

chief leader the Elector of Saxony* prisoner. According to human calculations, the consummation of his grand object appeared at hand. Enterprises against the civil and religious rights of the German people were nevertheless still found expedient; and war was continued with varied success, till at length Maurice, the young friend and favourite of the Emperor, who had been invested with the Electorate of his deposed relative, commenced that career of refined duplicity, which blinding the Emperor, and baffling all his schemes for the suppression of the Protestant cause, ended in the religious Peace of Passau (1552).

It is a matter worthy of observation, that this treaty

* John Hooper, the Martyr in Queen Mary's reign, in a letter to Bullinger dated 26th April, 1549 Antwerp, two years after the Elector was made prisoner, thus speaks of the jealousy with which he was guarded, and bears testimony to his constancy. "I was twice at his house in Brussels (where the Emperor then was) and very courteously entertained by his German attendants, who are about thirty in number. The Elector wished two or three times to admit me to an interview, but the presence of the Spanish General always prevented him. He abides stedfast in the faith, and is in a very good state of health. There is no hope of his deliverance, unless, what I trust will not be the case, he should change his religion: he does not despair of the word of God."

The mention made in the same letter of the Emperor's other prisoner presents a very displeasing contrast. "The Landgrave of Hesse is in confinement at Oudenarde, seven miles from Ghent. He is a man thoroughly wretched and oscillating; at one time, he promises all obedience and fidelity to the Emperor, receives the Mass and other impious idolatries with open arms; at another he execrates and abominates the Emperor with his *Interim*.

Zurich Letters, First Part, p. 85.

of Passau, as well as that of Westphalia, concluded nearly a century afterwards, by which the reformation was established in Germany, and secured on a still firmer basis, was brought about by means the most improbable, and apparently the least adapted to produce such results. There was no union of religious principle at work, no banding of Protestants against whole communities of Roman Catholics, but more frequently Roman Catholic against Roman Catholic, and Protestants against Protestants as might be best suited to their worldly policy; the Pope and Emperor usually at variance, and the Turk brought in to determine the fate of Christendom. And so it seems good to the great Governor of the Universe that his mighty purposes may appear not necessarily to stand "in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God."

Previously to the negotiations for the peace of Germany to be conducted on the part of the Emperor by his brother Ferdinand, Charles, having disbanded the greater part of his armies, remained with a very slender escort of troops in the Capital of the Tyrol. The delays which Maurice had recourse to, in fixing the time of their commencement did not fail to open the Emperor's eyes to some strong suspicions of his intentions; nor were his subsequent movements so far concealed, as to render the advance of his troops on Innspruck, anything like the surprize which has been generally supposed. The Emperor was aware of Maurice's machinations six weeks before this occurred, as the following letter from him to his brother Ferdinand will shew, written

on the 4th of April in the utmost perplexity, and distress of mind and body. The letter is in French, as Charles usually wrote, with several breaks and pauses between the sentences.

“ Seeing that the Duke Maurice has put off his journey to meet you, and since I am informed of a certainty that he is in person at Augsburgh, and knowing well how little I myself am in any posture of defence here in this fine country, and if I linger much longer here that I stand a chance of finding myself some morning taken in my bed, I have been resolving on my departure . . . But where to go? The road to Italy is not so safe, but that many difficulties are there before me . . . Were I indeed to go thither, destitute as I now am of troops, I should find myself in every place without authority. I see no safety in passing through the Venetian states; and more than that, supposing I were allowed to pass, I should arrive in a province in no securer state for me than this . . . Besides I should find myself among soldiers under no restraint; and

Voyant que le duc Maurits à differé son allè vers vous, et que je suis certainement informé qu'il est en personne sur Augsbourg et le peu de deffense que je vois dans ce beau pays, et que si j'attendois icy plus longuement je ne pourrois si non etre un matin pris dans mon lit, je me suis deliberé . . . de partir . . . (quant au) chemin d'Italie je ne trouve si sheur (sur) que je ne vois des grands inconveniens . . . car y allant, denué de forces comme presentement, je me trouve en tous lieux Desauthorisé, je ne scaye, quelle sheureté je trouveroye en passant par les terres des Venetiens; davantage bien, que me laissant passer, j'arriveroye en une province, que n'est moins alteré que cette icy . . . outre Je me trouveroye entre soldats libres et fort licentieux

most licencious, discontented at not having received their pay at the time appointed, and among people in despair at the bad treatment they apprehend And if I take my departure before those who are now at Augsburgh commence their march in this direction, you may well imagine the dilemma in which I may perchance find myself; and if they approach this place by forced marches, a couple of days gained before I am off, I must hasten my retreat according to the rapidity of their advance in a way little suited to the care requisite for my infirmities In abandoning Germany, I cannot see what I may find myself compelled to, having none to declare in my favour, and so many with power in their hands against me And where to go, neither having money, nor means of obtaining it It is also much to be apprehended that the Turkish fleet with that of France would oppose the

et mecontents pour non avoir la paye à jour nommé . . . et chez un peuple déses peé du mauvais traitement qu'ils craignent et si je me partage, avant que ceux, qui sont a augsbourg s'acheminassent vers icy . . . vous pouvez bien penser, quelle charge ce me seroit, et s'ils cheminoient vers icy pour deux journées, qu'ils auroient gagné, avant j'en fusse parti, il me faudroit accelerer mon chemin, selon la hate, qu'ils me donneroient, de sorte que je ne pourraye avoir respect a la debilité de ma personne Je ne voye, comme abandonnant l'Allemagne à quoi je me vois forcé, pour avoir nul qui se veuille declarer pour moi, et tant de contraires et les forces en leurs mains et moi sans avoyr eu, ni avoir moyens recouvrir argent, je y puisse sejourner . . . et est fort a craindre, que l'armade turquesque avec celle de France ne serrassent le passage de me remett en mes galeres et passer en Espagne avec quel honneur

passage of my galleys, were I to embark for Spain . . . You may well conceive what an honourable adventure this might prove, and what a pleasant end I should come to in these my declining days. Besides I hold it for certain, that half of Italy would be in a state of revolt ; and our Low Countries fall a prey to France . . . I am well aware, whatever I determine on, if it succeeds, will be placed to the account of good fortune ; if it fails, the fault will be mine . . . Finding myself in such extremities, recommending myself to God, I would rather be set down as an old fool, than allow myself to be undone in my old age, without attempting all I can to prevent it, aye and more. If I am to choose between a great disgrace and a great danger, I will take the part of danger . . . And therefore I have determined to set off this night for Flanders, where at present I have the most troops . . . And there I shall not be far from Germany."

ce seroit, vous le pouvez penser . . . et quel bel fin je feray en mes vieux jours . . . outre ce que je tiens pour certain, que la demie Italie seroit toute revoltée, et nos pays bas seroyent à la proye de France . . . Je scai bien, que quoique je fasse, s'il en advient bien, ils le jetteront à la fortune et si mal la culpe en sera mienne ; . . . Me voyant aux termes ou je me vois, me recommandant à Dieu . . . J'aime mieux, que l'on me tienne plus-tot pour un vieux fol que en mes vieux jours me perdre sans faire ce que moy est, et peutetre plus que mes forces . . . entre une grand honte et un grand danger j'aime mieux prendre la part du danger . . . et ainsi . . . Je me suis deliberer partir cette nuit pour Flandres, pour ce que ce que c'est le lieu ou pour le present j'ai plus de forces . . . et la je ne suis si long de l'Allemagne,

In fact the Emperor, weak and suffering as he then was from gout, set off in the stillness of that very night, the 4th of April, taking the route of Ehrenberg and the Lake of Constance, intending to pass through Elsass and Lorraine towards the Netherlands. The news, which reached him the night after, on his way, that Maurice's troops were occupying part of that country, caused his immediate return.

From this period till the 19th of May Charles continued at Innspruck, broken down in health and spirits, incapable perhaps of movement and awaiting the issue of the approaching mediation.

In the mean time Maurice, having contrived that the armistice which had been proposed should not commence until the 26th of May (the day appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at Passau) was employing the interval in a manner most likely to make short work of the negociation. His army was put in motion as the Emperor had almost immediately discovered, and knowing this as well as the subtilty and activity of the enemy he had to encounter, it is difficult to assign a cause why Charles should have remained under such circumstances and for some weeks passive and inert. Perhaps it is only to be accounted for, from the reason just mentioned, added to his want of money, and encreased perplexity as to the route to be taken. The road towards Italy was the only one now left open, and the reception he anticipated from his Italian subjects was of the most uninviting nature. On the 19th of May, when intelligence reached him that Maurice

was within two or three hours of reaching Innspruck, Charles had himself placed in a litter, in the middle of a stormy night, escorted by his few followers and slender guard, and conveyed over the rough and mountainous roads of that country to the poor village of Villach in Carinthia at the foot of the Ponteba pass into Italy.

Here he remained till the pacification of Passau.

The energies of Charles however, were not yet subdued. As soon as the peace was concluded he left his inglorious retreat, and having recruited his resources and raised a considerable army in Germany, he undertook a war against the French, the result of which, at the end of this eventful year, was most disastrous to the Imperial troops.

In the following year Maurice's extraordinary career was brought to a close, in the battle of Sieverhausen against Albert of Bradenburg. In a charge, after gaining the victory, he was shot by a pistol ball, of which he died two days afterwards in the 32nd year of his age. When his death was reported to the Emperor, he is said to have exclaimed "O Absalom, my son, my son!"

Though the Emperor recovered his power and authority, he felt conscious that his lucky star, in which he had placed unbounded confidence, was set. He became disgusted with state affairs; yet he worked on, but with evident disinclination. His audiences were now short, and were only given during two hours after dinner as a sort of recreation. Those who had business to transact with him, were required previously to speak with the Prime Minister, and now usually received their

answers from him, instead of from the Emperor in person as heretofore. The younger Granvelle, who occupied this post, had succeeded in obtaining complete dominion over him. It is remarkable that the only other person admitted into his confidence was also a young man; William of Nassau Prince of Orange* who afterwards distinguished himself as the protector of the Protestant cause in the Netherlands and founder of the Dutch Republick. At length Charles's despondency and abandonment of all business was such, that he was known to have been nine months without signing any paper whatever.

But it was not only the decline of his brilliant success in public which led to the morbid state of mind that induced his abdication. He had found no sympathy among the members of his family, on whom alone he had bestowed his affections; and a deep sense of the ingratitude of his son, who was to be the inheritor of his widely extended dominions, together with a strong misgiving as to his qualifications for such a charge, saddened his declining years. Philip had all the faults of his father, without possessing one of his virtues.

No sooner had Charles made over to his son the un-

* This Prince was born in the year 1533 and was educated in the principles of the reformation, which his father had embraced. Charles who had taken an early interest in his fate, had him removed to his own court, and instructed in the Roman Catholic faith; which the Prince of Orange afterwards renounced on the abdication of the Emperor. Charles is said to have foreseen the future great statesman in the boy, who had obtained his early favour by that remarkable discretion which gained him the surname of "*the Silent.*"

restricted sovereignty of his Italian States, for the purpose of facilitating his marriage with Mary Queen of England, (1554,) than it clearly appeared from the behaviour of this Prince, that he conceived the project of inducing the Emperor to abdicate other thrones, which according to his calculations, had been filled by him too long a time already. He was well acquainted with the melancholy which oppressed his father, his sensitiveness and his disgust to the world; and it seemed to him that these feelings might be worked upon as a means of accomplishing his own selfish ends. One of Philip's first acts of Government in Italy, was to dismiss all the Emperor's faithful servants, and to place in their stead the ignorant playmates of his boyhood, or those who had ingratiated themselves into his favour by flattery. Once on being summoned by the Emperor to Brussels, to concert on some important measures against France and her allies in Germany, instead of obeying the mandate, he sent his favourite, a Portuguese, Ruy Gomez Count de Sylva, with a message to this effect, "that as an independent ruler of an important kingdom, he could not go, until it was ascertained what ceremonial the Emperor would observe towards him, and in what light, and with what etiquette, he was to be considered and received." This conduct placed the Emperor under the necessity of making a choice, equally painful to himself, either of breaking openly with Philip, and thus affording his enemies the grateful spectacle of family disunion, or else of freely renouncing the Crowns which his son was so eagerly seeking to grasp. This

ungrateful son was his only one born in marriage. His grandson, Carlos, was much dearer to him ; a Prince who had shewn the fairest promise for the future, as well as the seeds of that daring, cold, and haughty spirit, which proved the cause of his untimely and violent death.

At the time that his consort the Empress Isabella died, Charles had confided to the Duke of Gaudia, Francis Borgia, afterwards General of the Jesuits, his firm intention of retiring into solitude. The storms of State delayed its execution. Just as the dispute with his son Philip began, Johanna the mother of Charles died at Tordesillas, 13th April, 1555. She had been nearly fifty years under confinement, from that permanent disorder of mind, which immoderate grief acting on some natural weakness of intellect had brought on, after her husband's death. Nevertheless in all formal State documents her name had been all along associated with that of her son. In the act now contemplated by the Emperor, of divesting himself of the sovereignty of Spain, and making it over to another, Johanna's total incapacity for business rendered even her nominal concurrence impossible. Her death though a great and distressing blow to the Emperor, now removed this difficulty and accelerated his determination. It wrought much on his heated imagination, which pictured her spirit calling him in a loving manner to follow her into the grave.

On the 26th October of that same year he gave up to Phillip at Brussels the whole of the Netherlands.

After the ceremony when the Emperor made the transfer of these dominions to his son, he presented him with a magnificent diamond heart, and said to him, unable to restrain his tears ; " may God preserve me from evil forebodings, and grant that thy heart may never become as hard as this stone, towards thy father."

On the 16th January of the following year, (1556) Charles also dispossessed himself of the Spanish Kingdoms in favour of his son ; and on the 3rd August of the same, he sent William, Prince of Orange, and Seld Vice Chancellor of State, to Ferdinand and the Electors, in order to proclaim formally his abdication of the Germanic Empire.

Charles having now divested himself of all his regal and imperial honours lost no time in seeking the solitude of his convent.

He quitted the throne without regret, but not without that emotion, which is inseparable from the breaking up the habits of a whole life. On the night before leaving the Netherlands, he had a long conference with the Vice Chancellor of State, in which he spoke with the deepest interest of the affairs of Germany. On separating, Charles rang the bell for a servant to light Seld to his apartment. It happened that no one came at the moment. " See those fellows," said Charles laughing bitterly, " how soon they have found out that I am no longer master." He seized the torch himself, and standing on the foot of the stair-case said ; " let this be a monument to thee, dear Seld, of the Emperor Charles, whom thou hast so often seen surrounded by the most

brilliant Court and victorious armies, and now seest alone, forsaken even by his menial servants; he whom thou hast served faithfully so many years, now takes the place of a servant in waiting on thee."

On the 17th September, Charles sailed from Rammekens in Zealand, accompanied by his two sisters, the widowed Queens Maria and Eleanora. On landing at Laredo in Biscay, he fell on the ground and kissing it, exclaimed; "naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I return to it." In spite of all the entreaties of his sisters, he could not be prevailed on to stay longer than ten days at the Court of Valladolid. On the 14th October, he entered the little garden, which three years before he had caused to be prepared for him at the Monastery of Saint Jerome of St. Just in Estramadura: This beautiful and enchanting spot had long ago, when he first saw it, made a great impression on him; "it is the very place of repose," he said "for a second Diocletian."

In this solitude the ex-emperor passed a portion of his time in cultivating his garden, and amusing himself with his favourite mechanical pursuits, in which he was assisted by the artist Turriano, whom he had induced to share his retreat. They worked together in large models, and in making useful machines; and finished them in so short a time, that the simple monks looked upon them as sorcerers. Clocks and watches were objects of constant interest. He had above a hundred in his seven rooms, and took the greatest pains to make at least some of them go exactly together,

but finding all his trials vain, sorrowfully made the well known observation ; "and yet I have been so absurd as to waste many years of my life in endeavouring to make the minds and dispositions of millions go together on the most intricate and mysterious of subjects !" It was but seldom that his enfeebled frame allowed him to mount a small horse, on which, accompanied by a single servant, he would occasionally ride into the neighbouring wood.

After commencing his life of solitude at St. Just, he never more saw his son Philip, and only twice had interviews with his sisters. Philip's unkindness and neglect of his father, were early shewn after his abdication in some paltry concern, respecting the moderate pension which Charles had assigned to himself; and which in process of time, like alms dealt out to a troublesome beggar, was reduced to half the sum of what had been originally stipulated for.

It was very seldom, even during the early period of his retirement, that he allowed himself to be consulted upon affairs of state. The most remarkable incidents of his eventful life were by his desire painted on the walls of his dwelling, and between each picture was a portrait of some one of his most distinguished opponents. It is said that he would sit for hours opposite to the one of John Frederick Elector of Saxony, and that he has been heard to exclaim, striking his forehead with his hand ; "oh, if I had let *him alone as he was*, I should have remained such as *I have been.*"

It has been asserted, that Charles deeply regretted the step he had taken, in abandoning the throne; and there is reason to believe that he did so at times. The Minister Granvelle happening one day to remind Philip, that it was just a year since his father's abdication, "yes," replied the young King sneeringly, "and it is just a year, Granvelle, since he began to repent it." The occasions were rare when subjects relating to his son, and public affairs were brought to his notice; and then some expression or gesture might be observed, betraying a feeling of mortification or disappointment. When Philip, through the generalship of Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy, and Count Horn, and the bravery of the allied army, had gained the splendid victory of St. Quentin,* Charles hastily demanded of the person who was reporting it to him, whether his son had directly marched on to Paris; and on being answered in the negative, he uttered not a word but in bitter

* Philip did not arrive until immediately after this famous battle. It became with him then a matter of deliberation whether or not to march on immediately to Paris. The best authorities were in favour of doing so, to secure all the fruits of the victory; but Philip's prudence usually verging on timidity, made him yield to the observation of an old Frenchman one of the prisoners. Having caused this man to appear before him, the king demanded how many day's work (*journées*) might be reckoned upon between St. Quentin and Paris. "Sire," replied the old man, "*battles* are very often with us, called *day's works*. If you understand them so, you will find three at least to be necessary. France is not so void of men, that the King my master cannot yet bring together much greater forces than have been now defeated." This well timed and bold remark had its effect and Philip halted at St. Quentin.

indignation gnashed his teeth. His annoyance on another occasion was more strongly marked.

Rigid Roman Catholick as he was, Charles had never shewn any peculiar reverence for the person of the Pope, as a temporal Prince; witness his frequent contentions and acts of hostility against him. Philip on the contrary entertained sentiments, it would seem, which rendered his wars with the sovereign Pontiff, (for those he did not abstain from), and their success, both inconsistent and nugatory. When Paul the fourth had stirred up France and all Italy in opposition to the King of Spain, and was threatening with his army to invade Naples, Philip would not permit the Duke of Alva to turn his victorious arms against him. He sent not only to forbid his advance towards Rome, but hastened to restore the fruits of all the conquests made upon the estates of the Church. Charles could not conceal his anger and deep contempt when he heard of these proceedings, nor refrain from expressing an ardent wish that he were still in a position to have taken advantage of such a state of affairs.

These however seem to have been rare and but momentary interruptions, to the entire exercise of that devotional zeal which employed all his remaining energies.

He attended the usual services of the Convent, conversed with the Prior and the Monks on theological subjects, and read with deep interest the writings of the Fathers, especially of Saints Bernard and Augustin.

whose spirit and eloquence were in perfect accordance with his own state of mind. His intervals of relaxation were spent, as has been observed, for the most part with Turriano in his work-shop. Thus past nearly a whole year of his solitude, in a manner suitable to the objects of one, who having divested himself of the grandeur and cares of life, was preparing in earnest for its termination. But as gout, and bodily infirmities increased, that melancholy, which in his best days more or less depressed his mind, now overwhelmed it in despondency and fanaticism. The most harmless amusements became hateful to him; and an unaccountable anguish subdued his once powerful soul. He scourged himself with all the severity of the most ascetic penitent; and sang hymns night and day, often dissolved in tears. Sleeplessness kept him in a perpetual fever. At midnight he would walk up and down his dormitory, and along the cloisters of the monastery, and would punctually awaken the monks in time for the second night-service. It is related that a sleepy young novice once answered him angrily; "can you not be satisfied with turning the world upside down, but must you come here to disturb the peace and rest, for which you are said to have given up all its pomps and glories?" At length the strange idea took possession of his brain, of celebrating his own obsequies. The whole monastery and his servants, accompanied the coffin in which he had placed himself, with torches; all praying, himself included, for the repose of his soul. When the procession reached the

High Altar, Charles threw himself on the ground and received the last benediction. On returning to his Cell, the excitement of such a scene immediately brought on a fever, which in a few days turned the mock funeral into a reality. Charles died on the 21st of Sept. 1558, at the age of 58 years and a little more than six months.

Such was the Emperor Charles the Fifth, one of the mightiest monarchs of the world, a touching example of the emptiness of all human grandeur and the truth of the reflexion made by as great, and a wiser king, "that every man at his best estate is altogether vanity."

Very few months before Charles had brought his career to a close, it had become notorious that the Lutheran faith was meeting with encouragement in Spain. Two Dominican friars, men descended from ancient families, were propagating the new doctrine, with keen and enthusiastic zeal, and amongst the fair sex especially had met with willing hearers.

On being made aware of this, Charles exhorted the officers of the Inquisition and all the authorities, to be watchful; and unabating in their severities against the encroaching "*plague of doctrine*," and a little before the scene just described, feeling his end approaching, he made this addition to his will and testament.

"It is well known, that in defence of our Catholic religion against the falsehood and slander of heresy, I have performed various and great labours not without danger to my earthly pilgrimage. Heavy diseases have fol-

lowed my exertions, and now feeling myself to sink under them, I wish to confer once again, as I have already done in my last testament, with my well beloved son Philip, who knows what the Catholic faith is, on this important subject. I exhort, I warn, I adjure him, nay, as a father I command him, to punish heresy, (the welfare of Spain demands it), with the utmost rigour, without regard of persons, without extending mercy to any; and to uphold all Courts of Equity and Justice in their full powers against this crime. So will he do his duty to the Catholic faith, and God will bless him. Moreover he will have done what is most pleasing and most dear to me his father."

The spirit of these his last instructions to his son, breathing so little of the moderation formerly shewn in his dealings with the Protestants, may be easily accounted for, from the latter circumstances of his life, and a deep feeling of mortification and disappointments, which his contests with them had occasioned. Philip indeed, notwithstanding this sort of confession and strong appeal made to him, persecuted the memory of his father to such a degree that he made use of the Inquisition to drag before its judgment seat the companions of his father's seclusion. His Confessor Constantine Ponce, the mechanic Turriano, and the learned Dominican Bartholomew Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had assisted Charles in his last moments, were condemned as heretics. The only crime of these unfortunate men was, that Philip suspected them of being aware of the existence of a Will of the Emperor

leaving the Infant Don Carlos an independent sovereignty over the Netherlands.

Amongst the youthful Cavaliers who promoted and graced the early fortunes of Charles the Fifth, Ferdinand d'Avalos Marquis Pescara claims the most conspicuous place.

Descended from the blood of ancient kings, which flowed through the dynasties of Navarre, Andalusia and Naples, and husband of the beautiful and richly gifted Vittoria Colonna, the rival genius of Petrarch as she was justly esteemed, Pescara even in his most youthful days justified a high expectation of his future fame by the gallant resistance he made before he was taken prisoner at Ravenna.

Even the suspicious misanthropic Ferdinand of Arragon, surnamed the Catholic, having once seen him at a ball predicted that he would soon raise himself, as a king above his equals. His genius for conducting a great operation was early manifested. He possessed the rare talent of knowing how to combine the theories of war and of politics, and to distinguish the former from the art which is confined to battles and the battle-field; an instance of this may be observed in the counsel which he urged on Lannoy Viceroy of Naples, the Emperor's especial favourite, at a very critical juncture in the year 1525, a little before the great battle of Pavia, in which Pescara bore so important a part. It was when Francis the first having overcome Lombardy, having gained the Pope, Venice,



BIBLIOTECA DE LA ALHAMBRA

FERDINAND D'AVALOS,

Marquis of Pescara

FROM THE IMP. COLLECTION, LOWER BELVIDERE, VIENNA.

and Florence to his side, and having laid siege to Pavia, dispatched the Duke of Albany with a large force to conquer Naples and Sicily. Lannoy who became alarmed for his province, wished to separate himself and troops from the body of the Emperor's army in Lombardy, and to follow him. Pescara with prayers, and threats entreated him to remain; and these were the arguments he used. "It is impossible in war that every contingency should be guarded against, and the safety of every thing be provided for. A General's main object is to give occasion to the least possible damage. Here in Lombardy, it is our paramount duty to use every effort we can make, against the French King's army, weakened as it is by numerous detachments. If we gain a decisive victory here; are not both Sicilies already saved, even had the Emperor not a single place of defence remaining in them?" Like all great Generals, d'Avalos placed much confidence in a well organised system of espionage. It has been calculated that he laid out 140,000 gold florins* for this purpose, in the course of four campaigns, and that he often saved the Imperial army from great difficulties by the excellent information thus obtained. On one occasion when these charges were called in question he wrote to the Emperor; "Sire, let Leyva look as significant as he pleases, but let me go on in my own way, and my life for it, no capital will pay your Majesty better interest in the end than this."

With the eminent advantages which Pescara pos-

* The assay value of the gold florin is about 6s. 11d.

sessed, and his early renown, it is no wonder that even in his short lifetime he should have been an object of envy, probably of mis-representation, no less than his great master. Infinitely more so however, has his memory been blackened by writers who deemed it not unworthy to become the mere speaking trumpets of their party. Galliard, whose attacks on the Duke of Bourbon are never ending, boldly asserts that the Emperor mistrusted him from the first, and placed Pescara, whose jealous disposition he was well acquainted with, by his side in command of the army, in order to have him properly watched. How false is this ! Bourbon the Lieutenant General "*representant la propre personne de l'Empereur,*" himself made overtures to the Marquis, expressly and repeatedly, to induce him to accompany the army into Provence, and to the siege of Marseilles (1524). This siege moreover was not undertaken, as has been represented, against the Duke of Bourbon's approbation ; but according to his own desire, and the plan which he himself proposes, in his correspondence with the Emperor. In fact Bourbon and Beaurain had enough to do, in order to overcome Charles's secret dislike to Pescara. The Duke, writing from his headquarters Chiouzzo on the 24th May 1524, entreats the Emperor to express his own desire by letter to Pescara that he should make the campaign with him, having invited him as he says separately so to do, "*lui offrant l'estat de Capitain General de l'armée souz moi,*" for, he concludes his letter, *c'est un personnage, "qui merite bien un tel estat."*

The Viceroy of Naples also, himself indisposed towards Pescara, unites his entreaties with those of Bourbon. "Sire," he writes, two days later by the same courier, "*Monsieur de Bourbon n'a point tort de le desirer, car le Marquis est bon serviteur et vault plus que l'on peult dire.*"

The Emperor, it is true, confirmed the Marquis's appointment as General in Chief under Bourbon, and wrote to him with his own hand, but with so much coldness that the proud-spirited excitable noble felt more hurt, than flattered by it.

On the 31st of August Beaurain thus writes by another courier to the Emperor. "*Le Marquis de Pescaire ne se contente nullement de mandement, que vous luy avoy envoyé et depuis qu'il est venu n'a plus servy de si bon cœur, qu'il vouloit faire. Je vous supplie, Sire, le contenter, car il fait des Espagnols ce qu'il veut.*"

The decisive blow which Pescara assisted in striking the following year at Pavia, whilst it placed him on a higher eminence than before, must necessarily have roused the attention, the expectation, and the fears of all the Italian Princes and republics; especially of the Pope, who saw his secret views concerning this victory laid open before the eyes of the Emperor, as also of the young Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, whose paternal inheritance had never yet been restored to him.

All these feelings may be easily supposed to have set in motion the arts of that subtle policy first taught by the Florentine Nicolo Macchiavelli, hardly yet known

whether in jest or earnest, a principal follower as well as victim of which was Ludovico* Sforza the Uncle of Francis the First. Notwithstanding the warning of this example, and of the iron cage in which he was supposed to have been confined, Geronimo Moroné Chancellor of Milan undertook to play against the Emperor the same dangerous game, which Morus had played sometimes for and sometimes against Louis the Twelfth.

How far and with what motives Pescara was involved in this daring enterprise, opinions have been much divided.

He had taken no pains to conceal his discontent, and how far he was from thinking that the important services he had rendered during two years in Italy, and especially at Pavia, had been in any degree sufficiently recompensed, or even acknowledged. He loudly complained that the Viceroy of Naples, under a constant apprehension that treachery or revolt might deprive

* Ludovico Sforza Duke of Milan called *Morus* or *il moro* from the mulberry (symbol of prudence) which he had taken for his device.

After the capture of Milan by Louis the Twelfth in 1500, Ludovico, whilst endeavouring to escape, was betrayed by one of his Swiss troopers and made prisoner. The victorious General Louis de Tremouille had him conveyed to France. He was first shut up at Pierre Meise, afterwards in the Tour de lys, and finally transferred to the Chateau de Loches where he ended his days, not as was currently reported in Italy in a *cage of iron* for which that Chateau was celebrated (invented as Walter Scott tells us by the Cardinal Balzac who was one of the first persons put into it) but though imprisoned, treated with humanity.

him of the person of the French King, should have embarked him for Genoa ; and counter-ordering his course should have directed his journey to Barcelona and Madrid, without any conference with his colleagues, or letting them know a word of his intentions.

This was the time when Moronè relying upon circumstances, and a disposition of mind so favourable to his own project, made overtures to Pescara, offering him the Crown of Naples, and the command of an Italian league, composed of the united forces of Venice, Milan, the Roman and several smaller States, if he would join them with his devoted troops, and cut down the remainder of the Imperial army under old Leyva. It is a debated point, and not to be absolutely determined, in what manner Pescara received these proposals, or how far his probity was committed. Some say that his loyalty was never shaken, and that he only pretended to give ear to the plot and to take part in it, in order to get possession of the whole secret, and to divulge it to his master. This is also his own declaration and defence. On the other hand it is more generally affirmed, that he was at first dazzled by the brilliant offer made him ; but that on weighing probabilities he became doubtful of the issue, especially on hearing that Antonio da Leyva, and the Commissary Marino Abbé of Nogara had discovered the conspiracy, and made it known to the Emperor. It is added that Pescara made a merit of his crime by the artifice above alluded to, and having, to serve his own purpose, involved others in it, he hastened to betray them, as soon as his own private interest was

endangered. He is thus accused of acting the most despicable of parts. Let the following authentic documents and facts be weighed against the assertions of French and Italian writers who have noticed this subject, and whose nationality would hardly permit them to view without prejudice the conduct of a man, whose victories in the one case could not be forgiven; and who in the other would be as little likely to be pardoned for the steady loyalty, with which he broke through their subtle webs of intrigue. Let the dates in these documents also not be lost sight of.

On the 12th of June 1525, the rumour of Lannoy's private departure for Spain reached Milan. Pescara was at this time making use of his tongue, in the same open and fearless manner, as he was accustomed to deal blows with his sword. The date of the visit, which Morone made him for the object already specified, cannot be precisely determined; but before the 20th of June, it appears they had several interviews.* Bourbon, whom

* Ranke in his admirable history of the Popes referring to the subject of this conspiracy thus speaks of Pescara. "An attempt was made to bring him over to the Italian views against the Emperor. Pescara was born in Italy but of Spanish blood. He would be a Spaniard, and nothing else. He spoke only Spanish. He had no tincture of Italian art or literature. He owed his whole education to Spanish romances, which breathed nothing but loyalty and fidelity. He was by nature adverse to an Italian enterprize; scarcely had the proposal been made to him, when he communicated it to his comrades, and to the Emperor. He used it as a means of discovering all the views and thwarting all the projects of the Italians."

He goes on to add. "the Historian Vetori loads him with oppro-

Pescara first let into the secret, alludes to a private dispatch sent to the Emperor on that very day. On the 30th of July, Pescara himself makes the following communication to the same, purporting to be a duplicate, and continuation of those reports which he had before entrusted to two couriers.

The original is in Spanish.

"I pray Your Majesty to read this letter attentively, though it must of necessity be rather long, and to pardon me for giving you the trouble of reading my bad writing, in consideration of the service which may be rendered to you by it. Every unprejudiced observer of the past has considered me a dissatisfied man, especially since the Viceroy's departure, and chiefly on that account. Upon this dissatisfaction the Italian potentates grounded the hope that I was capable of undertaking any and every thing.

"In a few days, Gerolamo Moronè came and told me, after much circumlocution, that he had matters of the greatest consequence to discover, provided I would give

bricious epithets;" *era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenoso e crudele, senza religione, senza humanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia.* Even Moronè, he observes, once said to Guicciardini that there was not a more faithless malicious man than Pescara." I do not bring forward these opinions, "continues Ranke," as supposing them to be true. They only shew that Pescara had evinced nothing, but hostility and hatred against the Italians."

Guicciardini describes him in not more flattering terms than his Countryman above, speaking of his death, he says; "he died by the just judgment of God, who would not suffer him to enjoy the fruit of that seed which he had sown with so great malignity."

him my word of honour to be silent. I did so: upon which he began most energetically, to speak of the discontent pervading the whole of Italy; which he said was not only ready but determined to shake off its slavish dependence, to which the French were offering every excitement. He called my attention to the intrigues of my adversaries, tried to make me feel that I was in blood an Italian of illustrious family, reminded me of the high renown I might acquire by standing forward as the deliverer of my country; and *that this was the moment for becoming so*. He ended by proposing that I should place myself forward as head and general of the League, demonstrated to me the ease with which this might be effected, and offered me as a bribe the kingdom of Naples. My first impulse was to seize the man who had dared so to address me, and to throw him out of the window, but I commanded my feelings; and recollecting the importance of his communication, and how essential it was to investigate such a plot to the bottom, I calmly replied, that the substance of his confidence was of the gravest nature, his having chosen *me* as his confidant was no less so, and that I must consider the matter well.

“It appeared to me on reflection, that I could sufficiently trust myself not to be betrayed into a wrong action, however great the inducement might be; that as Your Majesty was assured of my good faith, and would in future know it still better, it would be of unspeakable advantage to unravel the truth, without involving myself; and that I had no other possible means of doing

so, than by thus listening to him. Should I be able to effect a mediation without injury to Your Majesty's service, I determined to do it, and if not to tell Your Majesty the whole story in due time.

"Having considered all this, I therefore answered Moronè, that to speak plainly, I was anything but satisfied in my present position, and had already requested Your Majesty to give me my dismissal; yet that my utmost discontent would never urge me to undertake an unlawful enterprize.

"I concluded that when without injury to my honour, and consistently with the reputation of unblemished knighthood, I could leave your Majesty's service, I should then be at liberty* to give proof of my own powers, and to shew myself more worthy of attention than *some people* whom your Majesty prefers to honour before me. This was all I said to him, not thinking myself bound to enter further into the matter, that I might not be tied down to any sort of engagement with him.

"Whereupon Moronè explained the whole affair to me, and I immediately communicated with the Duke of Bourbon, Antonio da Leyva, and the Abbé de Nogarà concerning it, without however mentioning from whom, or in what manner, I had received the intelligence. We then sent to Naples for the money, and to

* Here is a trace of the Condottieri spirit still prevalent in Italy, which considered every thing lawful, as soon as the contract was at an end, which had been binding on parties for a certain term either as respecting pecuniary or any other obligation.

Innsbruck, to the Lord Archbishop, in order to know whom we might depend upon, in case of necessity, and all this was done with the consent of the Duke and the advice of all the others.*

“ I have already given your Majesty an account of all this business in three different ways, viz. by Giambattista Castaldo, a commander of your Majesty's troops in whom I place great confidence, by the Courier whom I sent to your Majesty on the 20th of last month, and by another Messenger named Franzisco Rutz sent by sea. This report contains further the whole details of the narrow and secret intrigues of the Pope, the Venetians and the French, and shews how easy a matter they consider it to chase away our army. To counteract this, every thing which was possible has been done and herewith, &c. &c. &c.”

Even Leyva the obstinate impatient Spaniard, and rival of the Italian Pescara, gives him nevertheless the full credit of discovering this conspiracy, and of making the necessary preparations to counteract it.

In his letter of the 20th August from Vercelli to the Emperor, he thus writes ; “ The Marquis Pescara has informed your Majesty by General Castaldo and others, of the movements and intrigues going on in Italy, as well as of the reasons which occasion them. I assure your Majesty that *it is all true* ; and that had it not been for the understanding, which the Marquis kept

* Amongst these, as appears by a letter of Pescara dated Novara 8th Sept. were Don Lopez Hurtado Mendoza, and the Marquis del Vasto.

up, throughout this affair, we should have lost the greatest part of the army, without being able to guess at their projects. The Marquis does more than one could suppose possible to support the army; and to promote your Majesty's service he does not scruple to mortgage and sell his own property."

There is another letter of the 27th Oct. from Leyva to the Emperor expressing the same opinions.

How are we to reconcile such documents as these with Robertson's assertions, who on the authority of Guicciardini attributes the discovery of the conspiracy to Leyva and the War Commissary Nogara, and describes Pescara as conscious of his guilty intrigue, and sensible how suspicious his long silence must have appeared at Madrid; who maintains that after continuing a short space in suspense, "the least commendable motives, as is usual after such deliberations" as he describes, prevailed "and ambition triumphed over honour; that he thought it more prudent to expect the Duchy of Milan as the reward of his discovery, than to aim at a kingdom to be purchased by a series of crimes."

Could these have been the sentiments and reasoning of a man, who in writing to the Emperor from Pavia, October 25th, 1525, on the affairs and destiny of Milan, urges in the following passage of his letter the necessity of opposing a bar to the designs of France upon Lombardy by the Emperor's retaining the Duchy, *himself*.

How touching is the following, dated Oct. 26th, perhaps the last letter he wrote, when he felt the slow

workings of his fatal disease creeping through his veins, and when Moronè having acknowledged his nefarious proceedings before the Military Tribunal at Pavia, was about to receive the reward of a Traitor!

“ Imperial and Catholic Majesty!

“ I managed the business with Girolamo Moronè as is well known to your Majesty, and I promised him secrecy, although at the same time, I did every thing which your Majesty's service required. Now I would not for any consideration, that he should be made to suffer for having trusted to *my word*.

“ I therefore entreat your Majesty, if my services have deserved such a favour, *to forgive this man*, that he may not on any account suffer for having placed confidence in me.

“ I assure your Majesty that if you choose to make use of him, he is a man capable of rendering important services in many ways. But if your Majesty should not wish to take advantage of his abilities, I again repeat the earnest prayer, that his life, his freedom, and his property may be *spared for my sake*.

“ Nothing could confer a greater favour upon me; and in this way only, the world will be led to understand, that if I committed a fault, when circumstances rendered it impossible to do otherwise, your Majesty has graciously enabled me to repair it, as much as lay in my power.”

Moronè's life was spared; and he became subsequently by the Emperor's appointment Imperial Paymaster of the Forces.

Four weeks after the above was written on the 29th of November, 1525, Pescara died in the thirty-sixth year of his eventful and romantic life.

VITTORIA COLONNA.

Not less celebrated, in the annals of peaceful and literary fame, was Vittoria Colonna, the widow who had to mourn his untimely fate.

This illustrious lady was daughter of Fabricio Colonna, grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and Anne Montefeltro daughter of Frederic Duke of Urbino. To all the advantages of birth she added those of beauty, fortune and a highly gifted mind. At four years old, she was promised to the young Ferdinand d'Avalos, the future Marquis Pescara, who was exactly of her own age; and the marriage was allowed to take place, when they had attained their seventeenth year. Great risks are sometimes incurred by these childish contracts; but theirs turned out an union of rare happiness, once interrupted by the accident of war when he was taken prisoner, and afterwards by the honours which awaited him, when called by the Emperor to a high command in the Milanese. These periods of her husband's absence Vittoria passed in the island of Ischia endeared to both, as the scene of their youthful loves; and here she sought consolation and employment in constant correspondence with him, to whom she was devoted, and in the improvement of her intellectual powers. Her early education had been scrupulously

attended to. She was perfectly acquainted with the Latin language, and wrote elegantly in her own, both in verse and prose. Her natural capacity led her by turns to various studies, but poetry was the engrossing object of her imaginative mind, and in this she has established her own fame, whilst referring to the events of her married life, and celebrating the virtues and exploits of her husband. She is further described as exhibiting in her own conduct a rare example of all the virtues.

It is in such, and still more enthusiastic terms that poets and historians have delighted to represent this celebrated woman.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth bears testimony to her merits, when in the exuberance of his satisfaction after the triumph at Pavia, he addressed a letter to the fair Vittoria expressive of his high esteem for her own person, family and *name*, a name which he considered a pledge or augury of the future successes of her victorious husband.

It is much in the complimentary style with a play upon words, which characterises the taste and fashion of the day in similar effusions.

The original is in Latin, of which the following is a translation.*

* This letter and the following from a MS in the Abbate Canonici collection.

“ Charles by Divine clemency Emperor of the Romans always August.

“ Most illustrious and well beloved Cousin !

“ As soon as the news reached us of a victory so signal and memorable as that which the most High has lately deigned to grant to our arms, over the French in Lombardy ; amongst the many grateful subjects with which the said victory filled our mind, the association of it with your name, was one of the most pleasing. This was not forgotten by the bearer of your congratulations Francisco Gutteri acting here for the illustrious Marquis Pescara your husband, who so well discharged the office he had undertaken, as to render the name of Victoria a name ever to be considered by us of most auspicious omen. And this, not without further cause, bearing in mind, as we do, the race and family from which you are descended, whose services to ourselves and to our ancestors have been those of no ordinary desert, and more than this, viewing yourself as wife of him, by whose valour in war, and diligence, and good fortune, this great success has been, in our estimation, mainly atchieved.

“ With claims like these, Vittoria, offering congratulations on the victory of her husband, may be allowed to participate largely in its grandeur, its glory and its advantages ; and whilst there is nothing too great which the Marquis may not look for, from our gratitude and bounty ; so highly do we value your own affection and dutiful respect towards us, that we are led to esteem

your merits as scarcely inferior to those of your husband, and ourselves consequently in a suitable degree your debtor,

I the King."

16th March, 1525.

The adulatory and extravagant tone of some of the passages in reply to this letter which may be observed in the original Italian as given below, could hardly be rendered in prosaic English; but a version in some sort, is attempted, as follows.

" If the Almighty, in consideration of the high merits of your Catholic Majesty, has deigned to raise you to so exalted a station, that the most powerful Kings await their liberty, and supplicate for mercy at your hands; how can I obtain courage to reply to your most condescending letter, unless in the letter itself, I can find a motive to inspire it! None, indeed in these days, can flatter themselves with the hope of rendering any duteous service to your Majesty, unless through some reflected power and grace emanating from yourself, the summit of perfection, and such a concentration of

" Le nostro Signor Iddio rispettando il supremo merito de Vostra Cattolica Maestà si degno elevarla in si eccelso grade che cosi Potenti Re ne aspettano liberta et sono constretti supplicarli mercede, che audacia posso hauer Io rispondere alla humanissima lettera sua se da essa medesima non nascere in me luce per capitarla il animo per meretarla, anzi oggi niun si puo tanto promettere di se che volendo servirla non gli bisogni col suo favor acqvisitar quanto a essa vuol

merit as to deprive the rest of the world of its glory. In your Majesty's goodness alone, we place our hope, the highest earthly source afforded to mortal man. And since the consciousness of your own perfections may in itself suffice to constitute happiness, independently of the homage and offerings which all the world owes you; we can only supplicate your Majesty of your boundless kindness, to hold that as received, which we are unable to repay; and by thus cancelling claims which are your just due, supplying as it were the deficiencies of the universe to render it less unworthy of your Imperial sway.

"But what shall I say of my own happiness, in finding myself remembered by your Catholic Majesty at a time when you were conquering nations, disposing of Royal lives, and remodelling provinces and kingdoms; at a time when the peace of Christendom, and the impending ruin of the infidel hung upon your word.

"I cannot presume to think otherwise, than that it was your pleasure to shew by means like these, how you could at the same moment lower the proud, and

restituire perche iui e il sommo d'ogni perfezione le virtù così unico ni resplendono che tutto il mondo ni resta spagliato.

"In la sua bontà conviene collocare ogni speranza che più alto segno non si concede a mortali. El perche in la sola consideratione et intelligenza de se stesso se felice et beata, non conviene supplicarle altro se nò che poi che se li conciede in la propria grandezza la fruitione d'ogni desiderato bene voglia quello che li deve tutto il mondo e non può darglielo, tenerlo con la sua immensa benignità per ricevuto, che così sodisfarà se stessa e suplende al mancamento del universo, lo fara piu meritevole del degno Imperio suo.

exalt the humble; since there is nothing so great, which does not shrink to small dimensions when brought into contact with the grandeur of your mind, and nothing so small which your condescension cannot raise to greatness. Thus as in many other instances you render yourself conformable to the example of that great Lord and Master, &c. &c. &c.

“ The services, the faith, the loyalty of the Marquis my husband, and of my family I esteem such, as not to be unworthy of the acceptance of your Catholic Majesty; and the promised recompense of these, is grateful to me as a proof of the kindness, with which they have been received; not from any personal desire of aggrandisement, for your Majesty's liberality has always been beforehand with any just expectation. I hardly know which is to be most esteemed, a reward bestowed by a great Prince, or the glory of being told by him, that he considers himself your debtor.

“ Ma che dire della felicità mia essendo stata in la memoria di Vostra Cattolica Maestà in tempo che trionfava di tanti Nationi disponeva degli regie vite repartiva li provincie e i regni pendeva del suo giudicio la quietà de tutta la Christianità e la necessaria ruina degli infideli.

“ Non presumo credere altro, si no che in un medesimo tempo volsi mostrare che come sapeva domare i superbe li piaceva esaltare gli humili, ne cose si grande puo trovarse che alla grandezza del animo suo non sia picciola ne si minima che l'humanità sua non la riceva per grande volendo esser in questo effetto come negl'altri conforme a quel Signore che più d'ogni altro rappresente,

“ I servigii fede e sincerità del Marchese mio consorte, e della casa mia reputo per tali che non indegnamente sonno accetti a Vostra Cattolica Maestà e la promessa commodità desidero piu in questa

“ My own name I have ever held in honour, as given to me in commemoration of past victories, but I shall now chiefly value it, as a happy omen for the future, which your Majesty has been pleased to consider it. For my own part, I am conscious only of having used it to obtain a victory over myself; wishing in the face of so many and obvious dangers that the Marquis my husband should go and serve your Majesty rather than remain in quiet by my side.

“ My prayers shall be continually offered up to our Lord God for the health of your Catholic Majesty, so necessary to the world in general, and especially to us, who are so deeply indebted to your protection and kindness.

“ Written at Ischia the first day of May, 1525.”

It was at this, her favourite retirement in Ischia,

occasione per testimonio del animo suo che per in solita cupidità mia benchè la gratitudine e liberalità sua sempre prevenne ogni giusta domanda.

“ Non so già qual sia più d'estimare o ricevere il premio da un tanto gran Principe o la gloria che dice esserne debitori il nome mio tengo in grandissima estimatione essendome stato posto per la Vittoria di suoi passati e maggiormente essendo dalla M. S. preso in Augurio felice conosco averlo usato solo in vincer mi stessa desiderando più presto con tanti evidenti e diversi pericoli che il Marchese la serva, che non che non vegni a quietarsi con me preghero sempre N^{ro} Sig. Iddio per la salute della C. M^a V. tanto necessaria a tutto il mundo particolarmente a noi che da questo lume solo siamo retti e sostenuti.

d'Ischia il di primo di Maggio,

M. D. XXV.”

that the Marchioness Pescara was residing during the late campaign in Lombardy; and here she remained until the account of her husband's dangerous illness was conveyed to her.

It has been asserted by her biographers, that when the temptation of Moronè's conspiracy occurred, it was the high-mindedness of Vittoria which preserved her faltering husband in the path of duty and honour. "Remember," she is said to have written to him, when consulted on so dazzling a proposal as the crown of Naples, "remember the height to which by your great actions you have already attained, a height which exalts you above the glory of kings. Not by grandeur of station, or of titles, but by virtue alone, is that honour to be acquired, which would prove the noblest legacy to your descendants. For myself I have no ambition to be the wife of a king, but of that great Captain who has known how to conquer by his valour in war, and in peace to subdue the greatest kings by his magnanimity."

That these were the sentiments of this truly virtuous and noble lady, there can be no question, and very probably on this occasion were so expressed; but whether at the exact time to influence his decision, when his loyalty to the Emperor was put to the test must be considered doubtful. His letters which have appeared would seem to contradict such an idea. Besides the interval allowed for reflection in such a case seems scarcely to have admitted of communications between Ischia and Milan.

Be that as it may, the happiness which Vittoria was anticipating in rejoining her illustrious husband was never to be realised. On hearing of his dangerous illness she immediately quitted her retreat and set off for Milan; but on reaching Viterbo, a Courier met her to announce his death.

Vittoria's after life seems to have been consecrated to the recollections of him she loved. This appears in the poetry which furnished a chief source of her consolation, during the first seven years of her widowhood, and bears ample testimony to the sole passion which continued to possess her heart. Mistress of a splendid dowry, and still preserving her beauty, her hand was successively sought by several Princes of Italy; but though strongly urged by her brothers to make a choice, she persisted in rejecting all solicitations to a second marriage.

After this prolonged period of grief, religion at length administered its consolatory aid, and she became an example of sincere piety, as she had proved herself to be of conjugal love. Her poetry as well as her letters were henceforward chiefly directed to sacred subjects. Much of her time was now passed at Naples; which from the unsettled state of other parts of Italy, had become the temporary residence of several celebrated men, eminent for their piety and learning, who had communicated a better spirit and higher tone to the society of this gay city than had ever before prevailed. The doctrines of the Reformation had hence, in some respects, here found favour, not only among the superior but among the

middle classes; and the speculations to which they gave rise in the coteries of the learned and noble, were such as to furnish occupation not merely to the intellect but to the religious affections also. In these, Vittoria with some other women of distinction took a lively interest. Among those who bore a leading part in these societies, and became her intimate friends, were Reginald Pole, a voluntary exile from England to avoid the wrath of Henry the Eighth, and Gaspar Contarini, a noble Venetian, one of his country's most distinguished ornaments, both afterwards Cardinals. Neither of these great men were insensible to the errors and abuses which had crept into the Romish Church; and to them may be ascribed the honour of the first attempt at reformation in Italy.* Some articles of the Faith professed in Germany they did not condemn; far as they were from concurring with the reformers in all points. The unity of the visible Church, and the supremacy of the Pope were too deeply imprinted on their minds to be suddenly renounced, though they sought to establish their creed on the authority of Scripture.

In the friendly intercourse enjoyed with these eminent and virtuous characters, Vittoria may be supposed to have acquired that enlargement and freedom of thought, which countenanced perhaps the idea, erroneously entertained, that she was favourable to the reformed faith. Her subsequent conduct contradicted it. After two or three years thus spent at Naples, she repaired to Rome. Thence in 1541 she retired to a religious house

* Vide Ranke's history of the Popes.

BIBLIOTECA DE LA ALHAMBRA



Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo

FERDINAND ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO.

Duke of Alba

FROM THE IMPERIAL COLLECTION, LOWER BELVIDERE, VIENNA.

at Orvieto, and afterwards to one at Viterbo. On her return to Rome at the beginning of the year 1547 she took up her abode in the Palazzo Cesarini, called Argentina. She there fell sick, and died towards the end of February in the 58th year of her age. Michael Angelo who had long been enamoured of her *divine* talents as he expressed himself, was present on the occasion and received her last sigh. All writers have concurred in praise of her virtue, her beauty and her intellectual powers. Four editions of her works were published in her life time, and her modesty had to suffer in finding this same epithet of *divine* given in them all.

DUKE OF ALVA.

In the short space of two years, Charles the Fifth lost one after the other his most distinguished generals, Pescara, Friendsberg, Bourbon and Lannoy. Leyva did not long survive.

The Marquis del Vasto * having once obtained the summit of Imperial favour seems to have veered round, and to have become a totally different person from that which he had appeared whilst under the guardianship of his uncle Pescara.

One only remained, who was always steady to the Emperor, notwithstanding his Sovereign's visible decline, accelerated as it was by protracted sufferings both of body and mind. This faithful adherent was Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva.

* Not unfrequently written Guasto.

Hormayr in his Austrian Plutarch thus describes him. "A long, thin, boney figure with a high and brazen forehead, deep sunk sparkling eyes, closely cropt head, black bristling hair and flowing beard, hollow, dull voice, stubborn, revengeful and cruel, recognizing no virtue except blind obedience, no means but terror, no merit but his own, or that of his subordinates; as thoroughly a Spaniard, as Publicola and Brutus were Romans, as pliant towards great minds as he was oppressive and cruel towards inferior ones, not exempt from that contradictory meanness which is to be found in every one who sets up to himself *his own* influence as the paramount object of life!"

How completely we recognize in this strong, dark outline the traits of the demoniacal figure represented in the old prints illustrative of the Spanish wars in the Netherlands, as sitting or standing aloof, presiding over that fearful Court called by Spanish historians "*le conseil des troubles*," and by the Flemish "*le conseil de sang*."

His moral portrait has been given by several writers, but all from the same point of view, selecting one particular feature, the most prominent one certainly of his life, as a sample of the whole, his government or rather Dictatorship of the Netherlands. And this, instead of being judged with dispassionate consideration, is enlarged upon and stigmatized in a spirit of the most bitter abhorrence, which his cruelties, it must be admitted, viewed in themselves, were enough to justify. But this is hardly sufficient for the purposes of history,

or for the delineation and full developement of character. The writer who would convey a correct view of the age of Charles the Fifth, as of any other period, must have a mind sufficiently elastic to carry him back to the times he describes, and to form his estimate of men and motives, not by the opinions and feelings of the *present*, but by those which influenced men's actions in *their own proper day*. Unbiassed also by party considerations, he must boldly look to the purest sources for the information he requires.

These are sentiments which Hormayr takes occasion to express in a subsequent notice of the Duke of Alva, contained in his miscellaneous work before alluded to; and as a material help to an impartial judgment of this distinguished character, he speaks of a book hitherto too much neglected, "*L'Histoire de Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo premier du nom Duc d'Albe*, Paris, 1698."

The much scarcer original he observes is in Latin, entirely compiled from family documents, his own private papers, letters and instructions.

The Author, as far as he himself appears in the work, though favourably disposed towards his hero, is no positive flatterer; and his book abounds in authentic and otherwise imperfectly known particulars concerning that age. It is from Hormayr's two, and in some respects different accounts, with occasional references to the above named work (of the French edition of which there is a copy in the British Museum) that the following sketch is for the most part taken.

Alva's life, which lasted seventy-four years, may be divided into three distinct and very different epochs.

He was born in 1508, and served when only seventeen under his grandfather Frederick de Toledo at the battle of Pavia. His remarkable circumspection which early manifested itself shewed rather a disposition for politics than a promise of any great talents for war. This idea was so prevalent, that the Emperor at one time thought him but little capable of ever commanding an army; and it was by favour only that he gave him his first promotions. This opinion even in after times was not forgotten, when a Spaniard dared to address a letter to him, with this superscription, "à Mr. le Duc d'Albe General des armées du Roi en temps du paix, et Maitre de la Maison de S. M. en temps de guerre."

It was not until after the peace with the French King, that the young Ferdinand de Toledo, just become Duke of Alva, first became personally known to the Emperor. The merits of his father and grandfather were sufficient recommendations to Charles's notice and favour, who had too much discernment not to be very soon sensible of the mistake which had been entertained respecting his military talents.

We first view this young soldier much in the Emperor's confidence, and accompanying him into Germany. We find him following his Sovereign through Vienna, which had just stood the Turkish siege; into Hungary, and assisting even with his counsels in subduing the formidable Michael Oglon, and putting Solyman the magnificent to his first precipitate flight. After those

great blows had been struck, which relieved Christendom from this formidable invasion, the successful warrior is presented in another light. We may trace him pursuing a highly romantic journey in order to see his wife, whom he loved with all the ardour of youthful affection. In the short space of eight days and nights he travelled all the way from the middle of Hungary to Barcelona, on horseback—spent a day and a half with her, and returned in the same manner, and in the same space of time to his post before the enemy!

Full of patriotic zeal, joined to a sentiment of uncompromising loyalty towards his Sovereign, Alva was at this time looked upon by his contemporaries as the mirror and flower of Spanish chivalry.

Such was Alva in his youth.

In his riper years during Charles's African and German wars, he appears in all the splendour of his military renown. His prudence and at the same time vigour in war, combined with his statesman-like qualities, rendered him a person looked to in every emergency. Wherever the *impossible* was to be done, Alva was called for. In the wild turmoil of the hurricane at Algiers, the Emperor gave this fearless man the chief command: and it was mainly through him that successes were achieved, not only in Africa, but in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and the Netherlands. The victory at Muhlberg affords a proof of his daring courage which could triumph as much over the hesitating wisdom of the Emperor, as over the confused and disunited mass of his foes. An instance occurred too about this

time of his disinterestedness, or good sense ; perhaps of both. The Emperor offered him the Dutchy of Wurtemberg, which he refused, on the grounds of its impolicy and disadvantage to the Emperor's interest to invest with a German Sovereignty a foreigner, and a Spaniard still more hateful to the Germans, who could hardly bear the rule of their own native masters.

Alva was employed by the Emperor in the Italian campaign of 1555, against the French and Paul the Fourth, the implacable enemy of Charles, where he had the opportunity of displaying his great powers both in the field and cabinet. On the succession of Philip, he continued in command of the army in Italy, with undiminished credit. He again invaded the territory of the Church, and having made himself master of the Campaigna would have proceeded effectually in his intentions of humbling the Pope, but for the scruples of his master, who stopped him short in his career of conquest, and forced him to abandon the advantages he had obtained. This was hard to be borne by the proud spirit of Alva. In a burst of indignation he could not forbear from telling Philip that timidity and scruples were not compatible with politics and war.

This martial ardour which distinguished Alva, did not proceed from a love of fighting battles, the result of which his foresight taught him was never certain ; but rather from a national enthusiasm in defence of his religion and country. A war against infidels, as the Mahometan Moors, and against heretics, such as he held the protestants to be, appeared to him in no other light, than as upholding the sacred cause of God.

His honesty of purpose, and the straightforwardness of his intentions have never been called in question ; but there is no instance on record, it must be admitted, of one more fearfully influenced by those one-sided, prejudiced views which are so apt to govern and mislead the most ardent and uncompromising characters.

The third period of Alva's life is the one best known ; and one which terribly demonstrates this truth—His government under Philip the Second in the Netherlands. His journey thither through Barcelona, Genoa, Besançon and Thionville in command of a considerable army, composed of Spaniards, Germans and Italians, presents the very *beau ideal* of strict discipline, independent decision, bold reliance on the errors of his enemies, and an Argus-like circumspection ; but after arriving at his seat of government, and during the exercise of his despotic power, none can attempt to excuse Alva from the charge of unmitigated sternness and cruelty. This uncompromising Dictator considered the opponents of his authority simply under one view, as obstinate rebels, rebels not only to their king but to their religion. Whatever the first might have done ; the latter species of crime met with no mercy from men in those days, whether churchman, warriors or politicians ; and that both combined should excite the exterminating energies of such a character as Alva's, is not a matter of surprize. It appears indeed a truth inherent in the very nature of social subordination, that any unequal contest, whether it be for religious or national liberty, too easily degenerates into acts of tyranny and

oppression. Neither in Spain, when Philip the Fifth and Charles the Sixth disputed for the throne, nor during the struggle between Hanover and the Stuarts for the Crown of England; neither in La Vendée, nor even lately in different parts of the world with all our modern cosmopolite ideas, has it ever been thought extraordinary that insurrections should be attempted to be put down by terror. Yet, with every allowance that can be made, if we give credit to the favourable account of Alva's youth in the book referred to, we cannot rise from its perusal without a melancholy regret, that half a century passed in the midst of war and diplomacy should have possessed the effect of hardening a romantic heart, and rendering a naturally noble minded man capable of such bloody deeds.

If any means or measures could have been employed to repress a determined outbreak for civil and religious liberty, they were wholly unknown to Alva, and his royal master. Philip dreamed only of one mode of governing, a system which was to be wound up, and go of itself like clock work. Alva accustomed to see armed multitudes obey the drum beat by his orders, thought that the unarmed people would be still more ready to yield a mechanical and implicit obedience. But in the Netherlands, among a people proud of their freedom, he was soon made to perceive his error. This, he was not a man to acknowledge even to himself. He nevertheless appears at times to have halted or shewn a disposition to halt in his sanguinary career; but the master under whom he acted was made of still "sterner stuff."

The memoir referred to, affords positive evidence of the otherwise unauthenticated or unknown fact, that Philip the Second, who received the deputies from the Netherlands with so much shew of courtesy, at Aranjuez, and dismissed them with so many fair and consolatory speeches, always added *private* orders to his official instructions, peremptorily enforcing *severity*; and without ever having deigned to reply to Alva's frequent remonstrances, at length transferred the whole odium of those transactions from himself to his faithful servant.

It is asserted in justification of the Duke of Alva for the execution of Counts Egmont and Horn, who were arrested soon after his arrival, and had been nine months in prison, that the Duke only obeyed, and most unwillingly, the positive orders of the king. Two letters were found in the archives of the house of Toledo, written by Philip in his own hand. In the first he expressly orders him to punish those two Counts, and to hasten the construction of the Citadel, as he had directed on Alva's leaving Spain. In the second, he commands him no longer, to delay this execution; and accuses him of timidity for having written that the best means of preventing an open revolt of the Flemings and their appeal to arms was to keep these two nobles, men of the highest consideration in the country as hostages for their fidelity.

The Duke's imputed fault, therefore, in this instance was the being too slack in executing the sanguinary orders of his sovereign. In another letter the king's

displeasure is made known in terms more harsh, threatening to replace him by a more intrepid Governor, who would know how to obey his commands at once.

Philip, when he heard that his bloody orders had been at length executed, and that these distinguished men had suffered on the scaffold, is reported to have exclaimed; "I have caused these heads to fall, because the heads of such salmon are worth more than thousands of frogs." It did not however save the frogs, or keep them within their fenny enclosures, if by this were meant the swarms of respectable citizens, who fled the Low Country, and carried along with them their wealth and industry, or the eighteen thousand victims judicially murdered afterwards, or the thirty-two thousand, as has been calculated, eventually slain in battle.

The Prince of Orange who was too well aware of the insincerity of Philip, to trust to the fair speeches which had seduced Egmont and Horn to their destruction, no sooner heard of Alva's extraordinary commission as Dictator, (the Duchess of Parma being still Governess of the Netherlands, an office which she soon afterwards resigned) and the advance of his army, than he quitted Brussels with a band of gallant men, and became a rallying point to those, who sought to defend their liberties. This warlike Prince and his adherents, supported more or less by the Protestant powers of Europe, continued their noble contest with varied success, until at length the grand object was

achieved in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and accomplishing the civil and religious independence of the seven united Provinces.

During the several campaigns which followed, issuing thus far at length in the triumph of the Protestant cause, Alva nevertheless sustained his renown as the ablest general of the age. In the sort of warfare in which he was now engaged, he was principally distinguished for his skill and prudence in his choice of position and time for attack, and for rigid enforcement of the strictest discipline. He thus often obtained by cautious delay, what might have been lost or dearly purchased by a precipitate encounter. When urged at Cologne by the Archbishop, to an attack of the Dutch, Alva's reply was "the object of a General is not to *fight* but to *conquer*; he fights enough who obtains the victory." On another occasion, when Alva had attacked the Duke of Nassau at Gemmingen; the Prince of Orange, appearing with a more powerful army, whose movements the young Frederic de Toledo had been charged to observe, this young officer sent to entreat his father's permission to make an attack on the rebels. Alva who had already given his orders, and who required a blind and passive obedience from all in subordinate ranks, announced to his son, that he pardoned his presumption only on account of his inexperience. "Let him take good heed," he added, "not to press me more, for it will cost the life of him who brings me a like message."

It was for conduct of an opposite nature to this over

zeal, that the Duke's anger was manifested against his son in one of the last acts of his dictatorship. A numerous and well disciplined division of veterans was placed under young Toledo's command at the siege of Harleem, but such were the spirit and exertions of the besieged, that week after week was fruitlessly consumed in the enterprize ; until at length he was advised by his most experienced officers to abandon an attempt which proved more fatal to his own troops than to the enemy. The reproaches of his father deterred him from so inglorious a design. "Prosecute the siege," wrote the offended Alva to his son, "until you bring it to a favourable issue, unless you would prove yourself unworthy of the name you bear, and the blood you spring from. You must endeavour to effect by famine what you have been unable to accomplish by the sword ; you must blockade the town instead of storming it ; but if you still entertain thoughts of abandoning the enterprize, I will come myself, sick as I am, to the camp ; or if increasing illness should prevent me, I will send for the Duchess your mother to assume the command." So severe a reproof was not necessary to rekindle the ardour of Frederic, whose haughty spirit resembled that of his father and was little less impatient of contradiction.

The cruelties exercised at the fall of this place, roused afresh the indignant feelings of the Netherlanders, which were still further excited by the insulting spectacle of a bronze statue raised in the Citadel of Antwerp to commemorate the triumph of their merciless

dictator. It was a figure of Alva in full armour, and at his feet a two-headed monster allegorically referring to the nobility and people. The whole was supported by a pedestal of marble with the inscription: "In honour of the Duke of Alva for having restored the Belgians to their allegiance to the King and to the Church; and the Country to tranquility, peace and justice." This was an outrage on the feelings of the nation too galling to be borne, so revolting that it gave offence even to Alva's friends.

His good fortune was nevertheless at this period on the ebb, a fleet which he had equipped was destroyed, and its commander taken prisoner; whilst minor disasters attended his arms on shore.

His health was now beginning to give way. Incessant toil of mind and body was visibly undermining his constitution. Other causes might have had their weight in determining him to seek his recal from a position to which he found himself unequal. Philip's favour seems to have been on the decline. It is said he could forgive the loss of seven of his provinces during Alva's administration; but he could not pardon him for inscribing his own name on the trophies erected at Antwerp instead of his master's. Perhaps experience and his natural sagacity might at length have convinced Alva, that the task he had undertaken was impossible; that a veteran army, commanded by the most powerful and determined leader, with all the aid of military skill and vast resources, were insufficient to crush the desperate efforts of a whole people, inspired

by the ardour of liberty, and religious zeal. Be that as it may, this truth was clearly demonstrated afterwards, when the milder government of his successor Requesens, the warlike renown and energies of Don John of Austria, and the military genius of Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, were equally in their turn found ineffectual to suppress the revolt of the Netherlands.

Alva received his recall in 1573 and left the country over which he had presided with unrelenting severity for about six years. The first act of his successor's authority was to demolish the statue set up in the Citadel of Antwerp, so that nothing remained to perpetuate his name in Flanders, but the memory of his cruelties.

Few documents pertaining to these memorable times can afford a more striking illustration of the brighter parts of the Duke of Alva's character, his sound understanding, his experienced wisdom, his thorough knowledge of soldiers and of war, as well as his loyalty and tender attachment to the great Emperor, than the following confidential letter to Don John of Austria. It was written whilst Alva was in the Netherlands in the year 1570, a little before the memorable victory achieved by this young and gallant prince over the Turks and Turkish fleet at Lepanto.

The German copy from which the following was taken, is a contemporary official translation of the Spanish original.

"No circumstance in the course of my life ever made me feel more regret, than I do at the present

moment, that other duties should interfere to prevent me from attending your Excellency during this expedition. I beg to assure you, that you have not a soldier amongst your followers, who is prouder to march under your banners than I should be to do so myself, and that were I at present in Spain, neither the burden of sixty-four years, nor any infirmities, were they ever so great, should be permitted to place an impediment in the way of my joining you. 'No horse is too old for a little caper, if it be done willingly, even at the risk of feeling a little stiff after it.' Your Excellency must not suppose, that I am boasting of more than I am able to perform by this saying; but I quote it because it was taught me by your father,* on which account I value it highly.

"I have been informed that your Excellency is to be accompanied by the Commendator Major de Castilla, the Marquis de Pescara, the Count de Saint Flor, Joan Andrea, and the other officers in command of the galleys, and also Ascanio de la Cornia.

"Truly, Sir, it is a goodly company; and your Excellency must rejoice, that his Majesty has sought out for you such distinguished persons and men so well qualified to furnish you with good counsel upon all occasions. I entreat your Excellency to treat them with much affection, and to keep them in good humour with one another. For soldiers are so constituted,

* Don John of Austria was a natural son of Charles the Fifth. His reputed mother was Barbara Blomberg a citizen's daughter of Ratisbon.

that they will never give way, even the breadth of an inch; no, not if it were to their own brother, or their own son. And yet surely this obstinacy, unpleasing as it is, may be forgiven, when we reflect that with them any trifle may turn to a stain on their honour.

“ Before your Excellency proposes any question in full council, I should recommend your adopting the plan of a private and confidential communication on the subject, whatever it may be, with each of your advisers *separately*, in order to hear their unbiassed opinions. I know this practice to be highly useful; for each member flattered by a mark of esteem which he will regard as a particular favour done to himself individually, will thus be induced to give without restraint his real opinion.

“ In full council it often happens, that one Soldier only talks to prove his own superiority over another; whereas according to the afore mentioned plan, when they feel bound by your Excellency's previous knowledge of their sentiments, they will speak out freely, and no longer contradict each other, merely for the sake of argument.

“ In council also, your Excellency should take pains to prevent any thing like quarrelling, at the same time securing due consideration for the subject in debate; and all this with careful attention to your own dignity; for it does not do, to be too condescending, lest the high respect which ought to be entertained towards your person should suffer any diminution.

“ It will be useful to assemble your public council

often, and to let it consist, not only of Field Marshals, and Colonels, but of Captains also, which will give great satisfaction to those officers who are a step lower in rank.

“Your Excellency should endeavour always to shew a cheerful countenance to your soldiers, for this with a few sentences of commendation from your own lips, directed sometimes in favour of one nation, and sometimes of another, will go a great way towards conciliating the regard of the troops, who are very fond of boasting of their General's own words.

“I must also recommend to your Excellency to shew as much interest as possible in their payment; that they may receive it regularly whenever it can be obtained, and when that is out of the question, that they may at least see your Excellency anxious to procure it for them on the very first opportunity. Also to take care, that the provisions be of the best kind; and let the soldiers understand that the Commissariat is under your own particular superintendence.

“When the Captaincy is vacant, and the Lieutenant has proved himself an efficient person, let the appointment be given to him in preference to any other, especially in the case of private soldiers, whose advancement should always be the result of merit and not of favour.

“When all this justice and consideration is added to great strictness in enforcing discipline, your Excellency cannot fail of being loved and respected by all. Do not fear that strict punishment will alienate the affections of

soldiers, for on the contrary, too much lenity and indulgence are a great deal more likely to do so.

"It is highly necessary that all the officers under your Excellency should be held in great respect, and looked up to by the soldiers, for which end your support of their authority should be such, as to convince all offenders against it, that they have no indulgence to expect from your Excellency on this subject.

"The defence of a fortress depends so much more upon the people inside it than upon the strength of its outer walls, that let these latter be ever so ruinous, if it has a good and numerous garrison, and no lack of provisions, it will always be able to hold out till the siege is raised.

"I must warn your Excellency that the first encounter you have to expect, will probably be one against your own soldiers; for they will counsel you to give battle at the wrong moment; they will want to know your reasons for delaying it, and will grumble and look discontented, and say that you are losing the fairest chance.

"Against all such remonstrances allow me to entreat your Excellency to make a very firm stand; and remember that you are the son of a great warrior, and are born to be a soldier.

"As the screams and shouts of the Moors are a novelty even to experienced veterans, what must they not be to your young soldiers? And since your Excellency has no cavalry, we must devise some means to prevent the troops from suffering anything like a panic.

Your Excellency's army will not be required to advance, and its safety may always be secured by entrenchments.

"I have always been an enemy to stratagems, and have never used them, except during the last expedition against these rebels, who were superior to us in point of cavalry; but I send your Excellency a model which may be useful, and being small can be easily carried about.

"Your Excellency may trust me and rest assured that in many cases the soldiers' confidence may be gained by the most childish device; and that even a whisp of straw set up and proclaimed by his commanding officer to be a safeguard or protection, may be found enough to warm his heart and animate his courage in a moment of need.

"Your Excellency should on no account permit *skirmishing*, for to such we may often trace the disasters which have occurred in Barbary, and much of the confusion and disorder incident to war in general.

"Every possible means of discipline, be it remembered, rest with the commanding officers, and it is consequently in their power to prevent or to remedy all irregularities.

"Upon this view I acted on the night of my retreat from Colonna to Rome; and in order to preserve the excellent discipline which prevailed, undisturbed, I continued my march fifteen miles further without halting; and not a single member of the army broke the ranks. The Conde de Santa Flor and Ascanio de la Cornia

who were with me, will be able to report to your Excellency, concerning the order which was established on that occasion.

“My affection for Your Excellency which prompts this letter, must at the same time serve as an excuse for its length, and for the perhaps unnecessary details it contains; but the unstudied plainness with which I have ventured to note down every trifle which struck me as being useful, will sufficiently prove that it was written for your Excellency's eyes alone. Had I intended to indite a document for the advantage of others, I would have made it much shorter, and have offered my advice in a more professional manner; that I might have given no occasion to those who belong to the army to criticise or to blame me, which many who see this, might be ready to do.

“I will not fatigue your Excellency with any entreaties on the subject of your demeanour towards his Holiness the Pope, and also towards the Venetian General, because I well know how careful you are in those matters, feeling convinced that your Excellency will use the utmost courtesy in all your dealings with them. Yet I would fain remind your Excellency that a peculiar degree of consideration is due to his Holiness, who should be held in all love and reverence like a father; and I would recommend your Excellency also to pay great attention to the Italian Potentates, and to write to them often; and thus to shew how diligent you are in your correspondence, and what a good understanding you are desirous of keeping up with them.

“It will be desirable, I will further add, to maintain the same degree of interest with his Majesty’s ministers, by keeping them fully acquainted with what is passing, and giving as much support as is in your power to their authority. This may be always done with perfect propriety, provided that your requisitions of what is essential to his Majesty’s service, come so recommended that they may take pleasure in duly attending to them.”

Is there not something in the spirit and tone of these instructions which brings to the reader’s mind the idea of another great commander, the illustrious Duke of these latter days?

Alva, after quitting the Netherlands, sought the retirement of his Country place, where he remained unnoticed by the Court. The behaviour of his son, who had misconducted himself towards one of the maids of honour, is supposed to have been one cause of the coolness observed towards the father on the part of Philip. During this period of neglect, if not of disgrace, Alva never attended the council at Madrid except when specially ordered to do so. This appears to have been but once, on the death of Requesens, which happened in less than two years after Alva’s retirement. He was then called upon to give his opinion on the appointment of a successor. The Duke, whose ardour for putting down revolt by terror, and the force of arms, was yet unabated, recommended and strongly urged the nomination of Don John the Victor of Lepanto to this arduous post. This was his ad-

vice to the king in council. "Let this young Prince be sent, but with a powerful army; and if the Royal Treasury is not sufficient for this expense, let them take the sacred vessels and ornaments of the Churches to be employed on this work, for it is a war purely religious. Broken down as I am with age and infirmities, I will willingly follow this amiable Prince, and am ready to do my duty as a private soldier in a country, where, as General-in-chief, I have cut to pieces the greatest armies. I will do this, Sire, if your Majesty wishes it, and shew by this action to all the world that, the Duke of Alva makes war, less for his king and the acquisition of glory, than for the service of God and the exaltation of the Church."

Don John was accordingly appointed Regent.

After the death of the young king Sebastian of Portugal in the battle of Alcazar, and that of his great uncle the Cardinal King Henry, his feeble successor; Philip, whose claim to the succession appears to have been the best among several competitors, became impatient to unite the whole Peninsula under his dominion. For this purpose a war was to be undertaken, and a General was wanted. Ill as Philip had treated the Duke of Alva, whom he had condemned to a sort of banishment, a sense of his own interest at this time brought to the king's recollection the long tried fidelity and abilities of his old commander. Two of the Royal Chamberlains were dispatched to Uzeda, the place of

Alva's retreat, to enquire whether his health still allowed him to take the command of an army. The loyalty of Alva had not yielded to neglect. He answered without hesitation, that he was ready to devote the little remains of his strength to the service of the king, to whom he begged permission to pay his respects at Madrid. Yet this trifling request was most ungraciously refused; and Alva after having received his instructions, was immediately ordered to join and to take command of the army. Those who had witnessed his arrogance and cruelty in the Netherlands, were not sorry for the mortification he now experienced, but could not withhold their applause for his invincible loyalty, which determined him, in the extremity of age, to face the fatigues and hazards of war for the advantage of a sovereign who had repaid his former services with so much ingratitude. His work, the last labour of his life, was soon performed. In two battles the fate of Portugal was decided. That fine kingdom with all its foreign possessions was gained to Philip, and continued united to the crown of Spain until the year 1641, when its independence was restored, and John of Braganza a descendant of the old Royal family was seated on the throne.

Alva did not long survive this great success. At Thomar, where, it appears, he met the King, he breathed his last in December, 1582; and according to the biography referred to, in the arms of his master. On this occasion, Philip is reported to have given a last and touching testimony to his merits, thus addressing those

who were present ; “ I experience at this moment that there is nothing more contemptible than the gifts of fortune ; and I know too well that she gives us a little, in order that she may take away much. She no sooner puts me in possession of a great kingdom, then she robs me of a still greater good, by depriving me of a Captain, most able, most brave and most faithful.”

In the two works referred to, from which the foregoing has been for the most part gathered, there are some discrepancies. The personal description of the Duke of Alva given from Hormayr nearly corresponds with that contained in the more generally favourable account of the other memoir ; but the description of his end is very different. “ The qualities of his body,” it is there said, “ answered well to those of his mind. His person was well formed, of a moderate height, and strong featured long face, eyes lively and full of fire, which as he grew older became more fierce. He had a stern and sometimes terrible countenance ; his forehead was high, his step firm and grave. He was indefatigable, slept and ate little ; was not delicate ; spoke little, but with much discernment.” The writer in this work gives us also to understand that in his last years, he was a cheerful old man. Hormayr describes his end in the most fearful colours. The ghosts of those he had murdered appeared to press before him in a threatening manner ; and he died with a passionate and violent repentance. Between these conflicting presentations, whoever may be curious to seek the truth, will not fail to observe, that in the acts of Alva's

latter days there appear a like bigotry and entire consistency of purpose with those of his former life ; and nothing like a change of sentiment can be detected, to make us suppose that what he once thought the perfection of manly virtue, he could be afterwards led to view in the light of the deepest guilt.



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

PART THE FOURTH.

Relatione del Clarissimo M. Bernardo Navagiero, ritornato Ambasciatore d'Alemagna da Carlo Quinto Imperator, l'anno MDXLVI. nel mese di luglio.

MS. formerly belonging to the collection of the abbate Canonici of Venice now in the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Denton, Oxon.

Bernardo Navagiero was Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Fifth in the years, 1544, 45 and 46. He was a noble Venetian of high character and of the same distinguished family as André Navagiero a former Ambassador at the Emperor's Court.

Bernardo was Bishop of Verona, and charged with several successive Embassies. He was a Father of the Council of Trent and died a Cardinal in 1565.

The doge of Venice addressed in this Relation was Francisco Donato a Prince celebrated for his many amiable qualities, as well as for his eloquence and profound erudition.

ADDRESS TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE,
by the most noble BERNARDO NAVAGIERO, late Am-
bassador at the Court of the Emperor Charles V ;
on his return from Germany in the Month of July,
1546 : after a sojourn of thirty-four months.

Most Serene and illustrious Prince,

In the following report, which is the last duty of my Embassy, I shall feel myself bound to consider rather how many things may without injustice be omitted, than how many things are to be put in ; since it is impossible that scantiness of material can be attributed to an ambassador just returned from the Court of so great an Emperor as Charles V ; and especially when such stirring events as active warfare, untenable confederations, and an unhoped for peace, all took place during his mission ! Considering therefore the manifold occupations of your Highness and of this illustrious Council, I will confine myself to the relation of such things only as may tend to usefulness in the future deliberations of your excellencies—thereby endeavouring to fulfil the object of that wise custom which requires a similar Report from all our Ambassadors.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPEROR.

The Emperor is now forty-six years of age. He is a Prince who amidst all his greatness and victories has retained a most humble and modest demeanour.

He appears to be very studious of religion, and

wishes by his example to excite the fervour of Divine worship in his Court; so that in order to acquire his favour there is no surer method than propriety of conduct, and the profession of sincere Christianity.

His Court is more quiet and modest than I can describe; without any appearance of vice, and perfectly well ordered. In his audiences, especially towards persons in official situations, he is extremely patient, and answers everything in detail; but seldom or never comes to an immediate resolution on any subject. He always refers the matter, whether it be small or great to Monsr. de Granvelle; and after consulting with him he resolves on the course he has to take, but always slowly, for such is his nature.

Some people find fault with this, and call him irresolute and tardy; whilst others praise him for caution and discretion.

With regard to private audiences, he used to be more diligent than he now is; but even now he generally has two or three every day after dinner. These private audiences are sometimes left to his Ministers; and *they* being few, and the affairs many, no one can come to Court for any matter, whether of importance or otherwise, without being detained much longer than is agreeable to them.

The Emperor dines in public almost always at the same hour — namely, twelve o'clock at noon. On first rising in the morning, which he does very late, he attends a private mass, said to be for the soul of the late Empress. Then, after having got over a few

audiences, he proceeds to a public mass in the chapel, and immediately afterwards to dinner. So that it has become a proverb at Court; "Dalla messa alla mensa," (from the mass to the mess.)

The Emperor eats a great deal; perhaps more than is good for his health, considering his constitution and habits of exercise. And he eats a kind of food which produces gross and viscous humours, whence arise the two indispositions which torment him; namely, the gout and the asthma.

He tries to mitigate these disorders by partial fasts in the evening, but the physicians say it would be better if he were to divide the nourishment of the day into two regular meals.

When his Majesty is well, he thinks he never can be ill, and takes very little notice of the advice of his physician; but the moment he is ill again, he will do anything towards his recovery.

He is liberal in some things, such as recompensing those who have served him in the field, and those for whom he has any particular regard; but even in this he proceeds slowly. In his dress, his table, furniture and equipages, and the chase, he affects rather the state of a moderate Prince, than of a great Emperor. Although not by nature inclined to do so, his Majesty is constrained to dispense gifts on a very large scale; for all the income of the *three orders** in Spain, which are extremely rich, must of necessity be distributed by the Emperor, as also the many benefices and bishoprics

* St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara.

of Spain and his other dominions. It is plain that he proceeds very cautiously in these matters, and gives away with much discrimination; having respect only to the good character and virtuous conduct of those to whom they are given; and on the subject of these Bishoprics, His Majesty generally acts by the advice and opinion of his Confessor, a Spanish monk of the order of St. Domenick.

The Emperor professes to keep his word, to love peace, and to have no desire for war, unless provoked to it. He is consistent in keeping up the dignity of those whom he has once made great; and whenever they get into difficulties he trusts rather to his own judgment in their case, than to what is said of them by others. He is a Prince who will listen to all, and is willing to place the utmost confidence in his friends, but chooses to have always the casting voice himself; and when once persuaded in his own mind, it is rare indeed that any argument will change his opinion. His recreations consist chiefly in following the chase; sometimes accompanied by a few attendants, and sometimes quite alone, with an arquebuss in his hand. He is much pleased with a dwarf given to him by His Highness the King of Poland, which dwarf is very well made and quick witted. The Emperor sometimes plays with him, and he seems to afford him infinite amusement. There is also a jester lately come from Spain who makes His Majesty laugh, and causes a deal of merriment at Court. His name is Perico, and in order to please the Emperor, whenever Philip his son is named, he calls him S^{or} di Todo.*

* Lord of all.

And now, though I might enlarge much more upon the nature, habits and virtues of the Emperor, I will only remark as a brief summary, that from all I have seen in my time and from what others who frequent his Court are obliged to confess, there does not exist in these days a more virtuous Prince or one who sets a better example to all men, than His Majesty Charles V.

THE EMPEROR'S BODY-GUARD AND HOUSEHOLD.

The Emperor's body-guard consists of two hundred halberdiers; one half of whom are Spanish, and the other half German; and of one hundred Archers, who receive more than twice as much pay as the former.

His household is divided into three principal departments. The first is under the direction of the "Sommelier du corps" (King's Butler; or Comptroller of the Household) who now performs the duty formerly devolving on the Grand Chamberlain; for since the death of Mons^r. de Nassau the Emperor has not chosen to appoint any one in his place.

The second department is under the "Maggiordomo Maggior," (Chief Majordomo, or Master of the Household) and the third under the "Gran Scudier" (Master of the Horse.)

The first of these appointments is now held by Mons^r. de Rice, a Burgundian, and in his absence by the eldest of the Gentlemen of the Chamber (il "Camerrier piu vecchio"). Under his orders are all those whose duty or privilege it is, to enter the private apartments; and to whose care the guard of the Sovereign's

person is committed; such as, the Gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the household servants, and the medical men and other officials who are concerned in the preservation of human life.

As soon as the Emperor leaves his own apartment the charge of guarding his person devolves upon the Chief Majordomo, the Duke of Alva.

Under him are two other Majordomos. One of them is a Piedmontese, called Monfalconeto, and the other is a Spaniard, named Giovan Manzi Guedilara who is brother to the Duke de Nagara. Under their orders are all the Gentlemen of the kitchen and of the household,* who are occupied with the arrangements of the Emperor's table, and the necessary household expenditure.

There is a stated number of these attendants, but it sometimes varies at the Emperor's pleasure. They all attend His Majesty in time of peace, and of war; some with two, some with four, and some with six horses. During a campaign they are embodied into what is called the Squadron of His Majesty's Household.

As soon as the Emperor puts his foot into the stirrup, the charge of guarding his person is transferred to the Master of the Horse, the Count de Bresse. Under his command are all the horsemen and pages of His Majesty; and the arms and everything pertaining to war are in his keeping.

I have been told by one who manages the Emperor's household expenditure, including his private chapel,

* "Gentiluomini della bocca e della casa."

music, and the chase, that it amounts to no less than 250,000 ducats a year; which payments are now made out of the Spanish monies when the Court is in Spain, and out of the Flemish ones when it is in Flanders.

He also told me, that the plan of distributing the several offices as above referred to, and the salaries of the various officials, are entirely founded on the household arrangements of the Dukes of Burgundy.

THE EMPEROR'S COUNSELLORS.

The Emperor has two principal Counsellors. I might say he has ONLY TWO Counsellors, who support the burden of all his states, namely, Covos and Granvelle; neither of them were born noble; both were raised from obscurity and brought forward by him, and by his means have acquired all their wealth, partly through the liberality of the Sovereign, and partly through the importance of the affairs intrusted to them. Covos is said to have an income of no less than seventy thousand ducats a year, and Granvelle, including the benefices of Monseigneur of Arras, has nearly fifty thousand, besides much ready money, and a handsome and valuable property in silver and household furniture. Every rare and precious thing in Spain, Germany and Italy, has at one time or another passed through the hands of these two Ministers, and is likely to do so again.

THE GRAN COMMENDADOR COVOS.

Concerning Covos I hear, that he is very adroit and courteous. There is great difficulty in gaining access to his person, but when once this is overcome, his manners are so soft, graceful and pleasing, that every one departs well satisfied. When he is able to grant a favour, he does so immediately, without the slightest delay, and if he is obliged to give a denial to any request, it is done with apparent reluctance, and not without offering a good reason for the necessity. Covos is thoroughly acquainted with the Emperor's disposition, and with the fit time for making applications to him, which is perhaps the reason that he is so much liked by His Majesty. When he is with the Emperor, every thing passes through his hands, and when absent, his opinion is sent for on all occasions of importance.

He has boasted of having acquired at least a hundred friends by means of the various services he has been able to render them ; and I should suppose, that each of these services must have been worth at least a thousand ducats to him. The popularity of Covos both with the Emperor and others, is very much increased by the amiable bearing and gentle manners of Donna Maria di Mendoza his wife, who receives and entertains every one with great cleverness, and courtesy of demeanour.

THE GRANVELLES.

Mons^r. de Granvelle, being a native of Burgundy, is well acquainted with the customs of the Low Countries, and with the Emperor himself, who calls him his Chief Counsellor, and the keeper of his seal.

Whenever the Emperor leaves Spain for Germany or Flanders, Granvelle rises in importance, and he has lately been in such continual request, that nothing either small or great could be done without his concurrence.

This has necessarily involved a most wearisome prolongation of business ; and yet, neither the Emperor nor himself seem to wish for any one else to assist in the affairs of the Low Countries. On the contrary it is asserted, that Granvelle endeavours to keep the Emperor out of Spain as long as possible, in order that he may continue alone in his important functions. He is reputed somewhat hasty and impatient by those with whom he has to deal, but, considering the multitude of affairs which daily press upon him, this failing should be treated with indulgence.

Mons^r. de Granvelle is now intent upon bringing forward his son, the Bishop of Arras, who is a very pleasing person, well bred, and literate.

He speaks five or six languages, and is universally popular at Court. He begins to take a part in all important negociations, and was present at the treaty of peace with the most Christian King. He has been on a mission to England, and also to France ; and is much

in the good graces of the Emperor, both on account of his own merits, and those of his father.

Though Mons^r. de Granvelle, who was born poor and of small reputation, has now risen to such a height of wealth and grandeur, yet is he esteemed in nothing more fortunate than in his seven children, who are all amiable, polished, and liked by every one.

No place can be obtained, nor any affair of importance be carried on, without the assistance of one of these two great men, Covos, or Granvelle, for which reason there is hardly a King, Prince, Lord, Duke or private gentleman who does not either pension or confer gifts upon them. This the Emperor is well aware of, and he allows it; and many people think it a great privilege to know of a means by which they can secure the interest of those who have the power of obtaining for them what they desire.

Next to these two great men, the Duke of Alva and the Regent Figueroa stand highest with the Emperor as his advisers in Council. Figueroa is a Spaniard, who was brought up by the Viceroy of Naples.

He is esteemed a man severe and just, and is always consulted touching the affairs of Italy, but on account of his very cold and reserved manners it is not supposed that he will get on much in the world.

HOW THE EMPEROR'S MINISTERS STAND AFFECTED
TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC.

As to the disposition of these Great Ministers towards your Serene Highnesses, if I were to judge from their *words* I should say it was friendly in the extreme, but seeing that they are "Oltra montani"* and therefore by nature little favourable to Italians, especially to such as make them no presents, it is very possible that their feelings may differ from their expressions.

THE EMPEROR'S GENERALS AND HIS ARMY.

Whoever takes the trouble of following up the progress of the Emperor's warlike career, will find that his chief renown has been derived much more from the excellence and valour of his commanders than from the extent of his dominions or the great variety and richness of his possessions.

It was in the time of the Colonnas, the Pescaras, the Leyvas, and the Bourbons, that Kings and Popes were taken prisoners, that Italy was overawed and that the other grand events took place which your illustrious Council has witnessed.

But in this as in all other worldly matters sad changes have come to pass, and, with these Great Captains and their well-disciplined troops, much of Cæsar's glory had departed.

Who the men are that at present command his armies, what their merits, and what the esteem in

* Transalpine, or "From beyond the Alps."

which they are held by the Emperor, I will now proceed to relate. And my account may be the more safely relied upon by your Serene Highness since I had the opportunity of personal acquaintance with many of them during the late war.*

THE EMPEROR'S CHIEF COMMANDERS BY SEA
AND LAND.

The Emperor has three Captains-General — one by sea, who is the famous Admiral, Prince Doria : and two by land — namely, Senor Don Ferrante (Don Ferrand Gonzaga) and the Duke of Alva.

Don Ferrante is a very indefatigable man, trustworthy and faithful. He sleeps little, is most patient in reverses and personally brave ; but owing to his extreme reluctance in spending both his master's money and his own, he is constantly at fault respecting the enemy's movements, and has not acquired for himself either as many friends, or as much credit as he deserves. The soldiers dislike him, and the inferior officers entertain for him more fear than affection.

Nevertheless he is in high favour with the Emperor, as was shewn by his being given the place held by the Marquis del Vasto in Italy, as soon as it was vacant. M. de Granvelle is much his friend and patron ; nor does he fail to do the great man homage ; for during the late war he was in the habit of paying him constant visits, and giving him entertainments ; in return for

* The Venetian Ambassador accompanied the Imperial army during the Campaign of 1544, against France.

which, the last time he was at Court Don Ferrante's opinion was requested on every subject of importance, not only concerning the affairs of war, but also those of peace. The said Don Ferrante has always shewn the greatest friendliness towards me, out of respect to Your Serene Highness.

THE DUKE OF ALVA.

The Duke of Alva has not been much employed in war, but the Spaniards say he is a man of parts and honour, and esteem him very highly; as indeed they are accustomed to do all their own countrymen. They say that he comported himself in a marvellous manner at the defence of Perpignan; and that whenever his military services are required again, he will shine forth with a still brighter lustre. This Duke is much beloved by the Emperor, and it is said that in case of war he will be appointed to the chief command.

PRINCE DORIA.

I can relate but little that is new concerning Prince Doria, since he is no longer young, and his services are so well known to your illustrious Council — but I will mention, that there exists no one, of whatever nation, for whom the Emperor has a greater regard.

His Majesty is well aware that he is indebted to him for Genoa — and for the power of passing so often from Spain into Italy, and from Italy into Spain, by which means many of his States have been preserved which would probably have been lost. Finally the Emperor acknowledges, that all his maritime renown is

owing to Prince Doria, whom he is in the habit of calling "*Father*."

Between the Prince (Andrea) and Sig. Antonio Doria, there is very little cordiality, but rather a secret ill-will and hatred, which has often tempted Antonio to sell and alienate his galleys, and take to land-service; deeming it impossible to get on at sea, on account of the Prince's jealousy.

THE EMPEROR IN TIME OF WAR.

To conclude this subject of the Captains-General, it is the received opinion that the Emperor has no better General in the army, than *himself*. He is full of spirit in undertaking difficult enterprises, and very brave and intrepid in carrying them on. He has given proof of these qualities in all his warlike expeditions; as well as of great presence of mind in foreseeing and taking advantage of every probable occurrence.

He attempted *Tunis* where he had to combat not only with men, but with the fury of the elements and the sterile nature of the soil—and I am told he was always the first to brave every danger. It is said that at Algiers the remains of the army were preserved only by his courage and constancy of soul. The three attempts upon the kingdom of France were his doing, and though they did not meet with much success, they proved the intrepidity of his spirit. In the last campaign, in which I myself was present, your Excellencies will hear, how the advancing to meet the enemy was his particular wish. Such gallant bearing on the Em-

peror's part, causes him to be much loved and esteemed by the soldiers; and the more so as he is very exact in fulfilling his promises.

This Prince cannot dissemble the pleasure he experiences in time of war; and whereas in towns and in common life he is heavy, grave, and severe, so in the camp he is all alive, active and mirthful. He is present in every place, sees everything, and forgetting that he is a great Emperor, he does the work of a subaltern or inferior Captain.

OPINIONS ON THE EMPEROR'S PRESENCE IN THE CAMP.

Many say, that this personal interference causes great inconvenience during a Campaign, on account of the caution which must be observed, lest the Emperor's person should be exposed to danger in any useless skirmish, or hazardous undertaking. They say this feeling cramps the energy of the commanders, and renders them much less enterprising than they would otherwise be. In short many of his subjects and especially the Spaniards, are of opinion, that the Emperor would do much better to stay at home.

They allege, that without moving from Spain his Catholic Majesty (Ferdinand of Arragon) won the Kingdoms of Naples, Granada and Navarre: besides taking several towns in Africa; such as Oran, Bugia and others; and they add, that the Emperor himself has been victorious whenever affairs of this kind were left to his Ministers.

Others again, say ; that considering the persons who now serve him and the quality of his armies, things would have gone much worse if he had not been present ; and they remark with justice, that a proceeding which may at one time be successful, will, at another time, utterly fail.

QUARTERMASTERS GENERAL.

There were two Quartermasters General in the Imperial army during the late war ; namely, S^{or}. Stefano Colonna, and S^{or}. Giovanni Battista Gastaldo.

The former was commended by all for his prudence and gravity ; but he himself not finding much to commend in a service where he deemed that he was treated with little consideration, preferred returning to Florence, as soon as the Duke could obtain a license for him to depart, on some pretext concerning Barbarossa.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA GASTALDO.

Gastaldo is esteemed a very practical man, and one possessed of correct judgement. His naturally good understanding has been improved by a great deal of experience, since his apprenticeship in war was served under many famous Captains, and especially under the Marquis de Pescara ; whose likeness in gold he always wears on his breast.

He discourses well and eloquently about the things he has seen ; which are many, being a man of fifty years old. Yet his speech sometimes reveals too

freely what is on his mind, seeing that his long services to the Emperor have been but inadequately requited.

THE MARQUIS DE MARIGNANO.

The Marquis de Marignano is at the head of the Artillery department; he is reputed an excellent soldier, well versed in the affairs of war, very diligent and active; but too much inclined to seek his own benefit and advancement.

THE COLONNAS.

Camillo Colonna is esteemed more for the merits of his family, than for his own.

Pyrrho Colonna had no definite place in the army during the late Campaign, but served some months when the Emperor was in want of men. He professes to be very religious, and is a good deal looked up to in the Council chamber. The fault attributed to him is warmth of temper.

DON FRANCESCO D'ESTE.

Senor Don Francesco da Este was Head Captain of Light horse. He is thoroughly well-bred, courteous and ambitious of rising in the world. There were four Captains under his Command. Scipio di Gennaro, a Neapolitan; Alessandro Gonzaga, a Mantuan; Captain Choué, a Greek, and Il Pozzo, a Milanese.

COUNT FRANCESCO DELLA SOMMAGGIA.

Not to omit any Italian of distinction, I must enumerate Count Francesco della Sommagia. A man of good understanding and excellent memory. He converses fluently, and possesses much solid information, but he would not undertake any definite charge in the army, knowing that he was suspected of favouring the French interest. The Authorities do not trust him; and he himself confessed to me one day, that he believed the Emperor had only sent for him under pretext of asking his advice, in order to get him out of Milan.

JEALOUSY OF THE COMMANDERS.

Amongst all the Captains whom I have named, illustrious Prince, there exists an infinite degree of rivalry, or rather a concealed hatred, which often does irreparable mischief to the Emperor's cause, for many good counsels are overruled or set at nought by the dread that any one man should gain a superiority over the rest.

The greatest number have endeavoured to tempt me, either personally or by means of a friend, to get them into the service of Your Highness; except Don Ferrante, and of him it was rumoured when he left the Court, that he was gone to Venice to try and obtain the appointment of Captain General there.

Besides these Italians who occupied the most important Posts in the army, there were Flemish, German

and Spanish Commanders. And here I must briefly remark, that if the above mentioned rivalry existed between the Italians, being all of one nation, it rose to a much higher pitch between these different, and unfriendly ones; who, rather than acknowledge any priority of information in each other, would often prefer to remain ignorant of the favourable chances which fortune might throw in their way, or purposely allow them to escape.

FLEMISH, GERMAN AND SPANISH COMMANDERS.

The *Flemings* are, the Duke of Arascot, the Count de Büren, the Count d'Agamon, Mons' de Stratas, Mons' de Budarda, Mons' de Bassi and others who, if they *really knew* as much of war as they *think* they do, would *be* the great generals they wish to pass for: but in truth, living as they do in Flanders, in a continual course of eating and drinking, they are fit for little else. Notwithstanding which, they stand high in the Emperor's favour.

Of *Germans*, the chiefs of the Cavalry are: Duke Maurice of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburgh, both high spirited young men, but so proud and ungoverned, that they will submit to no controul.

There are four German Colonels of Infantry: Count William de Fürstenberg, Col. E, George of Ratisbon, and Christopher Edembergh. All four are esteemed very brave, but they are imprudent, and do not know how to act the part of experienced officers.

Of *Spaniards*, I will name the three most distinguished: Don Alvaro di Sandos and Luis Perez, leaders of the veteran Spanish soldiers, and Basco di Cugna, commander of those who were last brought from Spain.

Don Alvaro is considered a brave and spirited leader, with perhaps too good an opinion of himself, for he boasts that if he alone had been placed at the head of 40,000 Spaniards he should have come off victorious.

Basco di Cugna is said to understand the art of war much better. In a word, he is a "Captain of olden times." * He was present during the Italian wars of Maximilian, and at Verona.

I can only add to this brief survey, that few of these officers join the service with a view of acquiring glory, or of serving their Prince. Each is full of his own private interests, and comes to the war only for the sake of enriching himself with the spoils of the enemy, or with the money of his master.

OF THE SOLDIERY WHICH COMPOSED THE EMPEROR'S ARMY.

The Emperor has employed in these wars, both cavalry and infantry from Upper and Lower Germany as well as from Italy; but only infantry from Spain.

THE GERMANS.

Of all these nations the best paid and the least available is the German.

* "Capitano del tempo anticho,"

The insolence of this nation is almost incredible. They are impious towards God, and cruel towards their neighbour. I myself saw, in the French war, how they turned churches into stables, and destroyed or burned with fire the image of our crucified Lord. They are insubordinate, proud and drunken. Few of them are worth anything, and many are quite insupportable, but all try to domineer over every one else. They are fearless of death, but can neither foresee, nor take advantage of any passing occurrence. In the assault of a city, where much skill and dexterity is required, they are the worst people that can be : and in case of a skirmish their interminable baggage is always in the way. They are most impatient of hunger and thirst, and will insist upon being paid at the appointed moment ; not enduring any reserve or reduction of salary in the course of a long campaign, but pertinaciously demanding every farthing as long as the war continues. And since it is impossible that on such occasions there should not sometimes arise a scarcity of money or of provisions, the commander who depends mainly on this people will be exposed to serious vexation ; and will find himself deserted by them, without any chance of remedy.

The same character applies to the German cavalry. They are armed in two modes ; the greatest number are clad in steel after the fashion of *men at arms*, and carry a lance and a sword. They are mounted on horses which have a particular pace, or slow trot ; just as the foot soldiers of this nation have a particular style of

march. Their saddles are very low, and are made with two crossed bars of iron against which they rest their backs; these saddles have the appearance of being very ill-adapted to support a man firmly in his seat during the shock of an encounter.

The remaining number of these horsemen are similarly equipped and mounted, but they carry in addition a small arquebuss, and have a sword and a boar-spear hanging at their sides and attached to their saddle.

These men were very much feared by the French, on account of their being, as it were, *doubly armed*; since they could do some damage by firing off their guns *first*, and the instant after be as fully prepared for an encounter as all the rest.

THE BELGIANS.

The natives of the Low Countries are not by nature good soldiers, owing to various causes. In former times indeed, they were deservedly reputed strong and warlike; for whilst Belgic Gaul was uncultivated and full of swamps and marshes, the natives partook of a wild, hardy and intrepid character. But now that the Country has become commercial, and is filled with beautiful and luxurious cities, the ancient valour has degenerated.

I must however, mention as an exception, those Belgians who were in the service of the Prince * of

* René, First Prince of Orange of the House of Nassau. He died (unmarried) in June, 1544, from a wound received at *St. Disier*: and his cousin William Count of Nassau succeeded to his title.

Orange, and who deserve to be reckoned the very best soldiers in the Imperial army. The whole credit of making them so was due to the Prince; for he took the greatest pains in selecting the men, shewed the greatest interest in their training, and was extremely liberal in rewarding them; often giving them additional pay from his own private income.

Hence arose, on their part, the sincerest affection for the Prince, and the most perfect subordination and readiness to encounter any amount of fatigue or danger without a murmur. It often occurred at the end of a long day's march that these men would be ready to mount guard on the commissariat stores, or to relieve some detachment or even to go out and reconnoitre the country. Not only would they cheerfully turn out of their night's quarters at the Prince's order, but so popular was he among them, that they would run with the greatest alacrity after the little poney on which he scampered at their head!

After the death of the Prince, this company broke up. A part left the service, and the rest instantly began to degenerate. So great is the importance of energy and good conduct even in one individual, and such the power of exertion and perseverance in conquering the defects of nature!

SPANISH SOLDIERY.

The Spanish soldiers are very patient, and from the activity and suppleness of their movements are alert at a skirmish or at the taking of a town. They are quick of

apprehension, vigilant and united amongst each other; prone to magnify their success, and to make light of their reverses; courteous in speech and bearing, especially towards inferiors; temperate and sober; and fond of shew in their dress, although they are avaricious and greedy of gain. They are not by nature soldiers, but seem to learn the profession very soon; for the excellent Spanish troops who distinguished themselves in the Emperor's service, were entirely formed by the wars in Italy; and those who last came from Spain and served in the French campaign, did not even know how to keep the step when they first arrived. The Emperor cannot find many Spaniards to serve him for any length of time out of their own country; for since the navigation to the Indies has become so easy, all those who are forced by necessity to become soldiers, would rather engage in the Indian service, where less of fatigue and danger is combined with a better chance of making money. This is the reason that, notwithstanding all the pains taken in His Majesty's name to collect a body of 6000 Spaniards against France, hardly 3500 were raised, and those of the very lowest description. And further, these people seem to prefer serving in Italy to any other part of Europe out of Spain; first because so many of their countrymen have returned *rich* from thence, and secondly because so much of it belongs to the Emperor, that they can almost fancy themselves at home there.

ITALIAN SOLDIERY.

The Italian soldiers are spirited and courageous, but proud and insubordinate. They are so badly paid by their Commanders, that they have often been driven to mutiny, and to seek for better masters, and more reasonable terms.

Many have abused and condemned them on this account, who, from being their own countrymen, ought to have given them some support and assistance.

However their *absence* during the last French campaign, seems to have turned more to their renown than the many honourable deeds hitherto performed in the Emperor's service; for the distinction they won on the previous year at the taking of Düren,* (where they entered the town when least expected and when the cause had nearly been given up as desperate) is now universally admitted as a proof, that had but 2000 Italian soldiers been present on the late occasion, the Emperor would never have lost St. Disier; which loss, as Your Excellencies know, was the cause of reducing him to accept such humiliating conditions of peace from the King of France.

The Italian cavalry consisted of light-horse, commanded by the Captains whom I have already named; all of whom treated their men so ill, that they could retain none but those of the worst description, and all badly mounted.

* Düren, a town belonging to the Duchy of Cleves and taken by the Emperor, August, 24th 1543.

HOW THE EMPEROR STANDS AFFECTED TOWARDS
THE OTHER SOVEREIGNS.

To discover the genuine feelings of the Emperor towards other crowned heads, is no easy task; for nothing in this world can be more hidden and obscure than the heart and mind of man generally, unless it be *the heart and mind of an Emperor, which may be deemed all but impenetrable!* . . . This much may be received as a general proposition, that Kings and Princes *neither love nor hate anybody*, except as they stand affected towards their own personal advantage; which truth may be perspicuously exemplified in the Emperor, who has been both a friend and a foe to every one by turns.

He was at one time an enemy to the King of England, and afterwards entered into an alliance with him. He made war unceasingly upon the King of France for twenty years, and ended by concluding a friendly treaty and by giving up Milan to him. To the Lutherans he has appeared sometimes in the light of a friend, and sometimes in that of an enemy. Of the Pope he has often said the very sharpest things, and yet after all has done as much for his advantage as even Your Highness. With regard to our own Republic, one may fairly presume, that as long as he considers our alliance profitable he will retain it — but no longer. At the present time he is well aware that the friendship of Venice is serviceable, both for the preservation of his Italian States, and for the purpose of keeping the Turks in check. He will there-

fore remain on good terms with Your Highness, of whom he has always spoken to me in a most affectionate and respectful manner. And besides the resolution of Your illustrious Council not to accept any of the various proposals made by the most Christian King, has been more grateful than I can express, both to His Imperial Majesty and to all his friends.

The Emperor has discoursed, not only to myself but to others who have repeated it to me, of the great dependance he places on Your Highness; and when I was taking my leave of him, he spoke at such length on this subject, than I began to marvel when he would stop. He told me he was extremely well satisfied with my services, inasmuch as he believed that I had done, and would do, every thing in my power to keep alive the good feeling subsisting between you; and then turning to my Secretary he said, *that he hoped for no less on his part also.* The Emperor believes that this illustrious Republic has no intention of ever turning against him, and it is quite possible he may be sincere in his wish of keeping on friendly terms with us. Yet, I would not advise Your Highness to trust implicitly to his professions, should any occasion offer when the contrary might become advantageous to him.

All Princes are naturally opposed to Republics, especially those princes who have most power, and most ambition.

TOWARDS THE POPE.

Not to quit Italy, I will next speak of the Emperor's disposition towards the Pope. This Potentate is to be regarded in two lights; first, as the head of our Religion, and secondly as a temporal Prince. In his spiritual capacity, he has always been treated by the Emperor with due respect; so much so, that though offended by him, he has foreborne to take that vengeance which he might have done, and which is always in his power. Your illustrious Counsel knows to what I refer; how the Pope shewed himself inclined to the French side, and how he endeavoured to make certain changes in Italy; all which was looked upon with so much the more displeasure at this Court, since *Duke Ottavio** having married a daughter of the Emperor's, the very opposite course had been expected. The Pope and the Emperor now appear perfectly united on the subject of the Lutheran heresy; but I know for certain that little affection exists between them, and that very small credit is attached at the Imperial Court to the promises of the Pontiff.

TOWARDS THE DUKE OF FLORENCE.

The Duke of Florence is as popular at the Imperial Court as any Prince of the present day. He has impressed on the mind of all men, that his fate is bound

* Ottavio Farnese, Grandson of Paul the Third, who married Margaret a natural daughter of the Emperor, and received the investiture of the Duchy of Parma on the death of his father.

up with that of the Emperor, and that he is completely dependant on him, which he well knows is the best way to keep himself safe. At the time of the Emperor's reverses in Italy, he came forward to his assistance with men and money; and at present nothing is said or done at Florence which is not communicated to the Emperor, and advised by him. For all these reasons the Emperor bears this Duke much affection; his Ministers are well received at the Imperial Court, and are informed of everything they wish to know.

GENOA.

There is no doubt, that the Emperor's influence will be exerted to keep matters as they are in this state, for inclined as they are to the French interest, any change therein would turn to the prejudice of Prince Doria, and consequently of the Emperor.

MANTUA.

The affairs of Mantua are easily summed up. Don Ferrante being on its account raised to the high station he now occupies. The most Rev^d. the Cardinal having placed his hopes of aggrandizement upon the Emperor, the state of Montserrat being also dependant upon him, and the new Duke about to be united to the daughter of the King of the Romans; all this clearly proves that Mantua is in high favour, and can have no other wish than to follow in all things the course which his Imperial Majesty may deign to point out.

TOWARDS THE DUKE OF FERRARA.

The Duke of Ferrara does not stand very high with the Imperial party, because he is supposed to incline towards France on account of his marriage; and also because they say he ought to have proved himself more grateful for Modena and Reggio, which were conferred upon him. His Ministers have told me in confidence, that the Duke is accustomed to say to his intimates. 'I have no intention of placing my Duchy in peril, either for the Emperor, or for any one else!'

TOWARDS THE DUKE OF URBINO.

The Emperor appears to take the well-being of this Duchy very little to heart, for he and his ministers have vouchsafed nothing but fair words and promises to the Duke of Urbino, in return for his many embassies and messages; notwithstanding the great respect he shows for his Majesty by professing not even to conclude his own private affairs without the Imperial sanction.

TOWARDS LUCCA AND SIENNA.

Lucca and Sienna being very feeble towns, and entirely dependant on the Emperor, are of course regarded by him as a part of his property, and he will support their present government, seeing that nothing but hatred and ill-will would result to him from any change. They are, however, looked upon with great suspicion; being, as your Highness is aware, in so unsettled a state, and so divided amongst themselves, that an insurrection may be looked for at any moment.

The Agents of Lucca have told me, that should their liberties become endangered, they intend giving themselves up to Venice as a last resource.

TOWARDS THE "ULTRAMONTANE" KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The Emperor is but little inclined to affection for either of them.

With regard to the King of France, he has sufficiently exhibited by his constant wars and interminable quarrels, how much he considers him an obstacle in the way of all his designs.

The King of England gave him just cause of offence by repudiating the Queen; and the treaty of peace lately concluded between that Country and France has by no means tended to allay so natural a feeling. Concerning the said peace I may remark, that it took place *only* because the two Kings suspected the Emperor of trying to nourish dissensions between them.

Thus the King of England deems himself aggrieved by the Emperor, and the Emperor by the English King, whom he accuses of having broken the agreement made with Don Ferrante, and especially of having deserted him on the late occasion in France when he was moving towards Paris, after the siege of St. Disier.

The English Ambassador told me, that his King having now made peace with France, would henceforward be more cautious and wary in trusting to the fair speeches and promises of others.

However, be this as it may, the Emperor will dis-

semble and keep on good terms with both these Kings, until the affairs he now has in view are accomplished ; and the fact of his having a son and a daughter to marry, will enable him to negotiate as long as he pleases with their Majesties ; since they also are intent upon providing suitable alliances for their children.

In addition to this, the English king will certainly incline to the peaceful side, on account of his trade with Flanders and the Low Countries ; and M. de Granvelle will do his best to maintain an amicable feeling towards France, for private as well as public reasons.

M. de Granvelle takes into consideration, that the Emperor is in feeble health, besides, being like all of us, mortal ; and that whether he or his master die first, their children will probably succeed to their possessions.

Further, being, like a wise man, aware, that those who have been high in favour with one Sovereign, are rarely or never liked by his successor, and that he himself possesses but little the esteem of the Spanish nation, which nation is all in all with Don Philip ; he naturally aims at securing the friendship of the Most Christian King ; in order that he or his family may some day look forward to a permanent abode on their own property, which is in the middle of France.

TOWARDS THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL AND
POLAND.

These two Kings are regarded by the Emperor in a most favourable light ; since besides the family ties

which connect him with both, he looks to Poland for assistance against the Turk, and to Portugal for an additional Kingdom.*

TOWARDS THE KING OF THE ROMANS.

The Emperor professes great affection for the King of the Romans, and seems to consider *his* interests as his own. When they met for the first time at the Diet of Spires, the King having remarked to his brother that he had become grey and was looking worn, the Emperor replied, "Por vos, Hermano, et por vestros hijos" ("for your sake my brother, and for your children.")

It was in preference to his own son, that Charles obtained for him the election of King of the Romans; and truly, whatever further greatness he may help his brother in attaining, that brother has well deserved.

At the time of the disturbances in Spain Ferdinand's name was continually brought forward, and his presence much desired in that Country; yet though he received constant invitations to this effect he never took the least notice of them: and every other action of his life has similarly proved, that he not only loves the Emperor as his brother, but reveres him as a father, and obeys him as a sovereign.

It is certainly a remarkable thing to witness the

* The Kingdom of Portugal was annexed to the Crown of Spain several years afterwards, in the reign of Philip II. through an assumed right of inheritance from his Mother (the Empress Isabella) which was supported by the victorious arms of the Duke of Alva.

union of these brothers in heart, who are so different in temperament, habits and manner.

The Emperor is slow and phlegmatic, the King quick and choleric. The Emperor grave and inflexible with all men, the King affable and obliging even to a fault.

The Emperor entirely concealing his ambition, the King letting it appear on all occasions."

TOWARDS THE GRAND TURK.

The Emperor's hatred towards the Ottoman Empire is well known. It is probable, that he formerly entertained hopes of crushing and overcoming this Power, since he always gave out, that his highest aim and object was to do so, but I think he has now given up the scheme as an impossibility, and is fully intending to conclude a treaty of peace.

Should this also prove unsuccessful, he will be constrained to have recourse to arms, in defence of his own kingdoms, and of what is left of his brother's.

The fact of his having sent messengers to Constantinople, after concluding a peace with the French King, notwithstanding the discredit it brought upon him, and the umbrage it gave to all Christendom, must be a strong proof to any one acquainted with his nature, that he looked upon a war with the Turk as desperate.

He is now more than ever blamed for having joined with the Most Christian King and the King his brother, in offering terms of compromise to his greatest

foe, against whom he always professed to wish for an opportunity of exerting his strength, as in a righteous cause and for the glory of God.

Some however, excuse this proceeding by the plea, that it was necessary to have an agent on the spot in order to make sure that Francis kept his promises ; and further, that the negociation afforded an opportunity of spying out the Grand Seignor's forces, and of endeavouring to wean him from the French alliance.

I believe a third reason might be given for the said truce, namely, that he was even then meditating the enterprise against the Lutherans which is now talked about, and of which I was secretly informed ten months ago, as I mentioned at the time in my letters to your Excellencies.

Those who returned from the Mission to Constantinople, openly depreciated the power of the Grand Seignor as much as possible ; but I know for certain, that the Emperor is of a different opinion, and that during his last conference with the Pope, he said to His Holiness : ' I am beginning to fear, that God intends us all to become Mahometans ; but I shall certainly put off my conversion to the very last ! . . . '

GERMANY AND THE WAR AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

Concerning the Emperor's disposition towards the States of Germany, every one is at present certain, that war is in contemplation.

Your Highness will perhaps expect me to say a

few words on the causes and probable results of this war, and to enumerate, as far as I am able, the forces with which it is designed to be carried on.

The causes which are said to have moved the Emperor to this, are ; first, the little regard which the German States have for some years past shewn to his orders, by not attending the Diet ; and secondly, the fear that the heresy which infects some of them, should spread over them all, and finally pervert his dominions in the Low Countries, which are the chief sources of his greatness. That there is some ground for this fear is proved by the fact, that in Holland and in Friesland more than 30,000 persons have suffered death at the hands of justice, for Anabaptist errors.

Some eminent men also in Flanders and Brabant, are beginning to leave the Catholic church ; for which reason His Majesty's Confessor, and a Spanish Dominican Monk, both of whom exercise great influence over him, have never ceased to urge him on to this.

I believe that if it comes to war, this enterprise will assume a more vehement and sanguinary character than our age has yet witnessed. The Princes of Germany have never liked Charles V. ; probably because he continually avails himself of their counsels, without treating them in the deferential and considerate manner, which Maximilian and all the former Emperors accustomed them to expect.

They complain, that blindly led by passion, he has wasted his power in disputes with his fellow Christians, instead of turning it to account against the Turk, as

was his duty ; that he is now about to make war upon themselves, who by choosing him for their Emperor, brought him more glory and renown than he ever derived from anything else, and that under the pretence of religious zeal, he intends to conduct a foreign army into Germany, to trample on their ancient liberties.

In short, if this war *does* come to pass, it is likely to be a very fierce one ; and even should matters stop short of it, I question whether the rest of Germany will ever get over the hatred it has conceived for the House of Austria. The Duke of Alva has already been proclaimed Captain General, and most people think that the Emperor will join the army in person. Some say otherwise ; but I am persuaded that he cannot refrain from being present wherever war is going on.

PROBABLE RESULTS OF SUCH A WAR.

As to the probable issue of anything so uncertain as war, I will venture no opinion. Those who are favourable to the present undertaking, assert : first, that it is the cause of God and must prosper : secondly, that the *free cities* will not venture to give the promised help to the Landgrave as head of the League, on account of the benefits they derive from trade in the Emperor's dominions ; and thirdly, that the Lutherans have no good leader, and that German troops are useless except in a pitched battle, which the Emperor would take care to avoid. Those who are against the war maintain, that there never was a more dangerous en-

terprise both for the Emperor and for all Christendom ; and more especially for Italy. That with regard to religion, should he be able speedily to force the Protestants into submission and to impose certain conditions upon them, these might be observed as long as his army was present, *but no longer*. That should the war continue any time, the Turk would certainly come down upon him by sea and by land, either spontaneously, or at the invitation of the Protestants themselves. That the hostility of France and England would be excited, who, suspecting him of covering ambitious designs under the cloak of religion, would come to the relief of the Protestants by invading his territories wherever they lay contiguous to their own.

That the Emperor cannot expect to conquer such enemies in the space of two years, which is quite as long as his army could possibly hold together ; whilst the parties to the League of Smalcalde might, with very little expense or trouble, go on for many more, with a numerous and powerful body of men, all fighting for the religion which they are persuaded is the best, and which they are ready to defend with their lives and fortunes.

And lastly, that should the Lutherans be emboldened by any successful resistance against the Emperor, they would presently turn their arms against Rome ; where knowing that the Pope desires no less than their utter and complete extirpation, the warfare would be carried on with a degree of fury, resembling rather the incur-

sions of the ancient Barbarians than anything else ; and would finally result in no advantage to any party except that of the Turk.

THE EMPEROR'S DISAPPOINTMENTS IN LIFE.

From all these reflections, and many others, the Emperor finds himself much distressed and perplexed in his mind. In comparing his past and present fortunes, the review is far from inspiring. In his early youth he had the command of such Generals and armies as might almost justify him in contemplating the empire of the world ! And he now finds himself in a painful and embarrassing position, without having effected so much as the humiliation of his natural enemy the King of France ; even though he once had him a prisoner in his own power. On the contrary, he cannot but feel, that the French King will leave his son the Dauphin, in a higher position than Don Philip ; or at least fully equal to him in power. And that notwithstanding his many losses, so large a part of Piedmont and Savoy are added to his territories, that he is able to assume a more powerful standing, than any King of France has yet done.

The Emperor is also much disheartened by the necessity of giving up all hopes of conquest over the Turk, and even of condescending to solicit a truce with him. He sees himself involved in a perilous and important war with Germany, from which there appears to be no escape consistent with his honour.

With all this, he feels the approach of age, and the

increase of his infirmities of gout and asthma, which are gradually wasting away his strength and energy, and nearly depriving him of the hope of being present in person at any future enterprize.

In short I have been told by one, intimately acquainted with his sentiments, that his wish and intention is to retire into Spain for the rest of his life, and to resign all public affairs to his son.

CONCLUSION.

From what I have witnessed in the course of my Embassy, illustrious Prince, I cannot but add my tribute of praise to that wisdom which prompts your Highness to avoid war as the worst of evils. With a small force no great enterprize can be achieved; and a large one brings with it incredible trouble and waste both of time and money. Besides which, innumerable preparations are necessary; and should but the smallest of these fail, the destruction of the whole scheme may ensue. It is for this reason, perhaps, that I have seen the Emperor use the utmost deference and caution in addressing himself to the lowest German soldier in the army. On the late occasion, the Emperor had for the two years been planning an abundant supply of victualling, and intended to have kept a friendly country in the rear of his army; and yet both these objects failed at the very beginning of the campaign; and, together with a deficiency in the number of pioneers, which is a very important branch of the army, were the cause of the lamentable results of which

Your Highness has been already informed. Wherefore let us fly from war with all its expenses, disasters and ruin! and should this illustrious Republic be unfortunately constrained to have recourse to hostilities, let them be carried on *as far as possible away from home*. The soldiers who defend a country often do quite as much harm as those who invade it. It was said by many Frenchmen that *the King's* soldiers had damaged France much more than the Emperor's; and yet, I should think nothing could well have been worse than the destruction and misery caused by the latter!

Peace, illustrious Prince, peace is my counsel. And now, what can I say more on this subject, save to rejoice with your Excellencies, that our state is so valiant and so strong, that we may hope to keep possession of it without interruption. And although the changes of this world have constrained many States which once were independent, to acknowledge the three great heads of Empire, *the Turk, the Emperor and the King of France*; yet from what I know of the Imperial armies, our Republic may keep up a good courage. Though Düren was taken unexpectedly, they could not conquer Landrecy.

They did not even attempt Guise; and if St. Disier could detain them so long, what chance would they have with any of the fortresses of your Serenity; the smallest of which is stronger than can be found anywhere else.

Let us have a due regard to the Faith of our people. Let us defeat the malignity of those who are always

running after change — and then, in dependance first on the Grace of God, and secondly, on the wise Government of Your illustrious Council, we may hope to see our Republic as flourishing as heart can desire.

During my absence from Venice, I met with three other Ambassadors from Your illustrious Senate. Two of them on a mission to His Highness the King of the Romans, and the third being my distinguished successor at the Imperial Court. The virtues and abilities of the most noble Domingo Moresini, and Lorenzo Contarini are already well known to your Highness; but it may not be displeasing to your Excellencies if I add my tribute to the high name and reputation which the said Moresini acquired at the Court of the King of the Romans, as well as at that of the Emperor. I am persuaded that the most noble Contarini, my successor, is about to acquire the same distinction. Having conversed with *his magnificence* on many high and important subjects, I have found him most zealous in Your Excellencies service, and possessing qualities worthy of the representative of our illustrious Republic at the Court of so high, mighty and virtuous a Prince as the Emperor; where all the great ones of the earth resort.

Of my own conduct during the last *thirty-four months* I will say but little; it being a dangerous thing for a man to speak of himself; but if I have given Your Highness and this illustrious Council any satisfaction, I thank God for having fulfilled my most ardent wishes.

When I was about to leave the Court, His Majesty the Emperor sent me *this chain*, which by the just laws

of our illustrious State belongs of right to Your Highness, and cannot be mine without the special permission of this illustrious Council. Nor do I venture to demand it on account of the many hardships I have experienced in the public service. Yet in this cause I have often suffered both hunger and thirst in the late campaign, and have slept on the bare cold ground when the baggage-waggon were left behind.

I have also braved death by passing through places infected with the plague, and have seen eight of my servants die by my side; to say nothing of four mules, and two horses, which formed nearly all my stud. I would rather that your Excellencies heard from others than from myself, how the greatest part of my property has been spent in serving the Republic, and upholding its credit.

All this is no more than every good citizen is bound to do, and to suffer for his country. And had it pleased God to take away my life during my last illness, which lasted four months, and cost me more than 500 ducats, I would have resigned it willingly, knowing that my life was spent in the service of Your Highness. Nevertheless, as I said before, not on this account would I venture to request this gift, were it not for the infinite clemency of your illustrious Council, which not only gives me a hope, but even a certainty of obtaining it.

I even think that your Excellencies, out of regard to your own honour and dignity, will lament that the gift is not *greater*, in order that it might relieve my wants more efficaciously.

By me it will be highly prized as an earnest that my services have not been unacceptable ; and further as a means of defraying a part of the debt incurred in this embassy, which I have not otherwise the power of repaying, save with my own person, or with *the assistance* of your Excellencies.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

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

THE
ITINERARY OF THE EMPEROR
CHARLES V.,

ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN FLEMISH

BY HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY VANDENESSE.

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPEROR'S JOURNEYS

FROM THE YEAR 1519 TO 1551.

THE
ITINERARY OF THE EMPEROR
CHARLES V.

1519.

IN January, 1519, King Charles went from Saragossa to Barcelona. During this journey, the news of the death of the Emperor (Maximilian, his grandfather) was brought to him, but kept secret for some time, and not made publicly known, until the ceremonies occasioned by the nomination of the Knights of the Golden Fleece were over; after which the obsequies followed.

From Barcelona, M. de Chievres, and Mercurin Gattinara, formerly President of Burgundy, who had, during the preceding year obtained the place of High Chancellor, vacant by the death of Sauvaige, with many other lords and prelates, were sent to Montpellier, all in deep mourning, and forming a procession of 1,500 horses. Their negotiations with the French deputies were, however, cut short by the fatal illness of the Grand-Master de Boissy.

The first news of His Catholic Majesty's election to the Empire, was brought over by Della Sanche, on the part of the royal ministers. It is well known that the Count Palatine Frederick came in the name of the electors to wait upon the new Emperor at Molin de Rey, where he had taken refuge from the plague broken out at Barcelona, after having been detained there, by the Cortes of Catalonia more than ten months.*

1520.

On the 25th of January, 1520, Charles left Barcelona for Corunna, passing through Burgos, Valladolid, and St. Jago in Galicia. He reached it on the 4th of May, and found there the Prince of Orange.

The Emperor embarked at Corunna, on the 20th May, landed at Dover on the 27th, and from thence on the coast of Flanders. His Imperial Majesty arrived at Flushing in Zeeland on the 1st June, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Announced by the Regency at Innspruck on the 9th of June, 1520.

1521.

In October, the Emperor Charles travelled with the Stadtholderinn to Germany for his coronation, leaving the Archduke Ferdinand in the Netherlands. He arrived on the evening of St. Andrew's Day at Spiers, where the

* Compare Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. II. p. 78.

first Diet was held. About this time the Archduke went to Austria. Here the High Chamberlain M. de Chievres died.

1522.

On the 6th of July, 1522, the Emperor arrived at Santander in Biscay, and remained there till the 27th, on the night of which he slept at Molgar. On the 28th he came to Urenosa, on the 29th to Tremezen, and on the 30th and 31st remained at Urquillara del Campo; reached Dorera on the 1st of August, spent the 2nd and 3rd at Vigar, and the 4th at Musgne; on the 5th he entered Valencia. On the 25th of this month the Emperor came to Carbasson, and on the 26th to Valladolid, where he remained till the 2nd of September. Here M. de Beaurain brought him the result of his negotiation with the Duke de Bourbon.

On the 2nd of September the Emperor arrived at Tordesillas, and here solemnized the obsequies at the tomb of his father, King Philip I., which was afterwards transferred to Granada.

On the 4th of October the Emperor returned to Valladolid, and went to Valbona on the 23rd.

On the 26th he returned again to Valladolid, and remained there till the month of April in the following year.

On the 1st of November, the feast of All Saints, the Emperor on leaving the church, ascended a throne in the open air, and announced before the assembled mul-

titude a general amnesty to all engaged in the late revolt, with the exception of some of the principal offenders.

1523.

From the 1st to the 8th of April, the Emperor was at Valbona; from the 8th April to the 9th May at Valladolid. He then went to Tordesillas; on the 16th he returned to Valladolid, and remained there till the 13th of June; on this day he went again to Tordesillas, and on the 14th to Medina del Campo.

On the 17th he returned to Tordesillas, and on the 21st was again at Valladolid. From the 21st June to the 24th August, the Emperor remained at Valladolid, during which time, Eleonora, his eldest sister, now widowed Queen of Portugal, arrived. On the 25th of August the Emperor went to Duguas, remained from the 26th to the 29th at Torquemada, and from the 29th of August to the 14th September at Arkos. On the 15th he arrived at St. John, on the 16th at Villorada; on the 17th at St. Domingo; on the 18th at Nagera, and on the 19th of September at Logroño, where he stayed till the 9th of October. On this day he moved to Arkos.

On the 16th, the Emperor Charles arrived at Estriolles in Navarre. He passed the 11th and 12th at Ponte de la Negara, and remained from the 13th October, 1523, to the 2nd of January, 1524, at Pampeluna. From thence the Constable of Castile as General, and the Prince of Orange, as Colonel of the Infantry, were sent to Fontarabia.

1524.

On the 2nd of January the Emperor went to Sigada, on the 3rd to Valvatiera, and on the 4th to Vittoria, where he remained till the 7th of March and then came on to Miranda. From the 8th to the 10th he stayed at Birbiesin, and from the 11th of March to the 21st of April, at Burgos. From the 21st to the 30th he stayed at St. Pietro, and then returned to Burgos, where he remained till the 9th of May. At this time the Prince of Orange and several Burgundian noblemen set out on their journey to Italy, to meet the Duke of Bourbon.

They embarked at Barcelona, but fell into the hands of the French at Villa-Franca, whose fleet they had mistaken for Imperial galleys. On the 9th of May the Emperor went to Lerma, and returned to Burgos on the 12th.

On the 21st of July he came to Lerma again, and left it on the 24th for Vallidesole, went to Torquemada on the 25th, passed the 26th and 27th at Duenas, and arriving at Valladolid on the 28th of July, stayed there till the last of September.

In this place he was attacked by a quartain fever which did not leave him for five months.

From the last of September to the 4th of November he remained at Niaga* (Anyagua), where the marriage of his fourth sister, the Princess Catherine, with the King of Portugal, was solemnized.

* *A la Chartreuse d'Anyagua*, there exists a letter of the Emperor, of the 4th and 24th of October, dated Tordesillas.

On the 4th of November he was at Medina del Campo, on the 5th and 6th at Renola on the 7th at Pare, on the 8th at Lespinas de Signonia, and on the 9th and 10th at Guadarama. From the 11th of November till the end of this year he staid at Madrid and in the adjoining Park.

1525.

From the 2nd to the 7th of January the Emperor amused himself in the hunting district of El Pardo; and after his return from thence, he staid in Madrid till the 4th of April. On the 5th of April he left it for St. S de Guadalupe, arrived the same day at Maynda, and on the 20th at Valderassa, where he staid till the 23rd. On the 24th he was at Toringes, on the 25th and 26th at St. Ollala,* and from the 27th of April to the 1st of September, at Toledo, on which day the Emperor arrived at Pinto, and on the 2nd at Villoreda; on the 3rd he came to Guadarama, and staid from the 4th to the 16th of September in Segovia and its neighbourhood.

On the 16th he came to Foye, on the 17th to Boitraque, and on the 18th to Madrid, to visit the King of France, who, according to the report of his physicians, was very ill. On the following day the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, arrived; the Emperor received her on the staircase, and conducted her to the sick bed of Francis; after which, the Emperor again departed, leaving the Duchess with the King, her brother.

* In a writing of the Emperor's, this place is called Olyas.

This evening, the 19th, the Emperor slept at Cetafe; on the 20th he proceeded to Iliescas, and on the 21st of September to Toledo, where he remained till the 13th of October. Here also the Duchess of Alençon arrived, accompanied by several French gentlemen. On the second day after her arrival, the Queen Eleonora of Portugal, after a conversation with her, travelled from Toledo to Talavera; upon which the Duchess, having staid a few days longer at Toledo, left it for Madrid, and from thence returned to France, without having brought the treaty to any conclusion.

From the 13th to the 21st of October, the Emperor staid at Aranjuez; but from the 22nd of October to the 11th of February of the following year, he remained again at Toledo.

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

1526.

On the 14th of January the treaty of Madrid was concluded.

About this time the Duke of Bourbon came to Toledo, where the Queen Dowager of Portugal, after having left off her mourning, and 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 Iliescas 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 of February they came together to Iliescas,

where they paid a visit to the Queen Eleonora and Queen Germaine de Foix, accompanied by the Countess of Nassau and other ladies, who received them upon the stairs. They then went into a saloon, where the four sat down under a canopy, and were engaged in conversation, whilst the ladies of the Court amused themselves by dancing. The two monarchs then took leave, and returned together to Tiriton. On the 21st, in the afternoon, the Emperor and the King went in a litter to Ilescas to take leave of the Queens, and then returned to sleep at Tiriton, at which place the two sovereigns parted.

The Emperor went once more to Ilescas, and the Grand-Master of Rhodes took his leave there. In this place the Viceroy de Lannoy was made Count of Ast; and soon afterwards M. de Rœux was appointed First Equerry.

On the 23rd of February the Emperor took leave of his sister, the Queen of France, who remained at Ilescas, and pursued his journey towards Seville, where the Princess of Portugal, his affianced bride, was to be on the 9th of March. The first night of this journey the Emperor slept at Santa Clara.

On the 24th of February he came to Talavera, and on the 25th to Aropeso, where he staid till the end of the month. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of March, his Majesty was at Tone; on the 4th at Madrigal, where he remained till the 8th, and on the 9th made his *entrée* into Seville.

At the well-known marriage festivities M. de la Chauz opened the ball.

During the residence of the Court at Seville, the King of Portugal arrived on a visit. Here also was solemnized the marriage of the Duke Ferdinand of Aragon with the Queen Germaine de Foix. The same was also appointed Viceroy of Valenza.

On the 13th of May the Emperor was at Carmona, on the 14th at Fuentes, on the 15th at Assise, from the 16th to the 24th at Cordona, on the 27th at Calder, from the 28th of May till the 4th of June at Santa Fè, and from the 4th of June to the 26th of August at Granada. Here the Viceroy of Naples arrived on his return from France, and was sent by the Emperor to his government, in company with several noblemen.

On the 27th of August the Emperor was at Santa Fè, and on the 28th again returned to Granada, where he resided till the 10th of December, with the exception of a short time (from the 17th to the 20th of October) passed at Santa Fè. On the 10th of December the Emperor came to Alcala la Real, on the 11th to Màrtos, on the 12th to Gaen, the 14th to Bayossa, the 15th to Ande, the 16th to Bissa, the 17th to Allos Palatros, the 18th to Santa Croce, the 19th to Magro, the 21st to Somanda, the 22nd to Toledo, where he staid till the 30th, on the 30th to Aranjuez, and on the 31st to Occaña.

1527.

On the 1st and 2nd of January the Emperor Charles remained at Occaña, on the 3rd he came to Aranjuez, on the 4th to Mora, and on the 5th to Madrid. From the 6th to the 8th he was at El Pardo, on

the 9th at St. Augustin, on the 10th at Boitrapo, and on the 12th at Hominesiera, where he staid till the 16th; on the 16th he proceeded to Castelli, on the 17th to Hontenilla, on the 18th to Niago; here he remained till the 23rd, and from the 23rd to the 7th of February he was at Tordesillas; on the 7th he went to Segalla. From the 8th of February to the 24th of August the Emperor staid at Valladolid, when the Chancellor Gattinara returned from Italy. Here, on the 22nd of May, the Crown Prince (Philip II.) was born; but the festivities occasioned by this event were interrupted by the news of the Duke of Bourbon's death,* whose obsequies were held at the Imperial residence. On the 24th the Emperor went to St. Martin, on the 25th to Villapendro; from the 26th of August to the 10th of October he was at Valenza; on this last day he came to Valdesole; from the 12th to the 17th of October he staid at Lerma, and passed the rest of the year at Burgos.

1528.

From the 1st of January to the 20th of February the Emperor continued at Burgos. On the 20th he went to Lerma; on the 22nd and 23rd he was at Pentezilla; on the 24th at Pignafide, on the 25th at Lazaretto, where he staid on the 26th and 27th, and passed the 28th of February at Castelnoto. From the 1st to the 8th of March he staid at Portvago; on the 8th he came to St. Augustino, and resided from the 9th of March to the

* At the siege of Rome.

22nd of April at Madrid. On the 23rd he was at Mailory-Dorio, the 24th at Tordesillas, the 25th at Villa de Caruelo, the 26th at Bonagos, the 27th at Capillos, the 28th at Requena; on the last of April and 1st of May he was at Brignol, on the 2nd at Doerta, and from the 3rd to the 20th of May at Valenza, where his Majesty held a public entry, and many ceremonies took place.

On the 20th the Emperor came to Maluarda, and on the 22nd to Villa-Reale, on the 23rd to Conagos, the 24th to St. Martin, the 25th to Mereli, the 26th to Halwignot, the 27th to Saspar, the 28th to Vafa-eloros, the 29th to Alcanaerda, and remained from the 30th of June to the 20th of July at Montison.

On the 21st of July the Emperor came to Pardriguera, on the 22nd to Falmon, and remained from the 24th to the 26th at Saragossa. On the 27th he was at Moelo, the 28th at Calacabur, the 29th at Riso, the 30th at Medina-Celi, the 31st of July at Sigonienca, the 1st of August at Sidrach, the 2nd at Guarda-Boiaraa, and from the 3rd of August to the last of October at Madrid, and then went to Toledo.

1529.

On the 8th of March the Emperor went from Madrid to Aranjuez; on the 10th to Isson, the 11th to Alcala, the 12th to Maldegonia, the 13th to Giotta, the 14th to Sidrach, the 15th to Siguesca, the 16th to Medina-Celi, the 17th to Rich, the 18th to Cathalayay, the 20th to Hispa. From the 24th till the 17th of April he staid at Saragossa; on the 18th he went to Bergeleros, on the

19th to Franqua, the 20th to Lareda, the 22nd to Velponio, the 24th to Sernera, the 25th to Ygolada, the 26th to Madama de Monteforte, the 27th to Molina del Rey; from the 28th of April to the 27th of July he remained at Barcelona, and there embarked for Bologna, where his coronation was to take place. The Lord Steward (*Oberst Hofmeister*), Count Pont de Vaux, staid behind at Barcelona, and died there; whereupon the Seigneur de Rœux obtained his place, and Count de Montfort became Master of the Horse. On the 29th of July the Emperor reached Palamos, and remained there till the 2nd of August; he then embarked, and landed at Villa-Franca, near Nice, on the 5th.

The Emperor Charles remained at Manono on the 6th and 7th, and on the 8th went to Madona di Pietà; from the 9th to the 12th he was at Savona, whence he dispatched M. de la Chaux to the King of France on the subject of the ratification of the Treaty of Cambray, who, after having concluded this affair, returned to his home in Burgundy, where he soon afterwards died. On the 12th the Emperor came to Genoa, and remained there till the 30th. Here he was welcomed in the name of the Pope by four Cardinals, with Cardinal Farnese at their head.

On the 30th of August the Emperor continued his journey from Genoa, and passed by Monastero. On the 31st he passed Borgo de Fornari; on the 1st of September was at Gauio, on the 2nd at Tortona, on the 4th at Voghera, on the 5th at Castell St. Giovanni, and on the 6th arrived at Piacenza, where he staid till the 24th of September. Here we was met by Admiral de Brior,

named Chabot, sent by the King of France to receive from the Emperor the confirmation of the treaty of Cambray.

On the 24th the Emperor arrived at Fiorenzola, on the 25th at Borgo St. Daino, and was at Parma on the 26th, where the Grand Chancellor, Gattinara, received his nomination as Cardinal. On the 28th the Emperor came to Reggio, where he was waited upon by the Duke of Ferrara.

On the 1st of October the Emperor was at Modena, on the 4th at Alla Certosa, and on the 5th arrived at Bologna, where the Pope already was.

Here the Emperor received the iron crown from Cardinal Cinque Porte, who had been appointed thereto by the Holy Consistory, and was crowned with the Imperial diadem by the Pope himself. This last ceremony was performed on the Festival of St. Mathias, and M. de Rœux was created a Count upon the occasion.

The Emperor continued at Bologna till the 22nd of March, 1530, during which time the Emperor's father-confessor, the Bishop of Osma, received the Cardinal's hat.

1530.

On the 22nd of March the Emperor passed by Castelfranco, on the 23rd by Corregio, and on the 24th by Gonzaga, on his way to Mantua, where he staid from the 25th of March to the 20th of April, and raised the Margravate of Mantua to a Duchy. Here Count de Montfort, Master of the Horse, died.

On the 20th of April the Emperor came to Peschiera, on the 21st to Dolca, the 22nd to Ala, the 23rd to Roverbella. From the 24th to the 28th he was at Trent, on the 28th at Neumarkt, the 29th at Botzen, the 30th at Brixen, the 2nd of May at Sterzing, the 3rd at Matrey, and the 4th at Innspruck, where Cardinal Gattinara died, and the Imperial Seal was given to M. de Granvelle. On the 5th of June he came to Schwatz, where 14,000 miners were paraded before him. On the 7th he was at Kufstein, the 8th at Rosenheim, the 9th at Valley, and from the 10th to the 14th at Munich; on the 14th he came to Bruck, and on the 15th of June to Augsburg, where he attended the second Diet in person, and remained till the 23rd of November.

On his journey back to the Netherlands, the Emperor was informed of the death of the Arch-Duchess Margaret at Cologne, and had her obsequies held there. There also his brother Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans.

1531.

On the 7th of January the Emperor and the King of the Romans went to Vergham, on the 8th and 9th they were at Juliers, and on the 10th at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the coronation of the King of the Romans took place. He remained behind at Aix-la-Chapelle, while the Emperor continued his journey, and on the 15th of January slept at Maestricht, was at Liege on the 16th and 17th, at Namur on the 21st, and, from the 28th of January to the 13th of March, staid at Brussels; from the 13th to the 16th of March he was at Louvain, from the

17th to the 20th at Malines, on the 20th at Antwerp, on the 24th at Ghent, on the 3rd of April at Teremond, from the 4th of April to the 26th of November at Brussels, and from the 28th of November to the 12th of December at Dornach, where the Emperor held his third Chapter of the Golden Fleece. On the 12th the Emperor returned to Ast, on the 13th was at Eggen, and remained from the 14th of December to the 17th of January of the following year at Brussels. Here M. Jean de Hainn, Seigneur de Bosse, was appointed Master of the Horse, M. de Rie chief butler, and M. de Peloux a chamberlain. His Majesty assembled the States of the Netherlands, presented his sister Queen Maria to them as their new governess, made all the arrangements necessary for the administration of the several provinces, and took leave of the States.

1532.

On the 17th of January the Emperor took leave of his sister who remained at Brussels, and betook himself to Louvain, on the 18th he went to Diest, on the 19th to Tongres, on the 21st to Maestricht, on the 23rd to Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 24th to Juliers. From the 25th to the 29th he staid at Cologne, on the 29th he was at Bonn, the 30th at Andernach, and on the 31st of January at Coblenz. On the 1st and 2nd of February he was at Boppart, on the 3rd at Bergbingenheim, and from the 4th to the 9th at Mayence. On the 9th he went to Birhos, the 10th to Neuschloss, the 13th to Heidelberg, the 15th to Vichingen, the 16th to Stuttgart, the 17th to Schorndorf, the 18th to Gemünd, the 20th to Dofined,

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the 21st to Dünkelsbühl, the 22nd to Gengenbach, the 23rd to Stein, the 24th to Neumarkt, the 26th to Sesenburg, and the 27th to Linnflecken. From the 28th of February to the 8th of September he was at Ratisbon, and assisted at his third Diet. During the journey, the Emperor had severely wounded his foot out hunting. On the 8th of September the Emperor went to Staubing with the King of the Romans. On the 9th to Osterhofen, on the 10th to Passau, and on the 4th of October arrived at Vienna. He left it on the 13th of November for Bologna, and remained there till the 28th of February of the ensuing year.

1533.

On the 28th of February the Emperor went from Bologna to Modena, on the 2nd of March to Reggio, from the 28th of March to the 9th of April he remained at Genoa where he embarked to return to Spain. On the 10th the Duchess of Savoy with her eldest Prince went on board ship at St. Remo, but was obliged to disembark on the 11th, because she could not endure the sea.

The Emperor continued his voyage with the Prince as far as the environs of Marseilles, where Count de Trede, Governor of the province, and Captain Jonas, offered their services in the name of the King of France, invited his Majesty to Marseilles, and waited upon him with refreshments; and, as he would not leave the fleet himself, they feasted the Marquis del Guasto, the Commendator Major d'Alcantara, and several others very sumptuously in the town.

As soon as the wind was favourable, the Emperor continued his voyage, and on the 21st of April reached the coast of Roussillon, where he landed with the Duke of Alva, the Count of Benevent, and some gentlemen of his suite, and taking post-horses, strove to join the Empress at Barcelona; the rest of the fleet followed on the 15th of May, and every one remained there till the 10th of June. On the 19th of June the Emperor returned again to Barcelona, on account of his consort's dangerous illness. On the 8th of July he went back to Montison, and there remained till the last of December.

1534.

On the 15th of January the Emperor came to Madrid, on the 12th of February to Toledo. On the 20th of July he was at Morad, on the 22nd at Portillo, the 24th at Val St. Martino, from the 27th to the 5th of October at Palenzia, and from the 10th of October to the 2nd of March of the following year at Madrid.

1535.

On the 2nd of March the Emperor was at Alcala, and from the 13th of March to the 18th of May at Saragossa, at which place the marriage between the Count-Palatine Frederick* and Princess Dorothea of Denmark took place.

* His first and unhappy attachment was to the Emperor's favourite sister, Eleonora, who became Queen of Portugal, and afterwards Queen of France, and between these marriages was Bourbon's intended bride.

His Majesty went to Barcelona, to commence the expedition to Barbary, and re-establish the King of Tunis in his dominions, which had been forcibly usurped by Barbarossa, who had disturbed all that coast.

On the 1st of May Doria arrived at Barcelona with twenty galleys; Alvaro de Bassan with the twelve Spanish galleys, a little after the Viceroy of Granada appeared with fifty ships, five caravells, and a galley which the King of Portugal sent to the Emperor's assistance. On the 20th of March Charles assisted in person at the review of his nobles, of whom there were 1,500. On the 3rd of May he embarked in the fleet at Majorca, and on the 3rd of June arrived at Mahon a small place in Minorca. On the 10th the Emperor was overtaken by a violent storm; and his fleet was so completely dispersed, that on the 4th no one ship knew anything of the rest.

On the 12th the whole fleet assembled at Cagliari in Sardinia, where 12,000 men, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, were embarked, in addition to the same number which was already on board. Here he was joined by so many ships, that his Majesty reached Carthago, in Africa, on the 6th of June, with three hundred sail. As the history of the conquest of Tunis is already so well known, I will here confine myself to relating that the Emperor returned to sleep in his ship on the 17th of August, and on the 22nd landed at Trapani in Sicily, where he remained till the 1st of September, and on this day came to Arcamonta. From the 3rd to the 12th he remained at Montreal, and then till the 13th of October at Palermo. The States of Sicily, who held their meeting here, voted

the Emperor, besides the usual tribute, 150,000 ducats, payable at three stated periods. Here, also, Don Fernando de Gonzaga was left behind as Viceroy.

From the 21st of October to the 2nd of November the Emperor remained at Messina. On this day he crossed the Faro, and slept in Calabria.

From the 25th of November to the 22nd of March, 1536, he staid at Naples, where many tournaments and other festivities took place. At Naples he received intelligence of the deaths both of the Duke of Milan and of the Queen of England. At Naples also was celebrated the marriage of Alexander de Medecis with the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and that of Philip de Lannoy, Prince of Salmona, son of the Viceroy Miegoyal, with Izabella Colonna, Duchess of Trajetto, the widow of Louis de Gonzaga.

1536.

On the last day of March the Emperor entered the States of the Church at Terracina, where he was met by an Archbishop and three Bishops sent by the Pope.

On the 1st of April he arrived at Veletri, and found the Cardinals Trivulci and St. Severine ready to receive him. On the 2nd of April the Emperor came to Simonette, the property of the family of Orsini; on the 3rd to Arena, belonging to Ascanio Colonna, where the Cardinals Farnese and Santa-Fiora came to meet him in the name of the Pope. On the 4th he arrived at St. Paulo, near Rome, where twelve cardinals made their appearance, and on the 5th at Rome. Outside the town his Majesty

was met by the consuls, the nobility, and *bourgeoisie*, the clergy, and Papal Court, and all the cardinals, except two that remained with the Pope, who received him on the steps of St. Peter's Church.

On Easter Sunday, the 16th of April, his Majesty assisted at the solemn Papal mass, and joined in singing the Evangelium.

On the 17th of April, in the presence of the Pope, the College of Cardinals, the Ambassadors of France and Venice, and many other Lords and Prelates, the Emperor made the celebrated speech, in which he reviewed the conduct of the King of France since the beginning of his reign, and offered him either a permanent peace or a single combat, the prize of which was to be Burgundy or Milan for the conqueror.

On the 18th of April the Emperor took leave of his Holiness, and departed, accompanied by the body of cardinals, as far as the boundary of the States of the Church. He passed the night at Monte-Rosa.

On the 21st he was at Aqua Pendente, on the 22nd at Perugia, and on the 23rd at Monasterio near Siena, where the Lord Steward,* Count de Rœux, joined him.

On the 27th the Emperor was at Siena, where the Cardinal de Lorraine arrived on a mission from the King of France, and the same day departed again for Rome; this night the Emperor slept at St. Cassiano, and on the 20th arrived at Florence. His Majesty was met on the journey by Duke William of Bavaria, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

* Oberst Hofmeister.

On the 4th of May the Emperor went from Florence to Pistoja, and on the 5th to Lucca, where the Cardinal de Lorraine arrived on his return. On the 13th he came to Volari, from whence the Cardinal went back to France; on the 14th to Pontremole, where the Bishop of Châlons met him; and on the 16th to Fornovo, where Don Francesco, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, entered the Imperial service

On the 26th of May, the Emperor was at Asti, from whence, Volley, the French Ambassador, was escorted by an Imperial trumpeter to the frontiers of France. Hither came also the Count-Palatine Philip, the Duchess of Savoy and Mantua, and the Count-Palatine de Saluz, who, from having been in the French service, now returned to his natural master. On the 22nd of June the Emperor broke up at Asti, and came to Alva; on the 23rd to Savigliano, where he was met by the Cardinals Trivulci and Caraccioli, the first of whom was appointed Papal Legate to the King of France, and the second to the Emperor. Here also M. de Likerté returned from the French Court, where he had been Imperial Ambassador. From Savigliano a detachment of troops was sent to besiege Turin. The Emperor also laid siege to Fossano, where M. de Montpesat was obliged to surrender, and, with his garrison, obtained a free passage to France. At this time George Capusman was taken prisoner by the French, along with three hundred Light Horse. He entered the French service, was re-taken at Terouane in 1537, and beheaded at Vilword. After much deliberation, the expedition against France was here determined upon, and

commenced with a very considerable force. The Emperor passed by Nice, and came to St. Lorenz in Provence, where the whole force, both of sea and land, was assembled, and a great council of war concerning their future operations was held. Before he began his march, the Emperor was informed that the Prince of Melphi and Salerno had taken Antibes. Doria took up his night-quarters in the same country, and then marched to Fera, where he received the report that Fernando de Gonzaga had fallen upon Messrs. Montezan and Boissy with three hundred lancers and six hundred Italian infantry under Paul Rienzo, at Brignoles, and had routed them. In consequence of this, the Emperor entered Brignoles on the following day, and passing by St. Maximin, came to Aix, where he encamped, and waited twenty-three days to see whether the King of France would not give him battle after having penetrated fifty-five miles into his territories. Meanwhile, Don Fernando de Gonzaga made predatory incursions as far as the gates of Arles.

The Emperor himself, wishing to view the position of Marseilles, went one morning to the gates of the town. He had only two persons with him, namely, d'Andelot and Captain Milort. Near the town they took three of the enemy prisoners. At this time, Antonio de Leyva, and in August Cesare Fregoso died. As nothing was to be heard of the approach of the King of France, and the winter was drawing near, the Emperor moved in regular order of march along the sea-coast to Genoa, where he remained till the 18th of November, and this day embarked for Spain. He lost several ships on the voyage,

and landed at Barcelona on the 26th of December; from whence he joined the Empress at Valladolid, and remained there till April in the following year.

1537.

In the month of April the Emperor went from Valladolid to Montison, where the States were assembled. In the meantime, the King of France had taken Hesdin. On the other hand, the Flemish General marched from Arras to St. Pol, which he took by storm after six days, and where he left four hundred noblemen and men-at-arms; from thence he went to Montreal, which capitulated, and afterwards besieged Terouane. The Emperor's two sisters, Eleonora, Queen of France, and Maria, widowed Queen of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands, hereupon proposed the truce for nine months, which was discussed at Bonay, near Terouane, by the Imperial Commissaries de Molenbay and de Likerté with the French deputy, M. de St. André, and made known to the Emperor by the Bastard of Faillaix.

M. de Vely came to Montison on the part of the King of France, and concluded a truce of three months for Italy, during which interval M. de Granvelle and the Commendator Major of León were to go to Sienese as Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Emperor, and the Cardinal de Lorraine with the Constable to be at Leucata, on the part of the King of France, and to open their conferences at the French and Spanish frontier-town Caucgou de Eyton, for the purpose of concluding a lasting treaty. They held their first sitting on the 29th of December, and

after several meetings, agreed upon a continuation of the armistice for three months longer.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was to go to Villa-Franca; the Pope, who worked very zealously for the promotion of peace, to Nice, and the King of France to Villa-Nova; after this, the deputies returned home. From Montison the Emperor Charles went to join the Empress at Valladolid.

1538.

On the 1st of January, 1538, the Emperor arrived at Barcelona, and in February made a journey to the County of Roussillon. He passed the first night at Ragno, and the second at Esterlik, where the news reached him of the arrival of the Infant Don Louis of Portugal at Valladolid. The Emperor went through Girona and Figuieras to Perpignan where he remained ten days. On his return he took the route of Elno, Coleber, and Gerona to Barcelona. The Infant also arrived at the same time, and remained about six weeks; Cardinal Jacobasso likewise joined the Emperor in order to hasten his departure. On the 25th of April the Emperor embarked in a fleet of twenty-two galleys brought by Admiral Doria, in order to sail for Villa-Franca and early on Sunday morning reached Marseilles, where the evening before twelve galleys had gone to provide themselves with fresh water.

As soon as the Emperor arrived at the Straits of Roisette, twelve sails were discovered coming from Turkey, and bearing the crescent. An engagement instantly took place, in which some of these vessels were taken; but it then appeared that the conquered galleys were the same

which the King of France had sent to Turkey. This being known they were immediately set free, and indemnified by a present of 1,000 dollars.

The Emperor then continued his course to Villa-Franca, and on the day of his arrival dispatched M. de Bossu,* his master of the horse, with several noblemen to the Pope at Savona; who, the next day, sent the Duke de Castro to the Emperor, to make arrangements concerning the Castle of Nice, which had been promised in the conferences to His Holiness, but which notwithstanding, on account of the suspicions of the Duke of Savoy, had become the cause of difficulties which induced the Pope to take up his abode with the Franciscans before the town. Meanwhile the King and Queen of France had arrived at Villa-Nova.

The Emperor accompanied by all his suite, paid a visit to the Pope at his abode before Nice, and on the following day the King did the same, after which, M. de Granvelle and the Commendator Major on the part of the Emperor, and Cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable of France on the part of the King, were empowered to commence the negotiations in presence of His Holiness. One day, the Queen with the Cardinals of Lorraine and Chatillon, the Connétable, the Duke de Vendôme, and several French gentlemen, the Princesses, the King's daughters, the

* The Emperor's affection for this youthful playmate is notorious, as well as the anecdote of his being wounded one day when out hunting, and the Emperor himself applying his lips to the wound to draw out the poison. Schiller has recorded this friendship in his noble picture of the bond between Don Carlos and Posa.

Duchesses of Longueville and d'Estampes and others, came in French galleys to visit the Emperor, who sent his whole fleet to meet them, and himself came to receive them on the shore. A bridge was here erected over an arm of the sea to facilitate the landing. As soon as the Queen with her ladies, the Emperor, the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Camerino, Abra-Vogera, Nagera, Alberquos, the Princes of Besignano, Salerno, and Sulmone were upon this bridge, it gave way under the weight, and all were precipitated into the sea, without, however, suffering the least injury from the fall. The Emperor had several interviews with the Pope in a pavilion, situated in a vineyard between Nice and Villa-Franca. At this time a Russian Ambassador, whom the Turkish Corsairs had captured and robbed, was brought to Marseilles as a present to the King of France. Count de Tenda, Governor of Marseilles, conducted him to the Emperor at Villa-Franca. A ten years' truce was at length concluded, which the Emperor confirmed on the eve of Corpus-Christi day, when the Queen, with a numerous retinue, came to Villa-Franca, and dined with the Emperor. The following day, after dinner, she returned to Villa-Nova, and towards 4 o'clock in the evening, the Emperor went on board his ship, and ordered the sails to be unfurled. At the same moment the Queen appeared off the entrance to the harbour of Villa-Franca, and they sailed in company together to Genoa. The Pope landed at Molo, and was carried into the Cathedral.

He passed the night in the Palace of Fiesco; the Emperor inhabited the Palace of Doria, and had a fit of

the gout; the Pope visited him there, and they remained together for four hours.

On the following Saturday the Emperor came to take leave of His Holiness, and remained with him from 3 o'clock till 9 in the evening, during which time the marriage of Ottavio Farnese, a son of Peter Lewis, and grandson of the Pope, with Margaret, widowed Duchess of Florence, a natural daughter of the Emperor's, was determined on.

On Sunday the Pope embarked in the Imperial galleys commanded by Gianettino Doria; who returned to Genoa on Monday. On Tuesday the Emperor went on board his fleet, in order to commence his voyage back, and in the roads of Nice, met with two French galleys in which were M. de Velly, and the Imperial Ambassador Chapuys, who came to the Emperor's ship; after which, M. de Velly sailed back again with his two galleys and His Majesty continued his voyage. When he arrived off Toulon, he was seized with an illness which caused him to go on shore, and remain two nights under a tent. On the 30th he was able to resume his voyage. In the neighbourhood of Marseilles, near Nôtre Dame de la Garde, he was met by twenty-one French galleys, who, after salutes on both sides, accompanied the Imperial fleet.

As soon as it began to get dark, the two fleets sailed in company towards Aigues Mortes, and such a fog came on, that the galleys were in danger of running foul of one another, which actually happened to the Emperor's vessel,

but as they instantly came to her assistance no injury was sustained. On the other hand, M. de Granvelle's galley was much damaged. This fog did not clear off till 9 o'clock the next morning, and at about 10 the whole fleet arrived at Aigues Mortes; M. de Granvelle's vessel alone being behind-hand, did not reach it till 12 at noon. The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable immediately presented themselves to welcome the Emperor's arrival.

After the midday repast, the King of France, accompanied by a few attendants, arrived in small vessels lined with tapestry to see the Emperor, and in about an hour's time took his departure. On the following day the Emperor (*seulement en petites bottines*) went with the Constable and the most distinguished men of his suite to Aigues Mortes, where the King and all his Court awaited him at the gates of the town, while the Queen with the Princesses and their ladies remained to receive him in their apartments. The Dauphin also with the Duke of Orleans, and M. d'Albret came from Avignon to meet him here. The Emperor spent this day, as well as the following one, at Aigues Mortes, and then took leave of the Queen and her ladies. The King, the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, M. d'Albret and others accompanied him to his galley, where, having passed an hour together, they took their leave. Towards midnight the Emperor weighed anchor, but was obliged, on account of a storm, to return to the harbour, where the King and Queen, accompanied only by five ladies, visited him once more in his galley

after dinner, and finally took their leave of him in the evening.

The Emperor continued his voyage in the night, and landed at Barcelona on the 18th of July.

On the 26th of July, 1538, the Emperor came to Valladolid, where the Empress was staying, and remained there till the 21st of September, on which day he betook himself to Toledo, which he made his chief residence till the 12th of May 1539, after having fruitlessly assembled the Cortez of Castile, in order to solicit assistance for a war against the Turks. At this time the Palatine Count Frederick, with his consort the Princess of Denmark, paid a visit to the Emperor.

1539.
P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

On the 1st of May the Empress expired, after having, in the eighth month of her pregnancy, been delivered of a Prince, who immediately died also. She was left in bed till the evening, lying with her face uncovered, and her body not opened, as she had expressly desired.

The Emperor, who had not left her for a moment the whole time till she died, now went to the Jeronimites, without the walls of Toledo,* where he remained till the 27th of June. On this day superb funeral rites were held, after which he went to Iliescas, where he passed the night: the next day he went to a country-house near

* It appears that even at this period of his life, he had entertained some thoughts of abdicating, and was inclined to the repose of a conventual life.

Madrid, where he remained till the 13th of July, and then entered the town.

At Madrid the Emperor received the news of the insurrection at Ghent, upon which the Prince of Orange, Count de Rœux, Messrs. Dostam and de Praet were dispatched thither with the greatest expedition. The Emperor himself, at the suggestion of the King of France, took the resolution of journeying by post all through France, and, with this intention, sent M. de Peloux to the King, and Don Loys d'Avila to the Pope.

After all the arrangements had been made in Spain, the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the King of France, at Loches, to await his own arrival there, and he himself set out on the 12th. He arrived at Valladolid on the 20th of November, and thence proceeded by post.

Amongst his suite were the Duke of Alva, M. de Bossu, Don Pedro della Cuesta (Lord Chamberlain), M. de Ryn (Sommelier du Corps), Count Egmont, Don Enriquez de Toledo, Messrs. de la Chaux, de Flagy, and Derby, gentlemen of the chamber, two secretaries of state, a surgeon and barber, two valets de chambre, two cooks, two butlers and the postmaster. His Majesty had previously sent on the equerry, Dandelot, from Madrid, with twenty-five beautiful Spanish horses, destined as a present for the King Francis. The rest of his suite followed under the direction of the Baron Montfaucon, first Lord Chamberlain.

On the 21st of November the Emperor slept at Doigna, on the 22nd at Burgos, the 24th at Vittoria, the 25th at Culusetta, and on the 26th dined at St. Sebastian, where

M. de Vincent, the Imperial Minister at the Court of France waited upon his Majesty.

At Fontarabia, the Emperor was met by the Duke of Orleans, also travelling by post, and they took up their night-quarters together. On the 27th of November they passed the night at Bayonne, at which place the Dauphin, the Cardinal of Chatillon, the Constable, and several Princes and Gentlemen also assembled. On the 28th, at noon, they all together arrived at St. Vincent, and in the evening at Aix; on the 29th, at noon, they were at Cartres, in the evening at Mont de Marsin, belonging to M. d'Albret; at mid-day on the 30th of November they arrived at Cassefoix, and in the evening at Bassan; on the 1st December they were at Langon, and from thence they sailed to Bourdeaux. On the 3rd, at noon, they came to Charbon Blanc, and at night to Adrien. On the 4th, at noon, they were at Camignan, and at night at Montluc. On the 5th, at noon, they came to Barbesiene, and at night to Château-Neuf in Angulemois. On the 6th, at noon, to Sourville, and at night to Verteur. On the 7th, at noon, to Chaueme, and at night to Connet; on the 8th to Busignau. On the 10th, at noon, to La Roche, and at night to Loches, where the Cardinals de Bourbon, Lorraine, Lisieux, Tournon, Bologne, Masconne, Paris, Sevry, Chatillon and Gardy with the Princes and French gentlemen came to meet the Emperor.

The King, who at this time could not ride, awaited the Emperor at the entrance of the Château de Loches, attended by M. d'Albret, Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, and others. On the steps of the saloon the Em-

peror was received by the Queen, Madame d'Albret, the Dauphine, and daughter of the King, the Duchesses de Vendome, de Montpensier, de Nevers, and d'Estampes, with many other ladies, who, after greeting the Emperor on his arrival, ascended the steps into the saloon, and thence retired to their several apartments. On the 13th of December the Emperor, and all the company which had arrived with him, the King travelling in a coach, and the Queen in a litter, went at noon to a house called Pavillon; at night they rested at Senochaux, and on the evening of the 14th they reached Amboise. Here, in the King's palace, there is a winding staircase, so constructed that you may ride on horseback up to the top of it. In the centre of this winding staircase a machine has been contrived, which, by burning slowly down to the bottom, was to have given light to all those who were riding up and down. No sooner, however, had the Emperor got half way up the staircase, than the whole mass suddenly caught fire, and (there being no opening at the top) occasioned such a dreadful heat, mingled with smoke, that the Emperor and all the persons present narrowly escaped suffocation, especially as the crowd below was so great that it was hardly possible to escape with sufficient haste. Still, however, no lives were lost; but the King was so enraged at this awkward chance, that he would have immediately caused the man who lit the fire to be hanged, if the Emperor had not interposed to prevent it.* On the 17th, at night, they halted at Blois. On the 18th,

* Compare Gaillard, Histoire de France, tome iv.

the Emperor dined whilst out hunting, and supped at Chamburg. On the 20th they stopped at Orleans, on the 24th at Fontainebleau, on the 30th at Corbère, and on the 31st they went by water to the Bois de Vincennes.

1540.

On the 1st of January this distinguished assembly (Charles V. and Francis I., &c. &c.) rested at noon at St. Antoine des Champs, and in the evening arrived in Paris. The Emperor alighted at Notre Dame de Paris, and then proceeded to the royal palace, where the time was spent in festivities until the Feast of the Three Holy Kings. On the 7th of January the whole party went at noon to Madrid,* and in the evening to St. Denis. On the 15th they reached St. Quentin, where the Emperor took his leave, and on the 20th left it, and came at noon to St. Martin, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal de Chatillon, the Connétable, the Dukes de Vendôme and de Nevers, and several other French gentlemen, and one thousand horses. At night they arrived at Cambray, and here his Majesty was met by the Duke of Archot, who was spokesman, the Prince of Orange, Count de Rœux, Master of the Household, Count Büren, the Prince de Chimay, Count de Bergen, Count d'Espinoy, M. de Beüre, Admiral, M. de Praet, M. de Brederode, the Seneschal de Hennegau, and other Flemish gentlemen; M. de Courieres, with the hundred archers dressed in deep mourning, and two thousand horses.

* A pleasure house, built by Francis, and so called, in order to elude his promise of being at Madrid.

The Emperor dined with the Dauphin. On the 21st they arrived at Valenciennes, and were here received by the widowed Queen, Maria, and the Duchess of Milan, with a numerous suite, and entertained until the 24th, on which day the French Princes and gentlemen returned to Cambray, and were escorted thither by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Archot, and others.

On the 26th of January the Emperor and Queen Maria came at noon to Bossy, and in the evening to Mons. On the 28th they came at noon to Rouex, and at night to Nitrels. The Emperor staid at Brussels from the 29th of January to the 9th of February, and then went to Ast. On the 10th he was at Termonde, and on the 14th at Ghent; here he made his *entrée* on foot, accompanied by the Queen, many Flemish gentlemen, the *hommes d'armes*, and five hundred Germans. He remained at Ghent till the 12th of May.

Here thirteen ringleaders of the rebellion were beheaded, and a citadel was erected for the maintenance of peace in this turbulent city. During this time, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, arrived in the Netherlands, and the Count of Hogstraten died there. On the 12th of May the Emperor went to Vanlo, and on the 13th to Antwerp, where he met the Elector of Cologne. On the 25th of May the Emperor was at Lyern, on the 26th at Mechlin, the 29th at Louvain, the 31st at Vürn; the 1st of June at Grönendal, and from the 3rd to the 15th at Brussels; on the 15th at Termonde, the 16th at Ghent, the 19th at Eschera, and the 21st of June at Bruges. On the 13th of July he came by sea to Flushing, on the 14th to Middleburgh,

on the 16th to Vern, the 17th to Turguso, the 18th to Zirisee, the 19th to Binstope, the 20th to Nieueherre, the 21st to Dordecht, the 23rd to Rotterdam, the 24th at noon to Delft, and at night to the Hague. On the 11th of August to Haarlem, the 12th to Amsterdam, the 14th to Utrecht, the 19th to Gorkem, the 20th to Hesden in Brabant, the 22nd to Herzogenbusch, the 23rd to Lierre, the 25th to Breda, the 27th to Bergen, the 29th to Antwerp, on the 30th to Mecheln, and on the 31st to Brussels, where the United States of the Netherlands had been convoked.

After his Majesty had made the necessary arrangements, the German affairs of the Empire were taken into consideration. In October M. de Granvelle went from Brussels to Worms, to attend the religious conference; he arrived there on the 22nd of November, and made a long speech, recommending the restoration of Christian unity. On the 27th of October the Emperor arranged a promotion in the Order of the Golden Fleece, and arrived on the 29th at Alost, on the 31st of October at Ghent, on the 2nd of November at Udenard, on the 3rd at Gorkum, on the 5th at Dornach, the 7th at Lille, the 9th at Yprès, the 13th of November at Cassel, the 14th at Gravelines, the 15th at St. Omer, the 18th at Aire, the 20th at Béthune, the 21st at Alen in Artois, the 22nd at Arras, the 25th at Bapaulmeder, the 26th at Douay, and the 28th of November at Valenciennes.

On the 18th of December he came to Quesnoy on the 20th to Arennes, the 22nd to Beaumont, the 23rd to Flery, the 24th to Namur, the 27th to Senan, the 28th

to Manseen Famine, the 29th to La Roche, the 30th to Bastaigne, and on the 31st of December to Arlon.

1541.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Arlon, on the 2nd at Luxemburg, on the 8th he took leave of the Queen, and slept at Thionville-Dietenhofen, on the 10th he came to Metz, on the 13th to St. Anort, on the 14th to Salleburg, on the 15th to Steinbrugg, on the 16th to Kaiserslautern, on the 17th to Neustadt, and remained from the 18th of January to the 5th of February at Spires, where M. de Granvelle, having returned from the conference at Worms, met his Majesty.

On the 5th of February the Emperor came to Heidelberg, on the 23rd to Ratisbon, where, on the 26th of February, he paid a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Bavaria. Contarini also, the Pope's Legate, arrived at Ratisbon in the month of March. On the 10th of March the Count Palatine Frederick and his consort came to see the Emperor. On the 2nd of April, at six o'clock in the morning, the Cardinal Elector of Mentz arrived at Ratisbon, and the Emperor sent M. de Praet and the Bishop of Arras (the younger Granvelle) to meet him; the Elector visited the Emperor on the day of his arrival. On the 5th of April the Emperor went to the cathedral with the States and his Court, and from thence to the Council-House, where he found the Saxon minister, the Landgrave of Hesse and others. When the Emperor had seated himself on his throne, and every other person had taken his respective place, the Palatine Count Frederick began an address in

the name of the Emperor, which was afterwards read to the end by the Imperial Counsellor Naves, and of which the Diet desired a copy. Doctor Eck, Gropperus and Julius Pflug, on the Catholic side, and Melancthon, Pistorius and Bucer, on the Protestant side, were commissioned to discuss some final settlement of the question, under the superintendence of the Count-Palatine Frederick and of M. de Granvelle. On the 12th of April the Elector of Brandenburg arrived, and was met by M. de Praet, with the cavaliers of the Court; the key of the Imperial cabinet was delivered to him as first Hereditary Chamberlain of the realm.

On the 4th of April the Emperor went to Straubingen, to hunt, and on the 1st of May passed the night at the Carthusian convent, where the anniversary of the Empress's demise was commemorated; and on the 2nd he returned to Ratisbon. On the 8th of May the Emperor supped with the Count-Palatine, the Countess-Palatine his niece, the Duchess of Bavaria, the Dukes of Bavaria and of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse. After the repast, the Prince of Salerno, Don Francesco d'Ast, Don Loys d'Avila, Messieurs de Condé and de la Chaux appeared in masks. On the 17th of May the Elector and the Margraves of Brandenburg, the Counts-Palatine Otho, Henry and Philip, the Landgrave and several princes came to the Emperor to demand justice against the Duke of Brunswick, who had kept his brother imprisoned nearly eighteen years.

His Majesty answered that this and other affairs would be taken into consideration as soon as the most important business was despatched.

The 26th of May being Ascension Day, the Emperor went to the Church of the Benedictines, where the body of St. Dionysius is preserved. A very evident dispute about precedence occurred upon this occasion between the Margrave, George of Brandenburg, the Counts-Palatine Otho, Henry and Philip, and the Duke of Brunswick, which was settled on the 1st of June. On the 28th of May the Theologians ended their conference, having settled the points upon which they could agree, and on the 31st of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, they had an audience of the Emperor, which lasted two hours. After they were gone, the Emperor held a council of several hours' duration with the Palatine, Count Frederick, Messieurs de Praet and Granvelle, and afterwards with M. de Naves; immediately after his dinner he received the Duke George of Bavaria, and then gave audience to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Margraves George and Albert, the Prince of Anhalt, the Duke of Luneburg and others; soon afterwards he received the Counts-Palatine together; and then the Elector of Mainz, by himself; and, lastly, had a conversation with the Pope's Legate.

On the 5th of June (Whit Sunday) the Emperor attended the high-mass, which was performed by the Elector of Mainz; here the Pope's Legate wanted to go first to the altar, which the Elector would not permit; the Emperor decided that the procession should be altogether given up, and he accordingly went alone to the altar.

On the 8th of June the Count-Palatine Frederick made, in the Emperor's name, a speech to the States, assembled

in the dining-hall, concerning a theological point which had been left unsettled, of which they required a written copy, and to which they returned an answer on the 9th. After this the Emperor, in the presence of the States, gave audience to the Austrian and Hungarian ambassadors, who came to ask for his assistance against the Turks.

On the morning of the 10th of June the States assembled in the Council-House. After dinner the Elector of Mainz, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Trent, the Dukes of Bavaria and Brunswick, came to the Emperor in the name of the States.

On the 11th of June, while at Ratisbon, the Emperor received intelligence from Naples, that the naval Captain, Don Garcias de Toledo, had made an expedition against Barbary, and conquered six places.

On the 13th the Landgrave (Philip of Hesse) took leave of the Emperor, who was well-pleased with him. On the 21st, at four o'clock in the morning, arrived the King of the Romans (Archduke Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia), who, on the 25th, appeared before the Emperor and the States, assembled in the hall, to solicit assistance against the Turks. On the 28th the Catholic States came to his Majesty and granted him eighty thousand florins a month, for three months to come, against the Turks; and on the same day the Protestants offered him a contribution of double that amount for the same purpose, and promised, if the preservation of their liberty of conscience were secured to them, to stand by him at the expense of their lives.

On the 3rd of July an assembly was held for the pur-

pose of obtaining speedy relief against the Turks, and in the afternoon his Majesty laid before the States his complaint against the Duke of Cleves, who withheld Gueldres from him.

On the 5th, his investiture of Pomerania took place with great solemnity.

At the convocation of the States of the 12th of July, the Emperor announced to them, through the Count-Palatine, that he had received intelligence of the movements of the Turks against Italy, and was in consequence obliged to go there in person; that he would depart at latest on the 24th, and that the Diet might make their arrangements accordingly, in case they had any business which they wished to bring to a conclusion.

The Duke of Savoy then requested an audience and assistance from the Emperor. In the Assembly of the 21st of July, the States requested a gracious audience for the Minister of Cleves, who had been sent concerning the investiture of their Prince with Guelders, to which the Emperor himself had some pretensions.

His Majesty replied that, whereas, during five months of his residence, the States had never been able to come to a conclusion on four or five points relative to the public welfare, and yet, in the case of his opponent, had suddenly made up their mind in three days, he, the Emperor, had no intention of coming to any decision in so short a space of time. On the 22nd of July the French Minister had an audience of the Diet concerning the affair of Savoy. The Assembly demanded a written copy of his statement before it could give an opinion, but at length came to the resolu-

tion of forwarding an intercession in favour of the Duke of Savoy to the King of France.

The Emperor had already dismissed all his household, but the chamberlains and the counsellors on the 28th of July, when the States appeared before him; but finding that the affairs could not be terminated, he resolved to remain till the 29th, on which day the dissolution of the Diet took place to the satisfaction of all parties.

In spite of this good understanding, however, an unexpected occurrence soon afterwards gave rise to the formation of a Catholic league.

When everything was in order, the Emperor took leave of the Electors, the Princes and States, who afterwards came again to him, each separately, to bid him farewell.

The King of the Romans, and several other princes, escorted him for the space of a mile out of Ratisbon, and he then proceeded to Weinsberg, where he remained for the night at the Duke of Bavaria's, with the Dukes Otho, Henry, and Christopher of Würtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden.

On the 30th the Emperor came to Freysing, and on the 31st to Munich.

On the 1st of August the Emperor was at a *chasse* near Munich, and in the evening went to a supper given in a garden, but retired early, and sent costly presents to the ladies, as he had done at Ratisbon to the Countess-Palatine, the Margravine of Brandenburg and her daughter. On the 2nd of August the Emperor dined at Wollfahrts-hausen, and slept at Benedictbayern. On the 3rd he came

to Mittewald, in the afternoon of the 4th to Seefeld, and in the evening to Innsbruck.

At an hour's distance from the town he was met by two princes of the King of the Romans, and in the palace he was received on the staircase by six young arch-duchesses and the third prince, who was a baby in arms; the Emperor went to his apartment, escorted by the whole party, and giving his arm to the eldest arch-duchess, as the promised bride of the Polish Prince.

On the 7th his Majesty went from Innsbruck to Sterzing, on the 8th to Brixen, on the 9th to Botzen, and on the 10th to Trent, where the Duke de Camerino, and afterwards the Bishop of Trent, came to meet him.

On the 14th the Emperor dined at Borghetto, on the confines of the Tyrol, where the Duke of Ferrara hurried per post to meet him.

His Majesty was met on the frontiers of Italy by one hundred light horse, two hundred mounted archers under the command of the Marquis del Vasto, and five envoys from Venice. The Emperor passed the night at Dolasco, in the neighbourhood of which the Senate had erected a bridge in the shape of a triumphal arch; on the 15th the Emperor was at Peschiera, and on the 16th at Modesta, where the little prince, with the Cardinal of Mantua, came to meet him.

On the 18th the Emperor came to Cremona, on the 19th to Pizzighetone, on the 20th to Lodi, on the 21st to Marignano, and on the 22d to Milan. Here his Majesty was met by the son of the governor of the castle, with two

hundred light horse, followed by the Marquis del Vasto on foot, accompanied by two hundred noblemen clad in blue damask, and two hundred more on horseback in complete armour, attended by two hundred light horse; these were followed by all the noble vassals of the duchy of Milan on foot, attired in crimson silk and cloth of gold, and the counsellors on horseback in violet-coloured satin, also the university and the clergy.

The procession passed through several triumphal arches, and proceeded to the church, and from thence to the palace. On the 25th the Duke of Urbino and the Duke of Melphi came to the Emperor, who, on the 26th, inspected the castle.

On the 27th of August the Emperor and all his suite, with the Cardinals Contareno and Mantua, repaired to the cathedral, where he stood sponsor for the child of the Governor del Vasto. On his return, the Emperor found the dowager Marchioness, and all the ladies of Milan, in a saloon, where she had prepared a sumptuous banquet. On the 29th the Emperor was at Pavia, and on the 31st at Alexandria. On the 3rd of September he came to Genoa, and was met by the Duke of Florence, Prince Doria, and the Cardinals Grimaldi and Doria.

The Prince of Piedmont landed on Sunday, and on the 7th of September the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the Pope at Lucca. On the 9th the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Piedmont took leave of the Emperor and departed for Nice; on Saturday the 10th, at about five o'clock in the evening, the Emperor embarked, and, in company with seventeen galleys, directed his course towards Lucca;

on Sunday, towards nine o'clock, he landed at Porto Venere, and attended mass in the convent. In the evening the Viceroy of Naples appeared with thirteen galleys, and paid his respects to the Emperor and the numerous company of nobles that were with him. At one o'clock in the morning the fleet put out to sea, and by daybreak on the 12th of September, arrived at Viareggio, where the people of Lucca received His Majesty under a triumphal arch, which was erected in the sea, and had prepared four hundred horses to be ready for his journey to Lucca. His Majesty was here met by the Duke of Ferrara, and half way on his journey by the Cardinal della Croce and others, on the part of the Pope. At the gates of Lucca all the Cardinals were assembled, and accompanied the Emperor into the cathedral, where they found the Holy Father in his Pontifical robes. After dinner arrived the Duchess of Parma, the Emperor's natural daughter.

On the 13th of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor, accompanied by all his Court, visited the Pope. On his way he was met by the Cardinals Farnese and Santa Flora, who conducted him to the Papal chamber, where he remained till seven o'clock. On the 14th the Emperor had another long conference with His Holiness; on the 15th the French Minister, resident at the Romish Court, and a nobleman, who had arrived per post from France the day before, had a morning audience of the Emperor. In the afternoon, and till late in the evening, His Majesty had another conference with Pope Paul III. On the 16th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Pope came in a litter, and paid him a visit

of five hours, accompanied by the Cardinals Borghese, St. Giacomo, Gambara, Farnese, Santa Croce, Santa Flora and Sambello, the Emperor advanced into the hall to receive him. His Majesty returned this visit on the 17th, and on the 18th, in the afternoon, took leave of the Holy Father, and left Lucca, and was accompanied by the Cardinals, who had all been present at the leave-taking, beyond the gates of the town.

The Emperor passed the night at Pietrasanta, and, on the 19th, came to Porto della Spezzia, where the Maltese galleys had arrived in the meantime. The Emperor made them a present of six thousand dollars.

On the 24th of September the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to His Holiness, in order to refute the accusation of the murder of Fregoso and Rincon made against himself and his ministers, and to entreat that the Pope himself would be umpire in the inquiries made concerning this event; to this proposal, however, the King of France would not agree.

On the 26th of September His Majesty was present at the embarkation of the six thousand Germans in thirteen vessels, and on the 28th put out to sea himself, and, while getting under weigh, was joined by the six galleys from Genoa, commanded by Antony Doria.

On the 29th, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Emperor anchored off Corsica with seven galleys, and, the weather being very stormy, was obliged to remain there all day on the 30th of September.

On the 1st of October the Emperor attempted to sail towards Ponente, but was forced, by contrary winds, to

return to his former station, where he passed the day. On Monday the 3rd, he came to Porto di San Bonifaccio, and landed there; on the 6th, at noon, he returned to the galley, and set sail for Sardinia, and during the night, passed by the Island of Genere, which is only inhabited by stags and wild boars. On the 7th the Emperor landed at Porto del Ponte, went out hunting in the morning, and at noon returned to his vessel, and reached his town of Cagliari, which he entered in state, and where he passed the night. On the 8th the Emperor returned to Porto del Ponte, where the Neapolitan galleys had arrived with Don Garcias de Toledo; the fleet now consisted of forty-three galleys. On the 9th the Emperor sailed towards Minorca, and made a distance of three hundred miles in forty-three hours.

After midnight he sailed to Mahon, and, on the 13th, at nine o'clock in the morning, came to Majorca, where he met the Viceroy of Sicily with seven galleys and eight thousand Spaniards who had arrived from Italy in sixty vessels. There had also arrived six thousand Italians from Leghorn. On the 18th the Emperor reached the desert Island of Cabrera.

On the 19th, at daybreak, the Emperor passed the Golfo, came in sight of Barbary on the 21st of October, and, at seven o'clock in the morning, found himself seven miles distant from Algiers. In an hour afterwards the Spanish galleys joined his fleet, but, having left the store-ships thirty miles behind, they were compelled to turn back and fetch them.

As soon as nearly the whole of the fleet was assembled,

the Emperor sent Giannettino Doria towards Algiers, and in the afternoon, he himself and all his galleys anchored within cannon-shot of the town. Such a storm, however, arose in the night, that, fearing it would extend to the roads, the fleet retired fifteen miles behind the Promontory called Metaphuz. Here it remained till the 22nd, and people were sent ashore to get fresh water. On the 23rd, early in the morning, the troops were landed; the Emperor and his Court followed at nine o'clock, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts made by the Arabs to oppose them, and, advancing three miles inland, the Emperor pitched his tent at the foot of a hill. Towards midnight he was disturbed by a party of eight hundred Moors and Turks from the top of the hill, who could easily reach his position with their fire-arms. On the 24th of October the Emperor moved on to within a mile of the town. His Majesty and the nobility took post in a vineyard on the plain, the Spaniards were placed on a hill, the Italians by a bridge, and the Germans were distributed partly on the plain, and partly on another hill.

At about nine o'clock in the evening, wind and rain came on, and increased violently towards the morning, so that the storm, both by sea and land, was fearful, and the Emperor returned three miles nearer the shore, in order to endeavour to get more victuals and ammunition disembarked. This, however, it proved impossible to effect, and he went on five miles further towards the sea. On the 28th he marched through a swampy country, where he had a considerable river to pass, and was annoyed the whole time by the Arabs, both on his flank and rear.

On this day it was made known that the Duke of Alva had been appointed (*Oberst Hofmeister*) Lord High Steward. They afterwards reached Metaphuz, where the galleys which had escaped from the storm, were at anchor.

On the 1st of November (All Saints' Day) the embarkation took place; and on Thursday, the 3rd of November, the Emperor presented Doria with thirteen galleys, fitted out at Barcelona, and gave him the place of Protonotary at Naples, which produces a yearly income of 3,000 ducats, as an indemnification for the vessels he had lost. A fresh storm, which appeared to be coming on, induced the Emperor to leave this disastrous coast, after some of the ships of burden had been brought out of the roads of Algiers, and had got into the open sea. Five Spanish galleys were left behind, to tow out to sea the remaining vessels. The Emperor sailed the whole night in a tremendous storm, and on the forenoon of the 4th of November reached the harbour of his town of Bugia, on the continent of Africa. Here he was rejoined by the five Spanish galleys, which had been unable to assist the ships of burden still lying before Algiers.

At Bugia, the Imperial fleet was in imminent danger of perishing, either by the storm or by famine. On the 11th, 12th, and 13th, public processions were held, and prayers said for the averting of further calamities.

On the 15th the Emperor ordered a bastion to be erected at this place, already quite surrounded by the Moors: he also sent home the Viceroy of Sicily, and the

galleys from Monaco, Sinigallien, and Malta, which set sail on the 16th. In the afternoon of the 17th, the Emperor's galley rowed out of the harbour, but was forced, by contrary winds, to turn back.

Towards midnight, the Emperor made a second attempt, and got about eighty miles out to sea; but, on the 19th, was driven back again to Bugia, where he remained in his galley till the 23rd.

At ten o'clock at night, he at length got off, and landed at Majorca, on the evening of the 26th. On the 27th the Emperor sent Andrew Doria with his own, and afterwards Antonio Doria's and the Count d'Aquilara's galleys back to Genoa. The Emperor embarked on the 28th, at four o'clock in the evening; on the 29th, at noon, arrived with fifteen galleys, at Porto di St. Antonio, on the island of Iviza; and at length, on the 1st of December, reached Carthagena, where he staid till the 5th, and that night slept at Musia.

On the 9th he went to Seisa, on the 10th to Elin, and on the 18th arrived at Occoiga, where the Princesses, his daughters, received him with inexpressible joy; and where also the Infante Don Philip had arrived with the Cardinal of Toledo. On the 31st of December the Emperor was at Toledo.

1542.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Toledo, and on the 5th at Madrid, from whence he sent off the Duke of Alva, to defend Navarre.

On the 26th of January the Emperor was at Valladolid,

where the States of Castile had been convoked ; and on the 10th of February commenced the sittings. On the 26th of March the Bishop of London came to Valladolid, in quality of Envoy ; and, on the 12th of April, had an audience of the Emperor, together with the resident English Minister ; he also made some stay at the Imperial Court.

The meeting of the States of Castile was dissolved on the 4th of April, after they had voted 1,200,000 ducats to the Emperor.

On the 23rd M. de Granvelle returned, having with difficulty escaped the French galleys, which, for the space of several miles, had been firing at his vessel. On the 28th of May his son was consecrated Bishop of Arras. On the 27th of May the Emperor came to Burgos, where he was hospitably received by the Constable of Castile, and detained by indisposition till the 2nd of June.

On the 6th the Emperor came to Naigera, where the palace of the Duke was fitted up in the most sumptuous manner, many of the rooms being hung with cloth of gold.

On the 7th he came to Grogno, and on the 8th attended the solemn procession of Corpus-Christi.

On the 9th he gave audience to the Ministers of Lorraine, on the 13th he came to Pampeluna, on the 14th inspected the fortifications, and on the 15th visited the environs of the town.

On the 16th the Emperor was at Taffaille, on the 17th at the Convent at Tobme, on the 18th at Saduna, and from the 27th to the 10th of October at Monteson.

On the 23rd of September began the Convocation of the States of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, who voted to the Emperor 500,000 ducats, and did homage to the Infante as heir-apparent to the throne.

On the 20th of July the Emperor entrusted the defence of Perpignan against the French to the Duke of Alva, who set off by the post from Montison on the 22nd.

On the 23rd the Bishop of London* and the English Minister had an audience of His Majesty: the latter took his leave on the 9th of August; and M. de Carrieres, Captain in the rear-guard forces, was sent off to England on the 13th.

On the 25th of August the Feast of St. Louis, the Dauphin marched into the province of Roussillon, with 40,000 men, and began a cruel war, by laying waste everything with fire and sword, as far as Perpignan.

On the 2nd of September the siege of Perpignan commenced. On the 11th the Imperial minister returned from the French court.

On the 17th came the intelligence that the French, in an unsuccessful expedition against India, had lost twenty-three ships off the Spanish coast.

On the 24th the Emperor received the report that the Dauphin, hearing that reinforcements to the garrison were on their way both from Castile and Italy, and that Prince Doria was coming with fifteen galleys and ten ships to its relief, had abandoned the siege of Perpignan, after carrying it on twenty-two days.

* Called Westminster here.

Meanwhile the Pope had sent a Cardinal of the Portuguese house of Silva to the Emperor, to treat of a peace with France. He had an audience on the 30th of September, but was answered, that considering the treaty of Nice, the Pope ought rather to declare himself against the King of France as the aggressor, and as an open adherent of the Turks.

The Emperor also complained of the arrest of the Archbishop of Valenza and other Spanish subjects at Avignon, and of the disturbance at Maranos: the Cardinal then departed on the 3rd of October, but came back again on the 13th of November. The Emperor broke up on the 10th, and slept at Lerida, on the 11th he passed the night at Velgbuche, on the 12th at Sernero, and on the 16th came to Bariebona, where on the 20th he inspected the fortifications, and on the 23rd sent back Doria, who returned by Palamos to his fleet, which was anchored at Genoa.

On the last day of October, M. de Granvelle departed for Germany, to attend the Diet.

At Barcelona the Emperor was present at several masquerades.

On the 26th of November he dined at Maoderados, where came the news that San Juan de Luz had been taken from the French, and nine of their vessels captured. On the 1st of December the Emperor came to Cavaignes, on the 3rd to Molverda, and on the 4th to Valenza. On the 5th the Infante made his entry, on which occasion many superb fêtes were given. On the 24th the Emperor passed the night at Alcalá, where the princesses then were.

On the second day of the Christmas holidays the marriages of the Crown Prince of Spain with the Princess of Portugal, and the Portuguese Prince with the Princess of Spain, were publicly announced.

On the 30th of December, at night, the Emperor arrived at Madrid.

1543.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Madrid. During this month several members of the Indian Council were set free, and punished partly by fines, and partly by banishment. The whole body of the nobility likewise was summoned to attend the Emperor against France.

On the 9th of February the Emperor, for the first time, conducted the Crown Prince to the High Court of Judicature. On the 1st of March the Emperor went from Madrid to Alcala, where the princesses were, and on the 2nd came the news that the Imperialists had taken the town of Tremesen, in Africa.

On the 3rd the Emperor went to Gadalasor, and on the 29th of March to Molin del Rey.

On the 11th of April he went to Barcelona, where, on the 15th, news was received that Andrew Doria had arrived at Rosas with forty-four galleys, with which, on the 18th, he came to Barcelona.

On the 1st of May the Emperor embarked in the afternoon, and at night fell in with the Neapolitan fleet; the next day he came to Palamos, where he staid till the 12th, and on the 13th landed at Rosas. On the 18th

he proceeded to Cadagnez, and on the 19th was on the open sea.

The Emperor stayed a couple of hours before Marseilles, and on the 24th of May, Corpus-Christi Day, landed at Savona, from whence, on Friday, towards four o'clock in the afternoon, he set sail for Genoa with one hundred and fifty vessels, of which fifty-seven were galleys. At Genoa he remained till the 2nd of June. During this time of his Majesty's residence, many people of rank came to Genoa, amongst which were the Duke de Castro (son of Pope Paul), the Duke of Florence, the Marquis del Vasto, the Prince di Melphi, the Duke of Savoy and his son, the Cardinal de Cibo, and Cardinal Farnese, on the part of his Holiness the Pope, who came on the 2nd of June, and had an audience from the Emperor before his departure. On this day his Majesty came to Borgo, on the 3rd to Serravalle, on the 4th to Tortona, on the 5th to Voghera, where the Cardinal Farnese took his leave, and on the 6th of June to Pavia, where M. de Granvelle returned to his Majesty from the Diet at Nuremberg, and where his daughter, the Duchess of Camerino, was also staying. On the 12th the Emperor bestowed upon the Duke of Florence the castle and fortifications of his duchy. On the 13th he was at Codogno, and on the 14th at Cremona, where the Duke of Ferrara came to meet him, and the Emperor remained till the 20th. Hither came also the Pope's Legate, de Santa Croce, who was received by the Emperor in the cathedral, and on the 21st accompanied his Majesty to Bassetto, where the Pope had arrived that morning.

As the Emperor approached Bassetto, thirteen cardinals advanced to meet him. The Emperor dismounted at the castle, where the Pope received him at the entrance of the saloon, and would not permit him to kiss his feet. They sat together for two hours, and the Emperor then retired to his own abode; after dinner he returned to the Pope, and they conversed together three hours. On the 22nd they spent the whole day together in the castle. Each had a guard of five hundred foot and two hundred light horse in attendance, besides their usual followers.

The Pope had with him thirteen cardinals, and the Duke de Castro, his son. The Emperor was accompanied by the Duke of Brunswick and other gentlemen of rank. On the 23rd the Emperor, who was slightly indisposed, received a visit of three hours from the Pope.

On the 24th all the cardinals waited in a body upon the Emperor, and the same evening the Emperor's daughter, the Duchess of Camerino, Signora Costanza, a daughter of the Pope, Contessa Zambara, and other ladies, came to take their leave.

In the afternoon of the 25th the Emperor took leave of the Pope, who accompanied him into the hall. The cardinals attended his Majesty out of the gates of the town.

Towards night the Emperor arrived at Cremona, and remained there on the 26th. On the 27th and 28th he was in the territory of Mantua, and on the 29th came to Peschiera, where the government of Venice provided his Majesty with refreshments.

On the 30th of June the Emperor was at Dolce, where

a triumphal arch had been erected on a bridge of boats across the Etsch.

On the 1st of July the Emperor slept at Noveredo, where the Bishop of Trent came to meet him, and conducted him to his house at Trent, where he passed the night of the 2nd. He was met at this place by Cardinal Moroné, a legate of the Pope, sent there to the church assembly. On the 7th the Emperor came to Brixen, on the 8th to Sterzing, and on the 9th to Innsbruck, where he found the young archduke and five princesses, his brother's children. He spent the 11th of July there.

On the 15th of July he was at Kempten, on the 18th at Ulm, and on the 27th at Spires, where the Elector of Mayence and the Bishop of Arras came to meet him. On this day he inspected one hundred field-pieces, which he intended to take with him in the war against France.

On the 28th twenty thousand Germans were mustered; on the 1st of August the Electors of Cologne and the Palatine came to Spires.

On the 5th the Emperor was at Worms, on the 6th at Oppenheim, and on the 7th at Mayence, whence he sailed on the 12th with seventy vessels, and was received at Coblenz by the Elector of Treves. On the 16th he slept at Andernach, and on the 17th at Bonn, where he was the guest of the Elector of Cologne.

On the 20th the Emperor broke up from Bonn with five thousand horse and thirty thousand men on foot, and encamped in a little village at Arau.

On the 21st the Emperor marched to Lintkirch, and

on the 22nd encamped before Düren, a town in Cleves, where the Prince of Orange (who on the preceding day had taken Mountjoy by storm), joined the Imperial army on the 23rd with three hundred infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse.

The same day the Emperor summoned the town of Düren to surrender, and as it refused to do so, it was stormed on the afternoon of the 24th by the Spanish and Italian troops, and taken in two hours. The garrison consisted of four thousand men, besides the inhabitants, who were partly killed and partly taken prisoners by the Imperialists. The town was given over to plunder; but the Emperor had given orders, under pain of death, to spare all the women and children, who were recommended to take refuge in the church.

On the 25th there broke out in this unhappy city a fire, which it was impossible to put out, and which laid six hundred houses in ashes.

On the 26th the Emperor endeavoured to restore as much order in the town as he possibly could, and breaking up from thence on the 27th went first to Marzwent, and on the 28th to Cruanesick. On the 29th Höcke in Gueldres surrendered, and the Emperor proceeded to Corbeck. On the 30th he encamped before the capital town Sarmünden, which surrendered, as well as Huttern and several other places.

On the 1st of September, at six o'clock in the morning, the Prince of Orange entered this town with two thousand infantry and two hundred horse. At nine o'clock the Emperor made his entry (into Rogendorf) accompanied by

the Dukes of Brunswick and Saxony, and several other gentlemen, and, having proceeded to the principal square, received the oaths of allegiance from the assembled multitude; he then returned to his camp, and on the 2nd of September moved to Tise. On the 3rd the Emperor visited his sister, the Stadtholderinn, at Horm, and came back to his camp in the evening. On the same day the town of Cleves surrendered, and the Coadjutor of Cologne made his appearance to demand a safe conduct for Duke William.

On the 4th the Emperor encamped before Venlo, and summoned the town, which, however, would not surrender.

On the 5th the Coadjutor of Cologne returned to hasten the negotiations with the Duke of Cleves; upon which the Duke of Brunswick was sent to bring him into the camp. They returned together on the 6th, and the Duke of Cleves dismounted in the tent of M. de Granvelle, where he supped, and staid till the next morning.

On the 7th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Brunswick, conducted Duke William to his Majesty, whom they found in his tent, with many princes, lords, and imperial counsellors assembled round him. The Duke of Cleves remained on his knees, while his chancellor delivered an address in the German language, acknowledging his (the duke's) error, and suing for mercy. This was answered by the Vice-Chancellor. Naves, who said that the Emperor was willing to let his clemency prevail, and desired the

Duke to return to M. de Granvelle's, where the outline of a treaty should be drawn up by the Imperial counsellors. After this, his Majesty bade the Duke to rise, and held out his hand to him; they then had a short private conference, and the Duke took his leave. On the 8th of September the treaty was concluded. On the 10th the Emperor held his entry into Venlo.

On the 11th, Martin von Rossem came into the camp; on the afternoon of the 12th he was presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Brunswick, and, acknowledging his Majesty as his rightful liege lord, promised to serve him as faithfully as he had done his late master.

His Majesty then went from his rooms into an open tent, where the States of Gueldres and Zutphen took the oath of allegiance on their knees, after having been freed from their oaths to the Duke of Cleves. The Prince of Orange was then made their Stadtholder.

On the same day the Polish envoys came to his Majesty, and made him a present of a male and female dwarf.

On the 14th the Emperor had an attack of the gout. Duke William received Cleves and Juliers as Imperial fiefs, and Rabenstein as a fief of Brabant. The Emperor then went on to Weerde, and the army marched on through Liege and the county of Namur to France. On the 15th the Emperor came to Gera, and on the 16th to Diest, where he remained on account of the increasing pain in his limbs. On the 18th the Stadtholderinn came, and on the 19th came also the deputies from the Netherlands, who had been summoned to a convocation at Louvain, which the Emperor was now unable to attend.

On the 22nd the Emperor was conveyed to the Assembly of States in an easy chair.

The President Shorre made the opening speech, which was answered by the Chancellor of Brabant, and the Emperor, on account of his indisposition, referred them through the president, to the Stadtholderinn, who would deliver his sentiments in return. On the 24th each state, individually, was with the Emperor, who, on the 25th, slept at the convent of Cempe, on the 26th came to Louvain, where he remained on the 27th; on the 28th came to Asque, on the 29th to Nivelles, and on the 30th of September to Brest, where he remained till the 13th of October, on account of the pain in his limbs.

On this day he went to Mons, on the 18th to Bovais, on the 19th to Quesnoy, and on the 20th, at mid-day, came to his camp before Landreci, the same night he proceeded to Abernes, where an English chamberlain arrived on the 23rd. On the 27th the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the camp, on account of some misunderstanding which had arisen.

On the 29th came the news, that the French army was advancing in order of battle. Upon this intelligence the scattered camp of the Imperialists united, which gave the French an opportunity of supplying the town of Landreci with provisions and a fresh garrison on the 31st of October. The same day the Emperor went from Avennes to Quesnoy, and staid there on the 1st of November. On the 2nd the Emperor ordered his army to advance towards Chateau Cambresis, as it was reported that King Francis had boasted of his intention to give the Imperialists battle.

From Quesnoy his Majesty arrived, towards evening, within a ride and a half of the French camp, and on the 3rd showed himself in battle array to the enemy, who retired within their entrenchments. On this and on the following day, the Imperial army encamped quite close to the French; but on the 4th, at eleven o'clock at night, the king broke up with his army in deep silence, so that even the bells were taken off the mules' necks, and marched quietly off towards Guise.

As soon as the news of this departure was received, the French rear-guard was pursued beyond the Bois de Bouchain, and some men were taken, besides baggage and provisions. The Emperor now took up his abode in the same apartments in Chateau Cambresis, which the King had abandoned the night before, and remained there on the 6th. On the 7th he came with his camp to Legin, and on the 8th to Crevecoeur, which the Emperor took from the Dauphin, and where he remained on the 9th, to appoint winter-quarters for his troops.

On the 10th the Emperor rode into Cambray in full armour, and left a garrison in it. On the 15th he went to Valenciennes, and remained there till the 19th of November. On the 17th the Duke of Lorraine came to visit the Emperor, and in the course of the following day had several conversations with his Majesty. On the 20th the Emperor went to Mons, on the 21st to Brain le Conte, on the 22nd to Sept Fontaines, and on the 23rd to Brussels, where the Chamberlain, Peloux, died on the 25th.

On the 2nd of December Don Fernando de Gonzaga,

Viceroy of Sicily, set out on a mission to England, in company with several nobles.

On the 23rd there was an assembly of the States, and the Emperor made them a long address.

1544.

On the 2nd of January the Emperor went from Brussels to Louvain, on the 3rd to Tirlemont, on the 4th to Tongers, on the 5th to Liege, and on the 6th being the Feast of the Three Holy Kings, the Emperor attended High Mass in the Cathedral, and made an offering of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

On the 8th he left Liege for Huisen, on the 9th and 10th he was at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 11th at Crappe, on the 12th, 13th, and 14th, at Cologne, on the 15th at Bonn, on the 16th at Rombach, on the 17th at Andernach, on the 18th at Coblentz, on the 19th at Sonne, a castle in the Palatinate; and on the 20th at Kreuzenach, where the Papal Legate, Farnese, had just arrived, having travelled post through France. He was visited by M. de Granvelle and the Bishop of Arras; and on the 21st, in the afternoon, had an audience of his Majesty.

On the 23rd the Emperor was at Alzei, and on the 24th at Worms, where the Legate received an answer to his communication and took his leave. The Emperor proceeded to Neuschloss, where he remained till the 30th, and then went to Spires.

On the 1st of February the Emperor made his public

entry, which was attended by the Duchess of Bavaria and the Princess Palatine, both nieces of the Emperor; also by the King of the Romans, with the Archdukes, his sons; and six Electors, with several other Princes and nobles.

The Palatine, Count Frederick, here attained to the dignity of Elector, by the death of the Elector Lewis.

On the 20th the Emperor attended the assembled Diet, and the Vice-Chancellor Naves made the opening speech.

The Imperial States declared themselves willing to support 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry against France, for the space of six months.

On the 4th of April, the Duke of Brunswick had a public audience, to give him the opportunity of defending himself against the accusations of the Landgrave of Hesse. On the same day the Elector of Mayence returned home. On the 5th of April the Grand-Master of Prussia took the oath of allegiance in a solemn assembly. On the 8th Count Egmont's marriage with a Bavarian Princess was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.

On the 9th of June the determination of the Diet was made known, that all Germans then in the service of France should return home within fifteen days, under sentence of banishment, and that no one, under pain of death, should again enter the French service.

On the 10th the Diet was dissolved, and the Emperor went again to Neuschloss, where he remained till the 13th, and then went to Schneeberg; on the 14th he was at Ichteritz, on the 15th at St. Albert, and on the 16th made his entry into Metz, accompanied by the Archdukes,

Duke Maurice of Saxony, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and several other princes, five thousand infantry, and three thousand horse. He remained at Metz till the 6th of July. On the 1st of July the French prisoners, the Counts de Ligny, de Brienne, and de Chesne were brought to Metz, and from thence conveyed to Namur. On the 6th the Emperor marched, with flying colours, from Metz to Pont à Mousson, rested on the 7th, and came to Menouville on the 8th. On the 9th he came to Dreux, on the 10th to Penne, and on the 11th to Nassau, where were the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine (the latter the Emperor's niece). On the 12th he went through Ligny to Steeville, and on the 13th to his camp near St. Disier, where he passed the night in a small village.

On the 14th the Prince of Orange, who had been wounded in the shoulder by a ball from a falconet, was brought into the Imperial quarters, and on the following evening died in the Emperor's arms. On the 15th an unsuccessful attempt was made at storming St. Disier.

On the 14th the Emperor had sent Duke Maurice, Don Francesco d'Este, and Count Fürstenberg to Vitry, with four companies, two thousand horses, and four mortars. They arrived there on the 24th, put to flight M. de Brissac, General of the French Chevaux Legers, routed about one thousand five hundred men, and took both the town and the castle, with four colours. Count William Fürstenberg was, however, wounded, and M. de Hallweit died seven days afterwards, in consequence of a wound he received on this occasion.

On the 8th of August the garrison of St. Disier

agreed to capitulate, in case they should receive no relief before the 17th. On the 11th the Imperial camp was reinforced by the arrival of six thousand Germans. On the 12th some predatory excursions were made as far as Chantilly,* which place was burnt down. On the 25th the Emperor broke up with his camp, came to Turpie, and remained there on the 26th and 27th. On the 28th he was at St. Pierre, and on the 29th agreed, after many entreaties, to take into consideration the proposals for peace, and gave the French Admiral, M. de Annebaut, who on that day arrived at St. Venay with three hundred horse, a safe conduct back. He also commissioned the Viceroy of Sicily and M. de Granvelle to examine and deliberate upon the preliminaries of the treaty, and they passed two days in negotiations, attended by a guard of two thousand men.

On the 30th the Emperor took up his quarters at La Haussée, and on the 31st of August advanced about a cannon-shot further towards Gallon, but, continuing his march in the night, he found himself at daybreak exactly opposite to the French army, and only separated from it by the river Marne. The French kept themselves within their entrenchments, but succeeded in taking Count Fürstenberg prisoner. At the same time the French Lieutenant-General, Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, with thirty men at arms, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. On the same day the Emperor marched three miles forward and encamped on the plain.

* Janteille.

On the 2nd of September the Emperor was at Tirre, on the 3rd at Compiègne, on the 4th and 5th at several places between Traye and Eperien, which had been burnt down to the ground.

On the 6th he was at Chatillon, from whence the Bishop of Arras departed for England under a safe conduct from the French King; on the 7th of September at St. Crepeau, when Tiery-Simony was taken by the Imperialists' light-horse, on the 8th, at a village called Sabaytbe. On 9th and 10th he advanced half a mile further, and on the 11th came to Soissons which surrendered immediately on being summoned.

His Majesty took up his abode at Oblette in the neighbourhood, and sent Duke Maurice into the town. On the 12th the Emperor marched through Soissons and established himself at the Abbaye de St. Marceau, where he passed the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, on which day the Peace with France was concluded. On the 17th the French plenipotentiaries came to wait upon His Majesty, after which the Emperor advanced with his camp to Pignay, and on the 18th came to Creçi, where he was met by the Bishop of Arras on his return from England. At four o'clock in the afternoon arrived the Duke of Orleans, second son of the King of France, by post, and took up his abode with the Emperor. On the 19th came also the Comte de Vendôme; and the Emperor in their presence swore to the treaty of peace; after which the Archdukes, the Duke of Orleans, Comte de Vendôme and the Admiral of France dined with the Emperor. On the 20th the Duke de Guise arrived with several others, and he, as well

as the Duke of Orleans and the Admiral, was entertained at the Imperial table. After this the Admiral took his leave; his son remaining as an hostage along with the Duke de Guise, and M. de Laval who soon arrived for the purpose.

On this day the Emperor slept at Riblemont, and on the 21st came to the Abbaye de St. Nac near St. Quentin in Picardy.* On the 22nd he came to Chateau de Cambresis, and on the 23rd to Cambray, where the Queen Stadtholderinn was awaiting him, and the Cardinals of Meudon and Lorraine (the latter in place of his brother the Duke de Guise) had already arrived; Cardinal de Tournon, however, was detained elsewhere by business.

On the 24th the Emperor left the Duke of Orleans and the hostages with the Stadtholderinn and returned to Chateau Cambresis to arrange his affairs with the army. He remained there on the 25th, whilst the Duke of Orleans went from Cambray to Peronne, and the Queen came to Valenciennes with the hostages; the same day also Landreci was given up to the Imperialists by the French. On the 26th the Emperor passed through Landreci, dined at Quesnoy, and arrived at Valenciennes in the evening. On the 28th he went to Mons. On the 30th of September he slept at Notre Dame de Chaulx, within three miles of Brussels.

On the 1st of October the Emperor dined at Trois Fontaines and reached Brussels at night.

* Vermanday.

On the 18th he went to meet the Queen of France, with the Archdukes and several Princes, slept at Breyne le Conte that night, and on the 19th, at noon, came to Mons. After dinner he went on a little further towards the Queen, and having met her, they returned together to Mons, where he gave a supper to Her Majesty, the Archdukes, the Cardinal de Lorraine, the Duchess d'Estampes and her sister the Countess de Verlu.

On the 20th, in addition to the former party, he invited the Cardinal de Meudon, the Bishop of Rheims, and Messrs. de Laval and de Henauden to dinner. Whilst at table he was told that the Duke of Orleans was coming by post to visit him, whereupon he sent the Viceroy of Sicily also by post to meet him, and the whole party then repaired to Soujnie where they were received by the Queen of Hungary, who kept her sister (the Queen of France) with her, while the Emperor with the Cardinals and the rest of his suite slept at the said Breyne le Conte.

At nine o'clock at night the Duke of Orleans arrived, and occupied apartments in the Imperial quarters. On the 21st, at noon, the whole party went to Notre Dame de Chaulx, where the Emperor and the Queen of France remained, whilst the Stadtholderinn and the Duke of Orleans proceeded to Brussels.

On the 22nd the Stadtholderinn made her grand entry into Brussels, carried in a litter under a canopy, and attended by a great many French gentlemen, as well as by the Duchess d'Estampes, the Countess de Verlu, Countess

d'Aubemont and others, amongst whom were Mesdames de Penthievre, de Martignon, de Nieulx, de Bressieux, de Grenac, de l'Estrange et de l'Arpenzon.

She remained at Brussels till the 3rd of November, in the forenoon of which day, she and the ladies of her suite received rich presents, amounting to fifty thousand gold crowns in value.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Queen took her departure with the Duke of Orleans, and was accompanied by the Emperor to the gates of the town, by the Archdukes as far as Mons, and by the Duke of Arscot to the frontiers. On the 4th of November the States were assembled. On the 2nd of December the Emperor, travelling in company with the Stadtholderinn, the Archdukes and others, passed the night at Alost, and on the 3rd arrived at Ghent, where the Emperor continued to be tormented by the gout during the whole month.

1545.

On the 15th of January the Emperor went from Ghent to Teremonde, and on the 16th to Brussels.

On the 1st of February the Emperor was still laid up with the gout, and on the 10th began to follow a regimen, and to make use of Indian-wood. As his Majesty was thus prevented from attending the Diet, M. de Granvelle was sent there on the 20th. On the 15th of March the Emperor finished his regimen.

On the 29th the French hostages at the Imperial Court, Messieurs de Laval, de Henaudée, and Cardinal de Meudon, returned to France. On the 7th of April the

Emperor went from Brussels to Büren in the wood, on the 9th to Mechlin, and on the 19th to Antwerp, where he was again visited by the Duke of Orleans. On the 30th the Court was at Liers, and on the 31st of April the Emperor and the Archdukes went to Diest, and the Stadtholderinn, with the Duke of Orleans, to Brussels, from whence the Duke returned to France on the 2nd of May.

On the 1st of May the Emperor was at Diest, and kept the eve of the 2nd, which was held as a solemn anniversary of the late Empress's death. He spent the night at Cüring. On the 3rd he was at Maestricht, on the 5th at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 6th at Juliers, on the 7th at Cologne, on the 9th at Bonn, and on the 10th at Andernach, on the 11th at Coblenz, on the 12th at Simmern, on the 13th at Krumpach, on the 15th at Halsem, in the Palatinate, at which place the King of the Romans joined the Emperor, and they both continued their journey to Worms on the 16th, where Cardinal Farnese arrived on the 17th, and had an audience on the 19th. On the 20th he had another audience, after which he took his leave, and in the night departed, "al incognito," by post with Baron de Madruz.

On the 27th the States attended on the Emperor, who on the 28th went to hunt at Neuschloss, and on the 30th returned to Worms.

On the 9th of June the Elector arrived from the Palatinate, and on the 10th the Emperor gave a public audience to the French envoy.

On the 18th of July the Governor of Milan, Marquis

del Vasto came to Worms. On the 19th of July the obsequies were held for the Princess, daughter of the King of the Romans, who had been married in Poland; the ceremony was attended, besides the Court, by the ministers of France, England, Portugal, Poland and Venice, with the Nuncio.

On the 21st came the news of the birth of the Spanish Infante, Don Carlos. On the 23rd the Prince of Piedmont arrived. On the 30th of July the King of the Romans and the Archduke Maximilian departed for Bohemia, and on the 31st came the news of the death of the Emperor's daughter-in-law.

On the 7th of August the Emperor, accompanied by the Archduke Ferdinand, the Prince Philibert and others, travelled to Alzey, and the Marquis del Vasto returned to Milan. On the 8th the Emperor travelled twenty-two German miles, and reached Cologne, where he was joined by the Duke of Cleves.

On the 15th the Elector of Cologne came to wait upon his Majesty, and after the audience went to Bonn. On the 17th, at noon, the Emperor came to Düsseldorf, and at night to Juliers; on the 18th to Maestricht; on the 19th, at noon, to Tongres, and at night to Sentroy; on the 20th, at noon, to Tirlemont, and at night to Louvain, where the Stadtholderinn came to meet him, whilst the Court remained at Vaure. The public entry was not, however, made until the 26th, and then the procession was in deep mourning, on account of the Infanta's death, and the obsequies were held with the greatest magnificence.

On the 15th of October the Emperor went from

Brussels to Vaure, remained at Mechlin from the 17th to the 22nd, then went to Teremonde, and on the 28th to Ghent, where he remained till the 2nd of November. On the 3rd he was at Bruges, where the English Bishop of Westminster came to treat with the French plenipotentiaries, under the auspices of the Emperor. The Admiral and High Chancellor of France having arrived on the 7th, negotiations were carried on daily, in presence of Messrs. de Granvelle, de Praet, and President Shorre, till the 16th, on which day his Majesty went to Alost, on the 17th to Vanlo, and on the 18th to Antwerp.

The ministers, in pursuance of their negotiations, followed the Emperor until the 24th, when the French commissioners took leave of his Majesty, and returned home without having been able to come to any agreement.

On the 1st of December the Emperor went from Antwerp to Masle, on the 2nd to Turnhut, on the 3rd to Lectre, and on the 4th to Herzogenbusch, where he was again attacked by the gout.

On the 28th the Emperor came to Bomeln, on the 29th to Büren, and at night to Vict.

On the 30th of December he came to Utrecht.

1546.

Between the 2nd and the 17th of January some arrangements were made at Utrecht, concerning the order of the Golden Fleece; and twenty-two vacancies, which had occurred since the last promotion in 1531, were filled up. At this time the Emperor had again several attacks of gout. On the 3rd of February his Majesty travelled

from Utrecht to Wagewing, on the 4th to Arnheim, on the 7th to Zutphen, on the 8th back again to Arnheim, on the 9th to Nimeguen, on the 15th to Gemappe, on the 16th, at noon, to Zwill, at night to Venlo; on the 17th to Ruremond, on the 18th to Stochem, and on the 19th to Maestricht.

On the 2nd of March the Emperor was at Liege, on the 3rd at Chapelle, in the territory of Luxembourg, on the 4th at Burcal, on the 5th at La Roche, on the 6th and 7th at Bestourne la Ardenne, on the 8th at Harlae in the Luxembourg, on the 9th at Yvoir, on the 10th at Monicey, and on the 11th at Hallency. From the 12th to the 18th he remained at Luxembourg, and thence went through Schennek in Lorraine; on the 19th he came to Valderfingen, on the 20th to Stierbrugg, on the 22nd to Kaiserslautern, on the 23rd to Neustadt, on the 24th to Spiers, where, on the 26th, he was joined by the Elector of Mayence and the Palatinate, and on the 29th by the Landgrave. On the 30th he arrived at Suise, and on the 31st of March at Horn. On the 1st of April he came to Neustadt, on the 2nd to Coysey, on the 3rd and 4th to Dunkelspiel, on the 5th to Oetingen, on the 6th to Donauwerth, on the 7th to Neuberg, on the 8th to Ingolstadt, on the 9th to Kempten, and on the 10th to Ratisbon, where his Majesty remained till the 4th of August, and collected a considerable army against the Protestants.

On the 10th of July the new Elector of Mayence arrived. On the 8th, the Duke of Cleves was married to the daughter of the King of the Romans, and departed for Lintz on the 20th.

On the 23rd the Diet was dissolved, and all the business put off till the next Assembly.

During this Diet, Duke Maurice was elevated to the dignity of Elector.

On the 3rd of August the Emperor went from Ratisbon to Neuburg, and on the 4th to Landshut, where the Duke of Castro arrived on the 14th with the Italian troops. On the 15th the Emperor returned to Neuburg, on the 16th he was at Sharding, from the 17th to the 21st near Ratisbon, and slept at Langwied, and on the 23rd at Neuburg.

On the 24th, he was encamped on the other side of the Danube, where, on the 25th, Cardinal Farnese and the Principe di Sulmone joined him with troops; and, from the 27th to the 31st of August, they remained before Ingolstadt. On this day, the Protestant army approached quite close to the Imperial entrenchments, and the two armies cannonaded each other till past midnight.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, the enemy continued their fire amid frequent skirmishes, and were answered by the Imperialists; till, perceiving how little effect they were producing, the latter marched towards Neuburg on the 4th, and crossed the Danube on the 7th. On the 15th Count Buren, with the Dutch troops, joined the Imperial camp, which was still stationary before Ingoldstadt. His whole force being now assembled, the Emperor passed the Danube on the 17th, and on the evening of the 18th advanced to Neuburg, which surrendered, and was occupied by the Imperialists, under the command of the Duke of Alva. On the 19th the Emperor entered the

town, and placed in it a garrison of the new Elector of Saxony's.

On the 22nd the Emperor returned to his camp, and was before Nördlingen from the 24th of September to the 2nd of October, on which day the Emperor took up his position in a village called Monheim, belonging to the estate of Neuburg. On the 4th the army was in a village of Oettingen, named Bestertrey. During the whole of this night, the Protestants were marching away from Donauwerth, through the mountains, to Nördlingen, in sight of the Imperial army, which, on the 5th, encamped just opposite to them, and several skirmishes took place. On the 9th the Emperor detached the Duke de Castro and Shaumberg to Donauwerth, which immediately surrendered.

On the 11th the Emperor posted himself before Donauwerth, and on the 12th before Dünkelspiel, which also surrendered. Laningen did the same on the 13th, on which day the soldiers of the Landgrave and of Schärtlin took flight, and lost sixty men and five pieces of cannon. Soon afterwards, the Emperor himself came up, and at night halted at Santheim, to which place the Princes marched on the following day, and several engagements took place.

On the 31st of October the Emperor encamped between Laningen and Dillingen and on the 3rd of November advanced to a forest within half a mile of the enemy's camp. On the 24th Nördlingen, and four smaller places, surrendered to the Emperor.

In the meantime, the Protestant camp had been entirely

broken up, partly on account of the conquests of the King of the Romans and the Elector Maurice in Saxony, partly because of the misunderstandings between the Landgrave and the deposed Elector John, and partly also for want of necessary resources for maintaining the army. Upon this, the Emperor took up his quarters in a convent near Eiring, and the Count de Buren occupied Feuchtwang.

On the 1st of December the Emperor passed the night in the conquered town, on the 2nd came to Anderwest, on the 3rd to Rottenburg, on the 15th to Kiensburg, and on the 16th to Swabian Halle, where he staid till the 23rd. On the 17th the Elector Palatine arrived here, in order to renew his alliance with the Emperor. The town of Ulm also surrendered. On the 23rd the Emperor came to Heilbronn; and here, on the 27th, the Envoys of the Duke of Würtemberg came to sue for indulgence. On the 31st of December a treaty was concluded with the Duke.

1547.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was still at Heilbronn, the Duke of Alva in the territory of Würtemberg, and the Count de Buren in that of Katzenellenbogen. On the 6th three commissaries from Würtemberg had another public audience in presence of the Elector Palatine, and confirmed the submission of the Duke, their master. The Vice-Chancellor of the Empire then communicated to them the Emperor's intention of showing himself a "gracious master," and the deputies from Frankfort, who afterwards came and threw themselves at his Majesty's