brother the King of France,” he said, “as it appears,

quant à ce dernier, qu'il estoit vray, mais que encoires le donneroit plus clerement à entendre Votre Majesté, faisant les sus^{des} appointemens, quant á l'autre, il dit, que la charge qu'il en avoit donné à ses Ambassadeurs, n'estoit que de prier Votre Majesté d'avoir pour recommandé les amis qu'il a en Italye, et que autre grand jstance n'avoit, il ordonné qu'ille en deussant fere. Je luy dis, que aussi n'en estoit il besoin, car encoires qu'il ne heut fait parler Votre Majesté, cognoissant ses d' amys il se pouvoit assés assurer que Votre Majesté y auroit du regard; et que ce seroit perdre temps de vouloir user de persuasion vers icelle, et qu'il seroit plus necessaire d'employer le dit temps à escrire et persuader aus d'potentatz et ses amis, de se vouloir ranger à la Rayson. Il dis que aussi l'avoit il fait.

“Sur ce, il me dit, Changeant Sa façon de parler, et avec une ponderative, et comme par admiration, qu'il avoit entendu, que le Roy de France, son frere, en cest affere contre le turc vous avoit fait

in this affair with the Turk, has made your Emperor a marvellous offer ;” and this he repeated three times without any further remark. “ If it be so,” I replied, “ he has acted a very virtuous part, and one in conformity with what he has often professed and promised ;” and to this, I added, he was strongly bound by several considerations, which it would be useless to particularize, since they were sufficiently notorious, and that his power was great, and could not be better exercised. “ As to power,” said the King, “ he is less well supplied than his neighbours, for all the money he has, is owing to your Emperor, and he who is to touch it, should make the greater efforts.” In this, I assured him, there would be no room for blame, and that not only these, but all other resources which God had given you, would be so devoted.

“ Here dropping the subject, the Pope, he said, was sending two Ambassadors, one to the King of France,

ung merveilleux offre, et le me replicquat par trois fois, et ne me dit plus outre. Je luy respondis, que si ainsy estoit, qu’il faisoit très vertueusement, et en conformité de ce que plusieurs fois jl avoit dit et promis ; Et que à ce, estoit jl grandement tenu, pour beaucoup de considerations, qu’il n’estoit besoing explicquer, car elles estoient assez notoires, et d’ailleurs qu’il avoit bon pouvoir de ce fere, lequel jl ne scauroit mieulx employer que en cecy. Quant au pouvoir, il me dit, qu’il en avoit moins que les autres, car il vous devoit bailler tout son argent, et que à Votre Majesté qui l’auroit, touchoit de fere le principal effort ; en quoy l’assurey, qu’il n’y auroit faulte, et que jcelle y mettroit, et cela, et tout ce que Dieu luy avoit donné.

“ Sur ce, il changea de propos, me disant que le Pape envoioit deux Ambassadeurs, l’ung au Roy de France, et l’autre à luy, les-

and the other to himself, respecting, as he supposed, this affair of the Turk, and he should wait to hear what they had to say. The person sent to him, I understand is brother of his own Ambassador at Rome, and of the one at Venice. I then asked, if he wished for that more particular information, respecting the Duke Francisco, which was contained in an extract of a letter from the King of Hungary, and further to hear the answer of the Venetians to a requisition made to them by the Ambassador of France for the restoration of Apulia. "Certainly," he replied; and then I handed over to him these documents. With regard to this answer of the Venetians, it appeared to him they were not at all in the wrong, considering that the promise which had been held out of including them in the general treaty of peace was not kept.

"I next reminded him of what his Council had communicated to me concerning the ring of your Majesty, in which he had given ample proof of the care

quieux pensoit venoit pour le dit affere du turcq; qu'il falloit veoir attendre qu'il diroint le sien; à ce qu'il me dit, c'est le frere de l'ambassadeur qu'il tient à Rome, et de celluy ausy qu'il a en Venise. Je luy demandey, s'il luy plaisoit pour plus grande information avoiron ce qu'avoit esté fayt avec le Duc Francisque, l'extrait de la lettre du Roy d'ongrie, et ce qu'avoit respondu les Veneciens à l'Ambassadeur de France, les Requerans de la Restitution des terres de l'apullie; il me dit quoy voulontiers, ainsi lui bailloye les dites pieces; quant à la responce des Venetiens, il luy sembla qu'ils n'avoit point le plus grand tord du Monde, vehu que l'on ne leur avoit tenu promesse de les comprendre en la paix: Je luy rementonay ce que son Conseil m'avoit communiqué touchant la bague de Votre Majesté, en quoy

he had in the preservation of any portion of your Majesty's property, as well as of your friendship. "Yes," he replied, he had often been solicited to restore it, but he had acted with a determination to do, as was his wont, what in his judgment, a sense of duty and friendship demanded.

"I spoke of some other things of which Madame had written to me, and of which I will make mention hereafter, when I come more particularly to answer your Majesty's letters.

"Concerning the affair of the Queen, not a word was said; and it was now getting too late to enter upon any new matter.

"After dinner, he sent to ask whether I had any thing else to say to him. I returned for answer, that I had not, unless it were to request that he would as early as convenient send off the aforesaid power to his Ambassadors with the Pope, or charge those who were

il avoit donné bon tesmoinage du soing qu'il avoit à la conservation de vos choses, et de l'amitié, jl me dit, qu'il avoit esté fort sollicité pour la Restitution d'icelle, mais il a esté toujours resolu d'en user comme il a fayt, à quoi luy sembloit estre tenu pour les dit debvoer et amitié. Je luy parlay de quelques autres afferes, dont Madame m'avoit rescrit, de quoy feray cy-apres mention, ayant particuliere-ment respondu aux lettres de Votre Majesté; de l'affere de la Royne ne autres n'en fust nulz propoz; l'heure estoit aussy assés tarde pour entrer en nouveau negoce.

"L'apres disner, il m'envoya dire, si j'avais encoires quelque chose a luy dire? je luy fis entendre que non, fors pour le premier qu'il luy souvint d'envoyer le pouvoir dont luy avés parlé, à ses Ambassadeurs vers le pape, ou de mander aux autres que vont à Votre

going to your Majesty to proceed on their way with all possible expedition. I was informed in reply that he would take care of all this, and that he had nothing to add at present except that it was his wish that I should communicate to him any news I might receive, as he should not fail in doing towards me.

“Sire! With regard to the treaty of Cambay, and the peace there made, all the world, great and small, have shewn the utmost satisfaction: I can scarcely indeed perceive any other feeling, and this more especially on the part of the King, and of the principal people here, notwithstanding they would have preferred the conditions demanded at Palencia, at which some perhaps, but those of no consideration, a little murmur. The proclamation of this peace has been made with great solemnity, and no reference is herein expressed to any other country or person, save those of your Majesty and the King of England. Touching

Majesté, quilz se deussent avancer et diligenter le plus qui pourroit. Je heu responce qu'il pourroit sur le tout, et que pour l'heure, jl n'avoit que à me dire autres, fors, que ayant nouvelles, l'en voulsisse advertir, et jl me feroit part des siennes.

“Sire! quant au traité de Cambrey et la paix y faytte, tout le monde tant petitz que grans en ont monsté grant joye et contentement, et n'en ay peu appercevoir le contraire; et specialement du Roy, ne des principaux, jaçoit eussent bien mieux aimés ainsy qu'ilz le demandoient à Palence, dont quelques-uns en murmurent encoires, mais ce ne sont gens de Etoffe. L'on fist icy grand solempnité en la publication comme ay parcydevant adverty Votre Majesté en la quelle ne fust faytte mention d'aulture paix ne personne, que de celle entre V^e. Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre. Touchant l'observance

the observance of it, the Queen, as I have already written, has expressed her doubt of its duration ; but I can scarcely suppose that the parties concerned would wish to break it ; for the war has cost them a power of money, and they have gained little by it. It is calculated that from its commencement, the King has spent at least eight hundred thousand ducats ; and to begin again with this sort of discipline would not be a pleasing dose ; besides the people have already shewn symptoms that this is not to their taste.

“ Up to the present time, all seems to go on well between them and the French ; and this state of things, will, it is thought, continue until a demand for money is made on the French Ambassador. I cannot say much of their treatment of him here ; since my arrival, he has been but once at Court, and that was when his brother was with him. On one occasion since, he was on his way thither, and notwithstanding the bad

d'jcelle, j'ay desja escript à Votre Majesté, ce que avoit dit la Royne, qu'elle dureroit tant qu'elle pourroit ; toutesfoys, pense je qu'il ne vouldroit en sorte quelconque qu'elle ne durast, car par la guerre ilz ne peuvent riens gagner et si leur couste ung monde ; ilz comptent que depuis le defflement, le Roy a despendu huit cens mille Ducas et plus, pourquoy fault croire qu'il leur griefveroit à tourner prendre telles purges, et plus telz moyens remutinent le pays. Jusques à maintenant ilz s'entendent bien avec les françois, que l'on pense ne durera jusques à ce qu'il soit question de demander argent de l'Ambassadeur de france ; je ne scauroye dire autre chose de son traitement icy, sinon que depuis que suis de pardeça, il n'a esté à la Court synon une fois, quand son frere fut icy ; et une autrefois il fust jusques bien pretz, et quelque mal temps qu'il fist, jl fust con-

weather, he was countermanded, and constrained to return, being informed that he must present himself before the Council, and there deliver the message with which he was charged for the King, and abstain from all communication with the Cardinal. This did not please him any more than the lack of an invitation to supper, and he was overheard sadly to lament himself and wish himself dead. He came to visit me as I have before observed, on my arrival, and has most graciously borne himself towards me, whenever we have met. Concerning the Ambassadors from Italy, there are those of the Venetians, and of the Dukes Francisco, and of Ferrara. They have been very busy about the Court and the Cardinal, but all are at this moment in perfect repose. The one most in favour with the King is he of Milan, on whom the King has lavished money for his subsistence. For want of

tremandé, et contraint de retourner, et luy fust ditz qu'il vint trouver le Conseil pour exposer ce qu'il vouloit dire au Roy, et qu'il ne se deust adresser particulièrement ne communiquer au Cardinal, dequoy il fust tres mal-content, et ne fust question de soupper le soir, et y heust homme que le ouyst lamenter et desirer d'estre mort; il me vint visiter doys le commencement, comme escravis à Votre Majesté, et ou qu'il m'aye rancontré, il m'a toujours usé de grand gracioseté.

“ Touchant les Ambassadeurs d'italye, il en y a icy, pour les Veneciens, Duc Francisque, et pour le Duc de Ferrare; ilz estoient fort embesoingnez par cydevant, et entoient fort la Court et le Cardinal; mais maintenant ilz sont en continuel repos; celui que plus pryé le Roy, et celluy de Millan, auquel le Roy a foncé argent pour son entretenement; puis deux ans en ça, il faisoit son Conte prèça

which two years ago, this said Ambassador had feigned an intention of going away, but I have a shrewd suspicion that both he and the others have no such meaning, and are too glad to have the run of the Court.

“ Those who now administer this government, and are most in credit, are first the Duke of Norforc to whom your Majesty would do well to write a letter; next is the Duke of Sufforc and it would not be amiss to give him a line also.

“ One thing further, I must mention, although your Majesty should be already apprized of it through the Sieur Don Inigo de Mendocça, that there is not a single person about the King, who is not saturated* with money from France. Almost all profess great affection for your Majesty, but the affection for money surpasses all others; and so, there is not much reliance to be placed on their professions.†

pour s'en aller, mais je cuyde que luy et les autres demouroint pour couvrir la Court. Touchant ceux qui ont icy le credit et administrant, le Duc de Norforc est le principal; Votre Majesté feroit bien de luy escrire, le duc de Sufforc est le second, ausi n'y auroit jl grand mal lui escrire. Une chose fault que Votre Majesté entende, de laquelle seras advertye par le S'. Don Inigo de Mendocça, que n'en y a point ung autour du Roy que ne soyt abrevé de ces pensions de France, presque tous sont affectionnez à Votre Majesté mais l'affection de l'argent passe tout, pourquoy n'y a de se fyer à ceux combien à point.

* The word *abrevé* in the French is here supposed written for *abreuvé*.

† This passage brings to mind an observation on this same “itching palm” of more modern times recorded in the memoirs of

“Sire! I have submitted on the part of Madame two things to the King, one, that as far he is concerned, the sea should be kept clear of privateers and pirates. He denied that he had any such people among his subjects, some of whom he said, had indeed suffered much from those of your Majesty, even in time of peace, but that he had no doubt your Majesty would see justice done in this respect, and he would take good care that this sort of traffick should not be permitted on his side. The other matter laid before him was respecting M. Rosynbez who was already on his way to England. At this he was much pleased, and

“Sire! J’advertys le Roy de la part de Madame, de deux choses; l’une qu’il vousist donner ordre de son cousté que l’on nettoiyast la mer de Courreurs et pirates; il dit qu’il pensoit qu’il n’en y eust point de ses subjectz, lesquieux avoient suffert par cy devant de tres grans dangers de ceux de Votre Majesté, et hors de temps de la guerre, et qu’il ne faysoit doubte que Votre Majesté n’en fist ministrer justice, et qu’il garderoit bien que les siens ne se mesleront de telles besongnies; l’autre de quoy l’adverty, fust que Mons^r. de Rosynbez devoit, à ce que m’escrivoit Madame, desja estre en chemin, dequoy y fust fort ayse, à ce qu’il monstrois, si fust, il d’entendre

M^c. de Pompadour. In a letter from an English Minister of her day to Cardinal Fleury: “I pension,” writes the Minister, “half the parliament to keep it quiet. But as the King’s money is not sufficient, they to whom I give none are clamorous for a war; it would be expedient therefore for your Eminence to remit me three millions to silence these barkers. Gold is a metal which here corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of £2,000 a year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament tame as a lamb.”—*Anecdotes and Speeches of Ld. Chatham, year 1754, Vol. I. p. 186.*

having learned from me the quality of this personage, he ordered immediately after dinner the two Dukes to see that a lodging should be provided for him as near me as possible, and directed that the Grand Commander of St. John and his brother should go out to meet the said Seigneur, who is thus pretty sure of a good reception.

“Sire! The news here is, that the Cardinal who has long tottered, has at length come to his complete downfall. Having been dismissed from the Council, and deprived of his office as Chancellor, he has since also been constrained to make an inventory of all his moveables in his own hand, that nothing may be forgotten, and that he may be more easily convicted. It is said, that having of his own free will acknowledged his past errors and faults, he has presented all he had to the

par moy la qualité du personnaige, pourquoy l'apres disner, incontinent je ordonnat aux deux Ducz, qu'ilz luy feissent pourveoir de longis, et plus pres de moy qu'il seroit possible, et advisarent par ensemble que le Grand Commendeur de Saint Jehan et son frere sortiroint au Champs pour recepvoir le dit S^r, lequel suis seur ne faudra à bon Recuyl.

Sire! des nouvelles de pardeça, le Cardinal, apres avoir chancelier longuement, à la fin il est tresbuché et outre qu'ainsy (qu'ay sus escrits) l'on l'ayt privé du Conseil et demit de son office de Chancelier; il a aussi esté constraint de mettre de sa propre main tout son meuble par inventaire, et fust advisé qu'il le deust fere de sa main, affin qu'il n'y oblyast Riens, ou que l'on le peust mieux convaincre de sa faulte. L'on dit que recognoissant les erreurs et faultes passées, de sa propre voulenté, il avoit fayt present au Roy de tout cela, que n'est petite chose.

King, which is no trifling matter. Yesterday the King returned privately by water from Greenwich to view the said effects. He took with him only his Ladye Love, her mother and one gentleman of his chamber. The Cardinal notwithstanding his troubles, has always shewn a good face, until the day of St. Luke; when all his bravadoes have been turned into complaints and tears and sighs; and this, it is said, without ceasing day or night. When the King heard this, either moved with pity or thinking it inconvenient that he should die before a full disclosure and verification of several things had taken place, he sent him a ring for his consolation. The Cardinal has now retired with a very small train to a place about ten miles hence. A son of his has been sent for from Paris, who was there following his studies, and of whom I have formerly made some mention to your Majesty. The people say

Hier le Roy revint de Grunevitz par eaue, secretement, pour veoir les d' Biens, lesquelx il trouva plus grans qu'il ne pensoit. Il ne mena avec luy que sa mye, la mere et quequ'un de sa chambre; et le d' Cardinal en quelque trouble que fussent ses affaires, il monstroit toujours bon vulto, et le plus beau devers la ville; mais depuis le jour S' Lucas, toutes ses braveries furent changées en extremes plaintz, pleurs et soupirs, et ce sans cesser nuyt ne jour; quoy entendant le Roy, esmeu de pitie, ou pour ce qu' l n'est encoires temps qu'il meure, que premierement l'on n'ayt entendu et veriffié plusieurs choses, craignant que le regret ne l'eust fayt mourir, pour sa consolation luy a envoyé ung anneau; il est retiré avec petit train à une mayson à dix milles d'icy. L'on a envoyé pour le fils du dit Cardinal estant à Paris à l'estude des cas, de quoy l'on le Charge; j'en ay escrise quelquechose par-cy-devant à Votre Majesté; le peuple

execrable things of him, which are to come to light before parliament; and it may be supposed, that let the matter end as it may, those that have raised the storm against the Cardinal, will not let it rest until they have done for him completely, knowing full well how it would go with them, were he to return to power. The person, as they say, who most takes to heart the case of the Cardinal, is the Ambassador of the French, because all their hopes and expectations depended on his continuance in favour. People here have been apprehensive lest the Cardinal should contrive some means of getting his goods out of the country, and therefore a very strict watch has been kept at all the ports. It was on this account that the guards had demanded to open the coffers of Cardinal Campeggio notwithstanding the passport he had received, and on his refusing permission to allow it, that the locks were broken open to his great displeasure. He said, as has been reported to me, that they did him great injustice to suppose that

en dit Chouses execrables, le tout se scaura à ce Parlement. Et fault croyre, comme qu'il en aille que ceaux que luy on mit la rage sus, ne l'abandonneront jusques au bout, car ilz scavent bien qu'il leur va de la vie, s'il retournoit. L'homme que l'on dist icy qu'a esté autant marry de l'infortune du dit Cardinal, a esté l'Ambassadeur de France, car la estoit leur refuge et adresse. L'on a icy en craincte que le dit Cardinal ne gettast hors du pays de ses Biens, à ceste cause, l'on a fait grand, qu'est par le ports. À cette cause, quelque passeport que eust le Cardinal de Campege, les gardes luy demandoient à ouvrir ses Coffres, et faisant refus de les ouvrir, ilz rompirent les serrures, dequoy il fust fort desplaisant; l'on m'a rapporté qu'il leur dit, qu'ilz avoient grand tort de penser que le Cardi-

the Cardinal could corrupt a man who had been proof against the innumerable presents offered to him by the King.

“Sire! The Chancellor’s seal since the said festival of St. Luke has continued in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, till this morning, when in presence of all the council it has passed into those of Mr. Thomas More, who has been declared Chancellor, and has taken the oath of office before the said Duke. Every one is in great joy at his promotion, for besides the esteem in which he is held for his uprightness of character, he is the most learned man in England, and has always shewn himself a good servant of the Queen. He was, before, Chancellor of Lancaster, which office has been conferred on the Sieur Villeury,* Treasurer of the household. Mr. Richard Pace † a faithful and tried servant

nal le peult corrompre pour faire une chose mal faicte, puisque le Roy mesme ne l’avoit sceu corrompre avec ses innumerables presens.

Sire! le Scel de la Chancellerie, puis le dit jour S’ Lucas, est demouré entre les mains du Duc de Nolphoc jusques à ce matin, qu’il a remis devant tout le conseil à Mr. Thomas Moure, le declayant Chancellier de la part du Roy; et a receu le d’ Duc le jurement du dit Chancellier telz qu’appertient à l’office; tout le monde est joyeux de sa promotion, car outre ce qu’il est tenu pour homme de Bien, c’est l’homme le plus lettré d’Angleterre, et s’est tosjours monsté serviteur de la Roynes; Jl estoit paravant Chancellier de Lancastr, maintenant a esté donné le dit office au tresourier de la mayson, Mr. S’ Villieurry. Mr. Richard Pacey bon serviteur de Votre Majesté

* Quere. Villiers.

† *Campeius*. My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
In this man’s place before him?

of your Majesty, whom the Cardinal had kept the last two years in prison in the tower of London, or in a monastery, has been set at liberty and recalled to Court. It is thought that unless his mind should again become unsettled, he will rise into greater favour and credit than ever, a circumstance favourable to your Majesty's interests.

“ There has been a most respectable young man here for several days, sent to the King by the Duke of Saxony; not the Lutheran but the other Duke. He came to visit and to dine with me this day. I have

que le Cardinal avoit fayt detenir en prison passé deux ans, tant en la tour de Londres, que en ung monastere, a esté mainten' delivré et est rapellé en la Court. En tient l'on que s'il demeure en telz repos de cerveau qu'il est maintenant, qu'il retournera en plus grand Credit que paravant, que viendrait bien à tail pour l'adresse des affaires de Votre Majesté. Il y a icy puys dix jours en ca, ung jeusne homme bien honneste, envoyé de la part du Duc de Saxe, non point du lutherien mais de l'autre au Roy; jl est venu ce jourd'huy me visiter et disner avec moy, je n'ay peu encoires scavoir qu'il traytte,

Wolsey.

Yes, he was.

Cam. Was he not held a learned man?

Wol.

Yes, surely.

Cam. Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then
Even of yourself, lord Cardinal.

Wol.

How! of me?

Cam. They will not stick to say, you envied him;
And, fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
Kept him a foreign man still; which so grieved him,
That he ran mad, and died.

HENRY VIII. Act 2. Scene 2.

not been able to make out his business, I only know that he has much to do every day with the King and Monseigneur of London, and expects to return in about a fortnight. I will endeavour to find out for your Majesty's satisfaction what it is that brings him hither.

"Sire! Touching the affair of the Queen, which I have reserved to the last, there is nothing new to communicate, except that Monseigneur of London assures me as a matter of absolute verity that Dr. Stock is gone to France only to consult concerning this affair with the Doctors of Paris, wherefore the Queen would entreat your Majesty to send thither for a like purpose some people of consideration and merit, for otherwise or without some definitive sentence, whatever attempts at persuasion may be made on the King, he will continue as opiniated and obstinate as ever.

"I have offered to her the advice, which your Ma-

du moins jl negocie fort avec le Roy et Mons' de Londres, et fayt son compte s'en retourner dans quinze jours, je m'enquerrey de scavoer s'il est possible, quelles afferes le mainnent pour en advertir Votre Majesté.

Sire! Touchant l'affere de la Royne, qu'ay gardé pour le dernier, attendant nouvelles d'elle, j'en ay parcydevant assez amplement escript à Votre Majesté, et depuis n'en ay entendu aultre, synon que Mons'. de Londres me affirma pour tout vray que le Docteur stocler, n'estoit allé en France que pour fere consulter ceste matiere aux docteurs de paris: pourquoy la Royne vouldroit prier Votre Majesté de fere le mesme avec les gens de Bien; car sans cecy ou quelque sentence diffinitive, quelque persuasion que l'on face au Roy, jl demurra toujours en son oppinion et obstinacion.

"Je luy ay fayt entendre l'advis qu'il avoit pleu à votre Majesté

jesty was pleased to write to me, but it appears to her that delay far from being profitable would be injurious to her cause, for which reason and for others which have been already mentioned to your Majesty now of greater force than ever, it is considered desirable not to assent to the postponement which is demanded. This however is entirely submitted to your Majesty's good pleasure and judgment. She was of opinion, that in order to avoid raising suspicion in the mind of the King, I had better cease to visit her; but that she would provide the means of my speaking with her occasionally in private.

"Sire! I pray the Creator to grant a long and happy life, and increase of all earthly prosperity to your most high and sacred Majesty.

"Written in London 25 of October, 1529.

EUSTACE CHAPUYS."

m'escire, mais jl luy semble que la dillacion ne pouvoit en riens prouffiter, ains beaucoup nuyre; à cest cause, et par les raysons qu'ay autrefois escrit à Votre Majesté que militent plus maintenant que jamais, que l'on ne devroit consentir à la surceance qu'ilz demandent, toutesfois le tout est au bon plaisir de Votre Majesté. Elle ne fust d'avis pour non donner suppicion au Roy, que la fusse veoir, et m'envoyat dire qu'elle pourveiroit que luy pourrois parler aultre fois secretement.

"Sire, je prierai le Créateur avec la très bonne et très longue vie, prosperer et augmenter l'Estat de Votre très digne et très sacré Majesté, escrit en Londres le 25 8ber. 1529."

“ P.S. Sire! Two days after I had written the above, the Cardinal was judicially and definitively condemned by the great Council of the King, and declared a rebel to his authority, and guilty of high treason, in as much as in defiance of the Royal Authority and the privileges of the kingdom, he had obtained the bull of his Legantine authority, and had disposed by anticipation of several benefices in the patronage of the King and others. On this account, he has been deprived of all his offices and preferments with their dignities and prerogatives. All and each of his goods, moveables and immoveables, have been adjudged to the King, and he is sentenced to imprisonment in one of the Royal prisons here in London, until the King shall decide on his ultimate fate. The sentence was not given in his presence, for in this particular they were ready to gratify him, but two procurators were solemnly ordered to appear on his part.

“ P.S. Sire! deux jours après la sus escripte, le Cardinal a esté sententiallement et diffinitivement condampné par le grand conseil Royal et desclayré rebelle du Roy, et avoir commis cas de leze Majesté, pour autant que contre l'auctorité du dit Roy et les privileges du Royaulme, jl avoit impetré la Bulle de sa Legation, au moyen delaquelle, par prevention, jl avoit conferé plusieurs Benefices du patronaige du Roy et d'autres; Et que à ceste cause devoit estre privé de tous ses offices et Benefices, aussy de toutes dignités et prerogatives, comme de fayt ilz le privarent, confisquant tous et chescung ses Biens, meubles, et jmmeubles, et les adjugeant au Roy, et que sa personne deust estre Constituée et demourer prisonnier en une prison Royal icy en Londres, jusques à ce qu'il fust advisé par le Roy de la Condigne justice, elle ne fust donnée en sa presence, en ce luy voulust l'on gratiffier, mays jl y avoit ordonné deux procureurs

" All this will be of no easy digestion, but he will not come off for that.

Your very humble and very obedient
subject and servant,

EUSTACE CHAPUYS."

CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London, 6th Feb. 1530.

" Sire,

Since my last letters, the Bishop of Rochester *

solempnelz de sa part. Cecy, luy sera de mauvayse digestion, mais encoures ne serat jl quicte pour le prix.

Votre très humble et très obeissant

Subject et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS."

COPIE DE LA LETTRE ORIGINALE DU S^r CHAPUYS,
AMBASSADEUR DE L'EMPEREUR EN ANGLETERRE,

Ecrite au dit Empereur de Londres, le 6 fevrier 1530.

Une petite partie de la lettre est écrite en Chiffre.

" Sire,

Puys mes dernieres lettres, l'Evesque de Rochestre Soignieuse de

* John Fisher, who afterwards refused to take the oath imposed on the members of both houses of Parliament, of Allegiance " to the heirs of the King's by his most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten," &c. The utmost which could be obtained from him to satisfy the king on this point was, that he would swear allegiance to the King and to the succession, without in any way affirming the illegality of the King's marriage with Queen Catharine. Cranmer was inclined to accept this concession, but Henry.

urged by his care for the King's conscience, for the good of the country, the benefit of the Queen, and his own respect for truth, has finished revising and correcting the book which he lately wrote, and which I sent to Your Majesty. He has also written another, which the Queen has directed me to forward immediately by the present courier, in order that the persons deputed by Your Majesty to support her rights, may have leisure to examine it thoroughly, before the arrival of those who are about to oppose them on the King's part. The said Bishop has entreated the Queen to do so, although he greatly fears being known

la Conscience du Roy et bien du Royaulme, repos de la Royne et pour le debvoir qu'il a à la verité, a parachevé de reverer et Corriger le livre, jadis per luy compousé que nagueres ay envoyé à Votre Majesté; et aussy d'en compouser ung autre nouveau, lequel la Royne m'a commandé envoyer à Votre Majesté, par ce Courier exprés, et en toute diligence; afin que les Dèputés de la part de Votre Majesté, pour soustenir le Droit et affere de la dite Royne, ayent loysir et opportunité de la visiter et bien examiner avant l'arriver de ceux, que vont la disputer de la part du Roy; le dit Evesque a sollicité la Royne de ainsy fere, combien qu'il craigne grandement estre

determined as usual to shew no mercy to those who opposed his will, procured his attainders in Novr. 1534. After suffering the most rigorous and cruel treatment in the Tower, he was brought to the scaffold on the 22nd of June of the following year, and beheaded. Erasmus has borne testimony to his character, as "a man of profound learning, incredible sweetness of temper and uncommon greatness of soul." His severity, however, against the reformers is a lasting stain upon his character.

to be the author of this last work, as the said Queen has informed Your Majesty. His great learning, and the pains he has taken in compiling these works, will be seen in the works themselves, and cannot fail to add great weight to his opinion. His good and pious life, well known at Rome and elsewhere, and his being a subject of the said King's, will also prove, that there need be no suspicion of unfair dealing from him, as there is from many who advocate the King's cause.

"Sire, the treatment of the Queen continues as bad, I might even say worse than ever. The King absents himself from her as much as possible, and is always here with the lady, whilst the Queen is at Richmond. He has never been so long without visiting her as now, but states as an excuse, that a death from the plague has taken place near her residence. He has also re-

allegüe aucteur de ce dit dernier livre, comme la dite Royne en escrit à Votre Majesté ; de la poyne qu'il a prins afere les d' livres, l'euve en tesgmoignerat, aussy ferat elle de la grande Doctrine d'jcelluy, la quelle accompagner du bon renom de sa bonne et sainte vie, cogneue et divulgué à Rome et ailleurs, ne serat de petite efficace pour donner auctorité et fere adjouster foy à son opinion, meme voyant qu'il est des subjectz du mesme Roy, et que en luy n'y peult avoer scrupule de subornation, comme à ceux qui ont suyvit le party du Roy, selon qu' ay cy devant escrits à Votre Majesté.

"Sire ! la Royne est traitter à l'accoustumer, et que l'ouseroit dire pis que oncques, le Roy se eslongie d'elle, le plus qu'il peult ; jl est toujours icy avec la Dame, et la Royne aupres de Richmond, et n'a jamais la moitié tant demouré sans la visiter que maintenant. Combien qu'il pregne excuse ou couleur sur ce qu'il estoit mort quelcung de pestilence aupres d'ou reside la Royne : —il a

sumed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun ; this however, is only lost time, for the Queen will never condescend to such a step. The continued trouble and annoyance which she undergoes, constrain her to persevere in importuning Your Majesty, both by her own letters and by mine ; nor will she cease to do so, until her suit is brought to a final conclusion, which she trusts it will be, before Your Majesty leaves Italy.

“Sire, Johan Jocquin, the French Ambassador, has been here for the last twelve days, and has brought money to pay the private pensions, which his master gives here.

“The day after his arrival, he and M. de Langey, went to Court, and were introduced without ceremony by one of the King's Chamberlains. They were well received by the King, and had a long interview with him.

“Last Saturday they were again sent for to Court,

reprins la pratique pour vouloer persuader à la dite Royne de se vouloer rendre nonain, mays c'est toute abussion et poyne perdue, car la Royne ny condescendra au grand jamais. Le continuel ennyt et travail, ou elle se treuve la contraignent jmportuner Votre Majesté, tant par des lettres que par les miennes, et ne cesserat qu'il n'y aye Resoulition et determination en son affere, ce qu'elle espere avant le parlement de Votre Majesté d'italie.

“Sire, Johan Jocquin, Ambassadeur de France est icy puyz douze jours, et a apporté quelque argent pour les pensions particulieres que le Roy son maystre donne icy. Lendemain de son arriver, luy et Mons' de Langey allerent en Court conduitz sans sermonies par ung de la Chanbre du Roy, le Recueyl qu'ilz Eurent du dit Roy fust bon avec assés longue pratique. Samedi dernierelement passe, ilz furent

but remained there a very short time. After their return, they came to visit me, and to invite me to dine with them on Sunday; on the morning of which day they both came to fetch me. We had a long conversation, but I could discover nothing as to the business of Johan Jocquin's mission further than that he was to remain here some time, and that his chief object was to recover the *fleur de lys*,* and to pay the said private pensions. In speaking of the peace, and of the Turkish business, he said, that it would be very bad policy of the Princes not to settle the affair of the Vaivode, for that if they did not, the Turk would take it into his hands, which might cause great damage to Christendom. I answered him, that the King of Hungary had endeavoured to do so from the very beginning.

appelé autrefois en Court, l'a ou ilz demouroint bien peu; au retord ilz me vindrent visiter et convoyer pour disner le dimanche avec eulx; le matin du dit jour tous deux revindrent pour me mener a disner. Nous fusmes en longues devises ensemble, mays je n'ay peu sentir autre particularité de la Charge du d^e Johan Jocquin, sinon qu'il me dit qu'il estoit venu pour icy resider quelque temps, et que la chose que l'avoit le plus hasté d'y venir, estoit le Recouvrement de la fleur de Lys, et pour poyer les d^{es} pensions particulieres. Venant a parler de la paix et de l'affere du Turc, jl commençat à dire, qu'il seroit mal advisé et pourveu, si les princes n'appointoint les afferes du Vaynoda et que n'y remedieroit le turc; ou seroit grandement dommaigé la Chrestienté:—je lui remoustrey le debvoer en quoy du commencement le Roy d'Ongrie c'estoit mis pour ce fere; ils ont quelque

* It does not appear what this refers to, or the ring elsewhere mentioned.

They are certainly on close terms with the said Vaivode, for they speak very energetically in his favour, as did also M. de Bayonne when he was Ambassador here. Captain Rangon, envoy from the King of France to the said Vaivode, had not returned to France when Jocquin left it, but he told me he believed he would shortly be there, and that he must have taken Venice in his way. He also told me the name of the gentleman who had been dispatched to recal him. Afterwards in the course of conversation, we touched upon the subject of Doctor Stock, and the attempt he had made in Paris, on the part of the King of England, to gain the decision of the Doctors of the University in favour of his divorcing the Queen and marrying another.

They at first said they knew nothing whatever about it, but at last M. de Langey perceiving by the guesses

grosse Confraternité ensemble car ils parlent asses affectueusement en faveur du dit Vaymoda, et ce faysoit ordinairement Mons' de Bayonne estant icy Ambassadeur :—le Capⁿ Rangon Ambassadeur pour le Roy de France de vers le dit Vaymoda, n'estoit encoures de retour en France, quant partit le dit Jocquin, combien à ce qu'il m'a dit, qu'il pensoit qu'il ne tarderoit d'y estre bien toust, et qu'il devoit avoir prins le Chemin de Venise, et me nommet le gentilhomme que pie ça avoit esté despeché en diligence pour le rapeller.

En apres par continuation de propos nous vinmes a tomber de parler de la poursuytte que le Docteur Stocler de la part du Roy d' Angleterre avoit fayt à Paris pour avoir la determination des Docteurs de l'université pour de divorcier de la Royne et pouvoir le Roy prendre autre. Jls me dirent de prime face, qu'ils n'èn scavoint Chose quelcunque ; mays à la fin voyant Mons' de Langey les conjectures que luy mettés en avant, par lesquelles vray semblablement

I made and the questions which I urged upon him, that his own knowledge of the subject had become evident, admitted, that he was not ignorant of what had passed. He excused his denial by stating, that he had first understood me to mean, that the question had been publicly debated in the Sorbonne by the University, of which he was ignorant ; but that as to private opinions he knew for certain of many whom the said Doctor Stock had consulted, among whom there were several that he had supposed favourable to his views, who had given their opinions exactly contrary to his wishes. The same thing had also happened on the other hand to a Spanish Doctor residing at the Sorbonne, who was soliciting votes in favour of the Queen. M. de Langey spoke of all this with the precision of one who had been present ; and I believe, as I lately wrote to Your Majesty, that he was led by his master's orders to interest himself particularly in this matter ; and in this

il en devoit scavoer quelque chose, il fust constraint s'en decouvrir ; jl se excusat premier de ce qu'il avoit hyer n'en avoer riens apperceu, disant qu'il pensoit que vousisse dire que la question eust été disputé en Sorbonne par toutel'université, et de cela ne scavoit jl, mays quant à opinions particulieres, jl scavoit bien pour vray que le dit Docteur Stocher en avoit demandé l'advis de plusieurs Docteurs, entre les quieux, jl s'en estoit trouvés de ceux qu'il tenoit certainement devoir escrire en sa faveur, qu'avoient opiné du Contraire : et le mesme ausy estoit advenu à ung Docteur hyspagnol demeurant en Sorbonne, qui sollicitait de l'autre cousté en faveur de la Royne ; Et de ce parloit assés particulierement comme ce luy que s'estoit trouvé à l'affere, et croys comme ay dernièrement escriis à Votre Majesté, jl s'est aydé par le commandement de son maystre à la sollicitation du dit affere, et

opinion I am the more confirmed by a letter received yesterday from an Englishman resident in Paris, who mentions the offers that have been made to such of the Doctors as would decide in favour of the King.

“Sire, in the said letter I was also informed, that one of the chief objects of Johan Jocquin’s mission here, was to reinstate the Cardinal in the King’s favour, which, but for the lady would be easy enough; for, as I have written to your Majesty, it is commonly believed, that the King has no personal ill-will against the said Cardinal. His principal object seems to be to take possession only of his wealth and effects; and in this respect it does not appear that he is doing him any great wrong, since the Cardinal has always caused a large expediture of his money, declaring that all the wealth he himself accumulated was for the service of the King alone. The taking possession of it a little sooner than was meant, ought not to be considered any great sub-

et ce veys-je hier par une lettre escripte à paris d’un angloix y Residant; l’a ou jl fait mention des promesses qu’ay escrits avoir esté faittes aux Docteurs opinions pour les Roy,

“Sire, en la ditte lettre avoit aussy advisement que l’une des principales Charges qu’avoit le dit Johan Jocquin, par de ça, estoit pour rabbillier les affaires du Cardinal avec le Roy, que seroit (sans la Dame) fort aysé; car comme j’ay escrits à Votre Majesté, selon le commung advis, le Roy ne porte nulle hayne au dit Cardinal; et s’il y a eu quelque male volenté ce a esté contre les Biens, n’ont point contre la personne, et en ce semble que le Roy ne luy aye peu fere grand tort, car puisque le dit Cardinal luy avoit fait dispendre grand argent, Et qu’il disoit que tout ce qu’il accumuloit n’estoit que pour le Roy, d’en prendre l’administration et possession ung peu plus toust

ject of offence or injury, by the said Cardinal; especially since, from the moment he began to suspect his disgrace up to his total ruin, the said Cardinal has always repeated, that the king could not do him a greater favour than to take and use everything he possessed, saying that it all proceeded from his own bounty. To prove further that the King did not bear him any real hatred, I have been informed that, from the beginning, he determined not to lay this case before Parliament, because had it decided against the Cardinal, he could not, in face of such a decision, have pardoned him, as he intended to do, and has done;—which your Majesty will be further informed of by and bye.

“Sire, the said J. Jocquin lodges at the house of one of the Cardinal's confidential servants, and soon after his arrival, the Cardinal, though still unwell and under his doctor's hands, sent the said doctor, a Vene-

que ne vouloit ne pensoit le dit Cardinal, le Roy ne pensera l'avoir en Riens grefvé ne injuré, avec ce que le Cardinal dois qu'il commença soupeonner de son infortune, et dempuy qu'il fust ruyné, a toujours dit, que le Roy ne luy pouvoit fere plus grand Bien que de prendre et se ayder de tout ce qu'il avoit, qu'estoit procedé toutellement des Biens de d' Roy. Et pour tesmoignage, que le Roy ne lui portait fort mauvaise volenté, l'on m'a dit que doys le commencement le Roy ne vouloust fere diffinir le cas du dit Cardinal par les estatz generaux du Royaume; pour ce que apres contre leur diffinitive et ordonnance jl n'eust ainsy peu pardonner au Cardinal, comme jl desliberoit et a fayt, ainsy que verrat Votre Majesté cy dessous.

“Sire, le dit Johan Jocquin est lougé à la mayson d'ung des privés serviteurs qu'eust le Cardinal; peu apres qu'il fust icy arrivé le dit Cardinal combien qu'il fust encourés aucunement mal dispousé,

tian, in whom, as a foreigner and man of sense he much confides, to the said Jocquin, with whom he has now been staying four or five days.

“ I have no doubt, that the French would do anything in their power to reinstate the Cardinal, for notwithstanding the fair face which they present to the Duke of Norfolk, I know that they do not place much reliance on him. Were this scheme successful, the result would be greatly to their advantage ; but if it fail, as is most probable, it would serve only to irritate those now in power, whose very lives are at stake.

“ Sire, as I lately informed Your Majesty, the said Cardinal has been ill ; or as some say, has feigned illness in hopes that the King would visit him. This he did not do, but he sent him the best remedy for his illness, namely, a promise of pardon and oblivion of all

et qu'il heust affaire de son medecin qu'est Venetien, toutes fois pour etre homme d'esprit, estrangier, et duquel il se fie, jl envoya au dit Jocquin, et a icy demouré environ quatre ou cinq jours. Je luy fays doute, que si les francais scavoint trouver le moyen de le reintegrer qu'ils n'y espargneroint Chose du monde pour le pousser ; car quelque beau semblant qu'ils facent à Monsieur de Nolphoc, je says bien, ils ne se confient par trop en luy :—la pratique bien desmelé, ne pourroit estre plus avantageuse pour eux, mays, elle n'est sans gros dangier de demourer jmpossible, et de jrriter ceux que ont le credit et maniemment aux quieux y va la vie.

“ Sire, ainsy qu'ay dernièrement escrit à Votre Majesté, le dit Cardinal a esté malade ou à ce que l'on dit a fainct de l'estor, affin que le Roy le allast visiter, ce qu'il n'a fayt, mays en recompense, jl y envoyat la medecine à son mal necessaire, c'est a scavoir promesse de luy fere grace, pardonnance, et abolition de tout ce que l'on l'avoit

charges made against him. On hearing which, he immediately began to improve, and is now quite convalescent. To day he is to receive the act of grace and oblivion in form, as he requested. The King is to leave him the full enjoyment of the Archbishopric of York, and to give him a yearly pension of three thousand angels, to be raised from the revenues of the Bishopric of Winchester; in consideration thereof, he is to give up all claims on that and every other benefice. The King, beside the ten thousand angels which he gave him since his condemnation, has restored to him two services of plate, and tapestry enough for five rooms; the rest of his money and goods are to remain in the King's possession. With regard to his house in this city, the said King has, within the last few days, taken legal possession of it, and incorporated it in his patrimony, and in its place he is to give another which will be attached to the Archbishopric of York. Master

Chargé ; quoy entendu, jl commença a se bien porté et se treuve maintenant en playnne Convalescence. Et luy doit estre aujourd'huiy desliver la patente de sa d' abolition en la forme qu'il la sceu demander :—le Roy luy laysse playnement la jouyssance de son Archevesché de Yorc, luy a constitué troys mille angelotz de pension, qu'il prendrat annuellement sur l'Evesché de Vuinecestre et moyen ce, quiete le d' Vuinecestre et tous autres Benefices;—le Roy, oultre dix mille angelotz qu'il luy a donné puy qu'il á este condampné, il luy rend de sa vaisselle, pour deux services et de tapisserie pour cinq Chambres, la Reste de l'Argent et Meuble demeure au Roy. Or la mayson de ceste ville, le dit S' Roy en apris ses jours passés la possession solempnelle selon les statutz du Royaume, et la jncorporé à son patrimoine. Et aulieu d'jcelle yl en donnerat une autre que serat des archevesques

Russell told me, that on account of a few words in favour of the Cardinal which he had said to the King, *the lady* had held him in dudgeon and refused to speak to him for a whole month; and that a week ago the Duke of Norfolk told him how much he had offended the said lady, his niece; and added, that she was also considerably irritated against himself, for not having used his favour to the utmost against the said Cardinal; concerning which she had made many complaints.

“After this, the Duke asked Master Russell, whether he was not of opinion, that the Cardinal still cherished the wish and hope of being restored to favour. He replied, that he thought, the Duke must be aware of the courage and ambition of the said Cardinal, which would never lead him to draw back, in case of a favourable opportunity of re-entering office; and that this was not unlikely to occur, if the King should require his coun-

du dit Yorc. Maystre Rossel m'a dit que a cause qu'il avoit porté quelques parolles au Roy en faveur du dit Cardinal, que le Dame avoit bien demouré ung moys luy tenant troquie, et refusat luy parler; et que jly a six jours que le Duc de Nolphoc luy declayrast comme la ditte Dame sa Niepce, avoit bien esté corosser contre le d^e Maystre Rossel, si avoit elle aussy contre luy mesme pour autant qu'il n'avoit fait contre le dit Cardinal lont au pis qu'il heust peu et de avoit elle fayt plusieurs douleances. Après ce le dit Duc vint a demander au d^e Maystre Rossel s'il estoit point d'opinion que le Cardinal heust encores espoer ou fantasie de retourneur en credit; et luy respondant le dit Maystre Rossel, qu'il devoit assez cognoistre que le cueur et ambition du dit Cardinal n'estoit pour reculer ou jl verroit l'opportunité d'embrasser les offeres, et qu'il ny falloit autre opportunité sinon qu'il survinse quelque affere dont le Roy heust mestier du Conseil du

sel and assistance in any matter, which he had formerly been accustomed to transact. Upon this the Duke began to swear vehemently, that sooner than allow this, he would eat him up alive; and I understand that to prevent any such possibility, the Cardinal has been forbidden to approach within six or seven English miles of the Court.

“Sire, a cousin of the physician of the said Cardinal told me, that during his illness *the lady* had sent to visit him, and had represented herself as favouring him with the King, which is a thing difficult to believe, after what I have stated above, and considering the hatred which she has always borne him. Either she must have thought he was dying, or she wished to shew her talent for dissimulation and intrigue, of which she is generally reputed a perfect mistress; or finally, Johan Jocquin must have begun to work miracles.

“Sire, I have heard, that the German who arrived

dit Cardinal touchant les matieres qu'il ce autrefois demenées. Lors le dit Duc commecat très fort a jurer, que avant que souffrir cela, j'l le mangeroit tout vif; j'entens que pour remedier à ce jaconvenient, j'l ayt esté ordonné qu'il n'approcheroit la Court de cinq ou sept mille de ce pays. Sire, ung Cousin du medecin du dit Cardinal, m'a dit, que la Dame l'avoit envoyer visiter durant sa maladie, et se presenter de luy estre favorable vers le Roy, qu'est Chose dure a Croyre, attendu ce que dessus et l'jnnimitie qu'elle luy a tojours porté; et n'estoit ou qu'elle pensast qu'il d'heust mourir, ou qu'elle heust montré sa dissimulation et affayterie, de quoy au dit commung elle est bonne ouvriere; ou que Johan Jocquin heu desja commencé afere quelque miracle.

“Sire, j'ay éntendu què l'allemand, qu'arrivat icy le second jour de

here the second day in Christmas week, and whom I mentioned to your Majesty, comes from Duke Frederic Elector of Saxony. I have set all the spies I could to discover what he can be about, and have got a merchant to feast him splendidly several times in banquets where the rich wines were not spared; but he has been unsuccessful in drawing anything from him except that he belongs to Duke Frederic, that he had commanded a company of Germans in Your Majesty's service both in Spain and Italy, and that he was present at the capture of the King of France. The said merchant, according to a plan which we had agreed on together, pretended one evening, after having entertained the said German at supper, that on account of his ill-fortune in trade, he should be glad to follow some other line of life, and that if he thought anything could be gained by it, he would willingly accompany him to Germany. The said German replied, that if he liked to come, he would be sure

noel, dont ay adverty Votre Majesté, est du Duc Frederique l'Electeur de Saxe; j'ay mis toutes les Espies qu'ay peu, pour entendre qu'il tramoyt, et l'ay fayt banquetter par un marchant plusieurs foys et richement abbrever pour tirer quelque Chose, mays ils n'a peu entendre sauf qu'il estoit au dit Duc, et qu'il avoit esté Cap^{me} d'allemands aux armées de Votre Majesté, tant en hyspaigne que en Italye, et se trouvat à la prince du Roy;—le dit marchant ainsy qu'avons advisé ensemble faignist ung soir apres avoer donné a souper au dit allemand que pour l'infortune qu'il avoit en marchandises, il voudroit bien suivre autre train, et que s'il luy sembloit qu'il y peust faire quelque profit, qu'il s'eniroit volentiers avec luy en allemagne; le dit allemand luy dit, que s'il vouloit venir que bon party ne luy faudroit, et affin qu'il ne pensat, le voyant icy sans grand fauste que fust pour

to receive ample encouragement ; and in order that he might not suppose his present apparently small circumstances to argue a want of money, he emptied before him a little bag containing about fifteen hundred angels, saying at the same time, that it was nothing to what he should have before he left England, and that he wished the merchant to assist him in getting bills for the amount in some part of Germany, I believe at Frankfort.

The said merchant went on to enquire what service he was likely to be employed in, and where he should have to go, but the other declined telling him anything further, stating that any discovery might cost him his life. Up to the present time, therefore, I have found out nothing else, but hope to do so ere long, by means of some of those whom I have on the watch. I do not know anything more about the person who is said to have been sent by the Bishop of Mayence, save that he came to speak to the King in favour of the Cardinal.

faute d'argent, jl luy vuydat devant ung petit sac plain d'Angelotz, ou jl y en pouvoit avoir 15 Cens, et luy dis, que ce n'estois riens, qu'il en auroit bien autre somme avant que deslouer d'icy, et qu'il luy voulust ayder pour le luy fere tenir en Allemagne, je Cuyde à Francfort par letters de change : Le dit marchant a toujours porsuyt d'entendre et le party qu'il luy voudroit trouver, et ou ilz auroint d'aller, l'autre a tojours differé luy en vouloir riens declayerer encoures, car si le cas estoyt descouvert, jl y gissoit sa vie. Jusques à ceste heure, je n'ay peu autre scavoit, si espere je que ne Tarderay au Moyen de caux qu'ay apres, que n'entende une bonnie partie de ce qu'il est icy venu fere : Je n'ay aussy riens peu scavoit de celuy que l'on dit estre icy de la part de Mons'. de Mayence. Sinon, qu'il

He is to leave this next week, and is to take with him several horses which he has bought, besides two which are a gift from the King.

“The said two servants of the Duke of Saxony and Monseign^r. of Mayence have not had much communication, at least not in public, whether they have in private or not I am ignorant. The one belonging to the Duke appears well dressed at Court, but on leaving it, changes his habiliments immediately. The agent of Nuremberg, named Laurence Scavre, who is a pensioner of the King's, was sent, as I am told, to return with the said people. Whilst conversing yesterday with Brian Tursk, we entered into conversation respecting these said Germans, and he told me that some of them were sent by one who had always written against Luther, and that he could show me the letters which the King had received, accompanied by a geographical chart. I told him I

estoit venu pour requerer le Roy d'avoer regard au Cardinal, jl doit party la semaine que vient et ammene plusieurs Chevaux qu'il a achatté, hors deux que le Roy a donné ;—les dit deux hommes des d' Seig^r. de Saxe et Mayence, n'ont point en grand communication ensemble, au moins en public, en particulier je ne scay, celui du Duc en la Court se trouve honnetement accoustré, mais sortant de là, jucontinent jl changeat d'habillemens ; Celuy de Norembert nommé Laurent Scavre pensionnaire du Roy et despeché a ce que l'on m'a dit, pour s'en aller avec les dits gens. Parlant hier avec Brianturx, nous entrasmes en propos des d' Allemans, jl me dit, une Fays qu'ilz estoit venus quelcungs d'eux, de la part d'ung qu'avoit toujours escrit contre Luther, et qu'il me monstreroit les lettres que le Roy en avoit recen avec une Carte de Cosmographie ; je luy dis que ne parles de Cestuy qu'estoit seulement arrivé puy huyt jours.

was only speaking of the one who arrived about eight days ago. With regard to the others, he said that they were here on their own private affairs, and were not meddling with anything else, which he knew for certain. Afterwards he said, that it was true he had not always been present in the Council, and that some things might have taken place there, with which he was not acquainted. Finally, he left me in greater perplexity than before. The said Brian Turzk, speaking of what had been going on in Paris in the affair of the King and Queen, told me quite openly, that it was perfectly true, that the French desired nothing less than an increase of friendship and confidence between Your Majesty and the King, and on this subject he said no more. He also told me of the King's determination to manage his own affairs, for which purpose he has nominated several councillors, in order that when the Duke of Norfolk, the Chancellor, and others are detained

Touchant les autres, j'l me dit, qu'ils estoit icy pour leurs affaires particulieres, et que autres Choses ne traytoient, et qu'il leust bien sceut, puy me dit, qu'il estoit bien vray qu'il ne s'estoit trouvé toujours en Conseil, et qu'il y porroit avoir autres Choses qu'il ne scait point; enfin j'l me laissat en plus grand suspicion que pardevant: le dit Brian Turz devisant de ce qu'avoit esté demené a paris en l'affere du Roy et de la Royne me dit tout ouvertement qu'il n'estoit rien si vray que les Francois desireroient bien, qu'il ny heust nulle affinité entre votre Majesté et le Roy, il ne passat plus outre; j'l me dit aussy de la deliberation que le Roy avoit d'Entendre luy mesme en ses affaires, et que a Ceste occasion j'l avoit esleu plusieurs Conseillers, affin que quant Mons^r. de Nolphoc, le Chancellier et autres qui sont icy empeschés aux affaires de la

here by their duties, and cannot be in attendance on the King, he may not be without a council. He has therefore caused the Parliament to pass an act to the effect, that in the absence of the others, the President of the Council attending on his person, should possess the same power and authority as the Chancellor, the Grand Treasurer of England, and the other officers of justice. To this office the Duke of Suffolk has been appointed.

“Sire, a lapidary arrived here yesterday, sent by *Madame* to investigate the pieces of the Fleur de lys; he will do so as soon as he is permitted to see it without hindrance; but if the King continues in the same mind as when I last wrote to your Majesty, namely, to send it by a confidential agent, well sealed up, it will not be necessary to have it particularly examined here. For it must then be done by the persons whom Your Majesty will appoint to receive it.

justice, et ne pourront estre aux Champs avec le Roy qu'il ne soyt desprouveu de Conseil; Et pour ce jl fist passer par l'ordonnance des Estatz generaux, que en l'absence des autres, le President de son Conseil Resident avec sa personne, heust telle auctorité en toutes Choses, comme si le Chancellier et le Grand Tresourier d'Angleterre, et autres officiers de la justice, ilz fuissent entrevenus; en quel office a esté deputé le Duc de Suffocq.

Sire, hier arriva icy, ung lapidayre serviteur de Madame, qu'elle a icy envoyé pour recognoystre les pieces de la fleur de Lys, il assisterat quant l'on la lui monstreat, et la pourrat visiter sans autre semblant, Car si le Roy continue au propos qu'ay dernièrement escrits à Votre Majesté de l'envoyer par son homme et bien Cachetté, jl n'est besoign d'icy fere scrupuleuse visitation; cela appertiendrat a ceux qui seront commis de la part de Votre Majesté pour la recovyre.

"Sire, one of those whom I commissioned to watch the agent of the Duke of Saxony, has just come to assure me of a fact which he could positively authenticate, namely, that this man, accompanied by Laurence Scavre of Nuremberg, has spent the greatest part of this morning with the Chancellor, and that after they had been there some time, the said Chancellor sent for some German merchants, to treat with them of the interest they would demand for transmitting to Frankfort some money which the King intended to give the said agent. The sum was not named, but they were only asked their rate of interest. They did not come to any arrangement about it, both because of a difference as to the interest, and also because the King was not to give them the money immediately, though it was promised them in the course of two or three days. The said agent has all along pretended that he was to remain

Sire, l'ung de ceux qu'avés chargé d'espier l'homme du Duc de Saxe, m'est venu tout à ceste heure rapporter pour vraye verité et comme celuy que pouvoit certainement depouser, que le dit homme accompaignié de Laurens Scavre de Neurember, avoit été la plus part de ceste matiner avec le Chancellier, et que ayant demouré ung bon espace leans le dit Chancellier envoyat querre quelques marchans austrellens pour traytter avec eux de l'jnterest qu'ilz voudroint avoer pour rendre quelque argent à Frankfort, que le Roy y vouloit fere tenir au dit homme. Jl ne declayrat point la somme, mais seullement leur propousat combien d'jnterest ilz voudroint prendre pour livrer; ilz ne peurent pour lors riens conclure, tant pour la difference qu'ilz avoient sur le dit jnterest, que aussy à Cause que le Roy ne presentoit de bayllier icy l'argent tout à l'heure. Bien qu'il se disse que dans deux ou troys jours, jl se delivreroit: le dit homme a toujours fainct de sejourner icy plus

here some time, but it is certain that unless the difficulty concerning bills of exchange should detain him, he will go away this evening. He said once before, that he should return through Antwerp, but on being asked where he was accustomed to lodge at Antwerp, and what road he meant to take this time, nothing would induce him to mention either. Neither will he tell his name, nor allow positively that he is in the Duke of Saxony's service, and when he was asked privately, why he did not do so, as the agent of the Bishop of Mayence had done, he neither avowed the fact, nor did he deny it. He said to some one, that the time was come, when people of talent and courage would find plenty of employment in Germany; for that Your Majesty shortly intended bringing over a powerful army to chastise and oppress the country, which the Princes of Germany and the Imperial cities would never submit to;

longuement, mays resoluement si la difficulté du change qu'il veult avoer ne le detient, jl partirat ce soer; jl y a autre-fois dit, qu'il repasseroit par anvers, et combien qu'il aye este jnterrogué du lougis qu'il a accoustumé d'avoir au dit Envers, et du Chemin qu'il desliberoit de tenir maintenant, jl n'en a voulu oncques rien declayrer, ne aussy son nom; pareillement à ce qu'entens, jl ne se avoyé expressement estre du dit Duc, mays quant lon luy a dit à part pourquoy il ne se avoyoit aussy bien au dit Duc, comme faysoit celuy de mons^r. de Mayence d'estre à son Maystre, à l'heure, s'il ne l'a avoé, jl ne l'a point aussy desavoé: jl a dit à quelcung que le temps estoit venu, que les gens de ceur et d'Esprit feroient grandement leur besongnies en Allemaigne, Car Votre Majesté, faysoit son Compte de venir en Allemaigne avec puissante armée pour Chastier et opprimer jcelle, ce que ne voudront souffrir les princes ne villes jmperiales, et que luy trouveroit de telles gens

and that if he could find people of the description referred to, he would answer for their being well treated and provided for.

I caused the person who told me the above to ask him whether, in case Your Majesty after Your Coronation should wish to nominate a King of the Romans of your own choice, there would be any opposition? He only grumbled a little at this, but made no remark, except that that business was not yet over.

“Sire, I heard all this from one of my German merchants. He was one of those that appeared before the chamberlain about the exchange business, and is dying with fear of being discovered.

“Sire, considering all these circumstances, if the said agent had not been about to depart so suddenly I should have advertised *Madame*, in order that she might have him stopped and searched at Gravelines; and if your Majesty wishes to penetrate further into these mysteries, it may be done by means of Laurence Scavre of Nuremberg who is going with him.

d'esprit, qu'il les feroit bien pourveor et traytter: je luy ay fait demandé par l'homme que m'a cecy rapporté, a scavoir, si Votre Majesté apres sa couronation desliberoit fere eslire à son appetit ung Roy des Romains, s'il y auroit Contreditte? j'l en grondist ung peu, puy ne dit autre sinon que ce n'estoit Chose faytte.

Sire, j'ay entendu le tout par ung de meemes Austrelins qu'a esté demande devant le Chambellan pour faire la Charge que m'eust de paueur d'etre descouvert.

Sire, voyant toutes ces choses, si le dit homme ne fust partit si soudain, j'eusse advertis Madame pour le faire visiter à Grasvelinghes, et si Votre Majesté desire scavoir entierement les misteres, cela se pourroit faire par le moyen de Laurens scavre de Neremberg qui s'en va avec luy.

" Sire, Your Majesty was pleased at my departure to direct me to remind you of my trifling personal affairs through M. de Granvelle ; I have written to him on the subject in order not to trouble your Majesty with a longer letter, and I humbly pray that you will be graciously pleased to attend to what he will tell you.

Your very humble and obedient subject and servant,
EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

SR. CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London, Nov. 27, 1530.

A part of this letter is in cypher.

" Sire,

The prevalence of a rumour, now current, that in the ensuing Parliament, to commence at the feast of the purification of our lady, the King intends attempting

Sire, il pleust à Votre Majesté me commander à mon parlement le fere remantouer de mes pouvres affaires par Mons^r. de Granvelles ; je luy en escriis quelque chose ; pour non ennuyer de plus longue lettre Votre Majesté, laquelle supplie très humblement vouloir quelque esgard à jceux de Londres le 6^e. Fevrier 1530.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant
subjetz et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Conforme à l'original.

1530, 27, Novembre.

Une partie de la lettre est écrite en Chiffre.

" Sire,

La Continuation dé bruyt qu'a pieca couru, que en ce Parlemant, recommencant à la purification nostre Dame, le Roy deslibere attendre quelque chause au fait de ce divorce, aussy l'ennuy du delay de

something concerning this divorce, and the tediousness with which her cause has been delayed, have induced the Queen to write to your Majesty. She prays that you will be pleased to intercede in her favour with the Pope, and incline His Holiness to take measures for the furtherance of what he agreed to on the reception of the memorial presented by M. May (my confidential agent being present).

She further prays, that her suit may be hastened without longer delay, from which no good can result, but rather much harm, as your Majesty will perceive by the duplicate of the Queen's letter to the Pope, and by my former letters in which the subject has been dwelt upon more fully, as well as by those of M. May, and the Nuncio, the latter of whom again confirms the same in the letter which accompanies this present one.

It is said that every possible exertion is making, to prepare this subject for the said parliament, and that a book in favour of the King is to be printed, in order to gain the common people.

son procès ont esmeu la Royne escrire presentement à Votre Majesté affin qu'il luy pleust jnterceder vers le Pape pourveoer en son affaire; suyvant ce sa S^{te} l'avoit accordé sur le memorial que Mess^{rs} May presenta à sa d^e S^{te}, estant là mon homme, et neantmoins fere tirer avant le procès sans plus dilacions, desquelles ne peust sortir nul bon fruyt sinon tout prejudice ainsi que Votre Majesté pourra veoir par le double des lettres que la d^e Royne escrit au Pape, de quoy plus amplement ay cy-devant adverty Votre Majesté at aussy Mess^{rs} May et pareillement le nonce qu'en a desja escrit et parles presentes que vont avec cestes le Confirme, l'ondit qu'il font icy les preparations possibles pour disposer le matiere pour le temps du d^e Parlement et

“Eight days ago, the Dean of the Chapel, as King’s attorney in this cause, appeared officially before the Archbishop of Canterbury’s chancellor, and presented him with eight documents, which he required should be put into an authentic, juridical and probative form. These were the decisions of the Universities respecting this matter of the divorce; whereof two were from Paris, one from the theological faculty, and one from the Canonists; the others from the Universities of Toulouse, Orleans, Burgos, Bologna, Padua and Pavia. I think it more likely that they will publish these documents rather than any book, since they cannot be so easily answered, and the people will rely on their authority with more confidence.

“In case they do so, the best remedy would be, to get the attestation of those votes which were in favour of the Queen in Paris, and to publish the opinions of such

se parloit de fere jmprimer quelque livre en faveur du Roy affin que le peuple en fust abbeurre. Il y a huit jours que le Doyen de la Chapelle comme procureur du Roy en ceste cause se appareust en jugement devant le Chancelier de l’Archevesque de Canterbury luy requerant fere transumpter en forme authentique, juridique et probatoyre huit instrumens qu’il luy presentoit qu’estoient les determinations des Universités sur ceste matiere de divorce, dont yly en avoit deux de paris, l’ung de la faculté de Theologie, l’autre, des Canonistes; la reste estoit des Universités de Tholouze, Orleans, Burges, Bolongne, Padua, et Pavie, et ce croyres-je plustost, qu’il feroit imprimer que nul livre, car à ce ne leur pourroit l’on si souffizamment respondre que à ung livre, et ausi le peuple y adjoustrera plus de foy et auctorité à quoy ny a plus propice remède que d’obtenir l’attestation des voix qu’ont esté a paris en faveur de la Royne, fere aussi imprimer les

Universities as decided against the King. Also, to circulate any of the best books which can be found, as was done in Spain with the Bishop of Rochester's. Some people thought, that the good Bishop would be annoyed about it, for fear of the King's displeasure, but, seeing that it had been done without his own knowledge, he has proved perfectly indifferent. I therefore conclude, that he will not be displeased if the two books which he has written since, are printed also, and I have commissioned M. May to get them done. It would be well to have several copies of them here, to be distributed as the case may require, at the opening of the said Parliament.

"Sire, within the last few days a present of poultry has been sent to the Queen by the Duchess of Norfolk, and with it an orange, in which was enclosed a letter from Gregory Cassal* which I deem proper to send to

determinations des Universités que tiennent contre le Roy et autres des meillieurs livres comme jl ont fait en hypspagne de celluy de l'Evesque de Rochestre de quoy plusieurs pensoint, que le dit bon Evesque pour craincte du Roy en seroit desplaisant, mais jl ne luy en chault, puisque cela a esté fait sans son sceu, et si ne luy desplaira que les autres deux qu'il a dempuys faitz soyent imprimés de compagnie. et à ceste cause en ay escrits à Mess^{rs} May qu'a bon moyen de ce feroit. Et du tout seroit requis on avoir plusieurs Copies pour les semer par icy et les publier solempnement si le Cas le requeroit comme peussé sera necessaire au tems du d^e parlement.

"Sire, ces jours la Duchesse de Nolphoc envoya à la Royne un present de volaille, et avec jcelluy une pomme d'orange dans laquelle estoit enclose une lettre de Gregoire Cassal, laquelle me

* One of King Henry VIII.'s Ministers at the Court of Rome.

your Majesty. The Queen thinks, that the Duchess sent her this present of her own accord, and out of the love she bears her, but I fear it was done with the knowledge of her husband; at all events this seems to open a way for the Queen to communicate secretly with her more easily.

“ Eight days ago the King ordered the Cardinal to be brought here; on hearing which, the said Cardinal abstained from food for several days. It is said that he hoped rather to end his life in this manner than in a more ignominious and dishonourable one, of which he had some fears; and in consequence of this abstinence he has been taken ill on the road, and is not yet arrived. They say also, that a lodging is prepared for him in the Tower, in the same part that the Duke of Buckingham occupied; many reasons are assigned for his arrest, but they are all mere conjectures.

semble bon envoyer à Votre Majesté. La Royne croit que la Duchesse luy ait fait ce present d'elle mesme pour amour qu'elle luy porte; mais je craindrais plustost que ce fut du secu de son mary, en quelque sorte que ce soit si esse moyen à la Royne d'entrer en quelque pratique dissimulant avec elle mieulx que par le passé.

“ Le Roy a, passé huit jours, ordonné que icy fut ammené le Cardinal, quoy entendant le dit Cardinal, jl a demouré quelques jours sans vouloir manger, veulliant plustost comme l'on dit ainsi finer que plus ignomineusement et hontusement dont yl a quelque doute; pour ainsi yl a esté surprins sur le chemin de maladie, de sorte qu'il n'est encoures arrivé—l'on dit que son lousis luy est appresté à la tour en la Chambre mesmes ou fust detenu le Duc de Boquignan; de la Cause de sa prinse l'on en parle en plusieurs sortes,

“ A gentleman told me, that a short time ago, the King was complaining to his Council of something that had not been done according to his wish, and exclaimed in great wrath, that the Cardinal was a very different man from any of *them*, for conducting all things properly; and having repeated the same twice over, he left them in displeasure. Since this time the Duke, *the Lady*,* and the Father have never ceased plotting against the said Cardinal, and the lady especially, who has wept and lamented over her lost time and honour, and threatened the King that she would go away. They say the King has had enough to do to quiet her, and even though he entreated her most affectionately, and with tears in his eyes, not to leave him, nothing would satisfy her but the arrest of the Cardinal. The pretext given out, was, that he had

que sont toutes divinations. ung gentilhomme m'a dit que peu de temps avant qu'il fust prins, le Roy soy Complainant à ceulx de son Conseil de quelque chose que n'avoit esté faite à son appetit. leur dit en courroux, que le Cardinal estoit autre homme pour demmener toutes matieres qu'ilz nestoient eux trestous. Et sur ces propos se partist deux fois, lors le Duc, la Dame et le Pere n'ont cessé de machiner contre le dit Cardinal speciallement la ditte Dame que ne cessoit de plorer regrettant son temps perdu, et aussi son honneur menassant aussi le Roy de s'en vouloir aller, de sorte que le Roy a eu assez affere de la rappaiser, et bien que le Roy la priast tres affectueusement voyre jusques avoer les larmes aux yeux qu'elle ne voulust parler de s'en aller, toutesfois yl n'y avoit rémede sans qu'il feit prendre le dit Cardinal:—yl luy mettoint dessus, pour lors

* Anna Boleyn.

written to Rome to be reinstated in his possessions, and to France for support and credit, that he was beginning to resume his former splendid habits of living and that he was trying to corrupt the people. Now, however, they have got the physician of the said Cardinal into their hands, and have discovered what they looked for.

"The said physician, ever since the second day of his coming here, has been, and still is, treated as a prince in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, which clearly shews that he has been singing to the right tune.

"Johan Jocquin would not say a word about it to the Pope's Nuncio who interrogated him very closely, but he told the Venetian Ambassador, that by the Doctor's own confession the Cardinal had solicited the Pope to excommunicate the King, and to lay an interdict on the Kingdom if the King did not dismiss the lady from court, and treat the Queen with proper respect. By

qu'il avoit deu escrire à Rome pour estre reintegré en ses Biens, en France pour estre en ce favourisé, et pour retourner en credit, qu'il commençoit à retourner en ses anciennes pompes, qu'il vouloit suborner le peuple, mais depuys qu'ilz ont eu le Medecin du dit Cardinal entre mains, ilz ont trouvé ce qu'ilz cherchaient; le dit medecin puis le second jour qu'il fut icy, a esté et est traité en la mayson de Mons'. de Nolphoc, comme ung prince, qui donne assez à entendre qu'il a Chanté comme ilz demandoient. Johan Jocquin n'en a voulu riens dire au Nonce du Pape que l'en jnterroga fort expressement, mais jl a dit à l'Ambassadeur de Venise qu'il se trouvoit par confession du medecin que le Cardinal avoit fait solliciter que le Pape feit excommunier le Roy et jaterdire le Royaulme, si le dit Roy ne chassoit la Dame de Court, et aussi pour ce qu'il ne traictoit la Royne deurement; pensant par ce moyen que tout le

this means he hoped, it is said, to cause a rising throughout the country against the Government, and in the confusion to seize upon the management of affairs again himself.

“The said Jocquin, in his conversation with the said Ambassador, found much fault with the malignity of the Cardinal, but I cannot tell whether this was done in order to dissemble his annoyance at the arrest, or out of real spite against the said Cardinal for his opposition to this second marriage, on which alone depend the favour and credit which the French enjoy here.

“Sire, it appears to me, that the said physician must have denied having any understanding or acquaintance with me, for if otherwise, the Duke who is but a bad dissembler, would have said something to me about it. They might also have summoned him who was the means of communication, to whom the physician wrote, and who returned the answers; but up to this time he has not heard a word of it. Even should the

Royalme se mutinerait contre les Gouvernemens, et que en tel trouble jl rempoigneroit le maneyment :—le dit Jocquin detestoit fort au dit Ambassadeur la malignité du dit Cardinal, ne scay s'il le faisoit pour dissimuler le anuyt de la prise d'jcelluy, qu'il le dit de pure marisson de ce que le dit Cardinal vouloit obvier à ce second mariage qu'est la chose dont deppend tout la faveur et Credit que les Français ont icy.

“Sire, jl me semble que le dit medecin a déclaré qu'il ne eust aucune jntelligence ne Cognoissance avec moy, car s'il eust fait, le Duc que dissimule mal volentiers, m'en eust touché quelque chose, aussi l'on eust appelé celuy questoit le mediateur à qui rescrivoit le dit medecin et que luy faisoit les responce, mais jusques à ceste heure

physician repeat every word that has passed between him and me, he could say nothing for which I should be liable to be impugned or calumniated.

“Ample information has been received from France touching what passed about the convocation of the Council, and I am told that Johan Jocquin said to one of his intimates who repeated it to the Nuncio, that the King of France would raise some difficulties on this subject, especially with regard to the places that have been named; but I did not make any further enquiries on this head, knowing that your Majesty would receive more certain information from France.

“While passing through Milan, on his return from Bologna, the *Count de Vulcher* (Earl of Wiltshire*) gave the Duke of Milan some hope that he would be able to raise a loan of 50,000 crowns here; but it appears that eight days ago he was obliged to inform

lon ne luy a sonné mot. Et quant bien le dit medecin diroit tout ce quest passé entre luy et moy, ne scaurois toutesfois dire Chose pour laquelle l'on ne peust riens impugner ne Calumpnier.

“De France ilz ont icy adverty amplement de tout ce quest passé touchant la Convocation du Concille, et a deu dire Johan Jocquin a ung sien familier, qu'il a rapporté au Nonce, que le Roy de France ne se consentiroit volentiers au dit Concile, specialement quant aux lieux nommez; je ne m'en suis voulu enquerre autrement, sachant Votre Majesté en sera plus seurement advertie du Costé de France.

“Le Conte de Vulcher passant par Millan, à son retour de Bolongne deust donner quelque esperance au Duc de Millan, de luy fere icy preter cinquante mille Escuz, mais yl y a environ huit jours

* Sir Thomas Boleyn, Father of Anne Boleyn, created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire.

the Ambassador, that he must give it up, since the King himself is in want of money, owing to the people he employs in Ireland, of whom I have already informed Your Majesty, there are, at most, five hundred in number.

" Within the last few days, the King has received some deputies from Scotland, but I have not yet been able to ascertain their object in coming. Some people suspect, that a promise has been made, or a hope held out as to a marriage for the Princess, which will divert the King of Scotland from any project of a nearer alliance with your Majesty or with any other power.

" I hope to give your Majesty more certain intelligence of this, next time.

" The Lutheran merchants that were detained here, as I mentioned to your Majesty in my last dispatch, have undergone no further punishment than to be paraded through some streets of the city in their caps

qu'il fit responce à l'Ambassadeur qu'il n'y avoit nul espoir, car le Roy se trouvoit en necessité d'argent à cause de gens qu'il tient en Irlande, desquelx j'ai cy-devant escript à Votre Majesté, que ne peuvent estre au plus cinq Cens. Il y a eu ces jours Ambassadeur d'escosse devers le Roy, et n'ay encoires peu entendre pour certain à quoy ilz sont venuz, il y a qui soupeonnent que l'on leur donne quelque parolle et espoir sur le mariage de la princesse. pour divertir le Roy d'Ecosse, de non traicter presentement d'aliance avec Votre Majesté ne allicurs, j'espere par le premier en escrire à Votre Majesté plus au vray.

" Les marchands lutheriens icy detenez dont par mes dernières ay fait mention à Votre Majesté n'ont heu autre punition que destremenez par certaines ruez de la cité, avec leurs mitres et escripteaux.

and placards, carrying certain books which they were obliged to burn publicly. I do not see what good has resulted from it, since it now appears, that where one spoke of such matters before, there are now a hundred who discourse of them freely and without fear.

"Sire, a Spaniard has been here lately, sent, as he told me, by the Council of Castille, and that the people may not suppose your Majesty to have it all under your power, he gives out, that he was sent only by the 'Order of Mercy,' which has craved the licence to preach in this Country the bulls of the said order 'for the redemption of Captives,' and to name the King Commissioner at his pleasure, with the third part of the profit.

"Whilst I was writing this, a good and trusty man came to tell me, that he had been informed by the protonotary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the King not only wished for an authentic copy of the documents

portant ausy aucuns livres qu'ils furent contrainctz brusler publicquement; je ne scay quel fruyt a produit la d' punition, car a ce que se voit dempays jcelle, pour ung que parloit de telles matieres auparavant, yl seu treuvent cent qu'en parlent plus liberallement et sans craincte.

"Sire, yl est nagueres, icy venu, ung hyspagnoil, envoyé comme jl m'a dit par le Conseil de Castille, combien que affin que ces gens ne present que le tout appartencit à Votre Majesté, jl donne le bruyt d'estre tant seulement envoyé de l'ordre de la merced lequel a jmpetré license de pouveor icy fere prescher les Bulles du d' ordre pour la redemption des captives, et nommera le Roy Commissaire à son appetit, et aura la tierce partie du profit. Escrivant Cestes, une bonne de Bien et de foy, m'est venu advertier comme le prothonotaire de l'archevesque de Canturbery luy avoit dit que non seulement, le Roy vouloit avoir Copie autentique des instrumens dont ay

I have already referred to, but also to have them translated and verified in the English language.

“It says that the Count de Vulcheir (Earl of Wiltshire) requested him from the King, to make the said translation and to turn it to the King’s advantage, by enlarging upon it wherever it might seem desirable. This and many other circumstances may enable Your Majesty to judge of their proceedings.

“I pray the Creator to prosper and preserve the sacred estate of Your Imperial Majesty. London 27th November, 1530.

From Your Majesty’s very humble and
obedient servant,

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.”

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

fait mention cy dessus, mais aussy qu’il desiroit qu’ilz fussent translatez et auctentiquez en langaige anglois, et que le Conte de Vulchier l’avoit prié de la part du Roy vouloir fere la dite translation à l’avantaige et favorable pour le Roy, l’ampliant ou bon luy sembleroit, et par ce, avec plusieurs autres Cas, peust assez jugez Votre Majesté comme yl vont en besongnie.

“Je prie le Createur prosperer et conserver le très sacré Estaz de vostre jmeriale Majesté. De Londres le 27^e de Novembre 1530.

De votre Majesté tres humble et tres obeissant
subjetz et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.”

CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London 4th December, 1530.

A part of the letter is in cypher.

" Sire,

The Bishop of Rochester has lately finished a book in favour of the Queen, which accompanies this letter, and which the Queen intreats Your Majesty to forward immediately to the Pope, and at the same time to refresh the memory of His Holiness on those points which I mentioned in my last letter to your Majesty.

" Sire, on Tuesday the eve of St. Andrew, the Duke of Norfolk sent for the Pope's Nuncio to his house, and told him that the King had desired him to request, that he would write to the Pope on the subject of obtaining a Cardinal's hat for the *Auditor of the Chamber*. After having said this, the Duke took him apart, and gave him to understand that the King felt much sur-

CHAPUYS A L'EMPEREUR.

4th Xbre, 1530.

" Sire, l'Evesque de Rochestre a dernièrement achevé un livre en faveur de la Royne le quel va avec la presente, et voudrois bien la dite Royne supplier Votre Majesté le vouloer fere incontinent envoyer au Pape, raffrechissant à sa S^{te} la Requeste des pointz dont par mes dernieres ay fait mention à Votré Majesté.

" Sire, Mardy veyllie de S' André, le Duc de Nolpholq appella le Nonce du Pape en son logis, et estant là arrivé jl luy dit, l'avoir fait appeller pour le prier de la part du Roy d'escrire au pape pour le Chappeaul de l'auditeur de la Chambre ; apres qu'il luy eust dit cela, jl le retira à part en sa chambre ou jl luy fait entendre comme le Roy

prise at his having received letters from the Pope, without giving him any intelligence of them, and was still more displeas'd at what His Holiness had said to his Ambassadors on the subject of a last monition of ex-communication* and expulsion of the lady from Court. He said that all this was going too far, and that on many accounts the King did not deserve to be so treated, having proved himself under all circumstances a good and obedient son of the Church, and never having done any thing with the slightest intention of displeasing his Holiness; on which subject the Duke added other laudatory expressions.

“The Nuncio made many apologies to the Duke, informing him that the reason he had not been to communicate his news to the King was, that he did not wish to hear any more of the abuse and threats which the King was in the habit of using towards him.

s'esbéissoit que aiant eu lettres du Pape, qu'il ne luy en eust riens en- voyé dire; mais que encoires estoit jl plus desplesant des propos que sa S^{té} avoit tenu à ses Ambassadeurs sur la matiere du *reagravoire*, et de faire vuidier la Dame de Court, et que cela estoient Choses par trop estranges et que par beaucoup respectz le dit Roy ne meritoit ainsy estre traicté, car quelque chose qu'il y ait eu, jl s'estoit toujours démontré très bon et très obeissant filz de l'Esglize et que riens qu'il eust fait par cy-devant, n'avoit esté en jntencion de desplaire à sa S^{té}; en oultre ce, luy dit plusieurs aultres gracieux propos sur jcelle substance:—le dit Nonce, entres autres excuses qu'il feit au premier; luy dit qu'il n'estoit allé cõmmuniquer ces nouvelles au Roy pour ce qu'il ne vouloit plus ouyr les querelles et menasses que luy

* *Regrave*, here written *reagravoire* is a term in Canon law signifying as above.

He said, that the Pope having heard of the King's conduct in this respect, had expressly written to instruct him (the Nuncio) that he need no longer seek to excuse or justify him to the said King, for that he (the Pope) was of opinion, that he had already favoured the King more than enough, and that it now remained for him to perform his duty to God, to his own conscience, and to his sense of justice towards the other party. With regard to the second point, the Nuncio told the Duke, that his master (the Pope) had lately written him word, that it was impossible in the face of the world to delay these matters any longer, and had said it was so essential to see justice done, that he felt himself obliged not only to attend to both the points above mentioned, but also to come to a definitive conclusion in the Queen's case.

"The Duke then thanked him very much for having disclosed the Pope's views and intentions, which had been conveyed to him in cypher; and after a repeti-

avoit accoustumé fere le Roy; et d'aillieurs que le pape entendant la dite façon de fere, luy avoit escript expressement que ne se sociat desormais de fere plus d'excuses ne justificacion vers le dit Roy, Car jl pensoit s'estre en ce affere plus que souffizamment acquitté envers jcelluy Seig^r Roy, et que maintenant restoit de satisfaire à Dieu, à sa Conscience, à la justice, et à l'autre partie. Touchant le second point, jl luy respondit que son maistre luy avoit dernièrement escript qu'il ne pouvait en façon du monde plus delayer les afferes et qu'il estoit tant importune de faire justice, que non seulement seroit contraint de pourveoer aux deux points susmentionnés, mais aussi de fere proceder à la diffinitive le dit; le mercia bien fort de ce qu'il avoit ainsy decouvert l'intention et deliberation du Pape, laquelle luy avoit esté escripte en ziffre, et apres, luy avoir replicqués plusieurs gracieux pro-

tion of many courteous assurances, he begged that he would on this occasion, act the part of a good Ambassador, and not make any unpleasant report; also that he would write that very same day by a courier whom the King was sending to the Court of France and from thence to Rome.

"The said Duke was ready to affirm on oath, that the King was not aware either that Cardinal Scherbes had been prosecuting his affair at Rome, or that sentence had been pronounced against him at Bologna, till within the last four days. Nevertheless it is more than six weeks ago, that the King complained to the Nuncio of this very same sentence.

"Sire, the said Nuncio is aware from the clearest evidence, that what I lately stated to your Majesty, is the fact; namely, that mild treatment renders these people harsh, and harsh treatment renders them mild. For as long as the Pope acted graciously and mildly towards them, they braved and menaced him in the

poz, jl pria le dit Nonce qu'il voulust en ce endroit fere l'office de bon Ambassadeur et ne fere rapport facheux, et qu'il voulait escrire de ce jour mesme par le Courier que le Roy envoyait en Court de France, et dois là à Rome, le dit Duc ousa bien affermer par son serment que le Roy n'avoit jamais sceu que le Cardinal de scherbes eust sollicité son affere en Rome, ne aussi du bref que fut decerné contre luy à Bologne synon d'puis quatre jours en ça; Et toutes-fois yl y a plus de six sepmaines que le Roy se plaignoit au dit Nonce d'jcelluy Bref.

"Sire, le dit Nonce cognoit par clere et manifeste evidence, estre vraye ce qu'ay par cy-devant escript à Votre Majesté que la douceur esgrit ces gens, et l'aigreur les adoucit; car cependant que le Pape a usé de gracieuseté envers eulx, ilz l'ont menassé et bravé le plus fort

most outrageous manner, but now that His Holiness has begun to tighten the reins, they have become as humble and mild as possible. On this account the Nuncio now writes to His Holiness more forcibly than he ever ventured to do before, and tells him that in order to maintain his authority here and for divers other reasons, he should forthwith bring the business of the Queen to a final conclusion.

“ His letters accompany the present one, and I pray your Majesty to forward them with the book already mentioned, and if your Majesty would be pleased to enforce their object by your influence with His Holiness, as I before urged, it would be of greater service and more seasonable now than ever, as the business is in a more forward stage.

“ Sire, the Cardinal of York died on St. Andrew's day, about forty miles from hence, at the place where the last King Richard was defeated and killed; they

du monde, maintenant que sa Sté a commencé leur tenir la bride royde, ilz sont devenuz les plus humbles et simples du monde. A ceste cause jl escrit plus hardiment à sa d^e Sté qu'il n'avoit ousé par cy-devant que, jcelluy doit pour la conservation de son auctorité ycy, et par plusieurs autres respectz, fere incontinent diffinir l'affere de la Roynne :—ses lettres vont avec la presente, jl playra à Votre Majesté commander qu'elles soient envoyées avec le livre mentionné au commencement de Ceste. Et s'il plaisoit à Votre Majesté fayre un rencharge à sa S^{te} comme j'ai dessous touché, elle seroit de plus grande efficace et plus en sayson qu'elle n'eust esté ci devant car la matiere se trouvera mieulx dispousée.

“ Sire, le Cardinal d'Yorc trèspassat le jour S^t. André, à quarante mille d'icy, au lieu ou fust desconfust et occis le dernier Roy

are both buried in the same Church which people already begin to call *the tyrant's sepulchre*.*

“ There are many different reports as to the cause of his death. On his arrest he for several days refused to take any nourishment, and since then, it is said that he either *took*, or *was given* something to hasten his end. On Monday, the Captain of the guard arrived to conduct him hither; and they supped together with apparent relish. Very soon afterwards the Cardinal was taken so ill, that they did not think he could have outlived the night. He lingered however till Wednesday, and prepared for his end like a good Christian. At the time of receiving the holy sacrament he protested that he had never undertaken any thing to his Sovereign's prejudice. Since his death the Court has

Richart, et gissent tous deux en une mesme Eglise laquelle l'on commence desja appeller la sepulture de Tyrans :—de la Cause de sa mort se parle en diverses sortes, au commencement de sa prinse il demoura quelques jours qu'il ne vouloit rien manger, dempuy à ce l'on dit, ou que l'on luy à donne, ou' qu'il aprins quelque chose pour haster ses jours. Le Lundy le Cap^{ne} de la garde arriva devers luy pour l'ammener icy, il souperent ensemble faisans assez bonne Ch^{re},e, bientost après, le dit Cardinal se trouva si travaillie que l'on pensa tout du long de la nuyt qu'il deust expirer, toutesfois il vesquit jusques au mercredy et soy ordonna en bon Chrestien, protestant toujours au temps de la Reception du Sacrement, n'avoir en rien mesprins contre son Prince,—puy son dit trespass la Court a esté tresfort embesogné, si n'a l'on toutes fois

* Cardinal Wolsey was buried in the Gray Friar's Church at Leicester, where Richard III. had been interred after the battle of Bosworth.

been very busy, but his benefices have not yet been disposed of, and it is said that the King will retain them some time longer for his own use.

“Sire, I pray God to grant long life and prosperity to your Imperial Majesty.

From your Majesty's most humble and obedient
Servant and Subject

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.”

encoures pourvehu de ses Benefices, et se croit que le Roy en fera son prouffit par quelque temps.

“Sire, je prie Dieu donner en toute prosperité à Votre Imperiale Majesté très bonne et longue vie. De Londres le 4^e Dècembre 1530.

De Votre Majestè très humble et très obeissant
subietz et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

PART THE THIRD.

Characteristic Notices of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and some of his distinguished Contemporaries; gathered chiefly, from works of Baron Hormayr, written when he was Director of the Imperial Family Archives at Vienna; and from other authentic documents.

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

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHARLES'S boyhood and early youth were passed under the influence and control of William of Croy Lord of Chievres, a man in whom, it was said were united the dark features only, of the two principal nations, which Charles was destined to govern. He had all the repulsiveness of the most haughty Castilian, and the narrow mercantile spirit of the Netherlander. This stern and severe governor, from long habit, well tried faith, and thorough knowledge of the

interests of his own country, had established so powerful a dominion over the mind of the young prince, that he abated little of his surly schoolmaster tone, even when Charles had become King of Spain and Emperor.

Chievres however, when sent officially to Castille, suddenly disappointed the confidence which had been placed in his sagacity. After the fashion of narrow minded politicians he took in no grand and comprehensive views. He had been accustomed to look upon Spain as a province of the Netherlands, and whilst he exhibited in his administration the most intolerable avarice, he contrived to fill the young king, then only seventeen years of age, with a suspicious aversion to this proud nation. The great Zimenes was not even allowed an interview with the youthful sovereign, who had been so much indebted to him for the safety of his kingdom, and sunk under the pain of finding himself misunderstood, and sacrificed. Chievres had indeed carried things so far, as to make Charles generally looked upon as a poor creature, weak and unwarlike. How great then was the surprize, when at the death of this minister, which happened in good time, the Emperor shewed himself to be full of reflexion, resolute and intrepid. The more thoughtful of his subjects had foreseen these qualities, when as a youth of eighteen, in a tournament at Valladolid, he displayed all the dexterity of a warrior, who had grown grey under the helmet. His shield was on this occasion without emblazonment, a smooth-white surface, on

which was seen this remarkable device "*Nondum*"* (not yet). From this time his capacity for government became developed. With his own hand he began to design his most important plans, and to write letters to the Sovereigns of Europe with as much dispatch as thoughtfulness. In these letters may be observed a self-possession and fearlessness, with such decision of language, as prove him either too proud to dissemble, or too confident of success to conceal his intentions. Perhaps the thralldom he had experienced, made him afterwards so watchful of the independence of his power, that he appointed no High Chancellor after Gattinara's death, and held no council of State. He laboured himself in Spanish affairs with Francis de los Covos Grand Commendador of Leon; and in the German, Burgundian, and foreign departments with the two Granvelles successively, father and son.

Charles, though cold and reserved, was accessible. He gave frequent and long audiences; and tried with laudable patience to refuse unworthy claimants, with gentleness rather than authority.

Notwithstanding his gravity, he could assume popular and obliging manners, which gained the favourable impression of those who on these occasions approached him, without in the least detracting from his dignity.

His many encroachments on the constitution of the Netherlands were passed by without opposition, because he knew how to flatter the vanity of the people

* The grand device which marked his pretensions and rising fame "*Plus Ultra*" was afterwards assumed.

by public demonstrations of his favour. He would speak their language, and by visits and civilities to popular leaders, would draw attention to his wishes; filling at the same time Brussels with Spanish soldiers, but avoiding the introduction of Spanish customs and Spanish etiquette. In what a number of his letters, it may be observed, has he admonished his Ministers and Generals rather to choose the middle path, and to employ gentleness as long as possible, in preference to harsh measures!

In person, Charles was neither tall nor otherwise, but of a moderate height, large boned, and rather stout than thin, but of a delicate constitution. His forehead was broad and very high over the temples, his cheek bones prominent, and his nose slightly bent sideways. His clear blue eyes appeared immovable, from an habitually fixed gaze either strait forward, or up in the air, or at those he addressed, or in some other direction, but never changing. He kept his mouth with its prominent under lip* half open. His hair was light,

* The thick nether lip of the Austrian family from the authority of a member of the present reigning family is said to have been derived from a Polish Princess Cymburgis married to Earnest the Iron (Father to Frederic the 4th) and consequently grandmother to Maximilian the 1st. "Notwithstanding her beauty and accomplishments" says archdeacon Coxe, "she was endowed with a masculine strength which rendered her a fit companion for her adamantine husband. She could crack nuts with her fingers, and with her hand drive a nail as far as others with a hammer." Brantôme gives a different version of the origin of the Austrian under lip. Speaking of the Queen of Hungary Charles's sister and governess of the Netherlands after the

his beard short and curly, his movements measured and decided, almost slow, as well as his manner of speaking. There was more in Charles than his appearance promised. No heart spoke from his features. There was nothing of the uneasy activity, and overflowing goodness, and honesty of the old Hapsburgers; but incessant reflection, tendency to depression, Spanish gravity, obstinacy, severity.

In his boyhood, a portrait of him was taken by Lucas Cranach; and as Emperor he sat three times to Titian; but from no one else was he willing that his likeness should be handed down to posterity. The engraving introduced as a frontispiece to this volume is from an accurate copy of a sketch of this great

death of their Aunt Margaret of Savoy, and describing her beauty, he remarks that there was not the smallest drawback to this, unless it were her large and prominent under lip *a la mode d'Autriche*. This he goes on to say, was not derived from the house of Austria, but from that of Burgundy, as he had heard from a lady of the Court that Queen Eleanora when once passing by Dijon, on her way to pay her devotions at the monastery of the Chartreux, there visited the venerable sepulchres of her ancestors, the Dukes of Burgundy, which she had the curiosity to see opened. Several of the bodies appeared so entire and well preserved, that she could recognize the features; and amongst these the advancing form of the underjaw and lip. "Ha," exclaimed the Queen, "I always thought our mouths were derived from those of Austria, but I now perceive them to be inherited from Mary of Burgundy and her progenitors." The Queen it is related, took pleasure in this idea, which Brantôme highly approves, as the House of Burgundy was far superior he observes, to that of Austria, being descended from a son of France, Philip the hardy.

master painted from life at Bologna at the time of the Emperor's coronation as Emperor of the Romans and King of Lombardy, now in the Imperial collection at the Lower Belvidere, Vienna.

Charles's temperament was unquestionably phlegmatic, and melancholy. The self love and power of dissimulation possessed by his maternal Grandfather Ferdinand, the depression amounting to insanity of his mother Johanna, the nobleness of mind of his Grandfather Maximilian and of his Father Philip were the groundworks of his character. In the early part of his life he had had several epileptic fits which afterwards gave place to lengthy and painful attacks of gout, bringing on occasional lamenesses in his hands and neck.

His private life in reference to his unceasing labours was exactly such as to aggravate his naturally not happy temperament, to cherish its imperfections, and to prevent his best qualities from being duly brought forward.

Strong sense was the characteristic property of his mind. He was not quick of apprehension, but he remembered every thing. As soon as he had fairly seized an idea, it became enriched and ennobled by his own conception and handling of it, as a skilful artist may be said to immortalise a block of marble. His habit was to ponder long upon a subject; but when he had once formed his opinion, he would maintain it with a firmness bordering on obstinacy. He was not easily moved; and he examined every thing

with a keen calm look, and close suspicion. Passionate anger was unknown to him; but offences, which could not extract a change of countenance, were treasured up in his bosom, and sometimes after a lapse of years fearfully avenged. He distributed both rewards and punishments carefully and without bias; but often with too much deliberation.

His good and generous deeds were performed with the same unmoved look and manner, which he could preserve, when called upon to sign a death warrant; and this he considered proper to Majesty. He never used force, until patience and subtilty had failed; and in dispensing punishment he was inclined rather to moderate than to extreme measures. It was by an act of clemency after the rebellion in Castille, that scarcely twenty persons suffered the penalty of their crimes. Eighty were excepted in the pardon he published; and these rather with a view to intimidation than from any intention to arrest them. When an officious courtier offered to inform him of the retreat of one of the most considerable; "you had much better," said the Emperor, "let him know that I am here, than tell me where he is."

There was that in Charles which created respect at first sight, and admiration on further acquaintance; but he required to be known intimately, before any one could love him. He was almost inaccessible to the play of fancy. His power of self control was never failing. To win a secret from him was impossible.

Two sure indications of a strong mind were ob-

servable in the Emperor; one indeed not frequently put to the test among princes. He could bear to be spoken to on the subject of his faults with the utmost freedom; and he had no jealousy of the renown acquired by his statesmen and warriors. Beaurain, one of his most devoted ministers, was never backward to avail himself of this permission, in his honest endeavours to set his master right, where he thought him wrong. During the military movements in the spring of 1524, he laid before the Emperor his own views of the Campaign, and pointing out all the faults which had been committed, observed in allusion to a certain slowness which has been noticed, "that many a good thing was lost by pondering upon it too long; but to reflect well on what was past, was the best way to prevent errors in future." When the command in Italy was divided between Bourbon and Pescara, this trusty statesman being asked what he thought of it, shortly replied, "you will never find it good, Sire, to have two leaders in one army."

That Charles not only courted advice from those on whose judgment his own penetration and sagacity taught him to rely, but generally acted upon it, may be inferred from the long rule maintained over his counsels by the two Granvelles, father and son. In spiritual matters, or rather in the adoption and management of all measures in which the interest of the Romish Church was concerned, the Emperor had his advisers among the Clergy in whom he placed great reliance, and whom in most things he is supposed to have implicitly obeyed.

Garcia de Loaysa Cardinal and Bishop of Osma, afterwards of Sigüenza, and eventually Grand Inquisitor, was the Emperor's confessor, and one most high in his confidence. When Charles left Spain to meet Clement the Seventh at Bologna, in 1529, the Bishop of Osma attended him. After the conference with the Pope, the Emperor proceeded into Germany, leaving his Confessor to look after his interests at Rome. Some court intrigue is supposed to have been the cause of this temporary separation; but whatever might have been the occasion of it, we are indebted to this circumstance for a collection of most interesting and spirited letters* addressed to the Emperor by this, his most intimate spiritual adviser, during a period of two years (1530 to 1532) until Charles's return into Italy.

The following was written about the time of the Emperor's arrival to open the Diet at Augsburgh. It manifests throughout a bold and uncompromising spirit of zeal on the part of the Confessor, which claims our respect, leaving at the same time an impression far from unfavourable to the august personage addressed, who could permit in these communications such an unrestrained tone of admonition and reproof. In one particular where the appointment to a Bishopric is recommended, a piece of advice is urged savouring too much of a principle never acknowledged in words, though often and most culpably acted upon in practice, that

* They were found in the Spanish national archives at Simancas, and published in a German version at Berlin in 1848.

“the end justifies the means.” The letter is dated from Rome, Ascension day, 1530.

“Imperial Catholic Majesty,

“It is my ardent desire that Your Majesty should be often sensible of my loss, and should regret my causeless dismissal from your presence. Yet, I pray God, that you may not really have been in want of me, either as regards worldly matters, or for the good of your soul. In this case, I am content to suffer my unjust banishment patiently; and if my absence from Your Majesty should through any means be made up to me by your perseverance in the right way, my punishment will be converted into an occasion of rejoicing.

“Sire! nothing in this life is so important to you at the present juncture, as that Your Majesty should come out triumphantly from this affair in Germany. If God vouchsafe to grant, that you may be the means of rescuing that nation from the heresy which pervades it, Italy will exalt you as the highest and best of earthly Princes. Doubtless Your Majesty would then deserve the name of the most fortunate Emperor ever known in Christendom: and I am persuaded that should this occur, as I trust it will, Your Majesty may be assured that all further attempts in the same right course will be crowned with unprecedented success. To this end I venture to entreat Your Majesty, should this evil not be overcome by force of arms, that you hesitate not to make every pecuniary sacrifice for the faith. Offer up all you have carefully laid in store for public uses, and

such as you would willingly retain in your private coffers. Your merit will thus be the greater; and whatever you expend in this sacred cause, will be repaid with usury not only in the world to come but in this also; where Your Majesty will be held in paramount honour and consideration, and have your stores replenished with showers of golden ducats, and all worldly riches. Had I a thousand lives, Sire, I would venture them on the truth of this assertion.

“Your Majesty once told me, that it was your most earnest wish to devote your life to the defence of the Faith, as your only way of proving your gratitude to God, for the innumerable blessings he has heaped upon you.

“Sire! Now is the time to show whether these words were hypocritical and false, or whether they were spoken from the heart: and the more so, as God does not now require your life as a sacrifice, but zeal, activity and your worldly goods, which latter, in comparison with the advantage to be reaped, ought to be deemed utterly worthless.

“Give not a thought, Sire, to your amusements, and do not lose courage in contemplation of the trouble which may be expected; and which will certainly not be less, than what you have just encountered at Bologna. Consider, Sire, that no crown was ever won, nor any glory ever obtained by sloth, by luxurious living, or by any indulgence in vice or pleasure.

“There are in Your Imperial Majesty two antagonist principles — indolence and ambition, which have always

had a hard fight for supremacy. Hitherto in Italy, the latter has had the ascendant ; and I trust it will be the same in Germany ; and that by the grace of God, your love of honour and renown will triumph over the natural enemy within, which inclines you to feasting, and to wasting the best portion of your life in riot and debauchery.

“ Sire ! It is here reported that the Archbishopric of Taragona is vacant. If so I would advise Your Majesty for the sake of your own conscience to give it to the Bishop of Barcelona. Should it however occur, that any person of consideration in Germany, might by this means be induced to become a convert to the Holy Faith, you must not hesitate in bestowing it upon him, even should he be a stranger and living at a distance.

“ Apart from so important a consideration, I would pray Your Majesty on no account to choose a pastor for the care of souls, who must be absent from his diocese ; for I here warn you that this is a great offence in the sight of God : and since you would avoid eternal condemnation on your own account, it would be little worth while to incur punishment for the faults of others.

“ And further on this subject, I would pray Your Majesty never to entrust an office of this kind to a very young man, however virtuous he may appear : for disappointment often follows, and Your Majesty would find reason to repent, when it was too late to remedy the evil. An Archbishop should be one, who for a long course of years has been accustomed to *dip his beard in*

the chalice, and to set the example of every virtue in his life and conversation.

“Should Your Majesty follow these rules, you will not be led into any error which God will lay to your charge; but if otherwise, you have to answer for the disorders which may arise, be your intentions ever so pure.

“I informed Your Majesty in my last letter how truly you may consider the Pope your friend; and I was further confirmed in this impression, when he read to me a letter of which the Secretary Covos can give an account. It is plain that his friendship is sincere and cordial, very different from the empty compliments he used before. I pray Your Majesty to cultivate it diligently at whatever cost, for be that what it may, it cannot but be considered cheap in the end. This I write as a true servant of God, and of Your Majesty. Cursed indeed be any self interest, which could tempt me to utter such sentiments for my own sake.

“As I was one day conversing with his Holiness, I observed that it was not improbable that Your Majesty would visit Naples before returning to Spain. He replied with evident pleasure, and without a moment's reflection, ‘would to God it might be so.’ This he uttered with so much animation, that hand and foot, and the whole body seemed to concur in the wish. I have remarked by many little signs that his affection to Your Majesty is sincere.

“Sire! I call to mind that Your Majesty commanded me to write to you just as usual. I will obey your orders,

until I discover that such is no longer your wish. God knows that I could not make so constant and unbounded an use of this privilege, were it not for my irrepressible desire of seeing Your Majesty distinguished above all Princes that ever existed, for superior virtues, valour and prosperity.

“I pray the everlasting goodness of God to grant this wish, and to allow us your servants to rejoice and glory in your temporal and eternal welfare.”

Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor in the customary “*Relatione*” concerning his mission, says in speaking of the Cardinal of Osma, writer of the foregoing, that nobody possessed any real influence over the Emperor, save his confessor, and even he was required to state his opinion modestly and to support it with substantial reasoning. Ranke also observes upon this remark of Contarini; that it was true the Confessor might boast of influencing the Emperor’s feelings in his most private and perhaps most important moments.

On the subject of plain speaking, there is, it may be here noticed, a curious provision in the rules of the noble order of the Golden Fleece, founded in the year 1430, by Philip the good, Duke of Burgundy. Amongst its high privileges, the reciprocal right was vested in its Knights, of pointing out each others faults, as well as of censuring the morals and manners of the age.

The Sovereign of the land, and head of the order was on these occasions as freely handled as others. At the

chapter held in 1468, the assembled Knights addressed Charles the Bold to this effect; "that he occasionally used language too harsh towards his servants, and forgot himself at times even when speaking of princes." They requested him also most humbly, to keep his promises for the future more faithfully, and not to involve his people in inconsiderate wars. At the general chapter of 1531 the Emperor had to undergo the same ordeal. After a flattering prologue concerning Charles's great qualities, the Chancellor of the Order nevertheless pronounced this censure; "that he was slow in his transactions of business; and whilst he was too careful of minor details, the most important matters did not always receive sufficient attention; that he did not always fill the Courts of Justice with the most able persons, and that his army and civil officers were badly paid."

There was probably much truth in this, and possibly the Emperor might have benefited by a rebuke from such an authority. He seems indeed from several instances recorded, to have been kind and considerate towards those whom he employed, and to have been quite ready to recompence any extraordinary service with a proportionate reward. One of the great difficulties in negotiating the treaty of Madrid, which set the King of France at liberty, were the arrangements in favour of the Duke of Bourbon, whose interests Charles deemed himself in justice bound to secure. As an instance of his feeling towards an old friend and servant, it may be mentioned that when the Emperor went to Bologna, Antonio da

Leyva, then grown old, had himself conveyed to Placentia in order to meet him. As Frederic of Prussia in after times behaved to his Ziethen, so did Charles oblige Leyva to sit in the arm chair, whilst he stood before him, and in spite of remonstrances insisted on his being covered. "What," said the Emperor, "shall the Grantees of Spain surround my throne with their hats on, whilst the veteran of seventy years, who has faced sixty battles for his lord, stand before me a man of thirty, bare headed: I cannot do less than distinguish merit here, in the same manner that inherited titles are honoured there."

In the grand ceremonial of the procession at Bologna, Leyva, suffering from his usual infirmity, was borne in a chair covered with cloth of gold, by the Emperor's appointment next to Andrea Doria, before the Archbishops and Bishops, and his horse was led by two noblemen.*

* Brantôme gives the following account of the procession at the Emperor's coronation. "Four thousand Spanish soldiers, veterans who had served in the late wars, marched at the head of it under the command of Antonio da Leyva richly dressed, borne in a sort of chair covered with crimson velvet. Afterwards came eighteen pieces of heavy artillery with their ammunition waggons and all their accompaniments, followed by a thousand men at arms of the old equipment of Burgundy, all well mounted and cased in armour, over which hung their beautiful and rich mantles, with lances at the thigh. Then came the Pages of the Emperor which might be about four and twenty in number superbly clothed, in yellow grey and violet colored velvet, mounted on beautiful horses, some genets, and others of a less pure breed. These were followed by the Grand Ecuyer of the Emperor in steel armour, bearing in his right hand the sword of state (l'Estocq) of his Imperial Majesty. After him

A like feeling actuated Charles on another occasion, when during some festivities at the Court of Madrid, a tournament was held, at which certain Grandees had given each other the word to exclude from their party a young man who had lately been raised to the class of nobility, on account of his services. On this being reported to the Emperor, when the officer in question appeared in the lists, Charles coolly remarked to the Master of the Horse; "let no man deprive me of this

rode the Emperor mounted on the most beautiful Spanish genet, a dark bay, clad in the richest armour inlaid with gold, over which was a mantle of Cloth of Gold, leaving one side and the right arm exposed; on his head he wore a bonnet of black velvet without ornament or plume (*panache*). The Cardinals came after him with their large hats on. These were followed by some of the principal Nobles of the Court heading a troop of four or five hundred gentlemen, the one more brave and more nobly armed and mounted than the other. To these again succeeded fifteen hundred light horse, and men at arms all accoutred with (*Bourquinettes*) their proper helmets. Three thousand men on foot, Spaniards, Italians, and Lansknights formed the rear guard.

This, adds Brantôme, was a procession—"fit for a great Emperor, enough to make the Earth tremble, as well as the Heaven itself, when the artillery began to roar with the devil of a noise, which Don Antonio da Leyva knew well how to play off, with discharges of the Arquebuses re-echoing from the whole line of Soldiers."

He afterwards touches on the ceremonial observed between the Pope and Emperor, on the latter performing his act of submission or homage. "When they approach each other, the Emperor sinking on his knees kissed the feet of the Pope, and rising kissed his hand. His Holiness on his part, whilst some of the attendants behind raised the mitre from his head, kissed the Emperor's cheek. This done, the Emperor was again on his knees, when the Pope making a gracious gesture begged him to rise. One of the atten-

young knight ; I have selected him to be of my own quadrille." Charles was remarkable for his graceful horsemanship. He rode, when fully armed, with so much majesty, and managed his horse so gallantly, that no more accomplished knight, observes Mexia in the Imperial history, could any where be found.

It is paradoxically asserted by Hormayr that Charles was no despot ; that he was peaceful by nature, and that his wars were never undertaken for the sake of fighting, nor for the occupation of his people, nor for the lust of conquest. They were not wars, he considers, of an individual for personal aggrandizement, or for the subjugation of nations ; but simply and solely, for repelling foreign invasion, and for the support and preservation of that, which his father and grandfather had won. With the exception of Wittemberg, which was willingly conceded to him in his German wars, he never conquered a single acre of territory. On the contrary, he remarks, he had given up part of his birth-right ;

dants then drawing a piece of gold from a pocket in the Imperial mantle, placed it in his Majesty's hand, of which the Emperor made an offering to the Pope as a representative of his power and thus addressed him ; ' Holy Father thanks be to God above, who has conceded to me so great a favour, that I should arrive in safety here to kiss the feet of Your Holiness, and to be received with greater kindness than I can ever merit, and thus I place myself under your safeguard.'

' Holy and crafty words these,' says Brantôme, ' and what a safeguard.' It is much like that of the wolf in the fable, who pretended to have been sorely hunted, and came in fear to ask the safeguard of his dear cousin Madame the Goat ; and after that, ate her up."

and had let his brother Ferdinand take possession not only of the Austrian States, but also of the Tyrol, notwithstanding its importance to him in the Italian wars. In this latter respect, it is observed that a change came over him after the battle of Muhlberg, but still it is maintained by this writer, that he was not more ambitious. After the League of Smalcaldè, and from the commencement of the wars of religion, all Charles' energies were certainly devoted to the grand object of putting down Protestantism, as well as all the princes who supported it; but if there were no personal ambition in this, his utter contempt for the civil rights of the people shewn early in the affairs of Spain and the Netherlands, and the violence with which he afterwards in the empire resisted and punished all efforts to oppose his arbitrary will, can hardly exempt him from the charge of despotism, be the motive of his conduct, what it might. Whatever may have been Charles' natural disposition for, or against war, he knew how to become a Captain and a leader, and at times could exhibit bursts of greatness and excellence, which raised him to a level among the best and wisest. To command his army, Charles wished for an Italian head, a Spanish arm, and a German heart; "*myself and the lucky moment*" was nevertheless a favourite expression.

But life is not a detached moment, and the life of a powerful ruler is the most stirring of lives. To be great, it must be a whole, working on, in unity and perseverance, which will and must, whatever the dif-

ference of time and occasion and place, be kept together by firmness of purpose and singleness of aim, till the part of the hero is sustained in all its completeness. Single detached portions played with skill and genius only throw the unlucky scenes into deeper shadow. The absence of one quality to which Charles seemed utterly insensible, excludes him from the praise of such a character; generosity of soul. His want of it is lamentably exhibited in his early as in his declining years; in his conduct towards the King of France when in his power; under similar circumstances in his unworthy treatment of the Elector of Saxony; and in his still baser behaviour towards the Landgrave of Hesse.

Charles' cool unshaken courage is admitted by all. He was never known to change colour but once, and that was at Algiers, when he beheld his fifteen ships of war, his one hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men on board, his ammunition, provisions and stores of war a prey to the raging elements. The Emperor then looked on in mute anguish and astonishment. But his fortitude and presence of mind never abandoned him in his subsequent enterprizes and calamitous retreat. He was himself among the first to carry help to the wounded, to inspire the timid with courage, to comfort the sick of the plague, whom the Physicians had given up, to distribute among the troops such roots as could be found affording nourishment, and was himself the last to satisfy his own hunger. With a scanty rear-guard he protected the

retreat and embarkation; and when entreated to take care of his own life amidst a shower of balls and darts, he smiled and said; "an Emperor was never yet known to be shot." During the march, on his previous brilliant exploit at Tunis, from the widely spread disunion amongst his Generals, Charles had reason to suspect a wilful abandonment of some important posts, and perhaps even a traitorous understanding with the enemy. With almost too rash a daring, he went himself during a dark night to visit them, and tried the fidelity of the sentinels, until they fired upon him. The Emperor then made himself known, and rewarded them regally.

There is a characteristic anecdote related of him in an occurrence at the battle of Muhlberg. The Duke of Alva having discovered the ford across the Elbe, through the exertions of twelve Spaniards, who made their way over the stream with their swords between their teeth, pressed furiously on with the whole of his cavalry against the enemy on the opposite side. Charles suffering from gout, his neck and feet partly disabled by the disease, caused himself to be bound upon his horse, and rushed towards the point where he perceived the thickest fire. On his way he saw a crucifix, lying mutilated by the wanton impiety of some of the enemies' soldiers. He suddenly stopped, and cried out with animated looks to the Spaniards of rank who surrounded him, in the words of the Psalm; "Exurge Domine, et judica causam tuam."

The Emperor's personal share in the achievement

of this great victory established his military reputation; and his saying to his assembled Generals after it, (an improvement on that of the first Cæsar,) is recorded to his credit; "*I came, I saw, and God has granted us the victory.*"

Charles loved fame, but only when the voice of conscience allowed that he had earned a title to it. Nothing was more distasteful to him, than any vain praise uttered in his presence.

He had the same affection for Thucidydes, as Alexander had for Aristotle. A translation of this historian was an usual accompaniment under his pillow. He loved history, because he wished to live in its pages; but the idea to him was intolerable that flattery might by its representations render history unfaithful. It is to be regretted that Charles himself, though he sketched some memoranda of his daily business in the state, has left no other record of his life, rich and eventful as it was in subjects of such deep and general interest. It is well known that the learned Malinèe had from the best sources of information written his biography. Philip his son was aware of this, and kept a watchful eye over the writer. On Charles's death it is asserted, that he charged Granvelle to seize the manuscript and to burn it. Charles had a poor opinion of the historians of his day. Speaking once of Paulus Jovius and Sleidan, "they are both liars," said the Emperor angrily, "one praises and the other blames me too much, on both sides more than I deserve." He had commanded Sepulveda always to refer to him-

self any doubts which might arise about events connected with his life; and on these occasions he invariably replied with such religious observance of truth, as if he had been before the confessional. This historian heard on one occasion from a young and very credible person, who possessed in a high degree the confidence of the Emperor, a circumstance which placed his character in the brightest light; not contented with this single authority, Sepulveda made some enquiries of the Emperor himself, relative to the matter. Charles replied that he knew nothing whatever of it; but after a little reflexion, an incident occurred to him, in which the anecdote in question might have had its rise. Sepulveda now ventured to tell the Emperor, that he thought by an application to some of his Majesty's advisers, he might arrive at the truth he was seeking. But Charles apprehensive that such authorities might be disposed to flatter, "give up," he said, "any further enquiries; invention has been at work here."

A similar feeling against the errors and misrepresentations incident to history made him refuse to read Sepulveda's book. The historian thought by laying his work before the Emperor, and hearing his remarks upon what was inaccurate, to avoid giving trouble by his questions. "No," was the reply, "I will not read or hear what is written of me; others may when I have left this life." This great ruler understood the human heart. He knew that its judgments of the deeds, and its opinions of men are apt to be influenced by hope and

fear. He bade history pronounce upon him only, when there was nothing more to be hoped, and nothing to be feared from him.

The same straightforward and manly way of viewing personal dignity and worth, guided Charles in like manner towards Paulus Jovius. This man, with no less spirit than eloquence, wrote a history of his time. He thought because Charles bore the most prominent part in his work, that he had rendered himself of some importance in the Imperial consideration; and with this idea hurried off to Bologna during his Majesty's visit to that place for the coronation. He came in the suite of Alexander of Medicis, afterwards the Emperor's son-in-law, in whose family he was much esteemed for his lively conversation and wit. Charles nevertheless refused to order any present to be made to him. Jovius took this very ill; and whilst, in his writings he had highly extolled the Emperor's economy as one of his greatest virtues, he now in private gave contradiction to this statement, and complained bitterly that the ruler of worlds could not bring himself to vouchsafe him so much as the offering of a lame mule. Some of these stories were reported to the Emperor. "Singular," he said, "because this man writes a history of his times, that he should promise himself any present from me; foolish fellow! why it is the very reason why he should not expect favour from me of any kind."

All this is told to us by Sepulveda who manifests in his history of the Emperor such love of truth, and so strict and impartial a judgment when Princes are con-

cerned, that we safely rely on what he relates. And in general there is to be observed among the Spanish historians, especially among such as were Royal Biographers, a certain dryness and honesty which may put the writers of some other nations to the blush. They seem to have little studied or understood the world at large; but like the rest of the Spanish nation may be said, neither to be concerned, nor interested about any other people, than themselves. And it never seemed to occur to their thoughts to represent themselves otherwise than as they really were.

Christian Nasseus of Cambray, a teacher at Ghent, wrote the history of his time up to 1540, and giving way in this work to his feelings as a Netherlander, and not a little as a hanger on and flatterer of the Court, represented the French King, the Emperor's most obstinate enemy, in the harshest colours. Francis, sensitive and irritable as he was thoughtless, made bitter complaints on the subject. The work was accordingly suppressed; and Charles ordered the author of it into his presence. "Wherefore," he thus addressed him, "are you, good men of letters, so little susceptible of shame, as always to be fostering and inflaming the feelings of jealousy and hatred in the hearts of us Princes? Wait at least till we are dead, and then write whatever you please; for avarice, party feeling, and other passions will no longer draw a veil over your eyes; and it is only when purified of these, that history will be real history, and fit to live for posterity."

Nevertheless Charles sought anxiously to assemble

about him the most distinguished men of his day ; and vied in this with the Courts of England, France, Florence, and Rome. In the sentiment of the poet, he knew, " that the Prince who neglects to rally talents about him, is a general without an army." One day he went to visit Augustin Niphus of Sessa, in the Neapolitan States, conspicuous no less for his acuteness of mind, than for his eccentricities, who with the cynical boldness of a Diogenes had refused to visit the Emperor, on his request to see him. In the study of Niphus's house, there was but one solitary seat. The philosopher was occupying it, when the Emperor appeared ; and without rising thus addressed him, " You are powerful enough to have caused a chair to be brought here for you ; know, Sire, that I am Emperor in Parnassus, as you are in Court and Camp."

When the Emperor was at Rome during this Italian progress a singular and somewhat dangerous dialogue occurred, whilst he was standing in sole company with a Roman knight at the top of the Pantheon. The idea of Erostratus, who could perpetuate his memory in no better way than by setting fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was probably running in this knight's head, when he thus addressed the Emperor ; " Most gracious Sire, more than once on this present occasion, has the desire possessed me, to make a lasting name for myself by encircling you with a strong arm, and casting myself down with you to the bottom." Charles, without any change of tone or look, replied with his never failing composure, " if this be the case, Sir, lest such a desire

should ever take possession of you again, be pleased to quit my presence, and never seek to approach me more."

Charles though ready, as has been observed, to reward his servants handsomely, was never very willing to expend money. He is said to have considered long, before he could make up his mind to lay out a hundred ducats; but when he had once been brought to this small outlay, and to open his purse-strings, it was no difficult matter to prevail on him to disburse thousands. In most of his personal expenses, as well as in his habits in general he was simple and economical. In one however, his table, he indulged to an extraordinary degree. To the world he was a stoic, but in this respect, to himself an epicurean, he liked everything that tended to allure the appetite, and to keep the nerves on the stretch; and this even in early years, as would appear from many remonstrances on this subject in the letters of his Confessor already quoted. In one from Rome dated 20th Dec., 1530 is the following passage; "Sire, I entreat Your Majesty not to eat of those dishes which are injurious to you; all the world knows that fish disagrees with your chest; for God's sake remember that your life is not your own, but should be preserved for the sake of others. If Your Majesty chooses to destroy your own property, you should not endanger what belongs to us.

"Be assured, that I write in much distress, for I am informed that *your chest is sometimes heard further off than your tongue* (meaning that he coughs more than

he speaks). I once wished Your Majesty to do some penance for old sins ; if you will change this injunction into a firm resistance against gluttony, it will be to you as meritorious as flint and scourge. May God strengthen Your Majesty, according his grace, and bless you in spiritual and temporal matters : Amen."

The earnestness of the Cardinal's admonitions on this head will be perceived by his thus adverting to the same subject in a letter to the Grand Commendador Covos sent by the same courier. "It grieves me to the soul, when I think of the Emperor's passing through towns infested with the plague. It will be well that you should advise him to abstain from everything hurtful. Intreat him to be careful in his diet, and to eat wholesome instead of high seasoned food, especially to avoid fish in every way, which is so bad for him."

From long custom to strong stimulants in his diet, his palate at last lost all sensitiveness of taste. Towards the concluding years of his public life, he is said to have once reproached the *Grand Master of the Kitchens*, Monfaletto, with the conduct of his head cook, who had served him up a dinner, he complained, made of nothing but wood. "We have been long torturing our brains, Sire," replied the Grand Master, "with new inventions, to please Your Majesty, and never can succeed ; I will now propose to the *Chef de la Bouche* a dish quite new, that he should serve up a *Compote de Pendules*," (alluding to Charles's favourite employment of collecting and comparing watches) "and see whether that will answer better." The idea amused the Emperor, and produced

a hearty laugh, an occurrence always rare, but latterly almost unknown.

From the accounts of his confidant Luis Guijada this same culinary taste had not quite deserted him in the solitude of St. Just. He is there described as asking continually to be supplied with legs of frogs, anchovies and eel pasties, a description of food, as is said, most injurious to him.

Charles had always been a bad sleeper; and the hot climates in which he had passed the greatest part of his life, together with the unwholesomeness of his repasts, had much contributed to increase his wakefulness. After the age of forty, he is said never to have slept more than four hours out of the four and twenty. At five o'clock in the morning a dish was brought to him, consisting usually of a fowl or capon dressed with milk sugar and spices; after which he reposed an hour. At twelve, a dinner was served, consisting of at least twenty dishes. In the evening towards eight o'clock he partook of some anchovies, or other savoury fish, and supped at midnight. He drank little, and that only of the most heating beverages. He took very little exercise, except during the excitement and business of a campaign; but the evil tendency of this sedentary habit was in some degree mitigated by his many journeys, of which his Secretary Vandenesse has left us an account in his interesting diary.

The decline of Charles' prosperity may be dated from the period of his victory at Muhlberg, when he triumphed over the Protestant Princes and took their