Transfeld

FOUR YEARS

AT THE

COURT OF HENRY VIII.

SELECTION OF DESPATCHES

WRITTEN BY THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR,

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN,

AND ADDRESSED TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE,

JANUARY 12TH 1515, TO JULY 26TH 1519.

TRANSLATED BY RAWDON BROWN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 65, CORNHILL.
1854.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

Concerning the archives of Venice, and the antiquity of Venetian "Reports"—Earliest MSS. and printed copies of them existing in England—Impartiality of the Venetian diplomatists—Anglo-Venetian commerce and diplomatic intercourse—Englishmen of note connected with Venice in the 14th and 15th centuries—Venetian ambassadors in England from 1497 to 1515—Discovery of the Giustinian correspondence, and mode of editing it. pp. ix—xxviii

PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE GIUSTINIAN FAMILY.

Notices of the Giustinian family; of the first patriarch of Venice, and of the writer of these despatches, Sebastian Giustinian—His account of Hungary, A.D. 1500-1502, and details of the Corvinian library—His career from 1503 to 1515—His portrait of Henry VIII. at variance with a more recent sketch—Offices conferred on him from 1519 until his death in 1543—Opinion of his son with regard to the comparative valour of the English and French . . . . . pp. 1—30

DESPATCHES OF SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.

A.D. 1515.

January 12 *to March* 30.

Departure from Venice of Sebastian Giustinian—His letters from Ferrara, Lucca, and Genoa—Account of a supper given at Avignon to his colleague Pietro Pasqualigo—Instructions from Doge Leonardo Loredano—State of the roads—Entry into Paris of the Venetian ambassadors—Account of the French Court . . . . . pp. 31—59

A.D. 1515.

April 7 *to May* 3.

Passion Week at Boulogne—Earliest news of the first treaty between Henry VIII. and Francis I.—Meeting with the French ambassadors at Dover—Entry into London, viâ Rochester and Deptford—Retrospective account of Andrea Badoer's adventures on the road between Venice and London, A.D. 1509—His

wardrobe—His comments on English fashions and servants—Favour shown him by Henry VIII.—His negotiations and complaints—Fees paid by him to London physicians—His mode of living—His audiences of Henry VIII.—Statue of Charles VIII. and coffin of Louis XII.—Regalia at St. Denys—Amiens—Canterbury and St. Thomas à Becket's shrine—St. George's Day at Richmond, and May Day at Greenwich—Breakfast, mass, and dinner—Robin Hood and archery—A procession of giants—Music and jousting . . . . . pp. 60—94

A.D. 1515.

June 15 *to September* 20.

Venetian politics—Sack—Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York—St. James of Compostella—Sir Thomas Dockwra, Grand Prior of St. John's, and the English Knights of Rhodes—Opinion entertained by Henry VIII. concerning Louis XII. and Francis I.—Reported embassy of the Earl of Worcester—Conversations with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Carlisle—The "doughty" Duke of Albany—Ferrara and Mantua—A mendacious friar—A French ambassador—Queen Margaret of Scotland—Louise of Savoy—Knighthood conferred on Andrea Badoer, and the red hat on Thomas Wolsey . . . pp. 95—128

A.D. 1515—16.

September 26 *to January* 2.

Congratulations addressed to Cardinal Wolsey—His complaints of Francis I. and the Duke of Albany—Greek apothegms—Battle of Marignano—Costly pledge or present from King Ferdinand the Catholic—Mission to England of a French King-at-arms—Naval preparations in the Thames—Launch of "*The Great Harry*," alias "*Henrye Grace de Dieu*," at Erith—Meeting of Parliament—Venetian news imparted by Cardinal Wolsey and the Archbishop of Canterbury—Departure from England of Andrea Badoer—Treaties between the European powers—Unpopularity of the French ambassador in England—Purchase by Henry VIII. of bills of exchange—Reasons assigned for this investment by Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Archbishop of Canterbury—Its effects on the rates of exchange—Statements concerning it at variance with the assurances of Cardinal Wolsey and his colleagues—Wish of Cardinal Wolsey for the mediation of Venice between England and France—Demand for the restitution of her jewels to Maria Tudor, Queen Dowager of France . . . . pp. 129—160

A.D. 1516.

January 5 *to March* 10.

False report of the capture of Brescia by the Venetians—Conversations with the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishops of Carlisle and Winchester, and the French ambassador—The wrongs of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland—Arrival in England of an ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian—Court paid to Henry VIII.—Assertions of Cardinal Wolsey concerning the bills of exchange purchased by him—Their confirmation by the Bishop of Carlisle—

Refusal of Francis I. to stand godfather for the Lady Mary Tudor—Turkish news communicated to Henry VIII. by Sebastian Giustinian—Disfavour of the Republic of Venice in England after the battle of Marignano—Remittances to the Emperor, or to the Switzers—Confederation with the Archduke Charles, Prince of Castille—Death of King Ferdinand the Catholic—Birth of the Lady Mary Tudor—Her sponsors—Reply of Henry VIII. to congratulations on this event—His insinuations against Francis I.—Their corroboration by Cardinal Wolsey—Comments of Cardinal Wolsey concerning the bills of exchange, the policy of France and Scotland, and the health of Francis I.—Royal navy in the Thames—Announcement by Cardinal Wolsey that he effected the peace between England and France in 1514, and the marriage of Maria Tudor and Louis XII.—News of Italy by the Bishop of Carlisle—Arrival in London of the first embassy to Henry VIII. from the Archduke Charles, after his accession to the throne of Spain—Complaints against the Venetians by a prisoner of war—Conflicting claims on the Kingdom of Naples—Flattery lavished on Henry VIII.—Abuse of Venice . . . . . pp. 161—191

A.D. 1516.

March 11 *to April* 26.

Henry VIII. sick and choleric—His own account of his wealth and authority—Complains of being slighted by the Venetians—His influence over the Emperor Maximilian and King Charles of Spain—Supposed to be raising mercenaries against Scotland—Threats of Sultan Selim deplored by Cardinal Wolsey—Vain attempts to detach Venice from France—Contemptuous language addressed to Sebastian Giustinian—His rejoinder—Apologies of Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Ruthal—Francesco Chieregato and Peter's pence—Seizure of the letters of the French ambassador, and reprimand given him for their contents—Mediation of Venice demanded by Cardinal Wolsey—Ambition of Francis I.—Retreat of Maximilian—Recall of the President of Rouen . . . . . pp. 192—218

A.D. 1516.

May 1 *to July* 6.

Nullity of the marriage of Margaret Tudor to the Earl of Angus, and report of her betrothal to the Emperor Maximilian—Understanding between the Empire, Spain, and England—City news by Master Friskiball—Richard Pace in Switzerland—Arrival in London of the Queen of Scotland—Conversation with the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Dockwra—The plague in London, and removal of the Venetian embassy to Putney—Remonstrances of Sebastian Giustinian against the seizure of his letters, and device adopted by him to prevent their being decyphered—The miseries of Turkish aggression anticipated—Treaty proposed by Cardinal Wolsey for the expulsion from Italy of Francis I.—Reply of the Venetian ambassador—*Tête à tête* at Greenwich with Henry VIII.—Modification by Cardinal Wolsey of language used by the King—Attempt made to effect the dismissal from the Court of Sebastian Giustinian—Surrender of Brescia to the Venetians—Renewal of the trade between Venice and England . pp. 219—250

A.D. 1516.

July 17 *to August* 11.

A hitch in the Anti-Gallican league—A split in the English Cabinet—Perpetration of a pun—Festival of St. Mary Magdalen—Betrothal of King Charles of Spain—Venetian history—Table-talk with Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Ruthal—White-Rose—Attention of the King of Denmark to his brother-in-law—Remittances to the continent made by Henry VIII., and discontent caused in England by the waste of his treasure—Attempt to intimidate Venice—Cardinal Wolsey's abuse of Francis I., and defence of him by Sebastian Giustinian—Distrust of Francis I. entertained by Leo X., on the authority of Thomas Ruthal—A quarter of a century of Venetian politics . pp. 251—275

A.D. 1516.

August 17 *to September* 30.

Efforts of Cardinal Wolsey to detach the Republic of Venice from her alliance with Francis I.—Answers to his arguments by Sebastian Giustinian—The sack of Vicenza—The contest for Verona—Bribes offered to a Prime Minister—Henry VIII., Catharine of Aragon, and Margaret Tudor in the country—The treaty of Noyon—Failure of Cardinal Wolsey's negotiations for an antagonistic treaty—Hint of the secret treaty effected subsequently—Mission of English military commanders to Tournai—Succour of Verona by Marc Antonio Colonna—Understanding between Leo X. and Henry VIII., and the Switzers—Court gossip by the Papal Nuncio—Arrival in London of a French herald—Folly of fishing with golden hooks—The organist of St. Mark's and his organ—Dinner engagements of Sebastian Giustinian—Music and dancing at Greenwich . . . . . pp. 276—301

A.D. 1516.

October 14 *to November* 1.

Disregard of the English Ministry for the conquests of Selim I.—Arrival in London of the Swiss Cardinal—Politics talked by Richard Pace—A Cabinet Council—The Bishop of Norwich and the Laureat Skelton—Cardinal Wolsey demented—Conversation with the Duke of Norfolk—Unscrupulous mode of ascertaining the veracity of Francesco Chieregato—The novelist Bandello and Ippolita Sforza—Contradictory news of Verona—Taxation in England—Political opponents of Cardinal Wolsey—Proposal to bribe him—Church ceremonies performed by Henry VIII., for the league with the Empire and Spain—Complaints against Aldus Manutius—Compostella bells—Cabinet absentees—Peculation and treachery by a Visconti . pp. 302—327

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

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,,	160,	,,	21,	,,	Mr. Lanch,	,,	Dr. Karl Lanz.
,,	169,	,,	3,	,,	ambassadors,	,,	ambassador.
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INTRODUCTION.

The archives of Venice, as might be anticipated from the nature of her ancient institutions, are singularly rich in the materials of history: the machinery of a republican government, whose executive committees kept minutes of their proceedings, and whose legislative assemblies required numerous reports for their information, had the effect of rapidly multiplying State papers.

The department of foreign affairs possesses unusually ample documents. The ambassadors of the Republic kept up a double correspondence with the Doge (to whom, by official etiquette, all their communications were addressed): the ordinary and ostensible despatches were intended for the information of the College and Senate, while the more secret and confidential were reserved for the Doge and the Council of Ten.

But besides this minute correspondence, which

commenced on the ambassador's departure from Venice, and was not closed till he again reached the Lagoons, it had been enacted by the Grand Council in 1268, and again in 1296, that each ambassador, on his return, should make to the College and Senate a general report on the government, condition of the country, and character of the potentate to whom he had been accredited. These, together with the instructions addressed by the Signory to its diplomatic agents, and all other papers connected with its foreign relations, were carefully arranged and consigned to the ducal chancery. Fortunately, a considerable portion of the State records thus accumulated in the course of so many centuries, escaped the patriotic excesses which followed the French invasion, and the fall of the old Republic in 1797; and, having safely passed through all subsequent vicissitudes, they are now under the care of the "Keeper of the Imperial Archives,"* in the ex-Franciscan monastery at Venice,

* At p 188-189, vol. ii., it has been stated in a note, written in 1851, that the archives of Venice contain no copies of any missives sent by the State in the spring of 1518 to the ambassador in England. This assertion it is now in the power of the translator to correct.

A fresh arrangement of the *Cancellaria Secreta* was completed by the Signor Cesare Foucard, under the guidance of the Imperial Equerry and Director of the Venice Archives, the Cavaliere Fabio Mutinelli, whose exertions, coupled with those of his officials, namely, the above-mentioned Signor Foucard, and Signor Teodoro Toderini, have rendered the ex-monastery of the Franciscans one of the most interesting and impressive sights in the lagoons, from the excellent method adopted by him in filling its spacious corridors with the records of a thousand years!

The labours of these gentlemen brought to light a variety of valuable documents, including the minutes of the despatches, addressed by the College to the Venetian ambassadors at foreign courts; and through the

where, under certain restrictions, they are accessible to the student.

But before transmitting the official documents to the government, it seems to have been the general practice to retain a copy for the family library, or muniment room (the *archivio*), of the ambassador himself; and thence, or perhaps from the notes of some one who heard them read in the Senate and committed their substance to paper, these "reports," not unfrequently even in early times, and despite the prohibition of the Signory, found their way to the public. It is surprising that a government so jealous, whose omniscient activity and mysterious ubiquity were at once so much vaunted and dreaded, should have permitted its orders on so delicate a point to be infringed; but these interesting documents early excited public curiosity, and supply follows demand, even in the middle ages, and in spite of Inquisitors of State.

It is certain, that as early as the close of the sixteenth century several of these diplomatic fragments got into print and were sold, even in the Venetian territory. Orazio Busino, a subject of the Signory, who visited Oxford in the year 1618, mentions having seen in the Bodleian library manu-

kindness of Cavaliere Mutinelli, I lately perused the one alluded to by Sebastian Giustinian in his letter from Lambeth of the 22nd May, 1518.

It is dated Venice, 20th April 1518, and mentions, among other things, that the French ambassador in Spain had told the Venetian ambassador there that Francis I. meant to seize Tournai and Calais.

script copies of many of these State papers, which had found their way there (he complains) "in the teeth of the Senate."* And in the year 1668, John Bulteale published in London a translation of the Report on the Papal Court, by the noble Correr, whom, in admiration of his sagacity, he styles a "*Politique Astrologer*."

On the fall of the ancient Republic, whatever restraint had been imposed on the divulgation of these documents was at once removed. In those disastrous times, and the subsequent half century, many noble families were ruined, or became extinct, and much property changed hands. Many of the ancient palaces were sold, and their magnificent contents, including the libraries and MSS., were scattered. In some instances the family archives have been transferred, by bequest, to the great public libraries; in many others they have been dispersed by sale among the private collections of Europe.

* Some years ago, at the sale of the Tiepolo library, the translator purchased a MS. which purported to be "The report, by Francesco Contarini, of his misssion to England in 1609." Appended to this document is a note by Contarini himself, who states that *he bought it at Rome*, where he was ambassador many years later; that it is not a true copy, but that it contains much of the substance of his report.

It is a proof of the estimation in which these state papers were held, that apocryphal reports were so often forged. In the year 1587, the attention of Europe was anxiously directed to England, to observe her preparations to resist the Armada; and forthwith a "report" appeared, professing to be written by an Envoy sent by the Council of Ten to London on the occasion. It contains some curious matter, and appears to be written by an eye-witness; but there is documentary evidence in the Venetian archives to prove that it is not what it pretends to be—the work of a diplomatic agent. A copy of this report existed in the library of the Count Leonardo Manin, nephew of the last Doge of Venice.

To this multiplication of official papers, however reprehensible it may have appeared to the Council of Ten, the modern student is indebted, not merely for increased facilities of access to original documents, but also for the supply of many a *lacune* in the public archives, which must otherwise have remained unfilled; for, in consequence of losses occasioned by fire, and by removals on a change of offices, the early part of the diplomatic records is very imperfect. The instructions and commissions addressed by the Senate to its diplomatic agents, have been kept from the earliest times with considerable regularity; but the series of Reports and Despatches does not begin till the middle of the sixteenth century: and although from that period the despatches, or ambassadorial "registers," as they are termed, have been preserved without interruption, the "reports" have been to a great extent lost or destroyed, so that, to supply all these deficiencies, the student must turn his attention to the copies which have been preserved in the private archives of the writers.

To trace among the many sources of information thus laid open to the student, the antiquities of the old Venetian Republic, and the history of her worthies, has for many years formed the chief occupation of the translator of the following pages. But he has always found himself more especially attracted by the notices of his own country, which abound, espe-

cially among the diplomatic papers; and in this preference, he feels little doubt of the sympathy of the English reader. The national portrait traced by a foreign pencil, though its traits are not always flattering, is always interesting. The testimony of the Venetian diplomatist has more than ordinary claims on our attention; few witnesses could be expected to exhibit so much impartiality: he was beset by no early prejudices, he had none of the hatred of near neighbourhood to warp his judgment. The commercial interests of Venice connected her with England, and she was alienated by no political jealousy. As an observer, he was more than usually qualified to form a sound opinion.

Wicquefort, in his often quoted treatise on "*The Ambassador and his Functions*," remarks that no diplomatists had acquired so high a reputation for sagacity and ability as the Venetian, and this pre-eminence he attributes to their education. In no state, he observes, was so large a portion of the citizens trained up from early life to the conduct of public business: he might have added that in none was more care taken to select men of weight and talent, who were capable of advancing the interests of the State they represented. The ambassador to England was usually a veteran who had served his country in various capacities, and possessed all the materials for comparing and judging which could be afforded by an acquaintance with the principal states of the Continent. The

Venetian diplomatist was not forced to conciliate or to flatter the prejudices and weaknesses of the sovereign or the favorite who gave him his commission. He served a government which, beyond all that have ever existed, was unimpeded in its march by the passions and the intrigues of individuals. In some of the despatches intended for the Senate, we may perhaps detect a little anxiety to treasure up all the compliments and professions of respect which have been paid to "Our State" and "Our Signory," but in all substantial matters the ambassador seems to have no desire but to approve his zeal and sagacity, by sending as much of the pure ore of truth as he can collect, and as little as he can help of any baser alloy.

The translator has endeavoured to trace the earliest indications of intercourse between the great mercantile power of the middle ages and her destined successor; but, as might have been anticipated, the first relations between the countries are commercial rather than diplomatic.

As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, there is documentary evidence to prove that the trade with England had assumed a regular and systematic form. We learn from Marin Sanuto that in his time there sailed annually from Venice, a little fleet, known by the name of "the Flanders Galleys." These used to touch at some of the principal ports of the Adriatic, Sicily, and Spain, and then pass on to their destination at Hampton (now Southampton),

where the flag-galley and the commodore were wont to remain, whilst the rest of the fleet went on to Middleburg, Antwerp, or Helvoetsluys, returning again to Southampton, which was their appointed rendezvous before setting out on their homeward voyage. Their cargo (the word itself is pure Venetian, a corruption of the Tuscan word *carico*) consisted of the produce of the Levant, and all that as yet reached our shores from the Indian marts. Moreover, they brought with them "the fashions of proud Italy," then the centre of taste and luxury; wines from Greece and Tyre, from Candia and the Morea, and from Spain; and lastly, an article for which, except on the authority of our own parliamentary records (also corroborated by the ambassador Giustinian), we could scarcely believe that we were in any degree indebted to strangers: namely, bow-staves. In 1472 it was enacted that four *bow-staves* should accompany every ton of Venetian merchandise; and again, by an act of the 12th Edward III., the importation of Venetian merchandise is forbidden, unless they "bryng with every butte of Malvesy and with every but of Tyre x bowe staves good and hable stuffe upon peyn of forfeyture of 13s. 4d. for every but of the said wynz so brought and conveied, and not the said nombre of bowe staves with the same butt."

It is a further proof of the close commercial connection of the two countries, that the introduction of the Venetian copper and base coinage was made a

serious subject of complaint, as will be seen in date of July 22, 1519; and by an act of Parliament of the year 1409, the Legislature prohibited the circulation of the small Venetian coins, called "galley half-pence," specifying by name the "Suskin and Dotkin." The former, called by Fynes Moryson "Sussine," is, in Venetian, "Sisìn;" it was of very small value, and must not be confounded with the "Sequin," a gold coin, which it slightly resembles in sound. The "Dotkin" is the "Daottin," which has also ceased to exist; though the term is still preserved in the colloquial language of Venice.*

Those who love to connect the history of fiction with the history of nations, and to observe how the former will sometimes embalm a fact of which the latter has scarcely deigned to preserve any trace, will be interested in hearing that a proof of the close intimacy once subsisting between Venice and Southampton is still to be found at the *Marionette*, or puppet-show theatre of Venice, where the history of Sir Bevis, the legendary hero of "Hampton," forms to this day one of the stock pieces of the Lilliputian stage.

But in truth, so intimate in former times was the connection between Venice and Southampton, that

* The exact value of the "Dotkin," was eight Venetian *soldi*, in like manner as the "Sisin" or "Sesin," represented a "Soldo" and a half. Both the Suskin and Dotkin were of silver, but with much alloy, and were most probably prohibited, as calculated to debase the standard. Dr. Johnson derives "doit" from *duyt*, Dutch, and *doyght*, Erse: the reader will perhaps think it possible that the Venetian coin *daottin* may also have stood co-sponsor for this word.

the English sea-port shared the paralysis with which the Queen of the Adriatic was struck on the discovery of the new passage to India. Amongst the Statutes of the Realm (22 Hen. VIII., c. 20), a petition is extant from the corporation (A.D. 1530-31) praying to be relieved from a yearly tax of 40 marks, on the plea that since "the Kyng of Portyngale toke the trate of spicis from the Venyzians at Calacowte," their "carreckis and galeis" came less frequently to the port.

In the mean time, the diplomatic relations of the two countries were formed gradually and slowly, and few traces of them can be found till the period which is emphatically that of modern history.

In the war of Chioggia, in 1379, when Venice was struggling for existence with her rival, Genoa, she applied for English aid; but it was to individuals, and not to the Crown, that she addressed herself. Having failed in a negotiation with Sir John Hawkwood (whose tomb under his Italian name of Acuto, the travelled reader may remember to have seen in the Duomo at Florence), she applied to another English trader in war, a condottiero of the name of Cook, who, with his mercenary soldiers, seems to have served the Signory with courage and fidelity, and is said to have turned the fortune of the day in favour of his employers at Borondolo.

Sixteen years later, we find that Carlo Zeno, the Commander-in-Chief during this memorable war with

Genoa, was sent as Ambassador to England, to persuade Richard II. to assist the Emperor Michael Palæologus against Bajazet IV. He is said, by his biographer the Bishop of Belluno, to have been successful in his mission (the business of which, we are further told, was conducted in Latin); but when we consider the disturbed state of England at the time, it is difficult to suppose that Richard's promised aid can have much benefited Christendom. The translator regrets to say that he has searched in vain for Zeno's despatches or "Report."

For many following years, few or no traces of diplomatic connection, though many of friendly intercourse, are to be found.

During the wars of the Roses (those who maintain the brutal ignorance of the feudal nobility, will hear with surprise), Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, filled a professorial chair at the University of Padua; and in 1481, the responsible office of Rector of that "Nursery of Arts," was conferred on one who is rather vaguely styled "Thomas of England."

"Banished Norfolk," the readers of Shakspeare—and who is not a reader of Shakspeare?—will remember found an asylum at Venice, A.D. 1399; and there—

> "he gave
> His body to that pleasant country's earth;
> And his pure soul unto his Captain Christ,
> Under whose colours he had fought so long."

A monumental achievement to his memory,* was placed in the corridor of St. Mark's Church.

After the battle of Bosworth Field, Doge Barbarigo was the first potentate to congratulate the victorious Richmond on his accession to the throne; and to the letter which he wrote on this occasion it is recorded, as a mark of unusual magnificence and respect, that there was appended a silver seal.†

In acknowledgment of this compliment, there was sent as ambassador to Venice the same "*Christopher Urswick, a priest*," who appears as one of the dramatis personæ of Shakspeare's Richard III.

No trace, however, of a Venetian embassy to England is to be found before 1497,‡ when Andrea

* It was a flat stone, of the kind called in Italy, "Sigillo sepolcrale," and its sculpture is emblematical. This memorial was originally placed in the year 1400; and, on the removal of the body to England, A.D. 1533, it was inserted vertically in the wall of the Ducal Palace, near the ancient Granary Office, fronting the island of S. Georgio Maggiore. It was preserved by the mason who had been ordered to deface it at the time of the French occupation in 1810, and was disinterred by the translator in 1839. It is now at Corby Castle.

† It would probably be hopeless to search for this curious document. The carelessness with which our national records have been kept is a a subject of deep mortification to the antiquarian. In the year 1838, no less than eight tons' weight of curious documents were sold by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Jay, a fishmonger, at the price of 8*l.* per ton. Many of these have been since purchased at high prices by the British Museum, and by the Government itself. For some curious details on this subject, see "Mr. Rodd's Narrative;" 1845.

‡ In the year 1496, the diplomatic affairs of the Signory with Henry VII. were transacted by two merchants of Venice, established in London, by name Piero Contarini and Luca Valaresso. They induced the King to join the so-called "Holy League;" and on the 18th of July in that year, a "broadside," with a wood-cut of Henry VII., appeared in the thoroughfares of Venice; and as very few documents of this kind have been preserved, especially of so early a date, the reader

Trevisan was appointed Ambassador to Henry VII. The despatches and the "Report" of this diplomatist no longer exist. But the notices of England which were collected to form its materials yet remain, and have been given to the world in a very spirited and correct translation by Miss Sneyd, with some valuable prefatory notices by the late Mr. Holmes, of the British Museum, respecting the Venetian "Reports" of England now existing in this country.

Trevisan was succeeded in 1502 by Francesco Capello, of whose diplomatic papers no remains have been found, except an insignificant letter (now pre-

may be interested with the following copy and description of it, which are extracted from the MSS. diaries of Marin Sanuto :—

"Questo è Papa Alexandro che corregie, I error del mondo con divine legie."	Papa.
"Viva lo Imperador Cesaro Augusto, Maximilian Re de' Romani justo."	Maximiliano.
"Questo è il gran Re di Spagna e la Regina, Che de' infedeli ha fatto gran ruina."	Spagna.
"Questo è quel Re il qual darà ancor briga, A ogni nemico de la fidel liga."	Angelterra.
"Potente in guerra et amica de pace, Venetia el ben' comun sempre le piace."	Venetia.
"Questo è colui ch' a' l sceptro justo in mano, Tien el felice Stato di Milano."	Milan.

The portraits of the allies figured at the close of their respective couplets, Doge Barbarigo representing Venice and Henry VII. England. According to Rymer, this treaty was signed by Henry VII. at Windsor, in September, 1496, the Venetian and Milanese *ambassadors* being present; but, in reality, Contarini and Valaresso were neither ambassadors nor special envoys, but are called by Sanuto "our quasi *submandataries*."

served in the Correr Museum,* at Venice), which was addressed to him by the King, from "our Manor of Woodstock," on the 20th of July in that year. The paper on which it is written, is of the manufacture of Flanders, which at that time supplied all the paper needed for the correspondence of England. The water-mark is a hand, whose middle finger is connected by a straight line or stem with a star. This water-mark is not without interest, for a reason which will shortly be apparent.

In 1506, the Archduke Philip, with his consort Queen Joanna of Castille, when on their voyage from the Netherlands to Spain, were driven by stress of weather to Falmouth, and remained in England some weeks. They were accompanied by the Venetian Ambassador to their court, Vincenzo Querini, who employed his leisure on drawing up a "Report" on the state of England. Several copies of this state paper exist in our own libraries, and a version of it was published at Florence in 1839.

In 1509, when the League of Cambrai threatened the existence of Venice, the Signory despatched Andrea Badoer to prevent the adhesion of England to the confederacy, and to obtain her good offices; but no further memorials of his correspondence are to be found, than are contained in the summaries of Marin Sanuto.

* I was first made acquainted with this document by the courteous director of the Museum, Dr. Lazari, who allowed me to have it lithographed.

Andrea Badoer was succeeded by Sebastian Giustinian, whose despatches form the subject of the present work.

When the translator first ventured to entertain the hope that a selection of the papers which had furnished so much amusement to himself might possess some interest for the public, he did not hesitate in fixing his choice on the despatches of Giustinian.

It is so much more difficult, in proportion to the remoteness of the period, to picture to the imagination its manners, motives, and modes of thinking, that contemporary letters full of the hopes, the fears, and the reports of the day, acquire a vast additional interest by their antiquity. And as they become more interesting, unfortunately they are also more scarce: no unbroken *series* of letters, such as the Giustinian correspondence from 1515 to 1519, has hitherto appeared in print, whether written from London or any other capital.

It is surprising how few contemporary authors are quoted by the historians of the period embraced by these despatches. In the course of these four years, we find occasional references to Peter Martyr, to Erasmus, to Messieurs de Bellai and de Fleuranges, to the mendacious Polydore Virgil, to Sir Thomas More, and to Edward Hall: the last a mere youth at the time of Giustinian's sojourn in England; but in none of these writers are to be found the minute

details and graphic touches which give life to the Venetian Ambassador's correspondence.

The discovery of the Giustinian correspondence is recent. In the year 1843, the noble Girolamo Contarini bequeathed to the library of St. Mark, his family collection of books and MSS.; amongst their contents was a bulky folio volume to which my attention was first drawn by Signor Giovanni Battista Lorenzi, one of the officers of St. Mark's library, to whose zeal we owe the catalogue of the Contarini legacy, and of the museum of the "Marciana," and to whose accurate knowledge, the frequenters of that institution are indebted for so much information. The paper is of the same manufacture, and bears the same water-mark as that on which was written the letter of Henry VII., previously described. The volume contains 226 letters, copies of those addressed by Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory during his English embassy. They are transcribed by his secretary—himself a man of some note in Venetian annals. The copy is dated 1515 to 1519; it is headed according to the pious form of the day "In nomine Domini," and is thus attested by the transcriber at the end:—

"Nicolaus Sagudinus fideliter exemplavit."

As the entire collection is too large for publication, the translator has endeavoured to select such letters and parts of letters as seem most likely to interest, by their graphic touches and lively notices

of the events of the day, or by their bearings on English history and literature.

The archaic phraseology employed in this translation has not been adopted merely for the sake of bringing the style of the work into keeping with its subject matter: in fact, it was not entirely a matter of choice. The careless and familiar phrases, the quaint expressions and frequent redundancies of the old vernacular Italian, when they are literally translated into English, fall naturally into periods resembling the prose of Elizabeth's or James's days. Had the translator succeeded in recasting the whole into the flowing paragraphs of a modern newspaper (and he must candidly own that he frequently made the attempt in vain), he could not have effected so great a change without a metamorphosis which would have affected more than the language, and would have seemed to attribute the ideas as well as the expressions of the nineteenth to the sixteenth century.

In rendering Venetian titles of office, it has, in many cases, been found impossible to give any exact equivalent. To quote one instance among the many that might be cited: the "captain" of a subject town, signifies simply the governor, without any reference to a military charge or character, further than is always included in the idea of the supreme power. This and similar peculiarities the translator has thought it right to preserve, and in such cases he has generally given

the most literal translation of the Venetian title, accompanied with an explanation of its practical import.

The subject of Italian titles generally is one which occasions some difficulty to a translator; especially at the period to which these despatches refer. It was not till the close of the sixteenth century, when the supremacy of Spain had been long established in Italy, that the code of etiquette was fixed, and the gradation of titles, which had been multiplied with boundless prodigality, was determined. In earlier times, "Signor," when strictly applied, was a very high title, implying actual sovereignty or feudal superiority. The noblest citizens of Venice or Florence, forbidden to take feudal titles, were styled "messer," a title which most nearly resembles "master," but for which, nevertheless, "master" affords no equivalent. To the surnames of the Venetian nobles was applied, in lieu of title, the prefix of "the noble," "the patrician;" but the citizens of Florence were compelled to affect humility. Magnifico seems to have been not so much a title, as an expression of respect applied to magistrates, and others to whom honour is due or adulation is addressed; nor indeed would it always be easy, when we classify the various forms of address employed at this period, to draw any definite line between the tribute of voluntary respect and claims sanctioned by custom and law.

Even the titles of sovereigns were unfixed. Charles V., as is well known, was the first monarch—

it cannot be said who was addressed by the title of majesty—but the first who adopted it so exclusively, that he could be addressed by no other. It seems to have been generally understood, that to a certain class of persons belonged of right a certain species of titles; but within a given range, the choice of title was arbitrary. The author of the following despatches addresses the Doge indifferently, as "your Highness," "your Sublimity," "your Excellency," "your Serenity;" and all four titles are often introduced so nearly together as to lead to the inference, that to vary the title was considered a mark of respect, or a grace of style.

In all these cases, the writer has thought it best to keep his translation as close to the original as possible; and as the word magnifico has been adopted by Shakspeare, and can be expressed by no English equivalent, he has ventured to retain it.

In the orthography of the proper names belonging to Venice, he has for the most part given the Venetian versions of the name in preference to the Italian, or, more strictly speaking, the Tuscan. Thus, for instance, the reader will find Giustinian instead of Giustiniani, Badoer for Badoaro, Correr for Corrario, &c.

The translator has appended notes to each letter, to spare the reader the trouble of referring to biographical dictionaries and histories of the time; but he dares not flatter himself that this supplementary in-

formation may not appear to some to be deficient, and to others redundant.

Since the printing of the despatches was finished, it has been suggested to the translator that the work would be rendered more complete by the addition of the "Report" which Giustinian made to the Senate on his return. This report was transcribed by the translator in the year 1838 from a MS. of undoubted authenticity in the possession of Count Agostino Sagredo. A short extract from it is quoted at p. 26 of the present work. A translation of the whole is now given in an appendix.

The translator cannot conclude without recording his gratitude to the learned head librarian of the "Marciana," Don Giuseppe Valentinelli, and to the vice-librarian, Signor Velluto (so distinguished by his Greek scholarship), for the facilities which they have afforded him while engaged in translating these despatches, as well as for all the kindness and attention experienced from them for a series of years.

DESPATCHES

OF

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.

PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE GIUSTINIAN FAMILY, AND OF THE EARLY CAREER OF THE WRITER OF THESE DESPATCHES.

On the fall of the Heraclian Dynasty (A.D. 711), in the person of the Emperor Justinian II., the survivors of his family emigrated first to Istria, where they founded the city of Justinopoli, now called Capo d'Istria, and in the course of half a century, we find some of their descendants established in Venice; for amongst the tribunes in the year 756, was a Giustinian, whose daughter subsequently married Doge Angelo Badoer.

In the 12th century, three members of the Giustinian family were Procurators of St. Mark, a dignity inferior only to that of the Doge, who was almost invariably chosen from their body.

After the lapse of four centuries and a half the Giustiniani seem not to have lost the recollection of their wrongs and of their former greatness, and accordingly, in the year 1170, when in consequence of the seizure by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus of all the Venetian traders in his dominions, the Republic declared war against the Greeks, they eagerly availed themselves of so fair an opportunity for

avenging the murder of their ancestor, and after the example of the Roman Fabii, volunteered the services of their whole race in the cause of their adopted country, and in her defence they embarked not less than one hundred combatants, all bearing the name of Giustinian, and including even an aged Procurator of St. Mark's.

Doge Vitale Michiel and the Giustiniani steered their gallant fleet first to Dalmatia, for the punishment of certain rebels there, and then made for Negropont, the Governor of which island apologised for his master the Emperor most abjectly, and prevailed upon the Doge to avert the calamities of war by sending an embassy to Constantinople: this artifice, which concealed the most atrocious treachery, succeeded; the Venetian fleet retired to winter at Scio, where the springs had been poisoned, and of 120 sail, only sixteen returned to the Adriatic, with the scanty remnant which had escaped the treachery and pestilence of the Greek islands.

Amongst the survivors of this Venetian expedition, there was not found one of the Giustiniani; their resemblance to the Fabii was complete; and all Venice, patricians and plebeians, mourned the extinction of such a race. They felt that high name and descent are pledges for honourable exertion, and as the laymen of the Giustinian family had perished, the Republic determined, if possible, to preserve the name by means of a Benedictine monk, the sole survivor of the family, who dwelt at the Lido in the monastery of St. Nicholas. An embassy was forthwith despatched to Pope Alexander III.; and Barbone Morosini and Tommaso Falier obtained from his Holiness a dispensation from the monastic vows taken by Father Nicholas Giustinian, and to him Doge Vitale Michiel gave the hand of his daughter Anna, together with an ample dower, consisting of the three Venetian parishes of St. Moisé, St. Giovanni Bragola, and

St. Pantaleone. The offspring of this marriage were numerous: of nine sons, one by name Matteo had the satisfaction of taking part in the conquest of Constantinople, A.D. 1204; another, Marco, established himself in the island of Candia, and was probably one of the first shippers of sack and malmsey, wines with which England was supplied by the Venetians during several centuries; and a third, Giacomo, also accompanied Doge Dandolo when he entered Constantinople; of the daughters, Martha, Margaret, and Bertolotta, one married into the house of Este; the second became the wife of one of the Scaligers of Verona; and the third took the veil.

Father Nicolas Giustinian, having fully realized the hopes of the Venetians who drew him from his cloister, returned once more to his cell at the Lido (that strip of land which separates the lagoons of Venice from the open Adriatic), and Anna Michiel withdrew to a nunnery on the island of Amiano, in which places these two regenerators of the family of Heraclius died shortly after, in what is termed "the odour of sanctity."

The Lombard historian of the "Illustrious Families of Italy," the late Count Litta, speaking of the relics of Father Nicholas in the church of S. Georgio Maggiore, affirms, that from him all the Giustiniani of Venice are descended, and positively denies that the Giustiniani of Genoa are in any way authorized to claim the same origin; indeed, he asserts that no family ever existed in Genoa who were lawfully entitled to the hereditary surname of Giustinian. In the palmy days of the Venetian Republic, the descendants of the Benedictine monk numbered fifty distinct families; and as many as 200 individuals bearing the name of Giustinian, are said to have sat at one time in the Grand Council of Venice, a tradition, however, which Count Litta gives good reason to doubt. At the close of the seventeenth

century, forty of the Giustinian families were extinct, and at this present time there remain only four.

The Island of Negropont, as already shown, is intimately connected with the fate of the Venetian Fabii; for it was the wily Governor of that place, who induced Doge Michiel to temporize, instead of proceeding at once in person to visit the Emperor Manuel in his capital. In the year 1207, a Veronese adventurer named Rabano dalle Carceri, who had made himself master of Negropont, sold it to the Venetians, and the first Governor of the place appointed by the Grand Council, was Marin Giustinian the son of Nicholas.

Marin Giustinian had a daughter named Anna, who gave birth to Doge Pietro Gradenigo, the founder of the hereditary aristocracy in Venice, for he it was who in the year 1298 effected what is styled the "closing of the Grand Council."

Amongst the lineal descendants, in the seventh generation, of the first Venetian Bailiff, or Governor, of Negropont, was Lorenzo Giustinian, who, in the course of time, became the first patriarch of Venice. This exemplary prelate was born on the 1st of July, 1380, a day then celebrated in Venice with great rejoicings, as the anniversary of the recovery of Chioggia from the Genoese, in which his father, Bernardo, had taken a distinguished part three years previously. Lorenzo, being the eldest son, had been destined by his family for the married state, but he preferred a cloister on that picturesque island in the lagoons, the first that lies between Fusina and Venice, called St. Giorgio in Alga, where, in October 1404, he was present at the formal institution of the order of Secular Canons, to whom the island was assigned, and on that occasion changed his original Christian name of John to Lorenzo. In 1409, Sept. 9th, Lorenzo Giustinian was elected Prior of St. Giorgio in Alga, and in 1424, became the first Rector-General of the order. Eugenius IV., before he obtained the

papal tiara, had likewise been a canon of St. George, and he was so impressed with the piety and virtue of the Rector-General, that on the 5th of September, 1433, he appointed him Bishop of Venice.

Lorenzo Giustinian, modestly diffident of his own fitness for so responsible an office, declined this promotion; but when commanded by the head of the church, he entered on the duties of his diocese, and discharged them in the most exemplary manner for the space of nineteen years. One of his first acts was to convoke a synod for the establishment of certain regulations of church discipline, which his own example, and humility, coupled with the firmness indispensable for the reform of abuses, rendered completely successful, and in his time, the see of Venice was quoted as a model. His arrangements for the election of priests by their parishioners; for the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments; for the regulation of the private property of bishops; and for the education of candidates for the priesthood, were beyond all praise. He compelled all canons to reside at their cathedrals, contrary to the prevalent custom, and made all his clergy pay their debts. His own life was one of complete self-denial; humble, and frugal, devoted entirely to his flock, to whom he dedicated his whole time and revenues. In the plague of 1447, the ministering angel of the lazar-houses of Venice was the Bishop of the diocese.

Until 1451, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the capital was divided between the Patriarch of Grado and the Bishop of Venice, but in October of that year, Pope Nicholas V. determined to convert the two sees into one Patriarchate, and to effect this, he decreed that the survivor of the two prelates who then held them, namely, Michieli and Giustinian, should assume the single cure, and as Michieli died very shortly afterwards, Lorenzo Giustinian became the first Patriarch of

Venice, Primate of Dalmatia, and Administrator of the Church of Citta Nuova in Istria, as an appendage to that of Grado.

Amongst the twelve children of Nicholas Giustinian, one bore the name of Stefano; and his lineal descendant, Sebastian, it is who has furnished matter for the present volume. He was the son of Marino, by the daughter of Piero Gradenigo, and was born in the year 1460. The first public post which he held was that of proveditor and captain, A.D. 1492, at Rimini, where he acquitted himself so well, that at the commencement of 1498, the Senate appointed him ambassador to Maximilian, the Emperor-elect. It was subsequently determined to dispense with this embassy; but, as the appointment was never formally cancelled, Giustinian sat in the Senate as an envoy supposed to be on the eve of departure, until January 1500, when he and a colleague, by name Vetor Soranzo, were accredited by the State as ambassadors to Ladislaus, king of Hungary, for the purpose of inducing him to attack Sultan Bajazet II.; and with this object, on the 5th of April, Giustinian delivered a Latin oration before the Court of Buda. This harangue may be seen in a rare broadside printed at the time, and entitled, "Oratio Magnifici et Clarissimi Domini Sebastiani Giustiniani. Orat. Venet. habita coram Serenissimo Domino Uladislao, Rege Panoniæ Boemiæ, &c. Die quinto Aprilis, 1500." An Italian translation of it exists amongst the orations of illustrious men, collected by the son of the architect Sansovino.

Exactly one month after the delivery of this speech, two French ambassadors arrived at the Hungarian court, with credentials from Louis XII. They were met at some little distance from Buda by the Venetians, and four Hungarian magnates sent by the king, with 500 horse. Giustinian soon discovered the purport of their mission, which was merely to declare that France was willing to league with the Empire,

Hungary and Venice, against the Turk, but would not give any pecuniary assistance. On the 17th of May, 1500, these French diplomatists had their public audience, in the presence of the ambassadors from Spain, Venice, Naples, and Poland, and one of them made a Latin speech, as Giustinian had done, in which he styled the Venetian Signory "most illustrious, opulent, and sagacious;" but Soranzo declared that the oration of his own colleague was incomparably the more elegant of the two.

In date of July 2, 1501, Giustinian announces the death of John Albert, king of Poland,* the brother of Ladislaus; and in December, he mentions an incursion made by the Hungarians on the Turkish territory, aided by the Ban of Transylvania.

On the 30th of October 1502, he writes from Alba Reale, that Anna de Candalles, the youthful bride of King Ladislaus, had arrived on the 20th, and that the coronation took place on the 29th—intelligence of some interest at Venice, as she had been the guest of the republic during several weeks, in which interval no expense had been spared to secure her good will. The stay of this princess in the Venetian territories lasted longer than had been anticipated, because she had arrived there without her dower, and the Hungarian ambassadors were forbidden, in that event, to receive her. The Venetians, naturally enough, rejoiced to hear that all difficulties had been removed, and that their costly investment of civility had fallen, as they intended, on a crowned head, whose influence on her consort, then in his forty-sixth year, might, if properly exerted, lead him to make frequent attacks on the territories of Bajazet, and avert his hostilities from the Signory.

* John Albert, King of Poland, died at Thorn on the 17th of June 1501.

From this, his first diplomatic mission, Sebastian Giustinian returned at the commencement of 1503, and on Sunday the 26th of March, after an absence of three years and one month, Marin Sanuto minutely details his reappearance in the college,* wearing a massive gold collar, and an Hungarian ornament of the same metal fastened under his arm, his robe being of crimson velvet with a raised pile. At the next sitting he read his report of Hungary, which has been preserved in the manuscript diaries of Marin Sanuto; and as it contains some curious particulars of an age and country so remote, I give it at length :—

"I left Venice on the 22nd February, 1500, with Vetor Soranzo (peace to his soul !); and on arriving at Buda we had public audience on the 15th April, at which I made a speech, and then in private I proposed in the first place a general league, and in the second, a strict alliance between ourselves and Hungary exclusively; the King expressed his willingness to form a general league, and when on the arrival of the French ambassadors, we expected they would forward the project, to our disappointment they did nothing, having other instructions from their King, nor was any assistance derived from the Cardinal Legate, the representative of Pope Alexander. We then urged the second alliance, the articles of which we drew up, and sent hither. A muster of the Hungarian forces was made in consequence, at which I and my colleague (who was then grievously sick and died shortly after) attended. It consisted of 10,000 cavalry, of whom 4,000 were armed, and the rest not. There were about 700 raw youths, but the rest, both men and horses, were good; some of the feudatories did not make their appearance; on the very morning of

* The College was a select assembly, or deliberative committee, which discharged the functions of what in this country is now called "the Cabinet."

the muster, 1,000 horse came up under the command of a certain baron, and 600 marshalled by the Despot of Servia. Of the seventy-three counties, eighteen failed to attend the muster, nor would I then sign the clauses, although I had powers so to do, but sent them to the Signory, to gain time. I had much trouble in drawing up the treaty, and the Bishop of Waradino and the other Hungarian commissioners said, 'By God! you'll get an answer you won't like.' On the arrival of my colleague, Georgio Pisani, we concluded the alliance. There was great difficulty in making the King join the camp in person, and the affair of the King of Poland proved an obstacle, but everything was at length settled, and the papal briefs were of use, the Legate likewise favouring the expedition. Finally, after much ado, in the month of November, 1501, Duke John, the natural son of Matthias Corvinus, the late king, being on the borders of Bosnia with another corps, Ladislaus sent Count Josa with 10,000 cavalry across the Danube, which was then frozen, and he made a vigorous attack, but did not obtain much booty, his intention being known beforehand; though he burnt 50 villages, and ravaged a greater extent of country than is comprised in the entire territories of Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. My colleague Pisani having returned to Venice, he was replaced by Giovanni Badoer, who on his arrival made a fine oration, and shortly after obtained leave to return home, though the permission was subsequently cancelled, and he received orders to go into Poland, to congratulate King Alexander on his accession. King Ladislaus then went into Bohemia, leaving the Count Palatine, who is since dead, Viceroy at Buda, where I remained, and in the mean while a Turkish ambassador arrived to negotiate a peace or truce; the Cardinal,*

* This Cardinal Thomas Erdödy, *alias* Bakacz, *alias* Bacoczi, studied at Bologna, and whilst in Italy was appointed Secretary to the infant Archbishop of

who was at his see of Strigonia, notified this by letter to the Legate, to whom he also addressed despatches for me; at length, one day when we were out hunting, the Legate announced that he had the letters, and gave them to me, whereupon I induced him to accompany me to Strigonia for a week, when we discussed the matter with the Cardinal. Shortly after this, your Serenity informed me that Andrea Griti was returned from Constantinople, and that our merchants had been set at liberty, Bajazet being inclined to peace; so, on receiving your orders, I announced this to the Cardinal, and the negotiations commenced; but as the Count Palatine, who was then alive, opposed your Signory, as also did the Bishop of Waradino, I had great difficulty in arranging this last treaty; though, on the other hand, we were much favoured by the Cardinal of Strigonia, and although I was authorized to give them 50,000 ducats, I only gave them 30,000, and this took place before the death of the Count Palatine. The Legate chose to make certain alterations

Strigonia, *alias* AGRIA, Hippolytus of Este, the patron of Ariosto, who in his first satire alludes to the disgrace that befell him, in consequence of his determination—

"Di non volere *Agria* veder nè Buda."

Erdödy was made Chancellor of Hungary by that literary monarch, Matthias Corvinus. In 1497 he superseded the Cardinal of Este in the see of Agria, and in 1500, March 16th, was created Cardinal by Alexander VI. Cardella states that the Signory was very instrumental in procuring for him the red hat; and the present Count Gaëtan Erdödy, his collateral descendant, has lately discovered much documentary evidence to this effect in the Venice Archives.

This prelate was for a time the Wolsey of Hungary; and, according to Garimberti, he paid for the education of very many students, not only at Strigonia, but also at Vienna and in Italy. Besides maintaining scholars, he also kept a numerous army on foot with his own funds, to defend Hungary from the Turks, against whom he preached a crusade by the authority of Leo X., and Cardella writes that he went as Legate a latere to Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Prussia, and Poland, and besides going all over Hungary and Bohemia, he visited Constantinople, which, considering the unscrupulous character of Bajazet, Selim, and Soliman, was rather a hazardous experiment. Cardella does not give the date of these travels, and although he vouches for the death of this Cardinal at his birth-place, Erdödy, he is not positive whether it took place in 1520, 1521, or 1523.

in the articles of this treaty, for which I rebuked him so sternly that he went to the King, and on that very evening the treaty was sent to my dwelling, in its original form. The envoy whom the King sent in consequence to Constantinople, was three months on his journey, although the distance is only 900 miles; the reason was, that during the interval your Signory continued to pay the subsidy. Count Josa is very unpopular with the King, and with the public, for having done so little when he took the field with such a considerable force. The wish of Bajazet for peace is notorious, and the Cardinal of Strigonia said to me, 'Tell thy Signory to attend to the affairs of Italy, for the peace may be considered as concluded,' and he showed me letters from the Vaivode Rado, and from a certain friar Alexander, the kinsman of Pascia Marzego, and of the wife of Marco Loredano, the same who was arrested by the Council of Ten; and they both assert that the Sultan is not warlike, but timid, and Marzego is now in great authority.

"King Ladislaus is forty-eight years old, tall and handsome, and of very illustrious descent both by his father's and mother's side. He is descended by his father from Ladislaus, King of Poland, who died in battle against the Turks, in November, 1444, and also from Casimir IV.; and, by his mother's side, he claims descent from three emperors.* He has reigned sixteen years in Bohemia, and thirteen in Hungary; he is devout and religious, and it is said that until his marriage he was never known to have slept with a woman. He is never angry, nor does he ever speak ill of any one; and on hearing

* Giustinian was evidently fond of genealogies; in one of his despatches from London, date 10th July, 1517, he, in like manner, mentions the descent of Monsieur de Lombeke from three emperors; and it may be suspected that both in Hungary and in England he now and then comforted himself with thoughts of his own Heraclian lineage, especially when the highly bred lords of Henry VIII.'s bedchamber likened him and his, as will be seen, to a shoal of fishermen.

any one abused in his presence, he is accustomed to say, '*Res forsan non est vera*' (perhaps it is not true). When Duke Lawrence, who was here at Venice with Queen Anna, rebelled against him, he deprived him of his possessions, and when the Duke was brought before him, he said, 'Duke Lawrence, are you the man who wished me so much ill?' And when the Duke begged pardon, and every one expected him to fare badly, the King restored his territories, only enjoining him to 'be more loyal for the future.'

"This King is much given to prayer, hears three masses daily; but in other respects resembles a statue, for his words are few, and although his ordinary conversation is good, he becomes incoherent when discussing state affairs. He gives audience to every one, and never puts anybody to death, but his subjects pay him small obedience; he is a miser, and in short displays a limited capacity, being an upright individual, rather than a respected sovereign. The Cardinal of Strigonia and the Bishop of Waradino are much more feared than the King. His Majesty has no money, and in order to raise the army, besides spending the 180,000 ducats received from the Signory, he pledged his revenues, so that he was penniless for two months. He has reduced his expenditure, and at the last carnival the Queen's court was only allowed eight fowls per diem, and he also diminished my board and that of my colleagues. The scanty obedience paid him is exemplified by Count Josa, who, though sent for twice, has not yet made his appearance. The royal revenues in ordinary amount annually to 50,000 ducats; 16,000 from the six free towns, including Buda. Of the three gold and silver mines, one yields 18,000 ducats, another 14,000, and the third 7,000; then there is the extraordinary tax called the tenths, consisting in a ducat for every hearth, first levied by Matthias Corvinus, who exacted the whole sum, but Ladislaus on

coming to the throne promised to reduce it to a quarter of a ducat; so, as the hearths may be estimated at 350,000, he would scarcely get 80,000 were it all paid, which is not the case, as half the kingdom belongs to the counts, who are exempt, neither do the nobility pay, and these last enlarge the circuit of their own dwellings, so as to include those which would otherwise be liable to this tax. The counties are seventy-two, and ought to yield 6,000 ducats, but the King only gets 4,000. Besides the expenses of Belgrade, Jayza, and other places, the Queen receives 30,000 ducats; in short, the expenditure exceeds the revenue, and the treasurer is pledged in honour for 70,000 ducats. The King pays a number of pensions, to the Count Palatine and others, and there are as many as 1,000 Hungarian barons and noblemen, whose annual income, individually, does not exceed forty ducats, and they live at court; so the cost of the King's table amounts to twenty ducats per diem, exclusively of bread and wine. From the kingdom of Bohemia, he derives only 5,000 ducats, and when he went there, he did not levy them even.

"From the Marquisate of Moravia, he gets nothing at all, whereas King Matthias made it yield 80,000 ducats.

"There are three classes of men in Hungary—peasants, soldiers, and priests; nor are there any artificers amongst the Hungarians, the mechanics being all foreigners. The natives are a hardy race, inured to every sort of privation; and were there money for their maintenance, Hungary could most assuredly send 20,000 cavalry into the field. The priests and barons and the rest of the kingdom are bound to pay 8,000 ducats annually. There are eleven very rich bishoprics in Hungary: the Cardinal of Strigonia gets 30,000 ducats from Agria, which did not yield 4,000 to the Cardinal of Este.

"The inhabitants of Wallachia trade; those of Servia fight. The complement of every Hungarian man-at-arms consists of six horses and a waggon: when they take the field for action, they confess to each other, and one of the soldiery preaches, after which they repeat the name of Jesus thrice, and rush upon their foes most impetuously. The Hungarians are naturally very hostile to the Turks, and although it may be argued that Matthias Corvinus never had many of them in his camp, which consisted for the most part of Bohemians, the reason was that he used these last to awe the Barons of Hungary, and having thus by stratagem got them together, he one day invited the magnates to dinner, and during the banquet, in the course of conversation, he said '*Ego eram Puer; nunc sum Rex Hungariæ:*' but King Matthias was a man who slept on the ground, and ruled with a rod of iron. To return, however, to the military, I consider that, paying for the same, the kingdom of Hungary might furnish 30,000 cavalry.

"His present majesty is, in short, a good man, and so is the Cardinal of Strigonia: the reverse may be said of the Legate, and of the Bishop of Waradino. The Treasurer also is a worthy person; he says he will at all hazards get Count Josa to Buda, and then come and reside at Venice.

"Queen Anna is extremely devoted to our Signory, and chooses to style herself the daughter of the state; she charged me to remember her to your Lordships and the Doge, whom she praised vastly for the honours done her; she also gave me a like commission for Marco da Molin, late chief of the X, and Captain at Brescia, who had been very attentive to her, and moreover for Piero Lando, the master of the Arsenal, who accompanied her on board the galley to Segna. * And

* Sanuto, from whose diaries this report is translated, was Treasurer at Verona, in July 1502, when Anna de Candalles passed through that city on her way from

she said that were the child then in her womb to prove false to Venice, she prayed God it might not see the light. She is extremely popular in Hungary, and in two years' time will be both King and Queen. At first she inhabited an apartment beneath that of the King, who is much smitten with her, and whenever she went to him, he made her presents of jewels, pearls, &c., so at length she said to him one day, 'Sacred Majesty, I don't come here for your presents, and in order to dispense with them, I choose to remain where I am,' so they now sleep together every night, and the King is in love with her. On the departure of the Hungarian ambassador for Constantinople, I took leave of his Majesty, who gave me a robe of cloth of gold in the Hungarian fashion, a dagger to wear at my side, two silver gilt goblets, and a horse estimated at 500 ducats, but not really worth thirty. I was boarded by the King, but never got either salad or fruit. Besides my ordinary expenses, I spent 1,000 ducats for couriers, 600 for salaries, 150 for physicians, and 400 in sundries," &c., &c.

The student of bibliography will be disappointed to find that this report contains no account of the library of Mat-

Piedmont to Venice, accompanied by Margaret, Marchioness of Saluzzo. He says he exerted himself much to render Verona agreeable to the bride, whom he describes as seventeen years old, short of stature, handsome, and gentle in speech; he says she was the cousin of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany, in whose court she had resided for seven years, being an orphan, though she had brothers; and the marriage had been negotiated by Louis XII., who promised Ladislaus a dower of 40,000 ducats; but, as the French commissioners who accompanied her to Venice had apparently forgotten the money, and the Hungarians declined receiving the bride without the ducats, she remained the guest of Doge Loredano, in the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, much longer than was expected, at a cost to the state of 4,500 ducats in one single week; but, having commenced thus, a senator remarked, that it would be bad policy to stop short, and that "he who drinks the sea may drink a river;" and Sanuto ends his account of the honours done to Anna de Candalles, by saying that the Queen and her escort at length embarked for Segna, on the 21st July, 1502; the captain of the galley selected by the Senate being the youngest of the three Masters of the Arsenal, "the discreet and handsome Piero Lando."

thias Corvinus. There seems, however, reason to think, that the library in its integrity did not long survive its royal founder. On the death of that literary monarch in 1490, only ten years before the arrival at Buda of Sebastian Giustinian, the throne of Hungary remained vacant during upwards of three months, and it seems probable that the spoliation of the Corvinian library commenced even then. The competitors for the crown were Maximilian; John Corvinus, the natural son of Matthias; and Ladislaus, King of Bohemia, who gained the prize. The new king had no taste for illuminated books, and consequently one John Cuspiniano, ambassador from Maximilian to Hungary, had no difficulty in obtaining loans (which he never returned) from the Buda library, including precious copies of Philostratus, of Diodorus Siculus, of Procopius, &c.: another of the ministers of Maximilian, John Lanch, afterwards well known as Cardinal Bishop of Gurck, also obtained *permanent loans* of books collected by Matthias. Whether Giustinian applied for similar favours, during the course of his stay in Hungary, can only be surmised, but he would hardly have met with a refusal; and the like may be said of our own countryman, Christopher Urswick, then only Abbot of Abingdon, who went ambassador from Henry VII. to Ladislaus in 1502. Perhaps some of the French attendants of the Queen may have had their share. None were denied. We know, from a letter still extant, addressed to the Aulic Councillor Pirckheymer, that in the year 1514 that statesman was engaged in making his library (the same which was many years later purchased by the Earl of Arundel, and from him passed to the British Museum), and it seems that he undoubtedly had his share of the spoils; and in short, although the successor of Matthias did not put the library up to auction in lots, as might be

supposed from what we frequently hear concerning its fate; yet so rapid was its dispersion, that the secretary of the Venetian ambassador Orio, who *succeeded* Giustinian at Buda, writes to his friend Rannusio in date of the 20th May 1520, as follows:—

"With regard to the library of Buda, I tell you I have been in it, nor does it contain a single good book, all the good ones having been stolen. I saw, however, a very ancient Virgil, written in Lombard characters, and some works of Ælian translated by Theodore Gaza: I do not know whether they have been printed; if not, I would print them. There is also a fine Cicero, '*de Legibus*.' I see a number of Greek books, broken-backed, old, mildewed, tattered, and spoiled, but I don't understand Greek. There was a very correct Pliny; but the Venetian, the Provost Don Jeronimo Balbo, a very learned man, he got that: I had it in my possession for a few days, and found a multitude of excellent corrections, but then came these accursed ailments of mine which prevented my collating the whole work, though had I done so, I should have discovered upwards of 3,000 emendations. At this period, said Don Jeronimo Balbo is going ambassador first to Poland, and then to Inspruck; and I myself never remain stationary anywhere, so that I cannot get *his* Pliny."

The name of this Venetian secretary was Massario, and the letter was first printed from the diaries of Sanuto in 1802, by the late learned librarian of St. Mark's, the Abate Morelli. This letter is little known, and may serve to correct the mistaken opinion that the Corvinian library was bought in 1636 by Lord Arundel at Nuremberg, the truth being that he merely got some of the literary goods filched from Buda at the commencement of the sixteenth century. After the siege of Buda in 1686, the remaining Corvinian MSS., in number 290, were removed to Vienna.

On his return from Hungary, Giustinian was nominated bailiff and captain at Capo d'Istria, alias Justinopoli,—a city founded, as already stated, by his ancestors. Thanking the Senate for the offered honour, he alluded to his numerous family, and to the embarrassment of his private affairs, which had been caused by so long an absence from home, and thereupon begged for time to reply, but eventually he accepted the post. In 1505, shortly after the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to Don Alfonso, he was appointed vice-lord at Ferrara,* and in that same year he went ambassador to Poland. In 1508, he held the post of advocator (one of the three state officers, whose duties are analagous to those of the attorney-general); and when the armies of the league of Cambrai attacked the republic in 1509, he held the dangerous post of bailiff, or governor, of Brescia. On the 14th of May in that year, the French routed the Venetians at the Ghiarra d'Adda, and on the morrow, whilst the Cabinet was sitting in the ducal palace, some two hours before sunset, a packet was brought into the Council chamber in hot haste by a secretary, bearing external marks of the importance of its contents, and of the doom that awaited the courier if he loitered, for the entire cover was rudely illuminated with drawings of the gallows. This ominous despatch was from Sebastian Giustinian, and contained the first news of the capture of the General Alviano, and other details of the rout. The panic was so general, that the exertions of the bailiff to hold Brescia were fruitless; and, four days after the date of his letter, that city, having no garrison, opened its gates to the French, at the instigation of the Gambara faction. The Brescians seized their Venetian governors; but such was the popularity of Giustinian, that while they detained the

* The Venetian Vice-Lord something resembled the English resident at a native Indian court. After the league of Cambrai the Dukes of Ferrara got rid of these troublesome overseers.

others as prisoners, they stipulated with the French that their bailiff should have a passport to Venice. It was on Trinity Sunday, the 3rd of June, that Giustinian appeared before the College, wearing a black gown, and with a beard of twelve days' growth (than a symbol of mourning), to make his report, which stated, that on his departure, men and women blessed him from their balconies, lamenting their change of masters, and that the population was devoted to St. Mark, and would rise on the first favourable opportunity, although the Gambara faction and Count Alvise Avogrado, together with the banished Marco Martinengo, had succeeded for the moment in Gallicising Brescia. To prove that no blame attached itself to Giustinian for the loss of that city, the Grand Council forthwith appointed him "sage for the mainland," at that moment one of the most important posts in Venice, for the business transacted by these so-called sages was precisely that of the minister at war, and so ably did he perform it in those stirring times, when Venice, single-handed, resisted the united arms of almost all Europe, that, on the expiration of his term of service, 1130 votes of the Grand Council elected him "bailiff," or ambassador, at Constantinople—an office, however, which he never actually discharged. In June 1511, he was appointed commissioner for the confiscation of the property belonging to rebels against the State; and in July, the Senate decreed that he should go into Illyria with the title of proveditor, a firm hand being required in that province, to repress the symptoms of insurrection which had shown themselves.

Whilst Giustinian was preparing to assume the command in Dalmatia, the province of Istria was attacked by one of the most ferocious of the cavalry generals in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, by name Count Christopher Frangipane, who, in the year 1513, married the mistress of

his sovereign, and sister of Cardinal Lanch, the beautiful Apollonia, the graces of whose figure are supposed to have been represented by Albert Durer, in his print of Galatea. The future husband of the royal favourite having routed the Venetian forces in Istria, the Senate determined to avail itself of the experience which Giustinian had of the country, and consequently desired him to take command of the army there, before proceeding into Illyria. The new proveditor-general reached Capo d'Istria on the 9th of October, and at the head of the Albanian light cavalry, he made a most gallant attack on Frangipane and his Croats, on St. Martin's eve, the 10th of November. On that day Count Christopher was in the neighbourhood of Mugia, and the Albanians, on reaching the bridge, saw him, with his cavalry, stationed on a hill on the opposite side of the stream. Andrea Civrano, the proveditor of the Albanians, immediately sounded a charge, and in the first shock twelve of the Imperialists were unhorsed. Civrano fought hand-to-hand with Frangipane, and finally put him to flight; and, it is said, that this was the first time that Count Christopher fled before the Venetians. Amongst the prisoners was the captain or governor of Laybach, and Civrano obtained a supply of arms on this occasion for his lifetime gratis, including "a sword worth twenty or twenty-five ducats, and a handsome corslet and gauntlets worthy of a baron." A few days after this, Giustinian made an attack on the castle of Ospo, in which, however, he did not succeed immediately, although, on the 22nd of December, he again displayed on that place the banner of St. Mark, and, in short, he so checked the career of Count Christopher, that in May 1512, he considered that he had done the bidding of the State in one province, and consequently embarked on galley-board to put down insurrection in the other.

For some time past Illyria had been in a state of the greatest confusion. Two years previously the nobles of Lesina (an island on the coast of Illyria, acknowledging the supremacy of a Venetian proveditor, but enjoying its own municipal institutions) had, by the licentiousness of their conduct, excited to insurrection the lower classes, who in their turn demanded a share in the government. This tumult had been appeased in 1510 by Girolamo Contarini, who then appeared with a squadron off Lissa;* but disturbances broke out again, and to Lesina, as the head-quarters of the insurgents, the proveditor-general directed his attention.

Some idea of the confusion of the country may be formed by the variety of the duties imposed on Giustinian. He landed at Veglia, and instantly put on his trial the local proveditor Michiel; but on hearing that Zara was in a state of great confusion, augmented by disagreements between its two governors,† *Count* Lorenzo Corer and Captain Lunardo Michiel, he hastened to this place, and instantly seized four of the most guilty, and sent them handcuffed to the Chiefs of the X. in Venice. He, moreover, banished two insurgents from the territory of Dalmatia, and having thus quieted Zara internally, he rode off with the Captain Lunardo Michiel for a conference with a military stipendiary of the State's, Count John of Croatia, who received 3,000 ducats annually for guarding the frontier, and who demanded an increase of pay.

* It was off this island, on the 13th of March, 1811, that Captain William Hoste engaged the Franco-Venetian squadron, on which occasion the Venetian ship "La Corona" lost 200 men, killed and wounded, before she surrendered, having been most gallantly commanded by an ancestor and namesake of Giustinian's colleague Pasqualigo.

† We wish it were possible to make a plausible conjecture as to the city of Illyria in which Duke Orsino kept his court; but the mention of "*the Count*" by Antonio, proves it to have been a Venetian dependency, as "*Count*" was the title borne by the majority of Venetian governors in Illyria.

From Zara, Giustinian hastened with two galleys, the one commanded by Hieronimo Lion, and the other by Hieronimo Capello, to Sebenico, where he arrived at the end of July, and having seized on fourteen of the rebels, he forthwith hanged two of them, and reserved the others, as he wrote to the Senate, to be dealt with as God Almighty should inspire him. In writing an account of his proceedings to his son, Marino, and detailing the capture of some of the insurgents who had fled to sanctuaries, thinking to save themselves, he says, "Sed decepti sunt, verum est ecclesiam nunquam tueri qui lesæ majestatis rei sint" (But they deceive themselves, the Church never protects traitors). He marshalled his handful of troops beneath the walls of Sebenico, and when the inhabitants came forth in great numbers, on perceiving one of the ringleaders amongst them, he instantly seized him, regardless of the chance of a rescue, which must have succeeded had it been attempted. But it was not merely with misconduct on shore that Giustinian had to deal, for he writes to the Senate from Sebenico, complaining of the commander of one of his own galleys, Hieronimo Capello, who, contrary to orders, had chosen to set sail for Istria.

Early in August, the proveditor-general found himself at Lesina, and at once perceived the impossibility of reconciling the two factions; the peasantry and fishermen, especially the inhabitants of Citta Vecchia, Verbosca, and Gelsa, persisting in those lawless habits which they had formed during a revolt of more than two years. The first step taken by Giustinian was to verify the acts of aggression committed against the aristocracy; but as the natives of the three towns above mentioned threatened death to all who should bear witness against them, and swore they would storm the capital and cut the gentry to pieces even under the robe of the proveditor, whose promise of protection had encouraged them to

return to their homes, it was impossible to institute any judicial proceeding. A proclamation was then issued, charging forty of the ringleaders to appear before the proveditor, and forbidding any of their fellows to enter Lesina, either with or without arms, under pain of death. The proclamations were subjected to the most contemptuous treatment both at Citta Vecchia, Verbosca, and Gelsa; but at length, on the 24th of August, the individuals cited made their appearance at the usual place of audience, in the *suburb* of Lesina, the town itself being strictly guarded by the soldiery and gentry. The proclamation pledged the proveditor not to seize the insurgents on this occasion, promising, moreover, that their persons should be respected if they would go to Venice. Giustinian took his seat, and the populace, relying on their numbers, admitted unanimously that they had perpetrated *all* the acts of bloodshed and devastation laid to their charge, palliating them by the provocations of the gentry. Giustinian confuted these arguments, sometimes with gentle words, and sometimes with vehemence, until he was hoarse; but his efforts were vain, and at the vesper hour he rose from the judgment seat, and on re-entering Lesina there was an uproar at the gate; the gentry and the garrison gave the alarm, the insurgents flew to their weapons, which they had deposited at a little distance from the suburb, and it became more manifest than ever that the island of Lesina was in the hands of a redoubted demagogue, Father Juan Zovinich, and his comrades, one of whom, by name Mathew Ivanich, was in the habit of saying, that the Ottoman dynasty took root from a lowlier origin than his own. The well-known courage and determination of the Illyrians convinced Giustinian that the insurrection could only be quelled by force, and as he had but one galley and a few foot-soldiers, he determined on raising troops amongst the warlike inhabitants of Poglissa, Brazza, Zara, Sebenico, and Trau. For this purpose he sent to the

Count (or Venetian Governor) of Spalatro for boats, and hence arose fresh confusion, for the populace of Spalatro had an understanding with Zovinich, and attempted to stop the transports destined for the conveyance of the Poglissa recruits. At Spalatro, as at Lesina, the war-cry was "death to the gentry," so before attacking Verbosca, Giustinian went to Spalatro and seized the insurgents there, and in one of his despatches, dated Lesina, 27th August 1512, he expresses himself thus:—"Matters are come to such a pass that this island may be considered as belonging to three or four chiefs, and not to our Signory, nor is any obedience paid us in the disputes between the gentry and the populace, so I shall leave to-night with the one galley I have remaining, and muster my forces at Bol, on the island of Brazza, immediately opposite Citta Vecchia, Verbosca, and Gelsa, and either capture the insurgents, or make such a demonstration as will prove to the State the nature of this conspiracy in Dalmatia. I hope to finish my business here to-morrow, and shall then go and seize the rioters at Spalatro, returning hither immediately to indemnify the gentry for their losses, as hitherto the terror of the insurgents has been so great, that no one has dared to give his evidence; and in conclusion, the Signory may rely upon it, that unless the rebels make their escape, they will be in my hands alive or dead, for at the peril of my life I am resolved to relieve this afflicted province from such a load of misery, and to restore it to its pristine obedience, as I have done by Zara and Sebenico."

The attack on Verbosca, though it was only on property (the insurgents, as anticipated, having decamped), subjected Giustinian to some personal danger; for when his wild allies from Poglissa disobeyed the strict prohibition he had given against plundering, he dealt his blows amongst them, and drove them back to the boats in a fashion utterly new to men who, when provoked, were "opposites skilful, bloody,

and fatal," as any that could have been found in any part of Illyria. (See "Twelfth Night," sc. 4, act 3.)

After this, the proveditor went with only thirty foot soldiers to Gelsa, and fell into an ambush of 200 of the insurgents, by whom six of his band were killed; but he wounded the ambitious Ivanich, and was the very last of the party to retreat.

These acts of vigour do not seem to have been accompanied with unnecessary severity; for even after this repulse, Gelsa, when taken, was not subjected to sack or plunder, whilst at Zara, the proveditor reminds us of the ties of scholarship which connected him subsequently with Sir Thomas More and Dr. Pace, by quoting Aristotle and Cicero to the inhabitants. But the uncompromising character of Giustinian, which spared neither his own fellow-nobles nor the insurgents of Illyria, excited a momentary cabal against him at Venice; he did not receive from the Government the safe-conduct which he had promised to some of the chiefs of Lesina; and although he seized several of the vessels armed by Ivanich, the squadron of that ambitious insurgent rendered his homeward voyage rather perilous, though it was effected in safety, and on the 23rd November 1512, Sebastinian Giustinian made his report to the Senate of the measures adopted by him for the restoration of order in Illyria.

From the autumn of 1512, until the winter of 1514, Giustinian was incessantly occupied at Venice with the trials of criminals whom he considered directly or indirectly accountable for the disturbed state of Dalmatia, and his appointment as ambassador to England was quite unexpected, being in fact occasioned by the apoplectic fit which, on the night of the 16th of December 1514, seized the Cavalier Francesco Donato, whilst at supper. This nobleman having been elected ambas-

sador to Henry VIII., was to have set out for England on the following morning, with a colleague named Piero Pasqualigo; and when the Senate assembled on the 27th December for the purpose of replacing him, the election fell on Sebastian Giustinian. He requested time to consider until the morrow, and then accepted the post, demanding, however, an increase of salary, as he understood it would behove him to evince greater hospitality, and to make more display, in England than elsewhere. He also expressed a wish, ere departing, to finish the trial of the ex-Count of Sebenico, whom he had accused of improper intimacy with a nun and another lady of Illyria, and also of having murdered a barber. How he disposed of this strange delinquent is not said.

The instructions under which Sebastian Giustinian acted in his English embassage, will be found in the "Commission" inserted hereafter, and his Despatches from the English Court form the principal contents of this work. It is sufficient to add, that he reached Venice on his return from England, October 6th, 1519, and after shaking, or rather "touching" hands—as was the original custom in Italy—with Doge Loredano, took his seat in the College as "Councillor Superior," to which rank he had been elevated during his absence. On the 10th of October he made his report of England to the Senate, and although the honour of our country is not materially affected by the corpulence of the Sovereign, the following passage is worth extracting from this State paper, for the sake of comparing it with Monsieur Capefigue's fancy portrait of Henry VIII. in the very same year, as quoted below. Giustinian says,—

"His Majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome; nature could not have done more for him; he is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom,

a great deal handsomer than the king of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now got a beard which looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouster; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days: he hears the *office* every day in the Queen's chamber, that is to say vespers and compline. He is very fond indeed of hunting, and never takes this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he may mean to take, and when one is tired, he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."*

In the 10th chapter of Mons. Capefigue's "François I. et La Renaissance" (Edition, Brussels 1845), which is headed "La Couronne Imperiale A.D. 1518, 1519," there is the following passage, p. 70:—"Quel droit avoit Henri VIII. à la couronne imperiale? Quelle relation pouvait il former en Allemagne? Etait il assez actif, assez ingambe pour remuer à temps? Son ventre proeminent, sa face large et vineuse n'etaient certes pas de trop en Allemagne, il pouvait se montrer à Francfort bon et jovial compagnon, visiter Heidelberg, Mayence et Worms, les pays aux larges foudres

* The shirts worn by persons of condition at this period were bordered with lace, and curiously adorned with needlework. One which had belonged to Arthur Prince of Wales, made of long lawn, and beautifully embroidered with blue silk round the collar and wrists, was in the possession of the late John Gage, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries. (See note by Miss Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, at p. 72 of the Venetian Report of England printed for the Camden Club, London, 1847.)

de vin du Rhin. Mais dans un temps de guerre quand il fallait repousser le Turc au cimeterre étincelant, Henri d'Angleterre etait il assez fort et brave chevalier pour cela?

"Le Prince qui avait besoin d'etre porté à cheval par son Ecuyer, quand le cornet de chasse retentissait aux cris de la meute dans les forêts de Windsor, ne pouvait aspirer à une dictature militaire dont la pensée première etait de sauver la Chrétienté menacée."

The two portraits are much at variance with each other, and the discrepancy warrants an inference that the personal observation of the diplomatists of Venice may serve occasionally to correct philosophical historians, nor will it appear unreasonable to conclude that far more *impartial* details of our country may be gathered from the contemporary writers of Venice, than from the vague surmises of modern essayists. The satisfaction which Sebastian Giustinian gave in the fulfilment of his mission to England was such, that in 1526, the senate appointed him ambassador to Francis I. On the road to the French court, he was made prisoner by the Switzers, but after a short detention was released.

In the year 1529, he returned to the French court, and being at Blois, in November 1530, he remonstrated in a manner both chivalrous and disinterested, with Sir Francis Bryan, the ambassador of Henry VIII., against the treatment to which Queen Catherine was then subjected; this fact is handed down to us by Bryan himself, who in a despatch dated Blois, 21st November 1530, plumes himself on "the smart reply he made to the Venetian ambassador who solicited him to write to his Majestie and dehort him from proceeding any farther in that matter of Queen Katherine."*

From 1532, when Sebastian Giustinian returned to Venice,

* See Harleian Catalogue, vol. i., p. 174.

until 1540, he was constantly employed in the service of the State. In the last-named year, the Signory rewarded him with the dignity of Procurator of St. Mark; his death took place on the 13th of March 1543, at the advanced age of eighty-three.

Sebastian Giustinian was twice married, first to a daughter of Doge Foscari, and secondly to a lady of the Agustine family, a namesake and kinswoman of the physician of Cardinal Wolsey. It is known that he had three sons, one of whom, Marino, accompanied his father to England, and is mentioned in the following despatches, as having visited Fox, Bishop of Winchester, in August, 1517, at the time of the sweating sickness, for the sake of preventing the spoliation of Castellesi, Bishop of Bath and Wells, by Cardinal Wolsey.

The career of Marino was almost as active as that of his father; in 1519 he took his seat in the cabinet, as "Sage for the Orders;" in 1526 he was Advocator Extraordinary; and in 1528, Advocator in Ordinary. In 1531 he was ambassador to Francis the First, and in the year following accompanied the French court to Marseilles, on occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to Catharine de' Medici. In 1537 he was accredited to Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and in 1541 fulfilled a mission to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom he accompanied through Italy and Germany, and also to Algiers; but was shipwrecked on the coast of Spain, where he died of suffering and exhaustion.

The only two compositions by Sebastian Giustinian, which have been published, are his oration to King Ladislaus of Hungary, and a letter to Erasmus from London,* during his residence there as ambassador.

* The latter may be read at p. 1611 of the Leyden edition of the correspondence of Erasmus; it is dated London, 29th June, 1517, commencing with an allusion to Sir Thomas More, thus, "Ex literis tuis ad *Morum* nostrum," and ends, "vale litteratorum reipublicæ presidium, meum decus, atque animæ dimidium meæ."

Marin Giustinian first appeared in print at Paris, in 1838, and at Florence in 1839; in both of which capitals his Report of France from 1532 to 1535 was published; and, as his acquaintance with our lively neighbours and ourselves was derived from personal experience, the following may be considered worthy of preservation :—

"This most Christian King is compelled on several accounts to maintain a close friendship with the King of England. In the first place, because unless at peace with the English, any military expedition he might undertake would be thwarted by them, they being much dreaded by the French; and, in fact, ten Englishmen *are* a match for twenty Frenchmen."*

It remains but to add, that the family of Sebastian and Marin Giustinian became extinct in the year 1612.

* "Questo Christianissimo Re è necessitato tenere amicizia stretta col Re d'Inghilterra per piu ragioni. Prima, perchè egli non potria pigliar alcuna impresa di guerra chê, gli Inglesi, se non fossero suoi amici, non gli la disturbassero perchè quella gente è fortemente temuta da Francesi, ed in effetto dieci Inglesi, vagliono per venti Francesi."—Edition Firenze, 1839, Serie 1ma., Vol. 1, p. 168.

DESPATCHES OF SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.

In the 16th century, an ambassador on his journey to the court where he was accredited, travelled slowly, and was entertained sumptuously. In every intermediate state, courtiers and men-at-arms rode out to meet the stranger, and bid him welcome "in the king's name." He was admitted to an audience of the sovereign authorities, and the mission he thus parenthetically executed was often far more important than one of mere ceremony. Sebastian Giustinian commences his correspondence with the Signory at the very first stage of his journey, and carefully notes his progress from city to city, across the snows of the Alps, through the vineyards of France, to the white cliffs of England.

He had left Venice to go by way of Ferrara to his legation in England on the morning of the 10th of January 1515; his colleague, Pietro Pasqualigo, had departed a few days previously, and was to wait for him at Lyons.

His first letter introduces us to one of those gentlemen "such as the fury of ungoverned youth thrust from the company of lawful men," and who play so important a part in the history of the middle ages.

[In Nomine Domini.]

Chioggia, January 12, 1515.

To the Most Excellent Council of Ten.

MOST SERENE PRINCE,[1]

I received letters from your Serenity last night concerning the affair of Coppo,[2] and having thoroughly understood them, and pondered their importance, will endeavour on joining the magnifico, my colleague, to comply with their contents, without any sort of scruple soever.

Gratiæ Serenitatis vestræ me humillime commendo.

SEBASTIAN JUSTINIAN, *Eques Orator.*

[1] The letters are addressed to the reigning Doge, Leonardo Loredano, and to the Senate; but when secrecy is needed, to the Doge and Council of Ten.

[2] Augustin Coppo was of an ancient family, the name of which had been inscribed on "the Golden Book" at the time of the Reformation of the Grand Council, 1315. In the year 1510, he had held military command in the service of the State; but between August 1510 and May 1511, he was outlawed, probably for some act of violence, for at the moment when the young Duke of Urbino murdered the Cardinal of Pavia, at Ravenna in 1511, Augustin Coppo had just given nine wounds to a fellow noble, an outlaw like himself, named Piero Querini, who died in consequence. It seems that at the time, Coppo was in the service of Pope Julius II., and in 1515 he yet enjoyed the protection of Rome; for in the month of February in that year, Leo the Tenth requested the Signory to grant his pardon, though it is probable that the culprit was then at the court of France, and that the instructions concerning him given to the ambassador Giustinian in January related to his expulsion thence; which, however, was certainly not effected, for, after the battle of Marignano, he was at Milan with Francis the First, to whom he seems to have rendered himself very useful in his gallant adventures, supplying him with disguises, and helping to dress him with his own hands, much to the scandal of the Venetian ambassadors; and in a letter from one of the nephews of the Queen of Cyprus, dated Milan 28th November 1516, it is stated that the king had given Augustin Coppo a few ducats for his good services, and that the ambassadors sought to frighten the king into dismissal of this bandit by saying he had been in Turkey, where poisons were employed, not merely in food, but in a secret manner, which he explained, and this so alarmed the king that he promised to discard him. The death of Augustin Coppo is recorded by Giustinian in date of April 3, A.D. 1517.

The next letter is written in all haste at 8 P. M., from Goro, in consequence of the unexpected news of the death of Louis XII., who expired at Paris, January 1, 1515.

TO THE DOGE AND SENATE.

Goro, January 13, 1515.

We reached Chioggia on the 10th instant, and remained there waiting for horses, and making the necessary arrangements for our journey, until to-day, when we departed *summo mane*, arriving here this evening. About the third hour of the night, the courier Benedict arrived, having been despatched from Rome by the Magnifico Lando, and he told me by word of mouth that the King of France had most assuredly departed this life, on the 1st instant; which news, as it appears to me important, I have thought it advisable to communicate, so that, should your Sublimity deem it expedient on that account to make any change in this embassy, you may command us. I will await the reply at Ferrara, for which place we shall set out to-morrow morning.

The next letters introduce us to a very "bland and gracious lady" Lucrezia Borgia, and are curious, as indicating the equality which seems to have existed between her and the duke her husband in the management of political matters.

Ferrara, January 15, 1515.

We arrived here on the 14th instant. Yesterday I went to visit this most illustrious lord,[1] to whom, after the presentation of my credentials, I announced the love and good-will borne by your Excellency towards his lordship, and the wish entertained by you for the welfare of his Duchy, deeming his interests and your own one and the same, with many other expressions suited to the occasion. His lordship made answer that he was your Excellency's good servant, and desired not merely your state's preservation, but moreover its increase, and inquired of me whether I had heard aught of the most Christian King's decease. I answered that I knew nothing, he said he understood that he had departed this life on the 1st of January, yet did he not believe it, quoting dates to prove that the report could not reasonably be credited,

and after much had been said hereon, I took my leave and returned to my quarters, where I am honourably boarded by his lordship, out of respect for your Excellency. I have also visited her excellency the Duchess,[2] to whom having presented the letter of credence, I paid my respects, as was fitting, and after receiving a very bland and gracious reply, with abundance of other words on both sides, I took leave. To-day, two letters from your Excellency have been presented to me, with a despatch for transmission to the Magnifico, my colleague; the first informs me what I am to do in France and England, and the whole shall be executed with all diligence. The second missive confirms to us the death of the most Christian King, enjoining me to continue my journey, and to follow the instructions contained in your mandates: the despatch I shall forward with all diligence by way of Lyons, in compliance with the commands of your Excellency, to whose favour I humbly commend myself.

[1] Alfonso of Este, Duke of Ferrara.
[2] Lucrezia Borgia, who had been married to Don Alfonso of Este in the month of February 1502.

Ferrara, January 16, 1515.

It having behoved me to remain here until to-day on account of many things required for our journey, I went to take leave of these most illustrious *Lords* (Signori), the Duke and Duchess, from whom, in like manner as at the first, I received kind greeting, and until the very last did they treat me excellently, with every demonstration of honour. They appear deeply to feel this demise of the King; hoping, nevertheless, through the capacity and power of his successor, and his readiness to interfere in the affairs of Italy, not to find themselves in a worse plight than they were during the reign of his deceased majesty, and that their enemies, namely the Spaniards, may not rejoice for long: both the duke and duchess affirmed that it was ever their intention to follow the same fortune as your Excellency. To this I answered as I deemed becoming, assuring them of your Sublimity's holding in very great account the friendship of their excellencies, for whom you entertained a paternal affection, and with this I took leave of them, they giving me the strictest injunctions to recommend them to your Serenity.

To-day we are setting out for Cento, and have sent one of my couriers to Lyons with the despatch, and my own letters to the Magnifico, my colleague.

The letters immediately following illustrate the unhappy state of Italy, and the uneasiness and alarm in which the minor States were kept by the aggressive policy of the Papacy and the house of Medici.

Pieve Pelago, January, 20, 1515.

My last was dated the 16th instant, from Ferrara, whence we departed on that day, and by rugged and difficult roads, we, to-day, reached Pieve,[1] a place belonging to the Duke of Ferrara, situated at the root of the Appenines, having been accompanied thus far by a courier of said Duke's, which was a great convenience to us. To-morrow, Providence favouring us, we shall cross the mountain, and on the day after we go to Lucca, from which place I shall write to your Sublimity, and will do the like as I proceed. We hear nothing in this place worthy the notice of your Highness, save that the Lord Alessandro de' Pij—one of whose fiefs called Sassuolo, an important castle, had been occupied by his Holiness—having recruited a considerable number of mountaineers from the Modenese and Bolognese territories, took the place and put the commander to death. I have been told that this was done by connivance of the Count Guido Rangone, who is the Pope's Governor in Modena, which surprised me vastly, that Count Guido, a stipendiary of the Pope's, should favour an attack upon a place held by his Holiness. Should I hear anything more, I will inform your Sublimity.

[1] In the Duchy of Modena.

Lucca, January 25, 1515.

On the 23rd instant we arrived here, after many difficulties in crossing the Appenines, owing to the very deep snow and the badness of the roads, and the magnificoes, magistrates, and gentlemen here have received me,

and given me their company most politely, and on my going to the inn, some ten of the chief gentry came and took me thence, conducting me to the house of a gentleman named Messer Michiel da Poggio, where I have been boarded most honourably, with every demonstration of love and respect towards your most illustrious Signory. I went to visit these magnificoes, the gonfalonier, and the magistrates, and in general terms explained to them your Excellency's love and good will to their State, and the wish entertained by you for their utmost prosperity, adding many other expressions of goodwill, whereto the said gonfalonier made answer. thanking your Highness infinitely for the compliment, and saying that this city had ever deemed your Excellency the protector and conservator of their cherished liberty, and that there was no Italian potentate in whom they placed greater reliance and hope than in your Highness, wherefore your distresses had not pained and grieved them less than their own, and thus did they now rejoice at your prosperity, and hoped your Excellency's affairs would turn out well, as you had borne up against so much adversity, and such a universal conspiracy as had been formed against the Signory by all the potentates of Christendom.[1] Adding, that they, the Lucchese themselves, were in great trouble, for they well knew who it was that had designs upon their city and their liberties, alluding to the Florentines and to the Pope,[2] whereupon, seeing that many persons were present at this conversation, I professed incredulity that His Holiness (a Pontiff of great sanctity and moderation, and who mainly for his good life was raised to the tiara) should plot at this juncture to overthrow their ancient freedom, together with many expressions full of praise of his Holiness, so that they appeared much comforted, and said my language tallied with certain replies of our lord the Pope himself, made to those who were urging his Holiness to have this city occupied by the magnifico Juliano,[3] and which were couched in these terms, "Let nothing more be uttered about infringing the liberties of the Lucchese, as we choose to be the conservator of that city and its franchises." With this, I took leave, and was reconducted to my quarters.

I am waiting for the safe conduct from Genoa, which I expect hourly, having written thither from Ferrara by the courier Zanon, desiring it might be sent to me here. I fancy it can only be delayed for a few hours, but by way of precaution, I wrote immediately on my arrival here that if not already despatched it should forthwith be forwarded.

The news here is that, on the 23rd, the Magnifico Julian arrived from Florence at Pisa, where four galleys having been prepared for him; he purposes to embark on his way to Savoy, where he is to meet his bride.[4] He has about fifty Florentine gentlemen with him, in very gallant trim, and it is said that he is also accompanied by the Lord of Piombino:[5] they number in all, from 200 to 250 horse. It is also said here that the most Christian King has appointed the Duke of Bourbon[6] Grand Constable of the Kingdom, which is nothing less than commander of the entire French forces; this dignity has not been conferred on any one from the days of King Louis XI., the father of King Charles, until now, and hence one may reasonably infer that by giving this appointment to the said Duke, to whom the Italian expedition had been entrusted by King Louis XII., it is his intention to persevere therein. Your Highness will receive better information than mine on this subject, through the letters of the magnificoes, your ambassadors.

Item, throughout their territories the Florentines have been reforming the regulations respecting their troops, which, I have been assured by a very experienced and discreet gentleman here, will exceed 24,000 strong. They have had a great quantity of corslets brought from the Brescian territory, and other places in Italy, and the commander of these forces is one Jacobo, a Corsican, who had the command of 3,000 French infantry in the time of King Louis. There is, however, no other stir. This is as much as has come to my knowledge worthy of your Highness's notice. Should I hear anything else, on the various stages of my journey, it shall be communicated with all speed to your Excellency.

[1] This alludes to the league of Cambray.

[2] Leo X. who had been elected Pope on the 11th March 1513.

[3] Julian de' Medici, brother of Leo X.; he died at Florence on the 17th of March, 1516. This project of giving Lucca to him is not recorded by Roscoe. Ranke informs us that Lorenzo de' Medici, sketching the characters of his three sons, Julian, Peter, and John, said that the first was good, the second a fool, but that for the third, John, he was prudent. This third was Pope Leo X.

[4] Filiberta, daughter of Philip, Duke of Savoy, and sister of Luigia, the mother of Francis I. (See Roscoe's Life of Leo X., vol. 4, p. 56, Italian Translation). We may add to Giustinian's hint of the grand doings at this wedding, a passage from the historian of the Popes, "There was high jubilee when it was known that Giuliano de' Medici meant to settle with his young wife in Rome. 'God be praised,' writes Cardinal Bibbiena to him, 'for here we lack nothing but a court with ladies.'"

[5] Giacomo IV. Appiano.

[6] Charles Duke de Bourbon, who rebelled against his kinsman and sovereign, and was killed at the siege of Rome, A.D. 1527, by a shot from the arquebus of Benvenuto Cellini, if credit can be given to the memoirs of that boastful Florentine.

The next despatch is dated from Genoa. The reigning Doge was Octavian Fregoso, who was proclaimed by some four hundred citizens on the 17th of June 1514, after he had quelled the Adorno faction. The wound from which Giustinian found him suffering, may have been received at the siege of the French garrison in the fortress called "the Lantern," which he had compelled to surrender on the 26th of August.

Genoa, February 3, 1515.

My last were from Lucca in date of the 25th ulto., whereby your Excellency will have heard what had happened. You must now know that on the 1st inst., I arrived here at Genoa, receiving good and kind greeting from many of the nobles here, and being honoured by the whole city, out of respect for your Highness. On the morrow I went to visit the illustrious Doge of this city, who is lying in bed by reason of the musket wound he received in his hand in the recent engagement. I fancy the malady will be of long duration, for 'tis an ugly hurt. I addressed him in your Serenity's name, in very loving and affectionate terms, but of a general tenor, not going into details, which might receive a sinister interpretation, but condoling with him on his indisposition, and congratulating him on the advantage he really derived from it; for, although detrimental and mischievous, yet, on the other hand, had it procured extreme glory for him, both through the valour he had displayed, and the honourable position of his wounds, and I said that the shield which was shot through, at the same time with his hand, bore testimony to his prowess, so that he was renowned all over Italy. He appeared extremely pleased at this, mentioning how he had been wounded, and that the result of the affair had done him honour, affording him greater comfort than the annoyance caused him by the said hurt, and that he should therefore soon recover, vowing that he was anxious, if the opportunity should be afforded him, to effect greater things for your Highness with

the wounded member, and also with his right hand, and whilst uttering these words he raised each arm aloft; we next commenced speaking about this new King of France, and he inquired of me whether I thought he would come into Italy this year. I told him I could form no opinion hereon, as when I left Venice, his predecessor's death had not taken place, nor yet the new king's accession, and that consequently being ignorant of his acts, proceedings, and language, I was unable to pass any judgment thereon, but that his lordship was better able thus to do, by reason of the daily letters he received both from France and Italy. He made answer that opinions varied very much, some thinking he would come, both because he had been one of the instigators of the expedition in the time of King Louis, and also because the costs thereof had been in good part defrayed by his predecessor. Others, indeed, say he will not come this year, but stay to arrange his affairs with the most serene King of England,[1] and also desiring to obtain possession quietly, and under happier auspices than by force of arms, and that this was indubitably his own opinion; but that those who say he will come are the Emperor, the Spaniards now in Italy, and the Duke of Milan,[2] and this they say with a view to accelerate the league now being negotiated between the Pontiff and themselves, with the concurrence, moreover, of this state of Genoa, for should they assert that his most Christian Majesty will neither come nor send an army this year into Italy, it would furnish reason for delaying this confederation, which, though not yet concluded, is in course of arrangement, under *pretext* of preventing his aforesaid Majesty's coming, yet in reality was it (said he) against other ancient possessors of Italy, meaning your Serenity, and on this subject he was very diffuse, his language evincing the greatest good-will towards your Excellency. I do not report this as though I thought myself bound to build on his expressions; as any man easily says what he chooses, though there is no doubt but that in the event of the coming of his most Christian Majesty (who naturally will wish to recover what he has lost), it will behove this state to change its government, or take a decided part.

Moreover the Magnifico Julian, who went to Savona on his way into Savoy, having heard that the country is in arms, and that both the peasants as well as certain Spanish and Swiss soldiers, have taken to the road, under the command of one Hieronimo Casola (who, from what this Doge's excellency tells me, is a man of the Emperor's), has determined on going by sea to Nice from fear of snares being laid for him in many

quarters: he has very few attendants, and came into this town, moreover, in very ordinary array, to the great surprise of every body; true is it that he gave out he had sent many of the horsemen of his company by way of Lombardy, which must be better known to your highness than to me: nothing else is known here. To-morrow, with the grace of God, I shall embark for Savona, and from thence to Nice, both to escape the very bad roads, and also to avoid such perils as might befall me from these troops which have taken to the road: the like was done by my most honoured colleague, Master (Messier) Pietro Pasqualigo, and with much greater reason should I do so, having the example before my eyes of the Magnifico Julian. I shall subsequently make for Lyons by the way of Avignon, which is the best and safest, and with the Magnifico my colleague will there await your Serenity's instructions, as enjoined us. We have tarried these two days here in Genoa, both to rest ourselves, being in truth extremely tired, owing to the long and laborious journey, and also on account of the horses, which were chafed by the journey; nor will I add aught by this, but merely recommend myself humbly to your Serenity's favour.

[1] Maria Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII., had been married to Louis XII. in the preceding month of August, the bride being only sixteen years old, whereas the bridegroom was fifty-three. The affairs for arrangement related to the queen widow, who married the Duke of Suffolk at the end of March, Francis I. acting as pacificator with Henry VIII.; perhaps from the dread of any posthumous child of the queen widow's interfering with his own claims to the crown of France.

[2] Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovic the Moor.

We omit a letter from Genoa containing nothing but an account of the refusal by the Genoese to entertain an offer made by the Switzers of a contingent of 6,000 or 7,000 men, to aid them against France, for a monthly stipend of 7,000 ducats. The reader who has traversed the beautiful pass of the Corniche, between Genoa and Nice, or followed the windings of the Rhone by the principal mail-road of France, from Avignon to Lyons, will be interested in hearing how the same journey was accomplished 300 years ago.

Nice, in Provence, February 9, 1515.

By my letters of the 3rd instant, from Genoa, your Sublimity will have learnt that I was to depart thence for this city on the 4th. Yesterday, by God's grace, I arrived here, where I was greeted by the whole town very lovingly, and beyond all comparison received much more honour than in Italy: the cause of our being so long on the way from Genoa hither, a distance of 140 miles, was the difficulty of the navigation, caused by the bad weather, and also the report that certain brigantines had been scouring these seas, wherefore, on reaching Monaco, I proceeded hither by land over difficult roads, and remained here to-day, for the purpose of resting the horses, which are half dead. To-morrow, please God, I shall depart. I am told that ten days of ordinary travel are required for the journey from hence to Lyons; I hope to accomplish it in eight—being indeed exceedingly anxious to join the Magnifico, my colleague, to execute the orders of your Serenity, and also to learn the situation of our affairs, whereof, since leaving Venice, I have heard nothing. We hear nothing in this place worth reporting; should anything of importance come to my knowledge, I will notify it in another letter to your Excellency.—To whose favour, &c.

To complete the particulars of the journey from Nice to Lyons, we give the following passages from the voluminous diaries of Marin Sanuto, who quotes letters from Giustinian's colleague Pasqualigo, showing—

"How he had been through Provence, where he found quartered 4,000 lansquenets, who had been sojourning there, on their march to Italy, as it would have proved, had not the King died. He then proceeded to Avignon, where he found the legate, the Right Rev. Cardinal of Auch, who paid him great honour, and he supped with his Right Rev. Lordship, in the company of upwards of 100 of the chief ladies of Avignon. The banquet was so sumptuous, so varied, and of such long duration, that nothing could surpass it. After supper, many dances and mummeries, and so many representations were performed, that they did not come to an end until daybreak. This cardinal was the son of a brother of the Cardinal of Rouen (George d'Amboise). He was likewise visited by Dom. Mario Sobirat, brother-in-law of the late Philosopher[1] Dom. Pietro Contarini, whose sister was dead, and the

daughter is married to a respectable nobleman of that town, and owing to the relationship with Mario Contarini, son of Carlo, the ambassador's brother-in-law, who has accompanied him, they greeted each other as "cousins." He was also visited by Dom. Accursio, formerly ambassador from the King of France to the Signory, who is very anxious to return in that capacity. He writes how he left Avignon on the 23rd, and came to Valence, which is the town that gave his title to the Duke of Valentinois, the son of the late Pope Alexander, and of which he was subsequently deprived by the King. He next reached St. Antoine de Vienne, which is a fine town in Dauphiny, whose archbishop is the Cardinal San Severino; and then he arrived at Lyons on the morning of the 27th. The only news talked of relate to this new King, his beauty, his unheard of liberality, the offices bestowed by him, and the pomps and entertainments now being prepared in Paris. His Majesty is at Rheims, for his consecration, and is to be crowned on next Thursday, which will be the 2nd of February. He then goes to San Marcolpho, in Champagne (*Sainte Menehould*, called in Latin, *Sancta Manchildis*), to test the miracle of the scrofula, and will then return to Paris, where he will remain during the whole carnival for his diversion.

[1] Filosofo is the word used by all Venetian writers of this date to denote a man of literary or scientific pursuits.

The two ambassadors reached Lyons in safety, when the following commission was received by them from Venice:—

Leonardus Lauredanus, etc., Nobilibus et Sapientibus viris Sebastiano Justiniano Equiti, et Petro Pasqualico Doctori et Equiti Oratoribus nostris: Fidelibus dilectis, salutem et dilectionis affectum.—On hearing of the death of the most Christian King Louis, we wrote to you, that, on arriving at Lyons, you were there to await fresh instructions from us. Since then, the most serene and most Christian King Francis, the son-in-law of his deceased Majesty, having succeeded to that kingdom and been crowned as you will have heard, and having, by his most gracious letters, announced his accession to our Signory, we, with our Senate, have deemed it fit to write you these present, and charge you to continue with all diligence your journey unto his most Christian Majesty, in whatever place he may be staying; and on the authority of our credentials, and in company with our ambassador there, your pre-

decessor, you will, in the first place, in grave and forcible language, condole with him on the death of his most Christian father-in-law; after which, you will congratulate him on his own most auspicious accession to that crown,—an event which has greatly mitigated our grief; the love and affection ever borne by us towards his Majesty, whose prosperity and exaltation of every sort afford us as much comfort and joy as anything that we could possibly desire, both for the love we have spoken of and because of the very excellent endowments, both of mind and person, which adorn his most Christian highness; and by so much the more earnest you may show yourself in expressing this, by so much the more will you fulfil our intention towards his Majesty, telling him, in conclusion, that although we have already performed this office of respect by letters, yet, not satisfied herewith, it has seemed fit to us to intimate to him by word of mouth our friendly disposition with regard to his Majesty. Subsequently, at another private audience, likewise in company of your predecessor, you will tell his Majesty of the satisfaction with which we perused his letters; to which, although we have already made fitting reply in our missives to his Majesty, and through our ambassador, yet have we also deputed you to repeat to him our firm intention of persevering in the alliance and confederation with his most Christian Majesty, nor will we further dilate hereon, as here enclosed you will find the letters aforesaid; wherein, also, our desire is notified, that the Italian expedition be speedily undertaken, and that with vigour, for the reasons therein set forth in full; wherefore you also will repeat them to him, urging and encouraging him to take this necessary step, not so much for our benefit as for the immortal glory of his crown, since having everything already prepared and arrayed, he may easily realize the general wish, to the confusion of the enemy.

The like office you will perform, should opportunity present itself, with the most serene Queen, his consort, presenting the credentials which we send you; and in like manner, with the most illustrious the mother of the most Christian King,[1] to whom you will address all such loving and affectionate language as your ability shall supply you with. She being, not merely the King's mother, but, as we understand, a person of great authority and power at the court.

After this, on the opportunity presenting itself, you will visit the most serene queen widow, condoling with her on the death of her most Christian consort, in the usual terms of respect.

In virtue of our letters of credence, you will likewise visit all the

lords in authority and power at the court, according to such information as may be given you by your predecessor; and especially the most illustrious Monseigneur de Bourbon, by reason of the dignity freshly conferred on him by his most Christian Majesty,[2] employing towards each such flattering and friendly form of language as you may consider suitable, proving to them the good will of our Signory on their behalf, so as to secure their favourable regard to our policy.

The presents now in your hands, you will keep thus until further orders from us; and, on your departure for England, you will leave them with your predecessor until the return from thence of you, Piero Pasqualigo, not giving it to be understood to any one that you have any presents with you; moreover, we enjoin you especially to inform us who are in repute and credit with his Majesty.

Having complied with the aforesaid, you two ambassadors will inform his most Christian Majesty that, in like manner as on your departure from Venice you had orders to go to the most serene King of England, with congratulations on his sister's marriage, so are you now charged to perform the office of condolence; and, moreover, endeavour, to the best of your ability, to keep the English King in love and at peace with his most Christian highness, acquainting him that you, Piero, will return to the French court. You will then betake yourselves to England, where, on arriving, you will, in company with our ambassador, now resident there,[3] enter the presence of that most serene King, acquainting him that, whereas you had been originally destined to congratulate him on the marriage in his family, and to thank him for having included the Signory in the confederation with the late King Louis, it having thus pleased God to take the said King, his brother-in-law, you now condole with him on the demise, employing loving words indicative of our affection and respect for his Majesty, as heretofore for his most serene progenitors, whose affairs and those of his subjects have been ever looked upon by us in the same light as our own, according to the spirit and ancient custom of our republic, handed down as a mission by our forefathers, dilating hereon as much as you shall deem fit; and, above all, you will thank his Majesty in the most grateful language, for that, in the confederation formed between him and the late most Christian King Louis, he deigned to name us as his special friends and confederates. After this, at a future audience, you will (in that prudent and dexterous mode which is familiar to you) assure his Majesty that, should it be his pleasure, your efforts will be directed to this end,

exhort him to be united with the King of France, and to confirm with him that peace which he maintained with the deceased King, as the union of two such great sovereigns will be of great benefit and advantage to all Christendom, expatiating hereon with such arguments as shall seem fit to you, and of which your own judgment will furnish you abundance; and to this end all your efforts will tend, regulating yourselves with prudence and according to existing circumstances, and as you shall perceive to be the wish of his most Christian Majesty. You will also visit the most serene Queen,[4] condoling with her, in the first place, on the death of the most Christian King Louis her brother-in-law; and then congratulating her on the well-being of the most serene King her consort, and of herself, in terms calculated to impress her with the love and reverence borne by our Signory to their majesties.

Subsequently you will visit all the principal lords, according to such information as you may receive from your predecessor, in order to keep them well disposed towards our Signory. These things done, you, Sebastian, will remain there, so that your predecessor may return home; and you, Piero Pasqualigo, will return to France, there to reside, so that your predecessor at that Court may, in like manner, come back, you being both most assiduous in frequently notifying to us the news of events there, as we are confident you will be. Your present commissions you will communicate to your predecessors, as becoming.—Datæ in nostro Ducali Palatio Die Primo, Februarii 1514. *A tergo:* Nobilibus et Sapientibus viris Sebastiani Justiniano Equiti et Petro Pasqualico Doctori et Equiti Oratoribus nostris in Franciam et Angliam proficiscentibus.

[1] Louise of Savoy, daughter of Philip, Count of Bresse (afterwards Duke of Savoy), married Charles D'Orleans, Count of Angouleme, A.D. 1488, and gave birth to Francis, who, on the death of Louis XII., became King of France. The career of the King's mother as regent, when her son undertook the expedition to which he is here urged by the Venetians; her government of France during the King's imprisonment in Spain; her quarrel with the Constable in particular, and her amours in general, are too well known to need recapitulation here; but the instructions given by the Signory to Giustinian and his colleagues prove that the Venetian politicians anticipated thus early the important part the queen mother was destined to play in the history of France.

[2] The office of constable. See the despatch from Lucca of the 25th January, page 35.

[3] Namely, Andrea Badoer, of whom we shall hear further presently.

[4] Catharine of Aragon.

The main object of the Senate in permitting the invasion of Italy by the French king, was the recovery of Verona and Brescia, at present held by the Emperor Maximilian. For the accomplishment of this design, it was of course important to secure the neutrality, if not the friendship of Henry. The presents alluded to, as we shall see further on, were at first intended for Maria Tudor, the sister of Henry, and now queen-dowager of France, but no longer a person of any influence.

In the following letter we have a hint of the first idea entertained by Francis and Henry of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." It is well known that the interview actually took place in 1520, five years after the despatch of the messenger "post haste" for the fineries here alluded to.

Lyons, February 27th.

Since the last forwarded by me, Sebastian, from Nice on the 9th instant, I have not written to your Sublimity, having been always on the road, until my arrival here, which took place on the 25th, and was delayed beyond my expectation, owing to the severe weather and bad roads which I encountered. On my arrival here, I found my most noble colleague anxiously expecting me, and as I and my companions are much fatigued by the extreme roughness of the roads, our horses being in like manner well nigh exhausted, it behoves me to remain here a while, and perhaps in the mean time my baggage will arrive, which for greater convenience we both of us sent by the merchants, by way of Lombardy, and great need have we thereof, as we none of us possess anything but our riding dresses; though, should the delay be prolonged, we shall not fail to continue our journey for your Serenity's service, providing ourselves with new apparel, though not without great detriment to ourselves.

I, Sebastian, have, moreover, perused the commission and letters of credence which your Serenity forwarded by the courier Vincenzo, they having been communicated to me by the aforesaid, my most noble colleague, with which we shall endeavour to comply with all diligence, according to the intentions of your Serenity. We do not write any other

news of the Court, referring ourselves to what the most noble Dandolo notified to your Sublimity through Fioravanti. Certain merchants here have received letters from London, from one D. Leonardo Frescobaldi,[1] a merchant of great credit, and from what we hear very rich, in date of the 12th and 15th instant. By those of the 12th, he says that the most Serene King would, to the utmost of his power, maintain a good and perfect understanding with his most Christian Majesty, who was negotiating for a conference with him, and within three days, the conclusion of these negotiations was expected from the Duke of Suffolk, who is at the French Court. By those of the 15th, he says it is settled that the aforesaid most Serene Kings should meet at Calais, and that his Majesty of England had despatched a messenger post haste to Florence for a great quantity of cloths of gold, and of silk, so as to meet this most Christian King with honour, and although we doubt not but that if this be true, your Sublimity will be already acquainted therewith by letters from the most noble your ambassador Dandolo, nevertheless, it has not appeared to us unfitting that we likewise should announce to you the intelligence in the form it has reached us.

With regard to his most Christian Majesty's coming this year into Italy, or the reported movements amongst the Switzers, nothing is as yet said here by any one, beyond what was notified by me, Piero, in former letters to your Highness.

[1] The Frescobaldi of the text is evidently the Florentine merchant who, in the tragedy entitled "The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell" (and which is one of the seven plays attributed falsely to Shakspeare), is made to play a humane part, is subsequently reduced to poverty, and finally obtains grateful aid from the hero of the piece.

"*Bannister.*—O heavens! It is kind Master Friskiball!"

Giustinian wrote a second time from Lyons, on the 3rd of March, the colleagues having waited there in vain for the arrival of their baggage. At last, they departed for Paris, having bought themselves fresh apparel, with which they "will try to make shift in court until their effects arrive, and pray God to send them quickly!"

In another week we hear of them at Moulins, in the midst of the pleasant Bourbonnais. On the road thither, it

appears, they met the ambassador of Mantua, on his way homewards, after a long residence at the French Court; and after him, the Signor Theodore Triulzi, in company with the far-famed Bayard, then "a captain of one hundred lances." The first of these gentlemen assured the Venetian Envoy of the intention of Francis I. to make an early descent into Italy, and in six days more we find Giustinian dating his letters from Paris . . .

Paris, 20th March, 1515.

On the 15th instant, having overcome the difficulties of a long and very bad muddy road of 100 leagues between Lyons and this place, we reached a spot two short leagues distant hence, where it behoved us remain until the 17th, as his Majesty was then absent on a hunting expedition. But the same day, having come a league nearer, there arrived the Count Gian Giacomo Triulzi, who, on getting off his horse, proceeded to visit us at the hotel. He had a long conversation with us, saying, amongst other things, that from fear of the Swiss entering Dauphiny, his most Christian Majesty was sending him to Lyons, and that should the Switzers come, or the apprehension of their coming continue, his Majesty would add 8,000 other lansquenets to the 4,000 now in Provence. These forces, he said, are well nigh all mustered, at the suit of his Majesty, in Guelders, and that so many men at arms, &c., would be equipped, that in the event of said Swiss dispersing, or of this apprehension being dispelled, beyond all doubt, the King would descend into Italy, for which expedition, he said, he had often strenuously laboured at the royal council board, in order to persuade his Majesty to undertake it without delay; and thus, by diverting the attention of the Swiss to another quarter, to prevent their making an inroad into France. He added, he had ever found his Majesty well disposed towards this undertaking, but with respect to its execution, he found the following impediment, namely, the assurance which the King received from every body, that he must first establish himself in his kingdom before engaging in such an enterprise, and to this matter he was now attending with his whole soul; it being considered certain that the peace with England and Flanders would be concluded, but that the truce with Spain would encounter greater difficulty, as the Spanish king[1]

wanted to include the Duchy of Milan therein, to which King Francis would on no account consent. He also said that the Doge of Genoa had lately sent a secret envoy of his hither, to arrange his affairs, the conclusion of which was delayed by his most Christian Majesty's demand of 150,000 crowns from Genoa, for the destruction of the Lantern, whereas the Doge required that, without disbursing more money, this claim should be dropped. He said that this negotiation was still on foot.

His Lordship next spoke of the most Christian King personally, and said that his extreme liberality to every one would drain the very blood from his veins; amongst the rest, his mother applied all her energies to the accumulation of money, and also laid claim to managing every thing, not allowing his Majesty to act without her concurrence. He added, that amongst those who have great power with his Majesty was Monsieur de Boissi, the Lord Steward, who, before the accession of the King, was his Governor,[2] and even now his Majesty defers so greatly to him, that in the words of Count Gian Giacomo Triulzi, he is still as it were under his rod. Next to him, he said, there came the Bastard of Savoy, then the Constable de Bourbon, and then Monsieur de Lautrec, but those who manage everything are his Majesty's mother, together with Madame de Bourbon, and Monsieur de Boissi. His Lordship evinced great regret at his Majesty's being under petticoat government, condemning, moreover, his mode of life since he became King, which is in this wise—he gets out of bed a little before noon; then, after dressing and hearing mass, he forthwith dines, and immediately afterwards withdraws to his mother, and after remaining a short while at the Council Board, occupies himself with incessant amusement until supper time, so that with difficulty can one find an opportune moment for transacting business with him. With this information, after making many offers of service to your Serenity, his Lordship mounted his horse, and having taken leave, departed for Lyons.

We, having had an intimation made to us to this effect, came on the same day towards this city, and on the way were met by the most noble Dandolo, and by the brothers and relations of the Reverend Bishop of Asti,[3] the ambassador resident with your Highness. In their company we came on well nigh to the gates, where we were met in his most Christian Majesty's name by Monsieur de St. Valier, well attended, and he told us that the King had ordered a number of bishops and grandees to meet us in honour of your Serenity, and that we must therefore await their coming, as we did for the space of an hour; but seeing that they

did not make their appearance, his Lordship requested us to enter, and accompanied us as far as our dwelling. Since then we have continually applied for public audience, but it has been put off from day to day, on account of the indisposition of the Lord Chancellor, whose office it is to reply on similar occasions; we, however, hope to have it to-morrow, and our letters will inform your Serenity of the result. In the mean while we will not omit mentioning that the brothers and relations of the Reverend Bishop of Asti abovementioned, not only came a good way to meet us, but have also visited us here daily, making infinite offers of service, with the greatest possible professions of attachment to your Serenity.

[1] Ferdinand the Catholic, who died January 15th, 1516; he was the father of Queen Catharine.

[2] Père Daniel in his history of France mentions (vol. ix. p. 6) that, on the accession of Francis I., Monsieur de la Palice received the baton of marshal, and ceded his charge of Lord Steward to Gouffier de Boissi, who had been the king's governor; and the historian adds, "Ce Seigneur, avec Florimond Robertet, Sécretaire d'Etat, sous le précédent regne fut mis dans le ministère. Anne de Montmorency et Philippe Chabot, deux jeunes seigneurs, qui avoient ete élevés avec le roi, eurent dès lors grande part à la faveur."

[3] Namely, Triulzi, whose name is given thus by Sanuto, in his diaries; also according to Ughelli (Italia Sacra, vol. iv. 395, 6) the see of Asti was held at this period by Antonio Triulzi, whose nephew, Cæsar Triulzi, became his coadjutor in the bishopric, September 10th, 1516.

The indolent habits of the King, and the sickness of the Chancellor, were not the only causes of the delay. The ambassadors of the Archduke Charles (afterwards the Emperor Charles V.) were at the court of France, negotiating a "peace and confederacy" with Francis I., which was really concluded in the course of the next day or two. After this there was no difficulty in fixing the hour of audience; and the following despatch relates how it took place on the evening of Sunday, the 25th of March 1515.

Paris, 25th March 1515.

According to the order given us on the day before yesterday, to-day, at about the vesper hour, his most Christian Majesty sent the Rev.

Bishops of Angoulême and of Constance, and the Seneschal of Toulouse, to bring us from our dwellings and accompany us into his presence; and having gone with them, we found him seated in a hall, under a canopy, very richly dressed all in white baukin;[1] and on one side were seated, according to their degree, all the princes of the blood; and on the other, the Lord Chancellor,[2] with many prelates. Behind his chair there stood the illustrious the Infant of Aragon;[3] the Bastard of Savoy; Monsieur de Boissi, the Lord Steward; the Marquis of Rothelin, the Grand Equerry; and Dom. Robertet;[4] with very many others. Immediately on his Majesty perceiving us, as he did the moment we entered the door-way, he rose from his seat, as did all the others, cap in hand; we made the due obeisance, and notwithstanding all our efforts, he would not allow us to kiss his hand, but embraced us, evincing the greatest good will and esteem for your Serenity, positively commanding, after we had presented our credentials, that we should sit on either side of him. Whereupon, all having resumed their seats, I, Sebastian, read an address in Latin, wherein, with grave and fitting language, I endeavoured to comply with the desire of your Highness, both by condoling in your name on the death of the late most Christian King Louis, and by congratulating him on his own most happy accession, making such allusions to either circumstance as appeared to me proper. His Majesty listened to me very attentively, and caused us to be answered by the Lord Chancellor, also in Latin, thanking your most illustrious Signory for such friendly professions, and offering his services to the State. This done, the King rose, and calling us to him, said that if we had any other communication to make to him in private, he would graciously hear us; and thus, having withdrawn with us to a window remote from the company, I, Piero, stated to him, clause by clause, all that was enjoined us by your Serenity's missives, dated the first of last month, both with regard to maintaining the alliance, and also urging him to undertake the Italian expedition, alleging all such reasons and grounds as my ability suggested. His Majesty answered us with his own lips as follows, or in words to this effect:—"The ambassador here present" (pointing to me, Marco) "is a good witness to the love and devotion borne by me, before I was King, to the most illustrious Signory; and it now having pleased God to grant me the honour of a Crown, I have fully determined on aiding and backing Venice, and on rendering her greater than she has ever been; and very shortly will I come with a powerful army in person into Italy,

for being so young, it would be a reproach to me to send others in my stead; and assuredly not merely I, but all France is much obliged to the most illustrious Signory; for the other sovereigns, who leagued themselves with us, were true to their engagements until their ends were obtained, and then deserted us without the slightest scruple; but the most illustrious Republic has been ever constant, nor for cost that she has incurred, nor for perils and losses she has endured, did she ever choose to abandon us, and this we must heartily acknowledge, so I shall be the best friend to her that any King of France or other Christian sovereign ever was; and I shall ever maintain a good alliance with her, with faith inviolable." His Majesty then said, "that in order to secure this kingdom, and to be enabled more speedily and effectually to attend to the affairs of Italy, he had concluded a treaty with the most illustrious Archduke,[5] who had tendered him due homage as his subject for the county of Flanders, but had allied himself with him as Duke of Brabant and Prince of Spain, agreeing to espouse Madame Renée, his Majesty's sister-in-law, the daughter of the late King Louis, for whose dower he was about to give the Duchy of Berri and 100,000 crowns, with as many more as a gift, so that should the dowry be hereafter returned, 100,000 crowns remain to him as a gift, the archduke being at liberty to ratify the nuptials aforesaid within the next three years and a half; and should he not be pleased to do so within that term, the amity and perpetual peace is to continue and not be interrupted, for the maintenance of which, eight frontier towns are to be given up by each party, they subjecting themselves in the event of contravention to censures ecclesiastic. His Majesty added, that this peace would greatly add to the security of this kingdom, as thereby, and through the friendship of the Duke of Guelders, of the Bishop of Liège, Count of Hainault, Duke of Lorraine, the Palatine, and some other Princes of the Empire, the King of the Romans would be unable to do him the slightest hurt. As to the King of Spain, whom he styled tyrant and deceiver, and who, under pretext of governing, had taken possession of the kingdom of Castille, he, he said, by reason of this friendship with the archduke, would act with greater reserve in plotting any mischief against this realm from fear of being deprived of the said government. In the next place, the King of England, without the aid of French Flanders, and uncertain of the friendship of Scotland, will have small power against France; should he come with a scanty host he would be beaten, whilst a numerous one would cost him much money, and produce, perhaps, little effect after all, as was the case the last time,

even though he had the aid of Flanders, when he lost time and treasure under Terouane,[6] which place, his Majesty added, he was now having rebuilt with the greatest speed, so that ere long it will be quite restored and stronger than before. Respecting Tournai, he said that, by reason of its being far inland, and now remote from all possible succour owing to this alliance with Flanders, he could get it whenever he chose; but that he was, nevertheless, well disposed towards peace with the King of England, who seemed, however, to be raising a difficulty, by requiring his Majesty to withdraw his protection and amity from Scotland, which he would never do. The King intimated throughout this discourse, with sufficient plainness, that the cause of his not coming into Italy at this present time, was the difficulty of making treaties, which would enable him to unite his troops for the undertaking, instead of keeping them dispersed, from suspicion of his neighbours, a precaution which was neglected by the late King Louis, his father-in-law, who, his Majesty declared, when the King of England came into France, maintained at an immense cost for the defence of the various frontiers not less than 4,000 lances, and 24,000 infantry. We thanked his most Christian Majesty respectfully for the great good will and affection which he manifested towards the most excellent Signory, and for the friendly offers and communications made by him to us; and as in the public audience and the private one, we had been a long while with his Majesty, who, moreover, we knew meant, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, to hear vespers, we did not deem it advisable for the present to make any further rejoinder, or trouble him longer. Referring ourselves to a future audience, we merely added that we had been commissioned by your Serenity to go to England to condole on the demise of the late most Christian King Louis, and to endeavour with our whole power to keep the King of England in love and peace with his highness, should it thus please his Majesty. The King answered, that this would be very agreeable to him, as he is really anxious for a good understanding with that most serene King, and would write to his ambassadors resident there, desiring them to communicate everything to us, in order to bring about the desired result in concert, saying,—"And I am certain that you will do more for me than for that King;" and with this, he dismissed us.

MARCO DANDOLO, Eques.,
SEBAST. GIUSTINIAN, Eques.,
PETRUS PASQUALICUS, Doct. Eques.,
} *Oratores.*

[1] The word *baukin* was in use in England in the year 1501, to signify a sort of brocade with a raised pile, such being the material styled *sopra rizo* to this day in Venice.

[2] Antoine Duprat, who had been appointed first president of the Parliament of Paris, in 1507, was said to have secured his favour with Louise of Savoy and Francis I., through their recollection, amongst other services rendered by him, of his having by main force prevented a nocturnal meeting between Maria Tudor and Francis, in the lifetime of Louis XII., the consequences of which might have interfered with his claims as heir presumptive to the French crown.

[3] When Louis XII. despoiled Frederick III., King of Naples, of his crown, his second son, Alfonso, came to France, where he was known as the Infant of Aragon. He died at Grenoble in this very year 1515.

[4] Florimond Robertet was the Finance Minister of Francis I. Notices of the Bastard of Savoy and of the Marquis of Rothelin will be found in Brantome; the Marquis figures as one of the characters in the "Occorenza Quintadecima," of Niccolo Liburnio, so it may be supposed that he was a patron of letters, as well as a courtier and a soldier.

[5] Charles of Burgundy had succeeded to his father, the Archduke Philip; but his grandfather, Maximilian, was still alive, and his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand, had taken possession of the Government of Castille, which, on Isabella's demise, belonged to Joanna, the widowed mother of Charles.

[6] Whatever their losses may have been, the English eventually took Terouane, and gained the battle of Spurs, *alias* Guinegate, on the 16th of August, 1513. The Terouane fortifications were demolished by the English: and it is to their reconstruction that Francis I. here alludes.

The next letter of Giustinian relates his complimentary interview with the Queen of Francis I., on the day following, to which Pasqualigo adds a paragraph, which proves his obedience to the instructions he had received to withhold the present intended for the Queen, now a dowager, and no longer a person of influence.

"I, Piero, was visited a few days ago by the Magnifico D. Hieronimo Triulzi, the brother of the Reverend Bishop of Asti, the French Ambassador in Venice, and he told me the most Serene Queen knew that I was bringing her a handsome present from your Highness, and that on this account she would give us very good reception, and he said that this had been heard through letters from the aforesaid Right Reverend, his brother. I answered him that I had no present with me, and knew not this, turning the conversation immediately."

Giustinian wrote two other letters from Paris, both on the

30th of March, on which day he set forward again on his journey to England. We give the first of these, and the two following, dated respectively from Boulogne and Canterbury, for the light they throw on the political allusions contained in the subsequent despatches.

Paris, 30th March, 1515.

Since visiting the most Christian Queen on the 26th instant, as we notified to your Serenity in our letters of that day, we have been extremely occupied until now, in doing the like by all these other Lords in authority now at the Court, to whom, according to their degree, and to the tenor of our credentials, we adapted our discourse, as we knew became the present need of your most excellent Signory. We were most kindly received by all of them, and they made us the warmest professions, but leaving aside what is superfluous and of small import, we will merely inform your Sublimity, in succession, what each of them said to us of apparent consequence.

The most Christian King's most illustrious mother said to us, then, that his Majesty had resolved to adhere to what he had promised every one, so that he might never be accused of bad faith, and above all towards your Serenity, whose friendship and alliance he held in greater account than that of any other Christian Prince soever; so that on arranging his affairs here, he would by deeds prove himself to you the greatest and most faithful friend the State ever had; and that hereof you might remain most perfectly assured, saying, "Had the deceased King not failed the Signory, his affairs would not have come to so disastrous an end as befell them in Italy and in this kingdom; and my son, who was always about his person and understood all that was done, has profited by experience, nor will he ever prove false to the Signory." Madame de Bourbon likewise expressed herself in similar terms, adding that she considered it certain that peace would be made with England, though even should this not prove the case, it could not injure this kingdom, both because the first peace made with the deceased king was to last one year after his death; and also because if the King of England chose to undertake an expedition against France, he must begin to collect his forces two years beforehand; and then again by reason of the agreement freshly concluded with the most illustrious the Archduke, he would obtain no supplies, and for these reasons he will

the more readily accede to fair terms. She also said that the Swiss were at present holding a Diet, at which some agreement with this Crown was to be negotiated; and she ended by asserting, that as his present Majesty's claims upon the duchy of Milan were not inferior to those of the late king, and that as he was young and powerful, much beloved by the entire realm, and certain of the cordial support of your Highness, no doubt could be entertained of his coming into Italy immediately on the termination of the matters now on hand. The illustrious the Grand Constable showed himself most eager for the Milan expedition, which he protested his most Christian Majesty would undertake in person, as speedily as possible, with a countless body of troops, saying, that the agreement with Genoa was expected in a couple of days; and that after Easter he was going to Lyons, and into Dauphiny and Provence, to make some good provision for the men-at-arms there, together with the illustrious Count Gian Giacomo Triulzi; and that his Majesty had despatched Friar Bernardin and Prejean[1] to Marseilles, where he had ordered twelve galleys to be fitted out (having already sent funds thither for the purpose), besides the other twelve now in those waters, the which Prejean, on our quitting his Lordship, we met going to mount his horse to proceed on his way; having, as he told us, been supplied with everything, and he humbly recommended himself, offering his services to your Serenity.

The Lord Steward, Monsieur de Boissi, addressed us in few words, but of favourable import, swearing by that God whom he adored, that his most Christian Majesty loved your Serenity above any other Sovereign, and that he would maintain an inviolable alliance with you, being well aware of your good faith; for that when this kingdom was abandoned by all, your Serenity alone, and not without great peril, kept your engagements. He likewise asserted that his Majesty would undertake the expedition with great force, and in good earnest, immediately on affairs here being settled; wherefore, he added, your Sublimity might be of good cheer, and boldly maintain your present attitude.[2]

Monsieur de Vendome, who is assuredly a prudent youth, made us a sage discourse, saying, that owing to the death of the late King, and his present Majesty's accession, all previous treaties were at an end, and that it was therefore necessary for his Majesty, before undertaking any expedition, to see how he stands with his neighbours; so that should he choose to wage war abroad, he may not be attacked at home. He greatly praised the agreement made with Flanders, saying

that the like would also be effected with England, a promise to this effect having been made by the Duke of Suffolk, who is yet here. He also said that an arrangement was being negotiated with the Swiss, through an ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, and that the ambassador of the King of the Romans, who is the Provost of Louvain, had come here, first to prevent the agreement with Flanders, and, if unable to succeed in this, to contrive that it be made with the co-operation and authority of his said Majesty; but having found that it was already concluded, he was much dissatisfied; and had proposed to his most Christian Majesty a good peace and alliance with the Emperor, forgetting all the injuries and ancient animosities excited by divers transactions between him and the old King, in whose death they were all extinguished. With regard to the Italian expedition, his Lordship affirmed that it would, beyond all doubt, be undertaken immediately on the conclusion of these negotiations. We did not fail at these conversations with said lords to rejoin and allege whatever we knew was the wish of your Highness, and in conformity with what your present most urgent need requires.

We next visited the Pope's ambassador, and those from England, and the most Serene Queen, the widow of the late king Louis.[3] The English ambassadors assured us that the agreement with their King's Majesty will be certainly effected, and that in a few days, the aforesaid most Serene Queen, having had her affairs here settled, will, with the most Christian King's good favour, return to England; and property here in France has been already made over to her as jointure (*contra-dote*), to yield her an annuity of 80,000 francs.

Yesterday, we had another private audience of his Majesty, when we endeavoured to the utmost of our ability to obtain some declaration from him about his undertaking the Italian expedition, omitting no argument that we deemed fitting to encourage him and hasten said enterprise. In reply, his Majesty made us a very long and most prudent discourse, showing the great expense he had been forced to incur since his accession to the crown, chiefly in paying the debts left by the late most Christian King Louis, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and also in doing the like by his Majesty's own debts, contracted before he was King, and which exceeded 200,000 ducats; adding, that the enterprises undertaken by great princes, if conducted with foresight and prudence, turn out for the most part well; wherefore, he was endeavouring to remove every obstacle which might impede the

Italian expedition; that he had already made an agreement with Flanders, and hoped to come to terms with England, whither, to aid the matter, he wished us to go on speedily. He said that the King of Spain (whom he called crafty, and a vessel of manifold deceit) had, through his envoy Gabrieleto, styled by him a profligate and sycophant,[4] requested of him a truce for three years; but that, being unable to obtain this, he now asked it of him but for one year, on this side of the Alps; whereto his Majesty said he would consent, provided he promised during this period not to give pecuniary or other aid to any enemy of his crown, and especially to the Switzers; and he said, "Should the King of Spain consent, I shall forthwith send the treaty to said Switzers, that they likewise may see that he cheats them." The conclusion he finally came to, after much more to this effect, was that he most indubitably intended undertaking the Italian expedition in person with so great a number of horse and foot, and such a quantity of artillery, and such ample provision for all other necessaries on either side the Alps, that he should prove victorious without difficulty, to the great advantage of his friends and especially your Highness, and to the confusion of his enemies; and he besought you not to deem it irksome, having to wait and to maintain your position awhile unaided, as it was much better for you that the enterprise should be effected as above mentioned, rather than that he should send a smaller army under another leader than himself, as must be the case at this present, considering the state of his kingdom, at the risk of peril and shame, as chanced in the time of the late most Christian King Louis; and this his Majesty repeated two distinct times, saying, in fine, and placing his hand on his breast, "Assure the Republic on my behalf, that, on the word of a gentleman, a year from this day, or thirteen months at the utmost, shall not elapse ere she entirely recover her whole territory; and, during this interval, should she find herself in peril, be perfectly convinced that even at the risk of losing my crown, I would not abandon her." Although we made a long rejoinder hereto, proving both the peril and necessity wherein the right noble Republic would be placed should his Majesty not undertake his expedition speedily, or not furnish aid of some sort, we were never able to obtain aught else from him; so after thanking him properly for his most ample profession, we took leave, to go to England, and in the act of departure, his Majesty asked us how the most noble Lord Andrea Griti[5] fared, expressing himself precisely in the following terms, "I never knew amongst men a more honourable

and accomplished person; and should he ever have need of me, he would see the love I bear him, and the good account wherein I hold him;" and assuredly, most serene prince, his magnificence is in such great repute with every one at this court, and so much esteemed, that it is incredible.

We, Sebastian and Piero, having executed your Serenity's commissions, shall to-day, after dinner, depart and betake ourselves, God willing, to England, with all diligence, from whence our letters shall inform you what we may effect with his Majesty there in all matters, and especially about concluding the peace with the most Christian King, the which we are aware is of incomparable importance for the affairs of Italy.

[1] Namely, Prejeant de Bidoux, who, in the year 1513, was attacked in Conquet Bay by the Admiral Sir Edward Howard, Lord Ferrars, Sir Thomas Cheney, and other officers of distinction. Sir Edward Howard immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes; subsequently, the French navy came out of harbour, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow.

[2] Meaning that the Venetians were to continue keeping the Spaniards and Imperialists at bay.

[3] Her marriage to Charles Brandon was privately solemnized in Paris the day after this letter was written; at least, in Dr. Lingard's history of England, it is stated that the Duke of Suffolk determined to marry her on the last day of March.

[4] In the original, "Quale chiamò' PAGLIARDO E MOZO DE SPUDAS."

[5] Andrea Griti had been taken prisoner by Gaston de Foix, at Brescia, 1512, and whilst confined in France was empowered by the State to treat for peace. He became Doge of Venice, 1523, and died in 1538. His portrait may yet be seen in the College Hall at Venice, and on one side of the picture, fetters and the crescent are represented to pair with lilies and gyves, on the other, as a memorial of his having been a prisoner at Constantinople as well as in France. On both occasions, he made peace between his captors and the State.

Boulogne, April 17th, 1515.

By our last, in date of the 30th ultimo, your Highness will have heard of our departure from Paris, on that day; and on the 4th instant, having used all diligence, we arrived here, from whence we should have crossed over to England immediately had the weather been favourable; but as the wind was foul we have delayed thus long,

meaning to make the passage either from hence or from Calais as soon as possible.

To-day, finding ourselves with the Governor, M. de la Feuillade, a man both of prudence and authority, he gave us a piece of news, which will, we fancy, prove very agreeable to your Serenity—namely, that a treaty of peace had been concluded and signed between the most serene King of England and his most Christian Majesty, to last during their lives, and that it was to be sworn to by that most serene King and the French ambassadors, at Richmond, on the Monday after Easter; and to this effect he showed us the identical letters of Monseigneur de la Giesa,[1] one of the ambassadors of the most Christian King, who framed the treaty: all that is above mentioned he has written with his own hand, and says he means to depart thence on the following Wednesday for Paris, and sent hither to arrange for his passage and for a barque. This important news we have thought fit immediately to notify to your Highness by these present, forwarding them by post to the most noble your Ambassador Dandolo, so that in like manner he may transmit them with diligence to your Serenity. Concerning the particulars of said peace, immediately on our reaching the court of England, whither we shall betake ourselves with all speed, we will give full information to your Serenity.

[1] The name is written thus, and the person *meant* is Pierre de la Guiche. See Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 476: Tractatus Pacis et Amicitiæ inter Franciscum I. et Henricum VIII. Regem Angliæ conclusus, dat. apud Westmonasterium die 5 Aprilis, Anno 1515. The colleague of Pierre de la Guiche signed his name Johannes de Selva; if not of Spanish origin, it is probable that he may have been commonly called Jean Dubois.

Canterbury, 12*th April* 1515.

We wrote to your Serenity from Boulogne, of the agreement effected between the most Christian Majesty and this most serene King, *ad vitam utriusque*, and we sent our letters forthwith to the most noble your Ambassador Dandolo.

Subsequently on the 10th we left that place, and yesterday, with the aid of our Lord God, reached Dover, having been at sea during twenty-four hours, owing to the foul weather, which buffeted us mercilessly.

To-day, early, we arrived here; and shortly after, the French ambassadors also did the like on their return to the most Christian

King. We visited them immediately, using towards their lordships such friendly expressions as we deemed becoming; and we learned from them how the peace aforesaid was sworn to and proclaimed last Tuesday, the 10th instant; and that your most illustrious Signory has been expressly named and included in said agreement on the part of both; and that this most serene King of England is bound by an especial clause, whensoever the most Christian King shall require it of him, for the defence of his kingdom or for the recovery of territory to him belonging, to give him 10,000 archers, at the cost of the King demanding them. Item, that the King of Spain has not been mentioned by either party; indeed, that his Majesty holds him in great aversion; moreover, that the difference with Scotland has been adjusted thus—namely, that should the Scotch make any incursion into this kingdom, or perpetrate any hostile act with a force exceeding 300 horse, and by consent of him who governs in Scotland, said aggressors are to be deemed the enemies of both parties, and not comprised in this peace; but should said incursion take place, contrary to the wish and consent of the governor aforesaid,[1] he is to be compelled, if required, to make compensation, restoring the plunder, &c. With regard to Tournai, they told us that it had been necessary to leave it to this most serene King. Item, that another clause had been added about the navigation and commerce of the Venetian, Florentine, and Genoese nations—namely, that all galleys, ships, and other vessels of said nations may freely go, stay, and return, conveying their merchandize through all the realms and places of France and England. The other articles of the aforesaid peace, relate merely to the commerce of the French and English.

We have thought fit to give immediate notice of the whole as of a thing true and certain, and very important to your Serenity, and likewise through the same channel—namely, that of your most noble Ambassador Dandolo—being aware that such is our duty. On reaching the court, as we shall do very speedily, we will not fail to thank his most serene Majesty for the mention made of your Highness in this peace, giving you especial notice of all we shall effect.

[1] John Duke of Albany. See Lingard's History of England, from which it would appear that, contrary to the treaty between Henry VIII. and Louis XII., the Duke of Albany was in Scotland on the 18th March, 1515.

On the 21st of April, 1516, the Venetian ambassadors made their entry into London, and gratified the apprentices with one of these "Ridings," which Chaucer alludes to in the following lines, quoted from the "Coke's Tale":—

> "A prentis dwelled whilom in our citee,—
> At every bridale would he sing and hoppe;
> He loved bet the taverne than the shoppe;
> For whan ther eny Riding was in Chepe,
> Out of the shoppe thider would he lepe;
> And til that he had all the sight ysein,
> And danced wel, he wold not come agen."

London, 21*st April* 1515.

From Canterbury, on the 12th instant, we wrote to your Serenity of our having crossed over to this side of the channel, and of what we had heard from the French ambassadors, who were on their way back to France, about the agreement concluded by them with this most serene King. Subsequently, in order to await his Majesty's instructions respecting our entry into this city, we came as far as Rochester, twenty-four miles hence, where we found the Consul, the Magnifico Dom Hieronimo da Molin, son of the late Marin, with some of our countrymen, who, to honour your Serenity, had come thus far, and with them we betook ourselves to Deptford, a place distant twelve Venetian miles from this; and from thence, on the 18th, there came to escort us, in the name of the King's majesty, a doctor of the Parliament and another cavalier, with an honourable company of about fifty horsemen all in one livery, who, after addressing us in the friendly terms customary in like circumstances, accompanied us from the said place as far as our dwelling in this town. On the road we were met, first, by the rest of our countrymen, and then by the most noble the Ambassador Badoer and others, so that on entering London, we numbered upwards of two hundred horse; and as his aforesaid Majesty is at Richmond, seven miles off, where he means to celebrate the approaching festival of St. George, the patron of his Order of the Garter, he has given us to understand that he will in that same place, and on that very day, give us our first audience, for the sake of doing greater honour to your Serenity; and thus do we hold ourselves prepared and in readiness, and after having been with his Majesty,

we will give a detailed account to your Serenity of what we have effected.

The peace with France was again solemnly proclaimed here yesterday. Item, news is expected here hourly of the most serene Queen Maria's having left Paris on her way back to these parts, and from what we understand (although this had been also publicly reported in France), she is married to the Duke of Suffolk.

We have presented his letters of recall to the Magnifico the Ambassador Badoer, who answered us, that he is unable to depart hence without a good sum of money; and he inquired of me, Sebastian, whether I had brought him any supply, but I answered him in the negative; for although in the commission given me on leaving Venice, it was stated, amongst other things, that a bill for 1,000 ducats had been consigned to me for this purpose by the Magnifico Almoro Pisani of the bank, *tamen re vera,* I never received either the bill or anything else. We have chosen to notify this to your Serenity, that you may be acquainted with the whole, and take such steps as you shall think fit.

Andrew Badoer, the ambassador mentioned in the foregoing despatch, had been accredited by the Signory to Henry VII., shortly after the news of the League of Cambrai had reached Venice. The following extracts are from a letter written by him to his brother, in date of London, 24th of July, 1512, and copied by Sanuto in his valuable diaries. It is introduced here for the information it contains on the intercourse maintained between Venice and England, previously to Giustinian's arrival, and for the insight it affords into the everyday life of England at that period.

FROM THE AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, ANDREW BADOER.

(Describing his journey and arrival there.)

London, July 24, 1512.

HONOURED AND NOBLE BROTHER,—During the many years that we have loved each other fraternally, and with great tenderness and cor-

diality, I have known you to be ever just and loyally affectionat towards your friends through numberless proofs afforded in your person, which I shall ever remember; and in corroboration hereof, on my return, which will take place speedily, you shall, please God, find that my deeds correspond most perfectly with my words. For the extreme devotion I bear you therefore, prithee, if required, bestir yourself to favour me in justice, extreme wrong having been done me, the recital of which, out of the honour paid by me in the quarter from whence it proceeds, pains me, and grief so penetrates my heart's core, that I know not how to bear it, my case being as follows:—

In the month of January in the year 1508-9, when the hostilities of France against the most Illustrious Signory began to manifest themselves, remedies being sought against the Gallic toils, the most sage counsellors appointed to govern us determined to send hither privily an ambassador to induce this most serene King to attack France (on whose crown he has claims, it in justice appertaining to him), and to arouse him to make a diversion over there in our favour; the need being extremely urgent, and to despatch some one forthwith, and speedily; though, as the roads were intercepted everywhere, it was impossible to effect the journey save at the most manifest peril of one's life. Inquiries were made over Venice for one who had the heart to venture through such a hurricane, the fire raging most fiercely in every quarter; and at length, after many consultations, no one else being found to their taste, I was elected to this mission, without my knowledge, by the High Council of Ten and the Junta, according to a motion carried therein, and assuredly by the will of God and for the most excellent Signory's weal, with one hundred ducats per month for my expenses, whereof I was not required to give account to any one.

This took place on the last day of January, 1508-9, when his Serenity the Doge (to whom may God grant long life) sent for me, and as I knew nothing of the matter, I stared at him in surprise; whereupon, he told me I had been appointed Ambassador here, exhorting me to serve the State in his so sage manner, binding me in such wise, that I could only reply *fiat voluntas tua*; and pardon my presumption, brother, Master Luke, but by God no one save myself was capable of executing this mission. In the first place, laying aside the perils aforesaid, it was easy for me to go in safety by any road, being well acquainted with the French and German tongues, and with that of this country, which is as little known at Venice as modern Greek or Sclavonic in London;

ask those who know me, and you will hear, and for so great an accomplishment I thank Almighty God. I thus in fine resolved to come and serve the most illustrious State, especially being sent by the Council of Ten, having always understood that whosoever obtains their esteem, may be deemed fortunate. I therefore looked forward and not behind me, inflamed by the most ardent love for my country, and left my affairs in confusion, starting with a trifle of money that might have sufficed, had I merely been going to Mestre or Treviso, and not to travel through fire and water, as I may say, to the end of the world, and in peril of my life. This, however, was my folly; induced by the hope of obtaining, besides the certain promise of 100 ducats per month, great credit with the Government, as has been the case, to my knowledge, with many more fortunate than myself, though their deserts are far inferior to mine. With these aspirations, then, I set out, and so much the more willingly, being persuaded by his sublimity the Doge, who loves me, and urged my undertaking the service. "Knowest thou not," said he, "how those whom the Council of Ten sends on similar errands of need are rewarded?" In short, I allowed myself to be persuaded, and in six days got ready; and departed in so auspicious an hour, that after riding twenty-six days I reached London, where I am now; nor do I know what more could have been expected of a man at my age, which was then sixty-two years, and encountering on the road such disasters as the following:—First, I rode incessantly day and night in disguise, crippling and laming myself so, that I shall never again be as sound as I was previously; for when on the Mount St. Gothard, my horse fell under me, whilst riding over ice and in the dark, I received such a wound on my right leg, that it was bared to the bone two inches deep, and by good fortune he fell to the right; for had he slipped on the other side, I should have gone down a precipice, and no further news of me would ever have been heard, except from the two cantonniers, who were at my horse's head to guide my way. At length, by God's grace, I got to the inn, and it was the night of the Carnival, and being late, I could get nothing but bread and wine for my supper, and dressed my leg myself. On the following morning, which was Ash Wednesday, I got to Basle (sic) at about nine, and there embarked, to proceed by water, the Rhine being, moreover, very much swollen; and having gone thus some way down the stream, we got into a large vessel loaded with merchandise, on board of which were my horses likewise; and the bottom of this

boat struck upon some sedges under water, in the middle of the stream, near a shoal, past which the water rushed with great violence: the boat went over on its side, and there we were, between the sedges and the shoal, when, from the shock, the planks of the boat separated, and she was carried to the shoal, on which we all jumped immediately, landing the horses also, and the boat filled with water, for it was neither pitched nor caulked, but merely nailed together like the little barges which bring eggs to Venice. We passed the night counting the hours; and I, with my wounded leg, and all the rest of us likewise, well drenched. Finally, praised be God, the boat was repaired, and took us safe to Strasburg. This part of my adventures I have chosen to tell you in detail; and for the rest, it will suffice to say that, as suspicion was everywhere alive, it behoved me to give account to everybody of what I was doing, and not change colour whilst telling my tale: so sometimes I passed for an Englishman, and sometimes for a Scotchman, whilst at others I thought it safer to make myself out a Croat, and subject of the Emperor's, saying I was on my way to the court, whither I had been sent, for a good secret reason, to his Cæsarian Majesty, who was then on the borders of Flanders; with this pretence, I went on for some days, having made my face very black according to a device of my own; and when I had passed the territory where he was, I replied to all inquiries that I was a messenger of the King of England's, returning from court, and I came on thus, in another suitable disguise, until I got near Calais, which is a fortified town in Picardy, on the main land, belonging to the King of England. I experienced greater difficulty in getting into this place, than had befallen me throughout the rest of my journey, the country being open on every side with numerous fortified towns belonging to the French on the borders, which are very strictly guarded from fear of the English, so that, on one and the same morning, I was thrice stopped by three French companies, who inquired my errand; and finding myself at one time distant two miles from Calais, and at the other one mile, I answered haughtily, that I was an Englishman coming from Flanders, having been sent by my master for the presents, and then on my way home, so that they let me pass, but rode after me to within a bow-shot's distance from the walls of Calais, where I found an English armed bark bound to London, on which I took passage with my horses, and in one day and night reached London in safety, praised be God. I like to give you all these details that you may know what a pleasant journey I had on my way to this country.

Having reached London, picture to yourself, noble brother, what a stately mission mine was! for, on leaving Venice, to avoid suspicion, I took nothing with me but what was on my back—namely, two shirts, one over the other, and a certain doublet in the English fashion, all patched and moth eaten, without purse or pocket, or anything in this world: in short, on arriving here, I had to clothe myself anew from head to foot, as a Venetian ambassador, just as if I had only then come into the world, and purchasing each of my penn'orths for twopence. Here they manufacture no cloths of silk, receiving all such from Genoa, Florence, and Lucca—a most grievous and lamentable fact, for it behoved me to take what I could get, and shut my eyes. Think what a figure I shall make in Venice, my neighbours' gowns being of silk, and my own of frieze. I bought everything new, at its weight in gold, at the greatest inconvenience, and worse; for, when at Venice, I shall be unable to use my apparel, as it is all made more according to the English fashion than that of Italy. In the next place, I had to hire servants who were common thieves, not knowing whom to trust; and to give you an idea of what they were, you must know that one glutton robbed me of a silver gilt ewer, for which I paid twenty-eight ducats.

I found that the King, his present Majesty's father, to whom my credentials had been made out, was sick, nor could he give me audience, and a few days afterwards he died, and was succeeded by his son, about the time of the rout of the Ghiara d' Adda.[1] I wrote to Venice, that the letter of credence was no longer valid, and that another must be sent me, the which did not arrive until the following month of November, so you see how I should have served the state had I waited for that! It is well, that through the English noblemen whom I had received of yore in my house at Venice (giving them good welcome, not indeed that I ever thought at the time of going to England, but for my own satisfaction), I was introduced to this magnanimous prince, not ten days after his coronation, they having heed of my need, and exerting themselves so, that their intercession and arguments caused the King to receive my old letter, although addressed to his father. By God's grace he was silent on this score, and heard me so graciously, that, by the favour of the Almighty, he took a liking to me immediately, owing to the good account of me given to his Majesty by my friends, and I was enabled so to influence him, that I got him to write to the Pope in favour of our most illustrious Signory, requesting him to receive the State into favour and take off the censures: his Majesty promising for

us that we would prove most obedient sons of the Church in future. He made such efforts as succeeded; and, in addition, sent his ambassador[2] to Rome, who constantly took part with the Venetians, and against France. After this, I prevailed on him to write some letters to the King of Spain, praying his Catholic Majesty to consider the most illustrious Signory as his ally; and he also wrote endless letters to the Emperor, sending him an ambassador to this effect. I also caused the King of France to be written to, to desist from the league against the Venetians, having obtained what belonged to him in the Duchy of Milan, whereas he had no claim upon the other possessions; and to assure him, that if he chose to continue in amity with his Majesty here, he was to cease molesting the Venetians his good friends and good Christians, defenders of the Christian faith, who had proved themselves the bulwark of Christendom, by a most immense outlay, both of blood and treasure. Upon this the King of France took offence, and answered sharply, I fanning the flame from time to time, and by letters from said Majesty quieting the Pope and the Catholic King his father-in-law; and thus, when these powers saw the King of England well disposed towards the Venetians, they likewised commenced siding with the Pope, but the chief impediment lay with the Emperor, but I so plied the King, that he wrote to him offering to mediate and arrange every difficulty between the Signory and his Cæsarian Majesty. After so much exertion, toil, and trouble, which never left me a single hour's happiness, nor even repose, I was seized with a malignant fever, which never left me for thirty-seven days. Thou mayst imagine how I was waited on, and by whom, and with how much kindness, during this my malady, and who came to comfort me. I had two physicians, each of whom chose to receive a noble per diem, which is equal to a ducat and a half, and their coming was as beneficial to me as if they had stayed away, and when I had completed my thirty-seven days' fever in bed, the King received a reply from the Emperor, and not knowing that I was so very ill, sent to tell me to come and speak with him; so, regardless of the fever, I rose from my bed, on St. Catharine's eve, the 24th of November, and went to the Court at Greenwich, six miles distant hence, by water, though all dissuaded me from doing so, thinking it would be my death. When the King saw me, he wept for very pity at my having come, it seeming to him that I had been taken out of my grave, and he then told me he had received a reply from the Emperor, and from his daughter my Lady Margaret, who was also doing her best to aid us, having been exhorted

to this office by his Majesty, who asked me if I had full powers. I told him I would not lie; that I would write speedily, and that the most illustrious Signory, should it approve the agreement, would send me a commission; so I despatched two messengers on this errand, and, after a while, received the powers. Before these letters of mine went to Venice, however, a sapient nobleman there, ignorant of my exertions, and still less aware that my credentials had been accepted (it seeming to him that my coming here was futile and vain), thought fit one day to propose in the Senate, as grand sage, that I should return home, without having even heard what I had done, but anticipating that I should do nothing. Whereupon, another nobleman, Master Lorenzo Orio, LL. D.,[3] who was sage for the orders, inspired by God for the State's weal to speak in my defence (for I had never exchanged a word with him), and thinking I was wronged, proposed an amendment to the grand sage's motion, purporting that I was to remain, but that my monthly stipend should be reduced from 100 to 70 ducats, and this was carried. Not a word, however, was written to me on the subject, and I continued, according to my wont, to spend rather more than less, especially seeing our affairs prosper; and wishing to prove to the whole world our joy and gladness, I did not mind spending freely for the honour of the State, imagining that my salary remained fixed at 100 ducats per month, until about three months ago, the news aforesaid was communicated to me by my son-in-law. I then wrote to entreat the most illustrious Signory not to do me this wrong, whilst the salaries of others were being increased, as was the case with the late Messer Hieronimo Donato, about whom my said son-in-law also wrote to me when mentioning this reduction. Donato's pay was greater than mine, although he endured no hardships, whereas I was made to leave Venice under this promise, and came hither without money, or without insisting on bank security, as Lorenzo Capello did, who kept his eyes wide open to his own interest, whilst I departed in the old fashion, hoping for great reward and spending my poor substance on the faith of the most excellent Council of Ten, which never fails to remunerate the good services of every one, besides keeping its positive promises, and yet these last, as made to me, are broken! What reward can I hope for now? you ought all to take pity on me. But, indeed, I have not yet related the worst. I have been nineteen months without ever receiving a single ducat, and ten months without so much as a letter, but I was patient the whole while, receiving the greatest encouragement from my poor son-in-law[4] (who in like

manner, never enjoys a moment's repose), bearing all with patience, in order to attend to my business for the welfare of my most dear city and country, continuing my importunate suit to the King here. Seeing that no money was sent me, I lived plainly and on credit, just as if I had been at an hostel, paying three for what was worth one, and taking up money on bills and at usury, so that I am in debt for life. From time to time I wrote to the State what I had done, and what I was doing, and with sincerity, but at Venice I was not believed, and often did they say to my poor son-in-law, "Thy father-in-law writes fables: write to him that it would be more to his credit to hold his tongue, than to write what he does," not crediting my words, the truth of which was known but to me, the person who had told me to write them binding me to silence, and saying "Keep it secret; and let the effect suffice you." I wrote, therefore, because I knew what I was saying, but none of these merchants here believed this, and all notified the contrary, saying, that I was pounding water in a mortar, and that it would have been better I had not been sent hither, and that although I gave them hopes, I did so for my own private advantage, and so forth; in such wise, that they did not choose to believe me, and when I wrote about the league, although I did not ever mention either the name of the Pope or of others, they answered that they did not believe it, whereas I, dear brother Luke, maintained it, and almost by force and against their will, assured them that it was perfectly true, and that all I have written took place through my good offices. Nevertheless, is the promise which was made me broken, and no recollection preserved of the perils encountered by me in coming here, nor of my illness brought on by my exertion, nor of the risk to my life, when I rose from my sick bed and went down to Greenwich in the depth of winter. Nor is any consideration vouchsafed for my pecuniary interests, which have suffered through my coming; nor yet for the costs I incurred in forwarding despatches to France, to Spain, to Rome, and to the Emperor; of these matters no heed soever is taken in Venice, it seeming to them that I have been at no expense, and that all the money received by me here, at the rate of 70 ducats per month, was disbursed for my ordinary expenditure. Oh God! I know not where this would be credited, or to whom I should tell it. I will, moreover, say this to you, that from ambassador they degraded me to secretary, and now choose to requite me thus ungratefully, although I am convinced that never did ambassador leave Venice in sorrier plight than mine, and do as much as I have done. By means of my exertions here, war

was subsequently declared against France. Italy being thus wrested from the hands of the barbarians, by this movevent of the English King, although some attribute this result to Ferdinand of Spain, yet would he never have moved, had he not been acquainted, in the first place, with the wish of King Henry. It was the same with the Pope and others, and much good was done in sundry matters effected, as will be seen, through my intervention, whilst I am so treated by my country, that from grief and melancholy I dread being unable to bear it, and I must die outright, or make my escape, and not pay those who have served me; or else be put in prison and die, leaving my bones in pawn, should money not be sent me, for otherwise it will behove me to remain here until the day of judgment, in the event of my not paying, for escape is impossible, being in an island; neither should I choose to have recourse to so base an alternative, but would prefer death, after which it will at least be said that I died for Venice: and then I am comforted by the proverb, that he who dies a noble death is respected by the whole country. And it is also some consolation to me to think, that should no good be done to me, it will be done to my representatives. I have contrived to get on for forty-three months; and before I receive a reply to this, and can reach home, four years will have elapsed, during which long period I have received in all 3,249 ducats! See whether they have given me what they promised, having thus altered the original arrangement. Should you aid me, as I am sure of your special grace you will, I ask you for my arrears, without my extraordinary expenditure, whereof I only demand 600 ducats on account, although I spent many more. See if a sum can be sent me all at once, for payment of my debts, and to defray the cost of my journey. I only ask for 1,500 ducats, and this much would enable me to leave this country in comfort. Dear Messer Luke! Magnifico! my honoured brother! aid me heartily, as you have ever done in my need, for this is the occasion whereon you will bind me to you for ever: again I beseech it of you as a special favour, on my knees, aid me! and I recommend myself to your magnificence *per infinita sæcula sæculorum.*

[1] Henry VII. died at Richmond on the 22nd of April, 1509, and the Venetian forces were routed at the Ghiarra d'Adda on the following 14th of May.

[2] Christopher Urswick, *alias* Bambridge, or Bainbridge, Archbishop of York.

[3] This Dr. Lorenzo Orio went subsequently himself ambassador to England, and, being a fine scholar, found much favour with Cardinal Wolsey; but died of plague in London on the evening of the 17th May, 1526.

[4] The name of Badoer's son-in-law was Francesco Gradenigo. See Diaries, date 22nd December, 1510.

The magnificence of Giustinian's reception in London was not limited to the gay cavalcade that accompanied him from Deptford. The Easter festivities were approaching, and St. George's Day, as we have seen, was fixed upon for the presentation of his credentials to the king. Besides two despatches, in which the manner of his reception and the succeeding revels of May Day are related by the ambassador, a more circumstantial account of these events was addressed by Nicolo Sagudino, Giustinian's secretary, to a nobleman of the Foscari family, and has been preserved by Sanuto in his diaries. It is subjoined, because it supplies the details which are needed to complete the picture of the manners of the day.

London, 26th April 1515.

By our letters of the 21st of April, your Highness will have been informed of many occurrences, and especially that on St. George's Day we were to have public audience of his Majesty. By these present we acquaint you that, on that appointed day, his Majesty aforesaid sent a prelate and a knight, and an honourable train, to escort us from our dwelling; and they conducted us by the Thames to a palace of his, called Richmond, ten miles hence, where we found the whole court, and well nigh all the lords and prelates of the kingdom, assembled. We were ushered into a stately hall, where all the aforesaid were congregated: at one extremity was his Majesty standing near a gilt chair,[1] surmounted by many regal insignia, and his Majesty was under a canopy, with a gold ground and a raised pile, arrayed in the robes of the garter, as were eight other Knights of the Order. Having been introduced to his Majesty, and after kissing his hand, and presenting to him your Serenity's letters of credence, I, Sebastian, delivered a Latin oration, in which we congratulated ourselves, in the first place, on his Majesty's good health; secondly, we condoled with him on the death of the late King Louis, his brother-in-law; thirdly, we thanked his Majesty for that, in the league formed with the aforesaid Christian King, he had named your Sublimity as his friend and ally, and on this

point we dwelt at length, and in the warmest terms; fourthly, we expressed our joy at the new confederation made by his Majesty with the most Christian King Francis; finally, we launched out in praise of his Majesty, whom we extolled with all the eloquence we could command, drawing such conclusions as suited our purpose, which oration was most attentively listened to by his Majesty and by all the prelates and lords there present.

We were answered in his Majesty's name by a Doctor of the Parliament, who thanked your Highness, in the first place, for having sent us as his ambassadors so great a distance and in such difficult times; and, in reply to our congratulation on the king's good health, he said, that it well became your Serenity to rejoice thereat, as his Majesty bore the greatest good will to your Highness, and that whenever able to assist you, he would do so most readily. He thanked us for our condolence on the death of the late most Christian King Louis, repeating and confirming many things contained in our oration; adding, moreover, that the nomination made by his Majesty of your Highness, as his friend and ally, proceeded from the good will and friendship entertained by him towards your Highness, vowing that he had ever been faithful to you, and especially in your adversities, and that he had therefore done the like in this fresh confederation with this new King of France, so that wheresoever possible he means to favour you; and that it is, above all things, his wish to make peace for you, and place you in repose after so many labours and afflictions. In the last place, he thanked us in ample for the praise bestowed on him, and for our good wishes for his welfare and felicity, so that little was said by us that was not benignly and graciously answered in his Majesty's name. This ended, his Majesty went to hear high mass, and we accompanied him; after which he went to dinner, escorted by all the prelates and lords there present, and he chose us to dine there likewise, giving us for our companions, the Rev. Archbishop of York, who is called "Eboracensis," and the Bishop of Durham.[2] Having dined, we remained a good while with his Majesty very familiarly, who at length said he would send for us another day to hear what communications we had to make from your Serenity, which he was unable to do that moment, being occupied; and thus having taken leave, we departed.

ANDREAS BADUARIUS,
SEBAST. GIUSTINIANUS, Eques.,
PET. PASQUALICUS, D. Eques.,
} *Oratores.*

[1] Covered with golden brocade. See the letter of Sagudino, p. 78.

[2] Hume, in giving the list of the ministry of Henry VIII., A.D. 1509, mentions "Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Laws." Thomas Ruthal was appointed Bishop of Durham by Henry VII., in 1508, and remained in the see till 1523. It is said that Ruthal, at the close of his career, committed the error attributed to Wolsey, in delivering a list of his moveables instead of a state paper. Wolsey, to whom the list was given, saw the error, but carried the paper to the King; and the bishop died of vexation. Ruthal, when Bishop of Durham, was said to be the richest man in England; the words of Wharton in his "*Anglia sacra*," being "ditissimus habebatur subditus per totam Angliam."—See vol. i. p. 780.

London, 3rd May 1515.

By the accompanying letters your Sublimity will have learned what took place down to their date. We now inform you that we have been every day visiting these lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, declaring to them the regard and esteem wherein your Serenity holds their persons, thanking them for what they had done in favour of your Excellency's affairs, suiting our language to their condition, and more or less lovingly, according to their deserts, disposing them to persevere in their good offices for the welfare and quiet of your Excellency's dominions, as it cannot but prove to the advantage and honour of this most serene kingdom, to favour those who are basely oppressed, notwithstanding the good faith and good will they bear his Majesty. They all answered us most graciously, offering to do in time to come whatever may conduce to your Sublimity's profit and honour,—this they did in language the most ample, and with the most marked demonstration of regard. After a few days occupied with these compliments, his Majesty, on the 1st instant, sent a prelate and a knight for us, with a goodly retinue, to take us to a palace of his, called Greenwich, five miles distant hence; on reaching which, together with all the other lords, we accompanied the most serene Queen out on horseback into the country, where we found the King, who had preceded us, and we passed that morning in divers solemnities and triumphs, immediately on the conclusion of which, his Majesty gave us private audience; whereat I, Piero, told him that your Serenity, having heard by letters from your ambassador, the Magnifico Badoer, of the treaty made with the late most Christian King Louis, on occasion of his alliance by marriage, you had derived the greatest satisfaction thence, and forthwith resolved, that we should come hither as your ambassadors to congratulate him thereon, thanking him likewise for including your Excellency in the treaty, all which we declared by word of mouth, and by the official letters, which I

presented to him as a proper recognition of the engagement; and, notwithstanding the demise of King Louis since our departure, your Highness had directed us to proceed on our way to his Majesty, to condole on the said occasion, and respectfully exhort him to continue the alliance with King Francis, which, on arriving here, we understood had been concluded with a fresh clause in favour of the most excellent Signory; whereat we congratulated ourselves extremely, and, in the name of your Serenity, returned thanks to his Majesty, assuring him that it would prove equally agreeable to the State, and would be ratified as was the foregoing; beseeching his Majesty, in conclusion, that, being so united as he is with his most Christian Majesty, he would be pleased, with his own influence, and with the aid of his said Majesty, to endeavour that the most illustrious State might recover her territory, and enjoy quiet; nor did we here fail to employ such language as we deemed suited to the occasion. His Majesty caused us to be answered by the Rev. Archbishop of York,[1] who returned most ample thanks to your Serenity, for having been pleased to pay him so high a compliment as was implied by sending two ambassadors in times like the present, and promising for the future not to cease doing his utmost to obtain peace for the most noble republic. He added, also, that he meant by his letters to intimate to your Serenity the clause inserted in your favour in this new treaty, so that, by your official letters, you might again reply if it pleased you,—for which purpose, you had the term of twelve months from the day on which the said treaty was concluded, as his Majesty would also inform the King of France, acting in such wise that every one should know how great was the union between these three states—namely, England, France, and the Venetians. After this, I, Piero, added to his Majesty that your Highness had directed that after having despatched the business now transacted with him, both at the public audience and at this private one, I, Sebastian, should remain resident here, and I, Piero, return to the French court, each of us respectively to transact such business as might from day to day be necessary. Wherefore, I requested his Majesty's gracious permission to depart, offering him by best efforts and intervention with the most Christian King for the preservation and maintenance of the good peace and alliance lately contracted, although I was aware that it would be inviolably adhered to without any extraneous aid. To all this his Majesty signified his consent, and then went to dinner, making us likewise dine there in company with his Council.

After dinner, a stately joust took place, at which his Majesty jousted

with many others, strenuously and valorously; and assuredly, most serene Prince, from what we have seen of him, and in conformity, moreover, with the report made to us by others, this most serene King is not only very expert in arms, and of great valour, and most excellent in his personal endowments, but is likewise so gifted and adorned with mental accomplishments of every sort that we believe him to have few equals in the world. He speaks English, French, and Latin; understands Italian well; plays almost on every instrument; sings and composes fairly *(delegnamente)*; is prudent and sage, and free from every vice; and, besides is so good and affectionate a friend to the most serene State, that we consider it certain no ultramontane sovereign ever surpassed him in this respect. On account of your Highness, he paid us such great honours, both in public and private, that were we to attempt narrating them in detail, we should not know how to do it in becoming terms; so with all due respect, we exhort and remind your Highness to write him a letter of thanks, in such form as to your wisdom shall seem fit; for it would prove not a little to your advantage, and be inexpressibly agreeable to his Majesty.

We visited the most serene Queen, and, knowing that it would please her, I, Piero, addressed myself to her in Spanish, presenting your Serenity's credentials, ever keeping to general topics, and offering our services. Her Majesty answered me in Spanish also, with her own lips, and then entered into a familiar conversation on the affairs of Spain, when I took respectful leave of her likewise; and being thus dismissed by both their Majesties, and having executed our commission to a hair, I, Piero, to-morrow morning, if it please God, shall infallibly depart hence on my way back with all speed to the French court; and I, Sebastian, will remain here to do what from time to time I may deem becomes the honour and benefit of the State. I, Andrea, indeed, being unable to do otherwise, shall await a supply of money from your Highness, in order to extricate me from my embarrassments; and on receiving such, will depart forthwith on my return to your feet.

[1] Thomas Wolsey, who succeeded to this dignity in 1514, and of course makes a considerable figure in the subsequent despatches.

"Copy of a letter from Nicolo Sagudino, the Secretary of Sebastian Giustinan, Knight Ambassador in England, dated London, the 3rd day of May, A.D. 1515, and addressed to Alvise Foscari, son of the late Nicolo, and which was received at Venice in June of the same year."—*Sanuto's Diaries*, A.D. 1515, *June 5th*, *vol. xx. folio* 243.

My Lord Magnifico,—I wrote copiously to your Magnificence from Paris, whence we departed on the 30th of March, and on the 4th of April reached a town belonging to the King of France, situated on the sea, called Boulogne, where we remained during the holidays, attending to the salvation of our souls. On Easter Tuesday, at daybreak, we embarked, thinking to cross in six hours, the distance being forty miles; but it chanced otherwise, for we remained at sea during twenty-three hours, to our infinite suffering and inconvenience, owing to these seas, which are both rough and dangerous.

On Wednesday, however, we arrived at Dover, exhausted and half dead, both from the tossing of the waves, as also from having passed two nights and a day without eating or drinking, though praised be our Lord God for everything.

On the following Wednesday, we entered this city, having been met at a distance of twelve miles by a knight and a doctor of laws, both Englishmen, and sent by his most Serene Majesty to the most noble ambassadors; they came with fifty horse and were all clad alike, and were afterwards joined by the merchants and the rest of the Venetians now here, as also by the Magnifico the ambassador, Andrea Badoer; so that, on coming into the town, we numbered more than two hundred horse, and it certainly was a stately entry, and effected in good order; we were accompanied thus to our dwelling by all the before-mentioned.

On our arrival, we received the Signory's letters of the 18th of March, and the ambassadors forthwith sought audience of this most Serene King, which was appointed for St. George's Day; when, early in the morning, the same two lords who met us on our arrival came with a numerous retinue, and escorted the three ambassadors in a large barge, followed by many others containing the merchants and the rest of the Venetians, to

a palace on the Thames, belonging to this most Serene King, called Richmond, distant ten miles hence. Having landed with about two hundred persons, we went into this palace, and on entering a very handsome and lofty hall, a collation was served us of nothing but bread and wine, according to the custom here, and this being ended, we passed through some other chambers, where we saw part of his Majesty's guard, consisting of three hundred English, all very handsome men, and in excellent array, with their halberts, and, by my faith, I never saw finer fellows. At length, we entered a room where his Majesty was leaning against a chair, which was covered with cloth of gold brocade, with a cushion of the same material, and a large gilt sword, under a canopy of cloth of gold, with a raised pile. His Majesty was dressed as a Knight of the Garter, of which order he is the superior, and wore a very costly doublet, over which was a mantle of violet-coloured velvet, with an extremely long train, lined with white satin; on his head was a richly jewelled cap of crimson velvet, of immense value, and round his neck he wore a collar, studded with many precious stones, of which I never saw the like.

Immediately on perceiving the ambassadors, his Majesty moved towards them, and after allowing his hand to be kissed, embraced them with the greatest possible demonstration of love and good will toward the most illustrious Signory.

After these ceremonies, and when silence had been proclaimed, the Magnifico Giustinian pronounced a Latin oration, as elegant and well delivered as possible, and which was listened to in silent attention by every one, especially by this most Serene King, who understands Latin very well; in such wise, that we could not have desired more favourable attention.

On the conclusion of this address, which lasted a full hour, his Majesty caused the reply to be made by a Doctor of Laws, thanking the most illustrious Signory infinitely, affirming, that his Majesty had ever been the States' friend and protector, and that he would remain such so long as life may be vouchsafed him, returning his acknowledgments to the Magnifico the ambassador for his oration, and lauding him much, whereby, in truth, the King has acquired immortal fame.

This ceremonial being ended, his Majesty invited the ambassadors and all their retinue to hear mass, and dine with him; so we went to church, and after a very grand procession had been made, high mass was

chaunted, attended, moreover, by the most Serene Queen, and it was sung by his Majesty's choristers, whose voices are really rather divine than human; they did not chaunt, but sang like angels (*non cantavano ma jubilavano*), and as for the counter-bass voices, I don't think they have their equals in the world. I could add many details, but have not time.

After mass, the King and the rest of the nobles, with the ambassadors and their followers, returned to the palace, into a hall, where one table had been prepared for his Majesty, and another for the Knights of the Garter, and the ambassadors, and the merchants with us, and after witnessing a display of gold plate, of most immense value, as well as a great quantity of silver, we sat down to table, and dined very well.

The repast being ended, his Majesty sent for the ambassadors, and addressed their magnificences, partly in French and partly in Latin, as also in Italian, much gracious and pleasant talk, showing himself, by my troth, most affable; and then, having taken leave, we departed.

The personal beauty of his Majesty will be well known to your magnificence, through your brother, the Lord Frederick,[1] and I have heard that besides his beauty, which is indeed very great, he has, moreover, many other most excellent qualities; for instance, he is courageous, an excellent musician, plays the harpsichord well, is learned for his age and station, and has many other endowments, and good parts; and the like of two such courts, and two such kings as those of France and of England, have, I fancy, not been witnessed by any ambassadors who have gone out of Venice for these fifty years, witness whereof is the Magnifico Pietro Pasqualigo, who affirms the like, and extols everything here *usque ad astra*, so I am very glad to have come on this mission.

On the first day of May, his Majesty sent two English lords to the ambassadors, who were taken by them to a place called Greenwich, five miles hence, where the king was, for the purpose of celebrating May Day. On the ambassadors arriving there, they mounted on horseback, with many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, and accompanied the most Serene Queen into the country, to meet the King. Her Majesty was most excellently attired, and very richly, and with her were twenty-five damsels, mounted on white palfreys, with housings of the same fashion, most beautifully embroidered in gold, and these damsels had all dresses slashed with gold lama in very costly trim, with a number of footmen in most excellent order. The Queen went thus

with her retinue a distance of two miles out of Greenwich, into a wood, where they found the King with his guard, all clad in a livery of green, with bows in their hands, and about a hundred noblemen on horseback, all gorgeously arrayed. In this wood were certain bowers filled purposely with singing birds, which carolled most sweetly, and in one of these bastions or bowers, were some triumphal cars, on which were singers and musicians, who played on an organ and lute and flutes for a good while, during a banquet which was served in this place; then proceeding homewards, certain tall paste-board giants[2] being placed on cars, and surrounded by his Majesty's guard, were conducted with the greatest order to Greenwich, the musicians singing the whole way, and sounding the trumpets and other instruments, so that, by my faith, it was an extremely fine triumph, and very pompous, and the King in person brought up the rear in as great state as possible, being followed by the Queen, with such a crowd on foot, as to exceed, I think, 25,000 persons. On arriving at Greenwich, his Majesty went to mass, after which the ambassadors had private audience, the details of which your magnificence will learn through . . . . [The name is left blank in the original.]

The King then went to dinner, and, by his Majesty's order, the ambassadors, and we likewise, dined in his palace, with the chief nobility of this land. After dinner the ambassadors were taken into certain chambers containing a number of organs and harpsichords[3] and flutes, and other instruments, and where the prelates and chief nobles were assembled to see the joust which was then in preparation; and in the mean while the ambassadors told some of these grandees that I was a proficient on some of these instruments; so they asked me to play, and knowing that I could not refuse, I did so for a long while, both on the harpsichords and organs, and really bore myself bravely, and was listened to with great attention. Among the listeners was a Brescian, to whom this King gives 300 ducats annually for playing the lute, and this man took up his instrument and played a few things with me; and afterwards two musicians, who are also in his Majesty's service, played the organ, but very ill forsooth: they kept bad time, and their touch was feeble, neither was their execution good,[4] so that my performance was deemed not much worse than theirs. The prelates who were present told me that the King would certainly choose to hear me, as his Majesty practises on these instruments day and night, and that he will very much like my playing. So I shall prepare, and hope not to disgrace myself if

called upon, and will give you notice of the result; and pray send me some compositions of Zuane Maria's, as I vaunt him to every one for what he is, and thus they have requested me to send for some of his music, promising me some of theirs in return; and I should also wish to receive a few new ballads.[5]

The preparations for the joust being at length accomplished, this most serene King made his appearance in very great pomp: on his side were ten of these noblemen on most capital horses, all with housings of one sort, namely, with cloth of gold with a raised pile, his Majesty's war horse being likewise caparisoned in the same manner; and in truth he looked like St. George in person on its back.

The opposing party consisted of ten other noblemen, also in rich array, and very well mounted, so that really I never saw such a sight; and then they began to joust, and continued this sport for three hours, to the constant sound of the trumpets and drums, the King excelling all the others, shivering many lances, and unhorsing one of his opponents; so that the show was most beautiful, and I only regret not having time to describe it in full. I never should have expected to find such pomp; and, on this occasion, his Majesty exerted himself to the utmost, for the sake of the ambassadors, and more particularly on account of Pasqualigo (who is returning to France to-day), that he may be able to tell King Francis what he has seen in England, and especially with regard to his Majesty's own prowess.

The joust being ended, the ambassadors went to visit the Queen, whom Pasqualigo addressed in Spanish, in which tongue her Majesty, in like manner, replied. She is rather ugly than otherwise, and supposed to be pregnant;[6] but the damsels of her court are handsome, and make a sumptuous appearance.

The ambassadors then took leave and departed, and we returned to this City of London; nor, from lack of time, have I anything else to add, save that the courier, Jack Madcap, the bearer of this, and who is now on the start, has behaved excellently throughout the journey, and kept us in constant laughter, so that I never saw a better boon companion. I recommend myself, &c. In London, third day of May, 1515. *Raptissime.*

[1] Federigo Foscari had resided in England as a merchant. See Sanuto's diaries in date of 22nd December, 1510.

[2] It is worthy of remark that Hall, whose account of this festival we quote on a subsequent page, makes no mention of the giants, which possibly were meant to

represent Gog and Magog. In the tragedy of "Locrine," once attributed to Shakspeare, Brutus, King of Britain, when narrating his landing in England, says—

> "Upon the stronds of Albion
> To Corus' haven happily we came,
> And quelled the giants, come of Albion's race,
> With Gogmagog, son to Samotheus,
> The cursed captain of that damned crew."

It is not improbable that the pasteboard giants which figured at Shooter's Hill on May-day, 1515, were meant to represent this national legend, and the livery of "Lincoln Green" will have been worn out of compliment to the memory of Robin Hood. The bowers are yet perambulated on the 1st of May, by "Jack-in-the-Green," and these three symbols of the "merry month" are exclusively English; but the gathering of May-dew, which was doubtless included in the morning occupations of Catharine of Aragon and her twenty-five damsels, on the 1st of May, 1515, seems to have been a practice observed in the Queen's own country, and was probably European. She, poor soul, was doomed to so much care that it behoved her neglect no possible antidote for its furrows; and nearly a century after her death, we find her kinswoman, the Infanta Maria, gathering May-dew at the time when Prince Charles was paying his addresses to her, in the year 1613; at least, Howell tells the story thus:—

"Not long since, the Prince, understanding that the Infanta was used to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the King hath tother side the river, *to gather May-dew*, he did rise betimes, and went thither, taking your brother with him. They were let into the house, and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard; and there being a high partition-wall between them, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall, and sprang down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran back. The old marquis, that was then her guardian, came towards the Prince, and fel on his knees, conjuring his Highnesse to retire, in regard he hazarded his head, if he admitted any to her company; so the doore was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in." See Howell's "Familiar Letters," sect. 3, page 76. London, 1645.

The belief in the efficacy of May-dew prevailed in England long after Queen Catharine's morning amusements in Greenwich Park, as recorded by the Venetian secretary, Sagudino; for in Pepys' Diary, there are the following entries—

"A.D. 1667, April 28th.—My wife away down with Jane and Mr. Hewer to Woolwich, in order to a little ayre, and to lie there to-night, and so *to gather May-dew* to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with; and I am contented with it."

"A.D. 1669, May 11th.—My wife up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew."

It would be curious to trace why May-day customs, observed of yore by a king and queen—at Greenwich and in Spain—by the Infanta Maria and by Mrs. Pepys—should owe the mere remnant of preservation they can yet boast to the chimney-sweepers, whose care for cosmetics appears so utterly disinterested, and who can hardly have heard about the bowers of Henry VIII., or, hearing, care.

[3] *Clavicimbani*, literally key-cymbals; perhaps spinet would be the more correct translation.

[4] The phrase in the original runs thus: "Hanno cattiva mesura et debil mano et non troppo bono ajere."

[5] The original word is "Frottola," which is used by the novellist Sacchetti, who wrote in the 14th century, and applied to certain compositions of his in verse, some comic and some moral. In Pasini's Italian dictionary, the word is now merely employed to signify a comic song, and possibly this was the sense in which it was used by Sagudino, in the year 1515.

[6] In a despatch dated London, 9th of June, 1510, the ambassador, Badoer, mentions Queen Catharine's having had a miscarriage; and in the month of December, 1514, he writes that the Queen had been then delivered (in the 8th month of her pregnancy) of a still-born male child, to the very great grief of the whole court. Sagudino's notion of her pregnancy in May, 1515, was perhaps premature; but he only erred by a month at any rate, as the Princess Mary was born on the 18th February, 1516.

To the details given in the preceding letters, we are enabled to add the following from the colleague of Sebastian Giustinian, for which, however, we are not indebted to St. Mark's Library, but to the British Museum. For their preservation, our thanks are due to Mr. Panizzi, whose zealous care to accumulate whatever literary curiosities may throw light on the history of England was displayed in 1851 by the purchase of a rare broadside, printed at Venice three centuries and a half ago, from which we cite them.

Translation of two letters dated London, 30th April, and 3rd May, 1515, written by the Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary, the Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo, LL.D., and Knight.[1]

Letter No. I.

London, April 30, 1515.

We left Paris on the 30th ult., after dinner, accompanied by all the Triulzi partisans, and other Italian refugees, and remained during that day at St. Denys, where we adored the relics of the Areopagite, and of the martyrs Rusticus, Eleuctherius,[2] and Eustachius. We saw the tomb of Charles VIII., with his graven image the size of life, wrought by the

same artificer that did the statues of St. Anthony's Church in Venice.[3] Also the tomb of the late King, Louis XII., with a black velvet pall, across which was a large white damask cross, and on the sides the arms of France, embroidered all in gold. We also saw a massive gold crucifix, and they then showed us the royal treasure. In the first place all the regalia with which this present King Francis was crowned and consecrated, namely, his crown most highly ornamented with large unpolished rubies and sapphires: the massive gold sceptre; the staff,[4] sword, spurs, and robes. Also the crown and sceptre of the Queen, and then such a quantity of jewelled crucifixes, golden pixes, and other regal offerings, as made, in truth, a very fine and costly show.

Our next halt was at Amiens, containing the handsomest cathedral in France, where we adored the head of the blessed John the Baptist.

We then proceeded on our way, passing near Terrouenne, and by all the places where the English encamped the year before last; and on Holy Wednesday reached Boulogne, where we remained until Easter Tuesday following, partly on account of the contrary winds, and partly because of the holidays, great honours being paid us there by the Governor, Monsieur de la Fayette, who visited us several times at our own dwelling.

Having hired a vessel at Boulogne for Dover, we set sail at day-break on Easter Tuesday, and remained at sea during four-and-twenty hours, half dead and undone, I promise you, for we passed the whole time without eating or drinking.

On Wednesday morning we landed at Dover, and remained there the whole of that day to recruit ourselves.

On Thursday we came to Canterbury, where we stayed all Friday, and inspected the church of St. Thomas, a truly fine structure, and his coffin of inestimable price, all of pure gold most thickly studded with beautiful jewels and pearls, besides so many other rare and singular things, that to enumerate them all would take a long time.[5] The Archbishop of Canterbury is the Primate of England, as also abbot of this church, and moreover Lord High Chancellor;[6] and, with one thing and the other, his rental amounts to 30,000 ducats.

On Saturday we got to Rochester, where we found the Consul, Hieronymo da Molin who had accompanied me as far as Lyons, and my brother Lorenzo,[7] and we remained with them all Sunday.

On Monday the 16th we proceeded to Deptford, twelve miles distant, where on Tuesday we were greeted, on behalf of the King, by Dom.

John Russell, Knight (sic)[8] and Dom. Dr. Taylor, a Member of Parliament, with about fifty horsemen, all in one livery, who had been sent to do us honour and escort us hither into London.

On the 18th we got on horseback together, and on the road were met first of all by the whole body of our countrymen mounted, and well attended; and a short distance beyond there was the ambassador Badoer, also in goodly array, so that on entering London in pairs we numbered upwards of 200 horse, which made a fine show and a very stately entry.

And as the most serene King was at Richmond, a palace of his twelve miles hence, and as on St. George's Day he celebrates the anniversary of the institution of the Garter, our audience was delayed until then to render it more pompous; and on that day, at about half-past nine, the two aforesaid came in the King's name to escort us from our dwelling, and, accompanied by them and all our countrymen, we went down to the Thames, where a large barge had been prepared, precisely like a bucintor,[9] covered with the royal colours in cloth, the cabin being hung with arras. This vessel conveyed us to said palace of Richmond, where they led us into a sort of hall, and though it was before mass, they made us breakfast, for fear we should faint; after which we were conducted to the presence, through sundry chambers all hung with most beautiful tapestry, figured in gold and silver and in silk, passing down the ranks of the body-guard, which consists of three hundred halberdiers in silver breast-plates and pikes in their hands; and, by God, they were all as big as giants, so that the display was very grand.

We at length reached the King, who was under a canopy of cloth of gold, embroidered at Florence, the most costly thing I ever witnessed: he was leaning against his gilt throne, on which was a large gold brocade cushion, where the long gold sword of state lay; he wore a cap of crimson velvet, in the French fashion, and the brim was looped up all round with lacets, which had gold enamelled tags. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards. Very close round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a round cut diamond, the size of the largest walnut I ever saw, and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl. His mantle was of purple velvet, lined with white satin, the sleeves being open, and with a train verily more than four Venetian yards in length. This mantle was girt in front like a gown, with a thick gold cord, from which there hung large glands entirely of gold, like those suspended

from the cardinals' hats; over this mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendent St. George, entirely of diamonds. On his left shoulder[10] was the garter, which is a cincture buckled circular-wise, and bearing in its centre a cross gules on a field argent; and on his right shoulder was a hood, with a border entirely of crimson velvet.

Beneath the mantle he had a pouch[11] of cloth of gold, which covered a dagger; and his fingers were one mass of jewelled rings.

To the right of his Majesty were eight noblemen, dressed like himself, they being his fellow knights. To the left were a number of prelates in their rochets. Then there were six men with six gold sceptres, besides ten heralds with their tabards of cloth of gold, wrought with the arms of England, and moreover a crowd of nobility, all arrayed in cloth of gold and silk.

After Giustinian had addressed his Majesty for the space of half an hour, and been answered by Dr. Taylor aforesaid,[12] the King made a move, and we being immediately in advance of him, went with all this pomp to church, returning also in procession. Subsequently we attended high mass, which was chaunted by the Bishop of Durham, with a superb and noble descant choir;[13] and afterwards we accompanied the King to table, where he chose us to see the service of the courses, contained in sixteen dishes of massive gold with sixteen covers. As soon as he had commenced eating, he sent us with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham into his chamber, where a very sumptuous and plentiful dinner had been prepared for us; and, by the King's order, a repast was served in like manner for all our countrymen and attendants.

After dinner, we were taken to the King, who embraced us, without ceremony, and conversed for a long while very familiarly, on various topics, in good Latin and in French, which he speaks very well indeed, and he then dismissed us, and we were brought back here to London in the same bucintor, by Mr. Russell and Dr. Taylor.

His Majesty is the handsomest potentate I ever set eyes on; above the usual height, with an extremely fine calf to his leg, his complexion very fair and bright, with auburn hair combed straight and short, in the French fashion, and a round face so very beautiful, that it would become a pretty woman, his throat being rather long and thick. He was born on the 28th of June, 1491,[14] so he will enter his twenty-fifth year the month after next. He speaks French, English, and Latin, and a little Italian, plays well on the lute and harpsichord, sings from book at sight, draws the bow with greater strength than any man in England,[15] and jousts mar-

vellously. Believe me, he is in every respect a most accomplished Prince; and I, who have now seen all the sovereigns in Christendom, and last of all these two of France and England in such great state, might well rest content, and with sufficient reason have it said to me,

"abi viator, sat tuis oculis debes;"

nor will I omit telling you how much I am comforted to see, that now after the loss of so much territory, and such exhaustion incurred by the most illustrious Signory, she is held in as great account as of yore by these two kings, who are the first in the world, so her ambassadors must bear patiently the cost of their outfit and that of their attendants, and of so many preparatives, for it all redounds most immensely to your glory and repute, and indeed both in France and here, everybody vows that although you have lost territory, you have, nevertheless, gained so much honour by maintaining yourselves, and prevailing during so many years against so many enemies and such a tide of adverse fortune, that the like never befell any Sovereign in the world; and, therefore, I prophecy that the State will speedily resume her position, and even expand, in such wise that she will no longer have to fear any one, and this I trust to see very soon.

The King has come hither, to a place of his called Baynard's Castle,[16] and is going to Greenwich, where we are to have our private audience, and shall, moreover, visit the most serene Queen, I taking leave simultaneously, on my way back to France.

We have been to see the Tower here, where besides the lions and leopards,[17] they showed us the king's bronze artillery, mounted on four hundred carriages, very fine and remarkable; also bows and arrows, and pikes for 40,000 infantry. They say they have an equal store of ammunition both at Calais, and in another place towards Scotland.[18]

You must know that on St. Mark's Day, we gave a dinner to all our countrymen, in the English fashion, not one of them excepted.

By my previous letters, you will have heard of the treaty made between France and this kingdom,[19] *ad vitam istorum principum.* Tournai remaining in possession of the King of England, who has named us as his confederates, to the exclusion of the King of Spain.

His Majesty's sister, the Queen Dowager of France, has reached Calais, and is expected here daily. A report circulates, and it is said publicly, that she is married again to the English Duke of Suffolk, which, if true, is important, and very surprising.

[1] In the account of Venice by Francesco Sansovino (p. 30), it is stated that Pasqualigo had written several treatises on metaphysics and theology, and that he died of poison at Milan, where he was ambassador in ordinary to Francis I., about seven months after the date of this letter. His corpse was removed to Venice, and buried in the Church of St. Anthony.

[2] Eleuctherius became Pope, A.D. 170; and it was in his reign that Lucius, King of Britain, sent an embassy to Rome to request of his Holiness that missionaries might be sent to England for the promulgation there of the Christian religion.

[3] Sansovino informs us, that the architect who erected the front of the Church of St. Anthony in Venice, was Jacopo Lanfrani; so it may be inferred that he wrought the statue of Charles VIII. at St. Deny's. It appears an odd coincidence that Pasqualigo, writing of tombs, should thus allude to the very church in which his own bones were doomed to rest within a very few months after the date of this letter.

[4] Probably in the form of St. Edward's staff of beaten gold, four feet seven inches in length, surmounted by an orb and cross, and shod with an iron spike, the orb being said to contain a fragment of the true cross.

[5] Erasmus, the friend and correspondent of Giustinian, Pasqualigo's colleague, describes the coffin of Thomas à Becket, as follows:—

"A coffin of wood covering a coffin of gold, which being drawn up by ropes and pullies, an invaluable treasure was discovered. Gold was the meanest thing to be seen there. All shone and glittered with the rarest and most precious jewels of an extraordinary bigness; some were larger than the egg of a goose. When this sight was shown, the prior, with a white wand, touched every jewel, one by one, telling the name, the value, and the donor of it."

[6] William Warham.

[7] A merchant established in London since 1496.

[8] In the original, "Domino Joan Ose, Cavalier," but in the letter of a former ambassador named Trevisan, in date of August, 1497, this individual is styled "Maistro Rosel." There can be no doubt of the person meant—namely, John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, but who, in 1497 and in 1515, appears to have been employed about the Court as a sort of Gentleman Usher, or Master of the Ceremonies. This may serve to correct Collins (vol. i. p. 265), who imagined that Mr. John Russel's first appearance in that character dated in 1506, when he waited on the Archduke Philip of Austria. Mr. John Russel was not knighted until the year 1522, when the Earl of Surrey dubbed him for his service at the taking of Morlaix, in Brittany; so the title given to this Master of the Ceremonies by Pasqualigo is one of mere courtesy.

[9] The word "bucintor" signified a state barge of any size; it is not to be inferred, therefore, that the tonnage of the vessel in question equalled that of *the* bucintor in which the Doges of Venice espoused the Adriatic. Frizzi tells of a bucintor, in which Hercules of Este, Duke of Ferrara, used to make excursions on the Po.

[10] Elias Ashmole, in his chapter on the "Habits and Ensigns of the Order of the Garter," writes as follows:—"Of what materials this principal *ensign* was at first made we have not yet found, nor is it described by any before Polydore Virgile, and he but in general, as to the ornamental part of it, to wit, that it was adorned with gold and precious stones, and had a buckle of gold at the end, where-

with to fasten it about the leg. But, doubtless, it was also wrought with rich embroidery, and therein the symbolical word or motto was raised with gold, pearl, and sundry sorts of silks; as may be guessed from *the garters anciently placed on the left shoulder of the knights-companions' mantles*, and these other little embroidered garters, wherewith their surcoats and hoods were heretofore adorned, which we shall describe by and by.

"This noble ensign (the Garter) was at the foundation of the order appointed to be worn on the left leg, a little beneath the knee, and so hath the usage in all time since continued. And it is apparent that the manner of placing this garter on the left leg of the knights'-companions' sepulchral portraitures was very early brought into use; seeing in that alabaster figure of Sir William Fitz Warren (who died a knight-companion of this noble order, in the five-and-thirtieth year of the founder's reign) lying with his lady on a raised monument, in the north side of the chancel of Wantage Church in Berkshire (and yet to be seen), with his surcoat of arms upon the breast, the resemblance of his garter (but without any motto) is carved upon its left leg."—*The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.* By Elias Ashmole. London, 1693.

[11] These pouches are often represented in the engravings of Albert Durer.

[12] Amongst the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, Nero, b. vii. fo. 12, the oration of Giustinian to Henry VIII. exists, together with Taylor's answer, but dated 8 Kal. May, 1515; information for which we are indebted to the late John Holmes, Esq., of the British Museum.

[13] The words in the original are, "*Capella de discanto.*" Descant, according to Johnson, signifies "a song or tune composed in parts." Ashe, in his history of music, says that, before the Reformation, there was but one kind of music in Europe worth notice—namely, the sacred chant, and the DESCANT built upon it. As Pasqualigo expatiates on the English choristers of the Chapel Royal singing in parts, it may be supposed that church music in other countries was performed less scientifically than in England, A.D. 1515; and it should be borne in mind that, as Pasqualigo had been ambassador at the courts of the Emperor, of Spain, Portugal, Hungary, and France, he was enabled to form comparisons between the state of any science in those kingdoms and our own; and, indeed, it is the universal *experience* of the Venetian ambassadors, and their peculiar freedom from prejudice or partiality (no jealousy or rivalry existing between them and England), that makes their comments on our country so valuable.

[14] According to "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," he was born in June, 1492.

[15] In "Hall's Chronicle," moreover, it is written that "he shotte as strong and as great a lengthe as any of his garde."

[16] Baynard's Castle on the banks of the Thames, immediately below St. Paul's. See *Cunningham's Hand-book*, p. 39.

[17] "The Menagerie in the Tower was one of the sights of London, from the time of Henry III. to the reign of William IV. Stow mentions a present of three leopards, sent by the Emperor Frederick to Henry III., A.D. 1235; and in the sixteenth year of the reign of Edward III., the Tower contained one lion, one lioness, one leopard, and two cat lions." Extract from Cunningham, p. 505.

[18] Query Berwick, concerning which place, Fynes Moryson writes (Part iii. p. 145)—"Barwicke is the last and best fortified towne of all Britany, in which

a garrison of souldiers was maintained against the incursions of the Scots till the happy raigne of James, King of England and Scotland."

[19] This treaty, dated Westminster, 5th April, 1515, was signed by Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk; Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester; and by John Young, Vice Chancellor. See Rymer, vol xiii. p. 476; and the Corps Universel Diplomatique, vol. iv. p. 204 and following.

Letter No. II.

London, May 3, 1515.

On the first instant, Lord Magnifico, his Majesty, who had gone to Greenwich, five miles hence, sent to fetch us from our dwelling, at a very early hour indeed. Immediately on arriving there, we accompanied the most serene Queen, who was richly dressed in the Spanish fashion, mounted on a white hackney, with sixteen other ladies, into the country. After riding about a mile, we were met by a triumphal car,[1] full of singers and musicians, drawn by griffins with human faces; then a little farther on, we found the King's guard, all dressed in green, in the German fashion, with certain slashed hoods on their heads, and bows and arrows in their hands, and having divided into two bands, they being in number three hundred, each man shot an arrow. We next met his Majesty the King on a bay Frieslander, which had been sent him as a present by the Marquis of Mantua;[2] he was dressed entirely in green velvet, cap, doublet, hose, shoes, and everything, and directly we came in sight, he commenced making his horse curvet, and performed such feats, that I fancied myself looking at Mars. He was accompanied by a number of noblemen, most capitally mounted, and richly clad, with all of whom we entered a wood, where a sort of labyrinth had been prepared beforehand with boughs, within which were some places surrounded by ditches, like bastions, destined for the company, according to their grade, and inside these bowers tables were laid, where we ate, and made what they call here, a proper good breakfast.[3]

His Majesty came into our arbour, and, addressing me in French, said: "Talk with me awhile! The King of France, is he as tall as I am?" I told him there was but little difference. He continued, "Is he as

stout?" I said he was not; and he then inquired, "What sort of legs has he?" I replied, "Spare." Whereupon he opened the front of his doublet, and placing his hand on his thigh, said, "Look here! and I have also a good calf to my leg." He then told me that he was very fond of this King of France, and that for the sake of seeing him, he went over there in person, and that on more than three occasions he was very near him with his army, but that he never would allow himself to be seen, and always retreated, which his Majesty attributed to deference for King Louis, who did not choose an engagement to take place; and he here commenced discussing in detail all the events of that war, and then took his departure.

After this we mounted our horses, and marched in great state in pairs, with big drums, and to the sound of trumpets, returning thus to Greenwich, where we attended high mass with his Majesty, who changed his dress, covering his doublet with a handsome gown of green velvet, and wearing a collar of cut diamonds of immense value; and then, having withdrawn into a sort of hall, he gave us our private audience, when I stated what was necessary, and obtained a reply so favourable for us in every respect, that we could not have wished for a better. He then, for the second time, gave us a dinner, which was served with incredible pomp; and at our table there was an Archbishop,[4] the Duke of Norfolk, the Treasurer, the Admiral,[5] the Viceroy of Ireland,[6] the Grand Prior of St. John's,[7] and others, who all wore very superb chains.

After dinner, his Majesty and many others armed themselves *cap-a-pie*, and he chose us to see him joust, running upwards of thirty courses, in one of which he capsized his opponent (who is the finest jouster in the whole kingdom), horse and all. He then took off his helmet, and came under the windows where we were, and talked and laughed with us to our very great honour, and to the surprise of all beholders. After this he went to disarm, and in the mean while we visited the Queen, and there, in public, I addressed her in good Spanish, which pleased her more than I can tell you; and she commenced talking with me about Spanish affairs, and about her mother, making me all possible civil speeches.

Meanwhile the King returned, and after becoming thanks, I took leave of all of them to return to France, and we came back to London.

Yesterday, also, his Majesty caused us and all our countrymen to be

invited by the Lord Mayor of London, who gave us a very sumptuous dinner.

Infer, now, that I am of opinion, no Embassy that ever went out of Venice, was more honoured or appreciated than this one of ours here, and in France, for which God be praised.

[1] Sir Walter Scott, in his note to a passage in canto v. of "The Lady of the Lake," explains what must have appeared a very extraordinary sight to the Venetian ambassadors—

"The exhibition of this renowned outlaw (Robin Hood) and his band was a favourite frolic at such festivals as we are describing. This sporting, in which kings did not disdain to be actors, was prohibited in Scotland upon the Reformation, by a statute of the sixth Parliament of Queen Mary, c. 61, A.D. 1555, which ordered, under heavy penalties, that, '*Na manner of person be chosen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreason, Queen of May, nor otherwise.*' But in 1561, '*the rascal multitude*,' says John Knox, 'were stirred up to make a Robin Hude, whilk enormity was of mony years left and damned by statute and act of Parliament; yet would they not be forbidden. Accordingly they raised a very serious tumult, and at length made prisoners the magistrates who attempted to suppress it; and it appears that these profane festivities were continued in Scotland down to 1592.'

"Bold Robin was, to say the least, equally successful in maintaining his ground against the reformed clergy of England; for the simple and evangelical Latimer complains of coming to a country church, where the people refused to hear him, because it was *Robin Hood's Day;* and his mitre and rochet were fain to give way to the village pastime. Much curious information on this subject may be found in the preliminary dissertation to the late Mr. Ritson's edition of the songs respecting this memorable outlaw. The game of Robin Hood was usually acted in May; and he was associated with the morrice dancers, on whom so much illustration has been bestowed by the commentators on Shakspeare. A very lively picture of these festivities, containing a great deal of curious information on the subject of the private life and amusements of our ancestors, was thrown by the late ingenious Mr. Strutt into his romance entitled 'Queen-Hoo-Hall,' published after his death, in 1808."

For an account of the celebration of May games in the year 1836, with particulars of a "Green," and "My Lord," and "My Lady," see "Sketches by Boz," chapter xx.

[2] Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, then in his forty-ninth year, was renowned for his stud of horses, and Stefano Gionta records one Mantuan barb for which he had been offered its weight in silver, an exchange that was not accepted; and he gave this racer, together with some very fine brood mares, to Henry VIII., and probably the bay Frieslander was comprised in this present, which (we learn from the Diaries of Sanuto) reached London in the month of September, 1514.

[3] In the original, "Un Brecafas à la Polita." Hall describes this May game at Shooter's Hill in the following words:—"The Kynge and the Quene," he says, "accompanyed with many lordes and ladyes, roade to the high ground of Shoter's Hil to take the open ayre; and as thei passed by the waye, thei espied a company of tall yomen, clothed all in grene, with grene whodes, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of 11. c. (A MAIYNGE). Then one of them, which called

him selfe Robyn Hood, came to the Kyng, desyring him to se his men shoote, and the Kynge was content. Then he whisteled, and al the II. c. archers shot and losed at once; and then he whisteled agayne, and they likewise shot agayne; their arrowes whisteled by crafte of the head, so that the noyes was straunge and great, and much pleased the Kynge, the Quene, and all the company. All these archers were of the Kynge's garde, and had thus appareled them selves to make solace to the Kynge.

"Then Robyn Hood desyred the Kynge and Quene to come into the grene wood, and to se how the outlawes lyve. The Kynge demanded of the Quene and her ladyes, if they durst adventure to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the Quene sayde that, if it pleased him, she was content; then the hornes blewe tyl they came to the wood under Shoter's Hil; and there was an arber made of bowes, with a hal, and a great chamber and an inner chamber, very well made, and covered with floures and swete herbes. whiche the Kynge much praysed. Then sayde Robyn Hood, 'Sir, Outlawe's brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you must be contente with such fare as we use.' Then the Kynge and Quene sate doune, and were served with venyson and wyne by Robyn Hood and hys men, too theyr great contentacion Then the Kynge departed and hys company, and Robyn Hood and hys men them conducted; and as they were returnynge, there met with them II. ladyes in a ryche chariot, drawen with V. horses, and every horse had hys name on hys head, and on every horse sate a ladye with her name writen. On the first courser, called Lawde, sate Humidite, or Humide; on the II. courser, called Memeon, roade Lady Vert; on the III., called Pheton, sate Lady Vegetave; on the IV., called Rimphon, sate Lady Pleasaunce; on the V., called Lampace, sate Swete Odour; and in the chayre sate the Lady May, accompanyed with Lady Flora, rychely appareled; and they saluted the Kynge with diverse goodly songes, and so brought him to Grenewyche. At this Maiying was a great numbre of people to beholde to their great solace and comfort.

"The same afternone, the Kynge, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, and the Erle of Essex, their bardes and bases of grene velvet and cloth of golde, came into the felde on great coursers, on whome wayted diverse gentlemen, al appareyled richly after their devises, and so valiauntly they rane their courses appointed; and after the (sic) they rane volant, one as fast as he might overtake another, which was a goodly sight to se; and when al was done, they departed, and went to a goodly banquet."

Hall (in his Life of Henry VIII. fol. 6) also mentions that one morning, in the first year of his reign, Henry VIII., by way of pastime, came suddenly into the chamber where the Queen and her ladies were sitting. He was attended by twelve noblemen, all apparelled in short coats of Kentish Kendal, with hoods and hosen of the same; each of them had his bows with arrows, and a sword and buckler, "like outlawes, or Robyn Hode's men." The Queen, it seems, at first was somewhat affrighted by their appearance, of which she was not the least apprised. This gay troop performed several dances, and then departed.

[4] Probably the Archbishop of Armagh, who accompanied Lord Berners (the translator of Froissart) to Spain, A.D. 1518. Had the Archbishop been Warham or Wolsey, Pasqualigo would have mentioned them by name.

[5] Earl of Surrey.

[6] Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. He came to England in 1514, the post being filled during his absence by William Preston Viscount Gormanstown. See Collins, vol. vi. p. 138.

[7] Sir Thomas Dockwra, who was the successor of Sir John Kendal, and com-

pleted St. John's Gate at Clerkenwell, in 1504. Dr. Lingard mentions him by the title of "Lord St. John," as having been sent ambassador to the Emperor, with Sir Thomas Boleyn, in November, 1521, when Cardinal Wolsey was at Calais. Dockwra, however, was not a peer of the kingdom, but was called "lord" by courtesy, and sate in the House of Peers as Prior of St. John's.

DESPATCHES

OF

SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN

FROM THE COURT OF HENRY VIII.

After the departure of Pietro Pasqualigo, Giustinian and his colleague Badoer address themselves to the real business of the embassy, and proceed to acquaint the Signory with the bias of the court and councils of Henry VIII. At this time, the reciprocal relations of the various European powers were in a very unsettled and anomalous state, arising from the inextricable confusion which had been created by the unprincipled alliance commonly known as "the League of Cambray."

On the 10th of December, 1508, a treaty had been stipulated in that city, between Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, his infant grandson and successor Charles, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Louis XII. of France, for the express purpose of partitioning the territories of the Republic of Venice, whose spoils were to be divided thus :—The Pope was to be put in possession of Faenza, Rimini, Cervia, and Ravenna; the Emperor was to obtain the march of Treviso, Istria, the Friuli, the territories of the Patriarchate of Aquilea, of Padua, of Vicenza, of Verona, and of Roveredo; Ferdinand of Arragon claimed the five ports of Trani,

Brindisi, Otranto, Pulignano, and Gallipoli; and Louis XII. took for his share, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and all the country between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Po.

In execution of this iniquitous compact, the Venetians were simultaneously attacked by an overpowering force, and their rout at Agnadello in the Ghiarra d'Adda, on the 14th May, 1509, was followed by the loss of all their territories on the continent.

The firmness and dexterity with which the Republic repaired her losses and disunited her enemies, has been the constant theme of historians. Early in 1510, Julius II. made peace with Doge Loredano; and Rome, Venice, and Ferdinand the Catholic, leagued against France. Again, in 1511, the Pope formed "the Holy League," by which the Church, England, Spain, Venice, and the Swiss Cantons, bound themselves to declare war on Louis XII. In 1513, the Venetians renounced their former allies, and made a separate peace with France; and in the following year, their example was imitated by Henry VIII.

The damage occasioned to the Republic was not repaired when, in 1515, Giustinian arrived in London. Maximilian still held Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo, and in order to oblige him to relinquish his conquest, the Venetians courted the friendship of France, on which account they had some reason to apprehend that their policy might prove obnoxious to Henry VIII., whose jealousy and dislike of Francis was rather masked than modified by the treaty signed at Westminster, on the 5th of April, 1515.

Such was the state of things when Giustinian commences the present correspondence, which contains many details hitherto unmentioned in the history of England, and throws much light on the politics and manners of the period.

London, June 15, 1515.

Most Serene Prince,—Our last were in date of the 29th ultimo, and thereby your Excellency was informed of what had occurred, which was little, for little does one hear, in this kingdom, of passing events.

We now inform you that on the 10th instant, we received five of your missives, which were read by us with our wonted respect. Two of them were in date of the 20th April, addressed to me Sebastian alone, about thanking his Majesty for having named your Highness as his ally in the confederation, lately formed between him and the present most Christian French King. This compliment, although performed most amply by us on our arrival here, especially at the second audience, we will not fail to repeat, though it has proved impossible to do so hitherto, by reason of the King's absence, who, for the last few days, has been hunting, twenty-five or thirty miles hence, and will remain abroad, as usual, for a short while.

We received three other letters on the same day as the preceding, dated 26th April, concerning the duty of two crowns per butt,[1] addressed to the Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo and me, with the purport of which we were also unable to comply, for the reason already mentioned; this, indeed, might have been attended to previously, had your Excellency's letters come quicker, whereas, the fact of their having been a month and a half on their way, has in truth proved extremely inconvenient; we know not with whom the blame rests. Both these commissions shall be executed forthwith, and I have obtained information from the Magnifico my colleague, and from the Magnifico the Consul, and other well informed merchants of ours, and learned many things connected with this matter, besides those notified to us

in your Excellency's missives. We should have already commenced negotiating this business, had it not seemed more expedient to await in the first place the receipt of his Majesty's missive to your Sublimity, announcing your being named in the confederation aforesaid, and also the Signory's reply. For as this impost may be considered recent, and contrary to the institutions of this kingdom, seeing that your Excellency has taken off four ducats per butt,[2] and as you are now his Majesty's ally, and more closely linked with him than formerly, the demand for its repeal would come with greater justice, and its refusal by his Majesty be more unfair. For this reason we have deemed it advisable to delay bringing forward this matter until the receipt of the State's reply to his Majesty's letter, which last we have endeavoured to obtain with all assiduity; but owing to the absence aforesaid, and also because it seems that this matter appertains especially to the Archbishop of York, who, from what we are able to conjecture, is not very prone towards your Excellency's interests, the business may not be unattended with difficulty. We, however, will not fail to court his favour, and, moreover, employ the aid of others of these noblemen, who appear well inclined towards your Excellency's affairs, so that we doubt not but that within two or three days, at the farthest, said letter will be obtained; and we are, indeed, convinced that had the King been here, we should have already received it.

Much news circulates here, and especially about the most Christian King's march towards Italy, followed, it is said, by all France; though, as we have no advice to this effect from your Serenity's right noble ambassadors, nor yet from others, we do not vouch for the fact, but make sure that your Excellency is better informed by the aforesaid Magnificoes, than we are. We beseech you, at any rate, to

deign and give us summaries of passing events, both in the Levant and in Italy, such as may be deemed fit for communication to the King, whom we should thus have an opportunity for visiting frequently, it not being the custom of this kingdom to present oneself before him otherwise; nor can your Excellency do any thing more agreeable to his Majesty and these noblemen, than to give them copious accounts of passing events. Your Excellency is most sage, and will do as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

I, Andrea, most serene Prince, am verily most anxious for the receipt of your letters, with the means enabling me at length to depart hence, and I shall then forthwith commence my journey, intending by all means to go and fulfil my vow, made to the blessed St. James of Compostella, the which vow I made when five of my servants died of plague, whereas, by the grace of our Lord God, I myself escaped it. Should your Serenity not allow me to go at the public cost, in the Lord's name be it so; and I will even go at my own, provided my laborious and faithful service rendered during the last seven years, and for which everybody can vouch, be not consigned to oblivion, a thing I can assuredly by no means credit, having served you both well and frequently; it being known universally that I had no precise instructions, and yet my negotiations were more approved than if they had been in accordance with the written instructions of the State. I have, moreover, received private information to the effect that my Lord of St. Johns,[3] and those other knights of Rhodes,[4] have said that, at any rate, before I quit this kingdom, they mean to have the money they so courteously lent me, or otherwise will proceed against me in my own person, which I pledged to them individually; so I pray and beseech your Sublimity, by the love of God, to provide for my need, should you as yet have taken no steps,

my protracted stay here grieving me inexpressibly, both from my anxiety to ease the State of such an expense, and also for my own sake, the winter season coming on, as evident.

[1] The first importation of Malmsey into England appears to have taken place early in the thirteenth century, the Venetians having obtained possession of Malvasia about the year 1208; and to them our forefathers are mainly indebted for the "humane principle" of forswearing thin potations and addicting themselves to sack. The name of "sack," written *sakke*, occurs for the first time in an act of Parliament, A.D. 1531-33, 23 Henry VIII., and being coupled there with Malmsies, and the wines of the Morea, it may be supposed to have alluded then exclusively to the vintages of Candia, Cyprus, the Morea, and Spain, though it became eventually, in the days of Shakspeare, synonymous with sweet and dry wines of *any* growth, in contradistinction to French and Rhenish wines, called small wines. Thus, Sir Launcelot Sparcock, in the "London Prodigal"—

> "Drawer, let me have *sack*, for us old men;
> For these girls and knaves, *small wines* are the best."

[2] Concerning this diminution of duty, see also Sanuto's Diaries, vol. ii. fo. 612, date A.D. 1499, July 1. P.S.—The "infringement" is rightly termed so, because Parliament had agreed to take off the duty, as shown on a subsequent page.

[3] Sir Thomas Dockwra, Prior of the Order in England, see ante p. 93.

[4] Amongst the English Knights who had been at Venice in this period was the *Turcopolier* (a title peculiar to the English tongue), Sir Thomas Newport; his presence there, in the month of September, 1513, being recorded by Sanuto.

To the Council of Ten.

London, July 3, 1515.

On our acquainting his Majesty with the warlike preparations of the most Christian King, and that he was shortly about to leave Lyons, and proceed beyond, without specifying whither, and this because it appeared to us that neither his Majesty nor any of the grandees of this kingdom

approve of the Italian expedition, the King answered us very suitably in Latin, thus: "I verily believe that your Signory does not know whither the King of France will proceed, but I myself will tell you: know, then, that said King will not go into Italy this year, though he circulates reports to this effect, and avails himself of the fame and advantage it brings him;" adding an inquiry at the same time whether we considered said King our friend, and that his coming into Italy was for our good. We answered him, also in Latin, that your Sublimity deemed him your friend, both because, even in things of less moment, he had ever evinced regard for your interests, and deplored the wrongs done us of yore; and also because at this present we have cause to consider him a very sure friend, by reason of the recent alliance, seeing that the royal faith being kept, there could be no farther grounds for fear or suspicion. In reply to the second inquiry, we told him we were of opinion that his Majesty was coming into Italy, mainly to recover his Duchy of Milan, and consequently our territory, unduly occupied by our enemies. Upon this, the King made answer, "If your hope is based on the French King's favours, you will be deceived; for when he shall have recovered the Milanese, he will choose to have the rest likewise. He is fresh to the war, and young, and has money to spend, whereas you have consumed and expended much: on getting into Italy, he will be master there to do as he shall please; and I would that you had not agreed together, as it would be better for you to sacrifice one town, rather than lose the whole. I am aware that King Louis, although my brother-in-law, was a bad man; I know not what this youth may be: he is, however, a Frenchman, nor can I say how far you should trust him: it is true, he enjoys great popularity, much more than King Louis."

On our confirming this, and saying, that in point of fact he was not only loved, but adored by his subjects, his Majesty rejoined,—" By God! he gives them poor reason to love him, running thus, at the very commencement of his reign, into the toils and charges of war!" going on to say that he was your Sublimity's friend, and lamented your peril. We answered him, that if your Signory had not made terms,[1] it proceeded from the maintenance of your faith, as you were the confederate of the King of France, who had promised to effect the restitution of your territory, and that it was impossible to form any agreement against his Majesty, and preserve our faith intact; especially as at this present, the alliance between his Majesty himself, and the most Christian King and your Excellency, was to be inviolate; and that the terms proposed by our adversaries did not consist in merely retaining one of our cities, for by the occupation of Verona, the seizure of the rest of your Signory's territory in Lombardy would be effected, as you would thus be deprived of the means of succouring the other towns.

His Majesty then asked us, if the King of Spain was the foe or friend of your Serenity: we replied, that we could answer for your Serenity's bias as having ever been most friendly towards his Catholic Highness, of whose tendency, however, we could only judge by facts which proved him very hostile, his army having ever been opposed to us in the Vicentine and Paduan territories, and in the Polesine, doing the greatest possible harm. Considering that said Catholic Majesty is at any rate this King's father-in-law, we deemed it well to add, that we were of opinion that what he was doing, and had done, was rather at the instigation of Maximilian than of his own natural disposition; whereupon the King rejoined, " For certain special reasons, we cannot very well enter upon this

subject," but asked us, how we stood with the Pope. We made answer, that we considered his Holiness our good father, because we were his most obsequious children. He then inquired to which side his Holiness adhered: we said, we knew not, but that if he chose to favour the cause of justice, as became a true pastor, he would assist our affairs in unison with those of France. His Majesty rejoined, "I could not credit your being otherwise than friends with the Pope; for I, likewise, am his good son, and shall ever be with his Holiness and with the Church, from which I never mean to depart; and I think I have sufficient power with his Holiness to warrant hopes of my making him adhere to whichever side I choose." The Archbishop of York expressed himself in this same manner a few days ago.

With regard to this inquiry concerning the Pope, we thought fit to answer in so cautious a manner that our expressions might rather soothe than exasperate, and most especially because at this present we are not aware whether his Holiness continues in the same mind he was when I, Sebastian, left Venice, or that his opinion be changed; in which case it would have been impolitic to evince distrust of the Pontiff, particularly as his Majesty here inclines vastly towards his Holiness. The King, however, returned to the topic of the King of France, saying, that he would deceive us, and that he knew for certain, through language uttered by the King in person, and communicated to him through certain friends and servants of his there at the court, that he would not cross the Alps this year; adding, "and should this be the case, how will you do? You will remain single-handed against so many potentates and against the Switzers." Whereupon, we inquired of his Majesty, if he knew the reason of the French King's not crossing, after having made so much military preparation. He affected un-

willingness to tell us, from suspicion of our repeating his words, so we dexterously besought him to speak freely with us, since we deemed his Majesty and your Sublimity one and the same thing, and of the same mind, both by reason of the ancient friendship maintained with his most serene forefathers, but above all with his late august father, and in virtue of the confederation recently promulgated, which we hoped would be perpetual. At length he said to us, "I will confess the truth: I believe that his dread of me, lest I should invade his kingdom, will prevent him crossing the Alps." This, appearing to us a matter of extreme importance, we said to him, that if it was so, the King of France was deterred by what had never entered his Majesty's head, by reason of the alliance existing both with King Francis and with us. He rejoined, that by the articles of the agreement, he was at liberty to succour the enemies of the King of France should she be the aggressor; and were France to be attacked, he might, in like manner, lend her favour: "so that," said he, "my belief is, that if I choose, he will not cross the Alps, and if I choose, he will cross;" and to the like effect were the words uttered a few days ago by the Right Rev. of York. To this we replied, in the most bland and loving form of exhortation, that his Majesty should bear in mind not merely the King of France, but your Sublimity, whose territory had been so iniquitously seized and occupied, and your ruin meditated, despite your deserts with Christendom, both for treasure expended and for the blood of our citizens shed in its defence, and that all we had endured proceeded from envy of our State, and that at this present, no nearer hope presented itself for its recovery, than the coming of the King of France into Italy; and that immediately on regaining our territory, it would be held most readily at the entire will of his Majesty, and for his con-

venience and honour; wherefore your Sublimity had ever felt convinced that his Majesty would by his authority, and of his goodness, and by means of this holy and inviolable confederacy, favour our affairs: we besought him therefore, in your Sublimity's name, to deign through his well-deserved authority to further our interests with his Holiness, and, moreover, assist this undertaking by all possible means.

His Majesty answered in conformable terms, saying, that he loved your Excellency extremely, and that his regrets were solely induced by regard for you yourself, who, thinking to be succoured, will be deceived; and expressions of this distrust of the most Christian King, he moreover repeated to me, Andrea, in English. We rejoined, that we placed our chief hope in God, who would support our pious and righteous cause; and that we, moreover, expected from such a King, that which every one should and may promise themselves from royal faith, and with this we took leave.

Thus, most serene Prince, we are confirmed in the opinion conceived by me, Sebastian, on my first arrival here—namely, that his Majesty and all these lords take it extremely amiss that the most Christian King should descend into Italy, dreading the increase of his power, and I became immediately aware of the existence between these two young Kings of so great a rivalry of glory, that it would be a very easy matter for this metal to become rusted, which for the moment, until the most Christian King shall have proceeded in the acquisition of his territory, and your Serenity in yours, would prove inconvenient, though subsequently one might, perhaps, think otherwise. For the love of God, we beseech your Excellency not to fail, so far as you can, in keeping this King well advised, and giving us opportunities for visiting and converting him from his opinions, it being impossible for us to do so without some document from your Excel-

lency, as it is contrary to the custom of the country to go to the King without any cause: do your Excellency therefore send us frequent summaries of news both of France, Italy, and of the Levant, as your Excellency will thus play the part of a true confederate; and, at the same time, afford us the means of going to his Majesty and negotiating, and learning that which has hitherto been beyond our ken.

As the statement made to us by his Majesty, given above, seems of extreme importance, we will endeavour to obtain confirmation of it from some of these lords, although we deem it well nigh impossible, because, in similar matters, these people appear to proceed with the greatest caution. We shall not fail in our duty towards your Sublimity, cujus gratiæ, &c.

ANDR. BADUARIUS,
SEBAST. JUSTIN., Eques., } *Oratores.*

[1] Leo X. had endeavoured, in the year 1514, to detach the Venetians from their alliance with Louis XII., to which effect Pietro Bembo was accredited to the senate by the Pope (see Paruta, p. 86), and these are the terms here alluded to.

TO THE COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, July 3, 1515.

After having written the accompanying, a gentleman of this kingdom, a great friend to me, Andrea, and from whom, on former occasions, I have received secret intelligence, came and told me, that on the day before yesterday his Majesty determined on sending the Lord Chamberlain[1] to France, with a commission to tell King Francis to beware of infringing his agreements.

He affirms, moreover, that in his Majesty's chamber he

heard it said, "that the King of France is a powerful monarch, lord of France and of Brittany; and that by going into Italy he would become yet more powerful, seizing the Milanese and other territories; nor would it suit us to have so great a neighbour." He added that Lord Worcester was to leave on that evening for France, though he thought he would go leisurely. Should this be true, it would be of extreme importance; we notify it to your Serenity in the manner it reached us, nor do we vouch for it farther; and we trust at any rate, if this report be well founded, that his most Christian Majesty will have realized his intention before the arrival of the Chamberlain aforesaid. No hostile preparations are visible here, nor does one hear a single word of war, nor of news, so I, Sebastian, am of opinion that this is the work of the Pope, with whom (as your Excellency will perceive by what we enclose) his Majesty here seems very closely linked.

[1] "Charles Somerset, having been Lord Chamberlain to Henry VII., was also in the same office to Henry VIII., at his first coming to the Crown. In 1513, in the expedition into France he followed the King thither with 6,000 foot, and was present at the taking of Terouane and Tournay; where, meriting highly for his heroic actions, he had the office of Lord Chamberlain bestowed upon him for life, and, on the festival of the Virgin Mary, in 1514, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Worcester; and on October 9th of that year, he attended Lady Mary, the King's sister, at her coronation at St. Dennis, in France. He was afterwards employed by the King for confirming articles of peace between England and France." (Extract from Collins, vol. i. pp. 225, 226; see also pp. 391 and 541.) This Lord Worcester is the Chamberlain introduced by Shakspeare in "King Henry VIII."

To the Council of Ten.

London, July 6, 1515.

After our conferences held with his Majesty, anxious as it were to know whether any step had been taken, either

through ambassadors or letters, protesting against or prohibiting the descent into Italy of the most Christian King, and to learn whether there was any clause in the confederation authorizing his Majesty to offer such impediment, we went to certain lords, under pretence of paying them visits; and first of all, on the morning of the 5th inst., betook ourselves to the illustrious Duke of Norfolk,[1] Lord High Treasurer, and on our asking him the news, he said, "The most serene King of France will not cross the Alps this year, nor do I know how you will manage with so many enemies who have conspired against you, without any aid: it would have been well to make some agreement, for the avoidance of utter annihilation." We endeavoured to learn the cause of said King's not coming into Italy, and, after some little hesitation, he replied, that the whole of France is reduced to great distress and misery, owing to the past wars; wherefore, the present King, at the suggestion of his councillors, will not descend into Italy, especially being certain that the Switzers would oppose him in considerable force. We, perceiving that he pushed this topic no further, did not choose to press him; nor would we mention what the King had said to us, lest he should repeat it, and render his Majesty more reserved with us for the future; and it seeming to us that he reproached your Sublimity for not having made terms with your enemies, we told him that we could not accept any agreement without breaking our faith, pledged by treaty to the most Christian King, past and present, and which we are bound to observe towards his Majesty here, in virtue of this same confederation; and that an agreement had been proposed to your Excellency, whereby, under pretence of ceding Verona to the Emperor, you lost the whole of your possessions in Lombardy, Verona being situated between that province and the march of Treviso; whereupon he re-

joined, "Those towns, however, are not your patrimony, but taken from other lords." We answered him that republics had no patrimony, so that no State was derived from forefathers and ancestors, but that legitimate and just acquisitions, and long possession, constituted the equitable titles of republics; and that of this nature were those of our towns in Lombardy, which, in the wars waged about a century ago with the Dukes of Milan, were obtained both by battle and by treaties, and by ratifications of peace, by which last means we acquired Crema and Bergamo, Brescia by surrender and long siege, and Verona likewise by surrender, all which towns we had now held for many years past, during the lifetime of the Duke Philip, of Duke Francesco, of Duke Galeazo, of Duke John Galeazo, and of Duke Ludovic, as a thing known and consented to: that Verona had belonged to the Scaligers, of whom there are no heirs, and that the Emperor who now holds it has no more right so to do than the Soldan of Egypt; so that his lordship might comprehend whether we had been wronged or not. We endeavoured to get a sight of all the clauses of the agreement between his Majesty and the most Christian King, in order to learn whether there was any article whereby the King of England could prohibit King Francis from undertaking the Italian expedition, or authorize him to succour the enemies of France: he said that it was not in his power to gratify us, but that he was willing we should see them, and that we must speak to some other lords of the council; adding, however, that the only clause relating to said confederation, purported that either party demanding mutual aid, the obligation existed for rendering such at the suitor's cost. We also inquired the reason for sending the Lord Chamberlain ambassador to France, and he answered that he was not going; and then, when we were in the act of taking leave, he desired us to

confer with him again, after we should have spoken with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Winchester,[2] as he wished to have a long conversation with us.

After dinner we, in fact, did go to the Right Reverend of York, who really seems to have the management of the whole of this kingdom, and having asked him for news, he repeated to us, "*Regem Gallorum nullo pacto esse transiturum montes hoc anno;*" assigning the same reasons as those above mentioned, adding, that he knew not how to qualify the prudence of the French King and his councillors, who, despite the distress under which his subjects are labouring, and the hostility of the Switzers, chooses to descend into Italy: that he had never cared, not only to ask the aid of England, but had even omitted to make the slightest communication concerning this his undertaking; showing that he held his Majesty here in small account, although he had it in his power to concede or withhold from him the means of going into Italy; and he assured us that on this King depends the stay of the most Christian on this side the Alps, or his march beyond them. This appearing to us of great moment, we endeavoured to learn how it was possible, but he did not choose to enter into further details, again repeating the assertion aforesaid yet more positively, and going on to complain with the utmost bitterness in the name of the whole kingdom, saying, "He never writes hither; he does not communicate any of his secrets; he treats all Englishmen as enemies, allowing his own subjects to capture the ships and vessels of this kingdom, and does not enforce any compensation soever. He has sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland, who styles himself Governor, and will not desist until he has compassed the death of the Queen,[3] and of the infant King,[4] in order to render himself master of that realm. We first offered our services to King Louis, to make terms

between him and the Switzers, and the like we did with this present King, because we have great authority with them: King Francis has never deigned even to thank his Majesty! Think, sir ambassadors, whether this is to be borne! and say if these are the fashions of confederates! *Per Deum, Rex noster decrevit servare honorem et existimationem suam.* (By God! it behoves our King preserve his own honour and credit.) This, indeed, I tell you, that should he alter his style, this King will change his mind; let King Francis evince regard and esteem and trust in him, communicating his affairs, treating his Majesty's subjects well, and not attacking our ships; in that case this King will keep the covenant agreed on, and not swerve thence unless goaded by legitimate causes. I was the author of the peace,[5] contrary to the opinion of many of these lords: and I will, moreover, maintain it, should said King choose to do his duty; though if it be his intention to persevere as he has commenced, I will destroy my fabric. And I assure you that all these thrusts have been directed at me by those members of the council who were averse to this peace:" adding much other very warm language, similar to that uttered by the King when we had audience of him.

We, most serene Prince, deemed it advisable to palliate somewhat the most Christian King's proceedings, but without increasing the just indignation of the right reverend of York; and, in the first place, touching the maltreatment which he said had been exercised against English subjects, we told him that officials frequently act contrary to the will of their sovereigns, who should not be blamed on this account: that with regard to the seizure of property and vessels, we knew not what to reply, but that possibly the like had been done in this matter also, although the King had ordered their release; and that before complaining of

him, his Majesty would do well to see whether it were the fault of the King, or that of his agents. With reference to the non-communication, we said that perhaps the most Christian King had marshalled this army with the sole intention of attacking the Switzers, who were doubtless coming to invade his kingdom; and not having decided upon undertaking the Italian expedition, did, therefore, make no communication to this effect; added to which, even if determined thereon, and he yet anticipated having to delay, by reason of hostilities from the Switzers, or from others, he might possibly have not thought fit to announce his resolve, lest it should seem that he was afraid of the Switzers; and that, in point of fact, it would be a degradation for him to abstain from going into Italy, after his intention had been so publicly announced. We said we believed this was his opinion, because we knew that the Pope had made similar complaints, and that his Majesty had excused himself on the plea of not having decided on crossing the Alps, wherefore he had made no announcement. Upon this, the right reverend of York rejoined, "By God, sir ambassadors, this was my own reply to these lords of the council, to exonerate the King of France, for in truth there is no better way; but I perceive that this apology likewise does not avail, for he might easily have announced his intention of going into Italy, should circumstances permit his doing so, without bloodshed, and that he would not march otherwise. Such a course, instead of disgracing him, would have been that of a most clement prince. Still," he again repeated, "let the King of France act by this King as a friend and confederate, showing that he holds him in account, and his Majesty will abide by the confederation as due; if not, he will prove himself a powerful monarch, both in troops and treasure."

We inquired of him to which side the Pope seemed to

lean: he smiled, and said, "You know as well as I do, and would fain know less; but be assured that this King's example will be followed by his Holiness, so our fortunes are the same. Should our King espouse the French interests, the Pope will do the like." And with this we took leave.

We, most serene Prince, having considered the influence which these persons say they possess with his Holiness and with the Switzers, are of opinion that the King of England and his privy council persuade themselves, that through the authority of the Pope, and the impediment offered by the Switzers, they have it in their power to prohibit the most Christian King from crossing into Italy; and this is the cause of such positive assertions made by them, purporting that, should they choose, the King of France will pass into Italy this year, and that, should they not choose, he will not do so. Your Serenity, however, will give it such weight as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

[1] Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, was made Lord Treasurer of England when only Earl of Surrey, A.D. 1501, June 25. After the battle of Flodden (A.D. 1513, September 9), Henry VIII. made him Duke of Norfolk; the Duke resigned his Treasurer's staff A.D. 1522, December 4 (when the King immediately bestowed it on his son the Earl of Surrey), and died A.D. 1524, May 21. See Collins, vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

[2] In date of the year 1509, Hume writes of the Duke of Norfolk (then Earl of Surrey), and of the Bishop of Winchester, as follows:—

"But the chief competitors to favour and authority under the new King, were the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer; and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary and Privy Seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expense which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the last King, he knew how to conform himself to the humours of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which began to prevail under the young monarch. By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made profit, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of

his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness, as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the affairs of the State entirely into the hands of his ministers."

[3] Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV.

[4] James V., then about four years old, and who became the father of Mary Stuart.

[5] Alluding to the peace with Louis XII., signed A.D. 1514, August 7, and according to one of whose articles, the French Monarch married the Princess Maria Tudor. This peace, as shown at page 60, was confirmed in favour of Francis I., on the 5th of April, 1515.

To the Council of Ten.

London, July 7, 1515.

Being anxious to elicit the real truth concerning the matters contained in our previous despatches, we went, under pretence of a visit, to the Reverend Bishop of Durham,[1] a man of great authority, and very much our friend; and having adroitly commenced discussing the expedition of France, he said his opinion was, that the most Christian King would not pass into Italy this year, by reason of this great league between the Emperor, Spain, Milan, the Switzers, and the Florentines, and to which the Pope, likewise, would perhaps become a party, but that he did not yet know for certain. We then asked him if he himself, or any one else in this kingdom, had any certain knowledge of the King's not meaning to cross the Alps this year: he affirmed to there being no certainty soever, and that what circulates is opinion. On our asking him if his Majesty had interfered in the matter, either to speed or prohibit the undertaking, he said no; and that not the slightest sign concerning this business had ever been made, although, by reason of the French King's misconduct, his Sovereign would be entitled to thwart

it; notwithstanding which, nothing has been done hitherto, nor is there any fear of his Majesty's swerving from the confederation, unless provoked by the aforesaid King; he promised also, should any change take place in this matter, to let us know.

Whilst speaking about the affairs of the Catholic King, the Bishop informed us that he was reconciled to his Sovereign, adding, "and will in everything do as our King shall please; whilst with regard to the Pope, he is at present so linked with King Henry, that words cannot exaggerate their mutual good will; so that, in the affairs of France, the policy of England will be that of Rome; the Pope well knowing that his Majesty is most obsequious towards him, whilst from his Holiness, the King can reciprocally promise himself everything." On our asking him about this ambassador, the Lord High Chamberlain, of whose appointment to France we wrote, he said he really had not left, nor would he; but that one of the Governors of Calais had been named in his stead, and that the commission would be sent to him shortly. He declares that it does not relate to the French expedition, but to indemnity for certain damages done to British subjects.

[1] Thomas Ruthal, see ante p. 74.

London, July 16, 1515.

* * * On the receipt of news from our colleagues in Paris, thinking to do what would be very agreeable to the Right Reverend Archbishop of York, who seems to have been the author of the peace between his Majesty and the

most Christian King, we went to his Lordship, and stated to him how sorry King Francis was that this most serene King should doubt his love and goodwill, in demonstration whereof he was about to send one of his gentlemen, adding many expressions calculated to generate affection and concord between the two crowns, knowing that such was the wish of your Serenity. His Lordship appeared much pleased with this communication, saying, "Be assured, should the King of France show signs of valuing the friendship of this our King, he will never violate the confederation and his faith; and in like manner, as I was the author of the peace, so will I exert myself to confirm and maintain it. Should said King choose, on the other hand, to maltreat English subjects, and appear not to hold his Majesty in account, his power is such, that he will know how to avenge himself; for I tell you, Sir Ambassadors, that we have ships here in readiness, and in eight days could place 60,000 men on the soil of France; so we are able to thwart any of his projects at our pleasure." To this we answered him, that councillors ever deserved great praise for preserving friendship between sovereigns to their utmost, as finally they remain the friends of both parties; whilst those who act otherwise run great risk (in the event of their Sovereign's affairs not proceeding according to his wish), of the blame's being cast on those who caused the disappointment; wherefore we praised his lordship for maintaining the friendship between these princes, and by so much the more, as he was aware that the most Christian King was well disposed towards his Majesty here. He told us he had heard, through a sure channel, that the Switzers were divided amongst themselves, wherefore it might be hoped, that the affairs of France, and of your Signory, would turn out well. Concerning the Pope, he said that he really had not yet decided, but would

doubtless follow the example of this kingdom; and that Genoa, apparently, had decided for France. With regard to the truth of these matters, your Serenity is better informed than we are.

Since this interview, through letters from Paris of the 3rd inst., written by the Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo to his brother Lorenzo, we have heard of the great preparations of King Francis, and that he was to confer with the Swiss ambassadors, to conclude a certain agreement negotiated by his Holiness, who seemed to declare himself for France: these letters also mention the strength of the French army, and their contents were beyond measure agreeable to us, as one may hence fairly anticipate the restoration of your Excellency's territories. We, however, did not choose to make any communication hereon to his Majesty, nor to any of these lords, in order that, should the French ambassador arrive, the announcement of these facts by him may prove more agreeable to his Majesty, and more likely to promote the friendship of the two crowns; whereas, had the intelligence reached him from us, it would have appeared to him that the most Christian King was acquainting him through his ambassador with things already known, and public to every one. We, most serene Prince, who are here for the purpose of keeping alive the friendship of these two sovereigns, are intent thereon, and beseech your Sublimity, that either directly from yourself, or through your ambassadors, we may be kept informed of passing events, since, when acquainted with the facts, we shall know how to adapt them as necessary.

London, August 5, 1515.

We have now to inform your Serenity how, on the 29th ultimo, we went to see the King at Greenwich, rather with a view to paying him a visit than for the purpose of transacting any business with his Majesty, as we had nothing to negotiate, nor yet to communicate, for we have received no letters from your Excellency the last two months, and only one from the Magnifico Dandolo, in France, with regard to which we made the requisite communication at the time. This visit seemed to us taken in very good part by his Majesty, and many things passed about the French expedition, with small foundation, because neither the King, nor yet we ourselves, are informed of any thing, wherefore we make no mention of such conversations. With regard to the affair of the two ducats per butt,[1] we said nothing, for the reason written of yore to your Excellency; but what we can say is, that we have been, and ever are, treated with great courtesy, both by his Majesty and these lords. Whilst we were in the hall, with other noblemen, there came a certain Reverend Dom. Baldassar Thoardi, a prothonotary, who heretofore was secretary to Pope Julius, and is returned from Scotland, having been sent thither by the Pope, to settle the terms of peace which are now agreed upon, and only remain to be drawn up in writing. We asked him about the Duke of Albany, who had been sent by King Francis into Scotland, and is reputed a nobleman of great power and influence there;[2] what he was doing, how popular he was, and on what terms he found himself with the most serene Queen. He answered us, that he was a courteous lord (*un gentil signior*); that his party and authority were great; that latterly he and the most serene Queen found themselves linked in close good will,

and that he was assiduous in his visits to her, so that it seems that affairs in that quarter will take a good turn, nor are we aware of the existence of any more potent cause for creating discord between the most Christian King and his Majesty, than the presence of said Duke in that kingdom, should he be at strife with that most serene Queen, or with the Earl[3] her consort, which not being the case, a good issue is to be hoped. This Thoardi had made several attempts to obtain audience of his Majesty, and on the day in question had it of sufficient length; and according to what he told us afterwards, he informed the King that the aforesaid Duke of Albany enjoyed very great authority in Scotland, and that well nigh all have sworn fidelity and obedience to him as Governor, an assertion which is at variance with his first statement, and incompatible with the possibility of concord between him and the Queen; we will, however, endeavour through some other channel to learn the whole truth, whereof your Sublimity shall be informed by our future despatches.

After this, perceiving that the Duke of Suffolk (the husband of the Queen Dowager of France), who was there present, associated with his Majesty *tanquam intelligentiam assistentem orbi*[4] which governs, commands, and acts with authority scarcely inferior to that of the King himself, and not having paid him an especial visit since he came here, although he received this kind of compliment in France, we deemed it advisable, for the sake of being favoured by him in such matters as may chance, to call upon him in the name of your Highness. Having presented your letters of credence, therefore, we asked him to appoint a day for our performance of this duty, and presenting ourselves accordingly, he received us with extreme politeness and affability. We offered our compliments in the most ample form that could be desired,

and in Latin, a detail of which is unnecessary; but it was all expressive of your Highness's good will and intention towards his lordship, and of the great esteem wherein you held his rare acquirements, and most amply set forth in our letters, wherefore you had enjoined us to pay our respects by a personal visit and offers of service, together with congratulations on his most felicitous and auspicious marriage to the most serene Maria, Dowager of France, and alliance with this most serene King; an event which in like manner as it proved extremely glorious for his lordship, so was it a source of singular gladness to your Sublimity.[5] To all these points, his lordship answered us in English, very lovingly, and discussing the affairs of France, he said he was extremely fond of your Sublimity, by reason of the affection which he knew to exist between you and the most serene King, wherefore, he chose to beseech, and respectfully remind you of two things: first, that in the event of the King of France crossing the Alps, your Sublimity might be the first, and quick, to obtain your territory, lest on his being firmly established in the Milanese, he prove adverse to the recovery of your Signory's rights; secondly, that when reinstated, you do diminish your military expenditure, and endeavour to accumulate as much treasure as possible, as he suspects it will behove you disburse money against the King of France, by reason of his being a spirited youth, in greater favour with his subjects than any other King, and anxious for glory. He repeated these comments to us twice or thrice, very earnestly, and then told us that his Majesty here had intended saying a few things to us on the day we went to Greenwich, and from forgetfulness omitted doing so, and charged him to make the communication in his name. He says, that one of his Majesty's gentlemen had arrived here from Ferrara and Mantua, whither he had been despatched on account of cer-

tain presents exchanged between the parties,[6] and on behalf of each of these lords, he had besought this most serene King to persuade your Serenity to live on good terms and pacifically with them, as friendly neighbours, and conceding good treatment to their subjects, acting in every respect as becomes fair friendship, they being of this same mind with regard to living united with your Sublimity, under all circumstances, and, that if there was any cause of dissension between your Excellency and them, you should be content to have such arranged and adjusted by his Majesty here, by whose arbitration they professed themselves content to abide. To this effect, the Duke of Suffolk urged us extremely, in the King's name; and we answered him—I, Sebastian, in particular—saying, that having come lately from Venice, and being acquainted with whatsoever might have passed between said lords and your most illustrious Signory, I was not aware of the existence of any difference between them and your Excellency, who viewed said lords less in the light of near neighbours, than of your own children, ever evincing towards them such affection as became a parent, though it was perfectly true they had not reciprocated this tenderness, for when through the conspiracy devised by well nigh all the Sovereigns of Christendom,[7] the fiercest possible war was waged against the territories of your Sublimity, these two lords, without any cause given, as known to every one, and like the other Sovereigns, moreover, declared themselves with their whole soul and strength the most rancorous enemies of our State, which from the two lords aforesaid has suffered as much injury as from any other members of the above mentioned conspiracy, and in revenge for the outrages received, your Excellency merely acted thus: that, when the Marquis of Mantua was captured by our forces, and brought a prisoner to your Sublimity,[8] on whose will his life depended, you after

a few months released him, whole, and utterly unscathed ; in reward for which release, said Marquis has exercised many an act of hostility against our State in the guise of a wrathful enemy, notwithstanding which, no thirst for vengeance exists on the part of your Excellency (who desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn and live). With regard to the Duke of Ferrara forsooth, after waging the most open war against us, together with the others, he appeared to soften, and evinced good will towards your Highness, and when I left Venice, and long before, he enjoyed (I said) his original favour, nor was there any cause of dissension, a resident ambassador from said Duke being accredited to the Signory, and receiving good countenance and treatment as becoming the clemency of your Excellency. We did not deem it advisable to pursue the matter farther, as perhaps this request might relate to the Polesine, not choosing to show that there was any difficulty in that matter ; neither would we speak of the rights exercised by your Signory in Ferrara,[9] lest this appeal should have been induced thereby, it not seeming fit to us in these times to promote discussion thereon, unless provoked and empowered by your Serenity to reply in this matter, by reason of its extreme importance.

I, verily, Andrea, most serene Prince, finding myself with his Majesty, he thought fit to honour me with the order of knighthood, and although such was neither sought or desired by me, nevertheless, to avoid showing dissent from his Majesty's will, it behoved me obey him, and thus has he decorated me with this gift, in honour, moreover, of your Sublimity.

[1] See note on a subsequent page.

[2] See ante, p. 61.

[3] Douglas Earl of Angus.

[4] Apparently by the "orb," Wolsey is meant; and the ambassadors consider Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, his satellite; the Duke being the king's brother-in-law, and Wolsey not having yet got his Cardinal's hat.

[5] In letters of the 5th and 15th of May, which lacked sufficient interest to quote, Giustinian had informed the Signory of the arrival of Mary Tudor, with the Duke of Suffolk, at the English court; and that he had abstained from congratulating the King on their marriage, because he perceived that no rejoicings were made, and that it was not pleasing to Henry. We read in Hall, in his "Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry VIII.," folio 56:—

"THE VII. YERE OF KYNG HENRY VIII.—After that the Duke of Suffolke had receaved the Frenche Quene, with her dower appoynted, and all her apparell, iuels and householde stuffe delivered, he with the Quene toke their leave of the French Kyng, leaving Doctor West, nominate Bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made between the Kyng of England and the newe Frenche Kyng called Francis I., and so passed thorough Fraunce to Caleys, where she was honorably enterteined, and after, with great honour, maried to Lord Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke, openly: howbeit, some sayd he was maryed prively before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Against this mariage many men grudged, and sayd that it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maryed to the Prynce of Castell; but the wisest sort was content, considerying that, if she had been maryed agayn out of the realme, she should have caried much riches with her, and now she brought every yere into the realme IX. or X. M. markes; but whatsoever the rude people sayd, the duke behaved him selfe so, that he had both the favour of the Kyng and of the people, hys wytte and demeanour was suche."

[6] Frizzi, in his history of Ferrara, mentions the fact of Duke Alfonso's having sent one of his courtiers, named Girolamo Sestola, to Henry VIII., with a present of a most superb horse with gold trappings, and three trained falcons and a leopard, which last kind of prey was used in Italy in those times to course hares. Sanuto mentions having seen a leopard take a hare at Vigevano in 1496; and in an Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Titian, in the Manfrino Gallery, two leopards are seen in a leash like dogs. Frizzi says, the mission and present had for object to induce Henry VIII. to persuade Leo X. to restore Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara.

[7] The ambassadors are here alluding to the Leaguers of Cambrai, whose hostilities against Venice commenced in the year 1509.

[8] On the 10th of August, 1509, on which day he was escorted from Padua to Paluello by Shakspeare's Othello, *alias* Christopher Moro.

[9] Alluding to the jurisdiction of the Venetian Vice-Lord at Ferrara, an office which ceased with the League of Cambrai.

London, August 24, 1515.

We have not written again, since the 5th instant, until now, because I, Sebastian, have been suffering from a severe gastric fever, from which, by God's grace, I am now free, remaining but with mere intermittent ague, of which I hope to be soon rid; whilst writing my last despatches, and with the fever upon me, I received missives from your Sublimity, together with the letters addressed to his Majesty here, returning thanks, as their contents run, and giving news of Hungary. To-day, we got other letters from your Excellency, dated the 23rd June, mentioning that your army had retreated in safety to the Brentelle,[1] and they in truth arrived very opportunely, for a report had been circulated (so it is reported) by the friar who represents Spain here, purporting that said army had been put to flight, and suffered defeat, which caused us incredible anxiety, and the only thing that made us suspend our belief, was the vain and boastful custom of these Spaniards, who are wont to exist by such stratagems, notwithstanding which the intelligence seemed to be credited by these Lords, who will now be convinced of the truth, and said Spaniard remain utterly deluded, and with the reputation of an idle liar. It has not been possible hitherto to execute the orders contained in the aforesaid two sets of letters, on account of the severe illness of me, Sebastian, and also by reason of the absence of the King, and the whole of the Council, who are taking their pleasure in the country, at a very great distance hence.

On the 7th instant, an ambassador arrived here from his most Christian Majesty, an ecclesiastic, the President of Rouen; he appears a worthy person, and on his arrival, I, Andrea, visited him; subsequently, on hearing of the indisposition of me, Sebastian, he came to visit me, I having,

however, already anticipated him in this office, through my secretary. The coming of said ambassador has proved very opportune, he having complied with what I wrote to your Sublimity, and to your ambassadors in France, for he told his Majesty, in the name of the most Christian King, that he meant for ever to maintain and preserve the good friendship and peace contracted between them, and he has announced to him that King Francis has decided on crossing the Alps, with very considerable forces, for the recovery of his Milanese territories, communicating other matters, moreover, relating to their two crowns. He received a reply which touched on all the points already notified to your Excellency: he was told, in the first place, that his Majesty marvelled greatly at the communication not having been made to him previously; secondly, that the Duke of Albany, who had been sent to Scotland by the most Christian King, was creating great disturbance, and acting most insolently against the Queen and her children. Moreover, mention was made of the mal-treatment of the English by his subjects; and finally, it behoved him listen to complaints of the piratical manner in which English ships had been plundered. With regard to the first complaint, the ambassador aforesaid made ample apology, by showing the date of his credentials, and declined giving any answer to the other three, merely requesting letters from his Majesty to the most Christian King, stating these grievances, saying, that his Majesty would reply; and thus the whole will be peaceably settled.

It seems that the Scotch have risen lately and attacked these people and their border towns, and that the Queen of Scotland has betaken herself into a certain fortress;[2] we do not know what steps have been taken by this side, as the King and his Council are at a distance from hence, but it is thought nothing further will take place. Immediately on his

Majesty's approaching London, your Excellency's injunctions shall be complied with, for I, Sebastian, hope at any rate to recover my usual health, which I much desire, in order to attend to the affairs of your Highness.

[1] The Venetian Commander Alviano, whose head-quarters were at Padua, had marched towards Vicenza, which was threatened by the Spanish General Cardona, the Viceroy of Naples. Alviano succeeded in keeping the Spaniards at bay, whilst the Vicentines were superintending the spinning of their silkworms, and gave them the opportunity of removing their produce out of the grasp of Cardona, who had hoped to pay his troops with the cocoons of the Vicentine territory. Having effected this, Alviano retreated to the village of Brentelle, two miles from Padua; and the republic's letters to the ambassadors in London gave news to this effect.

[2] Stirling.

London, September 15, 1515.

The reason why your Serenity has not been written to from the 24th ultimo (the date of our last) until now, was the illness of me, Sebastian, which, when I was expecting it to decline, became more violent, for I was seized with flux, accompanied by constant fever, which harassed me so, that I only commenced going out of doors yesterday, and hope to improve daily; but really, even had I not been ill, there was nothing worthy your Serenity's knowledge, owing to the absence of the King and his whole Council, which being the case *omnia silent*. During this interval, however, there have taken place those prosperous events in favour of the French King, wherewith your Serenity is well acquainted,[1] and which were notified to his ambassador here by the most illustrious "Madame," his Majesty's mother, who, as they chance, communicates the events by posts, for the announcement to the King, a proceeding which leaves nothing to desire; nor can anything conduce more to the maintenance of friendship

between the two sovereigns. We, forsooth, have no information soever, either about these events, or anything else relating to your Serenity, any more than if we did not exist; and we are dependent for our news, as also for the time of receiving it, on the aforesaid French ambassador; and yet it would be opportune for us to hear the events with the necessary details, they being notified very succinctly to said ambassador; so do your Highness deign to charge the magnificoes your ambassadors, resident with his most Christian Majesty, when the royal posts are despatched to the most illustrious "Madame," to give us intelligence; as, by means of the posts which she sends on hither, we should learn everything, free of cost to your Serenity, and this would ratify our statements concerning his most Christian Majesty's successes. Up to the present time, the Spanish ambassador here has filled the air and the ears of the malignants with vain news to his own liking; he now remains confused. But, in point of fact, these French victories seem slightly relished by the people here, owing to the natural feeling existing between the two nations.

Concerning the affairs of Scotland, which seemed in some confusion, nothing more is said; and it is supposed they are arranged.

The court is intent on making good cheer, and on its pleasures; nor will it assemble here until Michaelmas, when the requisite visits shall be paid to all; and we will, with the utmost diligence, pay the compliments enjoined us by your Sublimity, and endeavour to make amends by earnestness, for the omissions caused by irresistible sickness.

[1] Alluding to the capture, at Villafranca, by Bayard, of Prospero Colonna, and to the King's descent into Italy by the valley of Barcelonetta.

London, September 20, 1515.

* * * A King's courier has arrived here from Rome, having been despatched in haste with the news that the Right Rev. of York has been created Cardinal at the suit of this most serene King, who, with might and main, is intent on aggrandizing him; perceiving which, we do our utmost, *supra vires nostras*, to keep him on the most friendly terms, both by reason of his extreme influence with the King, and also because he is of a very active and assiduous mind in matters of business: he is now far away at a palace of his, whither we have been unable to betake ourselves, but he is expected here daily; and immediately on his arrival, we will offer him our ample congratulations.[1]

Moreover, we understand, from a good source, that the disturbances in Scotland, which seemed to have been quieted, are raging more than ever, owing to the Duke of Albany, who aimed at getting possession of the Scottish princes, then with the most serene Queen their mother, who had withdrawn into a fortress on the borders of this kingdom, called Stirling, whither said Duke sent a number of troops, to cut off her supplies; and finally, going himself, with some 10,000 men, sat down before it, and even pointed his cannon, in order to batter said castle. Upon this, the Queen, from fear, surrendered, placing in his hands the royal infants; she herself, as we hear, fleeing towards this kingdom with the royal wardrobe; but the Duke overtook her, and seized the goods, leaving her the mere garments on her person, and two female attendants. This intelligence is extremely important, for the whole blame of such cruelty will be laid to the most Christian King, who seems to have sent said Duke to Scotland, and it may prove a source of discord.

[1] According to Lingard (vol. vi. p. 49), Wolsey was created Cardinal on the 11th of September.

London, September 26, 1515.

We have now to inform your Serenity that the right rev. Cardinal of York arrived here yesterday: we betook ourselves to him immediately, it being the first visit made by me, Sebastian, since my illness. On being introduced to his lordship, we paid our compliments in a loving and copious Latin discourse, on behalf of your Sublimity, embracing all the points that seemed necessary to us, mentioning the love borne towards him by your Highness, and the vast esteem wherein you hold his person. We observed that we had placed ourselves entirely in the hands of his right rev. lordship, by reason of his marvellous endowments, and of the supreme authority enjoyed by him with his Majesty and the whole kingdom, evincing joy incredible at this his well-deserved promotion, and adding whatsoever else seemed expedient to us in demonstration of the affection of your Sublimity, and of ourselves individually.

His lordship replied in elegant terms, thanking your Sublimity infinitely, and especially ourselves, for so honourable (to use his own words) and loving a demonstration made towards him, promising at all times and places to be the supporter and defender of your Excellency's interests, both in this kingdom and wheresoever else he may find himself, by reason of the singular good will which he knows is borne you by his most serene King, together with many other words and gests, replete with graciousness and gratitude. After this, we requested his right rev. lordship, if there was any news, to deign and communicate it to us: he said he had letters from Brussels, a place in Burgundy, dated the 18th instant, quoting advices from Verona likewise, in date of the 12th instant, purporting that all Italy is in arms; and, not to weary your Serenity with all the details[1] given us by the

Cardinal, we will merely mention that his right rev. lordship described the affairs of the most Christian King, and of your Sublimity, as being in extreme peril, lamenting the piteous slaughter and bloodshed which he foresaw would ensue, unless the Almighty stretched forth his arm; and he evinced greater regret at the imminent peril of your Highness than for that of others, somewhat blaming your not having made terms with the Pope. We, who had neither letters or advices of so recent a date, and being unable from what your Serenity writes us, to contradict this news, did not think fit to insist, and merely declared that we should never have failed conforming ourselves to the will of our lord, had we been offered fair terms, and provided we could, at the same time, have kept our faith with the most Christian King; but that we were, on the one hand, deterred by the maintenance of the promise, whilst on the other, the conditions were manifestly most iniquitous, and such as one neither could or ought to accept; wherefore the only reproach that could be cast on us was, that we had adhered to our plighted faith.

We then inquired whether there was any news from Scotland; and he told us there were great disturbances, acquainting us word for word with all that your Excellency will have heard by the accompanying despatches, adding two particulars: first, that the Duke of Albany had made the Queen write letters to the Pope, to the most Christian King, and to his Majesty here,—whereby it would appear that her surrender of the children and the fortress was not effected either by force of arms or constraint, but freely, which proved that manifest violence had been offered to the poor Queen; secondly, that she had arrived in this kingdom destitute, and deprived of her children and property. He mentioned these facts with extreme vehemence and mental excitement, say-

ing, that such a thing had never been done, as to proceed to violence against a Queen and her children, who would, doubtless, come to a sad end; and that this is a bad return made by the most Christian King to his Majesty for having chosen to maintain inviolate the oath of the covenant made between them; losing so great an opportunity for invading France, whilst the King is in Italy with the princes and military, there remaining in his own realms but women and property; whereas, ships being in readiness, in eight days he could have sent an infinite number of troops across, to conquer and lay waste as far as their march might extend; and he said, "Believe me, sir ambassadors! this most serene King, and the kingdom, will not brook such an outrage." In delivering himself thus, he evinced incredible excitement, which we believe to be shared by the other lords of the kingdom; so we, bearing in mind the order of your Sublimity, which enjoins us to take for our polar star the maintenance of the peace and league between these two most serene Kings, thought fit to reply, that over a temple of Apollo in Greece, the following words were inscribed, for observance by the wise—PATIARE ET ABSTINE (BEAR AND FORBEAR); added to which, the Greeks had an ancient proverb, which may be rendered in Latin thus—FESTINA LENTE (SLOW AND SURE); and that, in accordance with these two precepts, his right rev. lordship should discountenance any rash resolve, until after mature judgment, and a thorough investigation of the cause of this outrage; whereupon we doubted not but that this kingdom would find, not only that his most Christian Majesty was unconscious of this innovation, but moreover, that when aware thereof, it would prove extremely irksome to him as becoming his extreme justice, faith, and piety, and we pledged our lives to his never having even thought of doing such a thing: in

which case, this realm would have no cause for complaint, or to devise aught against his Majesty and his kingdom. Of this, we added, we felt sure, that, should King Henry choose to investigate the matter, he would find the truth to correspond with our assertion, we being convinced thereof by the following reasons:—first, that it would ill become a new King, a youth professing great good faith and justice, to commence his reign by such beginnings and under such auspices, especially it being at this present inopportune for his interests, engaged as he is in the Milanese expedition; to which effect, as observed by his right rev. lordship, his Majesty in person, and a great part of the French forces, had crossed the Alps; wherefore, in this state of things, no one could imagine that that most serene King, at whose council-board so many most grave men are seated, would do what might now stir up England against him, and especially as there is no want of those who are daily exhorting his Majesty here to infringe the confederation made between them. Then, again, the letter which the Duke of Albany made the Queen of Scotland write, whereby she seems to admit that she had not acted as she did on compulsion, but spontaneously, clearly proves that the most Christian King was not privy to this outrage, since had it proceeded from him, the letter would have been fruitless, and could not obtain the result desired by said Duke. We therefore besought his right reverend lordship to investigate the matter thoroughly, and endeavour that the errors committed might obtain a remedy from the Christian King, in which case, this kingdom would dismiss such groundless suspicions.

The Cardinal replied to some of our arguments in confirmation of his charges; but, with regard to its not being for the interest of the most Christian King to act thus at the

present time, and to what we said about the letters, he made no rejoinder, it appearing to him, possibly, that our statements were conclusive, for he said he would make himself fully acquainted with the matter, and examine it; adding, that although he had acquainted the rev. French ambassador with a great part of this news, yet would he request us likewise to announce it to him again, and act so as to avoid his incurring penalty;[2] repeating, that unless the most Christian King put a stop to the proceedings of this Duke of Albany, his Majesty will not bear it, and hereon much more was said, which we omit, to avoid fatiguing your Highness. On taking leave, owing to the lateness of the hour, and by reason of a heavy rain, we were unable to visit the said French ambassador, but will go to his house early to-morrow morning; and of all that we may transact with him, account shall be transmitted to your Serenity.

[1] In the year 1515, a courier *could* have performed the journey from Verona to Brussels in six days: the words in the despatch are—"De 12 pur *del instante*, date a Verona." The battle of Marignano was fought on the 13th and 14th of September, so these letters could not have contained notice of that event: they probably gave assurances of the result of the expedition proving unfavourable to France.

[2] "Et *simul* operassemo talmente, ch'el non se precipitasse *in penis*." This seems to imply a threat of holding the French ambassador accountable for such hostilities as the Duke of Albany might wage against England.

London, October 11, 1515.

Since our last, in date of the 27th ult., some of these lords who had been a long while absent, returned hither; whereupon we visited them as becoming. On discussing the news of Italy, and the conflict between the most Christian King and the Switzers,[1] they asked us whether we had

received letters concerning it from your Highness: we answered them that we had nothing from your Excellency, but that there were letters from the most noble Piero Pasqualigo to his brother here, and from his secretary to the merchant, Hieronymo da Molin, stating all that had chanced circumstantially, and we, moreover, narrated the whole to them in detail. They inquired if the ambassadors had acquainted *us* with this news; and on our answering in the negative, they appeared to doubt it, as from other sources they have received intelligence differing very widely from that contained in the letters aforesaid, and also from those of the French ambassador, which coincide with the particulars given by the most noble Pasqualigo; and they said that hitherto they had no certain tidings of the victory's having been gained by the most Christian King. Through advices received from others, forsooth, they at this present hour know that the aforesaid King did obtain the victory, but a most bloody one, and attended with immense slaughter, in such wise that it was difficult to collect which side had suffered the greatest loss. With regard, indeed, to the peace which was reported to have been arranged between his Holiness and the most Christian King, they say they have nothing certain, and almost seem not to believe it. The Reverend Bishop of Durham, a lord of great authority and talent, added to the foregoing these words: "We have news of the engagement from a Frenchman in the camp, with this, moreover, that it would have been all over with the French, had not the illustrious Lord Bartholomew Alviano come up with his men-at-arms, who afforded such proof of their prowess and valour, that they gave the victory to the already flagging French;" saying to us, "Your friendship has been very profitable to the King of France."[2] This pleased us greatly, especially as it redounds to the profit

and renown of your Excellency, for in truth it would be impossible to desire the recovery of your Excellency's state with greater glory and advantage, and of hope for the future, than here displayed; wherefore we congratulate your Serenity and the most excellent Senate most heartily on its so great exaltation. *Respexit tandem oriens ex alto;* the day-spring from on high hath visited us, and looked down upon the pious cause of your Excellency, putting an end, as we hope, to your long and well-nigh insupportable toils and afflictions; and it will now be proved that, by God's grace, those who ever trusted and relied on the State's resuming her possessions, spake by divine inspiration.

On taking leave of said lords, we promised them that on receiving letters from your Excellency concerning this event, which we expected daily, we would come and announce their contents to them: this they urged us to do, saying, "Your advices to this effect will be credited, for we are aware that from the Signory there proceed neither falsehoods nor fictions." Then, as we were informed that the Catholic King[3] had sent a princely gift to his Majesty here, consisting of a very valuable jewelled collar, with two capital horses, caparisoned *regio ornatu*, and an extremely rich sword, with a view to obtain military succour for the invasion of France (which aid, however, the King had refused), we plied the right reverend Cardinal, in order to learn what this present was, and its value. Having described it, he said it was worth upwards of 100,000 ducats: adding, that the King had formerly incurred such vast expenditure, and done so much for his Catholic Highness, that he was able in reason to make some such acknowledgment. The Cardinal was silent concerning any demand accompanying the gift, so we said it was reported that King Ferdinand had endeavoured to obtain a subsidy of troops to serve in France: this he denied, as his

Majesty would never choose to act contrary to his sworn league: but from another quarter we receive confirmation of our suspicions, nor are there wanting those who say that his aforesaid Catholic Majesty sent to pawn the collar, and obtain money thereon from this most serene King; but whether he has succeeded herein or not, we have been unable to learn, despite all our diligence.[4]

ANDREAS BADUARIUS, Eqs.
SEBAST. JUSTINIANUS, Eqs. } *Oratores.*

[1] The battle of Marignano (as stated in the note, p. 133) was fought on the 13th and 14th of September; and by this despatch, it would seem that the news of that event did not reach London until the first week in October.

[2] "It was on the morning of the 14th of September, at about 9 A.M., that the Venetian general, Alviano, having ridden all night, came into the field with about 200 picked horsemen; and charging a column of Swiss, impressed their comrades with a belief that the entire Venetian army had arrived."—See Sketches of Venetian History, vol. ii. p. 223. Murray, 1838.

[3] Ferdinand the Catholic was at this period almost out of his mind, having never recovered the effects of the aphrodisiac dish which his Queen Germaine de Fois set before him in the month of March, 1513, as recorded in one of the letters of Peter Martyr, who, in date of August, 1515, writes that the King, being then at Burgos, nearly expired in a fit; subsequently, on the 28th of October, he expresses himself thus,—"Rex nescit qua tendat, aut quid velit ex ingravescente morbo;" and finally, in November, 1515, he says, speaking of the King's loss of reason, "Ex Scylla in Charybdim Rex labitur." In short, Ferdinand the Catholic expired of hunting and matrimony, either of which, as Peter Martyr wrote on the 14th of November, 1514, are fatal to most men at the age of sixty-three; and the only way in which one can account even for a *rumour* of a free gift made by Ferdinand of Aragon to his son-in-law is, that the donor was supposed to be out of his mind at the time.

[4] At the commencement of his reign, Henry VIII. seems to have transacted considerable business in the pawn-broking line, and got some very nice articles for his money, amongst which, this very ambassador, Badoer, mentions, in date of 14th February to 4th March, 1510, that he then possessed the armour of Charles the Bold, on which he had lent money to its original owner's granddaughter, the Lady Margaret, whom he refused to accommodate a second time. Then, in September, 1510, in reply to a letter from the Signory concerning the possibility of obtaining

a loan from Henry VIII. on jewels, the ambassador writes that, provided the security were good, the King would oblige the State with as much as 150,000 ducats. (See Diaries, vol. x. fo. 61 and 421). The Republic did not, however, follow the advice, on this occasion, of Badoer, who suggested that his wife should be sent to England, on board the Flanders galleys, with such of the jewels of St. Mark's or others as it was wished to pledge, so the King did not deal with Venice; but these anecdotes prove that, at this period, Henry VIII. had as many customers as the Medici some years previously.

London, October 29, 1515.

By ours of the 16th inst. your Sublimity will have learnt all the events here: at this present, forsooth, we inform you that the non-notification of the events of Italy by your Sublimity, nor yet by your ambassadors at the French court, either to his Majesty here, or to ourselves, has caused extreme surprise to all these lords; insomuch, that several letters having been received from the most illustrious the mother of the most Christian King, and two from his Majesty himself, signed by his own hand, they were not credited, on these grounds, namely, that if the victory which the most Christian King arrogates to himself had been true and great as he describes it, your Excellency, or your aforesaid ambassadors, would have already forwarded notice of it hither, and by so much the more as all the letters received by them by way of Flanders, and through other channels, are of a contrary tenor. Owing to this, the French ambassador, resenting the small credit given to his King's letters, wrote to his Majesty in such form that he sent hither a king-at-arms to corroborate by word of mouth, and vouch for all the letters signed by his most Christian Majesty, and likewise for those in the name of his most illustrious mother, setting forth his victory as most signal; and according to what we have been told by the ambassador aforesaid, he eulogizes extremely the

feats of the late illustrious Lord Bartholomew Alviano and his army, said herald having announced his demise,[1] which was moreover mentioned in the letters which his Majesty here received from Flanders.

Moreover, having been to visit the illustrious Duke of Norfolk, the Treasurer, who is a person of extreme authority, discussing various topics, he told us the affairs of Scotland were in a bad way, owing to the great dissensions amongst the people and the lords of the kingdom, some siding with the Queen, and others with the Duke of Albany, who, having sent for two of the chief lords, the Queen's adherents,[2] under safe-conduct and oath guaranteeing their safety, caused them to be arrested, with the intention of harming them, though they contrived to make their escape hither. We perceive that the grandees here are very wrathful against this Duke, and anxious both to get rid of him, and to reinstate the most serene Queen; it being evident, that unless the most Christian King make provision, this side will proceed to war: on our endeavouring to ascertain this fact through the Duke of Norfolk aforesaid, he confirmed it; adding, that forces will be raised by sea and land, which may be credited, as certain ships here in the Thames are being armed the last few days, artillery and other military stores being put on board them. Finally, a galeas, of unusual magnitude, has been launched with such a number of heavy guns, that we doubt whether any fortress, however strong, could resist their fire.[3] This most serene King and the Queen chose to attend the launch, together with well nigh all the prelates and lords of the kingdom, we also being present, by invitation from his Majesty; and all dined on board at the King's charge. It really seemed to us a fine and excellent engine, provided it can be worked. Neither the French ambassador nor yet the Spaniard were invited to

this ceremony; and from what we can conjecture, said French ambassador does not seem in great favour with these lords, whilst he, on his part, is dissatisfied to the utmost with them, it seeming to him that he is not held in such account as becoming. We fail not to sow the best seed we can, both with said ambassador to prevent his exasperating the mind of the most Christian King, and also with these lords, in order that they may make some greater demonstration towards him, being of opinion that this policy corresponds with the mission hither of me, Sebastian, whose instructions are such as known to your Sublimity.

We also went to-day to visit the right reverend Cardinal, in whom the whole power of the State is really lodged, that he might execute the ratification announced by your Sublimity with regard to your joining the league, and write to the most Christian King about said ratification, so that his Majesty may confirm this inclusion according to the suggestion offered to us heretofore by his right reverend lordship, who made answer that he had seen the letters of thanks and ratification, causing them to be brought to him at the moment, and showing them to us. He said he would so act that the King should write to your Excellency confirming this inclusion, which would serve as security for your Sublimity, whose ratification, in like manner, would be his Majesty's bond; and that he would also write to the most Christian King, intimating to him the ratification of your Highness, that he in like manner might confirm it. We shall hasten the despatch of both these letters, so as to close the negotiation.

We will not omit telling your Serenity, that in our conversation with the aforesaid Duke of Norfolk, who assured us that matters here tended towards war with Scotland, and speedily, we put the question, appearing to speak on our

own behalf, and for information's sake, whether such a war could be entered upon, considering the confederation with the most Christian King, which appears to forbid this kingdom's waging hostilities against Scotland? He answered us, that the conditions of the league are, that the most Christian King should favour the Queen and her children, so that the kingdom might rest entire in their hands, and that this side did not mean to compass aught save this very end, which tallied with the conditions existing between England and France. The French ambassador, however, denies these terms; and as we have never been able to obtain the articles of that league, because the lords here say they do not relate to our affairs, we urged this French ambassador to get and communicate them to us, so that, in case of need, we may be enabled to do what may seem expedient to us for the confirmation of said peace, and this we did knowing that such is the will of your Sublimity.

[1] Alviano had died on the 7th of the month.

[2] Her husband, Douglas Earl of Angus, and Lord Hume.

[3] This launch took place at Erith, nor until now has it ever been possible to ascertain the precise date of the event, which relates to the *Henrye Grace de Dieu.*

In John Charnock's "History of Marine Architecture" (London, 1801), there are the following notices concerning this vessel:—

"The King" (Grafton says), "hearing of the losse of the *Regent*, caused a great ship to be made, suche another as was never seene before in England, and called it *Henrye Grace de Dieu.*"

"We now come in reality to the ship *which has occasioned so much mighty controversy.* It is truly said to have been built in consequence of the destruction of the *Regent*; and we may naturally *suppose* was launched in the sixth year of Henry VIII., as we find the following entry concerning it in a curious MS. now preserved in the Augmentation Office:—

"'Here after ensuythe the costs don and made by the comaundmet. of the King owre Soven. Lorde Henry VIII., on hys ryall schippe called the *Henry Gce. a Dew*, for the brynginge of here into Barkyn crekké from Eyrethe, and payde by the honds of John Hopton, the VIII. day of Decembre, in the VI. yere of the reyne of owre seyd Soven. Lord, as here folowyethe' * * *

"In the ancient picture preserved at Windsor Castle of the embarkation of King Henry VIII. at Dover, May 31, 1520, the ship called the *Harry Grace de Dieu*, or the *Great Harry*, is represented as just sailing out of the harbour of Dover, having her sails set. She has four masts, with two round tops on each mast, except the mizen mast; her sails and pendants are of cloth of gold damasked. The royal standard of England is flying on each of the four quarters of the forecastle, and the staff of each standard is surrounded by a fleur de lis or. Pendants are flying on the mast-heads; and at each quarter of the deck is a standard of St. George's cross. Her quarters and sides, as also the tops, are fortified and decorated with heater shields or targets, charged differently with the cross of St. George azure, a fleur de lis or, party per pale argent and vert a union rose, and party per pale argent and vert a portcullis or, alternately and repeatedly.

"On the main-deck the King is standing, richly dressed in a garment of cloth of gold, edged with ermine, the sleeves crimson, and the jacket and breeches the same; his round bonnet is covered with a white feather, laid on the upper side of the brim. On his left hand stands a person in a dark violet cloak, slashed with black, with red stockings; and on his right hand are three others, one dressed in black, another in bluish gray, guarded with black; and the third in red, guarded with black, and a black jacket slashed. These are evidently persons of distinction; behind them are yeomen of the guard with halberts. Two trumpeters are sitting on the edge of the quarter-deck, and the same number on the forecastle, sounding their trumpets. Many yeomen of the guard are on both decks. On the front of the forecastle are depicted, party per pale argent and vert within a circle of the garter, the arms of France and England, quarterly crowned, the supporters a lion and a dragon, being the arms and supporters then used by King Henry VIII. The same arms are repeated on the stern. On each side the rudder is a port-hole, with a brass cannon; and on the side of the main-deck are two port-holes, with cannon, and the same number under the forecastle. The figure on the ship's head seems to be meant to represent a lion, but is extremely ill carved. Under her stern is a boat, having at her head two standards of St. George's cross, and the same at her stern, with yeomen of the guard and other persons in her."

From the documents printed by Mr. Charnock, it is seen that four entire days and 400 men were required to work the *Henri Grace de Dieu* from Erith to Barking; and then, after giving a list of the ships belonging to Henry VIII., A.D. 1514, the first of which are, the *Henry Imperial*, the *Trinity*, the *Gabriel Royal*, the *Catharine Fortileza*, the *Mary Rose*, and the *Peter*, he says—"The *Henry Imperial*, as the first vessel in the preceding list is called, is not mentioned by that name on any other occasion; and yet, being of the greatest force, it was the admiral ship, according to the term then used. This, however, was not always the case, a curious circumstance being developed by the last and the preceding documents; for Sir Edward Howard, the Lord High Admiral of England, seems to have hoisted his flag on board the *Mary Rose*, a

ship of far inferior rate. The Lord Ferrars, who always acted under him, was captain first of the *Sovereign*, and secondly of the *Henry Imperial*; and it is not improbable the ship in question was the same that is much better known in the present day as the *Henry Grace a Dieu. The only difficulty which occurs in the way of this supposition is, that the* Henry Grace a Dieu *is not thought to have been launched till the ensuing year* (1515); and all historians agree, that the Lord Ferrars actually served under Sir Edward Howard, at the time that noble person was drowned, which was immediately after the foregoing return was made out. Frequent inaccuracies and disagreements, however, both in the names and tonnage of ships, have rendered the development of this branch of naval history, at that remote period, a task of no small difficulty. In a subsequent list, the *Henry Grace a Dieu,* most commonly rated at 1,000 tons burthen, is stated at 1,500; and the *Sovereign*, which in the last account is said to have been of the same dimensions which are usually given to the *Henry*, will be hereafter found diminished to 800."

London, November 15, 1515.

We have not written again, since our last of the 29th ultimo, because nothing has chanced, either previously or at this present, worthy of your Serenity's knowledge, though not to fail in our duty we deem it well to write little rather than nothing. By the foregoing, we mention that it seemed to be the intention of this kingdom to attack Scotland, in consequence of the innovations made by the Duke of Albany; it does not seem, however, that any farther steps have been taken, though we perceive that a general Parliament of all the Lords[1] and Prelates of the kingdom, as usually held at this season, has been convened, and was to have assembled to-day, but did not meet. I, Sebastian, am of opinion that it is meant to discuss this affair of the Scotch war; a report circulates that the sittings will commence this week, and your Highness shall be informed with all diligence of what may reach our notice.

Having visited the Cardinal, he told us he had just then received letters from his ambassador with the Emperor, and

from others likewise in those parts, purporting that your Sublimity's army had suffered no slight reverse, for that being under Brescia, battering the town, towards the "Garzeta," and having destroyed certain walls, the besieged made a sally by night, and finding our troops off their guard and unprepared, captured fourteen great guns, and killed about 1,000 men, and would doubtless have annihilated the whole army, had not your Excellency's illustrious Captain[2] retreated to a distance of three miles from the town; and he added that your Excellency's troops had refused to continue the attack, after they perceived the Imperial Eagles floating from the towers of Brescia, and the like was, moreover, confirmed to us, by the Right Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury.[3] This news circulates all over England, and is credited, though we cannot persuade ourselves of its truth, and even should it be in part correct, we, for many reasons, which it is unnecessary to specify, imagine the matter is a trifle and of small importance; nevertheless, should the intelligence be untrue, it is at any rate disadvantageous our having no means to speak or declare the real state of the case, since success gives great repute to governments, whilst reverses have the contrary effect.

We know not how to continue urging your Excellency to what is for your own interest, seeing that the battle gained by France was fought two months ago, and that nothing has yet been written hither for the gratification of this King, and in proof of your holding him in that account which I suppose he enjoys with your Signory, and with reason, although this long silence causes their lordships here to think otherwise. Let not your Excellency imagine that we prefer this suit to you for the sake of maintaining our own repute with this most serene King and these lords, our only object being to preserve their favour for your Excellency.

[1] This session of Parliament, according to the printed Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 176, commenced by prorogation at Westminster, on Monday, the 12th of November, and continued sitting until the 22nd of December. By this despatch it seems that, although summoned for the 12th, the session had not commenced on the 14th. Parliament did not sit again, after the 22nd of December, 1515, until Wednesday the 15th of April, 1523.

[2] Gian Giacomo Triulzi, the successor of Alviano; see Paruta (p. 118) who mentions the position of the Venetian batteries on the banks of the stream Garzeta, and gives details of this sally, in conformity, in some respects, with these here announced to the Venetian ambassadors by Cardinal Wolsey.

[3] The Primate Warham.

London, December 6, 1515.

Our last were in date of the 14th ultimo, whereby you were informed of every event down to that time.

I now announce to your Serenity that on the 19th of said month, there departed hence the Magnifico the Knight Andrea Badoer, with the sincere good wishes of his Majesty and of all these lords, by whom he was considered quite in the light of a native Englishman, by reason of his excellent parts, worthy of all honour and commendation. After his departure, I received the letters of your Highness and the most Excellent Council of Ten, addressed to his Magnificence alone, enjoining him to leave, and enclosing a bill of exchange drawn by the Magnifico Alvise Pisani, for 600 ducats, the which bill being drawn with the proviso of non-payment, in the event of his having departed, I did not choose to present it to Nicolo Duodo, to whom it was addressed, nor yet to the agent of the Magnifico Andrea, with whom orders had been left, to receive both the letters and the money. I shall keep said bill by me, until the receipt of further instructions from your Excellency, or otherwise will return it.

In accordance with your Excellency's letters, dated the 25th ultimo, I went to Greenwich to communicate to his Majesty the news written to me by your Excellency in date of the 26th of October, all which he listened to attentively and graciously, asking of me the confirmation of many things which had been reported here, but were not credited; and to these inquiries I replied in conformity with the advices received from my own correspondents. Your Serenity may rely upon it, that it is impossible to make a greater demonstration of love towards his Majesty and these lords, than by giving them early notice of events; for, verily, the tidings received by them through the Emperor, are often devoid of truth.

I also went to impart the news, in your Excellency's name, to the right reverend Cardinal, presenting your letter, both which acts seemed highly agreeable to him, and he thanked your Sublimity exuberantly, with intense expression of good-will and respect. Whilst visiting these lords, I was informed, through a trustworthy channel, that peace between this most serene King and his Catholic Majesty had been made and confirmed, which through many indications might have been conjectured some days previously, though as the thing lacked foundation, I did not think fit to notify it to your Excellency. At length, having heard it from one of the chief lords here, it seems to me only proper to communicate the fact to your Highness; at the same time I do not imagine it will disturb either the peace with the most Christian King, or that with your Serenity, as the character of his Catholic Highness is very well known to his Majesty here, and to all these lords, though I do, indeed, believe that the successes of King Francis have caused this effect. I likewise understand from a good source, that the most illustrious the Archduke is negotiating peace and agreement

between the Emperor and the most Christian King, through the medium of a certain ambassador of his who has been more than two months at the court of the most illustrious the Queen Regent.[1] I doubt not but that the whole is known to your Highness by letters from your ambassadors at the French court. I have, moreover, seen missives addressed to the reverend French ambassador resident here, both from the most Christian King, and from his most illustrious mother, containing the copy of a despatch from their ambassador accredited to his Holiness, mentioning the honour and good greeting received by him from his Holiness to a degree unusual with other ambassadors, and that he was proceeding with his Holiness as far as Bologna.

The letters of the most Christian King addressed to his Majesty here, announce the agreement ratified with the Switzers, though the conditions are omitted, and that he holds the Milanese in peace, without any apprehension. He purposes betaking himself to Bologna, for the appointed conference with his Holiness aforesaid, whereat he states that peace and union will be negotiated between the Princes of Christendom, so as subsequently to unite their forces against the Turks; to which effect said Majesty writes, that immediately on disengaging himself there, he should return to France to carry into effect the Christian expedition against the infidel, and exhorting this King to a similar course.

The most illustrious the Queen Regent writes of the arrival of your Serenity's four most noble ambassadors, mentioning their names and grades, and lauding beyond measure the very elegant and grave oration of the most noble Domenico Trevisano, extolling and magnifying the very sumptuous pomp of this embassy, and the number of persons attached thereto, the like having never previously been heard of or witnessed; whence I gather that the mission

has proved equally honourable to your Excellency, and agreeable to his most Christian Majesty.[2]

While conversing with one of these lords, he began complaining that letters had been written to the most Christian King, announcing the preparations here for hostilities against France, and he said he thought the French ambassador was their author, and that he had taken his authority from common report, giving me to understand that the thing was disagreeable to this kingdom, without either contradicting or admitting it. We then continued talking about the aforesaid ambassador, who seems little to the taste of these lords; nevertheless, having asked pardon for speaking freely, I stated to him, as on my own behalf, that the ambassador abovementioned complained much of the small account in which he was held here, which could not fail proving extremely irksome to his most Christian Majesty; wherefore, with becoming diffidence, I exhorted his lordship to make some greater demonstration towards this envoy, for the avoidance of a stumbling block, which suggestion was taken most kindly by said lord, who thanked me with every mark of honour and good will, vowing he would labour to make amends for the omission. I deemed it proper to drop this hint, knowing that I could not do amiss to remove all cause of dissension between these two most serene Kings, as is, I am aware, the wish of your Highness.

[1] Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., and Regent in his absence.

[2] The historian Paruta (p. 112) records this embassy, which went to Milan to congratulate Francis I. on his entry into that city, and was lodged at a castle in the neighbourhood, at the cost of the King; this being done, Paruta writes, to render the demonstration more conspicuous. Trevisano, as the junior member of the mission, delivered the address; his colleagues being Antonio Grimani, and Andrea Griti (who became successively Doges of Venice, on the demise of Leonardo Loredano), and Georgio Cornaro, the brother of the Queen of Cyprus: each

of these four patricians were already Procurators of St. Mark. As, until this period, the State had never appointed so many as four of that order to compliment any sovereign soever, it is no marvel that Louise of Savoy should expatiate thereon.

London, December 17, 1515.

Since my letters of the 6th instant, nothing has chanced worthy of your Serenity's knowledge, but I write this, because I have latterly been given to understand by a person worthy of all trust, that two Florentine merchants,[1] who do a great deal of business, and were in the habit of selling bills of exchange to others, at this present give money in large quantities to whoever will take it for bills on Bruges and Antwerp, which has caused many judicious merchants to suspect that these moneys are being remitted by his Majesty here to Flanders, for consignment to the Emperor, and this is the general opinion of the mercantile men of judgment. Having chosen to convince myself of this through two or three channels, I find it to be true and undoubted that moneys have been remitted; but that they belong to the King, or that they are destined for the Emperor, is an opinion, and not a certainty.

It appeared to me, that this matter was of extreme moment, and that opportune measures should not be delayed, so I went forthwith to this right reverend Cardinal, under pretence of other public business, and at length told him of the remittance of these moneys, and that they were reported to belong to his Majesty, who intended them for the Emperor; in which case—a thing I do not believe—it would be tantamount to giving the sword to our enemy to destroy us, especially as the league of our mortal enemies had, by the

grace of God, been dissolved, the Emperor alone persevering in his hostilities, with the intention of retaining our towns, lawfully acquired, and held for about a century; nor has his Majesty the means of defending them, both because he has no right, and also from lack of money; the supplying him with which would prove our destruction and ruin, by subjecting us for a yet longer period to insupportable expense, and protracting the dissensions of the sovereigns of Christendom; and as such a proceeding was very foreign from our expectation and from your Serenity's observance towards this most serene King, I neither would or could credit it; but should his Majesty, forsooth, have been deceived into giving these moneys, under pretence of their being employed otherwise than to our detriment, I requested with all earnestness, ardour, and submission, that he would stay the remittance of these funds, and that those already transferred to Bruges or Antwerp might, before they were diverted to other purposes, be recalled through the medium of his right reverend lordship, whom I also besought not to permit additional sums to be remitted hereafter; and, at least, should he not be able to do any thing else, that the consignment of these moneys be delayed until after your Highness shall have obtained Brescia and Verona, which nothing else can retard; adding, that this office would prove as acceptable to your Excellency as any other that could ever be performed.

His right reverend lordship answered me, that it was false that these bills of exchange were destined by his Majesty for the Emperor, neither were they to so large an amount as mentioned by me; and that those who gave me this intelligence lied; adding, "Were it thus, I should have no hesitation in confessing it, for our confederation is not of such a nature as to prohibit his Majesty's giving his money to whom he pleases; but know, that the information is

untrue, and although the remittances belong to his Majesty, they are made for the purpose of purchasing a quantity of choice armour and ornaments required for his own use, and that of his court; neither is the money any great sum." He then assured me that his King bore your Serenity such love, that he would not choose to injure you with his money, and that so long as his lordship himself may live, he will never counsel him in favour of any act hostile to your Excellency, nor to break the peace and confederation existing between him and the most Christian King, concluding thus, "and hereof, my lord Ambassador, be assured." I thanked his lordship as becoming, and on the morrow, in order not to leave the ship with a single cable in this hurricane, I went to the illustrious the Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Treasurer, and narrated the circumstance to him, with all loving expressions, in reply to which, he said it was not true; and at length, before my departure, informed me, as a great secret, that the King had determined, so soon as his most Christian Majesty returned to France, to confer with him at some place agreed on between them, and being young and fond of display, is determined on going with great pomp and sumptuously adorned, both he and his whole court, to which effect he has already disbursed 15,000 nobles, and this he declared was the plain truth, for that one would never think of giving money to the Emperor, both as it would be all thrown away, and also because the friendship between the two crowns is not such, that for its sake England would choose to injure your Excellency. Not content with this, I went the next day to this right reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, to whom I mentioned the whole fact; he assured me on oath, that these moneys had not been drawn to your Excellency's detriment, nor for remittance to the Emperor, but for other uses of his Majesty,

not choosing to descend to particulars, because, he said, it did not concern me to know their especial destination, and that his affection for your Highness was such, that he should never know how to counsel his Majesty to injure your Excellency, especially being aware, as he was, of the extreme good will he bore you. I thanked his lordship heartily for his friendly disposition, and besought him, should the thing not be true, to deign and prevent this my suit from reaching his Majesty; but, should the facts prove such as represented by me, I urged him, for the especial gratification of your Highness, at least to delay the remittance of these moneys, until we should have obtained Brescia and Verona.

Having preferred this suit to these three lords, and obtained their replies, I did not deem it advisable to go to others, who I know have also great authority, in order that if the thing was untrue, my appeal might not reach the ears of his Majesty, and cause him to resent my distrusting him thus; whereas, if I was in the right, these three lords all together would do what they could. Such is the state of the case: should anything else occur, I shall most speedily inform your Excellency, and will be extremely vigilant about whatever may take place.

Moreover, these lords told me that the most serene Queen of Scotland, who is on the confines of this kingdom, has been delivered of a daughter, and had been in such extreme peril of her life, that it was well nigh despaired of. She is better, however, and on her recovery will, by his Majesty's orders, come here to the court.

[1] One of whom was "Master Friskibal," *alias* Frescobaldi. See ante p. 47.

To the most Excellent Council of Ten.

London, December 20, 1515.

By my last of the 17th instant, your Highness was informed about the bills of exchange, and of what I had done with these lords to prevent this matter's being carried into effect, it appearing to me of great moment; I also notified the replies of the aforesaid, who denied both the amount of the moneys and their being destined for the Emperor. You must now know, that, not ceasing to inquire through every channel, and to make myself sure of the business both with regard to the sum and its destination likewise, I have heard from several sources, that upwards of 50,000 ducats are already disbursed, and from day to day, a yet greater amount is to be distributed through bills on Flanders, from whence the funds will be remitted to several places into the hands of the Emperor. This I believe, both on the faith of those who made the announcement to me, and also on account of the quantity of cash invested here in bills on Flanders, causing a variation in the exchanges so very great that it amounts to 7 or 8 per cent; and, in like manner, as the exchange has risen here, so has it fallen in Flanders, in such wise that those who want bills thence for other places, obtain 12 and 14 per cent. more than they would have done a month ago; and this because the ready money has been withdrawn thence for transmission to the Emperor. This matter appears to me of such importance, as not to admit of my delaying its announcement, though I have said nothing more about it, either to his Majesty, or to the lords of the Council, because the King has betaken himself with a very few of them to an unusual residence a great way off, and does not choose to endure farther disturbance of any sort—a

proceeding very extraordinary. From what I understand, however, he will very soon return to Greenwich; whereupon I shall go to him immediately, and will speak to his Majesty in person about this business, which, however odious, I shall endeavour to discuss in moderate language.

SEBAST. JUSTINIANUS, Eques., *Orator.*

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, December 24, 1515.

By my letters of the 20th, I acquainted your Sublimity with what I had heard about the moneys destined for the Emperor. Subsequently, besides other sources, I had recourse to a most faithful citizen of yours (whose name I, for good reasons, do not give at this present, but will mention it in due time and place),[1] who, having made most diligent inquiries to ascertain the truth, has, through several channels, learned all the following facts:—First, that these people had determined on remitting to the Emperor at once 100,000 ducats, and I have heard from others a greater amount, part of which sum has been forwarded to Flanders through bills of exchange, and part by special messengers; and all these moneys are to be delivered at a certain German town, the name of which they are unable to give me correctly, and from thence they will reach the hands of the Emperor aforesaid. Speaking about this with the French ambassador here, he told me that he likewise had heard the same, and had given notice thereof to his most Christian King. Moreover, I have seen a letter addressed from Flanders to a merchant, a person of account, to the effect that "these bills of exchange, to the amount of

100,000 ducats, belonging to the King of England, and destined for the Emperor, have raised the value of money here upwards of 12 per cent., and there is such a scarcity of gold, that it is no longer to be got." The like I have heard from one who frequents the Spanish embassy, who affirms to the sum being 120,000 ducats, with this in addition, that they are being sent to the Emperor to enable him to raise troops for the succour of Brescia and Verona, so that I know not how one can any longer doubt this matter, and especially as a variety of circumstances had previously occurred, indicating this result: first of all, there was the peace made between his Majesty and the King of Spain; and then came the present bestowed by said King on his Majesty—namely, that collar, with a very valuable balass-ruby, and other things, as notified by me to your Highness in my former despatches, though I do not believe that the articles were sent as a present, but as security for the moneys to be disbursed. Also the fact of his Majesty having two ambassadors with the Emperor, to whom, moreover, the right rev. Cardinal's secretary[2] has been sent quite recently, added to which, couriers are constantly being forwarded to and fro by either party. Your Serenity may rely upon it, that the causes of so great a change have been the successes of the most Christian King, which this side appears to have felt bitterly, as previously stated by me; and they are acting thus on two accounts: first, with a view to thwart him in Lombardy, through Brescia and Verona, for fear of his proceeding to the kingdom of Naples, and this at the suit of the King of Spain; secondly, so far as one can judge, this side purposes attacking the Scotch next year, and is of opinion that his most Christian Majesty will protect the Duke of Albany, who seems to have acquired great power in that kingdom, expelling the Queen, and keeping

possession of the princes her two sons; and in order that said Christian Majesty may not impede this project, they seek to occupy him in Lombardy. As the matter appears to me, so do I announce it to your Highness, and will ascertain further on speaking again to these lords and to his Majesty, giving your Excellency speedy notice of what I may hear, and as from what I have been assured, these moneys cannot reach the Emperor until the end of January, should your Highness think fit, you might hasten the affairs of Brescia and Verona, so as not to encounter greater difficulty subsequently from said Emperor, after his receipt of this aid.

SEBAST. JUSTINIANUS, Eques., *Oratore.*

[1] From a paragraph in the report of England made by Sebastian Giustinian to the Venetian senate, on the 10th of October, 1519, it appears that the person here alluded to was a Venetian citizen named Alberto Bavarino, of whom the ambassador speaks in terms of the highest praise, saying that, despite his failure, he was also looked up to on the mart of London as a referee in disputes, his honour and integrity being unimpeachable.

[2] Richard Pace, of whom more hereafter.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, January 2, 1516.

Since my last of the 24th, his Majesty returned to Greenwich; and I immediately went to visit the right rev. Cardinal, who, for authority, may in point of fact be styled *ipse rex;* and having paid him the usual compliments, I commenced discussing the affair of the moneys, concerning which I wrote copiously in my foregoing; and, in the most moderate and gentle terms, laid before him all the

details notified to your Excellency in my last aforesaid, avoiding, however, everything that might irritate him.

His lordship listened to me most attentively and patiently for the space of a quarter of an hour, and then replied, that what he had told me at our last conference was perfectly true—namely, that the moneys remitted are not destined for the Emperor, and will not reach his hands; neither was the sum by any means so considerable as that which I mentioned, that is to say, 120,000 ducats, but much less; adding the following words:—"I will speak to you with all sincerity and truth, and will tell you what becomes a Cardinal on the honour of the Cardinalate"—to use his own form of speech—saying, "It is true that this most serene King has remitted moneys to Flanders which will reach Germany, and perhaps Italy, for two purposes: in the first place, for the purchase of inlaid armour and other costly furniture; then, again, we are aware that a number of princes, whom I will not particularize to you, either in France, in Germany, or in Italy, have pledged a quantity of very fine jewels, and of great value, which we hope to obtain at no great cost, and therefore thought fit to avail ourselves of this opportunity for purchasing similar things, which in other times could not be obtained at a much greater outlay. This comes of the want of money experienced by these princes; and although the money may reach the hands of our ambassador, yet it will not be in the power of the Emperor; nor need you, or the most illustrious Signory, believe that his Majesty would expend his treasure against the State, to aid the undertaking of Brescia and Verona. No man in this kingdom has so much as thought of such a thing; nor yet of waging war on the King of France, or of opposing any of his undertakings; for, had his Majesty chosen to act thus, he would have done so at a

moment when he could more easily have injured him. By the honour of the Cardinalate, what we tell you is the truth; nor are we of such a nature as to choose that our word prove vain and false; and we should prefer not being decorated with this dignity, rather than do what is unworthy of it; and to the obloquy of those who told and notified these things to you, they lied in their teeth (*mentierunt in caput suum*)." And as I had told him, amongst other things, that it was reported the affairs of Scotland had caused these remittances, with a view to detaining the most Christian King in Italy about other undertakings, and preventing any aid being sent to the Duke of Albany, he made answer, "We cannot but admit that his Majesty has the affairs of Scotland much at heart; for were he to hold them in small account, he would be a brute, seeing that, owing to that Duke of Albany, the most serene Queen his sister is yet most grievously ill, having been prematurely delivered of a daughter, who subsequently died; she being expelled her kingdom, deprived of all her friends, part of whom are in dungeons, whilst others have been put to death. He, moreover, took the entire administration of the kingdom out of her hands, and what matters more, and additionally exasperates his Majesty, is, that he took the two princes away from her maternal guardianship, and placed them under his own charge; since when, one of them has died, and there remains an only child, in the event of whose death, the kingdom would fall to said Duke. Think what reasons, human or divine, can palliate so great cruelty, and whether it be such that his Majesty, remembering that he is a King, should tolerate; for I promise, and tell you plainly and intelligibly, he will not put up with it: if, however, the most Christian King remedies this grievance, you may believe that his Majesty here will cultivate his friendship, though assuredly King

Francis exhibits little gratitude for the faith preserved towards him by his Majesty, who had everything in his power."

All this, most serene Prince, he uttered very passionately, saying especially, that as he was the author of the peace, and now sought to maintain it, he should be in extreme peril, unless the most Christian King took steps against these unheard-of cruelties. I answered each allegation as I thought became the matter, apologizing for the most Christian King, on the score of his perhaps not knowing the circumstances, or of his not being acquainted with them in detail, and possibly that he did not believe them to be such as they had been written; since, if he knew the facts, or credited them, he never would brook the like, his profession of faith and justice being so intense, that he prefers being loved for those two qualities, rather than to be feared for his power; and that his lordship can easily imagine that his most Christian Majesty must be acquainted with this most serene King's forbearance, which would ill become so great a Sovereign to hold in slight esteem, adding many other expressions on this subject; after which, I returned to the fact of the moneys, it appearing to me important, under present circumstances, that even should his Majesty have for object to obtain jewels belonging to the Emperor, he would, out of consideration for your Signory, and not to keep you any longer despoiled of your territory and subject to such excessive cost, delay and keep back the moneys, so that they may not reach the Emperor's hands, until after the recovery by your Signory of Brescia and Verona, as should these jewels be sold from necessity, the opportunity will often enough recur, as the Emperor only gets out of one expense to enter upon another;[1] hereon, I expatiated in the most earnest language at my command.

In reply to this, after certain long discourses of his, the Cardinal said, "Domine Orator, be not uneasy or dispirited about this matter, for I swear, and tell you the truth; this money is never to be in the Emperor's power: so I promise you that hence the Signory will experience neither detriment nor difficulty with regard to the recovery of her towns;" and on my repeating the many reasons for good-will between this most serene King and your Sublimity, alluding to the ancient union which had existed between the most serene King his father, and ancestors, the Cardinal employed in rejoinder a phrase worthy of notice, thus: "You say many things, and show few effects;" to which, when I replied by inquiring how the most illustrious Signory had failed in her observance towards his Majesty, he said, "I do not indeed accuse her of any fault, at variance with the friendship and confederation entertained by her with this most serene King," and finished the sentence in such a way, that I could understand the inference intended by his lordship to be, that your Sublimity ought to mediate between the most Christian King and his Majesty here concerning the affairs of Scotland; and to enlighten myself hereon, I told him I purposed writing to your Highness about the complaints made by his lordship against the most Christian King with regard to these difficulties of Scotland, and he immediately said, "Remember that our King complains of three things: first, that his sister has been expelled the kingdom, and deprived of its government which belonged to her by right, and moreover by the desire of her late most serene husband, as proven by his will; and his Majesty chooses her to be restored *in pristinum*, and that she be given the guardianship of this remaining son; further, that the Duke of Albany be removed from that kingdom, as his Majesty will never tolerate his stay there; thirdly,

that the Queen Blanche (Maria Tudor)[2] do receive back the jewels which King Louis gave her as personal ornaments." From the specification of these three proposals, I think I may infer that his lordship meant me to understand that your Excellency should further this end. Much time was spent in these colloquies; and on account of his numerous occupations, I then took leave, having first chosen to hear from his lordship whether he was of opinion that what I had said to him about the moneys remitted to Germany, should be mentioned by me in any way to the King: to this he did not give a decided negative, but made a demonstration that the thing would not prove agreeable to his Majesty, with whom I shall therefore perhaps not discuss it, since any good that could result thence, may be expected from my conversations with his lordship, he being *rex et autor omnium.*

[1] Machiavelli said that, if the leaves on all the trees of Italy had been converted into ducats for the use of Maximilian, they would not have sufficed for his need.

[2] In the correspondence of the Cæsars, published at Leipzig, A.D. 1844, by Mr. Lanch, there is a letter from the ambassadors of the Archduke Charles, dated Paris, in the spring of 1515, in which the Queen Dowager of France is also called Blanche or Bianca, and the like is observed in other contemporary documents.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, January 5, 1516.

By my last, in date of the 2nd inst., your Sublimity will have heard of my interview with this right reverend Cardinal; and whilst I was awaiting an excuse for going to his Majesty, news arrived by way of Lyons from the firm of Salviati, who are persons of account, addressed to the Fres-

cobaldi here in London, announcing that your Highness had recovered Brescia,[1] which news was believed well nigh universally; and I thence took occasion to visit his Majesty, to whom, as I have before said, it is not customary to go without some reason. First, however, I had a conference with the right reverend Cardinal, who said this intelligence could not be true, by reason of letters he had received that morning from his ambassador, resident with the Emperor. On going to his Majesty, he also instantly said the news was untrue, and finally all these lords came to the same conclusion. I did not think fit to mention the remittance to the Emperor, as I had been assured by all these lords, and again on that very day by the right reverend Cardinal, that the money had not been sent to him; neither was it destined to prove in any way detrimental to your Excellency, so to have broached the topic with his Majesty would have been a needless provocation. For this reserve, I was extremely praised by the right reverend Cardinal and other lords here.

Subsequently, in a long conference that I had with the Cardinal, he complained most bitterly of the outrages committed by the Duke of Albany against his Majesty, which he said could only be with the consent of the most Christian King, expressing himself with the greatest warmth and excitement possible, and saying that by no means would his Majesty put up with it. I endeavoured to mitigate the matter as much as possible, urging the delay of all perilous resolves, alleging the many inconveniences and mischances of war, and exhorting him to try every other course; or to ascertain whether what had taken place was really with the consent of France, which I could not bring myself to believe; but that if it had been so, his right reverend Lordship should seek to appease his Majesty, and bring the business to

an amicable conclusion. I spoke to the same effect with the illustrious Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Treasurer, who is of opinion that faith no longer exists between the sovereigns of the world, since the most Christian King tolerates such a thing; and that, in like manner as one of the royal princes has been put to death,[2] so also will he rid himself of the only one remaining, in order that the Duke of Albany may inherit the kingdom—a thing which he seems to think can scarcely be tolerated.

This matter, most serene Prince, is of an extremely awkward nature; and perceiving, as I do, that it is not much extenuated by the reverend French ambassador, who does not show that his King is at all intent on applying a remedy, I deem it unbecoming to place such a burden on my own shoulders, or palliate a proceeding which they themselves are either unwilling or unable to defend. Such aid as may be in my power, I shall not withhold, however, and will deprecate war whenever I hear it mentioned.

On the following day I went to the right reverend Bishop of Durham, and we discussed this topic, together with that of the remittances, which he assured me positively had not been sent to injure or inconvenience your Excellency in any way. He made the amplest protestations to this effect, declaring that in a few days I should have some proof of this kingdom's seeking the welfare and advantage of your Excellency, and not your detriment by any means; but despite all my endeavours to elicit from him what this result was, he would not give me any further explanation, but laughed, and with a merry countenance continued talking in the same strain. All the English lords speak in similar terms, and tell me, in addition, that your Sublimity will be deceived by the King of France, saying, "What should you think if, in the treaty of peace with the Emperor, the King of France had offered to

abide by the clauses of the League of Cambrai?" and on my endeavouring to learn whether there is any certainty of this, I perceive them to mumble and dissemble it, either from not choosing to quote their authority, or because, as I suspect, the thing is devoid of foundation. In short, I may say that I perceive all these lords bent on persuading your Excellency to distrust France, and this for the sake of detaching your Signory from his most Christian Majesty; and this I see most clearly every day. I also comprehend, that should England and France go to war, it will be difficult for this side not to entertain suspicion, or a sort of enmity towards your Excellency, as everybody here considers that the two States are agreed in policy.

I subsequently saw the reverend Bishop of Winchester, a lord, as I have said, of extreme authority and goodness, who also stoutly denied the transmission of the money to the detriment or inconvenience in any way of your Sublimity, expressing himself to me in these words: "To *you* I answer thus; but were I speaking with the French ambassador, I should not address him in such terms," whence it may be clearly inferred that the remittances are destined for some stir in Italy, against the most Christian King, and this being the case, they can only have been sent to the Switzers,[3] as written by me heretofore. The French ambassador here assures me that the sums forwarded into Switzerland greatly exceeded the amount I specified; and, added to this, I understand that a few days ago an envoy from the Cardinal of Sion[4] was here incognito, and has already departed, so that one can prognosticate nothing but strife between these two Sovereigns, unless some expedient be devised for the affairs of Scotland, which I foretold in my former letters would prove a stumbling-block. Chance what may, I beseech your Excellency to make such demonstration that your

friendship with England at least may prove favourable; for really all these noblemen seem much inclined towards you, and little else is required to preserve their amity beyond the frequent transmission of letters, notifying such events as your Excellency may think fit, whether chanced in Italy or abroad. On the other hand, your Excellency's silence causes great surprise to everybody, it seeming as if the King of England were held in small account by you, and all reliance reserved for France, which will prove so much the more irksome to this side, when on the eve of war with that power.

[1] Master Friskiball's correspondent is anticipating; Brescia was not recovered until some months after this announcement made by Salviati, the Venetians not entering that city until the 24th of May, 1516.

[2] "Et cussi come *e'sta morto* uno de li figlioli Regii," &c.

[3] In date of the year 1515, Hume mentions that Pace proceeded from the court of Maximilian into Switzerland, and engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the Emperor.

[4] The Swiss Cardinal, Matthew Scheiner, a staunch Antigallican. See his Life by Giovio.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, January 21, 1516.

* * * The French ambassador here having sent me word that he had received despatches from the most illustrious the mother of the most Christian King, with letters from him addressed to the most serene King here, I deemed it well to go to his lordship after their delivery, and when he had made the announcement contained in his instructions, for the sake of learning the contents of said letters, and also to hear what his commission purported. To-day, therefore, I had a long colloquy with his lordship, who told me, these

letters to his Majesty merely gave account of the conferences and resolves held and formed with his Holiness[1]—namely, to make a general peace between all the sovereigns of Christendom against the Turks, and a strong exhortation to his Majesty to marshal his forces and march them against the infidel, which King Francis likewise would do, immediately on his arrival in France. Moreover, he told me that these lords commenced speaking about the affairs of Scotland, complaining of what had been perpetrated by the Duke of Albany, and that he the ambassador replied, that they complained without reason of his King, who is not the cause of this business; adding, that neither did he know how he could with reason recall the Duke from that kingdom, seeing that he is next in succession, should the heirs of the late King fail, wherefore his most Christian Majesty could not compel him contrary to right; nor yet was he of opinion that his Majesty aforesaid could reasonably command the Duke to concede the administration of the kingdom to the Queen, or even reinstate her in the guardianship of her remaining child, she not being competent thereto; and that it did not become her, she having taken a second husband: this, he argued, was a legal arrangement. The lords of the English court seem to have resented this extremely, saying to him, with great warmth, "Unless the King of France see to removing the Duke of Albany thence, and reinstate the Queen, both in the administration of the kingdom and in the guardianship of her son, we shall not brook it, and will wage war on your King in every possible way," with many other words to this effect. I asked his lordship if he had been commissioned by his most Christian King to defend the proceedings of said Duke of Albany—namely, his taking to himself the administration of the kingdom, and depriving the mother of the guardianship of her son. He answered me that he had no

such commission, but had spoken thus under provocation, to prove that right was not on their side; so I thought it well to tell him, as gently as I could, that having received no commission from the King to investigate the merits of this case, or to defend what the Duke has done, had I been in his lordship's place, I should not have entered into these details, but would indeed have endeavoured to prove that the proceedings were contrary to the will of his Majesty; since as the case in itself appeared somewhat inhuman, I should have been averse to justifying it, to avoid showing that my King was of that mind. I ventured this interference, most serene Prince, for the sake of placing my shoulders as much as I can under these impending ruins of the concord between France and England, which, I think, I perceive, unless the Almighty stretch forth his hand. As it also appeared that some of these noblemen are averse to war, and ponder the benefit of peace between the two Princes, and yet this ambassador had never spoken to said lords, nor visited them, so that they had no opportunity or arguments whereby to confute those who advocated hostilities, I next exhorted his lordship to pay them court, acquainting them with his arguments, and apologizing for his King on the score of his ignorance and disapproval of the outrages laid to the charge of Albany: he answered me that he would assuredly not visit them, as they were men who did not choose either to listen to reason or be guided by it. I then asked him if he had mentioned to them his suspicions about the remittance sent by his Majesty to the Switzers for the purpose of waging war on his most Christian King, concerning which, said ambassador had told me that he was certain, and that he had notified as much to his King. He answered me that he had not imparted them either to his Majesty here, nor yet to these lords, as he is aware it would have been of no use;

added to which, they might have entertained suspicion of enmity from his King on this account, wherefore he omitted all allusion to the matter. I told him that in my opinion, since he entertained this suspicion well nigh with certainty, it was his duty to have communicated it for the sake of coming at the truth; hearing the reason, if they admitted it, and changing his opinion in the event of a denial, enabling himself thus to give his most Christian Majesty better information, using such other arguments as occurred to me. To this he likewise replied that he had not forwarded any such communication; and, moreover, that were he to press the matter home, it might induce immediate hostilities; the onus of which he would fain leave to his successor, as he is averse to its appearing that he has been instrumental in such a quarrel. Perceiving these to be his opinions, I did not deem it expedient to press him more than I had done, for fear of stirring him up, perhaps, to great indignation against me; and lest, in lieu of the extreme friendship which he now bears me, he should become my enemy, which would prove inopportune for the common cause, and thus I closed the conversation; and perceiving that he does not act as I think he should, I deem it unfit to assume a greater burden than has been already assigned me by your Sublimity. I shall endeavour to preserve for your Highness the grace of this most serene King; and on the opportunity's offering, with all possible gentleness and address, take the part of the most Christian King, without offending his Majesty or these lords; though I am aware that the matter is of such a nature, that if it be the will of the most Christian King for the affairs of Scotland to proceed thus, it will prove impossible to preserve peace. It is important, on the other hand, should King Francis not meditate hostilities, for his ambassador here so to act as to prove his non-

complicity with the Duke of Albany, and not render him suspected; endeavouring that the guardianship of the infant Scottish prince, and the administration of the kingdom, be acknowledged *de jure*, accrding to the will of the deceased King of Scotland.

[1] Alluding to the conference at Bologna, where Leo X. arrived on the 8th of December, and was followed by Francis I. on the 10th.

London, February 6, 1516.

* * * There has arrived here an imperial ambassador, who, according to report, is a native of Aste, and a creature of the Emperor's.[1] The object of his mission is only known to the ministry here, though every one affirms to his being come for two ends: first, to confirm the confederation made between the Emperor and the Catholic King, and his Majesty here, which is neither denied me, nor expressly confessed, by these lords; whilst others say he is also come to ask for money to fit out an expedition from that quarter against the most Christain King and your Signory, and of this I have been assured by the French ambassador, who says he had it from France through a great personage. On hearing this, I determined to take such steps as seemed to me expedient, and went to the King at Greenwich, together with his most Christian Majesty's ambassador; and there we found the envoys from the Emperor and from Spain, who had been closeted with his Majesty, having also had two previous audiences. Subsequently, the French ambassador, who on that morning had received letters from his King, entered the presence of his Majesty, and presented him with missives, which the King read first, drawing aside, together with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: he then joined the ambas-

sador aforesaid, and held a long parley with him; what they discussed I know not, for all were at some distance. The ambassadors told me that the letters purported how his most Christian Majesty meant to preserve the peace with this most serene King, and to live as brothers; and that, with regard to the differences existing between them concerning the affairs of Scotland, he was willing to adjust them as follows, *videlicet:* that the Queen return into the kingdom; that all her jewels, and every thing else that may appear to have been taken from her, shall be restored; that she shall receive security for her dower; and that the royal infants (he not knowing that one of them was already dead) should be consigned to the guardianship of the nobles, *ut moris est*, it not being becoming for them to remain the wards of their mother, now married again, nor yet of the Duke of Albany, who on their death would succeed to the Crown; and if his Majesty had any objection to this, the most Christian King professed himself willing to refer the matter to judges to be elected by the parties themselves, announcing his having come to France,[2] in order to give him more frequent tidings of his affairs, for which he hoped a corresponding return. To this his Majesty made answer that he much rejoiced in the disposition of the most Christian King, which tallied, moreover, with his own, but that it would behove King Francis to exert himself, lest the affairs of Scotland interrupt this friendship; and with regard to what had been said about referring the disputes to arbitrators, to be elected by the parties, he replied that it was not the custom amongst sovereigns, nor for their dignity, to place their controversies in the hands of judges; and that he himself meant to be judge in the affairs of Scotland, without, however, swerving from the friendship and alliance which existed between them, as he was of opinion that, according to the articles, the Scotch business

did not necessarily amount to a breach of their alliance. This in substance is as much as the ambassador told me.

On my presenting myself to his Majesty to pay him my respects, he asked me if I had any letter from your Sublimity. I told him I had not received letters, though I wished to speak with his Majesty about matters of moment; but, as I perceived the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors, and other persons, at hand, I said I had determined to delay until another day; whereupon he rejoined, "You shall have audience when you please; but we greatly marvel at your not receiving letters from the Signory, so many events having chanced and chancing daily." I apologized for your Excellency as I best might, though I fancy that they credit what they please, and we two ambassadors then took leave.

With regard to this matter, I will not omit giving my opinion; and your Sublimity must know that, at this present, it is more necessary than ever to cultivate the friendship of King Henry, who is so well able to supply your enemies with money, and thus support the war against you, without openly declaring himself. You also perceive that here in London there are embassies from all the greatest princes in Christendom, and all hammer at this anvil—some for money and some for favour; nor does a week ever elapse without all these ambassadors receiving missives addressed to his Majesty, indicative of great mutual confidence and goodwill, whereas your Signory, which has, perhaps, greater need of his Majesty than any of the others, does not ever write; and I am thus deficient in the means of negotiating and exerting myself so fitly as I could wish, and as current events so imperiously demand.

Whether anything else was negotiated with the ambassadors aforesaid, I have as yet not had time to ascertain; I will, however, do my best to learn something. One predic-

tion I think I can make, that war will infallibly be waged between England and Scotland; and should the most Christian King declare himself for the latter, the English, I imagine, will make a demonstration against his Majesty; not indeed that I fancy they will invade the French territory, as in the time of King Louis, and this for many reasons, which it would be long to write. At any rate, could we arrange these Scotch difficulties to the satisfaction of the two Crowns, my belief is it would be a work of extreme praise, commendation, and of profit to us whose State is in peril.

[1] As stated in a subsequent despatch, the name of this ambassador was Count Bartholomew Tationo.

[2] Guicciardini (vol. iii. p. 180) mentions that, after the conference at Bologna, Francis I. returned to Milan; and, having dismissed his army, went back to France at the commencement of the year 1516, leaving Charles Duke of Bourbon as his lieutenant.

London, February 7, 1516.

On my return from Greenwich, the day before yesterday, I found letters from your Excellency, dated the 28th of December, containing news of Italy, and others of the 16th of January, with some duplicates addressed to the Magnifico Andrea Badoer.

On the receipt of these missives, I went to the right reverend Cardinal, and first communicated their contents to him by word of mouth, after which, as they contained many bland expressions well suited to the present times, I had the letters read to him translated into Latin. His lordship listened to them most attentively, and then thanked your Sublimity for the compliment, although all the news had been heard here previously. After this, I told him that the coming of the imperial ambassador had rendered me some-

what anxious, both to learn the Emperor's bias towards your Sublimity, and also by reason of what was reported in trustworthy quarters, namely, that he was come for the purpose of sealing, together with the Spanish ambassador here, the confederation contracted with this Majesty; also, to demand moneys for the Italian expedition both against the most Christian King, and for the defence of Brescia and Verona, which, I said, I could not bring myself to believe; since, if at the time when all the Princes of Christendom conspired against your Excellency, the late most serene King Henry and his present Majesty persevered in the closest good will with your Excellency, it did not now appear to me either reasonable or credible that his Majesty should consent to furnish subsidy against your Excellency, most especially being aware that right was on your side, and that the wrongs were those the Princes of Christendom had subjected you to so many years past; neither did I doubt but that his Majesty aforesaid, and his right rev. lordship, well knew who the Emperor was, and what his faith, as also the constancy of your Highness, whose friendship was perpetual by reason of our republican form of government, whereas, that of the Emperor was of small durability, both owing to his character and age. I therefore besought his lordship to ponder well, and, moreover, to acquaint his Majesty, that the injuring your Excellency by means of money and support, is neither more or less than a mutilation and amputation of his own members, as your Excellency may well be one of his limbs, owing both to long established friendship, and the recent confederation, whereas I perceived that the Emperor, at this first congress of friendship, sought to deprive the King both of his money and of his friends, which I could not imagine would succeed, or be counselled by his right reverend lordship and the rest of the ministry. With regard

to the affairs of France, I told him I would not say much thereon, because of the residence here of his most Christian Majesty's ambassador, to whom this matter properly appertained, though I thought I might respectfully suggest, as a person well nigh neutral between two confederates, that since it has been so resolved, his Majesty was at liberty, indeed, to contract friendship and confederation with these Sovereigns, but that to take up arms against the most Christian King was a thing of greater moment, as France never yet had a more beloved and favourite monarch than King Francis, for which I could vouch, as, when there, many lords and great personages told me that they were disposed to demonstrate their loyalty to his Majesty in such a manner, that he should either have proof of their valour by great feats, or see them perish before his eyes; but, I said, I would not expatiate hereon, it being my opinion that his lordship would counsel what may be for the benefit and security of this realm, so as not to place it in peril, by disturbing the quiet and tranquillity now enjoyed by England, in such wise, that with her sword sheathed, she makes all the princes of Christendom tremble, with many other words to this effect, whereto his lordship replied in the language of the prophet David, *trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor;* that I evinced fear of a thing from which his Majesty is very remote; since, as he assured me heretofore, the Emperor was not going to receive the smallest fraction of coin from his Majesty, wherewith to injure your Excellency; and of this I might rest assured, that nothing would be done to disturb or diminish the friendship and confederation existing between his Majesty and your Excellency, and were it otherwise, he would say so, as the confederation was not such as to prohibit the King from giving his money to whom he pleased. To this I made answer that his lordship, in his great wisdom, knew that the King was at liberty

to give his money to whomsoever he pleased, though he ought not to give it to the detriment of his confederates; it appearing to me, that to love and to harm were incompatible, wherefore I could easily credit that the money would not be given to the Emperor for the purpose of injuring your Excellency, and only feared lest the Emperor, after promising to expend the King's money for other purposes, might employ it, unknown to his Majesty, against us, and thus your Excellency would be injured by the *weapons* of his Majesty, and by the *will* of the Emperor; and concerning this, I exhorted, implored, and besought his right reverend lordship to have regard to the disbursement of these moneys, since whether the King be willing or unwilling, they would be employed against your Signory, which is precisely against England, who, in consideration of many and various possible events, ought to seek and preserve your Excellency's state in power and authority, as oftentimes it might greatly benefit her interests.

At this moment, his lordship being sent for, I took leave, and went immediately to the rev. Bishop of Durham, to whom I made a like communication, and he assured me that nothing was being negotiated against your Excellency, neither did any one in this kingdom think of giving money to the Emperor, and that what was being done and negotiated at this present was all for the benefit of Venice, laughing and saying, "*Per Deum*, we mean to effect your welfare despite yourselves," as his lordship has said to me many other times, without explaining himself further; but, most serene Prince, from what I comprehend, the English court bears the worst possible will towards the most Christian King, and thinks he means to deceive your Excellency, and when once established in Italy, deprive you of your territory, and I perceive that their thoughts here all tend to one object, namely, either

openly or secretly, to drive King Francis out of Italy, and it is in this way they think to benefit your Sublimity, so I, who well knew his drift, told him that on the contrary your Excellency's sole supporter in Italy is his most Christian Majesty, whereas the other sovereigns aim at your ruin, as seen by experience, for that being allied with the Catholic King he occupied Brescia, and instead of consigning it, as due, to your Excellency, made it over to the Emperor,[1] and hence, I said, his lordship might conjecture in whose hands your Excellency's territory on the main-land would rest, were the King of France expelled Italy. At length, still laughing, his lordship said, "You will see a few days hence, that what this kingdom is doing, is all for the benefit of your State," and with this, I took leave of his lordship.

Concerning this matter, I do not purpose saying the least word to the King, but shall merely recommend your Sublimity's interests to him, and request that he will persevere in his good friendship and confederation with your Highness, for the right reverend Cardinal told me in very plain terms not to say a single word of such suspicion to his Majesty, as it would most assuredly be very disagreeable to him; and having spoken with these lords, without whom no money will be disbursed, nor any innovation be effected to the detriment of your Excellency, I prefer being accused by you of omission for not speaking hereon to the King, rather than by speaking to exasperate him against your Signory, and render myself the author of anything so disadvantageous.

SEBAST. JUSTINIANUS, Eques. Or.

[1] This is the ambassador's version of what took place with regard to Brescia, in the years 1512 and 1513. See Paruta.

London, February 8, 1516.

By my letters of the 6th instant, tied up herewith, your Excellency will have heard what was told me by the French ambassador, who consented that the Scotch differences, concerning the guardianship of the Scottish princes, should be decided by mutual judges, and to abide by their award, to which his Majesty here made answer, that he chose to be judge himself; notwithstanding which three auditors were assigned to said ambassador, who was introduced to-day to the Privy Council, where he proposed this matter, and this evening informed me, through his Secretary, that the Council had determined that this dispute concerning Scotland should be decided by arbitration.

Moreover, the ambassador aforesaid told me yesterday that the most Christian King did not intend sending any gentlemen of his to stand godfather for this most serene Queen's offspring,[1] as he does not chose to stir for this purpose on the mere verbal invitation of the Duke of Suffolk, but means this most serene King to write to him. As I am aware that, should the aforesaid most Christian King not send any one to perform this ceremony, it would prove extremely vexatious to his Majesty, I have determined one of these days on going to the right reverend Cardinal, to say a word to him thereon, as from myself, lest this slight cause produce disquietude in the breast of his Majesty here, and of the whole kingdom; and my acting thus, will I trust have the approval of your Highness.

[1] The child anticipated proved to be Mary Tudor. The report of the Queen's pregnancy has been already mentioned, in date of May, 1515.

London, February 12, 1516.

Since my last, in date of the 6th, 7th, and 8th instant, whereby you will have learnt the negotiations transacted, I did nothing more until the 10th instant, on which day I went to Greenwich to this most serene King, to whom I communicated the letters of your Highness with the news of Italy, and other tidings from Constantinople, notified to me by my own correspondents. The King expressed his pleasure at this compliment, saying it was very agreeable to him to have frequent news of the Turk, especially when he experiences any reverse: with regard to the affairs of Italy, he said he knew them already, but that the siege of Brescia was raised.

After this, considering it inadvisable to mention the moneys sent to Germany, in order to avoid exasperating his Majesty, I besought him, should these ambassadors from the Emperor and from Spain make any demand prejudicial to your Highness, that he would deign to hold you in consideration, and ponder the antiquity and solidity of the friendship existing between your Highness and this most serene kingdom, from which your Excellency could never anticipate the possibility of receiving any offence, either open or covert: nay, that I thought I could promise myself that his Majesty would show this ambassador from the Emperor that he regretted his occupying Brescia and Verona, and might drop a word, indicating that he should approve of your Excellency's recovering your territory; with other expressions suited to this subject. His Majesty replied, briefly, "'Tis well: but know that the Emperor, on his part, complains of your besieging his towns:" and with this he departed, without awaiting farther rejoinder.

It is my duty to write what I see and what I hear, that

your Excellency may be guided in your decisions by actual facts. It seems to me that since the most Christian King's victory over the Switzers, which all admit took place through the support of your Highness and your army, the bias of everybody here, from the highest to the lowest, has much changed, this result having proved most distasteful to them; nor is there any doubt but that the Emperor's successes at Brescia seem to have given universally the greatest pleasure. Moreover, some of these lords told me, and others said the same to the French ambassador, that Brescia and Verona did not belong to your Highness, but to the Emperor; so a few days ago, having watched my opportunity, I discussed this matter with the person who had broached it to me, proving to him the ancient possession, the acquisition made by your Sublimity in just war against the Dukes of Milan, and finally, the confirmation made by the late most Christian King Louis and by his present Majesty, to whom, beyond a doubt, Brescia would belong, did it not appertain to your Excellency, as it does by every right: hereon I dilated at great length. I have to inform you also, that these lords endeavour with all their might to detach your Highness from the most Christian King, assuring me that immediately on his obtaining peaceable possession of the Milanese, he will choose to occupy the whole of your Highness's territory on the main land, a report which circulates so universally throughout this kingdom that everybody repeats it freely; and this (that your Highness may know everything) I deemed it expedient to mention to the French ambassador, for him to acquaint his most Christian King, in order that he may know that your Sublimity is held in account by others also, as well as by himself, rendering him thus more prompt (should such a thing be possible) for the recovery of your Excellency's state, with a view to confirming and consolidating your alliance with him.

London, February 18, 1516.

After having written the letters tied up herewith, this most serene King's post from Rome brought me a missive from your Highness, dated the 14th of January, and which I received on the 14th instant, whereupon, with my wonted respect, I endeavoured to acquaint myself better *de rê pecuniariâ*, if to do better were possible; for on the receipt of these present, your Highness will have received ten of my letters concerning this matter, whereby you will have learnt all that one can learn. In point of fact, money has been remitted by his Majesty here, but the doubt is, whether to the Emperor against your Excellency, or to the Switzers, or to both one and the other,—for there is no doubt but that moneys have been sent to the Switzers as hire against the most Christian King; whether the Emperor likewise has had any, I find it impossible to ascertain, but all these lords affirm upon oath that the Emperor neither has had, nor will have a single ducat. Others, indeed, say the contrary; and amongst the rest, an excellent servant of your Serenity's[1] has assured me that twenty thousand pounds sterling, which form 90,000 ducats, have reached Nuremberg; and these, he presumes, can be destined for none other than the Emperor,—which opinion is shared by the greater part of the merchants capable of having information hereon, and seems to be confirmed by the succour which the Emperor sent to Brescia, as from no other source could he have obtained money to effect this, though I confess that I yet doubt the fact. My reasons are, in the first place, the asseveration of all these lords (some of whom, at least, would scruple to affirm upon oath to an untruth), and they declare hat the Emperor neither has had, nor will have a ducat: secondly, the new Imperial ambassador would not have

come to ask for money had his Sovereign received such a considerable sum so recently: a third reason, which appears to me strongly grounded, is, that these lords made answer to the said ambassador, that until the Emperor performs his promise of coming into Italy with a large army to expel the most Christian King, his Majesty here will not give him a ducat. From these circumstances, I deem this matter difficult to be ascertained; for should the Emperor have received these moneys, I am not persuaded that the lords of the Council would say so: on the other hand, had he received them, he would not be now asking for them, neither would he be told (as I said) that they choose him first of all to come into Italy. Finally, I have heard through two authentic channels that his Majesty has revoked the order for the moneys remitted by bills of exchange, so that they be not consigned according to their original destination. I know not whether God has chosen that so many negotiations, and prayers, and exhortations of mine, put forth since about the last two months without intermission, may have induced this proceeding; or whether these lords have, in fact, perceived their error.

I have, besides, to inform you how this kingdom has concluded perpetual peace with the most illustrious the Archduke Prince of Castille, which was proclaimed to-day; and from what I understood, the proclamation purports that this peace includes all the confederates of either side, but I do not vouch for it. I will ascertain this with more precision, and your Signory shall be acquainted therewith.

[1] Alberto Bavarino. See ante p. 155.

London, February 20, 1516.

We have this moment received news of the death of the most serene Ferdinand, King of Aragon;[1] and it is supposed this was known some days ago to his Majesty, but kept secret, because of the most serene Queen's being on the eve of her delivery. The King has appointed two ambassadors to the most illustrious Archduke to condole with him on this event, making him all possible offers of aid both in troops and treasure. It is also stated that the Archduke aforesaid has sent two ambassadors hither, having already acquainted his Majesty with the death, intimating to him that, by the will of the aforesaid late King deceased, he has been appointed the heir of all his realms, without any exception; owing to which, I am apprehensive of many innovations taking place in Christendom, though at the same time, I trust everybody will be so occupied with the affairs of Spain, as to forget those of Brescia and Verona.

To-day, also, her Majesty Queen Catherine brought forth a daughter. I shall go to pay the due congratulations in the name of your Highness; and had it been a son, I should have already done so, as in that case, it would not have been fit to delay the compliment. I have thought fit to announce the event to your Highness immediately, that you may be enabled to write your congratulatory missives opportunely, and with them you will also deign to send summaries of news.

[1] Ferdinand the Catholic died on the 23rd of January, 1516, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the forty-second of his reign as King of Castille, and thirty-seventh (complete) as King of Aragon. See L'Art de Verifier les Dates; also the Letters of Peter Martyr.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, February 24, 1516.

* * * On the 21st instant, this most serene King had his daughter christened, and the sponsors were the right reverend cardinal and the duchess of Norfolk,[1] the consort of the Lord High Treasurer; and thus was it done, I think, by reason of the Imperial, and French, and Spanish ambassadors, and of myself; the King not choosing to make any distinction, and I am of opinion that the consideration was prudent. To-day, I went to his Majesty and congratulated him in the name of your Highness on the birth of his daughter, and on the well-being of her most serene mother, adding that your Serenity would have experienced greater satisfaction had it been a son, for the contentment moreover of his Majesty, who should resign himself to the will of the Lord God, who distributes his favours as he pleases; with other words suited to the subject. His Majesty then made me draw nearer, having, however, in the first place returned many thanks to your Highness for this compliment, saying, "We are both young: if it was a daughter this time, by the grace of God the sons will follow," and he then continued, "Domine Orator, I will tell you a very great secret, the which I charge you under the closest confidence not to write to any one, except to your Doge, lest it become known; nor even to your Doge do I choose you to write that I in person told it you, but say that you have heard it from a good source: know that the King of France is negotiating with all earnestness to obtain peace with the Emperor, and to leave you, single-handed, at the mercy of your enemies; I always loved the Venetians, and it grieves me to the heart, the seeing you deceived from too great credulity: I have chosen to tell you

this; make such provision as you may think fit." I thanked his Majesty exceedingly for so affectionate a demonstration, and said I should forthwith communicate it to your Highness, who would keep what I might write you most secret. I did not think it advisable to probe the matter farther, for to evince belief in these words, would have been perilous; whilst on the other hand, to let fall an expression implying that I doubted them, must have proved odious, so I let them pass without farther comment.

His Majesty having departed, I remained with Cardinal Wolsey, who (after I had spoken to him, and appointed a conference with his right reverend lordship about the affair of the wines of Candia, according to the injunctions contained in the letters of your Highness dated the 27th of December) said to me, "Domine Orator, I have always loved you, and desired the weal and exaltation of your state; beware in whom you trust, and take care, lest in a moment, through too great confidence, you lose that which you have preserved with so great labour and expense." I showed that I understood his meaning, to avoid the appearance of imagining that what the King had told me was unknown to his lordship, but said to him, that if the faith of your Highness doomed you to destruction, you could only have recourse to the Almighty, who would avenge it; but, that let this perfidy proceed from whence it may, it is undeserved by your Excellency, as by your confederates you have played the part of a most Christian Republic, and as such, I trusted, would in no case be abandoned. I avoided in every word the possibility of being thought to lean to one side rather than the other, as seems to me expedient in this matter, which I have not chosen to communicate to the French ambassador, deeming it really of so great moment, proceeding as it does *ex ore regis*, that it was my duty, first of all, to announce it to your

Highness, who, being acquainted with facts concerning the most Christian King unknown to me, will form such resolves about your affairs as may be thought fit. I see this business getting very embroiled, and perceive that what I prognosticated to your Sublimity in my former letters is coming to pass, namely, that this side is solely intent on detaching your Highness from the most Christian King, and from these negotiations.

[1] Agnes Tilney, daughter of Hugh Tilney, the second wife of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. This Duchess Agnes became subsequently involved in the disgrace of her granddaughter, Queen Catharine Howard. The birth of the Princess Mary at the moment of her grandfather's death, and the choice of her godmother, appear evil omens.

London, March 8, 1516.

I now inform you of my having been to the right reverend Cardinal, under pretence of discussing the affair of the wines of Candia, but really to say and hear something about the present negotiations. After settling to hear me in Council concerning the Candian business,[1] a fortnight hence, he commenced discussing the affairs of France, making a great show of wishing to adjust them, whereto I exhorted and persuaded him, as much as I possibly could. He next entered on the subject of the money said to have been sent to the Emperor and to the Switzers, openly denying that moneys had been given either to the one or the other, testifying thereto by his consecration, and by the honour of the cardinalate, nevertheless, your Excellency is aware of the truth through the result, and I hear and understand the contrary daily; would it were otherwise! Continuing to discuss the affairs of France, he said there was yet time to arrange this dispute, provided the most Christian King removed the Duke of Albany from

Scotland; whereupon I replied that I considered them arranged, it having heen settled that they were to be decided by mutual ambassadors, from which decision I imagined neither sovereign would swerve, whereto he made no farther answer, and I then took leave.

Subsequently, I was presented with your Excellency's missives dated the 2nd ultimo, containing many summaries, and two letters from the most noble Griti, besides one from the secretary Rosso at Milan, acquainting me with every event, both concerning the affairs of Brescia, and also with regard to the agreement between the ten Swiss cantons and his most Christian Majesty. Having seen and read all this information, I went to communicate it to the right reverend Cardinal, who appeared to hear it very willingly, but not in the fashion wherewith the successes of one's friends are generally listened to; and he asked me where the Emperor was, where the most Christian King found himself, and where the Switzers were. I told him that I knew nothing soever either of the Emperor or yet of the Switzers, but that with regard to the most Christian King, I understood through letters and statements received by his reverend ambassador, that his Majesty was in Provence and was expected at Lyons. Perceiving him then to mutter somewhat, saying (but pretending all the while that he did not choose to say) that it was reported his aforesaid Majesty had died; that he himself did not believe it; though it might be that he was *diseased;* which would greatly prejudice his interests:—I told him that of death there was no fear, since that was not a thing which could be kept secret; and as for sickness it did not seem by the last letters, that any thing sinister had befallen his Majesty.[2] He likewise discussed what has by this time become so very trite a topic, namely, the injuries inflicted by King Francis on his Majesty here, saying, that there was yet

time to allay all disturbance by removing the Duke of Albany; and as I heard through the French ambassador that King Henry had armed some fifty or sixty ships (of which there neither was nor is so much as the slightest rumour in the town, I having made close inquiries on the subject), I said to him, "My right reverend lord! many reports circulate, both about the remittances, that they have really reached Inspruck, destined for the Emperor and for the Switzers; and also that a great armada is being fitted out here, and so considerable as to make it appear that it is for no trifling purpose." His right reverend lordship solemnly denied both facts, but said that some ten or twelve royal ships here in the Thames, which needed repairs, had undergone them; and that these were matters of such a nature as could not be put in execution, without a general understanding. I exhorted his lordship to be, as he ever had been, the author of peace between these two most serene Princes. He then made me a discourse purporting that he had effected the peace with King Louis, and that to preserve it he had caused the Princess Maria to be given to that infirm and decrepid monarch, disdaining the alliance with the most illustrious the Archduke,[3] and many other things of extreme moment, with which he was now reproached, it being told him that he displayed greater anxiety for peace with France, than for the honour of his King; notwithstanding which, he should exert himself more than ever to avoid the destruction of his fabric, provided the most Christian King would conform to reason, especially by removing the Duke of Albany. In short, he made a long speech, which I answered briefly, telling him that I hoped his lordship and the respective ambassadors who were expected both from France and Scotland, would arrange everything, exhorting him to this effect, because if a decision was to be arrived at through hostilities, and that it should prove

favourable for this kingdom, yet could not his lordship be greater than he is; whereas, should the result be disastrous, those at the helm always encounter strong opposition, and every reverse is attributed to them; by so much the more as for the support of war, taxes and burdens are laid upon the people, who do not complain of kings, but of their ministers, wherefore, out of the respect borne by me towards his lordship, I besought him to be intent on deciding well for the kingdom's interests and for his own, as the result of war is doubtful: for this demonstration of friendship, his lordship thanked me, and I then took leave.

From the Cardinal, I proceeded immediately to the Reverend Bishop of Durham, to whom I also communicated the summaries, having listened to which, he said, smiling,—"Where are the Swiss and the Emperor?" I told him that I imagined they were at home: he answered me,—"Rely upon it that they are in Italy, and in number 36,000, including horse and foot; and I lament your being in so great trouble, for I doubt there ever having been a state or kingdom capable of enduring so great and constant a war as you have done, and I certainly marvel at your ever having linked yourself to France, with whom it is impossible for you to advance; for should she lose, you will be worsted with her: should she be victorious, she will deceive you," an assurance which I hear, from divers persons, a hundred times in the course of the day. All this is for the sake of detaching your Excellency from his most Christian and to us most faithful Majesty, so that really, considering the ill will borne your Excellency by all the princes of Christendom, you needed no more suitable companion.[4]

I answered him, that the peace and confederation existing between your Sublimity and France was offered us by the late most Christian King Louis, and at the time when the

Emperor and the King of Spain (who was our confederate) were deceiving us, and acting by your Signory like utter enemies; wherefore your Excellency had been compelled to accept the peace with France, which the present most serene King had hitherto preserved inviolate.

We then commenced discussing the fact of the money sent to Inspruck: he vowed that if moneys had been sent to the Emperor, he was willing to be called a traitor; whereto I replied that I believed his lordship entirely, though it really seemed very wonderful to me that the Emperor, who was not worth a ducat, should have come into Italy with 36,000 men, without having even received subsidy from the Pope, who is on the best possible terms with France; nor from the King of Spain, who is dead; nor from the Archduke, who has now need to amass treasure for the affairs of Spain; nor from this most serene King, according to the assertion of his lordship, who repeated that his Majesty had not given money against your Excellency, but to the Switzers against the King of France, adding (to use his own words), "This much is not impossible." I told him that it was not possible to give favour to the Switzers against the most Christian King, without its being against us, as our fortunes were united; whereto his lordship rejoined, "The Switzers are not your enemies, nor do they want what is yours, though they, indeed, are the enemies of the King of France, and choose to have the territory held by him in Italy." This and much more being said on either side, I took leave, recommending to him the interests of your Highness.

[1] See note on sack, p. 100.

[2] The meaning of Wolsey may be inferred from the note concerning Coppo at p. 32.

[3] The Archduke Charles of Burgundy, Prince of Castille, had been affianced to the Princess Maria Tudor in the spring of 1509, and remained her betrothed husband for five years, that is to say, until she married Louis XII. in 1514.

[4] "Non li bisognava altra compagna." It may mean that, with so much enmity to bear on her own account, Venice could not have chosen a more unpopular ally, or one who consequently so became her; but more probably the ambassador means to compliment Francis I., and to assert that his alliance was the very one, of all others, which the State most needed, as best suited to her.

London, March 10, 1516.

By the accompanying, your Serenity will have received information of all that has passed; and I now inform you of the arrival here of two ambassadors from the most illustrious Prince of Castille, personages of great consequence; one of whom is my Lord da la Rosa,[1] of yore a prisoner to your Sublimity; the other is a prelate, also a person of account, and very learned. On Sunday the 9th they had their public audience, the King and all his court being in very sumptuous array; the prelate delivered a Latin oration, and they then went to church, and, in the King's presence, swore to the peace and friendship signed between his Majesty and their prince, to last for ever. Neither the French ambassador nor myself were present on this occasion, as similar ceremonies are not attended by ambassadors unless they are invited.

On the morrow, the aforesaid French ambassador and I went to visit these envoys, who gave us courteous greeting, save that my Lord de Roeux complained of having been harshly treated at Venice;[2] the other ambassador doing the like, on the authority of said lord, and adding a brief sentence or two of biting import: I endeavoured to appease him, saying, that if there had been any maltreatment it did not proceed from your Highness, but from some of your ministers, who possibly did not execute the behests of your Excellency; whereupon he immediately replied that it was not

the fault of the ministers, for that Bartholamio Contarini and Zuan Antonio Dandolo, were the persons charged with his custody, and he said, "They behaved most excellently, and with them I was very well satisfied, for they are very worthy noblemen: and besides them, I have great cause to congratulate myself on the treament I received from Francesco Contarini, son of the late Zacharia,[3] who did me more service than I could possibly desire, and I shall ever feel obliged to him;" and he charged my secretary to write to him and salute him on his behalf, with great demonstration of goodwill. I sought to soothe him to the utmost, and we then commenced discussing other topics, in the course of which he told me that his prince meant to go into Castille, and would settle that business; nor did he anticipate any opposition soever, as his brother and all the grandees of Castille had tendered him obedience; but that he did not yet choose to be styled king until his arrival out there. Subsequently, in the course of conversation, when specifying his realms, he mentioned the kingdom of Naples, evincing that the prince deemed it not less his own than Castille; and he showed a letter to the French ambassador here, which was the copy of one written by the deceased Catholic king to his prince, wherein he particularized all the states which he bequeathed him, including the kingdom of Naples, exhorting him to preserve and defend said realms, recommending to him the most serene Queen, his consort,[4] with regard to her receiving what was due on account of dower, since it was her intention to remain in Castille. These things did not please the reverend French ambassador, who has told me so repeatedly, because the most Christian King maintains that the kingdom of Naples was the dowry of the queen aforesaid, and that in the event of her dying without heirs, it was to revert to the crown of France; he made no answer, how-

ever, either to the letter or to the language of said ambassadors, who extol this most serene King of England to the utmost pitch that a sovereign can be celebrated, both for power and treasure, and every other merit: by this I perceive how strong the union that exists between these two princes, which God grant may not prove to our hurt.

They then asked me about the condition of your Excellency's army, concerning the commanders and proveditors, and the number of spears and infantry, whereto I answered as deemed by me expedient for the interests of your Highness. They commended the most noble Andrea Griti, his special valour and experience, and, in course of conversation, greatly lauded the ability, force, and government of your Highness, to which no other state soever can offer a comparison, as visible through the imposing operations of this endless war; reproaching you, however, with having acquired your territory by the spoliation of other states, wherefore should your power now decline, it was no wonder, since it had lasted much longer than other republics, and that it was natural for whatever had once enjoyed increase, at length to fail. I replied calmly to all these comments, avoiding whatever I thought might produce strife, for in truth, most serene Prince, your Excellency has no need of more hostile potentates than those already opposed to you, as indeed I should be at a loss to say who is on your side, it behoving me listen daily to what I hear unwillingly. I laboured to impress them favourably with regard to your Highness, reminding them of the ancient friendships maintained with all the most illustrious Dukes of Burgundy in the olden time; and that your Excellency considered yourself on the like terms with the present most illustrious prince, whose person is singularly considered and revered by the entire most illustrious Senate; and as said ambassadors

mentioned that they were departing hence in two or three days, we took leave of each other.

[1] Thus called in Italy, his real name being *Roeux* or *Reus*. My Lord de Roeux commanded a corps of Burgundian cavalry in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, and Cardinal Bembo mentions his having been captured by the Venetian light horse, A.D. 1511.

[2] Monsieur de Roeux arrived a prisoner of war at Venice, on the evening of the 5th of November, 1511, accompanied by a Secretary of the Council of Ten, Nicolo Aurelio. On the morrow he went into the college, and was seated near the Doge, who spoke him fair. He requested leave to have the camp-barber from Padua, who had accompanied him, and dressed his wound hitherto, as, under his care, he expected to recover speedily, and he promised to write to the Emperor, &c. Monsieur de Roeux in 1511 was in the service of the Lady Margaret. See Sanuto, vol. xiii. fo. 157.

[3] Zacharia Contarini was taken prisoner by the French at Cremona in 1509, and died in France in 1513. He was one of the ablest diplomatists of Venice, and his despatches, written from the court of Maximilian, in the years 1495 and 1496, contain some curious details of English politics in those times, and mention his having become acquainted, on this mission, with a great-grandson of Hotspur, called Lord Egremont, and also with Priest Christopher Urswick, who subsequently became Archbishop of York, under the name of Bambridge, and is introduced by Shakspeare in the tragedy of King Richard III.

[4] Germaine de Fois, the second wife of Ferdinand the Catholic, who married her A.D. 1506, March 18.

London, March 11, 1516.

I went to-day to communicate to the King the letters of your Highness and the summaries of news. I found him somewhat indisposed, as he has been the last three days. He received me alone, in a private chamber, when I communicated to him both the letters and the summaries, of which last I made a very brief Latin compendium, that they might prove less tedious to him. Having read them, he told me the agreement between the Switzers and the King of France had not taken effect, nay, that they were all agreed with the Emperor, and had taken the French King's money,

in part payment of their claims upon him, and that by this time, the Emperor, together with said Switzers, are in Italy, between Verona and Milan, and have barred the passage in such a manner, that our army in the Brescian territory is prevented succouring that of the most Christian King; that the French who were with the Duke of Bourbon[1] had fled, the Duke himself, with certain personages of account, having withdrawn into Milan Castle; "so that," said his Majesty, laughing, "you see how you stand!" He evinced extreme surprise at your Excellency's having adhered to the King of France and forsaken your friends, since you will become aware of having made a bad choice, as should France conquer, she will despoil your Excellency of everything; "If she loses," he repeated, "you know how you stand!" Whilst uttering these words, the King seemed to exult, and, moreover, to wax somewhat warm; so it seemed necessary to me to apologize for your Highness, stating to him that some years ago,[2] your Excellency, together with the Spaniards, undertook to expel the French from Italy; when, besides the army of 1,600 spears, 2,000 light cavalry, and 8,000 Italian infantry, you moreover subsidized 15,000 Swiss, who were paid with your own money, owing to which army, the French were compelled to abandon Italy, your agreement with the Catholic King purporting, that the towns which had been ours were to be restored to us; according to which, when Brescia and Bergamo surrendered to the Spanish commander, said cities ought to have been made over immediately to our proveditors in your Excellency's name; whereas they were consigned to the agents of the Emperor, so that your Excellency suffered greater injuries from your allies than from open enemies. In consequence of this, I said, the most Christian King Louis sent the Magnifico Antonio Giustinian,

who was then a prisoner in France, to offer us peace, restoring to us the whole of our territory; and he was followed by the most noble Andrea Griti, likewise a prisoner to his Majesty; and through these means (in order not to remain in the power of our enemies under pretence of confederation), it behoved your Excellency to accept the peace with the aforesaid King. His Majesty interrupted me here, saying, "It was not necessary to abandon your friends, some of whom, at least, could and would have aided you" (alluding to his Majesty himself); and he continued, "There could be no necessity soever for making you have recourse to such perfidy," and this he uttered with some indignation, becoming rather pale in the face.[3] Perceiving him more irritated than I could ever have imagined, and more openly hostile to France, I thought it time to appease him, and said, that if your Excellency then made terms with France from necessity, yet did we never swerve or detach ourselves from our friendship and observance towards his Majesty, which, on the contrary, ever continued and prevailed until now; as we recollected, that when all the princes of Christendom conspired and plotted against us, his Majesty was that sole beacon which remained to us in so great darkness, ever favouring your Excellency's interests in word and deed. At this point again, his Majesty interrupted me, saying, "You speak the truth, for I have done more for you than my father ever did, or any other prince who may have been your friend;" whereupon, after modestly assenting as it behoved me, I continued my discourse, vowing that your Excellency would never depart from your friendship and confederation with his Majesty, being aware both of the ancient and recent good-will subsisting with your Excellency, who perfectly understood his extreme goodness, justice, strength, and authority; to this, the King rejoined,

"Be assured, Domine Orator, that I have now more money and greater force and authority than I myself or my ancestors ever had; so that what I will of other princes, that I can obtain," and, moreover, when saying this, he seemed to wax wrath; so I told him that I, who was on the spot, knew this, as I perceived the kingdom to be most powerful; the great plenty of its money; the endowments of his Majesty; and his extreme authority with all the princes of Christendom, whom I see all prostrate themselves before him *tanquam ad justissimum refugium;* but yet greater than either his power or wealth, did I deem his justice, benignity, and clemency, which I was sure would never fail such a friend as your Excellency. I besought him, therefore, to persevere in his amicable intentions, and to hold the Signory as his most devoted ally; in uttering which expressions, I bowed myself with all submission down to the very ground. After this, continuing the conversation, he commenced praising the Cardinal of Sion,[4] saying he was a most worthy man, and added that he did not choose to omit mentioning this—namely, that the enemies of your Sublimity, to wit, the Emperor and the late Catholic King, were such because you willed it so, as had the Signory been so inclined, his Majesty could have easily reconciled you to them; "but," said he, "I wrote to your Senate to this effect, but received no answer, my authority being held in small account." To this, I answered him, that your Excellency wrote to his Majesty that you would have been content for him to arrange and settle in some way these disputes between yourself and the potentates aforesaid, but that as his Holiness had already undertaken to mediate between your Excellency and the Emperor, the negotiation was not pursued, to avoid exasperating the Pope, who might have considered himself slighted, after being the first to offer his interposition; though of this I

could assure his Majesty, that our whole Senate was much more inclined towards having these matters adjusted by him than by the Pope; nor should the reason assigned by me alienate his Majesty from us, since under all circumstances, and every change of fortune, we have tendered him incomparable good will and observance, and shall continue doing so, requesting him, with every demonstration of respect, to hold your Excellency his friend and confederate, and to consider your whole territory as recommended to his protection. He made answer, "I shall ever love the Signory; I could not do otherwise; yet is it true that I will not offend those who are my friends, and who have placed trust in me, and do so at this present, by deeds, and not by words." I again repeated to him what I deemed expedient for the interests of your Excellency, so that, at length, on my taking leave, he said, "I shall ever regard you as friends, nor is it my intention to injure you, either by troops or money;" adding, that he greatly marvelled at not having any but stale news from your Excellency: so, most serene Prince, as this seems to me more than ever the moment for cultivating this King's friendship, I beseech your Highness to be pleased to pay him the compliment (which costs you nothing) of keeping him opportunely advised of such matters as you may consider fitted for his knowledge. I perceive, indeed, that if the Emperor and the Switzers give battle to the most Christian King, and lose it, it will be more than ever expedient for your Excellency to be on terms with his Majesty; and if, on the contrary, which God forbid, the most Christian King be worsted, there is no sovereign in the world who could better arrange the affairs of your Excellency with your enemies than this King, whom your Excellency may be convinced enjoys much greater authority with the Emperor (and it seems to me with the most illus-

trious Archduke likewise) than he himself admits; so that you will do as to your wisdom shall seem expedient.

[1] When Francis I. returned to France, at the commencement of 1516, he left the Duke de Bourbon as his lieutenant. See Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 180.

[2] A.D. 1511. See Guicciardini, vol. ii. p. 403.

[3] Guicciardini mentions a place having been reserved for Henry VIII. in the league formed between Julius II. and Spain and the Venetians, A.D. 1511 (see vol. ii. p. 403); and apparently, upon this account, the King resents the Signory's change of policy as an act of disrespect to himself personally, but it may be suspected that his wrath, as displayed to the Venetian ambassador in March, 1516, proceeded less from resentment at the past, than from apprehension lest the Venetian alliance might thwart the expedition, which, when this conversation took place, was being undertaken by Maximilian against the French in the Milanese; and in point of fact, the subsequent retreat of the Emperor from the gates of Milan, was due to the Venetian proveditor, Andrea Griti, more than to any any other circumstance.

[4] Mathew Scheiner, Cardinal of Sion, was a staunch Antigallican, on which account it may be doubted whether the ambassador shared the King's opinion of his merits; and the Venetians, moreover, on their own account, had some causes of complaint against this prelate, amongst which may be mentioned that, when professedly their ally, in July, 1512, he kidnapped the two proveditors of the state at Alexandria—namely, Christopher Moro (*alias* Othello) and Paolo Capello, his brother-in-law and colleague.

London, March 12, 1516.

On returning from the interview related in my last, I went to the French ambassador, and acquainted him with all that had passed between his Majesty and myself, considering such to be the will of your Highness; and I have hitherto communicated everything to him, save the King's assertion, that his Majesty of France was negotiating peace with the Emperor, meaning to leave your Highness in the hands of your enemies; and this I did not think fit to confide to him, as King Henry had bound me to the closest silence thereon; and had it subsequently by any means reached his ears that I

revealed the fact, it would have entailed upon me the utter loss of his confidence and good will. Your Sublimity will form your most sage opinion hereon, and make the announcement to the most Christian King, or pass it over in silence, as you may deem expedient; though my opinion is, that the report was devised here for the sake of estranging your Highness from France; nor do I see that these lords are more intent on anything than this, and hence proceed the complaints and somewhat biting language of his Majesty, who seeks to induce your Highness, either from love or fear, to accede to his wishes. With all deference, therefore, I really am of opinion that it would be inexpedient to evince any distrust of the French ambassador, but to communicate with him unreservedly, as I think I comprehend that he has some suspicion lest this side over-persuade your Highness, and induce you to abandon his most Christian Majesty: on this account I treat him much more confidentially than I otherwise should.

After I had acquainted him, therefore, with the preceding, he said, that two days before, he had received letters from a trustworthy person in Flanders, purporting that 15,000 nobles, which form about 70,000 ducats, had been despatched thence, destined for the Emperor to keep his army on foot. Moreover, that his Majesty had levied, or was in the act of levying, in Germany and the neighbouring places, as many as 10,000 men, whom he had ordered to come to Calais, there to await his orders. Also, that there had been great tumults and disturbances in the kingdom of Naples, between the partisans of France and those of Spain, which I do not detail, as they are things better known to your Highness than to me and others here. I have not heard these facts through any other channel, and therefore do not vouch for them, as I am aware, indeed, that occasionally the news

uttered and written by this reverend ambassador lack foundation; nevertheless, I have thought proper to notify it to your Excellency, that you may form such opinion thereon as shall be deemed fit. Should the news of the 10,000 infantry be true, there is no doubt of its being a preparation against Scotland, they being destined to cross the border in the spring; nor do I imagine that it can be with a view to waging war on France, as in that case his Majesty would rather use his own Englishmen than other troops, by reason of the natural enmity prevailing between them and Frenchmen.

London, March 29, 1516.

On the 26th instant, I received two letters from your Sublimity, with summaries of Turkish news, and other tidings of Italy; for the purpose of communicating which to his Majesty, I went to court, and the right reverend Cardinal being there, told me I could not then have audience of his Majesty, who was otherwise occupied; but that his right reverend lordship had been delegated by the King to give audience both to me and the French ambassador. After, therefore, I had communicated my news, his right reverend lordship said to me, "Sir ambassador, I lament much, seeing that Christian blood is on the eve of being unprofitably spilt; and your Signory, who has so earnestly exhorted the princes of Christendom not to spare either blood or treasure against the infidel, is the cause of its being poured forth amongst Christians themselves, through your thirst for empire." To this I made answer, that the real authors of these troubles are those who disturb the quiet and tranquillity of Italy, and seek to deprive the ancient possessors of their territories, alluding to the Emperor; and

that your Sublimity neither seeks or wishes to obtain what belongs to others, but to recover your own. He then said, "Verily, you are men of worth, and sage, and upright, but remember that you are seeking your own destruction and ruin; and this, unless you apply a speedy remedy, you will soon experience; for I, who am your friend, assure you for certain that the King of France is intent on making terms, and arranging his affairs with others, and will ruin you outright, so open your eyes; this I tell you, out of the love I bear your State." I thanked his right reverend lordship for this loving demonstration, and said to him that our good faith merited a better return, and that we were between two perils—the one certain, and the other doubtful; the certainty being the Emperor and the Spaniards, whose faith your Excellency had already tested, for that when allied with us, they deceived you; and that now being capital enemies, and in possession of your Signory's territory, their hostility must be yet greater. From the most Christian King, on the other hand, we have as yet received no wrong, nay, he shows us every mark of good will, and the greatest ardour in favour of our restoration; but even should we be deceived, greater will our excuse be for having credited words and deeds, and greater his fault; to avenge which, I believe, we should have on our side both God and man; and with this I took leave, telling him I would see his right reverend lordship again, to discuss the matter more fully, as I perceived him to be much occupied. I conclude, however, that these lords do whatever is in their knowledge and power, to lure your Sublimity from your faith and alienate you from France, and hence it comes that the King and many others of these lords show me a countenance the reverse of friendly; and perceiving that it is not possible to detach your Excellency from the most Christian King voluntarily, they fancy that it

may be effected by terrifying you; hence come the display of wrath and the unusual bravadoes of this most serene King, of which I have informed you. Your Excellency knows what is expedient for you, and is aware that what is sure should ever be preferred to the uncertain, and experience to opinion.

By the letters of your Excellency, dated the 12th ultimo, I see that you have been a long while without receiving any of mine, the last being those of the 6th December. This disturbs me more than I can express; for I perceive that all my operations, effected with so much diligence and study, are fated to be of no avail. Since the 6th of December, I have written repeatedly: first of all, on the 17th, 20th, and 24th of December; then on the 2nd, 5th and 11th January; 6th, 7th, 8th, 12th, 18th, 20th, and 24th February; and 8th, 10th, 11th, and 12th March, whereby I gave you the most minute details of everything, so that your Excellency would have known, not merely of the occurrences here, but also the prevalent feeling of this court. All these letters I consigned to the French ambassador, thinking they would go safer—for on quitting this island, they always travel through France to Italy; nor would it have been safe for me to write through the merchants, because the couriers take the road by Flanders and Germany, and there would have been danger of their being intercepted, as was the case, I feel sure, with one set of my letters which I forwarded that way; your Excellency, therefore, must not ascribe it to negligence or carelessness on my part, but either to the French ambassador, who might have a reason for not always forwarding my despatches, or, which I deem the more likely, that my letters, with those of the ambassador aforesaid, did reach the most illustrious mother of the Christian King, and that possibly some negligence then prevented their being forwarded. It may even

have happened that they were sent on to Provence to King Francis, when there was no ambassador of your Excellency's resident with him, and the neglect may have proceeded thence; but be the fault where it may, your Serenity may be assured that no private matter of mine ever takes precedence of public business, nor do I hold in account either my life, or my property, nor yet my children, where I see the honour and profit of your Excellency at stake; and would I had been as good a father to my family as I think I have been a good citizen to my country.[1]

[1] It would appear by this closing paragraph, that the Senate had reproached the ambassador with having done, or omitted something or other, from private or personal motives. Possibly this may allude to his not having sent his despatches through the merchants by way of Flanders and Germany, and that the preference conceded by him to the French ambassador's bag was attributed to some jealousy of the merchant Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who, as stated in despatches of July 16th and October 11th, received advices from his brother, the ambassador Piero, whilst Giustinian remained without news of any sort; and again, at the close of the despatch of Nov. 14th, there is a sentence disclaiming any anxiety for first news, save on account of the State, which rather confirms the suspicion, that the Venetian embassy naturally enough did not like to know less than the "merchant of Venice," and that Giustinian, on his part, was averse to giving an official character to advices from the counting-house. On this account he had chosen to keep his correspondence as separate as possible from that of Pasqualigo.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.[1]

London, April 1, 1516.

By my last, in date of the 30th ultimo, I informed you that the countenances of some of these lords evinced neither friendship nor good will, and that much language had been used to me, of a nature bordering rather on outrage than on arrogance; and not having specified this in the foregoing letters, I think fit now to mention it in detail. Finding

myself at the court, and talking familiarly about other matters, two lay lords, great personages in this kingdom, inquired of me whence it came that your Excellency was of such slippery faith, now favouring one party and then the other? Although these words might reasonably have provoked me, I answered them with all discretion, that you did keep, and ever had kept your faith, the maintenance of which has placed you in great trouble, and subjected you to wars of longer duration than you would otherwise have experienced; descending to particulars in justification of your Sublimity; whereupon, one of them replied, "*Isti Veneti sunt piscatores!*" Marvellous was the command I then had over myself in not giving vent to expressions which might have proved injurious to your Signory, and with extreme moderation, I rejoined that had he been at Venice and seen our senate and the Venetian nobility, he perhaps would not speak thus; and, moreover, were he well read in our history, both concerning the origin of our city and the grandeur of your Excellency's feats, neither the one nor the other would seem to him those of fishermen; yet, said I, did fishermen found the Christian faith, and we have been those fishermen who defended it against the forces of the infidel, our fishing-boats being galleys and ships, our hooks the treasure of St. Mark, and our bait the life-blood of our citizens who died for the Christian faith, as proven not by ancient chronicles, but by the recent testimony of contemporary historians,[2] and that the standing witnesses of this truth, and of our wars against the Turk, were the towns and territory lost by us in defence of the rest of Christendom; namely, Negropont, Lepanto, Modon, Coron, Durazo, and a great part of Albania. They made answer again that we were fishermen, expert in taking what belonged to others, as we had plucked something from all the potentates in the world, adding, "The island of Cyprus,

which ought to belong to our King, by what right do you hold that?" I, without ever overstepping the limits of decorum[3] (as the nature of the times requires this), thoroughly vindicated the actions of your Excellency, and proved to them with regard to Cyprus, that already half a century back, it would have fallen into the power of the Turk, like many other possessions besides, which heretofore formed part of Christendom, had it not been for the armadas of your Signory, on which you had expended thrice as much gold as the island was worth, and at length, on the death of King James and his son, the Turk threatening its occupation, and having already prepared a fleet to this effect, the Queen, who was a gentlewoman of ours, the sister of the most noble Georgio Cornaro, made a voluntary surrender thereof to our Signory, and herself caused the banner of St. Mark to be hoisted, resigning the Government to some of our noblemen who were there, and coming to Venice: which was the sheer truth.

The right reverend Cardinal then commenced his usual complaints of the most Christian King, blaming him vastly, for that, contrary to the confederation formed with the late King Louis, he kept the Duke of Albany in Scotland; and so continued in the strain so often repeated to your Excellency in my former letters. Not choosing pertinaciously to contradict these assertions, to avoid provocation, I said I hoped these Scotch affairs would be arranged, as I had seen the copy of the letters from the most Christian King to his Majesty, and that he seemed very desirous of settling this controversy through the ambassadors appointed, and that there would no longer be any cause for dissension, but that whatever turn fortune might take, your Signory would never fail in your faith and observance towards his most serene Majesty. I then made an appointment with his lordship, not specifying

any object, but with the intention of clearing your Excellency not merely from the imputations urged by the two personages aforesaid, but also from many others; and with this I took leave of his lordship and returned hither. To-morrow, please God, I shall go and visit his lordship for the above-mentioned purpose, in order not to fail in what I consider expedient for the interests of your Signory.

[1] The commencement of this letter has already been published by Mr. Ruskin, in his eloquent work on the architecture of Venice. His remarks on the value of original documents are so forcible and just, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of subjoining the passage to the despatch which suggested it:—

"I cannot close these volumes without expressing a conviction, which has long been forcing itself upon my mind, that *restored* history is of little more value than restored painting or architecture; that the only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen, heard out of the mouths of men who did and saw. One fresh draught of such history is worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts, and reasonings, and suppositions, and theories; and I believe that, as we get wiser, we shall take little trouble about the history of nations who have left no distinct records of themselves, but spend our time only in the examination of the faithful documents which, in any period of the world, have been left, either in the form of art or literature, portraying the scenes, or recording the events, which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men."

[2] Concerning the wars of the Venetians in Asia, some notices were published at Venice, A.D. 1477, by one Coriolano Cippico, who took a part in them, and died in 1493. Sabellico, who quotes that writer, died in 1507.

[3] In Litta's Sketch of the Career of Sebastian Giustinian, it is stated that, in the year 1511, when he commanded the Albanians against the Croats, he showed rather a hot temper, so the moderation displayed by him in this instance is the more praiseworthy.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, April 2, 1516.

On meeting the right reverend Cardinal according to appointment, he told me the Emperor was in the Veronese

with a large army, and then commenced as usual complaining of the most Christian King, and abusing very roundly the reverend French ambassador; his lordship at length coming to this conclusion, that his Majesty here and himself wished for nothing but peace with France, and that he should be glad if your Excellency would assure Francis of the good will of his Majesty, and also of his own; dilating much and warmly hereon, and justifying himself against any sinister imputation that may attach itself to him. On the close of this discourse I commenced apologizing for your Excellency, and exculpating you from the charges brought against us; and with regard to what was said about our being fishermen, rapacious for the territory of others, I answered him in conformity with the contents of my foregoing, which detail the reply I gave to those two: with regard, forsooth, to the imputation of treachery, which appears to me of more importance, I said to him (having first offered every hint and demonstration of not meaning to urge a complaint, but merely to acquit your Excellency), that a few days ago, when with the King, his Majesty expressing surprise at your Excellency's favouring the French, from whom you had received all possible harm and injury, remarked, that your Excellency had been guilty of great "perfidy," an expression which I had considered rather a slip of the tongue than prepense; but perceiving and hearing this term repeated by many others, I said I considered the charge worthy of being cleared up with his Lordship, who, being convinced that your Signory was not at all to blame, I considered that the King likewise would exonerate us and relinquish the suspicion. I then commenced by saying, that I imagined those who taunted your Signory with mutability of faith, alluded to the change made with the most Christian King; and were they to bear in

mind the period when King Francis came to the throne, there is no doubt but that any charge soever against your Excellency would vanish; for the peace and confederation existing between you and the late King Louis was then confirmed with his present Majesty, in virtue of the mutual confederation existing between this most serene King, the aforesaid King Francis, and your Signory; according to which confederation, the most Christian King wishing to recover his duchy of Milan, your Excellency gave him succour as to your ally, and as the ally of England; for which extreme praise was due to your Excellency, not merely from the French, but from his Majesty here and the entire country, for having defended the mutual confederation; and what was effected by your Excellency in favour of the most Christian King against the common enemy, you would also do in favour of his Majesty here. If, indeed, these persons meant that your Excellency was changeable in your faith, because you first allied yourself with his Holiness, with the deceased King of Spain and his Majesty, and subsequently with the late King Louis, I would reply to this charge, that it was not your Excellency who had failed in faith to your confederates, but verily the King of Spain who had broken and trampled on the faith of said confederation; for that the French, finding themselves then in Italy, King Ferdinand and your Excellency sent your armies to expel them, and it seeming that these forces were insufficient for the purpose, some 18,000 Switzers were subsidized at the expense of the Spanish King and your Excellency, nevertheless no one paid them save your Signory. The French then having retreated upon Pavia, caused it to be intimated to your Excellency, or to your agents in the camp, that if you would desist from your project of expelling them Italy, they would restore all the territory which had been taken from

you and occupied by their king; a proposal to which, in maintenance of your faith to your confederates, your Excellency would not give ear, but chose to continue the undertaking, so that, in fine, with your forces the French were driven out of Italy. After this, on their march back, the Spanish and Venetian armies, with the Switzers, came to recover Brescia and Bergamo, that they might be consigned to the agents of your Excellency, according to the conditions and articles of the league. The French who were in Brescia made a voluntary surrender of the place, whereupon the Spaniards, forsooth, refused to consign that town to the agents of your Excellency, giving it, on the contrary, to the Emperor, which was precisely contrary to the articles of the league, and hence his lordship could judge which side had broken faith. Whilst your Serenity was in this trouble, in a worse plight than if you had been single-handed, seeing that you had allied yourself with your enemies, God willed that through the most noble Andrea Griti, King Louis informed your Signory that he would be your good friend, and wished for your alliance, on which condition he would restore all he had taken from you. In consequence of this, the peace and league were concluded, and thus his lordship might be convinced that your Excellency had not broken faith with your confederates, although they had failed in theirs, and infringed the articles of their confederation; but that you merely withdrew from a union with those who had deceived you, and formed an alliance with King Louis, for the sake of recovering your territorities. To prove that your Excellency had only separated from those who had deceived you, and consigned your state to the Emperor, I said, that when King Louis waged war with this crown, your Signory ever preserved inviolable friendship with this most serene King; nor had you ever given succour either of men or money to the

aforesaid King Louis against his Majesty; the fact being, that when I came ambassador to this court, I was commissioned by your Excellency, amongst other things, to congratulate his Majesty in your name, as I did, on his prosperity and victories.

His lordship listened to me affably, and said that all I had narrated to him was true, and well known to all the ministry; and that if any one, even were he a great personage, had accused your Excellency of perfidy, he spoke like one who knew not what he said; but that, with regard to his Majesty, if he had made use of that term, I must have deceived myself and misunderstood its application, as his Majesty did not vituperate the perfidy of your Excellency, but the perfidy of the King of France, "who," continued he, "means to deceive you, though you deserve far otherwise for your faithfulness towards him. He is endeavouring," he said, "to make terms with the Emperor to your ruin; and my King is greatly moved that you, who are good and faithful, should of your too great faith be deceived," adding, "I certify to you, Domine Orator, that, unless you make provision for your interests, you provoke your own destruction and ruin, and this you will witness at the farthest by next St. John's day, unless a remedy be applied," with many other words, making it appear that the poison was medicine for me, and that the language employed in reproach of your Excellency had been meant for the King of France, which I pretended to believe, and that I had made a mistake. I said that it certainly did seem very strange to me, that from the mouth of a king so friendly and well inclined to Venice such words should have issued, pretending to be convinced, and letting it appear that I was satisfied. The nature of the times, most serene Prince, requires this, in observance of an old proverb, which enjoins our kissing the hand we are unable to cut off.

This conversation being ended, I besought his right reverend lordship, with all possible earnestness and suavity, to exert himself ever to keep your Excellency as the friend and confederate of his most serene King, as you were firmly resolved to maintain the confederation, and persevere in perpetual peace and friendship, ever sharing all his fortunes, let what will chance amongst others, with many other fair words, which his lordship reciprocated, by saying, "Domine Orator, we will ever maintain the confederation; nor shall we in any case swerve thence;" on which topic he dilated amply. In the act of taking leave, I again adroitly repeated my suit for the good offices to be employed by his right reverend lordship, who, embracing me and making a very loving demonstration, said, "*Nil timeatis;* for we are by no means going to quarrel with you." Whereupon, I thanked his right reverend lordship with all submission, and departed. I expressed myself at this interview, most serene Prince, more warmly than usual, perceiving that there is some chance of an engagement,[1] in order that, in the event of accidents, your Excellency may have a resting-place.

[1] Between the forces of the Imperialists and those of the French and Venetians.

London, April 14, 1516.

I wrote to your Sublimity on the 2nd instant all that had occurred. At this present, nothing chances worthy of your knowledge, for that which is of great moment is better known to your Sublimity than to me, such news I mean as lately reached his Majesty in letters by way of Flanders, purporting that the Emperor with a very powerful army had come as far as the suburbs of Milan, and that the army of the most

Christian King and that of your Excellency had retreated. I cannot express to your Highness how much pain this intelligence caused me and all your other servants, but subsequently letters arrived from the most Christian King dated the 2nd instant, and signed by his Majesty, announcing that the Emperor had proceeded as far as the neighbourhood of Milan, when perceiving the determination of the townspeople and of the whole duchy to maintain their allegiance to the most Christian King, he withdrew, and to his great shame crossed the Adda, so that his Majesty says he is secure and quiet in the Milanese, which has comforted us here extremely, although these lords consider the thing a fiction. I do not write this for the purpose of notifying what your Excellency knows with greater certainty than I do, but to inform you that none of these adverse tidings seem to induce any stir here, or to occasion the remittance of moneys beyond that destined for the payment of the Imperial army; and from what I am assured through an excellent channel, as much as 150,000 crowns, supplied by the King of England, actually was distributed * * * I have been to visit the right reverend Cardinal, and the Bishop of Durham, who without my saying any thing farther about the matters detailed in my foregoing, made ample apologies, urging me to put a good interpretation on the expressions used by his Majesty, and to consider those employed by others of as light weight as the brains of those who uttered them, offering, if such were my will, to resent them by a sharp demonstration. For this I thanked their lordships, and told them that with regard to the language of the King, I took it in good part, and as it had been interpreted by their lordships, but as to what others said, that I valued not, being aware that neither by his Majesty nor his ministers was your Excellency deemed perfidious, or we ourselves fishermen, robbers, or traders, but senators,

such as the world has known us for many centuries; neither did I wish any farther demonstration to be made against the aforesaid, being satisfied with the good will borne us by their lordships, of whom I then took leave.

To-day, the reverend Papal nuncio, who arrived here yesterday, namely, the apostolic prothonotary, Domino Francesco Chieregato,[1] came to me. I gave him the best possible greeting, reminding him of the favours received by his uncle the Bishop of Concordia, and by all his family, from your Excellency, failing in nothing that I deemed expedient for your interests; in return for which he made every demonstrations of good will, and of especial observance towards your Sublimity, promising to do as much as if he were the ambassador of your Highness. He assured me that he should have extreme power with his Majesty and the right reverend Cardinal, as he was the bearer of very strong letters from his Holiness, who, from what I can comprehend, perceiving that this kingdom had somewhat alienated itself from him, owing to this new friendship with France, is endeavouring to regain it: let us hope, however, that this may not weaken the alliance with France. He assures me that he is not here, according to the common belief, as collector of Peter's pence, but to negotiate public affairs, and especially a general peace between the princes of Christendom, or, at the least, a four years' truce, and he has promised to acquaint me with his progress in this business, provided I inform your Excellency, and that he lose not the credit of these good offices as he did many others effected by him with the King of Spain, and the Swiss Cardinal of Sion, for the benefit of your Highness, whose agents, he says, never made any announcement soever to you to this effect, so that he is scarcely known to your Sublimity. I thanked him in the first place for the offer of his services, promising faithfully to acquaint you with his merits, who, I said, would

not lose a single step taken for the advantage of your Signory; and thus shall I do, and will write account of his proceedings. He told me that he would not appear outwardly to be very intimate with me, neither was I to demonstrate familiarity with him, and this for the better execution of his promise, which accordingly must be attended to.

I know not, most serene Prince, whether so many and frequent letters of mine, addressed to the most excellent Council of Ten, have reached their destination, as possibly in going through Germany, or in France, through the negligence of the French secretaries, they may have miscarried, and by so much the more, as some of the despatches, namely, those of the 30th ultimo and 2nd instant, were detained during some days at Calais, by command of his Majesty, to see what had been written by the French ambassador here, who was strongly suspected by these lords of writing to the worst of his knowledge and ability; this, in fact, he had done, and the right reverend Cardinal reprimanded him severely. I do not apprehend that my letters can have given any annoyance, for they were all written in cypher, so that what I wrote will have been unintelligible to them. I understand, however, that they were licensed for the French Court; but in the event of the arrival of my letters being delayed, do your Excellency not ascribe it to any neglect of mine, for the interval between my despatches rarely exceeds eight days, and I very often write more frequently, in order to notify everything to your Excellency.

[1] Francesco Chieregato, like Sebastian Giustinian, corresponded with Erasmus (see epistle No. 170, vol. ii. folio 1627), and has also been handed down to posterity by Bandello, in his 34th tale (Part I.), dedicated to Lodovica Sanseverina, Countess of Pandino.

As will be seen in the course of this correspondence, Chieregato was recalled from England in disgrace, after having been subjected to personal violence from Cardinal Wolsey (as will be seen in the despatch dated December 7th, 1516), but subsequently recovered the favour of Leo X.,

who in 1518 sent him to Spain and Portugal; and the Italian novelist says that, in a certain month of July, having returned to Italy from his mission to Emanuel the Fortunate, Bishop Chieregato passed through Pandino for the sake of visiting Alexander Bentivoglio and Ippolita Sforza; whereupon Countess Sanseverina insisted upon his staying dinner with her, after which he commenced telling the company about his travels, and giving details of the Portuguese voyages: he displayed specimens of gold dust, pearls, precious stones, and other oriental valuables, exhibiting also certain idols curiously wrought in mosaic. Chieregato, moreover, alluded to the dispensation from raiment practised in Milton's "fair Taprobana," and other islands of the Indian Ocean; to the beauty of the population, despite their dark skin; to their extreme hospitality; and, above all, to the utter absence of any marital jealousy in those favoured regions, which last peculiarity induces Bandello to tell the tale of Zanini Gandino.

Of the manners and customs of England, Chieregato does not seem to have said anything, when the guest of Countess Sanseverina, at Pandino. Nor do any details of the mission of this diplomatist to the court of Henry VIII. exist elsewhere than in the despatches of Sebastian Giustinian.

London, April 20, 1516.

Since my last of the 14th inst., nothing has taken place worthy of your Sublimity's knowledge, except it be worth mentioning that his Majesty and the nobles here, receiving nothing but false news, consider it certain that the Emperor is powerful in the Milanese, and that the army of the most Christian King and that of your Signory have retreated, notwithstanding the letters received here of a contrary tenor. The French ambassador, however, and myself, together with your other servants, are satisfied that our information is true; that the Emperor has retreated, and that Milan and the other towns of Lombardy persevere in their allegiance to France. On going to the King here, indeed, or visiting these lords, I make no show of persisting in any opinion, but refer myself to more certain intelligence, since to dispute with them would be odious, whilst confirming what they say

would be adulation, and an office of assent such as on their subsequent acquaintance with the truth must appear reprehensible: thus it behoves me sail with a side wind.

I went, very recently, to visit the right reverend Cardinal, of whose influence I avail myself in everything, as all really depends upon him. After we had discussed general topics together, he said he extremely regretted the great effusion of Christian blood which was threatened by a conflict between these two armies, and that the cause of this is the most Christian King, as had he chosen to maintain a good understanding with England, all the affairs of Christendom would have been arranged, both those of the Duchy of Milan with the Emperor, and also the matters in dispute concerning your Sublimity's territory. His Lordship then repeated how anxious he was, above all things, to preserve the fabric he had reared, but that, in like manner as he perceived his own King to be anxious for the maintenance of peace and a good understanding, so was he aware that the efforts of the most Christian King tended to the contrary, seeing that he chose to support the Duke of Albany in tyrannising over the kingdom of Scotland, in putting the royal princes to death, expelling the Queen the kingdom, and depriving her of all her effects; proceedings which it was impossible for his Majesty to tolerate. Should the ambassadors, he said, who are expected for the purpose of deciding hereon arrive, everything might be arranged; yet was his Lordship of opinion that they would only act according to the will of the most Christian King, who shows no sign of friendship; and he added, that your Sublimity ought to try and exert yourself to the utmost with his most Christian Majesty, to the end that he might assent to what was fair and just, and thus obliterate the suspicions entertained by the King: "Believe me, sir ambassador," he added, "that we well know

the effects produced on kingdoms, both by war and by peace, and how much it is for the interest of ministers to counsel this last, yet should I not dare to speak against the honour of his Majesty;" adding, "Do you not perceive that the world is not sufficient for the ambition of this King of France? he now lays claim to having the kingdom of Naples, and is endeavouring to obtain the consent of the most illustrious Archduke, wherein, should he succeed, he entertains no doubt of being the undisputed sovereign of all Italy: he will turn against you, and take all your territory, and having succeeded in this, there will no longer be any means of opposing him, so ponder what your position will be; and hereat our King is very greatly troubled, from seeing you ruined through your good faith." I made answer that nothing could be more agreeable to your Sublimity than to witness the union of these two sovereigns, as you were aware that hence proceeded the entire concord and weal of Christendom, which body, now harassed and exhausted by incessant wars, could thus alone recover itself; and principally to this effect was I sent to England, as manifest through so many letters and commissions addressed to me by your Sublimity, great part of which had been perused by his Lordship. With regard to the most Christian King, I said it was not my opinion that he tended towards strife, but that possibly the Duke of Albany acted somewhat against his will, and that perhaps his Majesty did not find himself just now at liberty to expel him; it appearing to me undesirable for his Majesty aforesaid to provoke this most serene King to enmity, wishing to consolidate himself in his kingdom with the good favour of his subjects, and being anxious to obtain his duchy of Milan without opposition; and by so much the more as the French say the war they are now experiencing is waged against them with the money of this

most serene King, a fact which I neither denied nor affirmed. It is certain, I argued, that the most Christian King knows he can have no greater obstacle to his projects than the King of England, wherefore I could not bring myself to believe that his most Christian Majesty would fail concurring in any mutual, fair, and just wish and act of assent on behalf of the King here, or that the ambassadors now on their way would be impeded by his Majesty; and by so much the more as his Lordship assures me said most Christian King aspires to the sovereignty of Italy, does it seem reasonable to conclude that he must wish for peace and a good understanding with his Majesty, who can offer greater obstacles, and, moreover, greater facility to all his projects, than any prince in Christendom: still I referred myself to better judgment than my own, earnestly exhorting and beseeching his lordship thoroughly to sound this ford, and then to navigate according as he finds it. His right reverend lordship appeared to think ill of the most Christian King's intentions, but to be anxious for the arrangement of matters, hinting that he should very much approve of your Sublimity's interfering to this effect, though he does not say so expressly. Your most sage Excellency, who is now acquainted with the whole, will form such opinion as you may think fit, it not seeming to me that I can do anything more here, beyond continuing as I commenced, not appearing very warm either for one side or the other, counselling this union, and keeping your Sublimity on good terms with England; and endeavouring that no more money be sent to the Emperor, to which effect I have made all possible provision. Do, your Excellency, deign to co-operate in this matter, keeping me well advised of everything, so as to gratify these lords, and instructing me in such wise that I may be enabled to discuss matters with certain knowledge of your wishes.

London, April 26, 1516.

My last of the 20th instant will have informed your Serenity of every event; since when, nothing of moment has taken place, save that on the 24th, the Scotch ambassadors arrived here; and, moreover, the one from the most Christian King, who had been residing in Scotland, to whom I paid a complimentary visit. They are commissioned, both by his most Christian Majesty and by the kingdom of Scotland, to decide the disputes with his Majesty here, and may God give them the grace to quell these dissensions: possibly the differences may be adjusted by them for the present, but I doubt their ever producing a cordial understanding. Yesterday, letters arrived from his most Christian Majesty, dated the 17th instant, informing the King of the Emperor's flight, and that of his army, and that he was already out of Italy, which has greatly surprised these lords, who never appeared to credit such a result, considering it certain that Maximilian would be victorious, as might easily have proved the case. Indeed everybody expected this side to declare itself, whereas now the success of France will, perhaps, induce a change of policy; and although there were no open signs of war, yet were ships seen under repair, and ammunition in course of forwardness, which preparatives were construed by some as being destined for Scotland, whilst others thought they were directed against France, though the truth was only known to the King, and four members of the Privy Council, who keep everything most secret. I am certain that letters will have been written to France, announcing that great preparations are being made here; but I really cannot vouch for the fact, nor ought I to hazard assertions. The French ambassador, hitherto resident in London, has been recalled by the most

Christian King, and will take leave of his Majesty here to-morrow. I shall accompany him towards the coast, in order to conform with the will of your Highness; nor indeed have I failed showing him every courtesy, which he seems thoroughly to have appreciated; so I hope he will make an excellent report to his Sovereign. Now, that I imagine the road to Italy through France is open again, I beseech you not to fail writing, and showing every attention to his Majesty, so that under all circumstances, he may remain our friend; to which effect I have kept on the alert, and continue thus to do for the benefit of your Sublimity.

London, May 1, 1516.

I now inform your Excellency that the most serene Queen of Scotland is expected, and will, it is said, make her entry on the 3rd instant, when I shall go to meet her, in accordance with what I deem the will of your Serenity, and as a compliment to the King. A circumstance is reported here, which were it not uttered by persons of account and generally credited, I could not believe. As known, I believe, to your Excellency, this Queen of Scotland, many months ago, married a Scotch earl,[1] an extremely handsome youth, of the best blood in the kingdom, by whom she had a daughter, as notified by me in my former despatches. At this present it has come to pass that those in authority here, under pretext of all Scotland having been under excommunication for a certain act perpetrated against a papal bull, at the period of this marriage, maintain that, by reason of such excommunication, the aforesaid Earl, the husband of said Queen, was then unable to contract matrimony; and

owing to this inability, it is reported that said marriage has been dissolved, and the aforesaid Queen betrothed to the Emperor;[2] which, should it prove true, I will forthwith announce to your Excellency.

There is an ambassador here from the new King of Spain, the same who heretofore served the late King Ferdinand in the like capacity at this court. I perceive that he is very intimate with the Emperor's ambassador, and has very frequent audiences of the right reverend Cardinal, and from every coincidence, it seems to me that there is a great union between the Emperor, this kingdom, and the aforesaid Catholic King,—a triumvirate to be held in great account. A person here, who does the State good service, has assured me that the King of Spain is quite hand in glove with his Majesty here, and averse to France, which is confirmed to me by reason; since, were it otherwise, he would not have permitted the moneys of this kingdom, destined as subsidy for the Emperor against the most Christian King, to pass through his territories; but this person, moreover, informs me that a few days ago said Catholic King received 200,000 crowns from the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily, and that he immediately sent them to the Emperor for the Italian expedition.[3] I do not vouch either for the truth or falsity of this; but my informant, who is of account, and has been at the court of the Catholic King, and of my Lady Margaret,[4] assured me of the fact, to which your Sublimity will concede such credit as you shall think fit.

[1] Douglas Earl of Angus.

[2] In a despatch to the Council of Ten, from the ambassador Minio in Rome, dated 17th March, 1517, it is stated that it was *then* reported that Maximilian was to marry Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I.; upon which Leo X. remarked that he hardly thought so clever a woman would do so foolish a thing, albeit women were ever of one bent, and always chose the most good for nothing.

[3] There is no note, either in Giannone or in Fazello, of these benevolences conceded by the Neapolitans and Sicilians to Charles V., on his accession; and as that event was, on the contrary, celebrated at Palermo by open rebellion, the fact of money being sent thence at that moment may be doubted; and here, for the better comprehension of matters connected with the career of Charles V., it should be borne in mind that he was then only in his sixteenth year, and that his prime minister was William de Croi, Lord of Chièvres.

[4] Namely, Margaret of Burgundy, widow of the Infant of Spain, and of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, governess of the Low Countries, and aunt of Charles V.

London, May 8, 1516.

In my last despatch I acquainted your Sublimity with the remittance made by his Majesty to the Emperor, and on what terms; as, also, with the steps taken by me with the right reverend Cardinal. You will now learn that I have thoroughly investigated this matter; that the amount sent was 120,000 crowns, conveyed in cash and bills by Dom. Leonardo Frescobaldi, who has already reached his destination. With regard to the disbursement, nothing farther is known; and I fancy that will depend on what may befall the Emperor, and that these funds will be distributed or withheld according to the hopes entertained by this side of the success of the Imperial arms.

The King of England has two agents in the Swiss camp, one of whom is Dom. Visconte de Visconti,[1] a personage of great account, to whom his Majesty pays an annual salary of 5,000 ducats; his son, Dom. Anchises Visconti, resides here in London, enjoying great favour with the King and the nobles here, from whom he receives considerable presents, as ambassador from the individual who is now styled Duke of Milan.[2] The other agent is one Master Girardo,[3] heretofore secretary to the deceased Cardinal of York, and now

in the establishment of the present right reverend Cardinal. There is also an ambassador from the Switzers here, who confers daily with those from the Emperor, from Spain, and from Milan, enjoying great favour both in the King's court and in that of the Cardinal.

Affairs here, most serene Prince, tend so much in favour of the Emperor, and are so opposed to the most Christian King, that they could not be more so; yet are these lords not ashamed of denying what is more than manifest. Since the news of the Emperor's flight, intelligence has arrived of an utterly opposite tenor, which distressed me extremely, though, hitherto, it has not received farther confirmation, and a report rather prevails to the contrary. This I write to your Sublimity, not for the sake of announcing tidings which are known to you, but in explanation of the extreme frequency of the anxieties and vexations endured by me daily, owing to my not receiving any advices from your Sublimity, or from any one else in your name; wherefore, I pray and beseech your Highness to give me the means to do you good service; because, when furnished with certain intelligence, I shall be better able to shape a course, than when deprived of any ground for my actions; and should your missives be forwarded with those addressed to the French ambassador here, they might come hither from France free of cost.

The most serene Queen of Scotland made a very stately entry into London on the 3rd,[4] and I went to meet her, being the only ambassador present. I paid my respects to her in your Sublimity's name; and whilst waiting, together with the illustrious the Duke of Suffolk and other lords, said Duke told me that the Switzers had entered Milan in the Emperor's name, and that all that duchy was subject to his Imperial Majesty, the French having fled beyond the Alps, and your Sublimity's army being in retreat towards Padua,

after encountering some loss; and this, he thrice repeated to me, was perfectly true. I, however, do not believe it, as there is fresher news to the contrary. In course of conversation, he caused me to be told, by the Grand Prior of St. John's,[5] who acted as interpreter between us, that he greatly marvelled, and not only he himself, but the whole of this kingdom, that your Excellency should persist in favouring the King of France, and most especially now, when you had the means of separating yourself with reasonable cause, and making terms here; whereto I made answer as on former occasions to similar propositions, urging, especially, that to break pledged faith was a serious affair, contrary both to human and divine law, and a proceeding to which your Excellency was unused; and admitting that, at the commencement, owing to circumstances, your union with the most Christian King had been induced by necessity, yet was it at this present voluntary, and because your faith was pledged. He rejoined, that your Excellency was not bound to keep faith with those who had invariably broken it with you, and that there is yet very good time for making this agreement, provided your Excellency choose; to which I had no need to reply, save by dexterously turning the conversation, so as not to render myself unpopular with this side, and partly to avoid making this matter, which must in reason be difficult, appear easy.

[1] His real name seems to have been Galeazo, as will appear in a subsequent despatch.

[2] After the battle of Marignano, in September, 1515, the reigning Duke of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, accepted an annual pension from France of 30,000 ducats, and died A.D. 1530. His brother, Francesco Maria, the second son of Ludovic, was then put forward by the Imperialists as the rightful heir of the duchy, and is the "individual" here alluded to by the Venetian ambassador.

[3] The person meant is Richard Pace, who was secretary to Cardinal Bambridge at the moment of his death, in July, 1514. (See Ellis's Letters

on English History, vol. i. pp. 100 and 113.) Hume, quoting a letter written by Petrus de Angleria, *alias* Peter Martyr, mentioning this mission of Pace to the Switzers, styles him "Secretary of State;" but in this despatch, as also in those of the previous December 24th, it is distinctly stated that this English envoy to the Switzers, in 1515 and 1516, was in Cardinal Wolsey's cabinet, but not yet in that of Henry VIII.

[4] Her residence was in Scotland Yard. See Stow, p. 168.

[5] Thomas Dockwra. See ante page 93.

Putney, May 31, 1516.

By mine of the 21st,[1] your Excellency will have learnt that I had betaken myself to this village of Putney, owing to the case of plague that occurred in my house, in consequence of which, I was not admitted to the right reverend Cardinal, for the purpose of communicating your Excellency's letters of the 18th March, until yesterday the 30th instant, and although by letters from my family I had been informed of my son's death, I did not think fit to fail in the appointment made with his lordship, and especially as I knew the French ambassador was to depart to-morrow, and I had determined also on going to take leave of him. So, first of all, yesterday, I went to pay this compliment to the aforesaid ambassador, from whom I heard that the Scotch business was not entirely settled, but that they had come to the following terms, namely, that the most serene Queen is at liberty to return to Scotland, where she is to receive royal honour, but not to interfere with the administration of the kingdom; and that all her jewels and effects, which she left behind, and were taken from her, are to be restored. I understand that she will depart in a few days and go thither. The dispute, concerning the education of her children, has not been decided, because on this side it was demanded that they should be placed under the care of their mother, to which the Scotch

will by no means consent. These differences, together with the main one about the removal of the Duke of Albany, not merely from the government, but moreover from the country, are postponed for six months; during which interval, the Kings of France, of England, and of Denmark,[2] together with the Scotch, will negotiate and decide, although I am of opinion that nothing more will be said about these difficuties; but that the wound will still fester here, as the Duke of Albany will continue paramount in Scotland. I have done what I could in this business, and would have exerted myself more, had the French and Scotch ambassadors here communicated with me more freely. After paying every compliment to the French ambassador, in your Serenity's name, I went to the right reverend Cardinal, and found that the Emperor's ambassador was already with him, so I waited for admission, and after he had remained upwards of two hours, *in conclavi*, with the aforesaid Cardinal, I was called, and in the first place made some gentle remonstrance with his right reverend lordship, complaining that the letters received by me from your Sublimity had been taken out of the hands of the courier at Canterbury by the royal officials, and opened and read, the like being done, moreover, by private letters from the most noble the ambassador Badoer in France and others.[3] I was careful, however, to avoid exasperating his lordship, and consequently the King, by any intemperate expressions; and after this preamble, I communicated to him by word of mouth,[4] the contents of the aforesaid letters, but varying the passages written in cypher, lest (as I believe they have kept a copy of the opened letters) my words might serve them as a key to the interpretation. At the same time, I expressed myself most warmly, in accordance with the vehement feeling evinced in the despatches of your Excellency, concerning the mischief this strife must produce; which came appositely, as

the right reverend Cardinal had previously told me that immense forces were being marshalled in three quarters against the most Christian King; first, the Emperor with the lansquenets and his other subjects; then a considerable body of Switzers from elsewhere; and thirdly, the viceroy of the kingdom of Naples,[5] with an efficient army; add to which, the army of your Excellency, he said, was dissatisfied with the French, from whom it had been withdrawn, because they had refused compliance with its wish to resume the siege of Brescia. I took occasion hence, to expatiate on the slaughter, bloodshed, and ruin, thus destined for this wretched and lacerated Italy, a member by no means despicable of the Christian commonwealth, saying, it was much to be wondered at that all the princes of Christendom should be so blinded and misled by their passions as to choose to weaken themselves amongst each other, wounding themselves reciprocally, and spilling the blood of Christians whom they ought to defend at the peril of their lives against the infidel, on his devising such cruelties as will come to pass, unless the Almighty stretch forth his arm to dispel the infatuation of these princes. I urged upon him, that the slaughter would not only affect the common people, but would necessarily entail the woeful destruction of many princes and lords; the desolation of countries and kingdoms; the desecration of churches; the violation of women and maidens; and the piteous butchery both of the aged and of youthful innocents, whose blood would draw down vengeance upon the aforesaid through the Turk, a most potent lord, and of vast ambition, thirsting for Christian blood, as his lordship might gather from the summaries he had read, amplifying this matter in such wise as seemed to me expedient, and which, by reason of its importance, defied exaggeration. I then told him of the arrogance of the Emperor, and of the certainty of the news received by

your Excellency from his own army, that it had been paid with the moneys of the king of England, which were thus, at this present, all turned to the detriment and injury of your Excellency; beseeching his lordship, *per deos et homines*, and by the religion he professes, since the will of this most serene King rests in his hands, to have regard for the destruction of poor Italy; for so much cruelty as will ensue; for our ancient friendship and observance towards this kingdom; and lastly, for the apostolic chair, which the Emperor aspires to deprive of all its temporal dominion, declaring that such appertains to the Empire. Of the which apostolic chair, I said, his right reverend lordship was now the foundation and hinge, being a prince of the holy Church, the increase and majesty of which it behoved him defend, even with his life-blood, as exemplified by the red hat, the ornament of said dignity, all which, and much more besides, which I here condense to avoid prolixity, was uttered by me with such warmth and earnestness as the subject required.

His lordship, in answer, admitted what I had said in every respect, and acknowledged as certain, that, on whichever side victory might declare herself, the results I had announced were inevitable. True, indeed, to my mention of the moneys he made no reply, either in admission or denial, whereas, until now, he always denied the fact, *ore rotundo;* at the same time, he told me that all these disorders had their remedy. This is as much as was negotiated in this matter, and on my asking him for audience of the King, his lordship told me that on Sunday it was requisite to despatch these Scotch ambassadors, and order their letters and other necessary things, but that I could go next Monday, which will be the 2nd proximo. This, God willing, I shall do, and hope then to perform my errand thoroughly, and more efficaciously, as perhaps a royal and youth-

ful mind may be more easily moved to the commiseration of past miseries, and to the avoidance of those on the horizon, so that your Sublimity may at length be enabled to draw breath.

[1] This letter is followed by a blank page; and apparently owing to the confusion caused in the ambassador's household by the catastrophe alluded to, the secretary, Nicolo Sagudino, omitted to copy such letters as may have been written by Sebastian Giustinian to the State between the 8th and the 31st of May, 1516. On coming to the blank page, I felt sure there was something very wrong; and on reading what followed, I closed the MSS. with a shudder, from fear of *contagion*, three centuries and a half after date.

[2] King Christian II., who was expelled his own kingdom A.D. 1523.

[3] From this paragraph, it may be supposed that the missing letters in the Giustinian portfolio, besides details of what happened at the Venetian embassy in London when the plague showed itself there, gave notice of the seizure of the ambassador's bag at Canterbury; at any rate, Giustinian got off better than his French colleague, who, as stated in date of April 14, 1516, besides having his despatches opened and read, was severely reprimanded for their contents! It may be doubted whether any prime minister ever treated an ambassador more contemptuously than Wolsey did this President of the Parliament of Rouen.

[4] On former occasions, the ambassador used to put into Wolsey's hands written extracts from his despatches; but he now suspected that the letters which were seized at Canterbury, although in cypher, and perhaps on that very account, might have been copied, ere being delivered to their rightful owner; and that a *written* summary of even part of their contents might have sufficed a clever secretary to form a skeleton key to said cypher. The "dodge" of travestying in his communication all that had reached him in cypher, so as to foul the scent, is also worthy of note for young diplomatists liable to use cypher in troublous times, and contains a lesson of caution which they will do well to remember, though it be only fetched from Putney.

[5] Don Raimondo di Cardona.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

Putney, May 31, 1516.

I have already mentioned that the right reverend Cardinal told me there was a sure remedy for the troubles of Italy;

and knowing what he meant, I did not ask him for the prescription; but he of his own accord said, "Domine Orator, should you choose, you may put an end both to your own losses and to those of others, and avoid the devastation of Italy; for, if the King of France succeed, having already most ambitiously reared his crest to the skies, what may we not expect should he obtain complete victory. At the least he will subjugate all Italy: and rest assured that you will not be the last to suffer, nor will there then be any remedy either against him, or the Turk. The Emperor is by this time aged; on every account there is little to fear from him: should you choose, you may get your own, and become so powerful that you will give the law to all Italy, for in comparison with your most prudent Signory, there is no one who can do anything, or who is worth anything; for the Pope himself can effect little without you. It seems to me that, being most sage senators, you are shortsighted in choosing rather to live in fear of obeying the King of France than with the hope of being yourselves masters of Italy; and what I shall tell you is from myself as a friend. Your remedy is, to endeavour to make terms with the Emperor, which I imagine might be done, and to form a league between the Pope, the Emperor, the Catholic King, his Majesty here, yourselves, and the Switzers, against the King of France, to expel him Italy, and defend the allied territory; this is an immediate remedy for your disease, and provision for your need both against the King of France and against the Turk; and I would fain hear your opinion hereon, whether this fashion pleases you or not, for I would find means to effect this, mediating with those who are your enemies." On this topic, he expatiated more than I can write, holding out to your Excellency great hopes, and making it appear that this business rested entirely in his hands.

I, most serene Prince, considering it right to exonerate your Excellency from one leading charge brought against you—namely, the thirst for dominion—replied that your Highness was desirous of quiet and tranquillity, after so much turmoil, and to recover your territory, allowing all to enjoy what belonged to them in peace; nor had your Serenity ever entertained, and still less did you at present cherish, a wish to benefit yourself by foreign aggression. With regard to my giving my opinion, and saying what I thought on the subject, his lordship knew that I was but the instrument dependent on your Excellency; and that it was not fitting *quod vas loquatur pro figulo aut contra figulum*, to whom it appertains to form or to destroy his vessel; this matter, I said, being of extreme importance, and worthy, above all others, of being canvassed by your Excellency, who was aware of all that had taken place, and especially of the dissatisfaction of your army, as alleged by him, on the score of the French forces having refused to attack Brescia, which things, if true, must greatly affect any decision.

I added to this, that your Excellency knew what was expedient and fair under the circumstances; wherefore, as his right reverend lordship had spoken to me in his private capacity, I also would answer him individually. It seemed to me there were two points for consideration in this proposal of his: first, that I could not imagine how your Excellency, contrary to your faith, would be able to entertain such a design, unless the French gave you cause, so that the perfidy might be attributed to those who first broke faith; secondly, that I knew not how this union could be effected, seeing, at this present, according to the advices received, all the cantons have made an agreement with the most Christian King; and that I could not tell what difficulty might be found in obtaining their assistance. Moreover, so

far as one can comprehend, the Pope seems very closely knit with the King of France; neither did I perceive how his Holiness, without cause, could relinquish the alliance. Then, again, the Catholic King is linked by such ties of kindred[1] with his most Christian Majesty as would certainly be difficult to loosen. All things considered, therefore, I was at a loss to comprehend how such a project could succeed; and I thought fit, most serene Prince, to suggest this doubt, in order to induce his right reverend lordship to say what he did—namely, that he was sure of the co-operation of the Pope, who is solely intent on uniting these potentates; and that the Switzers have no contract with the most Christian King, nay, that they will shortly all conspire against him; adding, "Touching the Catholic King, did I not know upon what grounds I base my opinion, I should not manifest it to you, so I exhort you, give notice to the Signory, and speedily; despatch a man on purpose, for in a case of such importance, money should not be spared." I promised his lordship to write immediately, but that really I thought he might provide for these matters without farther stir; for example, by ceasing to furnish the Emperor with money, at least, until we had obtained Brescia and Verona, which towns once in our possession, his lordship might rely upon the wish of your Excellency to preserve them, together with the rest of your territory, and to guard against whatever might endanger it. To this his lordship said, laughing, "Domine Orator, you are like the man who had a dispute about a mill; and when there was a question of compromising the matter, he said, 'I consent to the compromise, but choose, at any rate, to have the mill.' This is precisely your case: you choose to have Brescia and Verona, and yet they alone are contested!" To which I rejoined, also laughing, that there was no difficulty in giving judgment about Brescia

and Verona, as they had been occupied by force: and first of all, *spoliatus debet restitui* (stolen goods ought to be restored). However, I said, the present difficulty did not consist in this alone; and really the Milanese seemed to be the chief point. Upon this his lordship continued, that the object in view was to prevent the King of France from giving law to the universe should he prove victorious, his ambition being what it is; and therefore Brescia and Verona are the least items under consideration. Still his right reverend lordship urged me to acquaint your Serenity with his proposition, that he might have a speedy reply. Your Excellency will do, *quod fidei, honestati, et instituto suo convenit.*

[1] Alluding to the engagement contracted in the year 1515, by the Archduke Charles of Burgundy, to espouse the Princess Renée of France, the second daughter of Louis XII., and consequently the sister-in-law of King Francis I. Subsequently, by the treaty of Noyon, in the month of August in this year 1516, it was stipulated that, instead of the Princess Renée, the young King of Spain was to marry the infant daughter of Francis I. See Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 138 and 199.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

Putney, June 3, 1516.

After conferring with the right reverend Cardinal, I arranged for an audience with the King, and went, accordingly, to Greenwich, where, on my first visit, I had not an opportunity of speaking to his Majesty, because he was gone hunting; but on returning to-day I was admitted to an audience. I narrated to his Majesty all that I had already communicated to the right reverend Cardinal, but more copiously. As your Sublimity's missives presuppose that great slaughter and effusion of Christian blood would have

ensued on the Emperor's taking the field, whereas he departed without giving battle, I deemed it vain to argue from such premises: on the other hand, as a report is in general circulation here that the Emperor is preparing a fresh army in one quarter, and the Switzers in another, and that the forces of the Catholic King are now in Lombardy, under the command of the viceroy, I took occasion to make this the theme of my discourse, saying, your Serenity had been informed through many channels that the Emperor boasted that his troops were paid with the moneys of his Majesty, and this report was known to circulate in his camp; but considering, I said, the very ancient and intimate friendship existing between you and his Majesty's most serene predecessors, with his most serene father, and, finally, with his Majesty himself, your Excellency could not persuade yourself, nor ever had believed, that his Majesty furnished moneys to your enemies for the sole purpose of enabling the Emperor to occupy Verona and Brescia * * * Should the Emperor, the Switzers, and others, prove victorious, the King knew, I added, *quæ sit Maestas Cæsarea;* what he thinks, what he affects, and what his aspirations are; nor is there any doubt but that, in like manner as he excels all other sovereigns in title and majesty, so will he choose to be their superior in force and power. I added, that I was also aware of his Majesty's being acquainted with the inhumanity of the Germans, who do not content themselves with plundering, but burn and fell, filling every place with death and slaughter, to which your Excellency can bear witness. That with regard to the cruelty exercised against your subjects by the Switzers, it was really needless to say aught, their ferocity being perfectly notorious, for that in like manner as others take pleasure in irrigating their meadows with rivulets of water, so do they boast of irrigating and

inundating the earth with human gore, whence his Majesty might comprehend what would be the fate of this poor and lacerated Italy, and whether any description of persons, either aged or infants, virgins or matrons, could be exempt from the inhumanity of such wild beasts: that all the cruelties committed would be registered by the Almighty, from whose eyes nothing is hidden, and who will demand account, not only of the doers of such deeds, but likewise of those who counselled and assented to them. When Italy, also, shall be thoroughly desolated and exhausted, whose ruin will be shared by Germany and France, then the Turk, already panting for the ruin of Christendom, and prepared even now with a terrible and formidable armada, and who is acquainting himself with the state of the kingdom of Naples, of Sicily, and of the Romagna, will come and take the supper prepared for him, gleaning the remains of the Germans and Switzers, and proceeding beyond, under the guidance, not of reason, but of appetite; his valour and prosperity rendering him not content with mere imitation of Alexander the Great, but prompting him to surpass that hero through the opportunities afforded by the princes of Christendom. I therefore besought his Majesty to take heed for the safety of the Christian commonwealth, and not be the cause of an engagement between these two armies, which would produce all the evils aforesaid. I am aware, most serene Prince, that in this statement I shall have appeared prolix, yet is it necessary, in order that your Excellency may know how this matter was treated, and comprehend the grounds of the replies given me by his Majesty, who interrupted me several times. As to the moneys furnished to the Emperor, he admitted, without any reserve, that it was true, saying that he had furnished him with pecuniary supplies, and purposed continuing to do so, not for the sake of injuring the King

of France his confederate, but in order that his imperial confederate and intimate friend might not be injured; and that it was very fitting that he should not allow those to be wronged who had ever been his friends, and never failed him under any circumstance, for the sake of others from whom he had never received benefit, and who, on the contrary, sought to injure him, and adhered to his enemies; inquiring of me, "Why, would you have me allow wrong to be done the Emperor, from whom I have received nothing but kindness, for the sake of your Signory, who deserted me to follow King Louis, and this present King of France?" I answered him, that your Sublimity had never deserted his Majesty, whom you not only honour, but venerate and adore; though it is true that to keep your faith you defend the King of France, your confederate, against the Emperor, our common foe, who unduly occupies your territory; and that it was not choice but necessity which made your Excellency form such a resolve, repeating what I had said on former occasions. To this he rejoined: "Yours was not necessity, but," to use his very own words, "*stultitiam* (stupidity), your choosing to favour those who have ruined you, against your friends who have ever endeavoured to do you good." And on my telling him that the Emperor was not our friend, as proved in many instances, but especially by his occupying the territory of your Excellency, he rejoined, "On the contrary, you seek to take what is his, for both Brescia and Verona belong to him; and the whole is understood to appertain to the empire until the investiture be conferred, which you have never obtained, nor yet any legitimate title." To this I said that I knew nothing about investiture, but was well aware that the most serene Emperor Frederick, the father of Maximilian, had, as a consenting party, maintained an intimate friendship and goodwill with

your Excellency, and never remonstrated; and that from him, had it been required, your Highness could have obtained a thousand investitures, but that it did not appear necessary, as possession of those towns had been confirmed by the Dukes of Milan, the predecessors of the Lord Ludovick,[1] by the late most Christian King Louis, who, moreover, gave you Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, which you do not now possess, to the which King Louis the jurisdiction of the whole of the Milanese appertained, as head of the house of Orleans; but even had there been nothing soever of this sort, the long tenure of one hundred years would, at any rate, cause your Excellency to be acknowledged as the mistress of said towns, because the period of fifty years is prescribed against (*sic*) the Church, which is likened to wards, its rights exceeding theirs.[2] His Majesty continued to insist that the Emperor had been aggrieved by your Excellency, and was not the aggressor, adding, "But know that the princes of Christendom will not permit any one to become omnipotent and monarch of the world; and remember, that should the King of France prove the victor, you will be the first to suffer. The princes of Christendom will unite together and make provision against the onslaught of the Turk and of others; but this I will tell you, that if you like, I will include you in the league with his Holiness and the Emperor, to whom, should you choose to appoint me mediator, I will reconcile you, for a mere word of mine will suffice with Maximilian: this league will also be joined by my nephew the Catholic King, and by the Switzers, and place will be reserved for such as may wish to be included."

I told him I did not see how this league was possible, knowing that his Holiness was closely united with France, with whom all the Swiss cantons likewise were agreed, and in the King's pay; whilst the Catholic King was also linked

with him in friendship and consanguinity, to which his Majesty made answer, "And I tell you that all the Swiss cantons are mine, let talk who will." And he repeated, "They are all mine: the Pontiff is anxious for this league; and know that at this very time he is firmly united with the Emperor, the Catholic King, myself, and the Switzers; and, with regard to the King of Spain, believe me there is no closer friendship than that which he maintains with me." To this I rejoined that I was certain that his Majesty possessed all authority with the Emperor and other princes; the greatness of his power, his political sagacity, and his incomparable wealth, all conspiring to give him the command of the world. He answered me: "I content myself with my own; I only wish to command my own subjects; but, on the other hand, I do not choose any one to have it in his power to command me, nor will I ever suffer it." I then inquired about the nature of this league, whether it was against the King of France, or others. He said, "Not *against* any one, because the King of France is my confederate, and, although he possesses France, of which I bear the title, he pays me my tribute annually, so that I have no cause of war against him; there are indeed some differences, though not worthy of being despatched by an appeal to arms; but we shall form this league for the defence of the allied territories, nor do I want anything, but shall spend my money in aid of my friends against their enemies." I put this question, most serene Prince, to see whether his object was to expel the King of France from Italy; and said that this league would be very powerful indeed, should it follow the dictates of reason and justice; nor did I imagine it would deprive any potentates of their rights, my opinion, moreover, being that the King of France would join it, as I fancied he did not want anything besides the Milanese. His Majesty

rejoined, that it would be in his power, provided he did not aspire to being the despot of the world. I then expected the King would desire me to write about this to your Excellency, as the right reverend Cardinal had done; but not a word did his Majesty say to me to this effect, though he did, indeed, address me thus: "I have frequently told you that the King of France is intent on your ruin, and you answer 0; neither do you inquire of me the course to be pursued in your affairs, so as to pacify you with the Emperor, and put an end to hostilities, though I perceive you are exhausted; and there is no one in the world who could more easily and speedily make terms for you than I." I answered, that I believed it, and was sorry this difference had not been decided by his Majesty at the time when the Pope mediated for us,[3] as in that case your Excellency would now have your own, nor would war have been waged from that time to this. Whereupon he immediately replied, "It is your own fault: should you yet choose me to adjust these differences I will do so; and do you so inform the Signory distinctly, without, however, saying that I exhort or persuade you hereto, but make it appear that you write as of your own accord, in consequence of communications held with me." I promised thus to do, and then took leave of his Majesty, to whom, in the act of departing, I said, that although he would not desist from contributing money to our enemies, yet did I beseech him to show us good will and friendship in every other respect; telling him, at the same time, to remember that he is not spending his money to avert mischief from the Emperor, as neither does your Signory seek to deprive him of his own (he, on the contrary, occupying what belongs to your Sublimity); nor yet is the King of France come into Italy to take what of yore appertained to the empire, but to recover his Duchy of

Milan, to which he is intitled by hereditary right, and also to get back our territory for us. He answered me, that he would hold your Excellency as his friend, but that he also chose the Emperor to be such, and that he should do everything for him, as he, in like manner, had done much for his Majesty; and that the territory which I had said was occupied by the Emperor, belonged to the Emperor; and that thus was it with the Milanese. Your Excellency has heard the whole. This colloquy lasted for more than an hour and a half, *solus cum solo*, a thing very unusual with his Majesty, not only in my case, but in that of any other ambassador; so, with your extreme wisdom, you will do as you may deem expedient for your interests.[4]

[1] Ludovick Sforza the Moor.

[2] Perchè el spatio di anni 50 é prescripto contra la chiesia la qual é equiperata, et ha maggior rason che non hanno i pupili.

[3] A.D. 1514.

[4] This despatch shows how egregiously Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey were duped by Monsieur de Chièvres, the Prime Minister of Charles of Burgundy; for, whilst the King was boasting of his friendship with the future Emperor, arrangements were being made for the treaty between Spain and France, stipulated at Noyon, in the month of August in this year.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

Putney, June 5, 1516.

Notwithstanding my late conference with his Majesty, it appeared to me that your Excellency would not have sufficient grounds for deliberating upon his proposition, even should you entertain any intention of this nature.[1] I, in order to sound this ford well, returned to-day to the right reverend Cardinal, under pretence of acquainting him with all that the King had communicated to me, and having done

this fully, his lordship exhorted me warmly for that your Excellency should join this league and not leave yourself at the mercy of the French. Upon this, it seeming to me that he had come to the pass where I wanted to lead him, I inquired, speaking as of myself, how your Sublimity could give ear to such proposals, considering that the King, with his own lips, had told me that your Excellency had no right soever to Brescia and Verona, as they belonged to the Emperor, who was lord of all temporalities; and that although they had been acquired through war and long possession, yet was the chief tenure wanting, namely, the investiture, so that I knew not how your Excellency could desert the most Christian King, who has promised to recover for you the whole of your state, and link yourself with one who says that your territories belong to your enemies. Moreover, I said, I did not know what the intention of his Majesty was, whether he meant to deprive the King of France of the Milanese, or not; in the latter case, I was at a loss to perceive how, without a display of bad faith, your Excellency could swerve from the French alliance; if, on the other hand, his Majesty, and these others, meant to allow the King of France to retain the Milanese, and merely to prevent his proceeding beyond, this was a different matter, and sufficiently important for consideration. To this his right reverend lordship replied, "Domine Orator, take no heed of the words uttered by his Majesty thus on the sudden and unadvisedly, for I assure you that were he the mediator between your Signory and the Emperor, his bias would be incomparably more in your favour than in his, and do not entertain any distrust on account of this language," without, however, promising that the King would award these towns[2] to your Excellency, but merely doing away with an impediment which seemed to render the case desperate. Touching

the fact of allowing the most Christian King to retain possession of the Milanese, he made it appear that the intention of all the princes who are to form this alliance was, that said Majesty should not have footing in Italy, because, should he be possessed of sufficient treasure, and the contemplated alliance be in any way dissolved, he would then proceed *ad ulteriora*, and possibly become sole master in Italy and elsewhere. To this he urged and encouraged me to the utmost, suggesting that the dominion of Italy would rest with your Excellency, adding, "If you choose, I will contrive that tomorrow the King shall write to the Emperor to desist from hostilities with your Signory, between whom and you, it is his wish to mediate;" and he asked me whether I consented. I, most serene Prince, who am aware that this is a matter which might produce great disturbance were it to come to the knowledge of the King of France, told him that I by no means approved of his Majesty's writing hereon, as the matter was worthy the consideration of your Excellency, whom I would acquaint therewith, and I then took leave.

I held a similar conversation with the right reverend Bishop of Durham, who said, "Domine Orator, this is not a time for speaking either about Verona or Brescia, nor yet of Milan; but, should your Signory choose these matters to be arranged, they will be discussed after the articles of the league shall have been drawn up, and you will then perceive how much you are befriended by our King, who, in every negotiation transacted with these princes his friends, has always forbidden the doing of any injury against the Signory or your State, declaring that he would not consent to it."

This, most serene Prince, is all I have to announce in this matter, and it seems to me that there are some grounds for leaning towards both one side and the other. Your Serenity, in your wisdom and goodness, knowing the state of

your affairs, and what becomes your love of justice and the interests of the State, will do as you shall think fit, and may the Almighty deign to inspire you with good resolves.

[1] The ambassador seems to be now lending a less inattentive ear to the anti-Gallican proposals of Cardinal Wolsey than formerly, and this may be accounted for by the fact of the complaints urged by the Venetians against the French general Lautrec, who withdrew from under Verona to Peschiera, under *pretence* of wanting money, artillery, and ammunition, but in reality to await the result of the Diet of Noyon; and owing to this unfair treatment, part of the Emperor's garrison of Verona was enabled to go and sack Vicenza, on the night of Saturday the 28th of July. (See Guicciardini, vol. iii. pp. 197-198.)

[2] At the moment when this conversation took place at York House, one of the two towns in question was already in the hands of the Venetians, who re-entered Brescia on the 24th of May, 1516; nor is it quite impossible that Wolsey should have been aware of the fact on the 5th of June.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

Putney, June 12, 1516.

By my foregoing in date of the 3rd and 5th instant, of which I sent duplicates, your Excellency will have heard all the negotiations transacted with the King and the right reverend Cardinal here; and you will now understand, that information having been received by me through a good channel, that a considerable sum of money, said to amount to 150,000 ducats, was on the point of being remitted to the Emperor, I thought proper not to omit doing what lay in my power to prevent these moneys being sent, although without any hope of succeeding in the business, knowing that these lords are earnestly bent upon this undertaking. I went, therefore, to the right reverend Cardinal, and told him what information I had received, adding that the destined remittance would not take effect against the King of

France, as he was in possession of his territory, and by merely keeping a good garrison in two or three towns of the Milanese, would preserve it as long as he chose without giving battle. It was not likely, I said, should the present subsidy even induce the Emperor to return into Italy, that he would choose to undertake any protracted siege, from lack of provisions; neither could I suppose that the King of England would sink so much money as must be required for a series of military operations. To this I added, that his lordship might be certain that the French would not risk an engagement, unless it could be fought to their very great advantage; wherefore these present remittances would merely have the effect of retarding our recovery of Verona and Brescia, adding many other arguments against this mission, but which, for the sake of brevity, I do not repeat.

As to the remittances, his lordship made me no reply, which I take for an express and tacit admission, though he told me, indeed, that, notwithstanding my announcement to your Excellency of the last negotiations, I was not to omit reporting what he would now tell me, namely, that the Signory ought to ponder well the advantages they might derive from the contemplated league, compared with the mischief threatened by adhesion to the French alliance. Were, he said, the French King expelled the Milanese, you would give law to all Italy; since, considering the age of the Emperor, and the condition of all the other Italian potentates, you might hope to be mistress of the game, especially having the Kings of England and of Spain for your confederates, and that it was full time to economize your expenditure. On the other hand, should you persevere in the French alliance, the whole of this league will be opposed to you; insomuch that, instead of being, as you supposed, at the end of this undertaking, you would find yourself at

its commencement, as his Majesty here will spare no pecuniary outlay, or leave anything untried, to prevent France from proceeding further: a prohibition which is impossible so long as he holds the Milanese, in which case the ruin of your Excellency was at hand, he declared, since, should the King of France be victorious, he will deprive you of the rest of your territory, as also because his Majesty here will subsidize all the princes and potentates of Christendom against your Sublimity, should he see that you choose to persist in maintaining the King of France in Italy; and this he repeatedly urged upon me. I, whom it behoves, from the nature of the times, tolerate what it is insupportable to hear, answered him with all discretion, that I knew not what your Highness was going to do; but, should you determine to keep your faith, and abide by your obligations, yet would not your Signory, on this account, deserve the enmity of his Majesty, nor yet this fresh conspiracy of all the princes in Christendom; since, as the King of England is now of this mind, it may be said that your Excellency has been a mark for the shafts of *every* Christian potentate;[1] nor did I know whether what your Excellency has done during so many consecutive years for the Christian religion, and your good faith, deserved such a return, of which God, in His clemency, be the judge; but I, at any rate, besought his lordship, as the rudder of this ship, to shape its course towards a fairer and more laudable end than the ruin of the defenders of Jesus Christ, adding much other language of the same sort, which I uttered with all moderation and gentleness, so that if the matter seemed tart to him, it might not be additionally soured by my expressions. He repeated to me all that had been already said, evincing a firm resolve in this matter, and declaring that a most powerful army was on the eve of being marshalled, under the command of the

Emperor, to give the finishing stroke to the business. Wherefore I perceive that little can be done with words, unless they find that the undertaking of itself prove extremely difficult—the which difficulty might be created by speedily despatching the affairs of Brescia and Verona—as, were all to hold their own, and the towns were well garrisoned, they would comprehend the futility of their efforts: and as news arrived here lately, although they are not believed by any one, of the French having taken Brescia, it would have been very opportune had I received certain intelligence to this effect; because, were it thus, and these lords imagined your Excellency would obtain Verona before their money reached the Emperor, they might, perchance, act with more reserve, and I might hope to delay the remittances by such arguments as the mere taking of Brescia would have afforded me. Unfortunately, I have no intelligence soever, either from your Excellency, or your ambassadors, so that the news only serves me for conjectures of my own. Even had you not thought fit that such tidings of your successes should be communicated to his Majesty and these lords (an opinion which I also share), yet might they have been of use to *me* in the present negotiations. Do, your Excellency, then consult your interests, and make such provision as expedient.

It has recently come to my knowledge, that the ambassadors here from the Emperor and the King of Spain are doing their utmost to make his Majesty dismiss me; for in point of fact, said ambassadors very much disapprove of my being here, and it is supposed that they act by order of their Sovereigns. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that this will come to pass until one sees the end of these negotiations. I have heard also from a sure source that, during the last few days, the right reverend Cardinal and the Bishop of

Durham have been in conclave together with the ambassadors from the Emperor and Spain, the Pope's nuncio, and the agent of the Switzers, whence you may conjecture the disposition of all parties.

[1] The ambassador is here alluding to the fact that England had hitherto taken no part in the league of Cambray; but explains, that by her present threats she ranks herself amongst the enemies of Venice.

London, July 6, 1516.

I went lately to visit the right reverend Cardinal, not to transact any business—as your Excellency, by withholding all intelligence from me, renders this impossible—but for the purpose of cultivating his friendship, saying that I was merely come to pay my respects to him, which he took in very good part, it seeming to him an earnest of the love which I often said I bore him, as exemplified by my frequent visits even when I had no business to transact. Accordingly, he appeared very glad to see me, giving me the news of Brescia,[1] concerning which, by the grace of God, nothing has been notified to me, either by your Excellency, nor by any of the magnificoes your ambassadors; a fact which, although productive of small repute to myself individually, is yet more injurious to your Signory than to me. His lordship, however, announced this intelligence to me with a supplement, namely, that the surrender had been made to the King of France, whose agents hesitated about consigning the city to your Excellency, whom it behoved to give up Crema in exchange.[2] I answered him that I believed in the surrender of Brescia, but not in this exchange, on several accounts which occurred to me; and he rejoined, that neither to him did the thing appear reasonable. I

hereon congratulate your Highness extremely; the event having caused me such extreme joy as becomes all devoted patriots, especially under the belief that ere long the like will befall Verona, which may the Almighty of His clemency grant; so that, once for all, a calm may succeed to the fierce tempest which this poor ship, buffeted by every wind, has hitherto undergone.

While discussing various topics with his lordship—especially that of the trade which we of yore carried on with this kingdom, to the extreme profit of either party—he said to me, that it would be very opportune for the galleys of your Excellency to come hither as usual.[3] I told him, I thought your Excellency would be content, provided they could touch in safety at Spanish ports, though I considered that peace prevailed between you and the Catholic King, with whom the King of England likewise had a good understanding; yet, on the other hand, as the Emperor was connected by blood with his Spanish Highness, the matter was somewhat perilous. His lordship told me, if I chose, he would write to his Highness aforesaid, and procure a safe-conduct, and proposed doing so immediately, had I not induced him to delay until I heard the intention of your Sublimity, who will be pleased to let me know such, and notify every particular which you may deem necessary for insertion in this safe-conduct; so that, should they make the voyage, the said galleys may be safe: and we thus await your Excellency's reply.

To-day, I went to Greenwich to pay my respects to the King, without transacting any business, or having even any letters from your Signory or from your ambassadors to communicate, which really causes not merely surprise but murmurs from everybody. I beseech your Excellency, if this is to continue, rather to recall than keep me here with

shame, rendering his Majesty, moreover, and these lords at the same time, utterly our enemies, for they assert that your silence proceeds from holding their country in small account. Moreover, your Excellency may comprehend, that were I to be acquainted with the course of your affairs, it would enable me to make many proposals and rejoinders in reply to their suggestions, which I now omit; and especially in the matter which has been negotiated hitherto, and to which a reply is expected, for had I known how matters stand between his most Christian Majesty and your Serenity, I should have framed my speech accordingly; but, in ignorance thereof, and as reports here vary, I am much embarrassed for words which may tell either way. Should your Excellency, from any particular motives, choose to persevere thus, let me at least be kept advised by your ambassadors of what passes. If, perchance, reluctance was felt to give me the news of Brescia in detail, under the belief of its not proving agreeable to the King here, yet am I of opinion that it should have been communicated to me, as I think I have negotiated long enough to enable me to be silent concerning such matters as might prove injurious to your Excellency, and merely to announce those which may be beneficial. It is easy to perceive how any information I receive serves to light me on my way.

To-day, when at Greenwich with the reverend Spanish ambassador, I apologized to his lordship for not having hitherto greeted and visited him as usual, by reason of the state of the war, and of what had chanced between the late Catholic King Ferdinand and your Excellency; but that now, indeed, that his lordship represented a king most friendly to your Highness, who wished his Majesty all honour and increase, I had determined on performing every office of courtesy with his lordship, knowing such to be

the wish of your Excellency, and should come and visit him. His lordship thanked me most lovingly, saying that he likewise believed in the existence of peace and friendship between his Catholic King and your Highness, inquiring of me whether you had any ambassador resident with his Majesty. I answered him in the negative; adding, that I attributed this to the present disturbances in Italy, now occupied by hostile armies, so that it would have been impossible to send an ambassador had it been wished, though I doubted not but that you meant to do so, according to the tenor of your observance towards his said Majesty, the which you had also entertained towards his most serene ancestors. Continuing this conversation, he told me to defer my visit for some days, in order not to create any sinister suspicion in the mind of the imperial ambassador; and this scruple he expressed in the most measured terms, in mitigation of any bad effect it might produce. It seemed fit to me, most serene Prince, to pay him this compliment; because, had I persevered in my original bearing, I should have made it appear that the same dissension subsisted between your Excellency and his present Majesty as with the late King; whereas, at this present, he cannot accuse me of lack of courtesy, since I have done what I ought.

It is reported here that the negotiation of the league between the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and England, and the Switzers, is being treated and brought to a close, which I think credible, for I perceive the ambassadors of said potentates always to act in concert, holding very long conferences both with the right reverend Cardinal and with the King;[4] it is also said that the Pope will join said league, though the reverend nuncio here (Chieregato) declares that his Holiness will remain neutral as a good father-general.

What the result may be, *eventus docebit.* I fancy that your Excellency knows more about this than I do; I implore you to keep me, or to cause me to be kept, fully informed about all events, so that I may thereby regulate my actions, which may prove much to the profit of your Highness.

[1] Brescia was recovered by the Venetians on the 24th of May.

[2] What Wolsey says of the hesitation of France to surrender Brescia was without foundation. (See Guicciardini and Paruta.)

[3] Amongst the documents published by the Record Commission are several "permits" relating to the Venetian galleys in England, from the year 1330 downwards. On the breaking out of the League of Cambray in 1509, the galleys of Venice, which traded with England and Flanders, and were styled "*the Flanders galleys*," found themselves in Hampton harbour, under the command of the Commodore Agustin da Mulla; and from that period until the moment of this conversation between the ambassador and Cardinal Wolsey, the Venetians had discontinued their voyages to England, in consequence of the ports of Spain being closed to them, and also from fear of French and other buccaneers in "the *narrow seas*," alias the British Channel.

[4] As stated in note of page 240, the treaty of Noyon, which stipulated perpetual peace between France and Spain, was signed on the 15th of August, 1516, and on the 6th of July the English Cabinet seems to have imagined itself on the eve of forming a league *with* Spain *against* France!

London, July 17, 1516.

There is little doing here at present, both by reason of the absence of the King, who is abroad taking his usual diversions, and will remain many days; and also, because your Excellency does not give me the opportunity for negotiating as would be necessary, since having letters from your Excellency, not only should I make use of their contents opportunely, but moreover in the act of imparting them, others matters would transpire, whereas without them I can effect little worthy the knowledge of your Highness, for whose information I may state that your last missives were

dated the 18th of March. I have, however, been several times to the right reverend Cardinal, though I could do little with him, both because of his being much occupied, owing to the nature of the times, all the affairs of the kingdom being in his hands, and also by reason of the absence of the King. The ambassadors from the Emperor and from Spain never cease pressing for money, whilst I, on the contrary, exert myself to thwart their object, though really one can place no reliance on their words, or on those of these lords with regard to remittances being made or not, for on entering on this topic, they turn the conversation, and for their own good reasons, it is impossible to obtain from them either an affirmative or a negative; but your Excellency may believe that I have left nothing untried to prevent these remittances, or at least to ascertain the fact of their having been sent. I can affirm nothing positively, but it is reported that the King and all the other lords are very dissatisfied with the Emperor,[1] and thus no more money will be sent.

As I wrote in my last, the league already mentioned was expected to be concluded here speedily, notwithstanding which, from what has reached me through a sure source, matters are being procrastinated; the Catholic King having answered these lords, that he must first write to Spain, so as not to act without consulting the grandees there, in such wise, that these lords seem to have cooled extremely with regard to the conclusion of this league. Moreover, I learn from good authority, that the Pope will not ally himself with this side, apologizing on the plea of wishing to act as a good father-general. I also understand that on the 2nd instant, some twenty ships left Spain for Flanders, to convey home the Catholic King, who has also fitted out a number of vessels, report varying as to their amount, for the purpose of going to take possession of his kingdom, and this being the case, I do

not imagine that the league between these sovereigns will be concluded, until after his arrival in Spain. I will not omit adding this, that for many days and months past the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] who were principal members of this government, have withdrawn themselves, on account, it is said, of the succour given to the Emperor against the King of France and your Excellency. Canterbury was Lord Chancellor, and Winchester held the privy seal, both which offices are of extreme importance, and have been resigned by them. The office of Lord Chancellor has been conferred on the right reverend Cardinal, and the Privy Seal on the right reverend Bishop of Durham.[3] The illustrious Duke of Suffolk, who married the Queen widow of France, has also absented himself; it is said, he is not in so much favour with this King as heretofore.[4] Another likewise, by name Sir Thomas Lovel,[5] who was an old servant to the late King, and also to his present Majesty, and exercised extreme authority, seems moreover to have withdrawn himself, and interferes but little in the government, so that the whole direction of affairs rests (to the dissatisfaction of everybody) with the right reverend Cardinal, the Bishop of Durham, and the illustrious the Lord Treasurer;[6] your Excellency will comprehend that this is of extreme importance.

If your Excellency keeps me here to negotiate your affairs, I pray you to acquaint me occasionally with the line you choose me to take in these matters, touching the succour given to the enemies of the State by this court, so as to prevent your recovering Verona, that most ancient member of your territory. This somewhat distasteful business, I treat with all moderation and gentleness, and think that no complaint can be brought against me on this score, though I am of opinion that it ought to be discussed rather

more bluntly, as becoming so deep an injury, the like of which I deem unparalleled, that England should be your confederate, and that she alone should wage war against you. However, it is our fate that the justice and gravity of our complaints avail nothing. I shall not swerve from the discreet course hitherto adopted; but, should your Sublimity choose me in any respect to change my style, without insulting them, you will be pleased to let me know, as I shall not scruple doing my duty.

[1] It would appear from this that, *at length*, between the 16th and 17th of July, news reached England of the treaty of Noyon, which was followed by the congress of Brussels, when the Emperor consented to make peace with the Venetians, and to give up Verona, on receiving 200,000 ducats, the first instalment of which was paid on the 23rd of January, 1617. The effrontery of the two ambassadors in continuing to demand money of Henry VIII., after having betrayed him, is worthy of note.

[2] Richard Fox and William Warham.

[3] This Bishop of Durham, who has been mentioned in several preceding Despatches, was a very leading member of the English Cabinet at this period; and it is important for the thorough comprehension of the state of the Privy Council that his name, which was THOMAS RUTHAL, should be remembered. See page 74.

[4] Concerning the departure from the court of the Duke of Suffolk, Hume writes, in date of the year 1515, that he was offended because the King, by the Cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy.

[5] Sir Thomas Lovel is mentioned by Hume, in date of the year 1509, as being Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower, and one of the members of the Council of Henry VIII. In King Richard III., act 4, this old servant of the crown is introduced thus:

> "Sir Thomas Lovel and Lord Marquis Dorset
> 'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms."

Also in act 1, sc. 4, of King Henry VIII., Sir Thomas Lovel appears as one of the attendants of the King; and amongst the charges brought by the surveyor against the Duke of Buckingham is this of his having said—

> "That had the King in his last sickness failed,
> The Cardinal's and Sir Thomas Lovel's heads
> Should have gone off."

[6] Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, (see page 113). From a subsequent despatch, however, it seems that he also ceased to interfere in State affairs from about this time until October.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, July 23, 1516.

Since my last of the 17th instant, whilst anxiously expecting advices from your Highness, I, on the 20th of this same month, received two of your letters; the one dated the 28th of April, with very copious extracts of news about the Turks having entered the territories of the Emperor; whilst the other of the 27th May, gives the good tidings of Brescia, and summaries from Constantinople; the whole to be communicated to this most serene King and right reverend Cardinal, to whom (having been unable to obtain audience of him previously) I went yesterday and communicated the news; the King, all this time, being distant some 150 miles hence. I first communicated to him the contents of the missive dated 28th April, which is passing grave and prudent, as becomes the wisdom of those who ordered it; and moreover of its author, whom I will not call *Alberto*, but *Albergo*[1] (abode or shrine), of all elegance and gravity of diction; and I, on my part, solemnly and earnestly endeavoured to impart it to him, dwelling on every particular, in such wise as the matter appeared to me to merit. I next communicated to him the letters with the news of Brescia, giving his lordship notice that they had been despatched immediately after the intelligence reached your Excellency, as you were of opinion that whatever tended to your glory and increase, would be considered by his Majesty in the light of an accession to his own kingdom and resources. All the

extracts concerning the Turks, and their coming into Croatia and Carinthia, also the news from Constantinople, was read; and I touched on all the necessary points, putting before him the peril which threatened the Christian religion, as also the existing detriment and ruin, entirely attributable to the dissensions of the princes of Christendom and to ill-will in a quarter which ought to oppose the attack of the infidel, and not seek the ruin of those who have been the bulwark of the Christian commonwealth. After I had spoken at very great length to this effect, it seemed to me time to discuss the affairs of Verona, although your Excellency does not say a word to me thereon; and as it was the festival of St. Mary Magdalen, I took occasion thence to commence by saying, that on that day Mary Magdalen entreated remission from Jesus Christ of the errors committed by her; and with much more reason could I petition his lordship for what was just, fair, and due—namely, that as there no longer existed any doubt soever, but that every difficulty and vexation endured by your Excellency in the recovery of Brescia, and at this present time in the siege of Verona, was owing to the pecuniary and other aid given by the King of England to the Emperor, his lordship should grant your Sublimity the grace no longer to persevere in contributing subsidies to him for the defence of that city, as it was really impossible for these moneys to be expended more ingloriously for his Majesty, or with less profit. * * * His right reverend lordship listened to me graciously, and with patience, answering, "Domine Orator! St. Mary Magdalen did entreat remission of Christ; but, ere doing so, she repented her of her errors, and departed from her wickedness. Do you do the like; abjure your errors, and depart from the ambition of choosing to take and occupy what belongs to others, and then his Majesty will grant you grace, even more than you

desire." Adding the following words, which appeared to me to be worthy of note, "You defend the enemy of all the princes of Christendom, whom you are provoking against yourselves; and be assured that, unless you abstain from this, all will be opposed to you; and he in person, whom you defend, will be the first to deceive you; and I assure you that at this present negotiations are on foot between the King of France and the Catholic King, and they are treating to conclude espousals, not to confirm the first, that is to say, those of Madame Renée, the Queen's sister,[2] but with the daughter of said King of France. Fancy how advantageous this must prove for the Catholic King, having to wait fifteen years for a wife! In these negotiations, also, the following clause has been inserted and agreed to by both sovereigns, that the King of France is to abandon you, being especially prohibited from giving you succour for the recovery of Verona, and this we affirm to you by the dignity of our hat, and you will see by the result:" in conclusion, after much verbiage, he said that this kingdom was disposed by all modes and means to subsidize the Emperor, and especially for the defence of Verona.

My answer purported, in reply to the first part of his lordship's observations, that your Excellency had no penance to perform for any of your errors, especially in the present matters; but that his lordship construed into sin and error, the upright, loyal, and due observance of faith, an interpretation which is not usually adopted even by enemies, to whom the observance of faith is due. I now ceased to marvel, I said, at your Excellency's suffering for your faith, as for the last sixty years you had endured incredible hurt and ruin for the maintenance of your faith to God against the infidel, and to the temporal potentates in observance of the treaties and confederations contracted with

them, and which you had never chosen to violate; and, that to abjure what his lordship termed the errors of your Excellency, would be neither more or less than to break faith with him to whom you had solemnly pledged it. Here the Cardinal interrupted me, saying, "How do you defend your faith when you choose to defend Verona, which does not belong to you, but to the Emperor?" I rejoined, that Verona had belonged to your Excellency, and been held pacifically for a hundred years, and that no former Emperor had ever remonstrated hereon, being well aware that it belonged neither to the Emperor, nor to the house of Austria; and on his lordship's inquiring how your Excellency had obtained Verona, I told him, that since, in our case, it was chosen to investigate the tenure of possessions justly held for a century, whilst no inquiries are made concerning the recent and violent seizures effected by others,[3] his lordship must know that the lords of La Scala having become extinct, so that no heir remained, the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua wanted to occupy Verona; whereupon the Veronese informed your Highness, that should you choose to accept them, they would consign the city and all its jurisdictions to you, so your Excellency sent your whole army thither; and before it entered Verona, the forces of the Marquis of Mantua and of the Duke of Milan had entered the town, expecting to be welcomed by the Veronese, none of whom declared themselves in their favour, nor did any shout, or "Duke," or "Marquis." Shortly after this, the army of your Excellency defiled by the mountains, and immediately all the Veronese, male and female of every age, came into the streets and market-places, shouting "*Mark!*" "*Mark!*" on perceiving which, the agents of the Duke and Marquis departed by the other gate, and Verona remained in the power of your Excellency;

since which time, you had held it in peace and quiet without complaint from any potentate, acting towards the Veronese with such justice and integrity as observed by parents towards their children. These, I said, were the outrages committed by us against the princes of Christendom; this the perfidy of which we are accused; and these the iniquities from which his lordship exhorts your Excellency to depart. I then told him that your Excellency was not attacking any Christian Prince, but that you defended your confederate, who acted by you reciprocally both in the matter of faith and opportune subsidies. On the other hand, you found yourself exposed to the rage of the Emperor, who breathes but your destruction; and on his lordship's saying that the King of England likewise was a party to this enterprise, so that hostilities cannot be waged against the Emperor without affecting him, I made answer, that his lordship always mentioned the most Christian King as the confederate of his Majesty, and that I was at a loss to comprehend how this tallied with the fact of England's uniting with the Emperor to expel France from the duchy of Milan, being at the same time her confederate! This war, I added, was carried on in the name of the Emperor, and not in that of the King of England: and again, that ever since the Swiss camp was routed by the most Christian King,[4] his Majesty here and his lordship had assured me they were not acting in concert with the Emperor against France, in virtue of the confederation, denying, moreover, the grant of pecuniary succour, or of troops; and that it was only within the last six weeks that his Majesty confessed to me that he had given subsidy to the Emperor, his lordship likewise making a similar admission; so that your Excellency had aided your confederate against the Emperor, and not against his Majesty, who has ever made profession of

friendship with France; and that with regard to his subsidizing the Emperor, my letters will hardly yet have announced to your Excellency this fact, although it had been publicly reported. Finally, I drew the two following conclusions: first, that at the present time the occupation of Verona appears to be the cause of all these disturbances, which might perhaps cease, and all be satisfied with their own, were it not thus fomented, fire and flame being maintained between Christians, whose common enemy, the Turk, is thus enabled to prey upon their vitals. I then represented that the moneys destined by his Majesty for the defence of Verona, might be paid to the Emperor's forces, indeed, but for the defence of Carinthia and the other provinces threatened by the Turk; though, doubtless, whatever his Majesty's intention might be, the money would be very differently applied by Maximilian.[5] * * * * Turning the conversation, the Cardinal replied, "On obtaining Verona, you would immediately choose to advance into the Tyrol and occupy the territory of the Emperor, a thing to which neither we, nor the Catholic King, who is to inherit the duchy of Austria, would ever consent. I rejoined, that this was not the intention of your Excellency, nor was it credible that, on recovering Verona, you should choose to act against the empire or the House of Austria—a course you have never adopted since Verona has belonged to you, a period embracing so many years; and I said, that to this, not only would I pledge my faith, but stake my head, and remain as hostage here, against any plan being ever devised by your Excellency to obtain aught save Verona and its dependencies, and that which the Emperor has taken from you during this unjust war; and that his lordship might rest assured that your Excellency merely aims at preserving your own, and that, were you ambitious of territory, you would

seek to recover that of which you have been deprived by the Turk, and moreover to wrest other provinces from him—an undertaking which you doubt not would be seconded by other Christian potentates ; adding that the strife waged now for a span of earth in Italy, would regain whole kingdoms and districts possessed at this present by the Turk, but which of yore acknowledged a Christian yoke. In conclusion, I urged his lordship, by every means in his power, to vouch for these two facts : first, that the most Christian King merely laid claim to retain his duchy of Milan ; and secondly, that your Highness only sought to recover your own, and that you have no intention of occupying what belongs to the Emperor.

After these conferences, his lordship went to dinner, and urged me to stay, as I did, more from the wish to make him change his mind than to dine, for I was really so tired with this long and laborious negotiation, at which the right reverend Bishop of Durham assisted likewise, singing treble to the Cardinal's bass, that I had no appetite for dinner. Throughout the repast, however, and for a long while after its conclusion, they never discussed any other topic than that of detaching your Excellency from the French alliance, and of inducing you to join this fresh league now under negotiation, whilst I employed all my efforts to withdraw his Majesty from the defence of Verona ; and from all these conversations I infer, that should your Excellency choose to swerve from your faith and confederation with the most Christian King, you would doubtless obtain Verona, and of this I have been assured more openly, by a chief secretary in the service of his Majesty.[6] The other circumstances I must now briefly notice—namely, that when both the right reverend Cardinal and also the Bishop of Durham were exhorting me warmly to urge your Excellency to withdraw

yourself from the league with France, and join the Emperor and these other princes who are to form this confederacy, I told them that I had already written to your Excellency, though I doubted my letters having yet reached Venice, but that really, on mature consideration, and speaking in my private capacity, I did not see how your Signory could desert the most Christian King, without having any cause soever of complaint—nay, when his Majesty was doing the very thing that the confederation promises; whereupon they said to me, "But should you have reason, and were he to fail herein, or deceive and abandon you, what will you do?" I said, in that case, I doubted not but that your Excellency would tender your inviolable faith to those who might keep such with you, and not persist in defending your betrayer. The second circumstance is, that amongst the other complaints urged by the aforesaid right reverend Cardinal against the most Christian King, he alleges the maintenance and support by France of an English rebel, named Richard de la Pole,[7] it seeming to them that the defence of this person, and of the Duke of Albany in Scotland, are indications of a wish to attack this most serene King, should the opportunity present itself.

[1] The ambassador is here paying a compliment to the secretary of the Senate, Alberto or Alberti, and is guilty of a pun upon his name, thus: "Che non dirò esser *Alberto* ma *Albergo* di ogni elegantia et gravità di dir." This crime was not peculiar to Giustinian in that age, for, in the first part of King Henry VI., act i. sc. 7, Cardinal Beaufort is made by Shakspeare to say to the Duke of Gloucester, the Protector—

> "I do, thou most usurping *Proditor*,
> And not *Protector*, of the King or realm."

[2] This first marriage was stipulated in the year 1515, see Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 138: and at p. 199 the same historian gives the clauses drawn up at Noyon in August 1516, and to which Cardinal Wolsey is here alluding, one of them stipulating that Charles of Spain was to marry the infant daughter, then one year old, of Francis I.

[3] The ambassador, had he been called upon to explain, would probably have quoted the Spanish occupation of Naples, and that of the Venetian towns in the Romagna seized by Pope Julius; but it is also possible that he meant to allude to the English occupation of Tournay.

[4] At Marignano, see *ante*, p. 133.

[5] Meaning, probably, that the Emperor would employ the funds, whether intended for Verona or Carinthia, on his personal pleasures, which were of rather an expensive character.

[6] It is probable that the secretary here alluded to was the Lucchese Ammonius, Latin Secretary to Henry VIII., and who wished well to Venice, as shown by a letter from him now before me, dated London, A.D. 1513, June 3, addressed to a merchant in Venice named Nicolo Chafiri. Andreas Ammonius, like Giustinian and Chieregato, was the friend of Erasmus, to whom said Chieregato announces his death in a letter dated Antwerp, 28th August, 1517, making mention also of Giustinian and of the secretary Sagudino. Chieregato, after mentioning his own escape from the "*sudor Britannicus*," says: "Orator Venetus pariter cum suo *Sagundino*, qui nuper sudarunt, te maxime salvum cupiunt; hoc idem *Ammonius* noster faciebat; sed proh dolor! spatio octo horarum sudario morbo absumtus est tanto animi mei mœrore, tanta tristitia, ut nullo remedio solari queam." Ex Antuerpia, 28th Augusto, anno 1517. The fact of the sweating sickness having seized Sagudino and Giustinian, is confirmed in subsequent despatches.

[7] Edmond de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, *alias* "White Rose," had been beheaded by order of Henry VIII. before his invasion of France in the summer of 1513. The younger brother of Edmond, namely, Richard, here alluded to, held a command at the time in the French service, and, on the Duke's death, became the head of the York faction, and remained a thorn in the side of Henry VIII. until the 24th of February, 1525, when he fell fighting for France against Spain, in the battle of Pavia. Hume (vol. iii. p. 95) mentions, that on the peace with France, made in August, 1514, it was stipulated that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Louis XII.; but doubtless "White Rose" distinguished himself at Marignano, at the battle of Pavia, and his valour would have been ill requited by confinement at Metz.

London, July 29, 1516.

The right reverend Cardinal and the Bishop of Durham are gone to his Majesty in the country, where he now is at a distance of sixty miles hence, whither likewise an individual has proceeded, said to be an ambassador from the Emperor, and who arrived lately, in addition to the one already here,

although some say that he is come in the name of the Catholic King, as he is the lord steward of my lady Margaret; I have no doubt but that the Cardinal and the Bishop are gone to learn his errand, and to decide as they shall think fit. It is supposed that he is come either to demand money to recruit the army of the Emperor destined for Italy; or for funds required by the Catholic King for his voyage, which is to be undertaken shortly, as some Spanish ships have arrived at a little distance from this place on their way to embark him. The King of Denmark has also sent him a ship of 1,300 tons for his own person.[1] The aforesaid Catholic King has chartered as many as forty sail, which for the last ten days have been awaiting his orders; and it is reported that on the day of the Assumption (August 15th), after attending a solemn mass, he will leave for Spain.

Within the last fortnight, his Majesty here has made considerable remittances, some placing the amount at 200,000 crowns, and others at less. No one can certify at whose request these moneys have been sent, although I have employed all diligence and address to ascertain the fact; the management of the affair is in the hands of only three persons, who keep it secret; but some say these funds have been sent for the Imperial army, whilst others maintain that they are for the voyage of his Catholic Majesty. Added to this, a report circulates that the new ambassador is come to get some more, nor is there any doubt but that he will need considerable treasure, judging by the preparations, and from the expense he is incurring; and for my own part, all things considered, my opinion is that the moneys already remitted, and those now demanded, are for this purpose, and not on account of the Emperor; for I perceive the actual need of the Catholic King, and do not see such immediate necessity for recruiting the Imperial army; it is possible, however,

that the funds may be destined for both one and the other purpose. I may also state, that (as your Signory will learn by the accompanying), although the right reverend Cardinal declared positively that he meant to defend Verona, and subsidize the Emperor, yet is it possible that the result may prove the contrary, not that I imagine these lords better disposed than they were, but because they see that their treasure is being spent in vain, and that consequently loud murmurs and discontent prevail throughout this island; and possibly the words were uttered, to frighten your Excellency into joining them against France. It is likely enough they are building castles in the air, for they profess to have the Pope on their side, whereas, by reason of his ambitious projects in Italy,[2] it is my belief, confirmed by the positive assertions of the reverend nuncio of his Holiness here, that he does not mean to declare himself against the most Christian King. They also boast of having the Catholic King with them, which appears to me still less reasonable, for he has not yet entered his kingdom, nor established himself, whilst Burgundy and Flanders are very exposed to the aggressions of France, so that he would scarcely show himself hostile to his Majesty. Besides this, they assert that all the cantons await their orders, which is most utterly false, the Switzers having made terms with France, nor do I doubt but that these are chimeras and fictions, all for the purpose of detaching your Highness from the French alliance.

[1] King Christian II. had married the Princess Isabella, the sister of King Charles of Spain; in the year 1515; and apparently, the Danish monarch, wishing to be civil to his brother-in-law on his accession, sent this vessel for his passage to Spain.

[2] Alluding to the seizure by the Pope of the duchy of Urbino, which might have been impeded by France; but, in contradiction of the belief here expressed by the Venetian ambassador, Guicciardini (vol. iii. p. 196) tells us that at the moment of the treaty of Noyon, Leo X. *was* in bad odour with Francis I.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, August 10, 1516.

I now inform your Excellency, that having sent my secretary yesterday to the right reverend Cardinal for audience, and to pay my respects to his lordship, he made an appointment for to-day, inviting me to dine with him. As his lordship was greatly occupied before dinner, it was impossible to speak about anything; but afterwards he took me into a private room (whither the right reverend Bishop of Durham likewise came) and asked whether I had received a reply to the proposals made me by the King and by his lordship, concerning the new league. I answered him that I had not received any reply, as really there was not yet time for the letters to have arrived at Venice and to be acknowledged; whereupon he rejoined, "Domine Orator, this business must not be delayed: were you negligent or careless in this matter, you would deserve great reproof," adding, that he doubted not, should I have written what he proposed to me, but that your Signory would embrace this offer, and not cherish this dragon to your own ruin, both the Cardinal and the Bishop abusing the King of France without reserve. After much had been said to this effect, no instructions soever from your Serenity in this matter having reached me, and it seeming to me at the same time necessary so to handle the business that, should your Excellency not think fit to abandon the most Christian King, my words might anticipate your reply; whilst, on the other hand, in the event of your acceding to the wishes of these lords, they might remain satisfied, I thought fit to observe that I saw three obstacles to this project: first, your plighted faith and the close confederacy existing between your Signory and the

most Christian King; secondly, the title of his Majesty to the Milanese, which belongs to him indisputably by hereditary right; thirdly, the interest of your Signory with reference to Verona, and to the mutual agreement whereby you are bound to defend and maintain the King of France in the Milanese, he on his part recovering your territory and supporting you therein; so that I did not perceive how your Excellency could embrace this project without the indelible stigma of treachery (which you had ever shunned, as the ship does the rock), unless his most Christian Majesty betray your Signory: add to which the right exercised by the King of France over the Milanese, so that I knew not what cause could induce your Excellency to fail in your engagements and act unjustly, by depriving his Majesty of what by right appertains to him. I also laid before him the debt of gratitude we owe to France, whereas the Emperor had left nothing undone to deprive us of our State; nor has it sufficed him to employ his force and authority where available, but he has moreover induced his Majesty here to disburse much treasure, to the detriment of those who are more his friends than the Emperor himself; nor was his lordship ignorant, I continued, that the greatest possible cause of friendship, whether between two states or two individuals, consists in their mutual good offices. Still, I said, these were not the expressions of your Excellency, but my own private opinion, and that I was expecting letters to acquaint me with your decision hereon; assuring his right reverend lordship that in either case, and under every resolve, your Signory would always be most obsequious towards his Majesty, and ever anxious to promote his glory and increase, so far as compatible with your own honour.

His lordship interrupted me several times in reply to what

I was saying; and the substance of the expressions uttered by him at various intervals purported, that your Excellency could not but be praised for the observance of your faith, though you should also bear in mind that this observance was undue to one who does not acknowledge such, or keep it, and this to the destruction of the Christian commonwealth; neither ought you, for a trifling national advantage, to offend all the princes in Christendom; and that should your Excellency persevere in this system, they would unite to deprive you not merely of Verona, but also of all the rest of your territory; adding, that the maintenance of faith should not deter your Excellency from accepting this great invitation, for that the King of France is ever plotting and negotiating for peace with the Emperor, offering, said he, "to abandon you, and this is as true as the gospel; and the negotiation about which I spoke to you the other day,[1] between him and the Catholic King, concerning the marriage of his daughter, stipulating for the desertion of your Signory and non-intervention in the affairs of Verona, is confirmed." This, he said, he knew with as much certainty as the fact of his being a Cardinal; nay, that so long back as when King Francis was at Bologna, with the Pope,[2] this matter had been negotiated, and that he then promised his Holiness to abandon your Excellency should the Emperor come to terms with him; and here he exclaimed, "See, now, whether you have good cause to desert the King of France." Upon this I interrupted him, saying, that should your Excellency ascertain this, I considered the business would be easy, as you would choose to take counsel and provide for your interests: if, indeed, you lacked this certainty, I did not know how you could form such a resolve. His right reverend lordship then rejoined, "Possibly his Majesty the King, and I, who am at least

a Cardinal, do not deserve an '*if*, *indeed*.'" I said that his Majesty and his lordship deserved all credit, though it might indeed chance that both one and the other had been deceived by false reporters, anxious for that very result. Much was said hereon, with all discretion, on both sides; but the truth is, in brief, that the Cardinal would fain have his mere assertions credited by the Signory without further proof. His lordship continued, that even if the duchy of Milan did appertain to the King of France, yet was it not fitting that he should therefore occupy all Italy, to the ruin of your Excellency and others, as would necessarily take place should he remain in the Milanese; and he continued, "Inform your Signory, that if it chooses to adhere to this new league, his Majesty will find means to make your peace with the Emperor, and that it shall forthwith have the city of Verona on fair terms; and if the State chooses, we will make interest with the Pope to absolve you from your oath of confederacy with the King of France. You perceive that you are in bad odour with all the potentates of the world, for you never benefited any but yourselves, which everybody knows; and so do not stir up the whole universe against you, for the King of France likewise will prove your enemy." I told him, that if your Excellency defended the King of France, you did so, not for the sake of injuring any one, whether prince or subject, but in maintenance of that faith which ought to be kept even with an enemy, still more with friends; and, under all circumstances, however well versed his lordship might be in ancient and modern history, he would never find that those who kept faith had been otherwise than praised and esteemed by their very enemies; and should your Excellency not have many friendly powers, this proceeded from your having defended yourself on provocation against those who sought

to harm you. Should the Christian religion, I continued, be asked whether your Excellency has ever done aught for the preservation of any sovereign, and that it were able to reply, it would say, that your Excellency had spent more money and shed more blood for the faith of Christ, and for the preservation of His name on earth, than all the other princes of Christendom; to which witness is borne, not by antiquated legends, but by sanguinary battles fought from the middle of the last century down to the present day against the Turks, and especially with the grandfather and father of the reigning Sultan;[3] in the accounts of which battles may be read the slaughter effected and endured; how many armadas were destroyed on either side; what towns and places, now in the hands of the Turk, were lost: all which facts show whether your Excellency acted for yourself, or *pro fide et pro omnibus Christianis.* To the offer of Verona, indeed, I said I could make no reply; and that also what I had stated hitherto was merely my own opinion, and not the resolve of your Excellency. To this he made answer, charging me to despatch my letters speedily and with diligence, and to notify the whole to your Excellency accurately. I promised him to perform this office as I would a personal affair affecting my own life. He then rejoined, "Should you do so, I think your Signory will determine on being with us; for, were I in your senate, I would stake my life on persuading it to what I have told you;" and with this I took leave, his lordship saying to me, "Send an express, for there is no time to lose." In the course of these colloquies, when his lordship was speaking of the Pope, I asked him if he thought his Holiness wished the most Christian King to go out of Italy; whereupon, both the Cardinal and the Bishop of Durham made answer, "Would that you were equally anxious! for, so long as

the King of France is in Italy, the Pope considers himself his chaplain."

Most serene Prince, this matter is brought to such a pass that I can no longer sustain it on my own shoulders, appearing to speak in my private capacity, and perhaps I ought not to have said so much; but, considering myself sure of the intention of your Excellency, I chose to deliver these proems. Because, should your Excellency write in conformity, I shall have already made the due excuse; in such wise, that if they do not approve of the reply, your Signory will at least not be blamed or accused; whereas, in case you accede to their wishes, the resolve will so delight them that they will forget what was unpalatable in my replies. So I pray and beseech you to write, should you think it expedient thus to do; as I do not doubt but that the reply will be of such wisdom as to guarantee the State, and heal the wounds of England.

[1] The treaty of Noyon, see *ante* p. 239.
[2] In the month of December, 1515.
[3] Selim I. reigned from 1512 to 1520; his father, Bajazet II., from 1481 to 1512; his grandfather, Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople, from 1451 to 1481.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

London, August 11, 1516.

After writing the accompanying, having heard that the right reverend Cardinal was going to take his pleasure for a few days, I went to his lordship to see if I could learn anything else before his return, and being introduced to him, he said to me, "Domine Orator, do as I advised you yesterday

warmly, for your own weal, and that of the Christian religion, and explain thoroughly to the Signory, that the intention of all these future confederates is chiefly to expel the King of France from Italy, and to this end, Verona will be surrendered to you, which would not be done otherwise, and you will be masters of Italy, all the other Christian potentates being thus secured against the immoderate ambition of the King of France, who will not be so scrupulous about breaking faith as you have been. In order that your Signory may know the whole, write to it with regard to the affair of Verona, that, on consenting to join the league, it must immediately send you a power to draw up the clauses, and we will do the like with the Emperor, who we see disposed to be reconciled to your Signory; and we will discuss how this surrender should be made, whether before or after the expulsion from Italy of the King of France, giving hostages or security for not failing in the stipulations." To this I merely replied that I would carefully notify the whole to your Highness; but I will not omit mentioning this other circumstance, that his lordship having repeated the conceits of yesterday, respecting the selfishness of the policy adopted by your Highness, who was solely intent on your own aggrandisement, regardless of the welfare of any other Christian state, I determined to expunge this taint, and told him that his lordship derived his information from certain outlaws and malcontents,[1] who are both unable and unwilling to comprehend what is well done, but that I could give him information concerning the events of the last five-and-twenty years, wherein I either took an active part, or assisted at their negotiation in the Senate, and thereby he might comprehend that all the acts of your Excellency had been honourably conceived and executed, more indeed to the advantage of other potentates than to

your own. I then commenced, by reminding him that your Excellency was the potentate who, at your very great cost, placed Duke Hercules, of Estè, on the throne of Ferrara,[2] despite the wish and efforts of the then reigning Duke of Milan. The gratitude we obtained, consisted in that very fierce war which took place at the suggestion of Pope Sixtus, owing to the insolencies and unbearable proceedings of its Duke. On the other hand, when Pope Alexander wanted to give the investiture of Ferrara to the Duke of Valentinois (Cæsar Borgia), on his inquiring if our Signory would consent to this, your Excellency openly declared to him that you would never allow of the expulsion of Hercules of Estè, so it behoved him turn his thoughts elsewhere. Then, again, the first sovereign to acknowledge Ludovic the Moor Duke of Milan,[3] and to support him after he obtained that duchy, was your Excellency. Subsequently, owing to the dissensions in Italy, he called King Charles across the Alps,[4] giving him to understand that we would not consent to this, in order that he might come as the enemy of your Excellency, who, aware hereof, did consent to his coming; and when said King had subjugated the kingdom of Naples, he came on his return to seize the Milanese, when the Duke sent once more as a suppliant, to implore aid of your Excellency, who, to revenge the injuries received, sent him an army twice as numerous as the one you have now in the field, both in men-at-arms (cavalry) and infantry, in aid of his own forces, which were not powerful. An engagement took place at Jerold,[5] said King being routed and despoiled of all his baggage,[6] and his army would have been utterly destroyed, and himself captured, had not the Duke changed sides and given him succour and the means to escape. Also, after the expulsion from the kingdom of Naples, and death of King Alfonso,[7] King

Ferdinand wanting to recover his kingdom out of the hands of the French, begged subsidies of all the princes in Christendom, but obtained succour from none other than your Signory, who sent him the Marquis of Mantua, and your proveditor, Contarini, with the whole army, and in a few months the French were expelled that kingdom: it was then restored to said Ferdinand, and for the moneys disbursed by your Signory to said King, you received as security those places in Puglia,[8] which the late Catholic King afterwards chose to seize without ransom. Concerning the Marquis of Mantua, forsooth, all Italy and the world can bear witness to how much benefit, and money, and honour, he has received from your Excellency; yet did he not scruple to take up arms against you,[9] and at length being made Captain-General and set at liberty, and restored to his former grade of Commander-in-Chief, he showed himself more hostile towards your Signory than ever. For the house of Medici, again, when in exile, your Excellency expended a world of gold for its restoration, and routed an army of Florentines;[10] so that, had not the sovereigns of Christendom roused the Turk against you, that family would have been restored to Florence even then. *Item*, in my time all the petty princes of Italy have not only been benefited by your Signory, but have been in receipt of your pay, and that to a considerable amount; and I say *all*, with the exception of the Lord of Piombino, who wanted 40,000 ducats per annum, whereas your Signory would not give him more than 25,000, and thus his services alone were not retained.

To what you have done for the holy Apostolic Chair, the whole universe bears witness; and as I told him yesterday, the treasure and blood of your citizens, poured forth so much to the detriment of your State, proves this clearly. With regard to the Emperor, who doubts but that the war

waged by your Excellency with King Louis of France, in which you lost all your territory on the main land, was induced by your having chosen to be the friend of his Imperial Majesty, and to sign the truce with him,[11] without the consent of said King? owing to which, he and the rest of the potentates of Christendom, with the exception of this King of England, formed that universal conspiracy at the congress of Cambray. I told his lordship that much more might be said on this subject, but that these were the facts which occurred to me at the moment; these the acts of aggression perpetrated by you against the Christian commonwealth; these the injuries and frauds committed for your own advantage; and these, moreover, the fruits received by you for so much toil and treasure lavished by the State, and so many perils undergone by your Signory; wherefore, I besought his lordship, when such libellers gave him information of the kind narrated, to bear in mind the facts stated by me, and that all these things took place since my own entry into public life. One thing I forgot to mention in my letter of yesterday, namely, that on my alleging that your Sublimity could not reasonably ally yourself to the Emperor, who by all ways and means is injuring you, and desert the most Christian King from whom you receive benefit, both these reverend prelates rejoined that this proposal was more for the benefit of your Highness than of others; and that the moneys they are spending to expel the King of France from Italy, and to defend Verona, have for object to prevent your Excellency's losing all the rest of your territory, which the King of France would doubtless occupy, were it not for the resistance he experiences; to which I made answer that this benefit was accidental, and not intended for our advantage, nor could I deem it beneficial for your Excellency, the occupying your territory and making you spend so much

treasure for its recovery, which is, however, all to the detriment of his Majesty here, as your forces, your moneys, and your State, whatever its extent, will be held for the mere convenience and increase of England. In conclusion, his right reverend lordship said to me, "Domine orator, let us arrange this holy confederation for the benefit of the Christian powers, making you the lords in authority over Italy, and sending this Gaul,[12] back into his kingdom of France." I said I would write the whole with all diligence, and so took leave.

[1] From a passage in despatch of May 8th, it may be inferred that the outlaws or emigrants here alluded to were the Milanese Visconte de Visconti, and his son Anchises.

[2] Borso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, died on the 19th of August, 1471; and his nephew, Nicolo, was supported in his claims to the sovereignty of Ferrara by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and by Louis Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, whilst Venice favoured Hercules of Este, with whom and the Republic war commenced in May, 1482, at the close of which year Pope Sixtus IV. took part for Duke Hercules. Peace ensued in August, 1484; and the protection conceded by Venice to Ferrara against Cæsar Borgia, dates from the year 1500, when Pope Alexander VI. being unable to get Ferrara for his son, obtained it for Lucrezia, by marrying her to Don Alfonso, the son and heir of Duke Hercules.

[3] Ludovic Sforza, the Moor, commenced his reign A.D. 1494, but was virtually sovereign from the year 1480.

[4] Charles VIII. entered Italy in the autumn of 1494.

[5] A.D. 1495, July 6; commonly called the battle of Fornovo, or of the Taro.

[6] One item of this baggage may yet be seen in St. Mark's treasury, namely, a square coffer covered with blue velvet, and powdered with lilies, which, at the moment of the rout, contained two massive gold seals, one being the King's own, whilst the other had belonged to his father, Louis XI., and the coffer also enclosed a miniature portrait of the Dauphin, then three years old.

[7] King Alfonso died in November, 1495; his son, Ferdinand II. received succour from the Venetians, A.D. 1495 and 1496; and the Cardinal Bembo (vol. i. p. 126) mentions that the Proveditor Bernardo Contarini had the command, on this occasion, of 500 light horse, the Marquis of Mantua being commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces. The ambassador omits mentioning another claim which the Signory had on the gratitude of Ludovic Sforza, namely, his life, which the Proveditor Bernardo Contarini, who was a tall and powerful man, offered to

take in the council chamber, to revenge the treachery displayed after the battle of Fornovo by the Duke, who impeded the homeward march of the Venetians, who, however, did not think fit to avail themselves of Contarini's kind offer. (See Bembo, vol. i. p. 100.)

[8] The cautionary towns here alluded to were Trani, Brindisi, and Otranto. (See Bembo, vol. i. p. 117.)

[9] At the time of the league of Cambray, A.D. 1509, when he was made prisoner, and escorted from Padua towards Venice by the Proveditor Christopher Moro, *alias* Othello.

[10] At Vico Pisano, A.D. 1496. (See Bembo, vol. i. p. 136.)

[11] A.D. 1508. (See Bembo, vol. i. p. 36.)

[12] Et che questo Gallo vadi a goder el suo Regno di Franza.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, August 17, 1516.

Having heard that Cardinal Wolsey was going to the King, to stay with his Majesty till Michaelmas, I went to pay my respects to him, when he told me that he should not leave London, solely on account of the present negotiations, and in the expectation of letters from your Highness. In the course of conversation he said to me, "Domine orator, it is my belief that you have written what I told you, which is for your benefit and that of the Christian commonwealth, and knowing you to be a lover of your country, I imagine you are anxious that this holy confederation should take effect. I told you lately, that should you choose to detach yourselves from the King of France, we would endeavour to get Verona for you, on obtaining which, and the King of France being expelled Italy, you would be paramount there; but as time is requisite to carry out these negotiations, I have thought of proposing to you, as from myself, a truce until the spring, and in the mean while, some resolution might be formed by your Signory, and also

by the Emperor, who we perceive to be well inclined towards a reconciliation, on condition of your expelling the King of France from Italy, and so I have chosen to confide this secret to you, and to hear your opinion. Tell me, therefore, what you deem expedient in this matter, for on the one hand I see you exalted to greater power than ever, through the favour of so many Christian potentates, whilst on the other should you persist in this opinion of not abandoning the aforesaid King, I perceive your ruin, both because the King of France being powerful in Italy, will have you under command, and besides that you will have all the Christian princes leagued against you. It will be our duty indeed to encourage this, and even to stimulate the King of France himself against you, which will be an easy matter, as he is anxious for a reconciliation with the other powers, so that it does not appear to me that there is any difficulty in this:"—saying which, his lordship summoned me to tell him my opinion well nigh on every point.

I, most serene Prince, refused to say what I thought, either about the truce, or the main object, being well aware that my salt was not equal to seasoning this dish, for by agreeing with him, I should have prejudiced the affairs of your Excellency, whilst contradiction would have rendered him hostile and inimical, so that I adroitly avoided any sign of consent or repugnance, but told him invariably that I would write with all diligence to your Sublimity. When his lordship said that should your Excellency desert France, you would be the mistress of Italy, and on his urging me strongly to say what I thought, and what I imagined your Excellency would do, I never would answer more than this, that your Signory would do what was fair, since, when it lay between equity and profit, you rejected the latter, and abided by the former, as becoming every State, and especially republics. His

lordship hereupon inquired of me, "Would it not be fair for you to quit the King of France, should he have failed in his bounden duty to you?" I answered in the affirmative; and that this might prove a very powerful cause: he then said, "Would it not seem to you fair to desert the King of France, for the good of the Christian commonwealth, even had he not failed you; perceiving him to be of such ambition, that he aspires to the sovereignty of Christendom?" To this, I said, that hereon it was neither in my power or my duty to form an opinion, it appertaining to your Highness to prefer good faith to the common peril, should peril exist; or, on the other hand, to take more heed, for such perils, than for the observance of your faith. With regard to the truce, although indeed perfectly convinced that this had been introduced for the sole purpose of detaching your Excellency from the most Christian King, and suspending you in the air without the support of any one, and that I therefore did not choose to say what I thought about it, nevertheless, in order to obtain a reply through his rejoinder, I inquired of him whether this proposed truce was to include the most Christian King, or to be made for your Serenity alone, and he answered as it were in surprise, that it related solely to your Excellency, and that there was no question of the King of France, either in war, or peace, or truce. I did not choose to make any farther reply, it being easy for him to comprehend my conviction that this amounted to nothing else than leaving your Excellency single-handed; as, on the French King's learning that you had made truce without him, he would know that he was deserted by you, and consequently his Majesty would abandon your Excellency; and because I had already told him, that the cause of the war waged by your Excellency with King Louis, who subsequently formed the league of Cambray,

was the truce made by you with the Emperor, without his consent. His lordship, therefore, without the aid of a direct reply to his proposal, will have comprehended both by my silence and by that precedent, not merely my opinion but its justification likewise; and, should your Signory perchance consider that I ought to have asserted more openly the unfitness of such a truce, I would submit that in this manner I had done so already; nor do I think a stronger expression of opinion food adapted for my stomach, such a reply rather requiring to be first of all digested by your Highness. Moreover, had I openly expressed disapproval of this truce, I should have thereby encouraged this side to give all possible succour to Verona, and to use every endeavour towards effecting the greatest mischief; whereas my silence will perhaps give them hope of the truce, and prevent their sending more money, either for the defence of Verona, or to recruit a fresh army. I have some idea that for this winter they will not do anything more; and on this account they would fain effect the truce, lest your Excellency recover Verona without their consent.[1]

[1] By the treaty signed at Noyon on the 13th of August, 1516, between France and Spain, after provisions affecting the chief contracting parties, "arrangements were made for the pacification of Italy, without which Francis saw little hope of establishment in the Milanese, and Charles despaired of extricating his Neapolitan territories from the rival claims which were extended over them. The King of France acted for Venice; and the King of Spain declared, that unless his grandfather Maximilian should assent within two months to the terms, he would cease to assist him with either men or money. Verona, by this treaty, was to be restored to Venice; but in order to save the Emperor's honour, it was to be surrendered first to Charles, to be transferred by him, after six weeks' occupation, to Francis, and not to be delivered to its ultimate master till after the payment of one hundred thousand ducats. Maximilian at first expressed anger and astonishment at this unheard-of dictation by an almost beardless youth, and indignantly applied to England for assistance, offering to Henry VIII., as the price of his friendship, if he would defray the charge of such an expedition, to open a passage to Rome at the head of fifty thousand men, there to celebrate his own

coronation, and to declare his ally King of the Romans and his successor. Henry, undeluded by these magnificent but empty promises, coldly declined, replying, that he was contented with his hereditary dominions; and Maximilian, perceiving his inability to resist single-handed, accepted the terms, and ratified a long truce with Venice. Thus, after eight years' uninterrupted struggle, in the course of which at one time all had been lost except her insular dominions, Venice emerged from her mighty dangers; shorn, indeed, of some of her more recent conquests, but still outwardly powerful and largely increased in glory. Her firmness and her prudence had saved her while tottering almost on the verge of ruin; and never did she exhibit herself in a prouder attitude than that which she calmly maintained under the heaviest pressure of her late complicated disasters. Over these she had at length triumphed; her immediate losses were Cremona, the borders of the Adda and the Romagna; her future dangers arose from the neighbourhood of powers superior to herself, and from the burden of a national debt, incurred for the support of the past exhausting war, and amounting to five millions of ducats, a sum near equalling eight millions sterling of our present money."—Extract from *Sketches from Venetian History*, (vol. ii. pp. 228-229. Ed. London, Murray, 1838.)

The efforts of Henry VIII., or rather of Wolsey, Ruthal, and the Duke of Norfolk, to *prevent* the treaty of Noyon, are not mentioned, either by Hume or Lingard; but from the foregoing despatches it may be inferred that the close negotiations carried on between the English Cabinet and the ambassadors of the Emperor and of Spain had this in view. The subsequent letters of Sebastian Giustinian especially show what the ambassador thought of the sorry figure which the English Cabinet made when the French herald came to announce the treaty of Noyon, disproving so utterly the assertion made by Cardinal Wolsey, that Spain was closely linked with England.

The fact of the offer of Maximilian to appoint Henry VIII. his successor, is mentioned by Lingard (vol. vi. p. 50), who quotes Fiddes (p. 114) as his authority; and the date of this curious proposal, which was moreover to procure for our sovereign the investiture of the Duchy of Milan, bears date A.D. 1516, May 17. It is not stated upon what documentary evidence Fiddes based his assertion (though it may be the despatches of Wyngfield), certainly no mention of this matter exists in the portfolio of Giustinian, who, on the other hand, by recording the intended visit of Maximilian to London in the letter mentioned, Sept. 1516, gives news which is not noted by our historians.

London, August 24, 1516.

Whilst expecting letters from your Sublimity, I on the 23rd instant received two, one dated the 15th and the other the 16th ultimo, and shortly afterwards the duplicates reached me by way of Rome. Of these two missives from your Serenity, the one announced the incursion made by the enemy, and the plundering of Vicenza,[1] and was well drawn up, and expatiated on the deed as becoming its atrocity; the other was from the high Council of Ten, concerning the negotiations transacted with the most serene King here and the right reverend Cardinal, in reply to mine of the 3rd and 5th of June. On the receipt of these letters I went to his lordship, and fairly communicated to him the whole of their contents; of the one, indeed, alluding to the negotiations I did not omit a syllable, it seeming to me a well-considered letter, composed with all skill and caution, in conformity with the wisdom of your Highness. His lordship listened to it most attentively; and then, having, I suspect, attended more to the words instead of weighing the meaning of the writer, said, "I perceive that the most illustrious Signory desires to be reconciled to the Emperor, who will also be disposed that way. But I see that you want Verona, and you shall have it; and if you will do as I advise, and as I told you, for I imagine you subsequently wrote the whole, you will give law to Italy." I, indeed, did not choose to proceed further, acting reservedly, as I perceive your Excellency with such admirable skill and reserve to do in this matter. His lordship added, that he should remain in expectation of the reply to the letters which treat of the surrender of Verona, that some satisfactory arrangement might be made; plausibly urging the policy of the union between your Excellency and the

proposed confederates, since "you ought," said his lordship, "to guard against your imminent ruin, at which I see this King of France is aiming, in order to establish himself in the Milanese; and I inform you, besides the other facts previously mentioned, that I to-day received a letter from Rome, from the Pope, telling me that the King of France promises the Emperor not only to restore Brescia to him, and to aid his defence of Verona, but to sacrifice your Signory to Maximilian, giving him 200,000 crowns for the investiture of the Milanese, and for reconciliation to his Majesty. The mediator in this matter seems to be one Monseigneur de Chièvres, chief councillor and ambassador of the Catholic King, to whom great gifts and presents have been promised by the King of France, should he conclude this matter with the Emperor;[2] and that you may see I am not deceiving you, I will show you proof." Here he made one of his attendants bring him an extract of a letter from Rome, dated the 4th inst., the writer's name not being given, yet he said it was intelligence from his Holiness; and these letters contained many other particulars, including, moreover, notice of the pontiff's illness; and almost at the foot of the page was precisely what his lordship had told me by word of mouth, as I wrote above, concerning which your Excellency will form such opinion as you may think fit. I deemed it improper to pass the matter over in silence, because, should the most Christian King act loyally and faithfully by your Highness, you will treat this announcement as it merits; whilst, on the other hand, should you perceive his Majesty aforesaid to waver, or show signs ill suited to the deserts of your Highness, this notice will help you to a decision. Much was said hereon by his lordship, concerning the bad faith and ambition of the most Christian King, and he declared that your Excellency had no greater or more inveterate enemies

in the world than the French. The pontiff he pronounced to be excellently disposed towards favouring your Sublimity, and reconciling you to the Emperor and his adherents, urging strongly the acceptance of the offer made by his lordship heretofore, and which I wrote to your Highness. I, indeed, not choosing to quit the path pointed out to me by your Excellency, referred myself to such replies as I may receive to my former letters written hereon, especially as his lordship said so too, and was of the same opinion.

It being my wish to go and see the King, who is some hundred miles away, taking his pleasure with the most serene Queens of England and Scotland,[3] for the purpose of communicating these letters to him, and also in proof of similar announcements having been made to his Majesty, I imparted my intention to the Cardinal, who dissuaded me from doing so, as he said the King was gone for his amusement, and did not choose to be troubled by anybody, or to be saddled with any business, and that he had left his lordship to negotiate and despatch state affairs. He promised, however, that he would thoroughly acquaint him with the whole: so, perceiving this to be his opinion, and as he would have had me denied, or withheld from me the light of his own countenance had I gone without his consent, I determined to delay, and content myself with the discussion of these affairs with his lordship. This conference, indeed, extended far beyond the details of this letter, for I confirmed all that your Serenity had said, both about the position of Verona, how it is situated between Lombardy and the march of Treviso, and how the borders of the Veronese territory are linked and joined in one direction with those of the Vicentine, and in the other with those of the Brescian province; and in like manner did I comment on whatever else needed explanation, so that I do not think I could have conferred more fully with his Majesty than I

did with his lordship. With regard to the letter concerning the sack of Vicenza, his lordship said he much lamented the cruelty of the thing, and would fain put an end to such casualties by reconciling the sovereigns of Christendom. All, however, he said, depended upon your Excellency; and although aware that I might fairly have rejoined by proving that the King here and his lordship are the cause of everything, yet did I deem it expedient to be silent, to avoid irritating him, and in order not to alienate his Majesty from your Excellency, who, in this negotiation, will act according to your integrity and wisdom. I implore the Father Eternal to enlighten your mind that it may decide well, and to reconduct you *ad viam pacis et prosperitatis.*

[1] The sack of Vicenza is dated in Guicciardini on the night of Saturday, July 28th, which date is confirmed by the diaries of Sanuto, about a fortnight before the despatch of the letter alluded to, which arrived *viâ* Rome.

[2] By this it would seem that Cardinal Wolsey received his news of the conferences of Noyon in Picardy, *viâ* Rome! and it is also strange that he should style Mons. de Chièvres, who ruled the young King of Spain and his realms, one Mons. de Chièvres, as if he were an obscure underling: nor is it very intelligible why he gives him the title of ambassador (orator) and not that of plenipotentiary, seeing that his mission was not to the King, and that he went to Noyon to meet the French negotiators, and not their sovereign.

[3] We thus see that Queen Margaret had not yet availed herself of the permission to return to Scotland which was conceded her in May, as stated in a former despatch.

London, September 7, 1516.

* * * Since the receipt of news, announcing the agreement between his most Christian Majesty and the marriage, etc.,[1] I understand from one who is very deep in these secrets, though I know not how he may be inclined towards the King of France and your Highness, that eight

or ten days hence an event will transpire utterly at variance with this agreement. And when he was asked in reply how it was possible and reasonable, whilst the agreement was so fresh, to abrogate it thus, which would prove either fraud or great inconstancy on the part of one of the contracting parties, which I could not bring myself to believe of either of them, as it was reasonable to suppose that the matter had been well pondered by the ministers of the respective Sovereigns, my informant made answer, "I will not unfold this matter farther; but remember that you will see the result tally with my assertion."[2] Also, from another good source I have heard that the negotiations for the league, which the right reverend Cardinal told me was to be formed, had been already agreed to, and its articles signed by the Pope, the Emperor, and the Catholic King; but, when these clauses were presented to the Cardinal, he said he chose the Catholic King to bind himself to supply the King of England with provisions for his money, and not oppose him, in case his Majesty should think fit to invade France, which being notified to his aforesaid Catholic Highness, he determined on making the agreement with the most Christian King as effected; on which account many of these lords cast great blame on the right reverend Cardinal, who is the master of this game. I respectfully announce these things, such as they are, to your Sublimity, without vouching for them, as "*Deus verax et omnis homo mendax*," but the condition of the persons from whom I hear this intelligence, induces me to write it. Your Highness, who is most sage, will draw such inference as you may think fit; and as what I have written above concerning the remittances, does not coincide with my former letters, in which I mention that the right reverend Cardinal had constantly declared to me that he meant to defend Verona for the Emperor, not merely with money,

but, should need be, with his life. I consequently was perplexed by this contradiction, but at length am convinced that these words may have been uttered by him for the sake of more easily inducing your Highness to adhere to what you well know; nor can I otherwise reconcile this with the universal assurance of those who manage the affairs of this kingdom.

Item, certain military commanders, some of the first in this kingdom, have lately been sent to Tournai,[3] in consesequence, some say, of three hundred French spears having lately taken up their quarters at a short distance from that city, which makes this side apprehend some attack on that quarter, wherefore they sent these commanders to make opportune provision. Others, on the contrary, assert that this King having ordered the construction of a very strong fortress in Tournai, the people apparently rebelled, not choosing to endure this curb; which stir is attributed by these lords to the most Christian King, and is said to be the cause of their errand. I know not which of these stories be the true one: your Highness will perhaps receive more certain intelligence through the most noble Badoer.[4]

[1] Namely, the marriage of the infant daughter of Francis I. to the King of Spain, as stipulated by the treaty of Noyon.

[2] This was probably a hint concerning the secret treaty between Henry VIII. and the Emperor and the King of Spain, which was signed on the 29th of October, 1516, and was published by Rymer XIII. 566.

[3] In date of the year 1515, Hume alludes to the repairing the fortifications of Terroüenne by France, having been considered as a breach of treaty; but of what had taken place in the immediate neighbourhood of Tournai, in the summer of 1516, to arouse the jealousy of England, no note is made by that historian. Lingard, quoting Fiddes, writes that in the month of May, 1516, the Emperor had proposed to the English agent, Wyngfield, that Henry VIII. should march with an army by way of *Tournai* to Treves, cross the Alps at Coir, and receive the investiture of the Duchy of Milan; the Emperor promising, moreover, to resign the imperial crown in his favour! Nor is any other mention made in this year of Tournai, in whose preservation, however, Wolsey

was much interested, as he administered its bishopric; and, indeed, the refusal of King Francis to oust Louis Gaillârt, to whom the see lawfully belonged, but who refused to tender allegiance to "*the foreign invader*," is supposed to have been the chief cause of the Cardinal's violent animosity against France, of which these despatches contain so many instances.

[4] Giovanni Badoer, Doctor and Knight, the Venetian ambassador in France. (See Sanuto's Diaries, and also the despatches of the ambassador Marco Minio, from the Court of Leo X.)

London, September 22, 1516.

Much news has arrived within the last few days by way of France and Flanders, purporting that your Excellency had obtained Verona on fair terms. At the same time letters were received from the Emperor, dated the 10th inst., and enclosing others from the Lord Marc Antonio Colonna, to the effect that the French army and that of your Sublimity had effected a junction under Verona, and that he and the garrison made a sally and repulsed the besiegers, and that the powder had been burnt,[1] so that he considered the affairs of Verona safe for the Emperor. These conflicting statements keep not only me, but all the servants of your Highness in great distress, for we await the news of this acquisition as anxiously as the Jews did the Messiah, being of opinion that so great a gain would prove the salvation of the republic; besides which, I cannot shape my course as I should do were I sure of the result, since in one case it would behove me steer to larboard, and in the other to starboard; so I beseech your Highness to deign and acquaint me with these matters, either through your own medium, or that of your ambassadors.

The Papal nuncio, moreover, having paid me a visit yesterday, gave me all the following intelligence, which

he said came from a good source: first, that the Lord Marc Antonio Colonna had repulsed certain lansquenets who were with the French army and that of your Highness, and had brought succour into Vienna. *Item*, that the King of England had brought over to his side nine of the Swiss cantons, which were previously agreed with his most Christian Majesty.[2] *Item*, that his Holiness was agreed with his Majesty here; and this he told me apologizing for having constantly assured me (when I mentioned to him a short while ago that the Cardinal declared the Pope would side with England) that I must attach no weight to such a statement, as possibly his Holiness gave fair promises to all, though in fact he would be neutral, as the common father of Christendom. The Nuncio, I say, now asked my pardon for having spoken so confidently of the Pope's neutrality, as his Holiness now meant to side with his Majesty; and that to this effect he was in daily expectation of a Papal nuncio, by name Julio Latino,[3] who would come to conclude this business, remaining a fortnight in London and then go back, and that he, Chieregato, should remain to transact the public business.

Item, he told me that the King's secretary[4] had assured him that two months hence his Majesty will cross the Channel to Calais; and when I replied that it was not reasonable that he should choose to cross in the depth of winter, both because of the weather and by reason of the scarcity of provisions, he vowed that it had thus been affirmed by the secretary aforesaid. In course of conversation he told me, that these ambassadors from the Emperor and the Switzers were not importunate for money from his Majesty, who had determined on sending a certain small quantity: and through another channel I have heard that it is true these lords are going to send 10,000 ducats to

the Emperor, who has determined on very shortly coming into this kingdom, these moneys being sent to him for his travelling expenses, and that 5,000 ducats per month have been appointed for his board. This appears to me important news but scarcely credible; what I really believe, and what appears to me certain, is that the things told me by the nuncio were communicated designedly, and that he was sent to me by those at the helm, and this I imagine, because they always assured me that the Pontiff, the Catholic King, and the Switzers, would be on their side; whereas perceiving at this present that the Catholic King has failed them, and knowing also that the Switzers are agreed with France, whilst the Pope preserves neutrality, it seems to them that they must be accounted frivolous persons, and that their words consequently would move your Highness but slowly towards their wishes. On this account, I believe they caused me to be told these things, in order to render your Signory suspicious, since you would be more prone to move, seeing the matter doubtful, than if you deemed it utterly the reverse of what they represented it: or else, since it turns out that these potentates are not all united with his Majesty; that it may at least appear that there had been close negotiations, and that they were not entirely mendacious. With regard, indeed, to the announcement that his Majesty here means to cross the channel, I believe it a fiction induced by prevailing suspicion, that the most Christian King means to attempt the recovery of Tournai, and many say of Calais likewise: so being aware that I should write this news to your Highness, and that you would impart it to his most Christian Majesty, this fable was, I fancy, devised for the sake of deterring him, and to let him know that should he be meditating those enterprises, he will find this side prepared not merely for defence, but

for attack. This is my opinion, though I may be mistaken; and I have written the whole to your Highness that you may be guided by your own incomparable wisdom.

Yesterday, you must know, there arrived here an herald from the most Christian King, who this evening came to visit me. In the course of conversation he said he was come with letters from the most Christian King to his Majesty of the following tenor; that having made a treaty with the Catholic King, specifying the terms of the marriage, with dowry of the kingdom of Naples, and the pension, &c.,[5] as well known to your Highness, in said treaty place had been reserved for his Majesty should he choose to join it; so the aforesaid most Christian King charges him by letter, in the event of his wishing to be comprised in this peace and confederation, to reply; as it had been reported here that the King of France had sent this herald to demand the surrender of Tournai, from which one could only have inferred a commencement of war, his statement has ridded me and others of such suspicion. He also told me that your Excellency is included in this treaty; one clause stipulating that, should any of the confederates, or others, choose to molest or attack your Highness, the most Christian King is understood to be at liberty to defend your Excellency, without infringement of said peace and treaty, which is very favourable for my past and future negotiations, and had I known it sooner, it would have proved very apposite, and helped me to some reply which I omitted making; so I beseech your Highness to keep me well acquainted with passing events, for when aware of circumstances, I shall know how to adjust them to the advantage of your Highness, and although you are not convinced of the necessity for certain communications, yet does it often happen that such prove very opportune for

ambassadors. Your Excellency will do as to your wisdom shall seem fit; but I am desirous that in like manner, as the will and disposition to do good service fail me not, so may I moreover not lack the means and instruments for effecting such. Should I have occasion to speak with the right reverend Cardinal about the threatened invasion of France by his Majesty, I shall endeavour with all discretion to dissuade him thence, setting before him all possible consequences—that wise men are not easily wont to peril great strokes; and that his Majesty may be convinced that in going to the other side of the channel, he is doing that which the Roman Emperor reprobated when he condemned those who chose to fish with golden hooks; adding such other arguments as may occur to me.

[1] The explosion of this powder is recorded by Guicciardini, who says that 800 barrels, when on their way to the camp, were ignited by sparks struck by the iron of the wheels of the carts which bore them; he adds, that these carts were drawn by oxen, whose drivers occasioned the accident by racing, to the destruction of themselves, the ammunition, and the cattle. Guicciardini, moreover, praises the valour displayed by Marc Antonio Colonna in his defence of Verona, and mentions his having received a musket-shot in the shoulder on that occasion.

[2] In a private letter from the Venetian Governor of Bergamo, Vettor Michiel, addressed to his son, and dated the 30th of July, 1516, it is stated that a *banker* in the service of Henry VIII. had then convened a Diet of the Switzers at Zurich, offering them 20,000 nobles in the King's name, provided they would league with him, and three months' pay to such as were inclined to attack the Milanese, guaranteeing the continuation of the stipend so long as it might be necessary to keep the field: their reply was to be announced on the 12th of August, and immediately after these proposals had been made, Anchises Visconti (who has been mentioned in the despatch of May 8th) left Zurich post for London. It was also said that there was an agent at this diet on behalf of Leo X., with 60,000 ducats, and another (of course with empty hands) from Maximilian. This news was written from Switzerland on the 27th of July, 1516, and moreover purported that Henry VIII. offered 18,000 men for the desired attack on the Milanese, but was deterred from marching them in consequence of being unable to procure wine for such a host. (See Sanuto's MS. Diaries, copy in St. Mark's Library, vol. xxii. fo. 350.)

[3] The person meant is one of the secretaries of Leo X., commonly called Latino Giovenale, and who was frequently employed by the Pope on foreign missions. The despatches of Marco Minio allude to this diplomatist repeatedly. According to Benvenuto Cellini (pp. 187-193) the real name of Latino Giovenale was Manetti; and when in the service of Pope Paul III., A.D. 1537, he caused Cellini to lose the favour of his Holiness.

[4] Query Ammonius (see page 262).

[5] "By the treaty of Noyon, Charles of Burgundy engaged to marry Francis's daughter, though only an infant of a year old; to receive as her dowry all her father's pretensions on the kingdom of Naples; to pay him 100,000 crowns a year till the consummation of the marriage; and to give the King of Navarre satisfaction with regard to his dominions." —(Extract from Hume, vol. iii. p. 105.)

London, September 23, 1516.

By my foregoing, I announced my intention of paying my respects to the right reverend Cardinal; and to-day, on being introduced to him, he received me most graciously. I made it appear that I was merely come to pay him my respects. He asked me whether there was any news; and I, who had just then received letters from the most noble Badoer, imparted such portion of their contents as seemed fit to me. I then communicated to him the copy of the letter from Constantinople, concerning the Turkish affairs, which had been forwarded to me by the said ambassador. After this, he inquired whether I had as yet received any reply from your Excellency to my last communication. I told him I had not, as the time had been insufficient; and though, indeed, time might have allowed of an answer to the despatch which preceded it, yet it must be remembered that the circumstances were such as to require mature deliberation, especially as the French forces were now occupied, with the troops of your Excellency, in besieging Verona; and it would prove somewhat perilous, should it be known that matters of this import were under discussion. His lordship told me to warn your Excellency

to be cautious, lest the King of France take Verona for himself, and that there was reason for his saying so to me, though on my inquiring what it was, he would not give further explanation. But the inference I draw from this advice is, that these lords have no hope that Verona can be defended, either through their own efforts or those of the Emperor; and as his right reverend lordship continued exhorting your Excellency to proceed cautiously with the most Christian King, who, he said, was plotting something against you, I thought fit to answer, that your Excellency had hitherto perceived no sign of treachery; on the contrary, that you were aware of his most Christian Majesty being extremely anxious for the welfare and advantage of our Signory, though I thanked his lordship for his caution, of which I trusted your Excellency would avail yourself. With regard to the arrangement made between the Kings of France and Spain concerning the kingdom of Naples, which remains to his Catholic Highness on payment of an annual pension, as your Excellency well knows, I told him, that owing to this compromise it would be more easy to unite the princes of Christendom against the infidel, and to stanch the effusion of Christian blood, which was, indeed, very requisite, considering the preparations now making by the Great Turk, as appears by letters from the Bailiff.[1] His right reverend lordship, who was much exhausted with other business, said, that on a future occasion we could discuss this matter more at length, and with this I took leave. In my foregoing, I mentioned the remittance hence of 10,000 ducats—I have heard since, that the sum was 15,000; also, that the appointment of D. Latino, as papal Nuncio to his Majesty, seems to have been revoked.

[1] The Venetian resident minister at the Porte bore the title of bailiff.

London, September 30, 1516.

Having received despatches from your Excellency, and the most serene King being at Greenwich, I went to pay my respects to him, congratulating myself in the name of your Highness on his own safe return, and that of his most serene consort and sister. I found there two ambassadors from the Emperor and two from the Catholic King, who had a long audience; after which, I communicated to him the news respecting our galleys,[1] and all the other topics, as alluded to both sagely and skilfully. His Majesty listened to the announcement with attention, and graciously; but on my coming to the paragraph about Verona, he said to me, "It really is time for you to cease any longer molesting the Emperor about Verona; you will not be easy till you provoke the whole world against you." To this, I replied that your Highness neither sought nor attempted to take what belonged to others, but to recover your own which others occupied, and that it would be more reasonable for the world to be provoked against these last for retaining what was yours, than against you for seeking to regain your own; and I added, that his Majesty should place himself in the position of others, and consider whether if the appurtenances of his kingdom, and that which his most serene father and his other predecessors had possessed, were so occupied, he would use every endeavour to recover them, and whether on this account all the other potentates ought to rise against him. Upon this, his Majesty said, "Should you choose to persist in this opinion, you will spend thrice as much as Verona is worth:" I rejoined, that the question of time in this undertaking depended on his Majesty, and on no other; since, were he not to send money to the occupants of Verona, your Excellency would speedily obtain

your intent, when an end might be put to hostilities, and thought be had for quiet, or for an undertaking more glorious and necessary; and I prayed God to grant that all Christian princes be not speedily provoked of necessity to take up arms against the infidel, and besought his Majesty to have regard for the protracted toil and expenditure of your Excellency, and to reserve you for other enterprises to the glory and increase of his Majesty, as it was impossible for him with his money to injure any state in Christendom, whose hurt would be so detrimental to himself, as that inflicted on your Highness, who had ever been most obsequious towards him: this I expressed with all gentleness and suavity, so that it might not irritate his Majesty, who, however, said that he could not do less than aid the Emperor, who was both his friend and political confederate. Concerning the affair of the galleys, he said the safe-conduct should be obtained, and that good means should be devised for their safety; and on my wanting to arrange for being with his Majesty to make a minute of the form in which the document required should be couched, he called the right reverend Cardinal, and told me to confer with him to this effect; and so I took leave, and subsequently arranged with the Cardinal for a conference.

I returned to London with the Bishop of Durham, who told me that on that day (the 28th) they had received letters from the court of the Emperor, dated the 17th instant, stating that Verona was safe, and no longer in fear of siege; nay, that in three days a considerable imperial army would be there to raise the blockade entirely;[2] owing to which these lords seem to be in great spirits, especially as during the last few days they were afraid, nay, almost certain, that Verona was already under the dominion of your Highness. On the morrow I went to the Cardinal as appointed, but

could not see him, as he was indisposed; I will return on knowing when I can have audience, and of the result my despatches shall give your Highness copious intelligence.

Friar Dionisius Memo, the organist of St. Mark's, arrived here a few days ago with a most excellent instrument of his, which he has brought hither with much pains and cost. I presented him in the first place to the Cardinal, telling him that when your Highness heard of his wanting to quit Venice for the purpose of coming to his Majesty, you gave him gracious leave, which you would not have done, had he intended going to any one else.[3] His lordship chose to hear him in the presence of many lords and *virtuosi*, who were as pleased as possible with him; after which, his right reverend lordship told him to go the King, who would see him very willingly, employing many words of flattering commendation. He afterwards went to his Majesty, who, knowing he was there, sent for him immediately after dinner, and made him play before a great number of lords and all his *virtuosi*. He played not merely to the satisfaction, but to the incredible admiration and pleasure of everybody, and especially of his Majesty, who is extremely skilled in music, and of the two Queens.[4] My secretary was also present, who highly extolled the performance, and told the King many things in his praise as it went on, mentioning how much favour he enjoyed with your Highness and all Venice, which had been content to deprive itself for the satisfaction of his Majesty, with many other very suitable words, so that said Majesty has included him among his instrumental musicians, nay, has appointed him their chief, and says he will write to Rome to have him unfrocked out of his monastic weeds, so that he may merely retain holy orders, and that he will make him his chaplain. In this case a piece of fine fortune will have befallen him, for to be

a royal chaplain is an honourable appointment and very profitable; nor do I doubt but that he will obtain everything he can desire, enjoying so great repute and esteem with the King, and all others, as to defy exaggeration; and he humbly recommends himself to your Sublimity.

[1] Namely, the Flanders' galleys, so called.

[2] Guicciardini mentions that 9,000 infantry were sent at this time by Maximilian to succour Verona, and the French commander, Lautrec, consequently retreated with his forces to Villafranca, against the wish of the Venetians, who were of course compelled to follow his example; and despairing of obtaining Verona by force, sent their battering train to Brescia, and resigned themselves to await the Emperor's decision about becoming a party to the treaty of Noyon, and giving up the city for a pecuniary consideration.

[3] The passion of Henry VIII. for music has been recorded at p. 80, in the letter written by the secretary Sagudino, detailing the amusements of May-day at Greenwich, in the year 1515. Sir John Hawkins, in his History of Music (vol. ii. p. 533), says it is somewhat remarkable that Moseley, in his "Introduction to Harmony," has taken no notice of Henry VIII. as a composer of music. Erasmus relates that he composed offices for the Church; Bishop Burnet has vouched his authority for the same, and there is an anthem of his for four voices, "O Lord, the maker of all things."

The Harleian MS. 1419 A., fol. 200, containing the list of Henry VIII.'s musical instruments remaining at Westminster, "in the charge of Philipp van Wilder," in an inventory of goods taken at the different palaces immediately after the King's death, mentions:—

Five pairs of Double Regalles
Thirteen ,, Single ,,
Numerous pairs of Virginalles, both single and double
Two pairs of Clavicordes
Nineteen Vialles, great and small
Four Gitterons, *alias* Spanish Vialles
Gitteron Pipes, *alias* Cornettes
Lutes, Flutes, Pilgrim-staves, Crumhornes, Recorders, Shalmes, Virginals harp-fashion, Pipes, Dulcimers, and a Venice Flute, which last instrument seems to be unknown to all the writers on music.

Sir Henry Ellis made these observations in a note in the second series of his letters on English History, (vol. i. p. 271. Edition 1827) at the foot of a missive from William IV., Duke of Bavaria, to Henry VIII., dated Munich, January 1516, and recommending to his Majesty Wolfgang Richart, who had perfected a certain "opus musicale."

In the third series of Sir Henry Ellis's letters (vol. i. p. 199. Ed. 1840) there is one from Pace to Wolsey, written probably in 1519 (as it alludes to a French hostage who was certainly in England in that

year), and we thus perceive, that besides the Venetian organist Memo, and the other Italians, the King had both French and German musicians in his pay.

Pace announces to Wolsey in this letter that "The Kynge haith nowe goode passe tyme bi the newe player uppon the clavicordes that M. Rochpotte haith broght wyth hym (whoo playith excellently), and bi the gentilman off Almayne who was wyth hys Grace at Wudstoke, and haith nowe broght hydre a newe goodde and goodly instrument, and playith ryght well uppon the same. Finem faciam in instrumentis musicis, quia aliud nihil scribendum in presentia habeo: and thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore thys iiij off Octo. By your Grace's most humble and faythfull servant, RI: PACE.

"To my Lord Legate's Grace."

Who the "gentilman off Almayne" may have been is not known, and possibly Pace may even be alluding to Memo himself, who will have brought his organ *through* Germany, on which account the secretary perhaps inferred that he was a German, rather than a Venetian.

The Venetian Dionysius Memo was celebrated in print as an organist and singer, by one of his contemporaries named Pier Contarini, in a work entitled "Argo Vulgar." (See Cicogna Inscriptions, vol. iv. p. 511.)

[4] Namely, Queen Catharine of Aragon and Margaret Queen of Scotland. The following extract from the Diaries of Sanuto, shows that the Tudors were addicted to music, even in the days of Henry VII. The letter preserved by Sanuto being from the commodore of the Venetian galleys, Vincenzo Capello, who in date of London, July 27, 1506, mentions having been "to dine with the King at a certain palace of his; his Majesty greeted him with a gladsome countenance, saying he was a great friend to the Signory, &c., &c. And after dinner he showed him his daughter-in-law and his daughter, who was playing music." Catharine of Aragon was then a widow, Prince Arthur having died in April, 1502, and her marriage to Henry VIII not being celebrated until 1509. Margaret was then out of England, so the daughter alluded to by Capello will have been Maria, in her eighth year.

London, October 3, 1516.

I went to the Cardinal to-day, according to the appointment, and acquainted him with the contents of your Serenity's letters in date of the 7th ult. He listened to me attentively, especially about everything relating to the

galleys, and chose me to repeat thoroughly the conditions for insertion in the safe-conduct, that he might write them to the Catholic King. On comprehending them fully, he seemed to approve of everything; true is it that he made some little difficulty about that last clause, purporting that the King here is to pledge himself to the observance of this safe-conduct on the part of his Catholic Highness. However, he said, "At any rate, this article is not to be put in the safe-conduct; we will first have that drawn up, and then conclude this last part." We next passed to the other contents of the letters. * * * His lordship listened most attentively to the summaries from Constantinople, and was much astounded at the account of the 220 galleys, for I laid great stress on the matter, and told him it was fraught with manifest peril to all Christendom, as such an armada would suffice to subdue the whole world, and not merely the Christian states; and this I did that he might deem it possible for the storm to reach as far as England, which thought having entered his mind, he said to me, "What does the Turk mean to do with so powerful an armada?" I replied that I doubted not but that he would invade the states of Christendom, though I could not assure which, as that secret rested with the Turk alone. His right reverend lordship then said, "Domine Orator, for the love of God, let us first free ourselves from the peril which threatens us from the King of France, and not allow the body politic, both yours and that of other potentates, to be enfeebled, lest, when provision against the infidel shall become necessary, it prove impossible; and don't look to a single city, which you have the means of obtaining in a much better way, without cost to yourselves, or an outlay of money to others." Having several times replied becomingly to similar proposals, I told him that your Excel-

lency would provide for your need as you may deem expedient, considering the nature of the present times; but I besought his right reverend lordship with all earnestness, in the name of your Highness, to contrive that the most Serene King should not send any more succour for the defence of Verona, as this was the cause which fed the present conflagration and kept it alive, preventing, moreover, provision being made against future perils. To this he made no reply soever; and on my then wishing to take leave, his right reverend lordship insisted on my staying dinner with him, after which he drew me aside, and again resumed the old topic, demonstrating the imminent peril of your Highness; and I, making general replies, took leave of his right reverend lordship.

London, October 8, 1516.

On the 5th instant I went to make my obeisance to his Majesty, but did not transact any business, having received no fresh letters from your Highness, and consequently I had no inducement to negotiate, neither did the King on his part suggest any; but I found the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors there, who held a long colloquy with his Majesty. On this occasion all we ambassadors stayed dinner, together with the right reverend Cardinal and other lords; and after the repast, said ambassadors had moreover a close conference with the Cardinal, and on its termination I urged his right reverend lordship to despatch the letters to the Catholic King for the safe-conduct, which he promised me he would do, and I again reminded him of the conditions to be specified, giving them to him in writing, with which he promised compliance. Shortly after this we were sent for by the

King, whom we found with the two most Serene Queens, and a number of ladies, with whom he was dancing, and he chose us to be present. His Majesty danced many dances, and then made said ambassadors hear Master Friar Dionisius Memo play, as he did marvellously, being lauded by everybody: the King himself is so enamoured of him and pleased with his talent, that one could not wish for more, and after having waited there a good while, we took leave of his Majesty.

Wishing to know whether the letters for the Catholic King had been forwarded, I went yesterday to the right reverend Cardinal, but was unable to speak with him, as he was slightly indisposed. I have this morning received letters from your Sublimity, dated the 27th August, with the copy of the missive from the great Turk, which I will go and communicate one of these days to the King and Cardinal, and of the result my despatches shall give speedy advice to your Sublimity.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

London, October 14, 1516.

By mine of the 8th and 9th instant, your Highness will have learned what had taken place down to that time, and you will now hear that I accurately imparted the contents of your letters of the 27th August both to the most serene King, and also to the right reverend Cardinal and to the Bishop of Durham, and read to them the letter from the great Turk. Not one of them seem to fear this conflagration, as it is remote from their own home, and still less are they moved by zeal for the Christian religion, their pas-

sions being more easily roused by the aggrandisement of their hostile neighbours, than by that of those at a distance. I see, moreover, that they are in high spirits, from hearing that the siege of Verona has been raised, and that the armies of the most Christian King and your Signory have retreated thirteen or fourteen miles, having suffered two great defeats, and that an imperial army 16,000 strong had come up; so they consider their affairs safe, and that they can dispose of Verona as freely as they do of London; what the truth may be, I know not, having no intelligence from any quarter, but were I acquainted with it, I should be better able to adapt myself to the circumstances than I can when in doubt. I also hear from a good source, that the Cardinal of Sion,[1] is coming post, to weave some other web with his Majesty; nor may your Excellency deem this doubtful, as I know it for certain; what his especial business may be, I shall endeavour to learn; sure is it that it can but be something of great importance, so I have chosen to despatch this post as far as Paris; at any rate, I imagine that come when he may, I am neither to go and meet, nor visit him, both as I know that he is the capital enemy of your Highness, and that he would perhaps not receive me, and also because he is understood to be most utterly hostile to the most Christian King, and that it would not be becoming to honour his capital enemy with any mark from your Highness. It is also reported here, that the league has been concluded between the Emperor, and the Catholic King, and the King of England, and that it is already signed,[2] the Pope being included therein, though he has not yet affixed his signature, the adhesion of his Holiness being expected here, which your Excellency will doubtless have heard from elsewhere.

[1] The Cardinal of Sion had already been in England in 1514, and Ammonius, writing to Erasmus, in date of Westminster, November 1,

in that year, says of him, "Advenit huc Cardinalis Sedunensis ille Helvetius, quem sum allocutus et videtur mihi homo ingeniosus, impiger, acer, facundus, strenuus, et admodum Theologus." Concerning his present mission to England in connection with Frescobald, we find the following in Hall: "In the moneth of October came into England Mathew, Bishop of Sedonon and Cardinal, called commonly the Cardinal of Swshes, from the Emperour Maximilian. This cardinal was a wise man of great boldenes, and was wel entreteyned in the court of the King; and at his contemplacion, and for olde love, the King lent to the Emperour Maximilian a great sume of money, whereof the company of Friscobald and Antony Caveler Genevoy undertoke th' exchange, but thei payed not the Emperour at his day, notwithstanding thei had receaved the money of the King. This Friscobald and Antony Caveler, by meanes of rewardes geven to great lordes of the counsaill, borrowed of the King 3,000*l.*, and had long dayes for the payment: but Friscobald was shortly consumed, and Anthony Caveler coulde not be sene, and so the King was not payd at his dayes, and many English merchauntes were by these menes undone, for they spent liberally of every man's goodes."

[2] The ambassador is here five days in advance; the treaty bears date in Rymer, October 19—20. The English commissioners for the signature of this State paper were Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishop of Durham; and the secretary was one Porter: the document ending thus, "Dat. in civitate nostra Londoniæ vicesimo die Octobris, &c. Per ipsum Regem,

"PORTER."

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, October 16, 1516.

By my foregoing in date of the 14th instant, your Highness was informed in the first place of the expected arrival of the Cardinal of Sion, who came last night, some say with three, and some with five horses; a stately dwelling had been prepared for him, and he dined to-day with the right reverend Cardinal. God grant that this coming be not the cause of yet greater disturbance than has taken place hitherto, and I have already told one of these lords with whom I can speak familiarly, that said Cardinal is on the worst possible terms

with the Switzers, and that he will endeavour to draw a sufficient sum of money from his Majesty, to make his peace with them, promising the King to raise a host of said Switzers, though he will perform nothing; as should they receive money for a fresh expedition, they will take it in settlement of other claims, urged by them against the Cardinal aforesaid; thus, the King of England will have lost his money for the sake of injuring those who are most observant and obsequious towards him. Said lord answered me, "We shall be like the deaf adder that stoppeth its ears," vowing that they are by this time glutted with words, and weary of them; I fear, however, lest the magnitude of the promises which this Cardinal will make them, and the force of his eloquence, which, as your Highness knows, is great, may decoy them. Then again the league mentioned in my last, is confirmed daily, nor is it a matter of small importance; though should Verona be in the possession of your Highness, I do not think it would prove of so much consequence.

I was to-day in the house of one who is secretary to his Majesty and to the right reverend Cardinal.[1] Having drawn me aside from everybody, so as not to be heard, this individual said to me that these lords were extremely surprised that your Excellency should so pertinaciously refuse to detach yourself from France, who they say has been the ruin of your Signory, and now aims at your final destruction, and at that of all Christendom, whose welfare you are willing to sacrifice to the observance of your mere faith, as plighted to the King of France: "I told the right reverend Cardinal," he said, "that it would not surprise me, should the Signory not determine to renounce the French alliance for this new union, as it is not reasonable that she should abandon those who now actually defend her, and

assist her to recover Verona, in order to adhere to those from whom its surrender is doubtful, and that it was at least necessary for his lordship to devise some expedient which should insure you possession of that city:" to the same effect was much more that he said, exhorting me to write in express manner to your Excellency, and to persuade you to hold the liberty of Italy, and the benefit of all the other Christian princes, in greater account than the King of France alone. I, who was aware of this language being addressed to me for the mere purpose of discovering whether I thought that with the certainty of obtaining Verona, your Excellency would desert the King of France, answered him that I did not know what might be the resolve of your Highness in this matter, but assured him, as from myself, that in my eyes the surrender of Verona constituted the least difficult part of the business, and that we would suppose that overcome; but that the faith pledged by your Excellency to the most Christian King, and reciprocally observed towards you by his Majesty aforesaid, constituted the greatest difficulty which can possibly occur in this matter, especially as your Excellency had already obtained whatever aid you could desire of his Majesty; though I, in execution of my duty, had written very strong letters hereon, setting forth all the arguments alleged by the right reverend Cardinal, so that it does not proceed from any omission of mine. The secretary then expressed surprise that at least an answer of some sort, either affirmative or negative, should not have been received from your Excellency, as sometimes to omit a reply is more offensive than to give a denial. I told him that this was a matter of incredible importance, both for the reason aforesaid, namely, the breach of faith, as also because the armies being now together, should it transpire that such a business was under consultation, the French army might

inflict such injury and detriment on ours, and on the rest of the territory belonging to your Excellency on the main land, as could not be guarded against in time. He appeared to admit that this was reasonable, provided the delay did not last too long. I said that your Excellency would do what in justice and fairness became a well instituted republic.

On this same day, I also visited the right reverend Cardinal to urge him to despatch the letters to the Catholic King for the safe-conduct: his lordship greeted me warmly, and said he had not yet sent the letters, requesting me to let him manage the business in his own way, as it was necessary to treat it with great address, by reason of the bias of the Catholic King towards the Emperor, who is the enemy of your Highness. I rejoined that his lordship was most sage, and would negotiate the matter as reasonable, though I respectfully reminded him that the galleys of your Excellency, by performing this voyage, would prove a source of great profit and convenience both to Spain and Flanders, states belonging to the Catholic King, so that I imagined he would not raise any difficulty in this business, especially when his Majesty here showed that he made the demand for the benefit of England, and thus did I take leave; but my belief is that, until the negotiations with this right reverend Cardinal of Sion be terminated, nothing more will be done: at the same time, I suspect said negotiations will be brief.

[1] Richard Pace, see Note p. 223.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, October 20, 1516.

By mine of the 14th and 16th, the duplicates of which accompany these, your Excellency was informed of the arrival of the Cardinal of Sion.

Subsequently, on the 18th instant, he went to Greenwich, where the King was, *et remotis arbitris* he had a very long secret colloquy with his Majesty, the only other person present being the Cardinal of York. After dinner, both these cardinals returned to their respective dwellings. I cannot yet well learn what was proposed, though some declare that said Sion offered to give his Majesty from six to seven thousand Switzers for Italy, and as many as 16,000 lansquenets. For France, indeed, which he talks of invading, he offered 20,000 Switzers, on being supplied with funds by his Majesty. Others assert that, besides the aforesaid, he wants the King to enter the French territory in great force, which things I do not affirm, though they were told me by rather intelligent persons; and should these proposals be listened to, it would create great commotion in France and Italy. I cannot say what decision has been formed; but the Council sat in consultation afterwards, and was attended by the right reverend Cardinal, the reverend Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Norwich,[1] the illustrious Treasurer, the Magnifico Lovel,[2] and another councillor called Master Marney.[3] I have not spared, nor shall I spare, either any labour or expense to learn what was proposed, and what decided; nor will I, moreover, omit any sort of research, so as to come at the truth, being aware how momentous it is; and my letters shall acquaint your Sublimity forthwith, though I may mention now, that this

Council was not attended by the right reverends of Winchester and Canterbury, who absented themselves at the commencement of the business.[4]

Yesterday, I sent my secretary to appoint an audience with the right reverend Cardinal, with the hope of learning something from him, though he is difficult to draw (*trazer*); and he brought me back word that, directly the Cardinal returned from the Council, he went to him of Sion, with whom he dined, and remained a long while; and when he came home, the secretary saw him so wrath and excited, that he did not seem to be in his right mind;[5] and 'twas said that, since he has been at the helm here, he has never been seen in such a state of perturbation, so that he declared he could not give me audience for three or four days; and he sent forthwith for the Imperial ambassador, although it was already night and the hour inconvenient; nor can the cause of this be attributed to aught save a dispute between the cardinals, which might have arisen considering the insolence of the Cardinal of Sion, or to the receipt of some fresh intelligence at variance with the assertions of the Imperial ambassador, who is in the habit of making them sixteen to the dozen;[6] it is impossible to form any positive opinion. I go to-day to the illustrious Treasurer, and will endeavour to learn something from him, doing the like, moreover, by the others; and in order to leave nothing untried, I have, moreover, employed certain other means, making many promises, to be performed in the event of my learning the truth through them, so that your affairs may be known to your Highness, whom I beseech to keep me acquainted with the true events of Italy and matters connected therewith, without sifting that which is fit to be imparted from the rest; as I shall know how to distinguish what is expedient for communication, from intelligence better suited to silence.

[1] Richard Nix, consecrated A.D. 1501, April 17 (See Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 419). Nix seems to have been rather a profligate prelate, but debauchery agreed with him, for he lived until the 14th of January, 1536. Nevill, in his history of Norwich, styles Nix *infamis et effræni præcipue libidine exæstuans.* In the Harleian Collection (Num. 604-21, vol. i. p. 365 Catalogue) there exists a letter signed by Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich, to Cardinal Wolsey, concerning the election of a prior of Butley, where the Cardinal had inhabited; and desiring him to consent to the election of Sir Thomas Sudbourne cellarer of that monastery. Skelton, the laureate, tells of Nix in his sixth and seventh "Merry Tales," the eighth of which narrates how Skelton handled the fryer, &c. There was probably a meaning in the *order* of the tales.

[2] See note, *ante* p. 253.

[3] Sir Henry Marney, who was made Lord Marney, April 9, 1523. (See Hume, vol. iii. p. 70, and Collins, vol. ix. p. 471.)

[4] See retro, p. 253.

[5] Ch'el non parea in la sua natural dispositione.

[6] Giustinian expresses himself thus: "*che e' solito passarlo di nove buse,*" a phrase now obsolete, and alluding, perhaps, to some game like that of billiards, and which required a board or table containing *nine holes*, or pockets.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

London, October 21, 1516.

I now inform you that I have been to visit the illustrious Treasurer,[1] who has been absent during many months, and as he is one of those who manages these present matters, I adroitly commenced discussing the presence here of this Cardinal of Sion, saying that I could not bring myself to believe that he was come for any other purpose than to excite fresh tumult amongst the Christian powers, his character convincing me of this, and his aversion to the most Christian King, as also to your Highness; my opinion being that, were he listened to, he would obtain considerable sums from the King for the purpose of making a great stir, and would repay him with vain promises; and I lamented that all these negotiations aimed at preventing our recovery of

Verona, it being perhaps imagined that that city might either concede or withhold ingress into Italy, which I considered a mistake, as no small force is sent into Italy, either by the way of Verona or by the other, whilst a large army forces its passage in any direction, so that I could not but feel much distress at so great an opposition as was offered to your Highness without any cause. Yet, I added, I did not imagine that their lordships would choose lightly to disburse their moneys for idle promises, injuring those who ever had been, and would continue, the greatest friends of this kingdom, which ought to hold your Excellency as a resource against many possible contingencies, and not seek your destruction, as has been the case hitherto—since by this time you would have recovered your territory, had it not been for the pecuniary aid of his Majesty, coupled with the ill-will of others. These remarks were uttered by me interruptedly, and received various replies, as your Highness will perceive, the Lord Treasurer answering me that the Cardinal of Sion was not come to do any harm, nay, with the intention of seeking a general peace, so that he was of opinion that nothing but great benefit would result from his coming; and that in these conferences there has never been any question of injuring your Highness, who was greatly loved by the King and all these lords, going on to say, that it was impossible for them to do otherwise than aid the Emperor against his enemies according to the terms of the confederacy; to which I rejoined that this kingdom is perfectly at liberty to aid its friends against its enemies, but not against confederates and friends, whose very ancient amity had never been interrupted by any discord or war, but constantly cherished and cultivated by mutual good offices; whilst with others, on the contrary, peace and war, and various vicissitudes, had intervened. To this he replied, that

the confederacy between this kingdom and the Emperor and other allies was very close, adding certain words not clearly expressed, but muttered from between his teeth, implying that the confederacy with your Excellency was not equally close; yet he swore, *per Deum*, that nothing is being negotiated but what will produce great good, repeating again that he hoped a general peace would now ensue; so perceiving that he merely spoke in general terms, I did not choose to descend to any details, but requested his lordship to consider well, and give his counsel for the common weal, and for the quiet and tranquillity of this kingdom, and not permit so much slaughter and Christian bloodshed to be any longer perpetrated; laying before him the disposition of the Turk, his power and prosperity, the ill-will he bears towards Christians, and the formidable forces already prepared by him, which ought to open the eyes of all the Christian powers, as the matter concerned the universal ruin of the Christian religion, and not a mere difference of opinion between one Christian potentate and another; and that this was the field in which one prince might excel another, by so much the more as he should more speedily provide against the imminent peril from the infidels—making himself great by depressing them, and not by weakening Christian powers. He confirmed what I said, declaring that he wished for nothing but universal quiet, or for an expedition against the Turks, and that he should ever lend all favour to the interests of your Excellency. I should augur well of his words, most serene Prince, did I not remember that many months ago both he[2] and others of these lords assured me, and swore, that nothing was being treated against your Excellency, nay that all matters were directed towards your great advantage, though the result proved hostile both to the most Christian King and to your Excellency, these lords arguing

that it was for the advantage of your Signory to expel the King of France Italy; and this I take to be the case now. However, I will not cease urging and watching, and attending with every effort to learn both the proposals and decisions, present and future, using every argument to prevent their any longer molesting poor Italy, as I am aware that at this present everything depends on England.

[1] The Duke of Norfolk, see *ante* pp. 113, 254.
[2] In the month of December, 1515, see *ante* pp. 148—151.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, October 22, 1516.

To-day I have had a conversation with the Papal nuncio, on whom I had previously made the strongest possible attempt to obtain news of these negotiations; but not receiving a very gracious reply, I had ceased to hope for intelligence from that quarter. To-day, however, having well weighed his interests, he changed his mind, and notified to me all that follows, which might well have come to his knowledge considering his extreme intimacy with the Cardinal of Sion, whom he served as secretary for a long while (as well known to your Excellency), at the period when the most noble Polo Capello was proveditor with the Switzers.[1]

He says, in the first place, that the Cardinal aforesaid proposes that the King of England should cross the Channel in the spring, and that he will contrive for the Switzers to attack Burgundy in considerable force, under the command of the illustrious Duke of Suffolk, his Majesty's brother-in-

law: that the Emperor, at the same time, is to be at Verona, with the Cardinal of Sion and another duke, and upwards of 20,000 men; and that all are to make the attack simultaneously, namely the Emperor and his forces, together with the Cardinal, in the Milanese; the Duke of Suffolk in Burgundy; and his Majesty here in Picardy: all these promises being made with the understanding that the King of England is to defray the expenses. The nuncio says he does not know whether the decision has been finally made, though he considers it certain from the symptoms observed by him in the Cardinal of Sion, who is very cheerful and busy with despatches, and never ceased writing from two o'clock in the morning until four P.M., sending off a great number of letters: he also transmitted a schedule of clauses to the right reverend Cardinal of York, who was at the council board; and should no positive resolve have been come to, the nuncio considers that such will be formed *ad vota;* nor will the Cardinal of Sion depart hence, until it has been decided in what place, when, and how, he is to receive the money for this undertaking, which will, however, cause a delay of seven or eight days. Moreover, he is to take a good sum with him for the defence of Verona; and Chieregato adds, that the Pontiff will certainly join this confederacy, and that a certain ambassador of his, a bishop, is expected daily; he adds, moreover, that he, Chieregato, anticipates being ordered to join the camp. These things, most serene Prince, as they were told me, so do I write them; true is it that I do not yield them entire credit, from knowing the nuncio to have sometimes given information on slight grounds; at the same time, should he now have chosen to tell the truth, he has assuredly had the means for doing so. Your Excellency, who is most sage, will form such opinion as you may think fit; but this I deem it well to mention, namely, that the

Cardinal of Sion was accompanied hither by one of the King's attendants, whom I saw here at court not more (I think) than two months ago, and he gives me to understand that he was sent to fetch the Cardinal, which, if true, confirms what Chieregato has reported to me about the alliance. I have also found some other means for hearing these results through the Spanish ambassador, and will give immediate notice to your Highness of what I may discover, it seeming to me that the present events require this; and I intend to exert myself in the matter not less than I would do for the salvation of my soul.

P.S.—Suspecting that what was told me by the Papal nuncio might perchance have been notified to me designedly, at the instigation of some of these lords, and as certain letters of his had fallen into my hands, one of which was addressed to his mother at Mantua, and the other to my Lady Ipolita Sforza Bentivola,[2] who is at Milan, I thought fit to open them, knowing this matter to be of extreme moment, and that by these letters I might probably ascertain the real foundation of what said nuncio had imparted to me, and having opened them, I find hereon as follows:—

Papal nuncio writes to his mother, the Lady Mathia de Coradis de Austria, relict of the late Bortolomeo Chieregato, and says, "This is merely to tell you not to seek to leave Mantua so speedily, should you fare well there; wait a little to see the result of this new league which has been formed; for my right reverend Cardinal of Sion, who is here, will soon take his departure, and is the bearer of strong resolutions, from which much mischief in those parts may result; so do not change your residence unless I write you further, for I do not say this without great cause."

The other letter is addressed by him "To the illustrious my lady, the Lady Ipolita Sforza Bentivola," and he says—

"By this letter of mine I announce to your ladyship the new league contracted between the Emperor, the Catholic King, and his Majesty, place being reserved therein for the Pope and the Switzers. Since this was concluded, there came hither my right reverend Cardinal of Sion,[3] who had previously held a long conference in Brabant with the most serene Catholic King, and with the most illustrious my lady Margaret. Here he is not only well looked on and caressed, but adored, both by the King and the whole country, and in a few hours he will have obtained his intent, especially as he proposes things which please his Majesty and all this nation; so that your ladyship understands me. I think that we shall have more tribulation than ever in poor Italy, so I write to my friends and patrons to betake themselves to places out of trouble, as the present league will have a larger tail, and your ladyship understands me. Here they are preparing for war with all diligence, and we enjoy ourselves. By the present league the Catholic King does not mean to swerve from the treaty made with France, &c. Do your ladyship, for reason good, not show this letter to any one, above all in my name."[4]

[1] After the battle of Ravenna in April, 1512, the Venetian forces intrusted to the Proveditor Capello joined the Swiss, under the Cardinal of Sion, for the purpose of driving the French out of Italy. It was at this time that Chieregato acted as the secretary of the Cardinal of Sion, who, in the month of June, 1512, was with the Venetians under Pavia. Now it so happened that the Senate was not satisfied with the proceedings of Capello, and determined on giving him a colleague in the person of his brother-in-law, an individual by name Christopher Moro, and who, there are many reasons to believe, was the real Othello of whom Shakspeare was thinking when he wrote his tragedy; but, be this as it may, in July 1512, when Chieregato was with the Cardinal of Sion at Alexandria, in Piedmont, the Venetian proveditors, Moro and Capello, were kept there in pawn for a few hours, and made to give security for the payment of certain moneys to this Swiss Cardinal. The allusion made by the Venetian ambassador in London, to any fact connected with the real life of one of the most famous characters of Shakspeare, may justly be considered, to adopt a phrase of Pope's, "*stranger than seven antiquaries' studies.*"

[2] As stated *ante* p. 214, it was for the sake of seeing this Countess Ippolita Sforza that Chieregato went to Pandino, when the novelist Bandello took occasion to tell the tale of Zanina Gandino.

[3] The Cardinal of Sion reached London on the 15th of October, and, according to Rymer, the treaty here alluded to by Chieregato is dated the 20th of October, 1516.

[4] The mode adopted by the Venetian ambassador for ascertaining the veracity of the nuncio, however unscrupulous, is not accompanied with such aggravating circumstances as those to which the French ambassador was subjected by Cardinal Wolsey, as detailed at page 213. Giustinian satisfied himself with merely reading what his colleague wrote, and was too humane to rate him into the bargain.

To the most excellent Council of Ten.

London, October 24, 1516.

I have learnt from a good source that the Cardinal of Sion has obtained all that he wanted from his Majesty; and the two cardinals and the imperial ambassadors sit in conclave daily, to arrange, I imagine, the execution of their projects. The Cardinal of Sion is treated here with as much honour as if he were the Pope in person, and he has been promised the first great bishopric which may become vacant. Money, likewise, is being remitted, the amount I cannot state with certainty, though I do know that it does not exceed 25,000 crowns, which are supposed to be destined for Verona, the siege of which place they declare has been raised, and succour introduced; and this news they have received by way of Rome in letters dated the 6th inst., in contradiction of what reached me yesterday, also from Rome, in date of the 30th ult., and which revived me, as for many days I dreaded the confirmation of what this side had announced, on the authority of letters dated Verona the 24th ult., namely, that the siege had been raised, that considerable succour had

entered the city, that an imperial army 15,000 strong had come up, that our forces suffered great slaughter, and that Chiusa had been taken.[1] Now, again, with this news of the 6th inst., my anxiety returns as before: may the Almighty at length guide the vessel of the State into a peaceful haven! I yesterday received two of your letters, one dated the 12th and the other the 23rd ult., which gave me inestimable satisfaction, it now appearing to me that I have some light from your Excellency for my guidance, whereas hitherto I could only act on my own responsibility, though of this I can indeed assure your Highness, that all the negotiations transacted by me thus far have been effected with so much submission and gentleness, that I doubt whether greater respect could have been employed had I been speaking with the Father Eternal, this seeming expedient to me for the interests of your Highness, and to avoid irritating the right reverend Cardinal to some act of indignation; and he, as it were conscious of my proceedings, has assured me several times that he discusses State affairs more willingly with me than he ever has done with any one else; and I would that the fair demonstrations he makes me were confirmed by equally good effects.

Concerning the two matters, namely, the joining this new league, and also that of the truces, I shall not say a word unless challenged, though for many days he has not broached this topic; and should the league be mentioned to me, I have my cue from your Excellency, who assigns both duty and necessity as the reasons for your present policy, and which were the very excuses made by me in other terms, that is to say, our plighted faith, and the position of the combined armies under Verona, which two apologies I shall not, however, allege so expressly, to avoid irritating them through despair of attaining their intent, but will

merely speak doubtingly, and as of myself, so that I hope, should I be unable by my actions to compass the good I have desired, at least not to be the cause of mischief.

[1] Guicciardini mentions the capture of Chiusa, but does not give any date; by this despatch it would seem to have taken place in the middle of September.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, October 29, 1516.

The decision already announced by me is confirmed, as likewise the transmission of moneys amounting in all to 100,000 crowns; nor can there be any doubt but that a part is destined for Verona: concerning the whole I do not know. The Cardinal of Sion has filled the heads of these lords with vain hopes, promising greater things than can be imagined, all tending to the extermination of the most Christian King and of your Excellency, a result from which may the Lord shield us! An ambassador from his Holiness, namely, a bishop, is expected here in two or three days: I cannot learn for certain the object of his mission, but many say that he will ratify the league and confederacy made between these potentates, and to which his Holiness is a party; for this I do not vouch, not having heard it from an authentic source, and especially after what your Highness writes me. Great pecuniary exactions are being made here, all over the kingdom, both from the clergy and laity, *quæ sunt signa dolorum.* An envoy from the most Christian King has been here on his way to the Duke of Albany in Scotland; he came to me, and I welcomed him as becoming: it seems that this Duke of Albany wished to go and see the

most Christian King, and these lords were anxious that he should pass through England, which the above-mentioned envoy told them he would do, provided they placed some great personage in his power as sufficient security; whereupon they promised to give him the Duke of Suffolk, but he was rejected by the envoy, who quitted the right reverend Cardinal in dudgeon; he is to return to him, nor do I know whether they will come to terms, but hitherto he has refused a safe-conduct even to this envoy, who, however, says he shall go without it.

On my asking him how the most Christian King stood with the Switzers, seeing that the Cardinal of Sion offers a levy of upwards of 40,000 of them on receiving the necessary funds from his Majesty here, he answered me that the most Christian King has nine cantons with him as friends and confederates, they having already signed and sealed: with the others he is negotiating, and the difficulty merely consists in said Switzers wanting to be the friends and soldiers of his most Christian Majesty, but not his confederates, and about this there is a difficulty: but should nine cantons be with the most Christian King for certain, I am unable to bring myself to believe that this Sion[1] could keep such great promises as he has made, and your Highness will forgive me for volunteering my opinion, considering that I am on the spot; for I perceive that the right reverend Cardinal of York, who leads the dance, and the King here, bear the worst possible will towards his most Christian Majesty, in such wise that no one could believe it, unless they saw and heard; all they want is the power to realize their evil designs. There are two expedients which I should deem most efficacious in this matter; the one being for the most Christian King to make a last endeavour to obtain the greatest number of cantons possible, so that this side might be

deprived of the weapons for doing mischief; or else *use means* through a great offer, or gift (that it may be more certain than promises), to the right reverend Cardinal of York, who, being quieted, the whole turmoil would cease; nor would this, perhaps, be very difficult, as he perceives well nigh all the grandees of this kingdom to be opposed to his present policy, the people likewise complaining extremely of the new imposts to which they are subjected, so that he may with reason apprehend some commotion. I trust your Highness will not ascribe this to presumption on my part, but to the love I bear my country.

I have not seen the Cardinal of York, having sent twice to demand audience in vain; nor would I make any farther attempt, being convinced that he of Sion is the cause of this, and that his presence and opposition would prevent any good effect resulting from an interview. Even were I admitted, it is certain I should have a great battle about your Highness joining this confederation, which I perceive you advisedly wish me to decline; so I deem it better not to visit him, whereby I avoid rejecting his demands, rather than to seek an audience and tell him what is disagreeable.

I have also heard, through a good source, that the aforesaid Sion is endeavouring that his Majesty should dismiss me; and considering his own business here, and the alliance of your Highness with the King of France, he has reason enough to advocate such a measure, though from what I can judge, I do not think he will succeed in it.

As to the safe-conduct for the galleys, so long as the Cardinal of Sion remains here I shall not press for it, for he might either frustrate the negotiation, or devise some treachery; but immediately on his departure I will use due diligence. Perhaps as your Serenity perceives affairs to be in confusion and very threatening, you may change your

decision, but until the order given me be cancelled, I shall abide thereby.

I wrote in my foregoing what the Papal nuncio had told me about the expedition proposed by this Cardinal of Sion; and that he had informed me that the illustrious Duke of Suffolk was to command the army of Switzers destined for the attack on Burgundy: subsequently said nuncio told me that the Lord Marc Antonio Colonna will be the captain of the army to be marshalled against Burgundy, and that the Duke of Suffolk will command the army which the King of England is to send into France. He also announced to me that the Catholic King meant to march an army into Italy against your Excellency.

[1] The aversion entertained by Sebastian Giustinian for Mathew Scheiner, Cardinal of Sion, displays itself repeatedly by his withholding from him his title; the ambassador returned the hatred which Sion bore the Venetians, and perhaps especially resented the seizure of the proveditors Moro and Capello, as mentioned at p. 315; whether he anticipated or not the treatment which he himself was destined in the course of time to receive from the Switzers, I am unable to state, but the fact is, that ten years after the date of this letter, viz., A.D. 1526, having been appointed by the Senate ambassador to congratulate Francis I. on his release from Madrid, Giustinian, when on his way to the French court, was seized on the Lake of Como by the Switzers, under pretence of their being creditors of the Republic of Venice for stipend due on account of military service. Litta does not say how long the ambassador remained a prisoner, but it seems that he eventually owed his liberty to the intervention of Pope Clement VII., and reached the French court in 1527.

London, November 1, 1516.

By mine of the 31st ult. I notified to your Sublimity that on the morrow his Majesty and the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors were to swear to the league. To-day, accordingly, at the hour of high mass, the aforesaid assembled,

together with the right reverend Cardinals and a few others, members of the Privy Council, in a small chapel where the King is in the habit of hearing mass; and there each of those who had to swear, read with their own lips the formula of the league, with the clauses, nine in number. After this reading, the King, first of all having placed the articles on the altar, swore on the Holy Gospel that he would observe the contents of said clauses, and the like was done by the others; the articles not being published, but only read amongst the parties themselves and a few privy councillors. The contents, however, purport that the league is contracted between the Emperor and the Catholic King and his Majesty for the defence and recovery of their respective states: the Emperor is to descend into Italy with the Cardinal of Sion and 6,000 Switzers, besides other Germans, amounting in all to 22,000 men, who are to attack the Milanese: the Catholic King, on his part, is bound to send 800 spears, 800 light cavalry, and 6,000 infantry, into the Vicentine and Veronese territory and that neighbourhood, to prevent the army of your Excellency from succouring that of France in the Duchy of Milan: 22,000 Switzers are to make an attack in the direction of Burgundy, as stated in my former letters, whilst the King of England is to cross over from hence in great force; and place is reserved in this league for the Pope and the Switzers. I have been unable to learn other details, although I plied my friend, well known to your Excellency, to the utmost; he, Chieregato, saying that he is under solemn oath not to reveal the articles. These lords say they shall have eight of the Swiss cantons, which does not seem to agree with what was told me by the French envoy on his way to the Duke of Albany in Scotland, for he declared that nine of the cantons were the confederates of his most Christian Majesty, and that the other five would

be his friends and soldiers, but not his confederates, so this side, at the most, could only have five cantons; though my opinion is that they cannot reckon upon any, as had they grounds for doing so, they would have found means that some one should have come to swear in the name of these cantons; and I maintain that it is the same with his Holiness, whose ambassador is expected from day to day, but had he intended signing they would have waited for him. Money is being remitted in all shapes, both through bills of exchange and in cash, and it is said that some mules loaded with coin are being sent off. Though no one rates the sum beyond the 100,000 ducats mentioned in my former letters, there is no doubt but that they will remit sufficient funds by the spring to defray the undertaking, for it is stated that the King of England will pay for all. This Sion will depart hence in two or three days.

Some German lords, men of great account, have arrived here on their way to the shrine of St. James of Gallizia,[1] after visiting which they will go about to see the world. These noblemen, in the course of conversation, said, in rather a resentful tone, that Germany had always been the friend of your Excellency, and that now, when the Emperor is waging war upon you, they consider that greater blame rests with him than with your Signory; but they complain extremely, saying that at Venice a certain work has been printed, most ignominious for the aforesaid Emperor and for all Germany; and that it is impossible to utter or imagine grosser abuse than is contained in said work compiled at Venice, and that your Excellency had allowed it to be composed, printed, and published, a thing very offensive to all the princes and communities of Germany; on hearing which I contrived that an English cavalier, a great friend of mine, should make them ample apology in my name, saying,

that in the first place I did not believe such a work had been either compiled or printed at Venice, and still less published,[2] as it would not have been permitted by your Highness, who is ever accustomed to speak of great princes, and to cause them to be spoken of, with honour, even though at war with them; and to this I bore witness, having seen strong measures adopted in other similar matters, and that much stronger would have been employed in this case, as your Highness has never endeavoured to irritate the Emperor, but, on the contrary, to appease him by all possible means. Should you not have succeeded herein, I said, it is not owing to yourself, but to his imperial Majesty, who is more implacable than perhaps becomes the magnanimity of a glorious Emperor such as he is: nor would you have made less demonstration on account of the princes and communities of Germany, owing to the close good will which had ever subsisted between your Excellency and those most illustrious lords, princes, and honourable communities, not merely by reason of the mutual commerce, but in consideration of innumerable good offices exchanged with them at all times. They apologized for the complaints they had made, not owing to ill-will, but from the surprise felt by them at such a thing, and because they wished to ascertain if it was such as had been represented; but that knowing the wisdom of your Highness, they considered the explanation I had offered to be satisfactory. I would have met them in some place to make this apology in person, but was apprehensive lest an interview might have created suspicion, and caused his most Christian Majesty to receive some sinister information, so I thought fit to omit it.

[1] Pilgrimages to Compostella were very much the fashion at this period, and it has already been seen, at p. 99, that the ambassador Andrea Badoer entertained thoughts of paying his devotions at this

shrine of the apostle James the Minor, the tutelar saint of all Spain. I have now before me the journal of a young Venetian who visited Compostella in the month of August, 1581, and died Doge of Venice, A.D. 1624, having between those two epochs been ambassador in England like Andrea Badoer: his name was Francesco Contarini, and he tells a story of Ferdinand the Catholic and the shrine of St. James of Gallizia, which places that crafty monarch in a less odious light than that in which he generally appears. Louis XII. had sent a present of two monster bells (which Contarini saw in fragments, A.D. 1581), with tremendous clappers, for St. James's Church, about which Gallizia and the pilgrims wagged their tongues prodigiously, and the noise reaching the ears of King Ferdinand, he said he would found other bells whose clappers should be heard at a greater distance than those of Louis XII., and accordingly endowed an hospital, adjoining the church of Compostella, for the reception of infirm pilgrims, whose tongues, on returning to their native land, would tell of suffering relieved at Compostella, and speak with gratitude of Ferdinand the Catholic, in countries far beyond the sound of Compostella's bells, the gift of Louis XII.

[2] From the allusion made at p. 223 to the Knight of Rhodes, Sir Thomas Dockwra, Grand Prior of St. John's, it seems probable that he was the English Cavalier who bore the excuses of the Venetian ambassador to these German noblemen, who, perhaps, were misled like myself by a chapter in a folio volume printed by Aldus in this very year 1516, the author being one Celio Rodigino, and the title "*Lectionum Antiquarum*," the third book of which gives an account of the events of the league of Cambray, said Celio heading the chapter "Historia *jucunda* belli in Venetos gesti," though anything less jocund I never read, and my disappointment was the greater, as I confess to having opened the pages of this beautifully printed book, seduced by the mere heading of the third chapter, in which I expected to find some pleasant abuse of Maximilian and his allies, whereas it contains nothing of the sort. It is possible, that in consequence of these remonstrances, the "jocund" part of Celio's work was suppressed.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNCIL OF TEN.

London, November 1, 1516.

I have heard that these lords have promised, and made arrangements accordingly, to give for the Italian and Burgundian expedition 500,000 crowns, though the Papal nuncio says that no fixed sum has been specified, it being merely

stipulated that England is to furnish funds for the whole campaign. Neither the right reverend Canterbury nor Winchester, nor the illustrious Duke of Suffolk, nor many other lords who are accustomed to discuss State affairs here, were present at this conclusion, a fact which has caused incredible surprise and universal dissatisfaction, the general inference being that the right reverend Cardinal of York is the beginning, middle, and end of this result. This Sion has assured the King that Galeazo Visconte,[1] who is with the Switzers on behalf of his Majesty, has unduly appropriated to himself upwards of 100,000 crowns of the royal moneys destined for said Switzers; and that he has shown vouchers from the captains of the Switzers, proving this, to his son-in-law, who is here in London; owing to which his aforesaid son-in-law will be dismissed hence, the like being done by Galeazo himself, who, according to report, is all-powerful with the Switzers, so should this circumstance reach the knowledge of the King of France, this Visconte might now be an excellent agent for reconciling all the other cantons to him, and confirming those he has; and should it be objected that, owing to his having taken their moneys, the Switzers will have become his enemies, and that he will have lost his former influence with them, I would rejoin, that they are aware of the mortal enmity which prevails between him of Sion and said Galeazo, wherefore it will be easy for the latter to attribute all these calumnies to the Cardinal's hatred.

The nuncio assures me that the moneys hitherto sent to the Switzers, and to the Emperor, amount to 600,000 crowns, besides these last remittances, which, as I said, are put by some at 100,000, whilst others estimate them at 80,000, and they were forwarded at two separate times, both for the succour of Verona, and also to be given to the Emperor.

[1] This is evidently the person who in a former despatch (p. 221) is styled Visconte de' Visconti, and the father of Anchises, whereas here he is represented as father-in-law. As stated in that despatch, Anchises Visconte resided in London as the ambassador of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Bari, and titular Duke of Milan. Litta says that Anchises was the son of Alberto by Fioramondo Visconti, and that he quitted Milan after the battle of Marignano in 1515, from which period till 1522, he says, nothing is known of him; his sojourn in England, therefore, may be considered *news*. Litta gives Anchises Visconti two wives, neither of whom bore the name of Visconti; he could not, therefore, have been Galeazo's son-in-law. From all this it may be inferred that the *wife* of Anchises, and not his mother, bore the name of Fioramondo, and that she was the daughter of Galeazo. As to this last, who is mentioned in the above letter, Guicciardini witnesses that he made his peace with Francis I. by negotiating in his favour with the cantons, but does not allude to his having defrauded Henry VIII. on that occasion. In all probability the Galeazo of Guicciardini, and the Ermes Costanzo of Litta, are one and the same person.

END OF VOL. I.

London:
Printed by Stewart and Murray,
Old Bailey.

December 1854.

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